

An analysis of the performance of the term “Great Britain/British” from a brand perspective -
1603 to 1625

By

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Submitted to the University of Hertfordshire in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, July 2013

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Hertfordshire Business School and the Department of Humanities of the University of Hertfordshire for the support they have provided throughout this project. So many colleagues have been supportive in so many ways that it would be invidious to name individuals. However, I must acknowledge two individuals whose input has been outstanding; my supervisors, Dr Ruth Herman of the Business School and Dr Alan Thomson of the Department of Humanities, whose knowledge, wisdom and encouragement have been invaluable.

Abstract

The dissertation takes the modern business technique/concept of brands and branding, applies them to a historic case study, the creation by James VI and I of Great Britain from 1603 to 1625, and by doing so throws new light on both. It compares two distinct approaches to branding, unidirectional and social interactionist, postulating that the latter would prove better at explaining the success of the brand Great Britain/British. The case study reveals that neither approach is supported by the evidence. Content analysis shows that there was a lack of awareness of the brand Great Britain/British and an inconsistency in its use, hence neither approach can be sustained. However, the same analysis does show that an alternative brand, England/English, existed in the same time and that this brand provides some limited support for the social interactionist view of brands and branding. The lack of success of the brand Great Britain/British during his reign does not appear to have prevented James VI and I from establishing himself as the legitimate King of England in addition to Scotland although the contribution of the brand to this was marginal at best.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Rationale for the Research

The research stems from a belief that the term Great Britain/British has over a period of three to four hundred years become an iconic brand that is both widespread and powerful but that little analysis has been done of the performance of the term from a brand perspective at the time of its introduction. By applying business techniques relating to brands and branding to the period when the term was introduced insights into theoretical approaches to brands and branding can be developed which, at the same time, provide new perspectives on the history of the period. The research examines approaches to brands and branding with regard to a specific case - the reign, from 1603 to 1625, of James VI (of Scotland) and I (of England) and the use of the term Great Britain/British in his attempt to unite the two kingdoms. It reviews theoretical approaches to branding theory and by analysing contemporary, seventeenth century data in the light of these attempts to establish which approach provides a better explanation for the success, or failure, of the specific term as brand.

1.2 Research Questions

In accordance with the rationale above the research addresses the following specific questions:-

- From a brand perspective was the term Great Britain/British a success in the period 1603 to 1625?
- What were the factors that contributed to the success or failure of the term?
- Do branding theories adequately explain the success or failure of the term Great Britain/British in the period 1603 to 1625?

1.3 The approach taken and its justification

The application of modern concepts to a historical context raises issues of anachronism and the danger of errors caused by “present centredness” (Ashplant & Wilson, 1988: 273) is acknowledged. However, the research accepts the case for the application of modern concepts made by Sharpe in the introduction and first part of his “Selling the Tudor Monarchy” where he argues, among other things, that present experiences can open questions and perspectives about the past and that historians have failed to explore issues such as spin Sharpe (2009). The historical nature of the research means that modern materials and techniques such as quantitative social surveys, face to face interviews with participants and consumers are not available which is a problem. To address this it is necessary to examine contemporary

seventeenth century sources and their context, and subject them to analysis in order to draw conclusions from them. A central technique used in this research is content analysis which is “an approach to the analysis of documents and texts ... that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner” (Bryman and Bell, 2003:302). Such a technique is dependent on the quality of the documents available and involves interpretation in the construct of a frame for analysis. The former is extensively considered as part of the case study which identifies the sources used (Paragraphs 6.2 and 8.2.6) while the criteria for constructing the coding frame are explicitly set out to provide the necessary transparency (Paragraph 6.3).

The approach taken is consistent with the view of business research and the methodological considerations set out below. It is, as Hammersley puts it, built on:-

The flexible characteristic of naturalistic research, its emphasis on discovering the *perspectives* of participants and on observing the process of social interaction, [that] would seem to be designed to capture the complex and fluid character of the social world, as portrayed by symbolic interactionism.

Hammersley (1989:194)

There are many texts providing frameworks for business researchers. Bryman and Bell (2003:4-29) identify a number of areas central to the conduct of such research. In addition to the more commonplace “research” issues such as theory, epistemology, ontology and strategy they identify the nature of business research itself, i.e. what is it? Given the nature of this research, i.e. the application of modern business concepts to a distant historical case, this seems to be a useful starting point.

1.4 The nature of business research

This research is “business or management research”. Such a simple statement is, however, problematic. The nature of business research is neither clearly defined nor well understood. “What is management or business research?” Tranfield & Starkey (1998) sets out to examine the nature of management research and, inter alia, identify its characteristics. In their view management research:-

- “...operates no single agreed ontological or epistemological paradigm. It is a heterogeneous and fragmented field.” (op cit:345)
- Is an applied field concerned with improving practice – knowing what and how
- Addresses the implications for management practice
- Adopts a trans-disciplinary approach
- Is manifest through its knowledge production process

- Is highly tolerant of a wide range of epistemological and ontological views

The research takes these characteristics as a starting point and begins by considering the areas identified by Bryman and Bell i.e. theory, epistemology, ontology and strategy (Paragraph 1.3).

1.5 Theory

1.5.1 At this point it is necessary to distinguish between “grand theories” and “theories of the middle range” (Merton, 1967). The importance of grand theories, for example modernism, post-modernism, structuralism and post-structuralism, is acknowledged as they undoubtedly exercise an influence on any intellectual activity. However, such theories while relevant have limited utility in an exercise such as this. The objective of this research is to assess how useful pre-existing theories of branding are in understanding a specific case and to provide new insights to the early stages in the history of the brand Great Britain/British. The research is therefore concerned with middle range theories, using an analytic inductive process (Paragraph 1.6.7) to generate a hypothesis, collect data, analyse findings, confirm or reject findings and revise theory.

1.5.2 Although “grand theories” are beyond the scope of this research it seems that the approach in this research could be categorised as Post-modernist, however to adopt such a categorisation would fall into the trap in which disparate approaches have “often too simply [been] herded together under the label postmodernism” (Sharpe, 2009:5). This research adopts an eclectic approach in that if a technique or approach is regarded as useful it is applied. The closest fit to that is probably postmodern but the implications of such a term in historical circles creates a baggage that is not considered helpful – see for example (Stone and Spiegel, 1992), (Joyce, 1998) and (Evans, 2000). Much of the traditional work on branding has been modernist and objectivist (Paragraph 2.2.3) and by adopting a different approach this research challenges the current orthodoxy. The particular case to be considered fits a similar orthodoxy to that branding in that the pre-existence of ancient twelfth and thirteenth century terms (myths) for Britain and Britons, (Paragraph 5.1.5), from which the term Great Britain and British derived, were taken as given. In essence Great Britain/British has been treated, perhaps unconsciously, as a deterministic natural phenomenon.

1.6 Epistemology, Ontology, Strategy

1.6.1 This research is firmly rooted in the interpretivist view that, from an epistemological standpoint, "...a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (Bryman & Bell, 2003:16). The position adopted in the research is well summarised by Schutz's oft quoted passage:-

The world of nature as explored by the natural scientist does not 'mean' anything to molecules, atoms and electrons. But the observational field of the social scientist – social reality – has a specific meaning and relevance structure for the beings living, acting, and thinking within it. By a series of common-sense constructs they have pre-selected and pre-interpreted this world which they experience as the reality of their daily lives. It is these thought objects of theirs which determine their behaviour by motivating it. The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men [and women!], living their daily life within the social world.

Schutz (1962:59)

Awareness and power of the thought object British are considered in Chapter 3. However, central to the approach taken is the existence of a "public sphere" i.e. the existence of active citizenship and in which the exchange of ideas takes place (Habermas, 1989). Although originally placed in the coffee houses of the late seventeenth century subsequent writers have sought to identify the existence of the public sphere earlier in time. Sharpe identifies it in the "Henrician reformation" of Henry VIII (Sharpe, 2009:30) while others place it later in time. He cites others who identify it in other periods, in the seventeenth century Civil War (Zaret, 2000), in the period 1500-1700 (Raymond, 2003:26), and in the 1530s through the 1630s in particular the reign of Elizabeth I (Lake and Pincus, 2006:273). Whatever the precise timing of its emergence the assumption of the existence of a public sphere during the period 1603 to 1625 is supported by the findings in the case study material. The existence of "alehouse, the fair, the marketplace and theatre" meant that there was a public sphere earlier than Habermas's coffee houses and there was an oral tradition which fed into print (Sharpe, 2009:32) - but also vice versa i.e. print fed into the oral tradition (Raymond, 2003:149) which is discussed below.

1.6.2 Within this public sphere the approach adopted adopts a symbolic interactionist view that "...the individual is continually interpreting the symbolic meaning of his or her environment (which includes the actions of others) and acts on the basis of this imputed meaning." (Bryman & Bell, 2003:18)

Given the importance that is attached to this approach some detailed amplification of the topic is required. Rose (1962) develops a series of assumptions that summarise it well –

1.6.3 Base elements

- a) *Assumption 1: Humans live in a symbolic environment as well as a physical environment.* Essential elements of this environment include symbols which are stimuli with a learned meaning and value. For the individual, meaning in this context is the way in which a term is used or exhibited in behaviour (in logic terms this can be seen as equivalent to “true”). Similarly, at the individual level, value can be viewed as an indicator of positive (attraction) or negative (repulsion) that is learned. However, humans are not solitary beings. Meanings and values are exchanged between individuals and central to this exchange is language. Over time by a process of consensual validation mutually shared meanings and values of objects and acts develop.
- b) *Assumption 2: Through symbols, humans have the capacity to stimulate other humans in ways other than those in which they themselves are stimulated.* Clearly communication has an important role to play. However, the uniqueness of the individual means that the response evoked by any communication will be different, if only in a minute manner. The recognition of this differential response means that role taking (empathy) is a key process. The ability to empathise with others impacts both the input and output in communication, see Assumption 3 below. For the purpose of this research the importance of symbols is judged by their impact. The significance of a symbol is determined by its importance in influencing the behaviour of others.
- c) *Assumption 3: Through communication of symbols, humans can learn huge numbers of meanings and values from other humans.* From this it follows that most adult behaviour is learned as is culture which is best viewed as an elaborate set of meanings and values – see *Assumption 1* above. Based on these assumptions it is possible to develop a general proposition that through the learning of a culture (subculture) humans are able to predict each other’s behaviour most of the time and gauge their own behaviour to the predicted behaviour of others. Thus expectations are implied by common meanings and values.

In this sense and in only this sense, society is more than a collection of individuals with a culture, which has been learned by symbolic communication from other individuals back through time, so that the members can gauge their behavior to each other and to the society as a whole.

Rose (1962:10)

This introduces a dynamic of the present that allows for culture and behaviour to be continually developing over time based on past, current and future (anticipated) meanings and values.

- d) *Assumption 4: Symbols do not occur only in isolation, but often in clusters, sometimes large and complex.* Not all symbols, either singly or in clusters, are of equal importance. Of particular importance to this research is the concept of “lead value meaning” i.e. a cluster of values and meanings that helps predict other values/meanings. Such clusters could be described as superordinate because of their importance in the stimuli and responses that they evoke. In this regard the cluster of values and meanings that guides and directs individual behaviour is particularly significant as it defines “role”. A further superordinate cluster is that of “structure” i.e. the cluster of values and meanings that govern a given social setting. In essence this defines the social context within which roles are acted out.

A further general proposition that can be developed from this is that the individual defines (has meaning for) themselves as well as other objects, actions, and characteristics. Such a proposition thus introduces and emphasises the importance of the concepts of “self“(me) and “self conception” (what I think about me) which is of particular importance in a term like British or any other nationality.

- e) *Assumption 5: Thinking is the process by which possible symbolic solutions and other future courses of actions are examined, assessed for their relative advantages and disadvantages in terms of the values of the individual, and one of them chosen for action:*

The individual imagines the past symbolically – not only his own past experience but the past experience of anyone he knows about, including people who lived thousands of years ago. Present and future courses of action may be selected in terms of what the individual knows, or thinks he knows, about the past.

Rose (1962:13)

Such is the nature of this research into brands that it is important to clearly identify and articulate these assumptions and propositions. However, they relate to the individual and there are a number of higher level “genetic” assumptions that are essential to understanding the nature of this research.

1.6.4 Genetic (genealogical) elements

- a) *Assumption 1: Society, which is a network of interacting individuals with its culture (the related meaning and values by which they interact), precedes any existing individual.*

This should not be seen this as cultural determinism, the existence of non-cultural interactions is permitted and acknowledged. Also, cultural expectations relate to a range of behaviours rather than specific behaviours, to roles rather than specific individuals and can develop diversity as well as conformity. Furthermore cultural meanings relate to possibilities not instructions for behaviour. Of particular significance to this research is that culture is often internally inconsistent:

...whenever the individual is 'blocked' in carrying on behavior expected within the society, he has some way of innovating – within the limits of cultural tolerance – to devise new behaviour patterns that will take him around the block.

Rose (1962:14)

- b) *Assumption 2: The process by which socialization takes place occurs in stages. The first stage is habituation which is analogous to infant conditioning i.e. trial and error. Over time the infant begins to develop symbols e.g. through blockages to behaviour. As the child develops it can imagine the end result if there was no blockage. It obtains social definition to initially random gestures such as the response to waving. "once the infant understands the meaning of its gesture... through a combination of his imagining the completion of his act and of others' defining by their behaviour the completion of the act for him, that gesture has become a symbol for him" (Rose, 1962:15). As a number of meanings are acquired they are used to designate what is in the mind to self and others.*
- c) *Assumption 3: Old groups and cultural expectations may be dropped, i.e. slide down the scale of importance, but they are not forgotten. There is an integration of newly acquired meanings with existing ones, "a continuing modification". The relation of experience and behaviour is highly complex but in the social context you can never have a control group in the experimental sense. A group composed of individuals learning by means of symbols has a culture with a history. Each individual's behaviour is a function of their cultural and sub-cultural experience. In particular "... a person can never 'unlearn' something ...and because the conception of self is the most important meaning for man's behaviour, a conception of self once learned affects an individual's behaviour throughout his life" (Rose, 1962:18). In this research the role of ancient Britain, England and Scotland and James' brand Great Britain/British is particularly relevant with respect to this assumption.*

1.6.5 Social Interactionism:

Building on the base provided by Rose's work this section concludes with a discussion of its practical application i.e. social interactionism. Blumer, credited by Hammersley (1989:2) with inventing the term "symbolic interactionism" in 1937, later applied the term to society as a concept, an application that is apposite to this research. His starting point is to distinguish between an "object" upon which meaning is conferred by an individual and a stimulus which has an intrinsic character identifiable apart from the individual. This drives four base elements:-

- Symbolic interaction refers to the interaction between human beings.
- Human beings interpret (define) each other's actions – they do not merely react.
- Response is based on the meaning that the human attaches to actions
- Interaction is mediated by symbols

A human being has a self (Paragraph 1.6.3) i.e. it can be the object of its own actions. The ability to act toward one's self is the central mechanism by which humans deal with the world. Anything of which a human is conscious is indicated – however if it is not conscious it cannot be indicated. To "indicate" is to make something an "object" i.e. to extricate it from its setting. An object has no intrinsic characteristic – its meaning is conferred by the individual. "The object is a product of the individual's disposition to act instead of being an antecedent stimulus which evokes the act." Blumer (1962:182)

Self indication is where:

The human individual pieces together and guides his action by taking account of different things and interpreting their significance for his prospective action. There is no instance of conscious action of which this is not true...[thus behaviour] is not a result of such things as environmental pressures, stimuli, motive, attitudes, and ideas but arises instead from how he interprets and handles these things in the action which he is constructing. The process of self indication by means of which human action is formed cannot be accounted for by actors which precede the act. The process of self-indication exists in its own right and must be accepted and studied as such. It is through this process that the human being constructs his conscious action."

Blumer (1962:182 -183)

As self-indication takes place in a social context - "...group action takes the form of a fitting together of individual lines of action" Blumer (1962:184). Individuals align their actions to those of others by taking their roles (empathising) or more accurately the role of the group. This is based on their interpretation or anticipation of the actions of other Blumer (1962:182-184). Blumer also contrasts symbolic interaction with sociological thought based on a view of humans as organisms upon which forces play i.e. stimulus - response. The latter sees

social action coming from some unit of society whereas for the former it is based on the actions of individuals who fit their respective actions together through a process of interpretation. This fitting together forms a central plank of this research particularly with regard to brand development. As the case study shows James VI and I attempted to introduce a specific idea, union, based on the brand Great Britain and British, that was not interpreted in the way in which he intended (or was largely ignored) i.e. it did not fit. The concept of an acting unit which can be an individual or any group of individuals that take action is particularly significant for this research:-

- Any particular action is formed in the light of the situation in which it takes place
- The action is formed or constructed by interpreting the situation.

Usually most situations encountered by people in a given society are structured by them in some way. They develop common understandings or definitions through previous interactions. Such common definitions enable people to act alike which makes simple actions relatively straightforward in such a context:-

Since ready made and commonly accepted definitions are at hand, little strain is placed on people in guiding and organizing their acts. However, many other situations may not be defined in a single way by the participating people. In this event, their lines of action do not fit together readily and collective action is blocked. Interpretations have to be developed and effective accommodation of the participants to one another has to be worked out. In the case of such 'undefined' situations it is necessary to trace and study the emerging process of definition which is brought into play.

Blumer (1962:188)

The development and promotion of a common understanding and acceptance of the values of Great Britain and of being British was essential for the success of James' brand and is examined in detail in Chapters 6 and 7. In order to do this one must understand the role of the acting unit being studied. Acting units act towards situations. Social organisation is only important insofar as it shapes the situation, particularly when it provides a fixed set of symbols. "Acting units take into account the actions of other acting units. In modern societies it is common for situations to arise in which the actions of participants is not regularized and standardized - existing social organization does not shape the situations" (Blumer, 1962:190). Organisation in society is the framework inside which social action takes place and is the product of acting units. Organisation is not the determinant of the social action. In this case the definition and role of the acting units such as the Church, the Courts and the Monarchy and their symbols are considered and their impact on the unity desired by James is evaluated (Chapter 7).

1.6.6 Ontology

Consistent with the epistemology set out above the objectivist position that social phenomena have an existence independent of social actors is antithetical to this research. The constructionist view that there are no pre-existing objective realities in the areas under discussion forms a tenet of the research. As Potter puts it:-

Reality enters into human practices by way of the categories and descriptions that are part of those practices. The world is not ready (sic) categorized by God or nature in ways that we are all forced to accept. It is *constituted* in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it. Italics in the original.

Potter (1996:98)

Following Potter's critique of constructivism this research focuses on (a) Discourse, "talk and texts as parts of social practices" (Potter, 1996:104); and extends beyond linguistic or conversational analysis approaches to fact construction: and (b) Rhetoric identified as an essential element of interaction and achieving understanding (Billig, 1987).

Adoption of this approach has implications for the role of description in this research – these are dealt with below (Paragraph 1.6.7). However, the nature of the areas covered by it is well summarised by Potter as follows:-

We can imagine the words and syntactical possibilities as the bricks and girders that are needed for any building. Post-structural discourse and codes can be thought of as prefabricated wall and ceiling sections that can be used as parts of very different buildings. The devices and procedures that are grist to the mill of conversation analysis make up the bolts and cement that hold the structure together. Nothing works without the stuff revealed by conversation analysis, but a study of fact construction will be limited without a close examination of bricks and prefabricated parts. ...

Its [the metaphor's] main shortcoming is that it treats the parts as solid prior to the building. What we actually need to imagine is that the bricks are soft and vague in outline, so that they only snap into shape as they are cemented into place. And the prefabricated sections must themselves be somewhat inchoate, with their solidity emerging as they are bolted together. Everything exists in a fuzzy and fluid state until crystallized in particular texts or particular interactions.

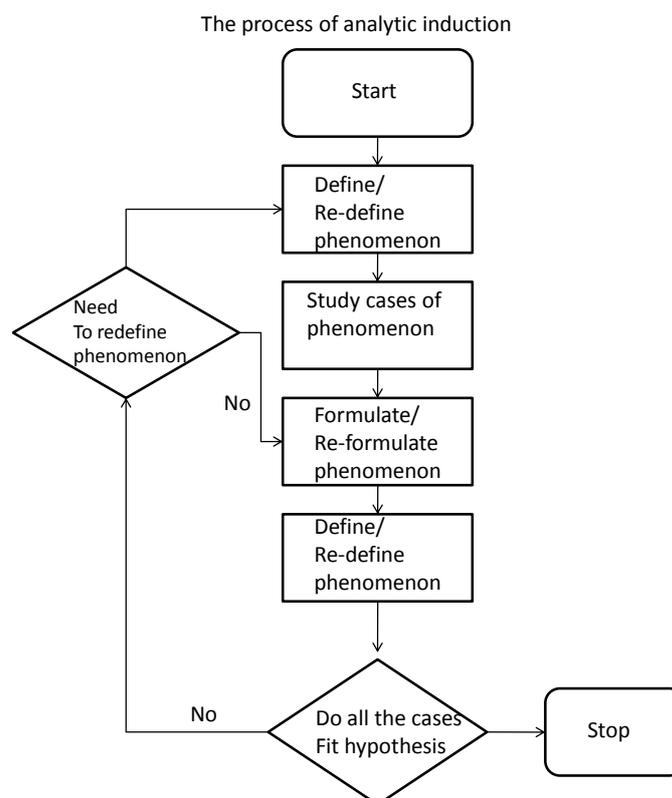
Potter (1996:102-3)

As is discussed below in the case study, branding and brand management in particular, does not cope well with such fuzziness and the extent to which solidity of the particular brand is achieved is discussed in the case study (Chapters 6 to 8).

1.6.7 Strategy

The subject matter of the research, brands and branding, is examined in the context of the assumptions and propositions set out above. The techniques used to examine that context are eclectic. Moisander and Valtonen (2006) use the term ACP, “analytics of cultural practice” for such an approach. Following their approach the research is not concerned with the production of causal generalisations and mechanisms. Rather, its aim is to provide a highly detailed description of the research situation and methods: not so much to generalise results but to adapt concepts and ideas to the specific context under consideration (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006:30). The specific subject matter of the research is complex, fuzzy and uncertain, making the application of scientific analysis unrealistic. However the concept of testing, in the sense of critically analysing, a hypothesis is considered to be useful. The generation of a hypothesis can provide a frame within which ideas can be examined and discussed. In essence it can provide focus for the study.

The research is qualitative but, consistent with an eclectic approach applies elements of both inductive and deductive methods with interpretivist and constructivist orientations. It is believed that the “naturalistic research” of Blumer supports this approach. In particular the model of “analytic induction” as defined by Hammersley is considered to be useful:-



Hammersley (1989:170)

Having examined the intellectual background the research now turns to the specific case. It can be argued that everything can be branded (Keller et al, 2008:10-25), the concept of branding a nation is well established, see Dinnie (2008). From this starting point the specifics of this research are set out in the following Chapters.

1.7 Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2 - Branding as Social interaction

Sets out the parameters of the research with regard to alternative theoretical approaches to brands and branding from a traditional (uni-directional/brand management) approach and an alternative (social interactionist) approach. The relative merits of each approach are discussed and initial links to the specific case are made.

Chapter 3 - Great Britain/British as a Brand

Examines the development of the term Great Britain/British as a brand over the long term and reflects on its variable acceptance and impact at different times. The relationship with the, potentially competitor, brand England/English is discussed.

Chapter 4 - Case Study Research

Provides the theory underpinning approaches to case study research in general and relates it to the specific case to be considered.

Chapter 5 - The story from the beginning: James VI and I and the beginnings of the brand Great Britain/British

Reviews the accession to the English throne of James VI of Scotland with regard to the circumstances that he inherited and how he approached them including, inter alia, the preconceptions that he brought to his new position. The specifics of the introduction of Great Britain/British and the events surrounding it are analysed from a brand perspective.

Chapter 6 - The Documentary Record and the Gentry

A content analysis of official publications from the period 1603 to 1625 in terms of texts and symbols is provided. The role of the documents analysed is considered both from their inherent content and as an input to the Gentry as part of Word of Mouth communication within that group and more generally in society.

Chapter 7 - Identity and Influencers: The promotional media – The Institutions of State, Symbols

Examines the role of the people and institutions of state as acting units and their role as promotional media for Great Britain/British in a society in which the majority of the population had limited literacy. Specifically this chapter considers two major institutions, The Church of England and the Courts, and two symbols, coins and flags.

Chapter 8 - Identity and Influencers: The promotional media – The Theatre and Printed Media

Similar to Chapter 7 this analyses acting units as promotional media for Great Britain/British but focuses on the Theatre and Printed Media

Chapter 9 - The Introduction of the brand Great Britain/British - Success or Failure

In essence the conclusion, this chapter synthesises the case study and the brand insights to assess the success, or failure, of Great Britain/British in the period 1603 to 1625. It also provides an assessment of the limitations of the research and reflects on its contribution to business and historical knowledge.

Chapter 2 - Branding as Social Interaction

2 Introduction

2.1 This chapter examines “conventional” literature relating to brands and branding. It establishes that much of the literature is firmly rooted in a positivist tradition viewing humans as reactors to stimuli. By adopting a social interactionist perspective, as set out in Paragraph 1.3.5, it challenges the conventional view and argues that brands should be regarded as social phenomena developed by “markets” rather than by firms as implied by traditional literature and argues that markets “Consume advertising too” and hence “...branding is not something done to consumers but rather something they do things with” (Meadows, 1983).

2.2 A “Conventional” View of Brands and Branding

2.2.1 de Chernatony et al postulate that “A brand represents the matching of functional and emotional values devised by a firm with the performance and psychosocial benefits sought by consumers....The closer the match between the values of the brand and consumers' rational and emotional needs, the more successful the brand” (de Chernatony et al, 1998a:436). In this paradigm the matching (branding) is done by the firm: a brand is something that is brought to the market and controlled by a firm. Low & Fullerton (1994) discuss the historical evolution of “brand management” and identify four distinct but overlapping eras in the USA:-
1870 to early 1900s - owner entrepreneurs and high level managers “created the first large wave of successfully nationally branded consumer products” supported by the emergence of advertising and production techniques.

1915-1929 - establishment of market leadership of manufacturer-branded products controlled by specialist mid level managers.

1930 -1949 - Formal brand managers were introduced.

1950 – 1990 - The era of brand managers.

A fifth era was later added to this by de Chernatony and Cottam:-

1990 - team approach. The CEO/MD is the “brand decider” supported by a team of internal and external influencers (de Chernatony and Cottam, 2006).

Central to all of the above, even in the team approach, seems to be the notion that brands are consciously created and can be managed (controlled); a notion that this research argues permeates much of the literature in this area and which is challenged by reference in the case study to James in the role of brand manager.

It should however be stressed that the research does not question the importance of brands and branding. As the following table shows these are extremely important economic actors.

Table 2.1 Top Ten Brands by Revenue 2010

| | | \$m |
|----|-----------------|--------------|
| 1 | Coca-Cola | 70,452 |
| 2 | IBM | 64,727 |
| 3 | Microsoft | 60,895 |
| 4 | Google | 43,557 |
| 5 | GE | 42,808 |
| 6 | McDonald's | 33,578 |
| 7 | Intel | 32,015 |
| 8 | Nokia | 29,495 |
| 9 | Disney | 28,731 |
| 10 | Hewlett-Packard | 26,867 |
| | Total | 433,125(\$m) |

Source: Interbrand 2010

By way of comparison Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the United Kingdom in 2009 was £1,393,707 million (Dye and Sosimi ,2010:24) at an exchange rate of £1= \$1.59 this totals \$2,215,994 million i.e. these brands have a revenue equivalent to 20% of the entire GDP of the United Kingdom.

2.2.2 Kotler & Keller identify the activity of branding in the following terms:-

Branding is endowing products and services with the power of a brand. Branding is all about creating differences. To brand a product it is necessary to *teach* consumers ... Branding involves creating mental structures and helping consumers organize their knowledge about products and services in a way that clarifies their decision making and, in the process, provides value to the firm. My italics

Kotler & Keller (2006:275)

Teaching consumers smacks of managing markets and appears to conflict with notions of consumer sovereignty. It assumes a unidirectional mechanism for brand creation. In other words it appears to assume that firms propose brands and consumers accept (or reject) them. An alternative point of view is that consumers create the values associated with the brand and firms influence rather than control those values. This research argues that there are two fundamentally different models of the concept of a brand. The first, associated with the above, is that firms are in control of their brand. They consciously develop it and its values, bring them to market and manage them over their life. The term “unidirectional” is used to summarise this view. The alternative view, which is termed “interactionist”, is that the brand is “owned by buyers and other stakeholders” and branding is a “trust building” process (Ind, 2003:3-4). Societal issues emerge in specific times and places, specific contexts and from them market identifies certain product (in the widest sense) benefit(s) that address the issue(s) and by interacting with it (them), creates a brand. In this model firms pick up on the brand values and attempt to influence the market in order to maximise the return they obtain from their communication of the relationship of the original product to the societal issue. It is the societal issue that creates the brand and its values - the brand does not create the societal issue.

In this regard a brand can be viewed as a complex adaptive system that:-

... consists of a large number of agents, each of which behave according to its own principles of local interaction. No individual agent, or group of agents, determines the pattern of behaviour that the system as a whole displays, or how the patterns evolve, and neither does anything outside the system.

Stacey et al (2000:106)

Branding can be an example of Transformative Teleology in which movement of “... [the brand] expresses the identity and difference of individuals and collectives at the same time” (Op cit:119). The characteristics of Transformative Teleology in which networks “are in perpetual construction moving towards an unpredictable future” can help explain the emergence of the brand British and are consistent with the social interactionist perspective set out in Chapter 1 above (Paragraph 1.6.5).

2.2.3 Unidirectional brand management

The classic definition of marketing is that of the American Marketing Association (AMA, 2004):-

Marketing is an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders.

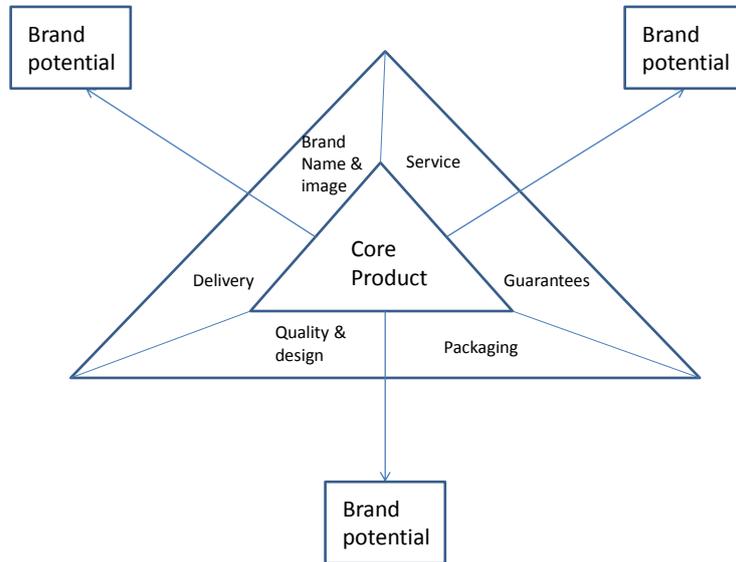
Keefe (2004)

But, as the debate which surrounds this definition shows, there is no universally agreed definition of marketing (Gundlach, 2007). However, as Ringold and Weitz's "Overview of Marketing Definitions Throughout the Years" shows the development of these propositions are based on the classical view that marketing is an activity initiated by an organisation at or for a market, where a market is a collection of individuals or entities (Ringold and Weitz, 2007:255-258). That said, the process of identification of customer requirements, and meeting them is a basic, unchallengeable tenet of marketing which is not disputed here. The tasks of segmentation, targeting and positioning all portray firms as taking the lead and acting upon consumers. To repeat, the utility of this model is not disputed in so far as it relates to identification of wants and needs in order to develop a product or service, or even a brand proposition. However, a brand is more than an augmented product, it has other attributes such as emotional attachment (Paragraph 2.2.8).

The unidirectional approach to branding implies that it is possible for firms to create an emotional attachment in the same way as it is possible to create a product/service that satisfies a specific want. Is such a thing possible? It stems from a view of the consumer (market) as a receptor, a systems model where the consumer receives an input from the firm, interprets it and forms an attachment. (Paragraph 2.2.6) This implies a particular view of consumer and social behaviour which is challenged in Section 2.3 and runs counter to the societal processes discussed in Chapter 1.

2.2.4 At the product level "The core element of the marketing mix is the company's product because this provides the functional requirements sought by the customer. Marketing managers develop their products into brands that help create a unique position in the minds of customers." (Jobber, 2004:260). As the following diagram shows a brand is created by augmenting the core product:-

Brand Augmentation of the Core Product



Source: Jobber (2004:267)

2.2.5 While the concept of the corporate brand is the same as the concept of the product or service brand its enactment is different and coherent delivery policy is required (de Chernatony, 2002). The starting point for this is a distinctive name “possibly endorsed by the corporate reputation or sign of ownership...” (de Chernatony et al, 1998:5) supported by the following:-

| Tangible & Visual Elements | Intangible Elements |
|---|--|
| Symbols and slogans | Identity and Corporate Brand |
| Name, logo, colours, brand mark, graphics and physical design | Integrated communication |
| Product delivery | Customer relationship |
| Functionality | Positioning |
| Legal protection | User identification, opportunity to share a dream |
| Presence and performance | Symbolic value, service, sign of ownership, shorthand note |
| Advertising message | Representation, social and personal values |
| Differentiation | Relevance, advantage, bond |
| | Personality, culture, reflection, self image |

de Chernatony et al (1998:3)

As discussed in Chapter 5 the distinctive name for the brand chosen by James for his dual monarchy was Great Britain/British. “Power and authority, the legitimation of monarch and dynasty, depended on representations [the promotional message]...” (Sharpe, 2009:15) and as

the discussion that follows in the case study shows James, in terms of the models above, appears to attempt to use Great Britain/British to enhance his power and authority. James' consolidation of his accession to the English throne, as his speech to House of Commons indicates, was important to him and he saw cementing the union as key to his achieving this.

To state the obvious, any successor [to Elizabeth1] faced the difficulty of acceding to a monarchy which had been so relentlessly branded Tudor and then Elizabethan: a difficulty which anyone involved in modern campaigns of commercial – or political – re-branding will not be inclined to underestimate.

Sharpe (2010:3)

In applying these models to this research the brand name is Great Britain/British, and the dual monarchy of England and Scotland as embodied in James himself is equivalent to the company/corporation. The two are intimately linked, as James put it to the English Parliament on 2 May 1607:-

...The Union is perfect in me; that is, it is an Union in my Blood and Title; yet but in embroine perfect....

I remember, at the Beginning, when I first craved an Union, my Desire was to have a perfect Union: ...I thought I had expressed it sufficiently before. But do they ask, What Gain? Is it not Gain, to add a Nation to this; to make it One great and glorious Empire; to have that People to join their Arms and Strength with you upon all Occasions ; to make of half a Land One intire ; to add to the Splendor of the King's Court; ...

House of Commons Journal May (1607)

In addition to the name the desired functional capabilities of the brand are evident and are articulated in the core values of Great Britain/British set out in the Dean of Sarum's 1604 sermon "A Sermon of the Union of Great Britannie" (Gordon, 1604:1). The role of the brand was to create an emotional attachment that would reinforce loyalty to Great Britain and hence to James as its embodiment; and by so doing maintain and legitimise James in his position as monarch in Scotland, and more importantly, England. It is clear that in the Dean's (and James') view the unity of Great Britain and British was central to this (Paragraph 5.2.7.). However, this is at a macro level and as with any brand its impact will vary across different groups under the influence of relevant acting units such as the church, the ruling elite, and the printed media. These key acting units are discussed below and the impact each of them on the brand Great Britain/ British is the subject of detailed analysis in Chapters 6 to 8.

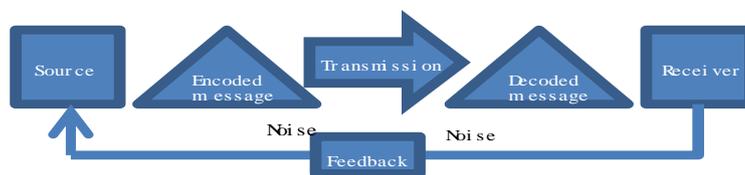
2.2.6 Central to much of the work on brands is the search for differentiation in order to gain competitive advantage. As Ries & Trout somewhat crudely put it "...positioning is not what you do to a product. Positioning is what you do to the mind of the prospect." (Ries & Trout, 1982:2). At the level of the individual purchase and the individual consumer this

research does not challenge this view. It is at the aggregate, i.e. market level that problems are perceived with this approach. Take for example the following :- “Positioning is the act of designing the company’s offering and image to occupy a distinctive place in the mind of the target market. The goal is to locate the brand in the minds of consumers to maximize the potential benefits to the firm.” (Kotler and Keller, 2006:310). The result of this is the creation of a “customer focused value proposition”.

Clearly this is based on a view that brands are the subject of a purposive controlled process that has a large promotional element. The theoretical underpinning for much of this is derived from communications theory in general and promotional (advertising) theory in particular.

The basic communications model is:-

Simple Communications Model

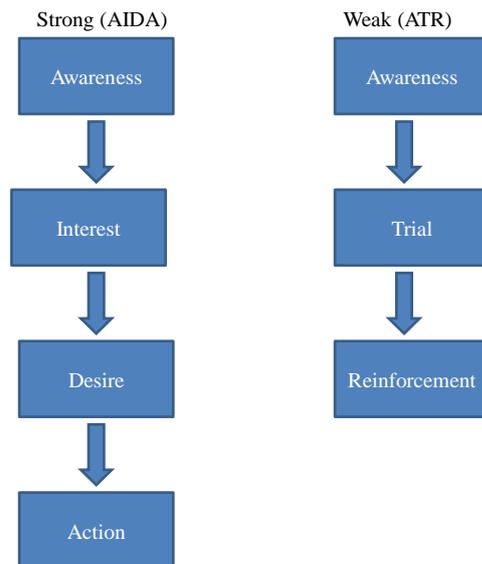


Jobber (2004:42)

This simple model demonstrates how an individual or organisation produces a message and conveys it to a recipient. In this research the source is James VI and I and the recipients are individuals and groups within England and Scotland. The simple encoded message is that Great Britain and British is a source of Union/Unity under a single monarch. How was it transmitted? What was the decoded message that was received? In this regard a sub-set of promotional theory and advertising theory, provide useful sources of insight. There are two basic, competing views on how advertising works strong and weak - the former Awareness, Interest, Desire, Action (AIDA) largely USA supported and the latter Awareness, Trial,

Reinforcement (ATR) European supported illustrated thus:-

Strong and Weak theories of Advertising



Jobber (2004:421)

The respective merits of these models are, for this research, not relevant as it is the movement from awareness to support for the term Great Britain/British as a distinctive name, be it Action or Reinforcement, which is the core issue. Indeed it may be that by 1625, as is discussed below in Chapter 9, awareness of the brand British was limited or indeed that awareness itself was not sufficient to trigger either of the subsequent stages of these models. The application of these models implies that James VI and I could simply introduce the brand and, given his view of the power of the monarch, impose it and its values (Paragraph 5.1.2).

2.2.7 Is it realistic to assume that brands are only created by companies or can brands develop on their own (can they have an exogenous life of their own or do they simply have endogenous life which is under control or which firms, at the very least, sustain)? Holt's work on cultural branding suggests that brands do indeed have such an exogenous existence that would fit with the assumptions discussed in Chapter 1. However, even this model, as the following table shows, seems to encapsulate the problem with brands and branding as they are portrayed in current business literature.

Cultural Branding

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Key Words | Cultural icons, Iconic brands |
| Brand Definition | Performer of, and container for, an identity myth |
| Branding Definition | Performing myths |
| Required for a Successful Brand | Performing a myth that addresses an acute contradiction in society |
| Most Appropriate Applications | Identity categories |
| Company's Role | Author |
| Source of Customer Value | Buttressing Identity |
| Consumers' Role | Personalizing the brand's myth to fit individual biography Ritual action to experience the myth when using product |

Adapted from Holt (2004:14)

The company's (James') role, the source of customer (citizen) value and the consumers' (citizens') role all indicate a unidirectional flow from the company to the customer. Despite this the concept of cultural branding as elaborated by Holt is, subject to some modification, a useful one. The customer does have a role in developing and personalising the brand values; but if this personalisation fundamentally alters the original text of the author, then a recursion takes place and the consumer becomes the author and the company becomes an embellisher i.e. it adapts its offer to fit with the values attributed to it by consumers. Hence the substitution of the term "embellisher" for "author" opens up the potential for a different view of branding which is considered in Section 2.3 below. In terms of the specifics of the case, a high level summary application of the table above gives the following:-

| Cultural Branding | | Case Study |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Key Words | Cultural Icons, Iconic Brands | King, Monarchy, Royalty |
| Brand Definition | Performer of, and container for, an identity myth | British, Great Britain, Britain, United Kingdom |
| Branding Definition | Performing myths | Unity based on ancient history |
| Required for a Successful Brand | Performing a myth that addresses an acute contradiction in society | Removing the contradictions of dual monarchy by institutions and symbols – e.g. Church, Courts, Coins, Flags |
| Most Appropriate Applications | Identity categories | Nationality, English, Scots. Religion |
| Company's Role | Embellisher | Divinely appointed messenger |
| Source of Customer Value | Buttressing Identity | Being British |
| Consumers' Role | Personalizing the brand's myth to fit individual biography Ritual action to experience the myth when using product | Adoption of the term as an identifier of self as part of daily life |

The fulfilment of these criteria is considered in the conclusions of the research.

2.2.8 Brands are seen to be more than products. Their hold over the consumer, indeed society, is perceived to be strong. They are qualitatively different from products.

They can compress and express simple, complex, subtle emotions. They can make those emotions immediately accessible, in many cases overriding mountainous barriers like ethnicity, religion and language. They have an immense emotional content and inspire loyalty beyond reason.

Olins (2003:18)

Olins' view of the power of brands is accepted as is the view that such power is derived from the consumer. What is not accepted is that the relationship between the two is created or managed by the firm, the brand manager.

2.2.9 An extreme view of brands as social directors is illustrated by the following:-

The achievements of these branded household product companies were quite remarkable. Quite unlike the patent medicine people from whom they derived their marketing and promotional ideas the fmcg [fast moving consumer goods] companies produced imaginative, innovative products of high and consistent quality. Underneath their self-congratulatory hype they really did manage to change deep-rooted social habits and customs inside a generation or two. The products of Unilever and its major competitors transformed and eased the lives of housewives all over the world. The new consumer products made life at a practical level much more pleasant. People washed themselves more thoroughly and more often. They also washed their clothes more frequently. They ate a more varied diet. We now live longer, smell better, have better teeth and digestion thanks largely to these huge companies who seized the promotional techniques that were invented by patent medicine companies and used them to market a wide range of what came to be known as brands. And they did this largely through unprecedented, unceasing promotion and widespread distribution.

Olins (2003:55)

In this conception it was the brands that created the change. An alternative driver could be social changes such as changes in household behaviour and that of women in particular between 1870 and 1945 (Mokyr, 2000). When allied to improving economic and social conditions this allowed firms to build on social change by developing products, and subsequently brands, that exploited the opportunity. Between 1870 and 1965, approximately the period covered by Olins, GDP per head in the UK grew by from \$96,651 to \$525,437 while that in the USA grew from \$98,418 to \$2,587,360 (Economic And Social Data Service, 2005). It could be argued that such socio economic factors were significantly more important in driving the changes referred to than fmcg brands. The application of product management techniques to brands can lead to confusion over the nature and source of the power of the brand, where products and brands are often treated as equivalent - (Gobé, 2001) (Paragraph 2.2.10). As Anholt states when referring specifically to nations “Many governments, consultants and scholars persist in the naive and superficial interpretation of ‘place branding’ that is nothing more than product promotion, where the product happens to be a country rather than a running shoe” (Anholt, 2008:22). Further, in some situations, a brand develops a meaning antithetical to the interests of and out of the control of the firm, for example the association of high quality knitwear such as Pringle with football hooliganism in the 1980s (Gough, 2007:17). The myth of the brand develops and impacts the environment in which the brand exists and grows. The research returns to the role of such “myth” below. It should, however, be borne in mind that brands do not exist in isolation one from another. In the unidirectional world the phenomenon of co-branding the “alliance between brands that is made clear to consumers” exists (Riezbos, 2003: 96). Of particular significance to this research is that:-

In co-branding, both brands can transfer (cognitive) associations to one another (image transfer). Regarding emotional aspects, one might say that a brand with a moderate reputation may adopt value from a brand with a higher reputation ...

Riezbos (2003: 97)

Once again this is portrayed as the decision of firms to form alliances which will add value for them and is under their control. However it does introduce the concept of multiple brands and the relationship between them. This is significant not simply with regard to co-branding but with regard to the ability of consumers to maintain multiple, and sometimes conflicting, brand loyalties simultaneously; for example Intel's relationship with multiple computer manufacturers (Keller et al, 2008:311) or credit card companies, such as Mastercard, alliances with sports clubs:-

This is pride.
Your club. Your card.



Arsenal (2009)

Of particular relevance here is the transference of the association an emotional attribute “pride” from the football club to a financial product – a card. In the case considered here it can be argued that James attempted to transfer the value of ancient Britain to his new Great Britain (Paragraph 5.1.5). The key attribute of the brand is this emotional attachment and by successfully achieving this attachment James would make it easier to sell the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in his sovereign person.

2.2.10 As can be seen from Holt's table above (Paragraph 2.2.7) there have been attempts to portray branding in a different light by focussing on the emotional aspects. A case in point is that of Gobé who develops what he calls a new paradigm of emotional branding. He sets out a number of tools for “establishing the real emotional meaning of brands...” (Gobé, 2001:271):

1. An interactive tool to clarify a brand's positioning
2. A visual territory development tool
3. An assessment tool to explore the many facets of a brand's personality in the market place

All of this is focussed on the customer and is customer driven using terms such as “dialogue”, “audience receptivity” (op cit: 280). However it is a response that is under the control of the firm with a “brand cycle” that includes “brand creation” (op cit:273). Indeed in introducing the topic he states:-

Over three thousand new brands are introduced each year, not including e-brands... In this ocean of offerings, all competing for the same consumer dollar, the emotional connection is what makes the all important, essential difference. The emotional

element is what gives a brand both the foundation and fuel for future business strategies – consumer driven strategies.

Gobé (2001: pxxvi)

Whether or not these are brands or products is a moot point, however, so far as Gobé is concerned the brand is the basis of a business strategy and is still the creation of, and under the control of, the firm. It may be a response to the firm’s perceptions of customer requirements but it is the firm’s response nevertheless. It remains therefore essentially unidirectional as it is defined above. Indeed there seems to be an implication that the firm can, at the very least, exert a significant if not controlling influence over the emotions of the consumer in the aggregate i.e. the market by a management processes such as:-

Strategic Brand Management Process

| STEPS | KEY CONCEPTS |
|--|---|
| Identify and Establish Brand Positioning and Values | Mental Maps Competitive frame of reference Points of parity and points of difference Core Brand Associations Brand mantra |
| Plan and implement Brand Marketing Programs | Mixing and matching brand elements Integrating brand marketing activities Leveraging secondary association |
| Measure and interpret Brand Performance | Brand Value Chain Brand Audits Brand Tracking management system |
| Grow and sustain Brand Equity | Brand product matrix Brand portfolio and hierarchies Brand expansion strategies Brand reinforcement and revitalization |

Keller et al (2008:39)

If the first step, particularly Establishing Values, in the application of such a process implies creation or imposition, then it runs counter to the epistemological and ontological premises regarding individual and social learning set out in detail in Chapter 1. However, de Chernatony sets out an alternative procedure for branding a nation by “identifying key stakeholders “and consulting with them until “a consensus is reached, in broad terms” de (Chernatony, 2008:16) which has resonance for this research particularly the events discussed in Chapter 5.

2.2.11 Perhaps the simplest statement of the unidirectional view of a brand is contained in the title of Aaker’s paper “Should You Take Your Brand to Where the Action Is?” which clearly states that it is the firm’s choice where a brand should be positioned and, by extension, exist (Aaker, 1999). Such a view would be entirely consistent with James’ view of the absolute power of the monarchy expressed in Basilikon Doron (James I, 1603).

However, as the case study below illustrates the practice appears to be more complicated for brand managers and monarchs alike.

2.3 Branding as social interaction

2.3.1 An application of cultural branding

The role of semiology/semiotics as it relates to this case is dealt with in Paragraph 3.6 below. However, at this point some clarification of the meaning that has been attached to “myth” is required. This research draws on the work of Barthes, in particular his *Mythologies* (Barthes, 1972). Simply put myths take a fictional or historical idea and translate it into something that is timeless, a natural fact. In this conception a culture presents artificial and manufactured and ideological objects and values as if they were indisputable, unquestionable and natural (Allen, 2003:34). Barthes was aware of the applicability of his theories to branding, this is clearly demonstrated by his discussion in which soap powders (chemical compounds) are presented as liberators and warriors against dirt (Barthes, 1972:97-99). However more germane to this research is his discussion on the relationship between France and wine in which the drinking of wine is so quintessentially French that the myth is that the act defines France, French and Frenchness (op cit: 58-61). The importance of this type of myth and pseudohistory for James and British is explored in the case study in particular his attempts to link Great Britain to the ancient Britons and their heritage as a source of unity (Paragraph 5.1.5).

2.3.2 Goodyear (1996) identifies five types of brand:-

- Reference - a name of consistency of quality
- Personality - emotional benefits rather than rationality
- Icons – owned by consumers to create self identity
- Company –complex identity based on image
- Policy – aligned with social and political issues

Three of these are of particular relevance to this research - personality, icons and policy. Policy has been discussed above (Paragraph 2.2.5) and brands as icons are considered in detail below. With regard to personality, brands are complex entities that reside in consumers’ minds (de Chernatony and MacDonald , 2003: 20 et seq.); and “...brands are often not about physical attributes but a set of values, a philosophy that can be matched with the consumer’s own values and philosophy” (Brassington and Pettit , 2003:279). Brands have value, both functional and emotional

A functional value is a value relating to the way something works or operates and can be evaluated through rational deduction. An emotional value is a value relating to a person’s emotions and derived from a person’s circumstances,

mood or relationships with others, and being instinctive or intuitive or based on feelings, as distinguished from reasoning or knowledge.

White and de Chernatony (2001:3)

In addition, as is discussed in Chapter 3, “Brands have become a powerful social force, building up a near unassailable position in people’s hearts and minds through ideologies which are impossible to challenge, given the vast huge sums invested on promoting them...” (Bunting, 2001). In the commercial environment brand development (branding) is driven by the commercial corporation’s desire to “... develop their products into brands that help create a unique position in the minds of customers” (Jobber, 2004:260). In the political sphere brands and branding may have a slightly different role (Reeves and de Chernatony, 2003), but in essence the aim of the activity is to appeal to the emotional and, in addition, to the rational benefit derived from the brand. However, given the nature of elements such as, hearts, minds and ideologies, a brand does not necessarily have to have a physical existence it could exhibit the intangibility characteristic of a service (Lovelock & Wirtz, 2011:117) as applied by de Chernatony above (Paragraph 2.2.5). In essence you cannot touch or drop it on your foot but it does exist. Such intangibility applies to Great Britain and its core value of unity is examined in detail in the case study.

2.3.3 Holt’s work on cultural branding, (Holt, 2004) modified as suggested in Paragraph 2.2.7 provides some insight to the factors involved. Central to his argument is the role of brands as icons which “... serve as a society’s foundational compass point – anchors of meaning continually referenced in entertainment, journalism, politics, and advertising.” (Holt, 2004:1). Such icons drive successful brands that draw their power from the “identity myths” that underpin them. These underpinning myths are in turn grounded in experience of the “populist worlds” in which people live. They provide a means by which people, individually and collectively, can cope with their daily lives. The power of brands is derived not from individual experience but from collective experience. Because of this collective importance they create communities which are built on identity myths. He identifies seven axioms of cultural branding which can be summarised as follows:-

- a) Iconic brands address acute contradictions in society – Budweiser in Regan’s America targeted at the tension between ideas of manhood and economic realities.
- b) Iconic brands perform identity myths that address desires and anxieties – Volkswagen’s old African American escaping from an old people’s home.
- c) Identity myths reside in the brand, which consumers experience and share via ritual action

Customers use iconic brands as salves. They grab hold of the myth as they use the product as a means to loosen their identity burdens. Great myths provide their consumers with little epiphanies – moments of recognition that put images, sounds, and feelings on barely perceptible desires. Customers who make use of the brand’s myth for their identities forge tight emotional connections to the brand.

Holt (2004:8-9)

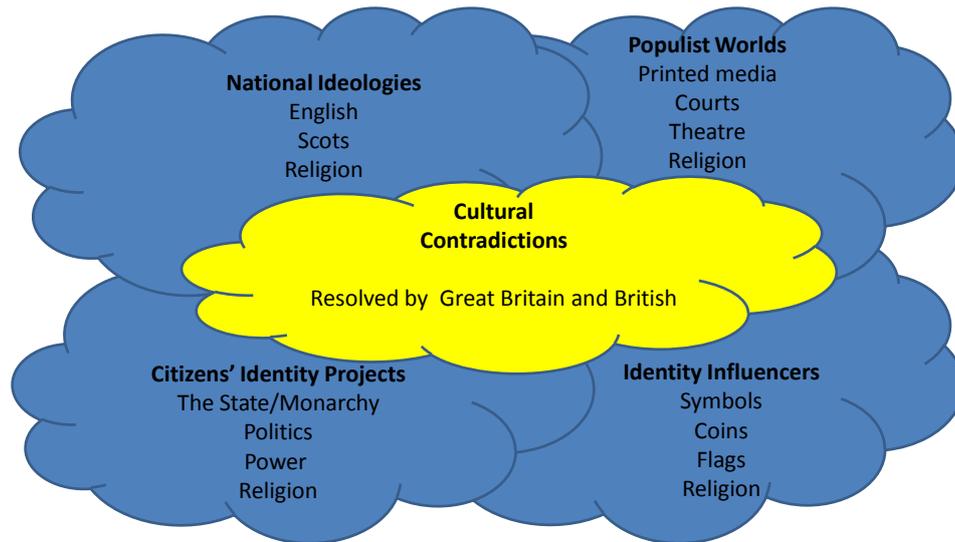
- d) Identity myths are set in populists worlds – separated from everyday life – the Marlboro cowboy.
- e) Iconic brands perform as activists, leading culture – encourage people to think differently about themselves - “the value of a particular myth resides not in the myth itself, but in its alignment with society’s incipient desires.” - Harley Davidson and the hippie myth of Easy Rider in the late 1960s.
- f) Iconic brands rely on breakthrough performances rather than consistent communications – a few masterful performances set it up. Corona’s juxtaposition of relaxation with high pressure lifestyle in the 1990s
- g) Iconic brands enjoy a cultural halo effect – when a powerful myth is found useful in cementing identity it casts a positive halo effect, a systematic bias resulting from a tendency to rely on global effect rather than careful discrimination among distinct and potentially independent brand attributes – (Leuthesser, et al, 1995), on other attributes of the brand which adds to the overall attractiveness of all that is attached to the brand. As Chapter 3 illustrates this halo effect seems to be a key attribute of the British brand.

Holt (2004)

Posited in these terms it can be seen that this challenges the unidirectional view of a brand and branding. Indeed it turns it on its head in that the consumers synthesise the various elements of their environment to develop a resolution for their cultural contradictions (a brand) and thus becomes the author of that brand’s values (Paragraph 2.3.6). Such emergence of a brand from social conditions does not appear to fit well with the view of an exogenously created brand. The extent to which British has achieved this status over time is illustrated in Chapter 3 and the extent to which British achieved iconic status in the period 1603 to 1625 is examined in detail in Chapters 6 to 8.

2.3.4 By adapting Holt’s work the following illustration of the factors influencing the market for British has been constructed:-

The Structure of A Myth Market for “British”



Adapted from Holt (2004:58)

2.3.5 In the period under consideration English society's (the dominant society – Paragraphs 5.1.6 and 5.1.7) compass point had, with the death of Elizabeth I, lost its magnetic north. The dynamic of the social environment of the period was such that there were a number of factors categorised in the model above that were discrete but overlapping. For example Religion was a key Identity Influencer but also intimately linked to the state, politics and power i.e. Citizens' Identity Projects (see Section 7.3). Each of these, and the interactions between them, addressed different cultural contradictions principal among them the monarch's desire to establish one, united, kingdom from two. All of these factors impacted England and Scotland and by their nature created an opportunity (market) for a new myth called Great Britain/British based on a pre-existing, but dormant, myth Britain/British dating from earlier times (MacColl, 2006) (Paragraph 5.1.5).

It is accepted that British and Britain, but not Great Britain, existed at the start of the period but that just as the others were active so it was inactive, dormant. Part of the case study research is to examine this position. It is also part of the research to look at the extent to which co-branding (Paragraph 2.2.9) took place between the various actors in the emergence of the brand. In particular the extent to which multiple loyalties were simultaneously impacted by the brand is examined.

The four factors (national ideologies, populist worlds, citizens' identity projects, identity influencers) can be seen as an evoked set within which the consumer (or in this case citizen) may choose. This evoked set is the result of a screening process which is a shortlist for

evaluation (Jobber, 2004:71). Just as consumers may make multiple brand purchases at the same time so multiple contradictory factors can be believed simultaneously. A sophistication of this, which is examined, is that as consumers' brand preferences vary in their interaction with external stimuli one would expect the relative importance of the factors to vary depending on the context.

It is also suggested that the role of influential acting units in general and word of mouth in particular in communicating and in supporting, or opposing, these factors is important, particularly considering the limited levels of literacy in the period under consideration (Paragraph 6.6).

Referents with high credibility, such as those having presumed expertise, will often serve as sources of information-based influence for uncertain or uninformed consumers, utilitarian influence will be reflected in attempts to comply with the wishes of a reference group to avoid punishment or receive a reward, while value-expressive influence will be reflected in the need for psychological affiliation with the reference group

Childers & Rao (1992:199)

Furthermore, this was a period involving uncertainty in which the personal consequences of expressing a view considered to be inappropriate could be severe, involving loss of liberty, torture or worse (Paragraph 8.2.4).

In all of this is, in the context of this research, the adoption of the brand is assumed to be voluntary for it to achieve an iconic status – contrary to James' view of the absolute role of the monarch (Paragraphs 2.3.3 and 5.1.2).

2.3.6 The discussion above (Paragraph 2.2.7) on emergence notwithstanding, one of the issues with this approach is the absence of a conscious author of the brand which is a requirement of Holt's model. There is no "cultural brief" that:-

- a) embodies the proposed brand's role in culture.
- b) draws on material that audiences believe to be authentic earning respect through "literacy" (showing a nuanced understanding of codes and idioms) and "fidelity" (sacrificing a broader based popularity to stand up for the ethos).
- c) exhibits a distinctive and compelling style that epitomizes the populist world from which they speak – a charismatic aesthetic (Holt, 2004:63 et seq).

An explanation of the authorship of this "cultural brief" is required. One potential explanation for the authorship can be found in Cova's paper on tribalisation in branding:

Postmodern social dynamics can metaphorically be described as 'tribes' because ... they cannot rely on central power to maintain social order or coerce their constituency into submission to collective rules (seldom do they have clearly codified rules to which submission could be demanded); they constitute a collective actor that represents a

counterpower to institutional power; they do not rally people around something rational or modern ... but around non rational and archaic elements ... they participate in the re-enchantment of the world.

Cova (2002)

Tribalisation can be seen as providing a mechanism for the “authorship” for British and hence the mechanism for the resolution of the cultural contradiction.

In applying this process of tribalisation when combined with Blumer’s social interactionism, transformative teleology and Holt’s iconic branding as a coherent framework the research provides a basis for in depth analysis of the term British in the period 1603 to 1625. In unidirectional terminology this was the time of the introduction of Great Britain/British – the launching of the brand.

2.3.7 From its dormant role British emerges over the centuries to become a powerful influence, developer, of both national ideology and the popular world. This development could be seen as a simple feedback loop or something more complex. Whatever, such is the power of Great Britain and British and its associated identity myth(s) that they become one and the same: they become identity myths that are beyond question. It is argued that, following Holt and Cova above, British not only eventually created the National Ideology it redefined the Populist Worlds on which the myth(s) that supports it is founded (Chapter 3). However, these later stages of development are beyond the scope of this research as it takes it in to the growth phase of the brand which is well covered by Colley (Colley, 2003). As has been said this research is concerned with the introduction phase 1603 to 1625.

The drive for the development of a culturally iconic brand stems from the brand’s ability to address cultural contradictions, (Paragraph 2.3.3a). The case study material shows that the early seventeenth century can be characterised as a period of changing cultural contradictions which were experienced differentially across all levels of society (Chapters 6 to 8 below). However the emergence of an iconic brand (the creation of a united kingdom as distinct from two kingdoms unified under one king) set in motion by James was dynamic, not static, over a period of over 400 years. This research, at this stage, identifies four potential factors influencing the development of this iconic brand (Paragraph 2.3.4) in the first years of its existence. The argument set out above is applied in detail to the reign of James VI and I and examines the introduction of Great Britain and British before assessing the reasons for its success or failure in the initial, short term, time frame 1603 to 1625.

In the longer term, as the following chapter shows, there is little doubt that the brand achieved the status of a natural fact (Colley, 2003), a culturally iconic brand, a nation that satisfies the following criteria

Two men are of the same nation if and only if they *recognize* each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, *nations maketh man*; nations are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities ... a [category of people] becomes a nation if and when the members of the category recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members.

Gellner (1983:7)

Before proceeding to consider James' introduction some consideration of the iconic status that the brand achieved is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 - Great Britain/British as a Brand

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 The role and characteristics of brands and branding have been discussed in the previous chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to provide background to the case study by describing the historical background to the development of the term from 1625 to the present; how Great Britain/British has been used as a brand up to the twenty-first century, and how models of branding fit these. In addition the role of symbols and semiotics in that branding is discussed.

3.1.2 Grant and Stringer identify three periods of the development of the United Kingdom, i.e. of Great Britain, viz. medieval foundations, building the early modern state, and the age of union which provide a useful structure for this discussion (Grant and Stringer, 1995). The medieval foundations precede this research and, while some elements are relevant to, and covered in, the case study they are not included here. The early part of building the early modern state is the subject of the case study and is discussed in detail there. The latter part of the early modern state and the age of Union are the substance of this section. However, it is not the intention to provide a detailed exposition of the history of Britain in this time period. The topic is vast and beyond the scope of the research. Rather, the material presented on the historical background provides the contexts within which the term Great Britain/British as a brand existed, and is at a less detailed level than the case study material.

3.1.3 Before moving to discuss these time periods one of the issues to be tackled in this topic is the use of Great Britain/British which has varied and been contested over time. The central point of this research is the role of the term from a brand perspective. As shown below over the centuries the term has related to The United Kingdom of Great Britain, a state – where a state is “the supreme power within a defined juridical border” (Barkin and Cronin, 1994:111); the British nation, a nation - which “exists if and when the members of the category recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it” (Gellner, 1983:7); and Britishness, a national identity - an “imagined community” (Anderson, 2006), or “a political community ... the kind of community it is, its central values and commitments, its characteristic ways of talking about and conducting its collective affairs, its organising principles” (Parekh, 2000).

3.1.4 “Brand awareness is consumers’ ability to identify the brand under different conditions, as reflected by their brand recognition or recall performance. Brand image is the perceptions and beliefs held by consumers, as reflected in the associations held in consumer

memory.” (Kotler and Keller, 2006:286). This basic premise is accepted but has been adapted for this analysis to assess Great Britain/British as it applies to the complexity of state, nation and national identity in terms of:-

- Awareness - awareness at a point of time, the frequency of reference to the brand implying that a number of people are aware of the term which is equivalent to the brand awareness referred to above
- Power – depth, the impact on society and behaviour of the brand, equivalent to brand image.

3.1.5 British history “is not simply the history of the British coming together: for much of the time, the theme of integration is matched by those of rejection and conflict” (Grant and Stringer, 1995:5). In particular the positioning of Great Britain/British against England/English is an issue as the equation of English with British history held sway for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (op cit:6). “Is it [Britishness] just a transnational state patriotism, or is it a secondary form of national identity constructed largely in English terms?” (Langlands, 1999:53). In essence, is Great Britain/British simply another name for England/English?” - a topic with resonance for this section and the case study. The critical point is that the term itself is variable, not fixed “Britishness has never been a stable force, easy to describe because it is fixed ... [it]... has always been in a process of formation.” (Ward, 2004:3) and can be seen as dynamic” National identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods.” (Hobsbawm, 1992:11). Such variability will influence the success of the brand by impacting its perceived value (de Chernatony et al, 1998:768-769).

3.2 Building the early modern state

In the period immediately following that covered by the case study (1603 to 1625) the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland was “... an imperfect union: it was a union of sovereign states under a common authority, without a union of laws” (Russell, 1995:135) and these imperfections created an inauspicious environment for Great Britain/British. With the accession of Charles I in 1625 relations between England and Scotland became strained “The king ... was the only one who could effectively make a mess of relations between the kingdoms – which King Charles duly did” (Russell, 1995:146). The debate was framed in terms of religion and war. The crisis of 1637-51 over the Scottish prayer book, the Scottish National covenant, war with Spain 1625 – 1628, war finance, religion and the breakdown in “bedchamber” system all combined to place pressure on the relationship op cit: 138-143. The result of this was “three kingdoms under one king with a confused sense of common identity and destiny” (Morrill, 1995:173) with conflicts within and between each of the kingdoms.

Such conflicts were strongly centrifugal and led to the destruction of the dual monarchy and the creation of a single Commonwealth. Discussions between Scotland and England were characterised by use of the “England, Scotland and Ireland” not Great Britain and Ireland. The Scots believed that there should be a separate but closely defined relationship with the kingdom of England something in which the English Parliament had little interest (Morrill, 1995:179-185). However, on 5 February 1649 (the day after news of Charles I’s execution reached Scotland) “... the estates of parliament of the kingdom of Scotland, do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully, in recognisance and acknowledgement of his just right, title and succession to the crown of these kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the world that the said lord and prince Charles [II] is by the providence of God and by the lawful right of undoubted succession and descent king of Great Britain, France and Ireland ...” (Brown et al, 2007:13). The execution of Charles I and the appointment of Council of State on 13 February 1649, in contradiction to the expressed view of the Scottish parliament, signalled the end of the monarchy and “Scotland was a free nation, tied to the English only by dynastic accident” (Morrill, 1995:185). Meanwhile in England there developed an “English mind ... that centred on the idea of the English as a free people” that were “historically growing freer” (Colls, 1986:31): an idea that went on by 1700 to become one of Britannia’s main characteristics symbolising Britain (Furtado, 1989:49).

3.2.1 On 16 December 1653 the English Parliament decided

That the Supreme Legislative Authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, shall be and reside in one Person, and the People assembled in Parliament; the Style of which Person shall be The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland ... That all Writs, Process, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Style of The Keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament, shall run in the Name and Style of the Lord Protector, from whom, for the future, shall be derived all Magistracy and Honours in these three Nations”

Firth and Rait (1911)

This, by virtue of the source of its creation, implicitly places England in control of the three nations. However, Cromwell appears to have been positively disposed towards a union and made an offer of it in 1651. Indeed the first Protectorate parliament included representatives from Scotland with a theoretical thirty Scottish members of whom probably twenty two attended (Smith, 2008: 45) – and could be viewed as a proto Parliament for Great Britain. While there do seem to have been negotiations on the subject of union there was little enthusiasm for it in Scotland (Williamson, 1995:309-310) and the state papers of John Thurloe, secretary to the first Council of State and to Oliver and Richard Cromwell, make only ten references to Great Britain/British, (Thurloe and Birch, 1742), indicating that it was not a major issue in England. The civil war(s) in the period to 1660 illustrate the problem of

the conflation of England/English with Great Britain/British. Was it the commonly used “English Civil War”, the “British Civil War”, or the “War of the three kingdoms”? The topic has been widely discussed – see for example “British History: A Plea for a New Subject” (Pocock, 1975), “The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms” (Gentles, 2007), or “The British Civil War: The Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 1638-1660” (Royle, 2004). Whatever is the correct interpretation is not important here, the use of the various terms reflects a confusion that is a weakness in the brand Great Britain/British at this time. The ambiguous nature of the impact of the term Great Britain/British appears to continue with the Restoration of Charles II who had previously been crowned in Scotland in January 1651 where his coronation medal reads “by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland” (Sharpe, 2010 :441) and again, on St. George's Day, 23 April 1661 in England, when once again his coronation medal read on the obverse “Charles II by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland “ (Edie,1990 :316). James II came to the throne following the death of Charles II on 6 February 1685 and was crowned on 23 April 1685 as King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland which was followed by a period in which he struggled for power within the three kingdoms (Speck, 2009). Following the Glorious Revolution of 1688 when William III became king of “ England, Scotland, France, and Ireland “in 1689 he had little difficulty making himself secure on the throne of England but securing Scotland was more difficult (Claydon, 2008). Indeed the coronation medal does not specify the name of the kingdom(s) which “... was probably wise, as the Estates of Scotland did not offer the crown to William and Mary until April 11th, after the Jacobites and Viscount Dundee had failed to arouse a following for James [II and VII]” (Edie, 1990:324). However by the late seventeenth century anti-catholicism, which drove the overthrow of James II and VII, “resonated” throughout the nations from the 1690s and provided a focus for a very basic common identity. In particular from 1689 in England and Scotland a situation “pregnant with potential for a common British Revolution identity” emerged (Kidd, 1998:329). As befitting such a confused situation there is an alternative view that “Without the ability to regulate its relations with Scotland, the English Parliament could only pretend that Scotland did not exist. Indeed, it has only accommodated the British Parliament created in 1707 by pretending that it is the same body as the English Parliament which preceded it” (Russell, 1995:146). Interestingly the first James (1603 to 1625) is referred to as James VI and I while the second is referred to as James II and VII – a switching of the order of Scotland and England – (Speck, 2009). The lack of clarity continued when “Queen Anne's accession to the throne was peacefully proclaimed throughout the three kingdoms” but in her first speech to [the English] parliament on 11 March, she proclaimed that ‘I know my own heart to be entirely English’” and was crowned on St George’s day (Gregg, 2012). All of the

above suggests that in this period Great Britain/British viewed as a brand did not support the core value of unity and lacked both awareness and power. However, in the midst of this complexity in 1707 there was a union of the Parliaments creating a United Kingdom as a single state.

3.3 The Age of Union

“... Great Britain was invented in 1707 when the Parliament of Westminster passed the Act of Union linking Scotland to England and Wales” (Colley, 2003:11). The accuracy of this statement is debatable on two levels. Firstly as the case study shows the “invention” of Great Britain seems to have taken place on 20 October 1604 (Paragraph 5.2.7), perhaps “reinvented” would be more appropriate. Secondly, it was created by two Acts of Union that ratified a Treaty of Union viz. the “Union with Scotland Act 1706” (National Archives, 2013), and the “Union with England Act 1707” (Brown et al, 2007-2013a) both of which give the new state Great Britain as part of its name. From this standpoint Colley could be seen as providing implicit, if unintended, support for Russell’s view on the English view of the union in the previous paragraph. It can also be taken to support the view that the state creates the nation, which is a debatable view of the problematic relationship between state and nation (Barkin and Cronin, 1994:110-115). Be that as it may, Colley’s view that the British nation started to be “forged” in 1707 with the Act of Union between Scotland and England based on mass allegiance and the invention of Britishness that developed over time is a useful one (Colley, 2003:2 -9). The idea that Britishness was deliberately invented and exploited as Colley suggests has been questioned (Langlands, 1999:53) and runs counter to the discussion and branding as social interaction in the previous chapter, but has a correspondence with the approach adopted by James VI and I to the union (Chapter 5).

3.3.1 Colley argues that in the period 1707-1837 British identity was defined as being different from everyone else and was driven by external factors, particularly war with France, becoming British because of a “strong sense of dissimilarity” (Colley, 2003:17). Note this view directly contradicts Gellner’s definition of a nation as the “recognition [by members] of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non-members” (Gellner, 1983:7). Her view is also challenged by, among others, Westcott who argues that the duality posited by British and “otherness” does not adequately reflect the complexity of the existence of multiple identities (Westcott, 2006). For example, was it possible to be British, Scottish and Catholic simultaneously? The centrality of religion which was Protestant, anti-Catholic and in which Catholicism was seen as a threat (internal as well as external) also provided a

source of support for Great Britain/British (Colley, 2003:19). In addition the “needs of war”, of the army and the empire created “A nation [Great Britain] defined by Empire” (Marshall, 1995).

It can be argued that whatever the drivers, the environment for the brand Great Britain/British developed, if only for the fact that there was now a state that bore the name (see above), and that “Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century was certainly richer and probably more self-confident and self-aware than any other nation in Europe” (Evans, 1995:224). However it is arguable that the external threat and war could sustain the sense of Britishness after the fall of Napoleon and the peace that followed (Brockliss and Eastwood, 1997:3). Evans acknowledges the ambiguities that existed within Britain’s self-awareness by concluding that “neither ‘Englishness’ nor ‘Britishness’ is a separately identifiable phenomenon” (Evans, 1995:243) which may be seen as complementary to MacColl’s view that in the English imagination “ ‘Britain’ came to be identified with the kingdom of England itself, in explicit distinction from Wales and Scotland” (MacColl, 2006:249) (Paragraph 5.1.5). It has also been argued that from the 1730s in “North Britain” there was “a coherent Anglo-British ideology of improvement [which] co-existed with a traditional Scottish chauvinism” (Kidd, 1996:361).

Alternatively in the United Kingdom of Great Britain from 1800 every “Briton possessed a composite identity” could be viewed as a “multi-national state” in which Englishness, Scottishness, and Irishness were “deeply rooted” and Britishness was confined to “the aristocracy and the upper reaches of the gentry” (Brockliss and Eastwood, 1997:2-3). By the mid-nineteenth century the contemporary Victorian view was that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland had been formed and its manifest destiny achieved (Robbins, 1995:245). The century from 1815 to 1914 has been described as “the golden age of British power” (Ferris, 1991:732). The Great Exhibition of 1851 at the Crystal Palace was a showcase for Britain's manufacturing industries and the products of its Empire and Britain's first truly national spectacle (Leapman, 2011). The exhibition was visited by some six million people in six months (Stokka, 2012). However, the term “supranational” has also been used to describe the United Kingdom in this period, a state that worked without a formal attempt to make Britishness a primary cultural identity and because of the nature of its political institutions in which there existed space within which “culturally distinct peoples could coexist” (Eastwood et al, 1997:193-195). A process of “blending” through among other things, education (in which the English language was important) (Doyle, 1986)), travel, technology and franchise extension created a situation in which there existed “a British nation whose sense of common identity and purpose outweighed in importance the still abiding

consciousness of difference” (Robbins, 1995:250-251). An alternative view is that by the end of the nineteenth century the United Kingdom was under strain from awakening Scottish and Welsh nationalisms and Anglo-Irish tension and was a “disunited kingdom” (Ruger, 2004:159). Differences existed but Great Britain/British was clearly significant.

3.3.2 There is some debate as to the global position of Great Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as to whether it was experiencing a “relative decline” (Friedberg, 1988) or it was “the *pre-eminent* great power” (Neilson, 1991:696). For the purposes of this research decline or pre-eminence is immaterial; the significance lies in what appears to be evidence that since the eighteenth century Great Britain had been a “great power” (op cit:696) implying that the term Great Britain/British was well established (Barnett, 1986). And yet when the United Kingdom declared war on Germany, one of the major events of the period, the editorial in the Manchester Guardian stated “England declared war upon Germany at eleven o'clock last night ... now there is nothing for Englishmen to do but to stand together and help by every means in their power to the attainment of our common object – an early and decisive victory over Germany” (Manchester Guardian, 1914:6) indicating the persistence of the ambiguities of Great Britain/British and England/English. The creation of Empire Day in 1904 provided a focus for Great Britain/British as it helped the British Empire cross class boundaries, sustain social hierarchies and after the 1914-18 war amalgamated “sombre commemoration into the repertoire of imperial festivity” (English, 2006:247).

3.3.3 The status of Great Britain following the end of the Great War has been the subject of debate e.g. “The Greatest Power on Earth’: Great Britain in the 1920s” (Ferris, 1991) but again, for this research, it is the centrality of the subject of the debate Great Britain/British that is significant rather than the precise content of the debate – see for example Britain Between the Wars: 1918-1940 (Mowat, 1955). It was a period when Britain became a democracy and in which “British public opinion remained contradictory and unpredictable” (Ferris, 1991:735). However, there are once again contradictions to the hegemony of Great Britain/British. Collis argues that by 1920 there existed a “New Englishness” that was entrenched in the political culture of the state (the United Kingdom) (Collis, 1986:54) while Dodd argues that Englishness was dominant from the early years of the twentieth century (Dodd, 1986:2-3).

3.3.4 Great Britain in the period 1918 to 1939 has been described as globally “pre-eminent”. Because of its empire, it was the only truly global power, buttressed by the British navy with its widespread network of bases, its foreign policy was hardly to be challenged, and its economic and financial strength, though weakened by fighting the First World War and the

disruption of the Great Depression, was still formidable (McKercher, 1991:751). A “ Myth of the War Experience” had been created among the volunteers who had fought in the war many of whom “saw the war as bringing both personal and national [British] regeneration” (Mosse, 1986: 492). Nevertheless, the decline in the economy, especially heavy industry, from the 1920s was perceived in Scotland (and Wales) as a “prime example of English misrule” (Weight, 2002:11) and in this period disparities in wealth between England and Scotland (and Wales) “provoked discontent within the Union and led to the erosion of their dual identities” (op cit: 14).

3.3.5 Following the 1945 General Election the Attlee government created institutions of the welfare state that stressed Britishness in their “nomenclature and organisation” e.g. National Health Service, British Railways, British European Airways, the National Coal Board (Harvie, 2000:329). Yet, in the same period the Scottish Convention was launched”... to secure a Parliament [for Scotland] with adequate legislative authority in Scottish affairs” and it attracted 1.5 million valid signatures (Hall, 1975:18-19). Weight writes of the” decline of Britishness” after the 1939-45 war. The war had fostered and defined a new Britishness that lasted until the 1980s and without the war Britain would have begun to break up twenty five years before it did (Weight, 2002:15-16). Similarly “the legitimacy, the authority and the efficacy of the British state were on a rising curve from around 1920 to around 1950; and that from the present day have been on a declining curve Marquand (1995:279). The rise of political nationalism in Scotland up to the mid 1970s has been well documented, Webb and Hall (1978), but even in 1974 Blondel was writing that “Britain is probably the most homogenous of industrialized countries” (Blondel, 1974:20). However, as Keating shows the debate moved on with, among other things the Scottish Parliament, creating an environment in which the politics of the union are “Shifting” to the extent that the nature of Britishness is under question (Keating, 2009), and the reassertion of Englishness discussed (Featherstone, 2009). The situation is perhaps best summarized by the Presiding Officer’s opening remarks at the first session of the Scottish Parliament on 25 March 1999 “...the Scottish Parliament, which adjourned on 25 March 1707, is hereby reconvened ...[and]... that this Parliament, by its mere existence, will create better relations with England, Wales and Northern Ireland...” (Ewing, 1999).

The current status of Great Britain/British in such discussions is beyond the scope of this research but the foregoing paragraphs indicate that the term’s awareness and power is likely to have ebbed and flowed over time. However, that there should be a discussion on the meaning and decline, or otherwise, of Great Britain/British is perhaps a useful measure of its role as part of “A New Cosmopolitan Localism” comprised of dual identity citizens (Moreno,

2005:140) in which there exist new dimensions- the European Union (Marquand , 1995:289-90) and the devolved parliament in Scotland (Keating, 2009).

Coda:-In all of the above discussion of Ireland has largely been excluded. This is not to suggest that it did not impact events, it undoubtedly did – see for example Loughlin (2002), Mansergh (1975) or Marx (1971). It is simply that the research is concerned with Great Britain of which Ireland, or Northern Ireland, is not part. Furthermore restrictions of time and space make it impossible to do justice to such a complex topic.

3.4 Awareness: The use of Great Britain/British as a brand in the twenty-first century

3.4.1 All “British citizens have the right of abode in the United Kingdom” (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Passport , 2007:2). To be a citizen of the United Kingdom is to be British. Regardless of the power of this statement, a topic to which the research returns below, this implies that there at least 40 million United Kingdom passport holders who are aware of the term. A Freedom of Information Request to the Passport Office elicited the response, on 25 June 2005, that “ ... the number of UK citizens resident in the UK holding a valid UK Passport is between 44.7 million and 49.6 million people” (Passport Office , 2005). It is not contended that every passport holder is aware of the text contained in their passport. However it is a reasonable assumption that the acquisition of a British passport is evidence of some familiarity with the term and some understanding of its meaning.

3.4.2 Further recent evidence of the awareness is provided by the survey of Britishness conducted by YouGov for the Daily Telegraph. YouGov questioned 3505 adults aged 18+ throughout Britain online between 20 and 22 July 2005. Responses to the question

“Taking everything into account, how proud would you say you are to be British?” were as follows:-

| | % |
|------------------|------|
| Very proud | 54.5 |
| Fairly proud | 36 |
| Not very proud | 8 |
| Not at all proud | 3 |
| Don't know | 2 |
| I am not British | 2 |

YouGov (2005)

While this research was carried out shortly after the 7 July bombings in London in a later survey by the UK Office of National Statistics, the 2009-2010 Citizenship Survey, the

response to the question “To what extent do you agree or disagree that you personally feel a part of British society?” was:-

| Number | Category | Percentage |
|--------|-------------------|------------|
| 8708 | Strongly agree | 54.5% |
| 6082 | Tend to agree | 38.0% |
| 914 | Tend to disagree | 5.7% |
| 283 | Strongly disagree | 1.8% |

Source: ESDS (2011)

This would indicate that in both surveys more than 90% of those responding had some opinion on the term British and what it meant to them. Furthermore the YouGov survey shows that 50% were “Very proud” to be associated with that term – a level of association of which any Brand manager would be very happy. By combining ESDS’s 54.5% with the Passport Office’s lower limit of 44.7 million we have a figure of 24.4 million people, individuals, who strongly agree that they have an association with British which by any standard is a brand which many are aware of i.e. in the early twenty-first century it is a well known brand. However, commenting on an earlier survey McCrone and Kiely point out that for about 15 per cent of the population of Britain the situation is different and that the questions would elicit a different response and “The non-English peoples of the British state – the Scots and Welsh in particular – would be more likely to treat nationality and citizenship as different orders of concept.” Their nationality would be Scottish or Welsh, whereas their citizenship –is British (McCrone and Kiely, 2000:19). For a discussion of a variety of surveys in this area see Ward (Ward, 2004:172).

3.4.3 In the corporate sphere there are many examples of British being used by organisations as a brand for promotional purposes.

The Confederation of British Industry (CBI):-

The CBI's mission is to help create and sustain the conditions in which businesses in the United Kingdom can compete and prosper for the benefit of all.

We are the premier lobbying organisation for UK business on national and international issues. We work with the UK government, international legislators and policy-makers to help UK businesses compete effectively.

Confederation of British Industry (2007)

The use of the term UK rather than British or Great Britain is interesting because, so far as can be seen, there is no adjective derived from United Kingdom or UK other than British and

therefore British signifies UK (Paragraph 3.6.1). However, there can be no doubt that the role of the CBI is to assist British Industry.

3.4.4 The British Chambers of Commerce (BCC):-

Welcome to the British Chambers of Commerce

No other business organisation has a greater claim to being the true voice of British business than the British Chambers of Commerce (BCC).

The BCC is the national body for a powerful and influential network of Accredited Chambers; a network that serves not only its member businesses employing more than 5 million people but also the wider business community.

British Chambers Of Commerce (2007)

3.4.5 The British Council:-

The Purpose of the British Council is to build mutually beneficial relationships between the people in the United Kingdom and other countries and to increase appreciation of the United Kingdom's creative ideas and achievements.

British Council (2006)

3.4.6 These examples in conjunction with the survey data in Paragraph 3.4.2 indicate that in, even in the context of multiple identities discussed above, there is in the early twenty-first century something British that is regarded as, at least in promotional marketing, to be unifying, and elicits a commonality of purpose that is consistent with the values espoused by the Bishop of Sarum on 28 October 1604 as part of the introduction of the brand by James (Paragraph 5.2.7) albeit almost four hundred years later.

3.5 Power: Examples of Great Britain/British as a brand

3.5.1 The use of the term in its wider historical context discussed above shows it to be widely used but varying over time. Of particular relevance with regard to its power is the emotional, symbolic and, indeed, iconic attributes of the phenomenon. As a next step this section gives somewhat prosaic examples of the power of British in both commercial and non-commercial spheres from 1700 to 2007. It illustrates the power of the brand in terms of:-

- Strong brand associations that convey relevant information consistently over time
- Positive brand associations that effectively deliver benefits that are desired
- Unique brand associations that favourably distinguish it from other brands

Keller (2008:637)

3.5.2 First Parliament of George II 1729

An Address that the Foreign Troops in British Pay may be clothed with British Cloth.

Feb. 10. These Resolutions being reported were agreed to by the House, without dividing: But it was resolved to address his Majesty, That whenever it shall be necessary to take any Foreign Troops into his Service, he will be graciously pleased to use his Endeavours, that they be clothed with the Manufactures of Great Britain.

The History and Proceedings of The House Of Commons (1742a)

Evidently those making the address consider not only that there is something identifiably positive about British pay and cloth and that it is sufficiently important to be brought to the attention of the King and that it should cause him to act in a specific manner.

3.5.3 Fashion 1878

It is one of the least observed but perhaps not among the least equivocal proofs of a great advancement in the ideas of freedom entertained by the British people, that their king and queen for the time being may be said to be the only sovereigns in Europe who have ceased to have the power of dictating the fashions to their people.

St James Palace (1878)

This article indicates recognition of the term in a social setting and the association of a group within “society” with it that is distinct from the monarchy which can be seen as evidence of ownership of the brand by “the people”.

3.5.4 New York Times – Sunday, 8 October, 1916

BRITISH PATRIOTISM REVEALS A NEW TYPE;

"Treasury Romances" Found in Anonymous Gifts for the War's Prosecution

How British subjects in all parts of the world, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, have rallied to the defense of the empire and are "taxing themselves" to help the Allies win ...In normal times men do not send gifts to the State. If they are not taxable, they do not tax themselves. If they are taxed, they pay their taxes and rest content. The war has created a new kind of citizen hitherto almost unknown to the Treasury. He does not lend his money to the [British] State; he gives it...

This example probably represents the apotheosis of the power of the term i.e. at the peak of the British Empire and in times of war, specifically the First World War in which millions died in support of the brand. It shows that British evoked a strong emotional response to the extent that people voluntarily paid tax, and were prepared to go to war, and to die, for their belief in its values.

3.5.5 The Buy British Campaign of 1931

The injunction to British consumers to buy British or Empire-made goods had, of course, been a feature of much previous commercial advertising. Patriotic symbols had been regularly used by producers and retailers to sway consumer choice, images of Britannia, John Bull, the British Lion and Bulldog being recruited to publicise particular products. The Royal Family, the Army and the Navy had performed sterling service for British commerce in advertisements and on labels, and exotic imperial locales were frequently depicted on the wrappers and posters designed by British companies for selling commodities imported from the British Empire overseas. Such attempts to ensure that patterns of public consumption were affected by more than quality and price inevitably became more frequent and strident in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when increased competition from foreign industrial and agricultural suppliers began to alarm many British producers.

Constantine (1987)

This action was stimulated by the need for the UK government to tackle a major economic problem i.e. a balance of payments crisis (Constantine, 1987). It is indicative of a belief that the application of British had sufficient power with consumers that it could have a major impact on their economic behaviour such that it could impact a macro-economic crisis.

3.5.6 Asprey - <http://www.asprey.com/>

Site Title - Asprey Holdings Ltd British Luxury Goods Since 1781
Site Description - Find high quality gift ideas at this luxury shopping store. Asprey present exclusive British products and designer accessories including cut diamonds, silver ware, leather goods and custom jewellery (M)

Asprey Holdings Ltd (2007)

The phrase "British Luxury Goods Since 1781" used by a Royal jeweller indicates a reference to a set of traditional values attractive to potential customers. It suggests very strongly that there is a clear identification of the term British as an enduring brand.

3.5.7 Global competition - 2002

Global branding has the power to take the negatives of one market and to transform them into a positive in another. So Jaguar's latest marketing in the US is promoting its British origins and the implication of quality craftsmanship that this still carries in the US. Little may the Americans realise that the UK's car manufacturing industry is almost non-existent save for MG Rover, and that many people in this country avoid British-made engineering and electronics products like the plague.

Yet, Eric Scott, chief executive of brand agency Wolff Olins US, does not believe the strategy is working. He says: "Jaguar might be connecting with being British, but everyone understands that it is a Ford. It suffers from trying to cash in on British cachet, but there is something that doesn't ring true about that."

He says that many Americans want to believe in an essential Britishness and this can aid brands so long as the claim is genuine. "It harks back to a magical time in British history, the Sixties, and the strong personality and point of view that has always played very well in the US," he says.

This demonstrates a clear attempt to use British as a source of competitive advantage in a global market by reference to a set of brand values, albeit with limited success (Benady, 2002).

3.5.8 Hansard, House of Lords Debate - 18 May 2006: Column 431

Earl Peel

Marketing is clearly a key component of modern farming. Surely, labelling should reflect the true source of the produce sold. It is no use when imported pigs, for example, are treated and cured in this country, and then sold under the Union Jack logo, which I know is happening, for example, in a big plant in the West Country.

Hansard (2006a)

In this debate on Agriculture their Lordships were considering, inter alia, the competitiveness of agriculture in the United Kingdom. Earlier in introducing the debate Lord Vinson stated:-

Until recently, we were producing virtually all of our temperate food requirements, but the proportion has now slipped to some 62 per cent and is falling. The consequence is that our horrendous imbalance of trade has grown by a further £15 billion over that period and is now running at nearly £60 billion a year. If existing farming outputs were to fall further, coupled with the effect that that would have on the food processing industry, the imbalance could grow to nearly £100 billion a year.

Hansard (2006)

It seems clear that the use of the Union Jack, a signifier of British (which is considered in more detail below), was perceived as means of improving the competitiveness of the agricultural industry.

3.5.9 Synopsis of “Made in Britain: The best of Quintessentially British Companies” by James Fielding (October 2007)

Like beans on toast, big red buses and cups of tea, there are some things that are just plain British. But with global brands on the up and up, is it still possible to buy British? Which consumer products are still made in the UK? "Made in Britain" gives potted histories and fascinating photographs from days gone by of businesses such as: Marshall amplifiers, founded in London in 1962 and loved by Jimi Hendrix; Morgan cars, whose output of nine cars a week is still assembled by hand - they will be celebrating 100 years of fast living in 2009; and, Cadbury, opened in Birmingham in 1824 by a young Quaker, purveyors of such beloved chocolatey essentials as the Creme Egg and the Flake. Some companies are household names, others are newer or more unusual. With Burberry closing British factories and moving part of its production to China amongst media outcry, and the main supermarket chains importing a quarter of their groceries, we all want to know whether our trusty British Weetabix and Marmite are still as British as we think.

Douglas (2007)

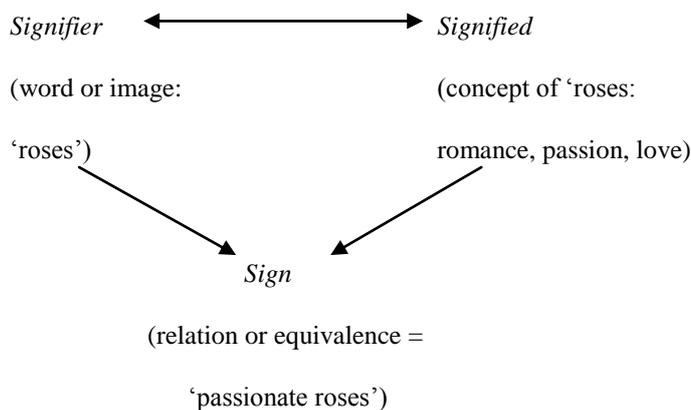
All of these examples should be viewed in the light of the historical contexts set out in section 3.1 above. However the last, somewhat populist, publication clearly shows the extent to

which British as a brand is embedded in popular culture in the twenty first century and can be seen as indicative of the validity of the assumptions about social learning in Sections 1.3 to 1.6. That it should matter that a breakfast cereal is “still as British as we think” makes the point of the salience of British, and the myths attached to it, as a brand admirably.

3.6 Semiology

3.6.1 Over this time a series of symbols/signs of Great Britain/British have developed. For this research a brief discussion of the semiology of Great Britain/British is useful at this point. The role of symbols at the time of the brand introduction is considered in more detail as part of the case study (Chapter 7 below). The work of Allen (2003) on Barthes provides a useful starting point. Taking Saussure as his start point he defines semiology as “...the idea of a general study of the sign systems that make up our societies” (Allen, 2003:40). The relationship between a signifier (sound or written mark) and a signified (concept) is central to branding such that “... a brand can be defined as a *system of signs* and symbols that engages the consumer in an imaginary/symbolic process” (Oswald, 2007). However this research does not adopt a structuralist approach such as Saussure would imply (Saussure, 1959). Rather it follows Barthes’ extension of semiology to myth described by Allen in the following terms:-

The language studied by Saussure is a *first-order system*: it involves a signifier, a signified and their combination in a sign. Myth acts on already existent signs, whether they be written statements or texts, photographs, films, music, buildings or garments...

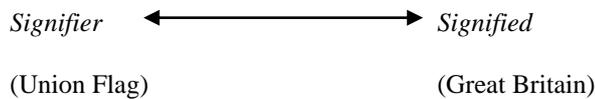


... Mythology takes this sign and turns it into a signifier for a new signified, a new concept. As Barthes puts it: ‘myth is a peculiar system, in that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a *second-order semiological system*. That which is a sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second’

Allen (2003:41)

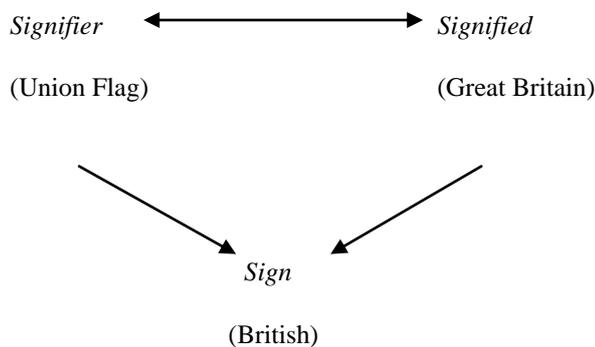
Applying this model to British taking the Union Flag  as a signifier produces the following:-

First order system



As a first order signifier the flag signifies Great Britain i.e. a state in the politico-legal sense.

Second order system



The combination of the flag with the state that is signified produces a sign i.e. British which can be seen as a myth with a multiplicity of meanings and applications. The flag is an important symbol and as is shown in the case study it is in a way symptomatic of some of the problems experienced at the time of the brand's introduction. The role of the Union Jack and the lack of agreement on its form illustrates some of the confusion surrounding James' efforts to establish Great Britain and British in the early seventeenth century (Paragraph 7.5.4 et seq).

3.6.2 Events such as the last night of the proms can be seen as “the essence of ‘Britishness’ or (alternatively) ‘Englishness’ ... [in which] ...Land of Hope and Glory’, the ‘Sea Songs’, ‘Rule Britannia!’ and ‘Jerusalem’ – were sacrosanct” (Cannadine, 2008:344). Similarly, signs of British – Britannia, John Bull, the Union Jack are widely used to promote commercial products, British made as a symbol of quality. The use of British as a means of promotion or source of support in both the commercial and non-commercial arenas is, over time, well established. For example “Visitors to the British Industries Fair in the inter-war period could not have left the exhibition stalls without a clear sense of the need to manufacture, market and sell British-made goods ...” Firms promoting their wares used brand names and logos such as "Britannia", "Bulldog" and "John Bull" to promote their British credentials (Taylor, 1992:93).

3.6.3 In order to illustrate this power of the term examples of its use have been identified and related to, mapped on to, several models of branding. By using Holt’s axiom (Paragraph 2.2.7) “source of customer value” across four branding models and applying it to British the following table illustrates how the term fits:-

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>Branding Model/Axiom</p> <p>Source of customer value</p> | <p>Perceived Attributes of Great Britain and British</p> |
| <p>Mind share branding model</p> <p>Simplifying decisions</p> | <p>The British empire – Advertising Posters and Packaging</p> <p>This web site provides no less than 16 examples of “...how companies subtly, or otherwise, used an association with the British Empire to sell their wares.” of which the following are examples:-</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p>Colman’s flour</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p>Dreadnowt's Razor Blades</p> </div> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 20px;">  <p>Britannia Boxed Pencils</p> </div> <p>The last of these is of particular interest as “...a German manufacturer is shamelessly using the name of Britannia to sell its product. It seems that they have pulled out all the stops with the name and image of Britannia, the flags, the Royal Navy and even an image of the British Army on campaign in the desert somewhere. These images and their associations would not just have been understood by British and imperial subjects, but would have been understood instantly throughout Europe and the world beyond.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The British Empire (2007)</p> |
| <p>Emotional branding model</p> <p>Relationship with the brand</p> | <p>BBC Newsnight The Gibraltar problem 2/4/02</p> <p>“PEPE FABRE: It would be as if I see the Spanish flag over there. We don't want that. We are British and we want to die British.</p> <p>LEVY: You give Spain a finger and they take the arm we don't trust them an inch. Whilst we are we will fight to the end to remain British, we were born British and we want to die British. In a British Gibraltar.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">BBC (2002)</p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <p>Marketing Week April 5, 2007 p24</p> <p>A Coca-Cola spokesman says its success is down to seeing - and selling - itself as a "British business". The brand first came to the UK in 1900 and from the 1920s was sold through soda fountain outlets, including Selfridges.</p> <p>He says: "The success of Coca-Cola in the UK is about applying a British lens to the business. Obviously, the business of selling the world's most loved soft drink is a compelling proposition. But in order to successfully meet the wide variety of needs of the British public, you have to be British in instinct and execution."</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Turner (2007)</p> |
| <p>Viral branding model</p> <p>Being cool, fashionable or not!</p> | <p>British Leyland (BL)</p> <p>“The 1960s was an era of fervent nationalism with Harold Wilson himself being credited for leading the “Backing Britain” campaign which drew heavily on contemporary culture for inspiration. Thus, the context for much of this automotive merging was not the example of other motor manufacturers in Western Europe, but the focus on pop culture personified by the Beatles and Mary Quant, both of whom had been hailed as leading British export earners during the late 1960s. To the government of the day, such a merger would have seemed a logical step in harmonizing the skills and industrial muscle of the various groups involved ...</p> <p>... However, the merger did not go as smoothly as had been intended ...</p> <p>on average, there were 1.6 strikes every single working day somewhere in the BL group across about 212,000 employees. Clearly this disrupted smooth production which, in turn, adversely affected product quality and made BL a music hall joke, at least in the media. When Arsenal were playing in the European Cup in 1979, a banner in the crowd proclaimed “Arsenal’s forwards strike faster than BL”, which was not the kind of publicity which endeared itself to those who worked there.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Greener (2006)</p> <p>The British Disease 1</p> <p>Forum: The British Disease - In higher education, it's not who you are but where you've been that counts</p> <p>IF THERE IS one factor which seems to distinguish most aspects of British life, it is the tendency to judge individuals by institutions. This, and not industrial unrest, is the real British Disease. In the UK, the public measure of a person's worth depends primarily on the institutions attended. People are defined by their schools, colleges and, in research, by their supervisors and the institutions which employ them.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">New Scientist (25 August 1990)</p> <p>The British Disease 2</p> <p>The so-called British disease is thus a mixture of different maladies - slow growth, a severe recent attack of stagflation, and accompanying political strains.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Brittan (1978)</p> <p>These illustrate that associations are not always positive. (Paragraph 2.3.3 b)</p> |

Adapted from Holt (2004:14)

3.6.4 The examples cited clearly show that in terms of customer value at least, arguably the most important dimension, the term British meets the axioms of a brand across all four branding models. They also provide evidence of functional and emotional attributes relating to the terms (Paragraph 2.3.2) thereby supporting the case for treating British as a brand. However, more importantly, the material presented is evidence that there is a match across all four criteria expands Holt's "cultural brand" as set out in Paragraph 2.3.3. In particular they provide an "identity myth" that casts a "halo" on other elements of the term thereby becoming additive to innumerable sub symbols (Paragraph 2.3.3 d) regarding the halo effect, particularly regarding the role of superordinate symbols). In this context the concept of a "super cultural brand" or overarching brand that exists in its own right but within which a number of sub brands exist is useful in understanding the role of Great Britain/ British. An example of this role this position is provided by Martin Sorrel quoted in Marketing Week's "Are We Buying Britishness?"

"Consumers are actively seeking out brands with a genuine history and authenticity. Unfortunately, the nationality element is often the least controllable strand in a brand's make-up." He said that national origin functions "as a shorthand for brand personality traits, on both rational and emotional levels", adding that "authenticity is important and using nationality in an inauthentic way will mislead and ultimately disillusion the customer.

Marketing Week (2002)

The importance of "authenticity" is therefore important to the success or failure of James' attempts to establish British.

3.6.5 There is little doubt that the brand Great Britain/British , as described above, has a highly positive brand equity and that it scores highly in terms of all of the following:-

1. Depth of brand awareness - it is easy to recognise and recall
2. Breadth of brand awareness - features highly in a wide number and range of situations
3. Strong brand associations - conveys relevant information consistently over time
4. Favourable brand associations - effectively delivers benefits that are desired
5. Unique brand associations - is strong and favourably distinguished from other brands

Adapted from Keller (2008:637)

Indeed it is clearly a strong brand that meets the criteria of an iconic brand (Paragraph 2.3.3).

3.7 In sum, the material presented shows that just as "Consumers use brands to reflect their self-identity and project it to other people" (Jobber , 2004:271) so the term British or to be associated with British has many of the characteristics of a strong brand in terms of high

awareness, strong power and positive brand equity. Although it varied over time and in its relations to other terms (notably England/English); given these characteristics it is possible to apply the concept of brand emergence (note that this term is preferred to “introduction” as it seems a better fit with the material described and its development over time - Section 3.2 above) to the use of the term Great Britain/British in the early seventeenth century. However, before embarking on the case study of the beginnings of this brand a brief examination of the case study as a research methodology is required.

Chapter 4 – Case Study Research

4.1 Purpose of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is threefold; it aims to clarify the nature of case study research as it is applied in this dissertation, to set the overall historical parameters of the research and to discuss historical sources to be used. In doing so it also clarifies the language relating to British, and how it is used in this specific case study.

It is important to be clear that it is not the purpose of this research to create a new theory of branding but to use and reflect on existing theories. The object of the case study is to apply branding theory to the case to throw light on the case and to reflect on the theory. In doing so it will also add to the body of knowledge relating to current branding theories and cast a new light on the early Jacobean period. As Bryman suggests “...case studies can be associated with both theory generation and theory testing” (Bryman and Bell, 2003:56). Following the eclectic approach of ACP, “analytics of cultural practice” and Hammersley’s “analytic induction” (Paragraph 1.6.7) the research is firmly located in theory testing, but that is not the primary purpose of applying the theory. A useful theory should provide a useful basis for analysis, understanding and explanation. In terms of this research, if the application of the theory provides an analysis that aids understanding and explanation then it is useful. In that sense, and in only that sense, will it be “testing”. If the theory is found wanting in terms of examining the specific case then a reformulation or the development of an alternative will be the subject of future research.

4.2 Case Study Research

4.2.1 The definition of a “case study” is problematic, a “definitional morass” (Gerring, 2006:18) but the definition put forward by Gerring does provide a useful starting point:-

A case study may be understood as the intensive study of a single case where the purpose of the study is – at least in part – to shed light on a larger class of cases...*Case study research* may incorporate several cases, that is, multiple case studies... At the point where the emphasis of a study shifts from the individual case to a sample of cases, we shall say that a study is *cross-case*.... All empirical work may be classified as either case study (comprising one or a few cases) or a cross-case study (comprising many cases).

Gerring (2006:20)

The single case in this research is Great Britain/British and the insights it provides to its development of the brand which is complex. However, a case is expected to encapsulate the complexity of such matters and to focus “...on episodes of nuance and sequentiality of happenings in context, the wholeness of the individual” and in this regard the use of story is

important (Stake, 1995:xii *et seq*) The case examines the context and story of the brand as it unfolds from its introduction to the death of its creator, James VI and I.

4.2.2 The basis for this positioning of this case study is based on the following typology created by Gerring:-

Research designs: A Covariational Typology

| Cases | Spatial Variation | Temporal Variation | |
|--------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| | | No | Yes |
| One | None | 1. Logically impossible | 2. Single case study (diachronic) |
| | Within-case | 3. Single-case study (synchronic) | 4. Single-case study (synchronic + diachronic) |
| Several | Cross-case & Within Case | 5. Comparative method | 6. Comparative-historical |
| | Cross-case | 7. Cross Sectional | 8. Time-series cross-sectional |
| Many | Cross- case & within case | 9. Hierarchical | 10. Hierarchical time-series |

Note:- shaded areas are case study research designs

Source: Gerring (2006:28)

The application of this model exemplifies the difficulties of case study research. This case considers the development of Great Britain/British, in the time period 1603 to 1625 and thus could be:-

- Diachronic – A single case with no spatial variation (Great Britain is assumed to be a single entity) varying over time (1603 to 1625) - Cell 2
- Synchronic – A single case with spatial variation (England and Scotland are regarded as distinct entities) with no variation over the time period (1603 to 1625) - Cell 3
- Synchronic + diachronic - A single case with spatial variation (England and Scotland are regarded as distinct entities) with no variation over the time period (1603 to 1625) - Cell 4

With regard to spatial variation the initial plan was that this was significant and thus England and Scotland would be treated as separate spatial entities. However, as the research proceeded it became evident that England was key and that the spatial variation was of

limited importance – the Act of Hostile Laws and the response of the Scottish Parliament of 11 August 1607 seems effectively to have conceded that the key decisions would be made in England (Paragraph 5.2.5). The consequence of this is that, in terms of the above table the only option is Cell 4: therefore the research is diachronic, focusing on the brand Great Britain/British in a single place, England, and how it varied in the period 1603 to 1625.

4.2.3 As a basis for the analysis of the temporal dimension the model of a myth market set out in Paragraph 2.3.4 is used. The four elements of a myth market (National Ideologies, Populist Worlds, Identity Myths, and Citizens’ Identity Projects) for Spatial Variations the following matrix, based on the social interactionst view of branding, can be constructed:-

| | | Temporal Variation |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| | | 1603-1625 |
| Myth Market Element | National Ideology | To be analysed |
| | Populist Worlds | To be analysed |
| | Identity Influencers | To be analysed |
| | Citizens’ Identity Projects | To be analysed |

The cells to be analysed provide a framework for the case study that is interpreted flexibly. As discussed in Paragraph 2.3.5, the categories inevitably are not discrete and as the analysis of the case material proceeded their usefulness diminished to no more than a frame of reference.

In this approach Great Britain/British can be viewed as a dependent variable which changes based on the interaction of myth market elements and time. An outcome of this approach is that the term Great Britain has an emotional dimension and as is shown in Chapter 3 above it forms part of the definition of a place in which people believe they live. The importance of this for the brand is that to succeed in the specified time period this emotional attachment to the place Great Britain should be established. This is considered in the substantive case study as is the extent to which it was, or was not, achieved in the time period under consideration.

4.3 Terminology – including synonyms and symbols

4.3.1 Without prejudging the outcome of the research, some initial clarification in the use of language regarding Great Britain and British is important before proceeding to the case study. Although it may not necessarily eliminate ambiguity it should help identify where it exists. Failure to provide at least a basic level of clarity at this stage is likely to result in increased confusion later. According to the Shorter English Dictionary, British is an adjective meaning “Of or belonging to Great Britain or its inhabitants” (Oxford University Press, 1986: 239).

The question that this raises is what does the term Great Britain mean and what did it mean in the time periods identified above? Understanding this is important to the case study.

Normally the Union of the Crowns in 1603 is viewed as the start of the modern Great Britain

with the specific adoption of the term by James VI and I in 1604 when he was proclaimed “King of Great Britain” – a step which at the time was met with less than unanimous enthusiasm as Bacon’s objections “relative to the King's adopting the title or name of King of Great Britain” show (Bacon, 1604).

4.3.2 The original noun to which British in this context relates is Britain which as a term predates the period under consideration. For example Tacitus in March AD 69 writes:-

There were three civil wars; there were more with foreign enemies; there were often wars that had both characters at once. There was success in the East, and disaster in the West. There were disturbances in Illyricum; Gaul wavered in its allegiance; **Britain** was thoroughly subdued and immediately abandoned... (My emphasis)

Tacitus (69:book 1)

As the case study shows James’ intention was to create a united kingdom: in marketing terms this was his corporation and its key brand value was unity. The name that he chose for it was Great Britain. As Chapter 3 shows the terms Great Britain and Britain have over time become synonymous and, initially, for the purposes of this research they were regarded as distinct. However, as examination of the case material progressed it became evident that there was a lack of clarity which makes the distinction irrelevant (Chapter 6). The former (Great Britain) may have leveraged from the pre-existing latter (Britain) and the extent and nature of this leverage forms the first part of the detailed case study. Indeed the transition of the association of the adjective British from the pre-existing Britain to the new term Great Britain is an essential part of the research i.e. the application of the brand name to a new product. In this transition extensive use seems to have been made of the term Britannia: literally the Latin (Roman) name for Britain dating from at least AD 69 **Tacitus (69)**. “The creation of the Roman Province of Britannia marked a significant divergence from life in the Earlier Iron Age. We find a world transformed from disparate communities with varying identities to one where there is a strong overarching political framework, with a new ideology that drew together these peoples into a larger whole” (Creighton, 2006:157). The research returns to this theme of “drawing together” in the case study but the frequent use of the term Britain in James’ promotional activity seems to fit well with his use of the antecedent name; at which point it is necessary to consider some historical parameters of the research.

4.4. Historical Parameters

4.4.1 Much has been written by many eminent scholars on the period under consideration There is a plethora of research that has been conducted into the reign of James VI and I and the union of the crowns. So what contribution can this research make? Creighton’s approach to a similarly well researched topic, Roman Britain, provides:-

... 'Britain' is in itself an ideological construct which has altered its meaning significantly over the last 2,000 years. First it was the Roman name for an island, then for the area which became a Roman province. When this province was divided into four, only two had the epithet Britannia attached. Later 'Briton' gave identity to the Welsh and Scots in contrast to the Anglo-Saxons, as new ethnic identities emerged in the migration period. Under the Tudors and Stuarts the constituent kingdoms of the island were politically reunified, resulting in the new Great Britain, which subsequently developed an Empire, now the Commonwealth. Today 'British' has become a problematic identity caught between devolution, European Union, and a complex association with the one-time American colonies. It is not surprising, therefore, that the way historians have constructed 'Britannia' in their imaginations has changed significantly over time as the world around them has transformed itself.

Creighton (2006: 2)

He then goes on to say that his aim is to find a genuinely different way of “interpreting and narrating the creation of Roman Britain ... to challenge perceptions and to create an alternative way of seeing the period, while constructing a narrative in which the actions of individuals can be seen within the context of how they viewed the world.” (Ibid :13). The aim of creating an alternative way of seeing the period is at the core of this research and is considered again in Chapter 6.

4.4.2 With regard to the historical basis of the case study research, the starting point is taken as the cultural-historical, traditional normative approach; but moves to consider more social science approaches that have specific historiographical implications. Notwithstanding the social science approach the overarching approach is ideographic not nomothetic – there is no acceptance, implicit or explicit, that there are “fundamental laws” that drive social phenomena. While such “laws” may be used as a framework to structure discussion, analysis, and understanding they are not used to establish causality. There are however difficulties with such an approach. A good exposition of these difficulties can be gained by a comparison of Durkheim’s “Rules for the Explanation of Social Facts” with his “Rules Relating to the Establishment of Proofs” (Thompson, 2004). The former begins by discussing an activity in which “*one undertakes to explain a social phenomenon*” (Ibid: 59) but goes on to derive a rule covering “*The determining cause of a social fact...*” (Ibid: 61). This rule states:-

...in conformity with the principle of causality as it arises from science itself, we must take the following proposition as the basis of the comparisons that we make: *the same cause always corresponds to the same effect.*

(Ibid: 62)

It appears that Durkheim’s apparent equation of explanation with causality is not sustainable in the context of historical research. However, a focus on origins and outcomes on “how and why” rather simply “why” that is inherent in his work (Bentley, 1999) does seem to have

considerable merit in that it directs enquiry towards process and provides a role for the use of models as a means of exploration.

It is, however, Dilthey's response to such "scientific" approaches to history that fits best with the approach taken here. Bentley's evaluation of Dilthey's contribution is that "...history could not be that nomothetic or law-based enquiry he [Dilthey] had once envisaged. It would need to be ideographic..." His conceptions may suffer from "blurredness" but the following is deeply attractive as the basis for the method of this case study:-

...the possibility of using one's vantage point as a historian to observe transformations invisible to contemporaries. Events can be placed in a total continuum: the parts of the story make more sense in the context of the whole, which in turn becomes clearer because one knows the parts better, which in turn gives the whole an expanded perspective, which in turn illuminates other parts, and so on. Dilthey thus invents a dialectical way of thinking about how history can be approached. It is a deeply humanistic account—history is a domain where 'life grasps life'

Bentley (1999:89)

4.4.3 This research adopts a position of "what you see depends on where you stand", a position that seems to be supported by the four strands in modern historiography identified by Bentley (Ibid:142):-

- Poststructuralism and language
- Textuality and narrative
- Feminist reading of history by women
- The project of a new culture history

All of these appear to sit within an ideographic frame and it is not the intention to discuss each in detail. However it does seem that the idea that there is no such thing as a single objective truth in any situation, implicit in each of the above, is a powerful one that fits well with the views on branding expressed in Chapter 2 above and this research in general. The application of these views to the specific case of the introduction/emergence of British in the reign of James VI and I forms the next step in the research.

4.5 Introduction to the Specific Case

The purpose of this section is to set out how the previous, largely theoretical, material is carried forward in the analysis of the case study material. Chapter 2 discussed two approaches to branding – unidirectional (Section 2.2) and social interactionist (Section 2.3). A key player in the former of these approaches is the brand manager and, as discussed in Paragraph 2.2.4, James can be viewed as such a manager with the role to "develop their products into brands that help create a unique position in the minds of customers." (Jobber, 2004:260) A content analysis (Section 6.2) of contemporary seventeenth century texts is used to identify the use of the brand in a number of acting units and symbols, viz:-

- State documents relating to – Proclamations (Royal and Non-royal), Privy Council, Lieutenant, Commissioner, Lord Mayor
- Institutions of State – Church, Courts
- Symbols – Coins, Flags, Documents
- Popular Media – Theatre, Printed Media

This documentary record provides the source material for an examination of the development of the term Great Britain/British and the context in which it took place over the twenty two years of James' reign. It does so by taking the four themes (national ideologies, populist worlds, citizens' identity projects and identity myths) and considers them with respect to the cultural contradictions of the time in an attempt to assess the success, or failure, of the brand and the implications for branding theory. Having discussed the general parameters of the case study the research now addresses the specifics of the case.

Chapter 5 - The story from the beginning - James VI and I and the beginnings of the brand Great Britain/British.

In order to examine the relevant branding approaches it has to be established that James did actually try to create a united kingdom and that he used the terms Great Britain/British as a means of creating it. At the end of the sixteenth century within the islands of Britain there were two distinct kingdoms i.e. two sovereign states (England and Scotland). There were also Wales and Ireland (each with a distinctive view of its status vis a vis the others) and Britain itself. It is the contention of the research that James used, or tried to use, Great Britain and British as a means of facilitating a merger between the two sovereign states. This chapter examines the events surrounding James' accession, particularly the role of the term British, its use by James both in the run up to his accession and immediately afterwards. It is necessary to consider these factors as they set the context in which the exercise took place.

5.1 The winning of the position

5.1.1 As Elizabeth I grew older the question of her successor became more important in England and internationally. However, public discussion of the matter was circumspect, not only for fear of appearing disloyal but because being seen, or heard, to do so could incur severe sanctions. In 1580 Elizabeth had issued the so called "Statute of Silence" which "declared that discussion of the succession was tantamount to treason and punishable by death" (Newton, 2005:5). For an account of the restrictions on free debate on this subject see Clegg's work on Press Censorship (Clegg, 1997). James VI of Scotland was plainly a contender to succeed Elizabeth. James had acceded to the Scottish throne on 29 July 1567 replacing his deposed mother in the midst of considerable social unrest. Well educated and with a reputation for pursuing the middle way, particularly in religion, he was well versed in government, concerning himself with its affairs at all levels (Newton, 2005:5-10). It seems clear that he wanted to succeed to the English throne and there is a body of evidence that indicates that he set out to win it. As early as 1571 there is "a very early advocacy of the claims of James to the succession to the English throne" when an unknown author, in a pamphlet entitled "An Advertisement of a true and Christian Subject to Queene Elizabeth: Touching the declaring of a Successor" sets out the arguments for James becoming king of England (Cited by Lyell, 1936:294). That the author was anonymous seems hardly surprising given the sensitivity of the subject and the severity of the penalties, for example the cutting off of ears, for breaching censorship laws (Paragraph 8.2.4). By 1591 James' claim was being overtly promoted in publications such as "*A treatise declaring, and confirming against all objections the just title and right of the moste excellent and worthie prince, Iames the sixt,*

King of Scotland, to the succession of the crown of England” (Philodikaios, 1591). However, James was not without opponents and there were those who openly opposed him, for example “*A Conference about the next Succession*” (Allen and Parsons, 1595) – which challenged James’ claim.

Modern sources are in no doubt about James’ attitude, and as the website of the UK Parliament put it “James VI, conscious of his claim to the English throne in the event of Elizabeth’s death, did everything he could to maintain good relations, even after the execution of his mother in 1587” (UK Parliament, 2009). It seems clear that James’ succession was the subject of some debate and it is inconceivable that he was unaware of it. The questions here are Did he actively pursue his claim? and did it influence his actions before he acceded and, importantly for this research, when he introduced the brand British? In this regard Doran’s work provides a useful summary of the position, reviewing contemporary material including Philodikaios she writes:-

...before 1595 the succession was indeed a secondary concern to James, hardly influencing his policy. From then on, however, the Scottish king lost confidence that his claim to England would be uncontested and so he developed a number of strategies to defend and forward his legal right against all competitors. James was not exactly ‘obsessed’ by the English succession during these later years ... but his future aspirations directed many of his day to day actions. As far as James was concerned, the succession issue would not be settled until he sat on the throne of England.

Doran (2006:27)

Evidence supporting such day to day actions is provided by the extensive correspondence between James and Robert Cecil from 1601 in which, inter alia, the matter of the succession is discussed in a circumlocutory manner using codes (Paragraph 5.1.4) despite which Cecil writes to James:-

Thus have I now (*ex mero officio* to my Souverayne, an out of affectionate care to your Majesties future happiness, **whom God hath instituted to sitt** (in his dew time) **in the chayre of state, at the feet whereof I dayly kneele**) ... (My emphasis)

Bruce (1861:6)

By citing God’s support for it and by offering to kneel at James’ feet Cecil is explicitly supporting James’ claim to the English throne.

5.1.2 Whatever the merits of James’ hereditary claims to the English throne he was eventually successful in winning it. However, what did he bring to the throne? In keeping with viewing this case study from a business standpoint James can be treated as the equivalent to a modern day Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a company which is involved in a merger with a larger future company and who takes over the top job in the merged entity. In modern business the autocratic “just do it” style of management by CEO’s is regarded as

anachronistic. A CEO generally has to manage/coordinate the various stakeholders in their business. “In contemporary organizations, the CEO must discern the shape of the institution, articulate and link the inputs of the various stakeholders and forge a clear mission that relates the institution to the larger society” (Shapiro, 2000:130). James’ views on imperial kingship as set out in *Basilikon Doron* indicate that, at least in theoretical terms, he had a different view. In his eyes “... imperial kingship (*imperium*) posited the unchallenged authority of rulers in temporal and spiritual matters within their realms” (Cramsie, 2006:42). Accordingly he was answerable only to God.

Interestingly this contradicts the teachings of James’ former tutor - the poet, historian, and administrator George Buchanan (1506–1582) who James held in some regard (Willson, 1956:21). James assumed control of the Scottish monarchy from the regents in 1581 when he was fifteen years old at which time his tutor was Buchanan. When James ascended to the Scottish throne Buchanan had just completed his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, (Buchanan, 1582). According to Abbott its preface dedicated to James may have been a substitute for tutorials that Buchanan could not deliver to the king because of ill health (Abbott, 2006).

The doctrine that underlay Buchanan's political theory was also fundamental to his historical writings. He stated that the source of power was the people, that the king must accept limitations upon the authority committed to him, and that it was lawful to resist and punish tyrants. For him this was not simply an abstraction, but was borne out by the fortunes of Scotland's early kings.

Abbot (2006:5)

It has been suggested James’ “True Law”, with its emphasis on the divine right of kings, can be seen an act of revenge on his former tutor (Lake, 2004:260). Be that as it may it is certain that James was, thanks to Buchanan’s influence, at the very least aware that there was a body of thought that constrained the capacity for action of a monarch in the seventeenth century just as there are constraints for a modern CEO (Shapiro, 2000).

A further factor that impacted on James’ abilities as a monarch was where he came from. The concept of an availability bias in behaviour is well established i.e. past experiences impact current and future behaviour. Just as a modern CEO has an availability bias by which current decisions are driven in part by their previous experience (Carroll, 1978:88), so James was likely to bring his experience of monarchy in Scotland to his new kingdom.

5.1.3 In economic terms Scotland in the sixteenth century was predominantly medieval based on agriculture, fishing and basic extractive industry with some limited low grade manufacturing. Consistent with such an economy:-

Sixteenth-century Scottish society was fragmented and decentralised into a multiplicity of localities on which central authority impinged only lightly. Change to a more centralised state with increasing interference and direction from the government and professional judiciary only began to gain momentum towards the end of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, despite increasing central control, Scottish society and many of its key institutions remained decentralised to a degree that surprised English observers and which has often been interpreted as backward, inefficient and weak.

Whyte (1997:69)

Most of the predominantly farming community identified with the local landowning family (the laird) who in turn might identify with a local magnate creating powerful bonds of kinship. These kinship ties were reinforced by a system of justice in which minor, day-to-day, disputes were settled by the baronies and major issues by the regalities (only treason and witchcraft were *ultra vires* for the latter); all of which was done locally without recourse to royal justice and thus had major implications on the role of the monarch (Wormald, 1981:27-40).

In addition to the difference in the amount of centralisation between England and Scotland there were differences in the degree of bureaucratisation in which taxation play a key role. Kiser and Linton (2001) show that the impact of warfare on the level of taxation and the degree of bureaucratisation is significant. Thus in the sixteenth century as Scotland's military activity was in the main limited to conflict with England, taxation and bureaucratisation were relatively low:

Regular taxation encourages contact between government and governed; it is one reason for the interest of the English shire gentry in attending parliament, where those whose pockets were touched could make their voice heard. It also encourages more bureaucracy, for more officials become necessary. And it is unpopular. Its absence in Scotland meant that the governed remained less aware of the government, and certainly had no reason to see it as the oppressor bearing down on its subjects with demands for money. That strengthened the idea of the king as paternalistic overseer...

Wormald (1981:15-16)

In essence there was a major difference in the relationship between the monarch and their subjects. Scottish society operated in a fragmented and decentralised manner, "... in a multiplicity of localities on which central authority impinged only lightly" (Whyte, 1997:69). All of which was likely to have an impact on how James viewed his role and how he would try to carry it out:

Because the Scottish Parliament did not have responsibility for raising taxes very often did not mean it was weaker than the English House of Commons, only that its role was different. Decentralised *laissez faire* rule is now seen as a deliberate royal policy as much as *faute de mieux*.

Whyte (1997:73)

The alternative view of the same set of circumstances is one in which "Political anarchy and governmental weakness provided scope for private vengeance, and widespread destruction

which must have been wrought in the settlement of private feuds ...” such that “In every part of Scotland social unrest and political instability were reflected in insecurity of tenure from the highest to the lowest level” (Lythe, 1960:6-8). Whichever interpretation one accepts Scotland was certainly different from England in the way in which the monarchy functioned.

5.1.4 The kingdom that James was “taking over”, England, was different from Scotland in several other ways. The outgoing English monarch/CEO, Elizabeth I, inherited the crown in November 1558 and formally ascended to the throne on 15 January 1559 and thus had been in post for over 40 years. The extent of her influence over her court is illustrated clearly in the circumspection exhibited by Cecil in his various correspondences with James where the fear of offending her majesty abounds to the extent that codes are used to disguise the names of individuals (Bruce, 1861:xxxv et seq). Throughout Elizabeth’s reign England had been involved in numerous wars and, as has been stated above, wars require financing which inevitably drive taxation and that in turn increases the role of the state. There seems to be considerable debate about the importance of war in this area, see for example Hoyle (Hoyle, 1994), but what is significant is that in England:

By the early years of Elizabeth [sic] reign 'everybody accepted that regular peacetime taxation had come to stay and that the ordinary rather than extraordinary tasks of government obliged the nation to assist the Queen financially.'² Both Alsop and Harris have placed an emphasis on defence rather than war; both, by different routes, accept that the tax revenues offered for this reason could be used to support the costs of government. Alsop also showed that in the early 1540s extraordinary income was being diverted towards the building of palaces and within a few years to fund the household itself.

...

Where Alsop saw a breakdown in a system which rigorously distinguished extraordinary and ordinary revenues, Harris denied that such a rigid formula ever existed, *postulating instead a tug of war between monarch and subject. The Exchequer would always want to widen the range of expenses which were paid out of extraordinary income, whereas the Commons would seek to limit them to exceptional and extraordinary expenses, in effect war. To admit an obligation to finance ordinary expenditure would be to invite perpetual taxation.* (my italics.)

Hoyle (1994:182)

The significance of one party’s attempts to “widen” and the other’s to “limit” lies in the “tug of war”, of conflict and negotiation between the two i.e. between the monarch and the population as represented by the House of Commons. Such negotiation not only requires bureaucratic support on both sides to justify their position but implies that outcomes will depend on a process: a somewhat different role for a monarch from the paternalistic one described by Wormald (Paragraph 5.1.3) as pertaining in Scotland. It would, however, be simplistic to assume that James did not know the English bureaucracy or indeed how to join in with it. His correspondence with Cecil and his accession itself indicates that he knew how to work within the English system. In addition to the correspondence with Cecil (Paragraph 5.1 1) the evidence clearly indicates that he was actively involved in securing his succession

to Elizabeth. For example, James' "True Law of Free Monarchies" "was occasioned...by Parsons's book [challenging James right to accede] and the concerns raised therein about the succession to the English throne and forms part of a concerted campaign to defend James' rights in that regard ..." (my italics) (Lake, 2004:243), and "it was a book produced to meet the greatest single challenge to his [James'] right to succeed to the English throne"(Lake, 2004:260).

5.1.5 James, as an educated Scot, would have been schooled in the Scots' view of British history which was somewhat different to that of the English. His tutor, Buchanan, provides an excoriating critique of the English myth of the Brutus History - see pages 42 to 53 of Fraser's translation of *Rerum Scotticarum historia* (Fraser,1689:42-53). The view of people like Boece, however ill-founded, that the Scots could trace their lineage back to ancient Egypt and therefore had precedence over the English who could merely trace their lineage back to Brutus in the fifth and sixth centuries, would have been familiar to James – see Maitland's translation of the *History and Chronicle of Scotland* (Maitland ,1821). Such views directly contradicted the English view of British history that derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain (Historia regum Britanniae)* (Geoffrey of Monmouth, c1138). The significance of this, in the context of James' accession, can be seen from the following:-

... The English quickly adopted Geoffrey's account as the first part of their own national history, and it was not long before the Welsh followed suit. Throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period, both the English and the Welsh made the idea of an ancient British heritage the historical cornerstone of their national identity. Geoffrey's pseudohistory provided both nations with a distinguished past of the greatest antiquity, but for both, the idea of a unique Britishness was also a way of defining themselves against one another. The English used it as a way of advancing their claims to dominion over Wales, the Welsh to give an ideological backbone to their resistance against the English. **The notion of an ancient British heritage had such a powerful hold on the English imagination that "Britain" came to be identified with the kingdom of England itself, in explicit distinction from Wales and Scotland.** (my emphasis)

MacColl (2006:249)

The myths created by this "pseudohistory" are, it is suggested, important not least because they were one of the foundations of the beliefs of the new organisation that James' aspired to rule and underpin the Great Britain that he subsequently introduced. Of significance here is that the equation of British and English suggested by MacColl held sway within the English political elite. For example this taken from the Chronicles of 1587:-

... Brute, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, untill the time that Theodosius, [20] in the daies of Ualentinianus and Ualens endeouored, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it *Valentia*, as Marcellinus saith. But as this devise tooke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue foorth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it

should be called Angles land, or Angellandt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England.

Holinshed and Harrison (1587: 5)

Furthermore, it was believed to establish beyond doubt the supremacy of the English throne over the Scottish by virtue of its antiquity and direct lineage to the contemporary English monarch which provided legitimation and “Legitimation unquestionably involved an *appeal to the past*, to tradition; but necessarily, at moments of crisis or change, legitimation might require a *departure from tradition*, if a departure not publicly proclaimed” (Sharpe, 2009:12).

5.1.6 In addition to such politico-administrative issues a further factor to be considered is the sheer difference in economic scale between Scotland and England. England was a huge undertaking compared to Scotland as the following table shows:

Table 5.1 Regional Components of British GDP, Population & GDP per Capita 1500-1700

| | Scotland | England & Wales |
|------|---|-----------------|
| | Population (000s) | |
| 1500 | 500 | 2642 |
| 1600 | 700 | 4470 |
| 1700 | 1036 | 5604 |
| | GDP (million 1990 Geary-Kamis dollars) | |
| 1500 | 298 | 2098 |
| 1600 | 566 | 4826 |
| 1700 | 1136 | 8196 |
| | Per Capita GDP | |
| 1500 | 596 | 793 |
| 1600 | 809 | 1080 |
| 1700 | 1097 | 1463 |

Source: Maddison (2006:247)

The table shows clearly the difference in scale between the two kingdoms. In 1600 the population of Scotland was 12% that of England while its GDP was 16%. In terms of twenty-first century enterprises James’ succession can be seen as roughly equivalent of the CEO of a mid range retailer such as Budgens with a turnover, in 2009, of £3.7 billion (Musgrave Group, 2010) taking on the role of CEO of the United Kingdom’s largest retailer Tesco with a turnover of £53.5 billion in 2009 (Tesco, 2010) in addition to their existing role.

5.1.7 On 24 March 1603 James ascended to the English throne. From the preceding paragraphs it is clear that the kingdom that he had gained was very different from that to which he was used. Furthermore he brought to the new throne a set of experiences and ideas that were foreign to England. It is suggested that these experiences and ideas led him on a course of action that culminated in the launching of the brand Great Britain/British in a classic unidirectional manner i.e. he would try to impose the brand in an environment that

was fundamentally different from that to which he was accustomed. The contradiction he wanted to resolve was how to align these two different national ideologies (ideologies in the sense of views of the role of history, tradition, monarchy and the state). In order to do that he set in train a key project – Great Britain/British: in unidirectional branding terms he brought it to market, in social interactionist terms he set in train a citizen’s identity project.

5.2. James ascends to the English throne

5.2.1 A contemporary Scots account of James’ accession reads:

Upon the 24th of March between 8 and 9 hours in the morning the Lords of the Privy Council of England were convened and understanding what had happened, ordered a proclamation to be made at the gates of her late Majesty's court, informing the whole people assembled there that her Majesty was dead and that the right of succession to the crown and authority of her dominions pertained only to James King of Scotland. So the proclamation was published as soon as possible to all his Majesty's subjects. He was now justly entitled King of England, Scotland France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and at two hours in the afternoon this was proclaimed at the gilt cross of Cheapside in London where there were great numbers of people, both clergy, gentlemen and ordinary folk convened wondering what the matter could be.

Hearing the content of it and being very glad at it, they all cried with one consent 'God save King James! [The proclamation was read by Sir Robert Cecil]

Johnstons' History (1603)

James received the news from Sir Robert Cary the following Saturday shortly before the English delegation arrived formally to offer the English throne. James gladly accepted (ibid) but note that this account also expresses some reservations about the accession fearing that the king will be remote/inaccessible. On 31 March 1603, at the market cross in Edinburgh, James was declared King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland. He was not declared King of Great Britain.

James set off for London on 5 April 1603 and arrived on 7 May which, even by the standards of the time, was a relatively slow journey that provided opportunities for lobbying and special pleading en route. Prior to his departure for London James issued two proclamations, the first, on 5 April, said that all those who were in office on Elizabeth’s death should continue to do so until he gave further direction, and that much as His Majesty appreciated the ‘earnest and longing desire’ of his subjects to enjoy the sight of him they should remain in place i.e. they should stay where they were. It is evident that James has been accepted and that those seeking his patronage were intent on obtaining access but he would prefer it if their flood north in pursuit of it was somewhat dammed. The second, on 8 April, laid down an Anglo-Scottish exchange rate (Wormald, 2003). The significance of the exchange rate is that it

shows the salience of economic factors and an acknowledgement of differences between the two states.

5.2.2 On arriving in London James appears to have become immersed in his new role. James' state papers show over 60 documents in which he is likely to have been personally involved (James I, 1603c). The most significant of these activities for the purposes of this research is the "Proclamation for the Union of England and Scotland" dated 19 May 1603 (Larkin and Hughes, 1973:18). The significance of this proclamation for this research lies in the title, it is not a declaration of the creation of Great Britain. The interesting point about this declaration is that at no point does it refer to Great Britain, it refers to "Union" and "the whole Island" but Great Britain is conspicuous by its absence.

Evidence that James was not prepared to use the term is provided by the proclamation he issued 6 July deferring his coronation because of an outbreak of plague which concludes "Given at our Castle of Windsor, the sixth day of Iuly, 1603. in the first yeere of our Reigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland,..." (James I,1603a). The precise use of such terminology is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. However, there is a more general issue regarding James' use of terms:-

By 16 May 1603, James had apparently settled upon the style, 'firs't yeere of our Reigne of England, France and Ireland, and in the sixe and thirtieth of Scotland'. But after 20 October 1604, when he issued the proclamation declaring his royal title, 'King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland', he favoured this formulary, sometimes abbreviated ... Throughout his reign, however, alternating styles of Great Britain and England, with or without addition of the Scottish regnal year, succeeded each other in groupings which follow no apparent pattern of year, content, or particular King's printer..."

Larkin and Hughes (1973:xi)

It cannot be known if this was simply sloppy or symptomatic of a lack of belief in the concept, but from a branding point of a view (particularly from a unidirectional standpoint) the lack of a consistent message (indeed brand name - Paragraph 2.2.5) seems to be a clear weakness in establishing the brand.

One other issue that many modern CEOs will be familiar with was that of finance, in the sense of remuneration/expenses:-

As a married man with children James could not be expected to manage on a budget barely sufficient for a frugal spinster. [Elizabeth]
The level of James' expenditure none the less came as a shock. By August 1603 the Exchequer faced a cash crisis, and the following month comparative estimates were drawn up. These showed that where Elizabeth had spent around £40,000 each year on the Household, with a usually untouched reserve of £7,000, the King and his heir, Prince Henry, would spend £93,000.

Croft (1985:12)

Given the situation regarding taxation (Paragraph 5.1.3) this was likely to attract some attention from, among others, the English Parliament, which introduces the Parliament of 1604. However before James encountered this Parliament he participated in discussions with another important stakeholder, the Church, at the Hampton Court conference in January 1604. The detailed discussions of ecclesiastical dogma that took place are beyond the scope of this research. What is of significance is that it led James to commission the translation of the bible into vernacular English i.e. “The King James Bible” or more accurately “The Authorised Version”. The key point is that it was published in increasingly cheaper editions for all and was at a superficial level an amazing piece of propaganda for him as King of Great Britain, as is clearly stated on the title page it is dedicated to:- “The MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE Prince, JAMES by the grace of God King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc” (Bible, 1611:3). The reality is somewhat more subtle and is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 7.

5.2.3 The Parliament of 1604 convened on 19 March and to say that James started on the wrong foot would be something of an understatement. To this day the established protocol is that the monarch summons the Commons to the Upper House (House of Lords) where they (Members of the House of Commons) are addressed by the monarch:-

This Day Knights and Burgesses returned (Three hundred, at least) were sworn, and took their Place in the House; and there [the Commons] expected some Message (as the Manner is) [as expected by convention] of his Majesty's Pleasure, for their Attendance in the Upper House: which, by some mistaking, being neglected, his Majesty begun and continued a long Speech, without the general Presence of the Commons. This Error bred some Question, and was so urged, as his Majesty, being made acquainted with it, did afterwards excuse it, and recompense it with a Repetition of his Speech the next Day...

The Error was discovered to grow by the Intrusion of sundry Gentlemen, his Majesty's Servants, and others (no Members of Parliament) into the Higher House, during the time of this his Majesty's Speech, who were taken for the Commons; and thereby his Majesty was induced to direct his Speech, as if the whole House of Commons had been present, and heard him...

House of Commons Journal (1604)

Whatever its causes James' failure to follow the established convention was an inauspicious start to the relationship with a key stakeholder (Paragraph 2.2.10) and one that set the scene for what followed. As to the content of the speech there is no mention of Britain or Britannia in any form and the word “union” appears only eleven times in varying contexts in a speech of some 6400 words (House of Commons Journal, 1604a). It appears that James never overcame the damage caused by these initial errors and following the intervention of Sir Robert Wroth on 23 March 1604 proposed an agenda of seven items, excluding discussion of the union, that was “passed with Silence;” (House of Commons Journal, 1604b). “Quite

simply, an ordinary M.P., and a highly troublesome one at that, [Sandys] had taken control of the session” (Rabb,1964:648) and removed the union from the agenda. As the union was not among those agenda items agreed it was left to James to try to recover the situation by suggesting his own agenda in a message presented to the House on 13 April in which he explicitly asks for the union to be reinstated on the agenda stating:-

Three main Businesses in our Hands:

1. The Union.
2. Sundry publick and Commonwealth Bills.
3. Matter of Religion, and Reformation of Ecclesiastical Discipline.

For the Union, that it might be now prepared, and prosecuted the next Session. - That Union, which with the Loss of much Blood, could never be brought to pass, as now it is. That, the better to bring it to pass, we should be in Affections united.

House of Commons Journal (1604c)

“We should be in Affections united” does not seem resonant of a king with a divine right to rule. Perhaps the need to “forge a clear mission that relates the institution to the larger society”, (Paragraph 5.1.2), was beginning to dawn on him. From the point of view of pursuing the union of the English and Scottish crowns worse was yet to come. A crucial point seems to have been on 19 April 1604 with the intervention of, among others, Sir Edwyn Sandys who was “...the inspiration behind opposition to the Union in 1604”. At the outset he recognised that even changing the name of England and Scotland to Britain was 'the weightiest possible cause', and that it was necessary to 'proceed with a leaden foot' – see ** in the Table 5.2. He distracted debate on nominating English members of the Union Commission by calling for guarantees that only Englishmen would hold office under the English crown. Throughout April 1604 he refuted the official line put forward by Bacon Cuddy (1989:112-113). The contemporary minutes of Commons Journal for the day are presented in bullet point form but they give a clear indication of the considerable antipathy to the idea of a union. The following are extracts from the minutes which are in bullet point format. The absence of a verbatim transcript makes full understanding of the minutes difficult but an interpretation of the full minute shown in the first column is provided in the Comment column:-

Table 5.2 – Minutes - 19 April 1604 House of Commons

| Minute - 19 April 1604 (House of Commons Journal, 1604d) | Comment |
|--|---|
| Mr. Fuller, - against Scottishmen to be Magistrates with us, nor English amongst the Scottish. Take a Plant in barren Ground, and set it in good Ground, and it will grow, and overgrow. The Broad Seal ours, with the King. England sits here, and nowhere else. | This seems a clear statement by Mr Fuller that the two countries should not mix far less unite which implies that Scots immigrants could overrun England. Indeed Parliament is English |
| Eight objections collected: | |
| 1. Scotland should yield, and make a Cession of their own Name, and not meet equally... | Scotland is not the equal of England and should give up its name. |
| 2. Christen a Child before it be born. Answ. The Child is born; it wants but cradling, and swadling: In sovereignty, and Allegiance, is born. | The union has not been established therefore a name is not required elicits the response that it has and the it requires nurturing (presumably in part by giving it a name). |
| 3. That we should lose the ancient Name of England, so famous, and victorious. - The Britaines held Tack with the Romaynes, in their Greatness. | Emphasises the importance of England as a brand but also consigns Britain to ancient history i.e. undermines James' view of Britain as source of unity. |
| 4. Either the Union will succeed, or not succeed: If not, then the Name is a Shadow. - Rome was not built on a Day. Light Things go before, the weightiest come after. A Name is volatile, an airy Thing. | The establishment of unity is more important than what it is called. |
| 5. We know not what they do in Scotland: Shall we invite? Answ. The King invites us both. | Emphasises the difference between the two. The answer to the objection shows that it was James who was promoting the idea of union. |
| 6. The Precedence of England in Danger. - Spayne united in Name; in no Danger for Precedency. | The status of England is threatened. |
| 7. The Name urge on and inwrap the Matter : - That we should prejudge the Matter. - The very Name helps to the Correcting of the Stomachs. - | Indicates the strength of feeling generated – the name (Great Britain) makes him sick! |
| 8. Sir Edwyn Sandys: - The weightiest Cause, that ever came, or can come. - Proceed with a leaden Foot. The Matter, in Nature, doth precede the Manner.- | See below |
| Whether the Alteration of the Name be necessary, expedient: | See below |
| What Alteration, | See below |
| At what Time. - Names the Signs of Things. Names but shew the Unity and Differences of Things. God hath laid the Foundation: The Name may well be altered. - Arist. Nomen signum rei. Names not to be rashly imposed, but by wise Men. - What Manner of Unity: What it is like to be. - Not cast away the old Name, but superinduced a new... The Ground of every Name is the Nature of the Thing. A fourfold Union. In Unity many Degrees. - The same Thing, the Good of the King, and People. - No Man sits as a Person, by himself. The King stands not alone... We may give a Name, before the Child be born; but not the Name to a Male, or Female... We cannot make any Laws to bind Britannia . England sits here representatively only...This House hath translated the Title of the Crown from one Line to another, which they could not do. | **THE INTERVENTION OF SANDYS This was a crucial point. Sandys was "...the inspiration behind opposition to the Union in 1604. At the outset he recognised that even changing the name of England and Scotland to Britain was 'the weightiest possible cause', and that it was necessary to 'proceed with a leaden foot'. He distracted debate on nominating English members of the Union Commission by calling for guarantees that only Englishmen would hold office under the English crown. Throughout April 1604 he refuted the official line put forward by Bacon" Cuddy (1989:112-113). His view is that England is not Britannia and that the House of Commons is English, a direct contradiction of James' position. |

These texts are quoted extensively and in detail because they are evidence of difficulty that James experienced in introducing the union and its associated name. Specifically the debate is about more than simply England and Scotland as kingdoms. It is about the fear of a loss of England and Englishness and a Scottish takeover. It concerns the superiority of England and the potential threat to Parliament. As the minute above puts it “No Man sits as a Person, by himself. The King stands not alone...”

In this session there is repeated reference to “name”. It is not clear to what this refers but it is suggested that it is significant that the terms “Britaines” and “Britannia” appear. However, by the 26 April 1604 it becomes clear:-

Table 5.3 – Minutes - 26 April 1604 House of Commons

| Minute - 26 April 1604 (House of Commons Journal, 1604e) | Comment |
|--|--|
| A Title to a Kingdom, by them who have Interest, cannot be given, without Giving of the Kingdom. | By giving the name the Kingdom is given and the Commons does not have that in its gift. |
| By this Name the Kingdom of England dissolved | Self explanatory – the end of England |
| The Name of Brittain doth result upon England and Scotland, and therefore cannot be without an Extinction... | As in the previous minute adoption of the title Great Britain means the end of England and Scotland. |
| This Title confirmed by Act of Parliament to King H. VIII. and his Successors, for ever. We have recognized the King this Parliament, to be King of England, &c. - Impossible to alter it the same Parliament. | James has been recognised as King of England and that is what he must remain. |
| But the King will only style himself so to foreign Nations. – If he be not King of Brittain at home, he is not King of Brittain in reference to foreign States. | Seems that there was a suggestion that James could use Great Britain in diplomatic activity but the objection is that if he cannot use the term domestically he cannot use it overseas. |
| England and Scotland, Words of Nugation: Viz. doth not serve for the Division of them from Brittain. – A Kingdom, a Thing indivisible, therefore the Viz. repugnant | Nugation is the act of trifling. Viz = namely. This is obscure but it could be a play on the word “viz” |
| Who shall interpret our Acts ? - The King of Great Brittain, shall interpret, &c. and Grants, &c. for the King, largely taken, and not strictly, &c | The House of Commons is English so how can the King of Great Britain interpret them? |
| Other Objections made : | |
| If we should assent first, and Scotland disassent, Dishonour to England | England would lose face if Scotland refused to accept the union. |
| We should make that Treason by this Act, which before was no Offence. By saying, before Notice, that he is not King of Brittain, or, after Notice, that he is King of England, we commit Treason | If James says he is King of Great Britain then: If before that the Commons say he is not this is treason If after that the Commons say he is King of England then this is treason. |
| To enact here, for the Union of the Title, for Scotland, not in our Power: - Exemplified by Spayne... | The English House of Commons can not legislate for Scotland. |
| [Following an intervention by Sir Francis Bacon it was agreed that a committee be appointed to investigate the matter.] | |
| Passed in Silence. - Commissioners not too many, not too few. | |

5.2.4 There is therefore an explicit rejection of the union and consequently of the brand name and its associated values, indeed it could be argued that it was actually perceived as a source of disunity rather than unity and as such reinforcing rather than resolving a social contradiction. However, the rejection of the brand, for that is what it was, was implicit rather than explicit. In current parlance the matter was “kicked into the long grass” and by prorogation on 7 July the matter had still not been resolved. The key point here is that, as the minutes show, the Commons have been discussing the proposed new brand name, they are unhappy to dispense with the old brand name ‘England’ and are suspicious of the implications, both practical and theoretical, in adopting the new brand name Britain. They also make the point that James will style himself as King of Great Britain to foreign States,

which is of course what he did and which seems to have been accepted albeit with varying degrees of success – (Paragraph 6.5).

What this also indicates is a level of parochialism about ‘England’ which is evident in Cranbourne’s endorsement of a letter from the Commons to James that reads:-

1604. Union" *and in Cranborne's hand*: "Difference of time and not desire of change forces our present consultation. The time was when we wished Scotland ill, and now we wish it well. The time [was we] hated the K[ing]: now we are in love. The time when we were opposite in arms, and now in equal obedience. Action of unkindness. Security. God's providence. Caution where laws are to be changed.

Cecil Papers (1604a)

Given the role of those taking part in the debate, this view was likely to be widely disseminated – (Paragraph 6.7).

There is also evidence of a fear of a Scottish takeover, which probably meant a fear that Scots would get a disproportionate share of James’ patronage if the two kingdoms were united. There is also the lawyers’ point that the English Parliament makes law for England alone (Chapter 7). There appears to be no desire for a British Parliament, but an understanding that for diplomatic purposes the title of King of Great Britain might be possible. As an introduction of a brand to a key segment in the market this was plainly an inauspicious start. From a unidirectional standpoint it is clear that James, as the brand leader, could not impose the brand name on the Commons. From a social interactionist standpoint the Citizens Identity project plainly did not strike a chord, indeed there seems to have been open hostility towards it. It seems clear that initially at least, an element of the brand i.e. its name, had failed in England: but what about Scotland?

5.2.5 In contrast in Scotland James had raised control of the Scottish Parliament “to a new level” (Wormald, 1981:158) and this control is reflected in the Scottish Parliamentary record which for 26 April 1604 shows a somewhat different approach in Edinburgh from that in London. The opening of the session begins with Alexander Seaton reading an address dated 8 February from James:

James, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France and Ireland etc., defender of the faith, addresses all good men whom the present letter reaches. Let it be known that the most good and great God who gives kingdoms and takes them away, by his singular mercy and benevolence towards us and to our old and ancient kingdom of Scotland and its renowned and powerful crown, has mercifully added the realm of England, with great joy and applause on the part of all the inhabitants of the entire island of **Britain**, separated as it is from the rest of the world. (my emphasis)

Brown. (2007a)

The February address sets out James' intention to "to stabilise and strengthen this complete and permanent union" and to that end has convened an English Parliament for 20 March (note it was the 19th - see Table 5.2) "to deal with and discuss the manner and form of the union of the crowns" and he wishes the Scottish Parliament to do the same at the session that commenced on 10 April. Both Parliaments were to ensure "... that the said union of the two realms should be dealt with first and before all, and in general concluded." And in order to facilitate this created a special commission comprising an equal number of commissioners from each kingdom (Brown, 2007a).

However, by 1 May 1604 James appears to have realised that the problems he was experiencing with the English parliament and writes to the Scottish Parliament that he is unlikely to be able to confirm progress on the union before "about the end of August or beginning of September". He goes to some lengths to express "heartly thanks to all noblemen and others of our estates for their goodwill and pains bestowed in the advancement of our service..." (op cit.).

The contrast between the two Parliaments is stark. On 11 July having been informed by James that the English Parliament had agreed to proceed with the commission the Scottish Parliament went ahead and duly appointed their commissioners (Brown, 2007c).

In a manner typical of unidirectional brand management, and in keeping with his view of the monarch's role, James seems to have carried on and on 15 September issued "A Proclamation appointing the day and place for the meeting of the Commissioners of England and Scotland" (Larkin and Hughes, 1973:92). The commissioners met on 20 October and on 6 December James received "Articles of Union drawn up by the Commissioners of England and Scotland, to be proposed to the Parliaments of both realms. Prefixed are the preface, Acts for authorizing the several Commissioners, their names, powers, &c" (James I, 1604d). However, the Instrument of Union was not presented to the English Parliament until 21 November 1606 when it was noted and referred for further discussion. Eventually with the third reading of the Bill of Hostile Laws on 30 June 1607 the English Parliament rejected James' union.

Even in Scotland the commission's report was not incorporated into an Act of Parliament until 11 August 1607 and even then subject to the caveat that:

[The Act] ... be of no strength, force nor effect hereafter, until and to the special time that the estates of England by their acts and statutes in parliament determine, grant and allow the same and as many acts, privileges, liberties, freedoms and immunities to the subjects of

the kingdom of Scotland, to be enjoyed and possessed by them within the realm of England, according to the foresaid treaty in all points.

Brown (2007b)

which is precisely what the Bill of Hostile Laws did not do with regard to, among other things, remanding (Newton, 2005:128). In simple terms the Scots would only do it if the English did and the latter would not, indeed the English had no intention of doing so.

5.2.6 James' "Identity Project" may have been in difficulty but he had already gone public. On 15 March 1604, four days before the English Parliament sat, a civic celebration of the accession took place in London. Central to this were seven specially constructed ceremonial arches at key points in the City. At each of these speeches were made and a detailed account of each plus a description of each arch is provided in Harrison's "Arches of Triumph". The Arch in Cheapside, "The new Arabia foelix", "caried (sic) the name of the New Arabia, under which title the whole Island of Britannia was figured" which could be seen as recognition of the Scots interpretation of the history of Britain (Paragraph 5.1.5). However, the first, and arguably most important, of these was that in Fenchurch Street "...the backe of it so leaning on the East ende of the Church, that it over-spread the whole streete" (Harrison, 1604). The symbolic importance of this edifice has been described thus:-

The Fenchurch arch gives rise not only to concepts of the king's body but also to ideas of union, religion, peace and plenty, genealogy and progeny, and the City's political body. **Monarchia Britannica** presides over this arch, dressed emblematically and holding a scepter. Shields carrying the insignia of the kingdoms surround her: England and Scotland in special prominence, and also Ireland and France. **Britain** contains these kingdoms, and James brings special union with him. Theosophia, or Divine Wisdom, sat at **Britannia's** feet, carrying a dove and a scepter with the word, "Per Me Reges Regnant," by her all kings do govern. (my emphasis)

Bergeron (2002:218)

While Bergeron's use of the term Britain may be modern and debatable, the symbolism of Britannia as a source of unity seems clear. In branding terms this shows how James was beginning to communicate and promote his vision of a united Britain to a public wider than that in Parliament.

5.2.7 Following the difficulties with Parliament James seems to have continued to consider how best to take his vision of the union forward. His state papers show that over the summer the matter was discussed, for example on 16 September "Heads proposed by the King to be debated on [by the Commissioners for] the Union of England and Scotland..." and on 21 September "...Commissioners for the Union to meet on the 20th Oct..." (James I, 1604b:35-42)

James eventually decided to proceed and on 20 October 1604 at Westminster issued a “Proclamation concerning the Kings Majesties Stile, of King of Great Britaine &c.” despite the advice of at least one of his supporters in Parliament (Dudley Carleton) “... urging the expediency of the King's not assuming the style of "King of Great Britain" by proclamation, but waiting to have it conferred upon him by the next session of Parliament.” (James I, 1604b:82). James was unequivocal:

Wherefore Wee have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regall Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us in maner and forme hereafter expressed, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, including therein according to the trueth, the whole Island

...

Upon all which considerations We doe by these Presents, by force of our Kingly Power and Prerogative, assume to Our selfe by the cleerenesse of our Right, The Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. as followeth in Our just and lawfull Stile, And doe hereby publish, promulge and declare the same, to the ende that in all Proclamations, Missives forreine, and Domesticall, Treaties, Leagues, Dedicatories, Impressions, and in all other cases of like nature, the same may be used and observed. And to the ende the same may be the sooner and more universally divulged both at Home and abroad: Our will and pleasure is, That the same Stile be from hencefoorth used upon all Inscriptions upon our currant Moneys and Coynes of Gold and Silver hereafter to be Minted...

Source: Larkin and Hughes (1973:94)

If James was King of Great Britain then, by implication, all of his subjects were British as was everything pertaining to “the whole Island”. (Note the exclusion of Ireland) It is, in unidirectional branding terminology, the formal announcement of the brand and it is worth noting that it was announced to a number of publics one of whom at least (the English Parliament) was ill disposed towards it. It is unlikely that James was unaware of the antipathies but convinced of his divine right to do so (Paragraph 5.1.2), a right clearly expressed in his proclamation, he continued. However, James seems to have grasped the concept that launching Great Britain was insufficient and that “Brand building is a long-term activity” (Jobber, 2004:272) and not a one off event. He quickly followed his announcement with what can be viewed as a clear statement of what Great Britain meant and therefore what it meant to be British. Eight days after his Proclamation he made an explicit statement of his British values. A clear statement of what the term meant is contained in the following sermon:-

Enotikon or A sermon of the vnion of Great Brittannie, in antiquitie of language, name, religion, and kingdome: preached by Iohn Gordoun Deane of Sarum, the 28 day of October 1604, in presence of the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall

Which opens with the lines:-

ENOTIKON OR A Sermon of the Vnion of Great Brittannie.

Epigraph:

MATTH. 12. vers. 25.

Euery Kingdome diuided against it selfe (or in the selfe) shall be brought to nought

(or desolate;) and euerie citie or house diuided against it selfe (or in it selfe) shall not stand.

Gordon (1604:1)

James' presence at the event shows its importance and that the sermon reflects his position. It provides a clear statement of brand values i.e. of the emotional and functional benefits of Great Brittanie and hence of British. The sermon is redolent with references to unity under one king, for example:-

I have set before your eies this doctrine of the mysticall signification of the Hebrew letters, that are contained in these words *Man, Woman, Citie, kingdome, diuision, and vnion*, to this end that the persons which are to treat of this great worke of union in the uniting of the Iland of Great Brittanie in one kingdome in the members, as God hath united them alreadie in one head, may make their profit thereof and apply the same to their harts.

Gordon (1604:4)

Great Brittanie, and by association British, seems designed to provide a clear source of unity. In branding terms, it is a clear statement of core values directed at the ruling cadre and beyond. It is thus central to what has been termed a "Citizens Identity Project". The Bishop was effectively acting, under James' leadership, as brand manager in the unidirectional sense (Paragraph 2.2.3 et seq.) he was setting out the basis for the formation of an emotional attachment to Great Britain, to being British.

The extent to which James was committed to the establishment of unity is not in doubt, indeed:-

James made his body the centerpiece of his argument for Union. He insisted that his body natural, his physical body, had effected a union of the crowns of England and Scotland, that Union was "an Action, which God by the lawes of Nature . . . hath now in effect perfected in my Person," and that Parliament ought to make this union more systematic and permanent by uniting their legal and political systems...

Garganigo (2002:336)

He set himself up as the personification of the union which God had created "alreadie in one head" (Gordon, 1604:4). James' own body was the quintessence of the unity of the kingdom and yet it is clear that the English Parliament did not, at this time, accept that this kingdom (Great Britain) existed. Indeed "Once political and commercial integration had been rejected in 1607, the Scottish Estates had reverted to the practice – never abandoned by the English Parliament- of not using the designation Great Britain in its dealings with the Crown on national issues." (Macinnes, 1999:45)

5.2.8 It is clear that in terms of solving the cultural contradiction of lack of unity across the two kingdoms James' "Citizens Identity Project" failed in the first instance. The refusal to accept the term Great Britain by the English Parliament and the necessity to resort to Proclamation as means of assigning himself the title "King of Great Britainne" can be seen as sufficient to justify that statement. A key element in the creation of an iconic brand, the establishment of a relevant identity myth (Paragraph 2.3.4) had been lost. The Scots Parliament seems initially to have accepted the term, but even it was wary and would only accept it if their English counterparts would. Eventually they reverted to the earlier pre declaration designation. James, despite having the full might of the monarchy, the divine right as he saw it, could not impose the brand on the constituency with which he had the closest direct contact. Such inability shows the intrinsic weakness of the traditional unidirectional model of branding. The target market for his brand, the Citizens Identity Project in social interactionist terms, was plainly not prepared to accept it. The emotional attachment of a brand is evidently absent. The brand was clearly in difficulty and its interaction with a key audience was at best lukewarm in Scotland, and at worst, heavily negative in England. However, was this failure sufficient to wreck the entire enterprise? Were the other elements in place to give the term a chance of success over the rest of his reign? Consideration of the "Populist Worlds" and how, or if, they were addressed by James throws light on this.

5.3 Populist Worlds

James' public displays of his desire for unity and British as a means of achieving it have been touched on above. The sermon at Whitehall and the arches on the street, although primarily a part of his brand introduction, are likely to have had some visibility among the wider populace. It is to that wider populace that the research now turns, in particular to the populist worlds that prevailed at that time.

5.3.1 From the discussion above it is clear that if England accepted Great Britain then Scotland probably would too. Thus from a business point of view England was the segment in which success of the brand was critical. A segment is defined as "Groups of people with similar needs to each other, but different needs to the rest of the market." (Blythe, 2009:175), and the way in which James sought to have his brand adopted by it forms the focus of the research that follows. It is not within the scope of the research to provide a detailed analysis of society in seventeenth century England but it is necessary to consider its social structure with particular regard to geographic distribution (urban/rural) and economic development. These factors provide a structure for analysis of a populist

world within which the term British existed but one in which the meaning, not to say the salience, of the term varied across different groups (sub segments) i.e. the interaction between the members of the group and the term was different.

5.3.2 There appears to be no definitive value for the size of the population of England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but there is a consensus that it grew. It is estimated that in 1580 it was approximately 3.5 million rising to 5 million by 1680 (Wrightson, 1993:121). Wrigley estimates it as 4.1 million in 1600 and, 4.98 million in 1670 and 5.06 million in 1700. While such a growth may indicate rising prosperity, the birth rate exceeding the death rate, it masks short term temporal fluctuations as well as changes in distribution (Wrigley, 1985:700).

5.3.3 As with any segmentation the critical issue is - how does the segment impact my product, service, or brand? In this case the central point is - did geographic factors impact the acceptance of the term British? within a growing population. It is clear that this was a period of increasing urbanisation. In 1600 8% of the population lived in towns of more than 5000 people with only three towns having a population of over 10,000. By 1700 11% of the population lived in towns and there were 30 towns with a population of over 10,000. Further the predominance of London as a population centre was established. In 1603 London's population was around 200,000 and by 1695 approximately 10% of the population (575,000 people) lived there (Clark and Slack, 1976:83). In addition, port and dockyard towns (Liverpool, Portsmouth, Chatham) and industrial centres (Birmingham, Manchester, Sunderland) grew in importance, while some traditional towns (Salisbury, Coventry) lost ground. (loc cit:12) Explanation of these changes is beyond the scope of this work but the consolidation of population in larger centres would, *prima facie*, make it easier for notions such as British to be transmitted within these areas, if only by word of mouth. (The importance of word of mouth as a means of communication is considered in Paragraphs 7.1 and 8.2.1).

A strict dichotomy between town and country would however be misleading. The relationship between town and country was such that the rural hinterland of the town was becoming increasingly interlinked in terms of trade and there seems to have been a degree of mobility particularly among the poor (Paragraphs 5.3.4 and 5.3.5). The growth of a local market economy, centred on a market town, meant that inhabitants of both were dependent on the harvest. The distinction between rural and urban is nevertheless important in that the attitudes, structures and behaviour patterns would be different between the two (Clark and Slack, 1976:4). It could be assumed that the primary

identifier for the population whether in town or country would be their locality; but the matter is much more complex and in the early modern period it was possible for people to maintain “multiple identities “to an extent that “defies their easy categorization” (Griffiths et al, 1996:7)

5.3.4 It is, nevertheless, true that England at this time was still a predominantly rural society. Based on Clark and Slack’s figures above, in 1600 92% of the population lived in towns with a population of less than 5000. So far as employment is concerned some 75% of the population were employed in agriculture as the following table shows:-

Table 5.4: Urban, Rural-Agricultural and Rural-Non Agricultural Populations: Percentage of local population in major categories 1520-1700

| Year | Urban | Rural Agricultural | Rural Non agricultural | Total |
|------|-------|--------------------|------------------------|-------|
| 1520 | 5.5 | 76 | 18.5 | 100 |
| 1600 | 8 | 70 | 22 | 100 |
| 1670 | 13.5 | 60.5 | 26 | 100 |
| 1700 | 17 | 55 | 28 | 100 |

Source: Wrigley (1985:700)

Hence for much of the population “[the] annual harvest was the perennial subject of conversation in town and country, from the landowner down to the cottager.” and also a key determinant of economic welfare and the risk of slipping in to poverty (Hoskins, 1964:28). Poverty, as a relative concept, is notoriously difficult to define in current far less historical terms. Precise percentages are difficult, but a census of the poor in 1622 in Huddersfield showed that the poor as a percentage of the total population was 20-25% (Slack, 1988:73); and it is a reasonable assumption that two factors, wages and prices, played an important role in this. “Wages rose between 1500 and 1650 ... [but]...Their real value fell by more than half, and the lowest point came in the years around 1620.” However these figures are based on analysis of wage series which ignore other significant factors, such a free housing and food supplied by employers, and are therefore limited when assessing real incomes. No doubt real incomes did not fall by 50% but equally there is no doubt that there was a fall in real terms in the period to 1620 (Slack,1988:47).

5.3.5 Rural Society

Given “the great diversity in the pattern of mobility between county, village and town society” it is dangerous to generalise but there appears to have been a degree of mobility

within rural communities driven by economic phenomena (Everitt, 1966:56 et seq.). There were many causes of mobility but the chief among these was poverty:-

...causes of homelessness and migration: the loss of parents and the loss of dwellings due to fire or property disputes. The list goes on: rising population and unemployment (especially in the economic depressions of the 1590s, 1620s, and 1630s), decreases in noble households and hospitality, rising rents (to 1650), the conversion of copyhold tenures to leaseholds (fuelling property disputes), high agricultural prices, and low wages. All were among the many significant factors contributing to an increase – and more importantly, a *felt* increase – in the number of dispossessed poor.

Fumerton (2006:6)

Just as it is a mistake to see communities as homogeneous so it is erroneous to see the poor as a homogeneous group “...what is revealed is a jumble of social groups and individuals with little in common besides their poverty” (Slack, 1988:7) which coupled with the potential for “multiple identities” among the poor would be a challenge for most modern brand managers to introduce a brand with a key value of unity (Paragraph 5.2.7).

The traditional view of English rural communities is that of a society that was “... deeply rooted ... and the labourer’s outlook imbued with the prevalent preconceptions of church and manor house. Here, the farm working family more often remained rooted in the same district from one generation to the next, sometimes working the same farm and passing on the same customary skills to children and grandchildren” (Everitt, 1966:57). In short, it was a traditional, deferential and conservative society. However, as discussed above and as Everitt goes on to point out, there were “infinite local variations of detail” and a degree of mobility existed with a distinction between static and mobile labouring groups.

Notwithstanding this distinction there seems to have been, even within the latter group, “a distinct social hierarchy” (Everitt 1966:58). England in the seventeenth century has been described as “a western traditional society at a fairly advanced stage of its development” in which elements of a caste system existed (Stone, 1966:17-18). Thus the key to the dissemination and acceptance of British within such traditional hierarchical rural communities in general would be the objects of deference, for example the church and the gentry, a subject which is addressed in Chapter 7.

5.3.6 Urban Society

As for the urban segment, estimates of the number of towns vary but as a working total the seven hundred suggested by Clark and Slack seems reasonable (Clark and Slack, 1976:7). As in the rural areas within towns hierarchies existed that exercised considerable influence over their areas. See for example Palliser’s study of the trade guilds of York which shows

the hold that they exerted over trade, it also shows the competing forces to which they were subject (Palliser, 1972).

Again as with rural areas it would be an error to see urban centres as homogeneous. “The organization of the market-town had a good deal in common with rural society”. Indeed it has been argued that within such towns the manorial court fulfilled the role of the rural manor but in an urban context (Muldrew, 2003:152:153). However, many market towns “lacked that peculiar *imprimatur* of the corporate town, the royal charter” (Clark and Slack, 1976: 21-22). For this research the existence of a royal charter is the crucial distinction of “urban” because it shows a direct link between James and the ruling oligarchs within the incorporated towns as “the Crown alone had the power to incorporate” (Palliser, 1972:88). Muldrew estimates there were around two hundred and fifty of these towns at the start of the seventeenth century (Muldrew, 2003:53). James’ predecessor, Elizabeth, had at the end of her reign, increased financial and administrative “impositions” on them to the extent that, faced with their growing opposition, she threatened to annul the charters of those who opposed her (Clark and Slack, 1972:23). Given James’ appetite for cash (Paragraph 5.2.2) it seems likely that those elites would be acutely aware of his activities, as he was of theirs:-

...the Crown was obsessed in the years before 1640 with the need for small knots of reliable men in every town and promoted this policy by the grant or revision of charters, and through widespread conciliar intervention.

Weinbaum (1943: xvii-xviii) cited in Clark and Slack (1972:22)

Between 1603 and 1621 there were 35 incorporations and re-incorporations in England including London in 1608 and York in 1607. Incorporations are important because they are the terminal point of municipal history during the period as it “raises an existing community to the rank of a legal personality”. It was a royal grant.

The supreme consequence of this systemisation was that all existing and future rights would be deduced from this fundamental quality of being an incorporated borough. Other consequences were to regard local custom as a subdivision of a national scheme, to derive authority exclusively from royal power and to emphasise oligarchical trends...

Weinbaum (1943:xxxiv-xxv).

Clearly those in receipt of such important powers conferred by these documents would be aware of the designation of the signatory, James. A designation that, as Chapter 6 shows, was variable not to say haphazard in terms of both in frequency and accuracy of its use and as such did not reinforce the salience of the brand Great Britain/British. A clear example of the inconsistency of the use of his title(s) is provided by two letters addressed to Viscount Cranbourne. The first dated 20 January 1604 concludes “Given at Hinchbrook, 20 Jan. in

the 2nd year of our reign of England, etc” while the second dated 22 January 1604 concludes “Given at Hinchinbrook, the 22nd day of January, 1604, in our reign of Great Britain the second year.” (Cecil Papers, 1605a)

5.3.7 London Society

Because of its dominant position within England (Paragraph 5.3.3) a little more detail on the situation prevailing in London is necessary. At the time of James’ accession Merchant Adventurers monopolised the semi finished wool trade, a trade which accounted for 75% of London’s exports by value i.e. they controlled approximately 50% of London’s export trade. They did so “by virtue of their royal charter” (Brenner, 2003). These merchants were disproportionately represented in positions of political power and are therefore likely, at the very least, to be aware of the events taking place in parliament regarding the potential union. Estimating the number of these people is risky but one contemporary source, Stow, identifies sixty companies which had places for approximately four hundred people at the Mayor’s feast.

These Companies severally at sundry times purchased the king’s favour and licence by his Letters Patents, to associate themselves in Brotherhoods with master and Wardens for their government, many also have procured Corporations with Privileges, &c.

Stow (1598:197)

There can be little doubt that their Royal Charter, which permitted them to trade as well as giving them their rights and privileges was of more than a passing interest, as would the designation of their signatory, James. The brand as represented in the signature would therefore, if only for commercial reasons, be important to them. London merchants’ monopolies were under pressure as a result of new markets and new competitors from the mid-sixteenth century. However, this is disputed by Brenner who argues that their exports actually increase in this period due to “... the Merchant Adventurers’ success, from the 1550s and 1560s, in getting the government to increase their privileges considerably” (Brenner, 2003:10). Whatever the cause it seems that the Merchant Adventurers (focused mainly on Northern Europe) had been, during Elizabeth’s reign, under pressure, economically and politically, from new, largely eastward facing trading groups. In this period “...instances of outright Crown support of merchant commercial initiatives, facilitated by close court-merchant connections, were the norm...” (Brenner, 2003:63). The support of the crown was in effect a source of competitive advantage. There appears little doubt that this carried on into James’ reign as is evidenced by the case of the Levant Company:-

During the early decades of the seventeenth century, the Levant Company merchants further tightened their grip on the trade with the Near East, although they were forced in the process to renegotiate their arrangements with the Crown. As before, the Crown

expected a financial quid pro quo for privileges granted. Despite the inevitable frictions, the result was a further consolidation of the Crown-company partnership.

Brenner (2003:65)

In negotiations and the associated “frictions” it is likely that close attention would be paid to factors such as the title of the party with whom one was negotiating. Indeed the Cockayne experiment in 1615 is illustrative of an explicit involvement of James in manipulating a pre-existing monopoly:

Whereas it please the King’s most excellent Majesty ... to express his gracious favour for the encouragement of the new Company in setting forward the worthy intended work of dressing and dyeing cloths, formerly used to be shipped out by the late Merchant Adventurers ...

Atkinson (1925:217-222)

On 19 June 1615 the Charter was granted to a the Eastland company led by Alderman Sir William Cockayne giving a monopoly of the export of dyed and dressed cloth, but it should be noted that the purpose was “for the better perfecting of this great business of dressing and dyeing the cloth *in England*” (my italics) loc cit: 221 – whatever title James was using in this instance not only was he involved in discussions, he was ruling England and Scotland separately.

5.3.8 It is clear that the government, and as a central part of that the Crown, was an essential mechanism for conferring social status, facilitating economic wellbeing in general and facilitating competitive advantage in trade in particular for the gentry. It is inconceivable that those within the upper echelons of society would be unaware of James’ proclamation of 20 October 1604 and that official documentation at least would have acknowledged it. However, to what extent was the term Great Britain and the associated term British being disseminated in written communications both official and other documents within the higher commercial groups such as merchants and leaders within the incorporated boroughs? The following chapters review the printed record and other communication channels starting with the highest level of communication which was the proclamation. Such proclamations were to James the most important state documents, “Most of them myself doth dictate every word. Never any proclamation of state and weight which I did not direct...” cited in Larkin and Hughes (Larkin and Hughes, 1973:vi).

Chapter 6 - The Documentary Record and the Gentry

6.1 The importance of royal authority to James has been discussed above as has the significance of the launch of his Great Britain/British project and the attitude towards it within the English Parliament. Given that royal proclamations had his personal attention (Paragraph 5.3.8) then it seems reasonable to expect that the way in which such proclamations were signed by him would reflect all of these factors. Indeed it is not unreasonable to expect them to be reflected across a spectrum of official documents. This chapter examines the use of the brand Great Britain/British across a range of documents to assess consistency of application and reinforcement of the brand's identity to a wider audience than simply Parliament.

6.2 As a first step an analysis of all of James' Royal Proclamations for England based on Larkin and Hughes definitive collection was undertaken (Larkin and Hughes, 1973). "By definition, it [A Proclamation] excludes all non-royal proclamations issued by Privy Council, Lieutenants, Commissioners and Lord Mayors, even when authorized or approved by the King. It also excludes all royal but non-proclamation documents such as abstract of privileges, articles, audits, briefs, declarations,, instructions, letters patent, licences, patents of monopoly, and privy seals, which are not royal proclamations" (Larkin and Hughes,1973:v) This definition also excludes proclamations for Scotland and Ireland. The methodology for this process was straightforward based on a content analysis, i.e. it analyses and quantifies occurrences of specific elements in a systematic and replicable manner (Bryman and Bell, 2003:302), of a census of the complete set of the Royal Proclamations listed by Larkin and Hughes (1973). An initial review of all 267 proclamations indicated that there were five discrete styles adopted by James when he signed a proclamation:-

1. ...yeere of his Reigne of England France and Ireland and of Scotland...
2. ...yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland... (there are several different spellings of "Britiaine" each has been taken as equivalent).
3. ...yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, and of Scotland
4. ...yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine/Great Britaine etc
5. Not identifiable or none given

The unique number given to each proclamation by Larkins and Hughes was allocated to one of the above categories within the year in which it is dated which produced the results shown in Table 6.1:-

Table 6.1 Number of Royal Proclamations in England by James I categorised by Adopted Style in the signature block

| 1603 | 1604 | 1605 | 1606 | 1607 | 1608 | 1609 | 1610 | 1611 | 1612 | 1613 | 1614 | 1615 | 1616 | 1617 | 1618 | 1619 | 1620 | 1621 | 1622 | 1623 | 1624 | 1625 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 10 | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 1 |
| 22 | 11 | | | | | | | | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | | 3 | 8 | 12 | 2 | | 11 | | 2 | |
| 0 | 3 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 10 | 14 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 11 | 2 | 11 | 10 | 5 |
| 0 | 0 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| | | 3 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | 16 | 13 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 15 | 8 | 8 | 3 | 10 | 10 | 13 | 3 | 7 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 6 |

Percentage of number in year (%)

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|----|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | | | | | | | 13 | | | | | | | 14 | | | | 8 | 7 | 15 | | 17 |
| | | | | | | | | | 67 | 30 | 50 | 46 | | 43 | 73 | 75 | 14 | | 79 | | 17 | |
| | | 77 | 89 | 100 | 91 | 93 | 88 | 100 | 33 | 70 | 50 | 54 | 33 | 43 | 27 | 25 | 79 | 92 | 14 | 85 | 83 | 83 |
| | | | | | 9 | 7 | | | | | | | 67 | | | | 7 | | | | | |
| | | 23 | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

The percentages above are on the base of 222 i.e. They exclude all proclamations pre 20/10/1604

| | |
|--|-----|
| Not identifiable/other | 5% |
| England, France and Ireland and Scotland | 24% |
| Great Britain, France and Ireland | 67% |
| Great Britain, France and Ireland and Scotland | 2% |
| Great Britain/Great Britain etc | 2% |

In this analysis all proclamations before 20 October 1604 are excluded in the calculation of percentages as it was not until that date that James proclaimed himself to be “King of Great Britain etc”. It is noticeable that in the period prior October 1604, apart from the sheer volume, 12 of the 45 proclamations issued bore no identifiable style simply stating “...in the first yeere of our Reigne” which perhaps indicates a degree of reflection or at least consideration of an appropriate style.

From October 1604 to March 1625, based on Larkin and Hughes (1973), James issued 222 proclamations and in 71% (158) of them he adopts the style “Great Britaine” in some form. However, in 24%, almost a quarter of them, the term Great Britain does not appear. Furthermore in only two of the 21 years of his reign (1607 and 1611) did James use the form “... yeere of our Reigne of Great Britaine, France and Ireland ...” every time he signed a proclamation. (Note in calculating this the various spellings of Britain have been accepted as being equivalent) In four of the years (1612, 1618, 1619, and 1622) he used the form “...Our Reigne of England, France, and Ireland and Scotland...” more than 60% of the time. Whatever the reasons for this it demonstrates a degree of inconsistency at the highest level, particularly as the King was the embodiment of the state (Paragraph 5.2.7). Given the significance of a name (Paragraph 2.2.5) no brand could expect to succeed if the name on the label fluctuated as wildly as James’ title did in this period. How then could the term British be expected to take root if the term Great Britain was not being consistently applied in key documents? If this was the case for the most important documents what then was the content of the lower level papers? It is to those that the research now turns, but before doing so a note of caution seems in order. It is possible to overestimate the importance of the content of such proclamations as Steele points out “...technical illegality was a small matter in comparison with the conflict in spirit between the determination of the King [James I] to inflict his will on a nation which was no longer ready to accept authority on its own terms, and the resolve of the people to ascertain the bounds of his prerogative.” (Steele, 1910:xcvi) In branding terms the legitimacy of the source of the brand itself was the subject of debate and its descriptors and symbols were therefore of questionable relevance.

6.3 Using on the work of Larkin and Hughes’ (Paragraph 6.2) as a base a list of documents focused on key words was constructed. This was then divided into two categories determined by their distance from the throne where distance is defined in terms of the assumed importance and visibility of the document to the monarch:-

Second level relating to the following key words:-

- Lord Mayor
- Privy Council
- Non Royal Proclamations (all Proclamations excluding those defined as royal in Paragraph 6.2)
- Commissioner
Lieutenant

Third level relating to the following key words:-

- Abstracts of Privilege
- Articles
- Audits
- Declarations
- Instructions
- Letters of patent
- Licences
- Patents of Monopoly

The third level documents are excluded from this analysis as the frequency of the words used is such that their isolation for the purposes of document identification is not feasible.

The second level groups are not discrete and there are overlaps. However the people accessing these documents when they were written are likely to be involved in or connected to the various roles represented. For example a survey of London Jacobean Merchants shows that:-

The 32 native Londoners came from a more prosperous, and also a more homogeneous, background than did the migrants to the city. The fathers of all but five of them were free of the 12 great livery companies; they were mostly successful in business; many of them had achieved a degree of civic eminence; and they were among the highest assessed inhabitants of the city for the parliamentary subsidies.

Lang (1974:31)

The groupings are believed to provide an accurate reflection of the milieu in which such people existed and is a reasonable reflection of part of their Populist World. The source of the material analysed was the database of Early English Books Online - EEBO. A key word search for the second level group was carried out on this database for the specific period 1604 to 1625 i.e. the period of James', self proclaimed, reign as King of Great Britain. For example, for the Privy Council the search was for all documents containing the words 'Privy Council' published in from 1604 to 1625 inclusive. In this case 187 documents met the

specified criteria. Content analysis of the documents identified, using the technique described below for each category, was then carried out. Initially the intention was to use the five categories used for the analysis of royal proclamations (see above) to establish the most commonly used terms. However, it quickly became clear that such a rigid/legalistic taxonomy did not do justice to the subtlety of the material nor was it likely to reflect the day to day life of the people concerned who are likely, as argued above, to have a wider frame of reference than implied in such a limited taxonomy. The first group examined, Lord Mayor, produced 154 documents but it became clear that the precise terminology of proclamations, the royal proclamation used in Table 6.1 above, very rarely existed, (only four of the 154 identified documents used the term “England, France and Ireland and Scotland” - document numbers 23, 49, 104, and 134). Indeed even where such clear terminology did exist such simple categorization seemed to create an inaccurate picture. Many documents while including, for example Great Britain or British, referred to England and English many more times. It seemed that each document had a predominant term (a flavour/spirit) and they were then categorized according to a subjective view of that spirit that was based largely, but not exclusively, on the frequency that each term was used. In all cases where formatted text documents were available the ctrl F and ctrl alt F functions were used to scan the document and count the following terms:

- Brit – to identify British, Great Britain, Britannia and similar terms
- Bryt - to identify Brytish, Great Brytain
- Engl - to identify England and English
- Scot – to identify Scotland, Scots, Scottish and Scotch

Where digitised text did not exist a visual scan was carried out of the first two or three images and the last two images which were more likely to carry the precise usage of the term Great Britain, France and Ireland. Using this technique six themes (spirit/flavour) emerged:-

1. No clear predominance of any specific term (British, English, Scottish)
2. Predominantly Britain/British
3. Predominantly England/English
4. Predominantly Scotland/Scottish
5. Precise use of “Great Britain, France, Ireland, and Scotland” – a subset of 2 above
6. Precise use of “England, France, Ireland, and Scotland” – a subset of 3 above

7. Unclassified – the criteria above were not applicable, for example an incorrectly dated item. (see for example table 6.3 - 1618)

Presented in tabular form the results are as follows. In view of the qualitative nature of the textual analysis percentages have not been applied to the data as it accords it a level of numeric accuracy that is spurious. In all of the tables each column comprises all of the documents published in the year that meet the specified search criteria. A common colour code is used in all of the tables to indicate the classification of the specific documents on the dimensions specified above.

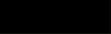
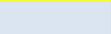
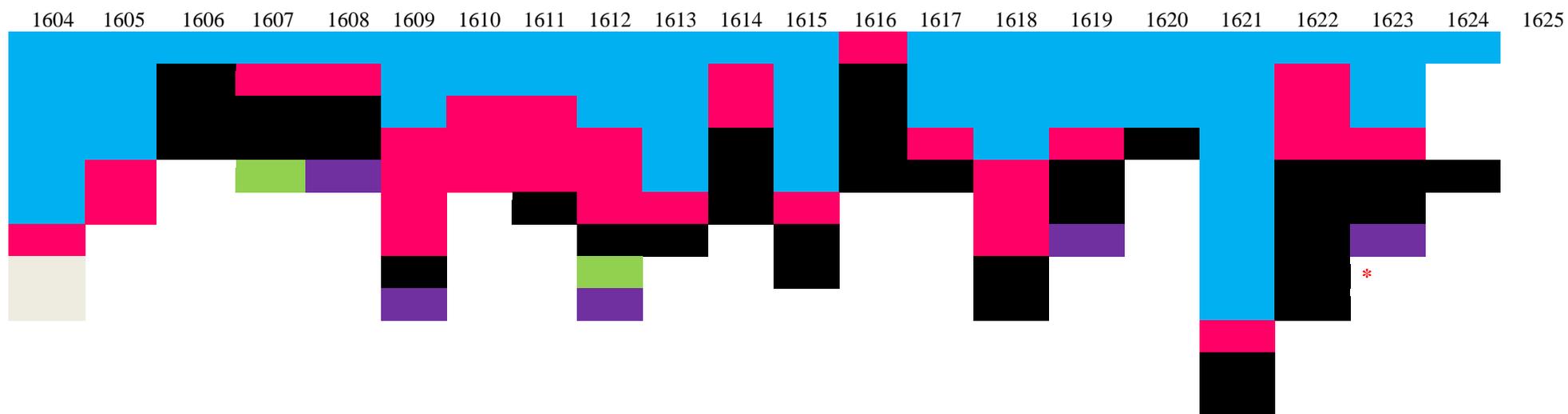
| | |
|---|--|
|  | No clear predominance of a specific term (British, English, Scottish) |
|  | Predominantly Britain/British in combination with others (See proclamations) |
|  | Predominantly England/English |
|  | Precise use of Great Britain, France and Ireland and Scotland |
|  | Precise use of England, France, Ireland and Scotland |
|  | Predominantly Scotland/Scottish |
|  | Unclassified |

Table 6.2 Analysis of the Spirit/flavour of EEBO documents relating to “Lord Mayor” 1604 to 1625

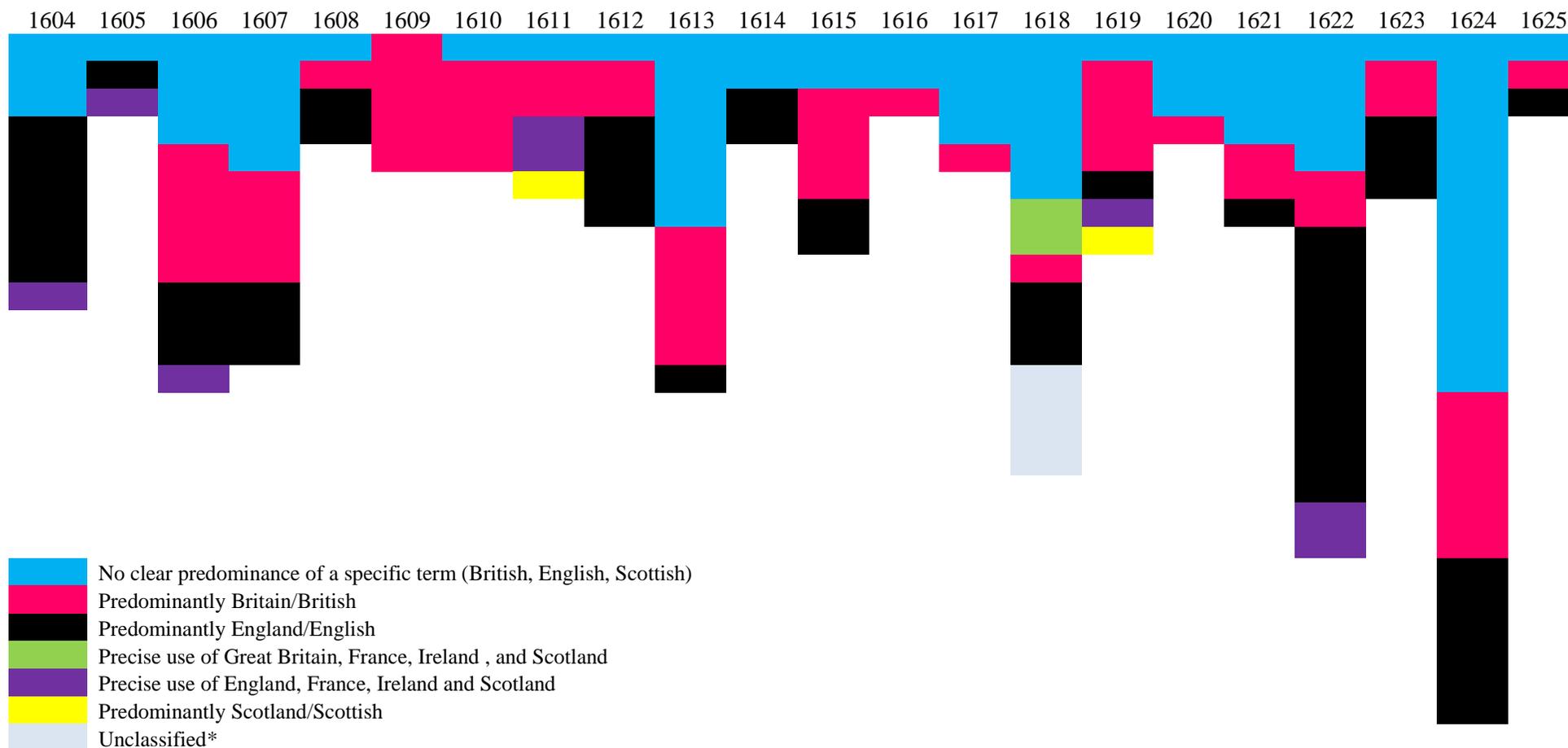


- No clear predominance of a specific term (British, English, Scottish)
- Predominantly Britain/British
- Predominantly England/English
- Precise use of Great Britain in combination with France, Ireland, Scotland
- Precise use of England in combination with France, Ireland, Scotland
- Predominantly Scotland/Scottish
- Unclassified

N=154

*=Complete works of Shakespeare

Table 6.3 Analysis of the Spirit/flavour of EEBO documents relating to “Privy Council” 1604 to 1625



N=187

Table 6.4 Analysis of the Spirit/flavour of EEBO documents relating to “Non Royal Proclamations” 1604 to 1625

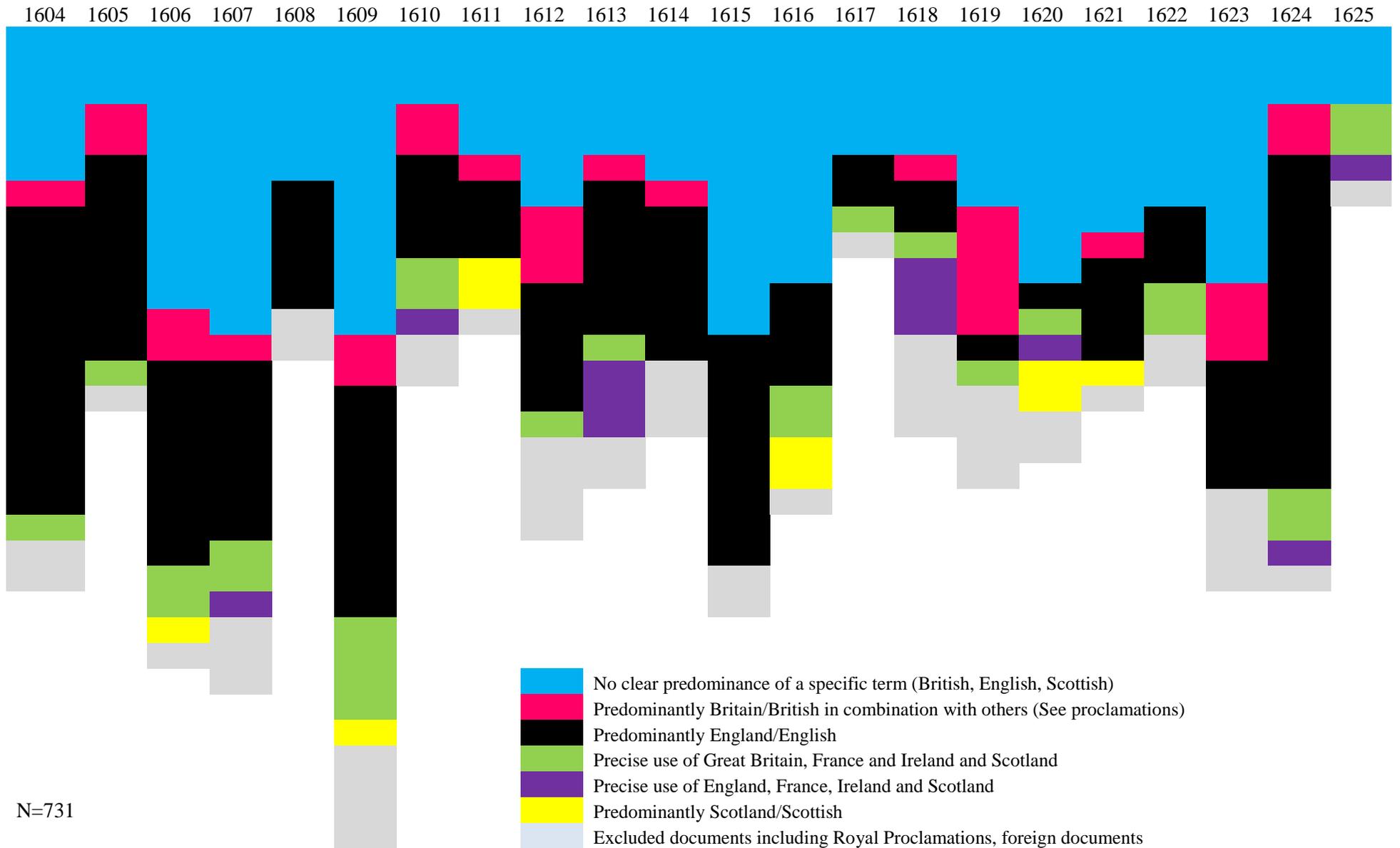
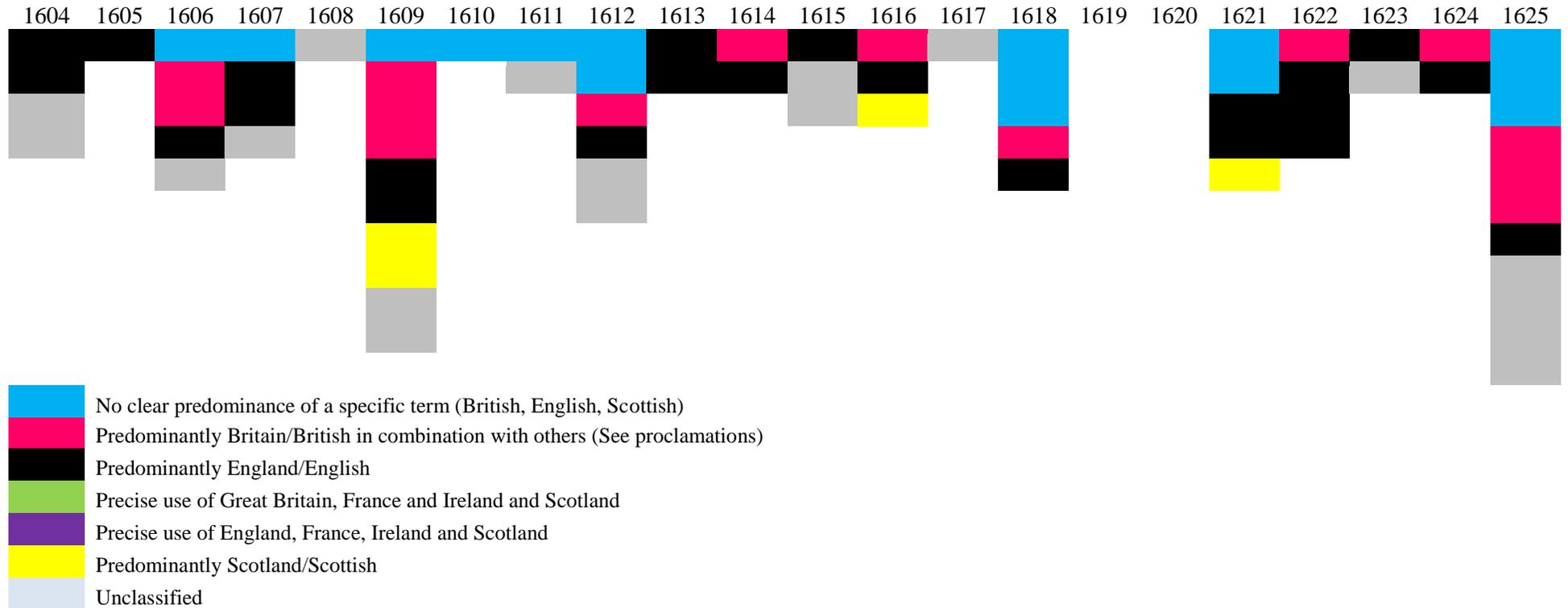
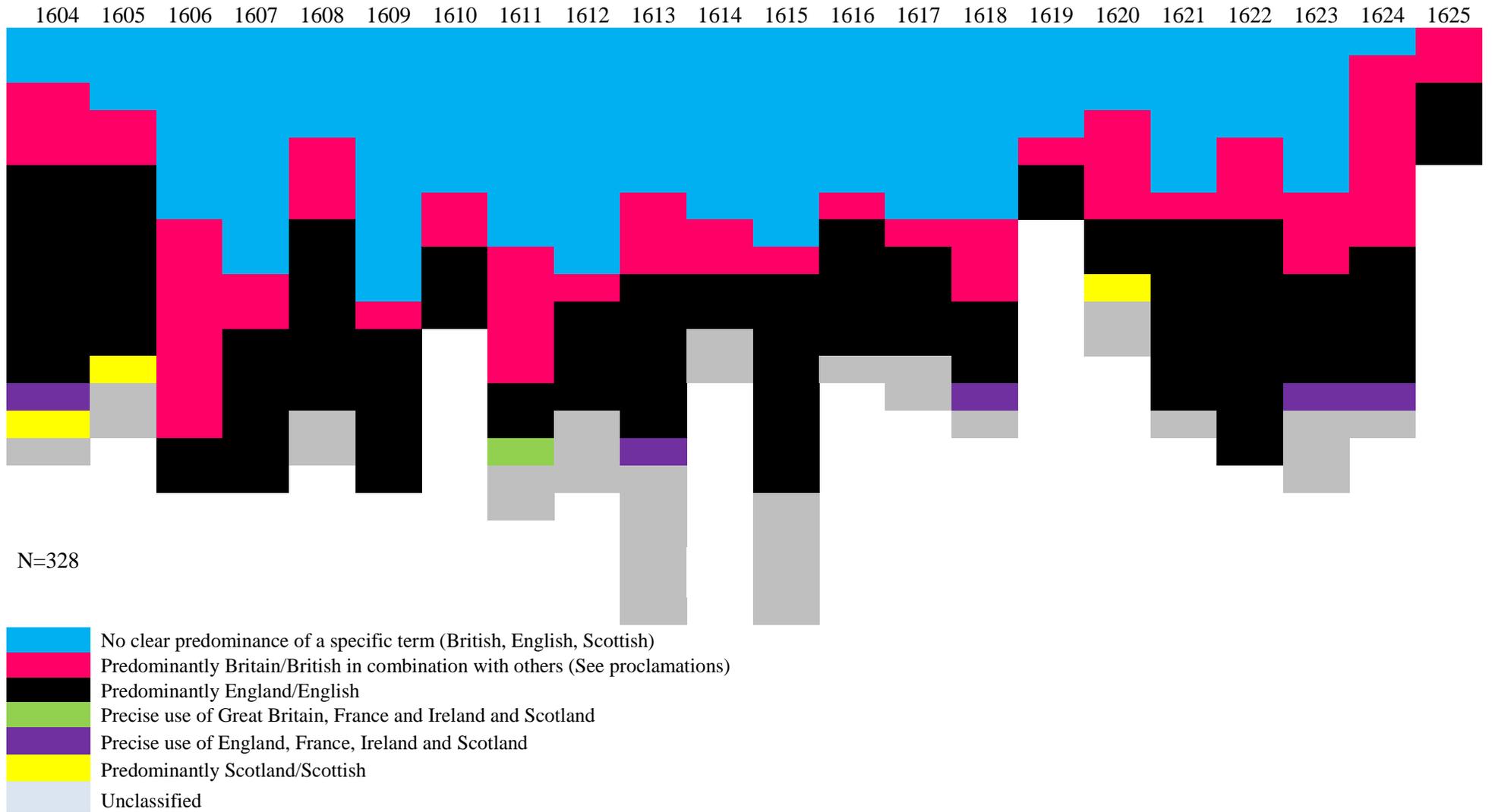


Table 6.5 Analysis of the Spirit/flavour of EEBO documents relating to “Commissioner” 1604 to 1625



N=73

Table 6.6 Analysis of the Spirit/flavour of EEBO documents relating to “Lieutenant” 1604 to 1625



A common theme emerges across all of the tables that can be identified visually i.e. that the most common category is that most of the documents do not have predominant spirit in terms of British, English, or Scottish. It appears that in most of the tables the most common spirit/flavour is England/English, with the possible exception of Tables 6.2 and 6.3 where there is an approximate equivalence between English (black) and British (red). However even within the red, predominantly British, group some of the documents either seem to use the term Britain as historical i.e. they refer to it as ancient history in terms of the Brutus myth (Paragraph 5.1.5 above) or to conflate England and Britain with regard to the contemporary situation. For example:-

42 ENGLAND, otherwise called great Brittaine ...”

Boemus (1611:384)

44 *Brute* the Sonne of *Syluius* third King of the Latines, expulsed then the cruell Gyants out of the Island, which (after his owne name) he called *Brittaine*, now *England*

Munday (1611:12)

85 They diuellishly against *Truth* rage and raue.
How fit those armes *Loiolaes* brats beseeme,
Britaine can witness, and the whole world deeme.
Ile passe by other sleights, all in *this one*,
In this great *Powder-treason* all were showne.
Blush, blush, (O *Iesuites*) *England* knowes too well,
Your Counsell furthered most this worke of *Hell*.

Herring (1617:109)

In terms of quantity the English “black” documents are on a par with that of the British but it seems that those involving a closer relationship with the recipient of the message (particularly those relating to entertainment) tend to use English/England more frequently (Table 6.2)

17 Heywood’s play “...victorie of Queene Elizabeth, in the yeare 1588” refers to Britain once but to England thirty three times.

Heywood (1606)

53 Johnson’s songs “A crovvne garland of goulden roses Gathered out of Englands royall garden...” refers to Britain once (in the dedication) and to England fifty one time in the body of the work

Johnson (1612)

106 Peacham's epigrammatic "Thalia's banquet..." performed for his "worthy friends" in Norfolk mentions Britain once and England nine times in one hundred and twenty seven short epigrams.

Peacham (1620)

Even in those documents such as those relating to trade which use the precise designation of "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland" in their introduction many, in their text, refer to England many more times than they do to Britain. For example the merchant Malynes uses James' precise title in this manner in his "The ancient law-merchant Diuided into three parts: according to the essentiall parts of trafficke...." Malynes (1622) which opens:-

121 *Most Dread and Gracious Soueraigne,*

The state of Monarchie must needs be the Supreamest thing vnder the cope of Heauen, when Kings are not only Gods Lieutenants vpon earth, and sit vpon his throne; but also are called Gods, by God himselfe, in regard of their *Transcendent Preheminces* and *Prerogatiues*, whereby they maintaine *Religion* and *Iustice*, which are the onely true supporters and fundamentall stayes of all Kingdomes and Common-weales, so naturally vnited and conioyned, that where both of them are not, properly there can be neither. These high *Attributes* cause their Lawes to be sacred, and consequently religiously to be obserued; whereby *Iustice* is administred, which is *Distributiue* and *Commutatiue*. The *Commutatiue* part includeth *Traffick*, which is the sole peaceable instrument to enrich kingdomes and common-weales...

Malynes (1622:2)

He is nothing if not complimentary and is plainly seeking favour. However, although he does use the term Great Britain or Britain 49 times in the text he uses the term England or English 276 times i.e. approximately five times as frequently. The document does nevertheless indicate a degree of care on the part of those seeking commercial favour from the Crown. The significance of this point is considered below (Chapters 8 and 9) with regard to its implications for the wider population and for the success of the brand Great Britain/British. It is however worth noting at this point that this pre-existing, alternative, brand England/English held a prominent position within the documents analysed perhaps reflecting a precursor to the debates discussed in Chapter 3.

The following table shows the frequency of the use of the terms Great Britain/British and England/English and related adjectives in the Calendar of James' state papers:-

Table 6.7: Frequency of the use of Great Britain/ British and England/English in the Calendar of State Papers of James I

| Year | Great Britain/British | England/English |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1604 | 12 | 58 |
| 1605 | 5 | 56 |
| 1606 | 2 | 61 |
| 1607 | 0 | 28 |
| 1608 | 1 | 33 |
| 1609 | 8 | 36 |
| 1610 | 2 | 28 |
| 1611 | 4 | 43 |
| 1612 | 0 | 50 |
| 1613 | 0 | 30 |
| 1614 | 0 | 31 |
| 1615 | 0 | 50 |
| 1616 | 0 | 33 |
| 1617 | 0 | 61 |
| 1618 | 3 | 62 |
| 1619 | 1 | 45 |
| 1620 | 1 | 58 |
| 1621 | 1 | 65 |
| 1622 | 0 | 126 |
| 1623 | 5 | 125 |
| 1624 | 2 | 136 |
| 1625 | 4 | 32 |

Source: Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (James I)

A similar examination of the Cecil Papers produced a similar result:-

Table 6.8: Frequency of the use of Great Britain/ British and England/English in the Cecil Papers

| Year | Great Britain/British | England/English |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1604 | 3 | 243 |
| 1605 | 1 | 296 |
| 1606 | 12 | 326 |
| 1607 | 16 | 306 |

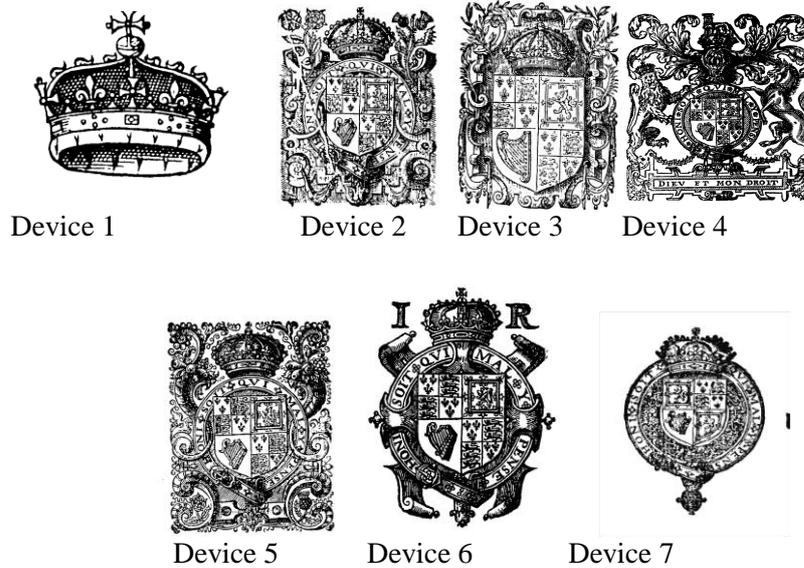
Source: Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Vols 16-19

Although both the State Papers and the Cecil Papers show a clear predominance of England/English in the more general documentary record the wider picture is of an absence of any dominant term which suggests that Great Britain/British was unlikely to be at the centre of attention among those involved with these types of documents. Hence, by inference, Great Britain/British is not likely to be an important issue for them which is, in terms of the brand, a major problem. In addition a visual scan of the tables indicates that there is little evidence that the number of documents that were British in spirit increased over the period of James' reign indicating that as a source of support for the brand did not increase over the period.

Furthermore as the volume of documents grows over time so the number of documents that were British in spirit appears to decline as a proportion of the total while the proportion of documents with no predominant spirit increases. This would be consistent with the view that, "the union was never as important or contentious part of public life in either country after July 1607 as during the four preceding years... There were no widespread general discussions about the present and future state of the union. The actions taken by the king outside Parliament attracted little attention and had little apparent effect..." (Galloway, 1986:137). It is also a phenomenon that is considered significant in other acting units such as the theatre and the printed media that are discussed below.

6.4 The message from the content analysis of the texts is one of inconsistency at best, confusion at worst. The semiotics of the brand in other acting units are dealt with in more detail in the following chapters. However, the semiotics within the printed documents themselves are relevant to the consistency of the message. Using the techniques for the identification of documents referred to above, a search of EEBO for Royal Proclamations between 1604 and 1625 identified 327 documents (including duplicates) as against the 222 identified by Larkin and Hughes (Paragraph 6.1). The difference is in large part due to the existence of duplications and different versions of the same document within the EEBO data. Examination of the 327 documents identified seven symbolic devices on them:-

Figure 6.1 Devices Contained in EEBO “Royal Proclamation” Documents 1604 to 1625



- Device 1 – Royal Crown
- Device 2 - Royal Arms surmounted by crown encircled by Garter and motto flanked by Tudor Rose and Thistle
- Device 3 – Royal Coat of Arms on a Shield surmounted by the Royal Crown
- Device 4 - Royal Arms surmounted by helmet and crown encircled by Garter and motto flanked by Lion (English) and Unicorn (Scottish) with motto beneath
- Device 5 - Royal Arms surmounted by crown encircled by Garter and motto flanked by embellishment – similar to Device 2 but without overt symbols of England and Scotland
- Device 6 – Royal Arms surmounted by Crown and Jacobus Rex encircled by Garter and motto
- Device 7 - Royal Arms (of Scotland - Lion rampant having precedence and appearing twice) surmounted by royal crown encircled by Garter and motto.

Each has a different symbolic significance but the one common theme running through all of them is the coat of arms which in semiotic terms illustrates England (three lions), France (fleur de lys), Ireland (harp) and Scotland (lion rampant). They all appear to demonstrate difference as much as unity. In branding terms, from a unidirectional or a social interactionist standpoint, this can be seen as a mixed message. The extent to which this is the case and the width of its impact on the population as a whole is illustrated by the nursery rhyme of the period that makes a direct reference to device 4 and suggests a popular perception of conflict between the Lion (England) and the Unicorn (Scotland):-

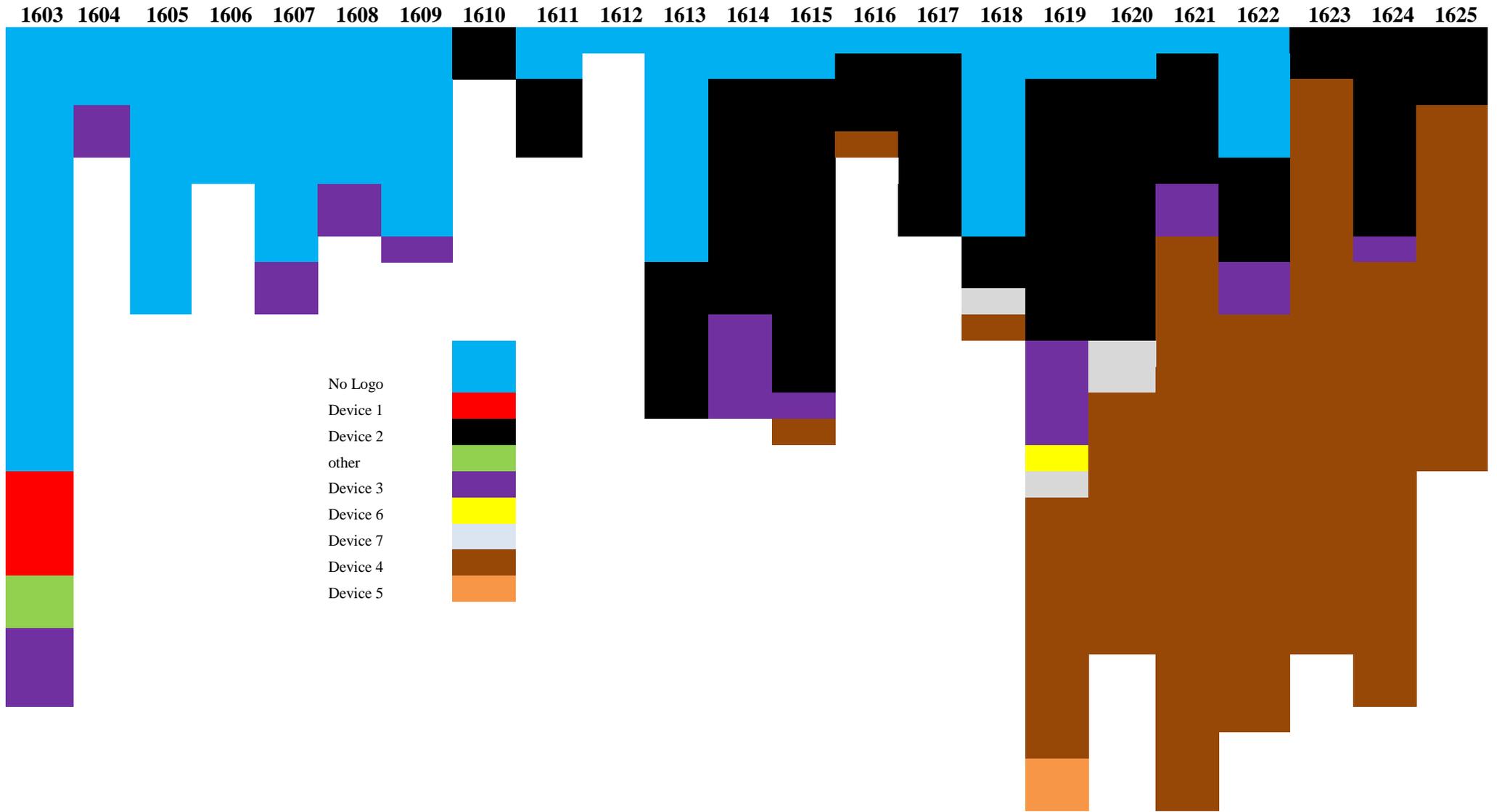
The Lion and the Unicorn were fighting for the Crown:
The Lion chased the Unicorn all around the town.
Some gave them white bread and some gave them brown,
And some gave them plum cake and drummed them out of town.

Nursery Rhymes -Lyrics and Origins (2012)

The importance of such devices is difficult to assess. It seems clear that they were more than simple embellishment or decoration. The device on a printed document was "...a heraldry of the mind, a symbol chosen to blazon a personal preoccupation in war or love, an aspiration, an ambition a vow, a declaration of courageous purpose, of amorous hope, constancy or despair" (Corbett and Lightbown,1979:10). It was therefore important, and given that the devices under consideration related to royal proclamations they would be doubly important to James' brand and to the gentry ruling elite.

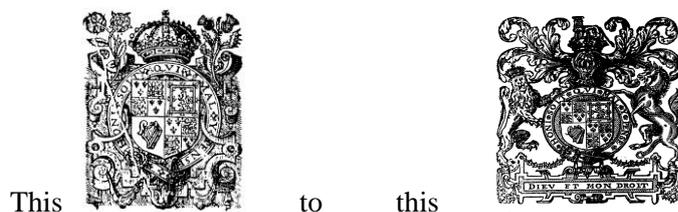
The 327 printed proclamations by James between 1603 and 1625 identified in the EEBO catalogue were analysed. This total number is greater than the actual number of proclamations as there are cases where there are multiple copies relating to the same proclamation, some of which bear different devices. All 327 documents are included in this research. A visual analysis of these documents, including duplicates, enabled the following table to be produced:-

Table 6.9 Analysis of Devices on Royal Proclamations in EEBO 1603 to 1625



The first point of note is that in absolute terms the use of devices increases over time. The number of proclamations bearing no devices declines from the majority at the start of the period to none by 1625. It is not until 1610, when the Tudor Rose and the Scottish Thistle appear, that a symbolic reference to any kingdom appears.

Not only does the use of devices increase there is also a clear pattern. The first device to predominate is Device 2 (black in table - Rose and Thistle) which is supplanted by Device 4 (brown in table - Lion and Unicorn), first seen in 1615. So that from 1619 onwards the majority of proclamations bear this device, a clear majority that shows some degree of consistency. There is an evident move from:-



The reason for this is not clear but as a vehicle for conveying a message this is significant “Since those who used devices were often personages of high rank and importance, contemporaries were greatly interested in them ...” (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979:11). There is therefore evidence of what seems to be a move to reinforce the Great Britain/British brand by the introduction of a new label, or logo, which would be clearly evident to those who saw such documents. However, it appears that the Rose and Thistle are substituted by the Lion and the Unicorn. One pair of symbols for Scotland and England is replaced by another pair conveying the same message, as the nursery rhyme in Paragraph 6.4 shows, of two kingdoms rather than a united kingdom. Given the role in branding of social interaction and signifiers discussed in Sections 1.3 and 3.6 above the significance of this for Great/Britain/British is clear. Further consideration of the wider role of symbols with respect to coins and flags and their semiotic importance for the brand is contained in Chapter 7.

6.5 In the international sphere there is also evidence of the limited acceptance of the term by similar external elites. On 3 November 1604 the Venetian Ambassador reported:-

This morning the King resolved to issue a proclamation to be published in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen, ordering all officers and ministers of the Crown to style the King for the future as “of Great Britain, France, and Ireland;” to use that style in all documents where his Majesty is mentioned, and to coin money with that legend. (Note that the quotation marks are from the original document)

Venice (1604:292)

From November 1604 until May 1607 (30months) in the Archives of the Senate of Venice, the term Britain or related terms as defined for the analysis in Chapter 6 is used 33 times. In contrast the term England/English appears innumerable times; between 1 March and 29 March 1607 alone they were used 50 times. It is also notable that the term Great Britain often appears in inverted commas or in equivalence with England, for example in a dispatch from the Venetian Ambassador in France dated 1 February 1605:-

The Duke of Lennox, Ambassador of “Great Britain,” as he is styled by his master. (Again note the quotation marks which are in the original)

Venice (1605:335)

Or from the minutes of the Senate, Roma 7 September 1606:-

Letter to the King of Great Britain.
Thanks for declaration in favour of the Republic as set forth by the Venetian Ambassador in England and by the English Ambassador in Venice...

Venice (1606:576)

The confused message being sent out by James, at least from a Venetian point of view, is clearly illustrated by the use of the terms Great Britain, England and Scotland contained in Nicolo Molin’s “Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in the year 1607” of 30 May 1607:-

...he [James] in common with all the English thinks that there is no Prince so firmly established on his throne as is the King of Great Britain, especially as the Crowns of England and Scotland are now united; and they hold that they possess a world entirely to themselves and separate from the rest, and that they neither need nor fear anyone else.

Venice (1607:739)

Analysis of the Cecil Papers for the same period (1603 to 1607) indicates similar confusion internally. In this period the number of occurrences of the term Great Britain/British is 32 whereas England/English occurs over 1000 times (1171). Not only quantitatively but qualitatively the use of the terms appears confused. There are some references to the British ambassador for example when during the period between 31 March and 10 April, 1607 Mustafa Agha writes to James I. “I have informed the British Ambassador in Paris.” (Cecil Papers, 1607a). In September of the same year there is a reference to a “Memoir of [Sir George Carew], Ambassador of Great Britain, to the French King” (Cecil Papers, 1607b). Equally however, there are references to “the English ambassador” for example on 13 June 1606 by Sir Thomas Edmondes to the

Privy Council referring to "... the intervention of their Ambassador in England" (Cecil Papers, 1606a), while on 20 December 1607 a document from Sir Henry Wallop to the Earl of Salisbury refers to "the English Ambassador in Constantinople" (Cecil Papers, 1607d).

The lack of acceptance/usage of the term indicated when the Grand Turk conveys to Henry IV of France on 10 May 1607 his view that "The English Ambassador has intimated that foreign nations are under English protection and owe them obedience;..." (Cecil Papers, 1607c) is a clear indication of the primacy of England/English showing a weakness in the brand, Great Britain/British externally. As early as 12 October 1605 the Venetian Ambassador thought that the Brand was in difficulty:-

The question of the Union will, I am assured, be dropped; for his Majesty is now well aware that nothing can be effected, both sides displaying such obstinacy that an accommodation is impossible; and so his Majesty is resolved to abandon the question for the present, in the hope that time may consume the ill-humours.

Venice (1605:433)

Although there is evidence of some usage of the brand in international affairs, for example on 10 April 1623 Pope Gregory XV conveys to Charles Prince of Wales that he "Regrets the altered state of Britain" (James I, 1623a), there is also evidence of a preference for England/English. On 13 June 1623 [Sec. Conway] tells the Lord Treasurer that "Sir Fras. Cottington brings news that the marriage articles are almost completed, but, until they are ratified by the Kings of England and Spain, the marriage day cannot be known (James I, 1623b).

6.6 In summary it seems clear that from the evidence of documentary sources considered above there was at least considerable inconsistency in this use of the terms Great Britain and British. Whatever the causes were, from a branding standpoint it would be inconceivable that in the unidirectional sense the brand could succeed in essence if the brand leader (James) failed to communicate it adequately. From the standpoint of branding as social interaction it appears that the term did not have a positive significance- even among the literate elite - to merit its general acceptance. It therefore did not figure in a positive manner in the populist world of what has been assumed to be largely literate people.

Some care is necessary with the terms literate and literacy, the difficulty of their measurement is as difficult as their definition. Typically there have been two

approaches to the history of literacy. The first, more traditional approach, is to measure it by reference to some criterion such as the ability to sign your name, or to read (recite) a portion of text. The ability to sign is assumed to infer an ability to read just as the inability not to sign is taken to infer an inability to read, neither of which is necessarily a valid inference (Cressy, 1977:142). The second “is to explore the uses of literacy, to make the actors active, to connect readers and texts in history” (Kaestle, 1992:365) i.e. to look at the impact or understanding. Thus, precise literacy rates for this period are difficult to define. However if the traditional approach is adopted, and literacy is defined as the ability to sign one’s name, “There is considerable evidence that the ability to sign one's name during the period being discussed [1500-1850] reflects an ability to read reasonably well. It over-estimates the number of people who could write fluently and underestimates the proportion who could read just a little” (Laqueur, 1976:271). But “ If 47% of the criminal classes of Jacobean London could read, this implies a literacy rate among the total male population of the City which was at least as great, and probably greater”(Stone, 1964:43). Studies of illiteracy in the Diocese of Norwich paint a different picture both in terms of the overall figure and the distribution between groups of traditional measures of illiteracy, the inverse of literacy, between groups in society that is significant:-

Table 6.10 Illiteracy of social groups in the diocese of Norwich, 1580-1700

| Group | Number Sampled | % Illiterate |
|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Clergy and Professions | 332 | 0 |
| Gentry | 450 | 2±1 |
| Yeomen | 944 | 35±3 |
| Tradesmen and craftsmen | 1838 | 44±2 |
| Husbandmen | 1198 | 79±3 |
| Labourers | 88 | 85±7 |
| All Women | 1024 | 89±2 |

Source: Cressy (1977:148)

6.7 While extrapolating from an East Anglian community to the entire population is obviously dangerous it seems clear that, by modern British standards, a large proportion of people, in the table above between 37% and 55% of those surveyed, were illiterate. Such literacy as existed was embedded in the affluent /ruling groups (of whom only 1 to 2% were illiterate) who were likely to be aware of the documents discussed above (Wrightson, 1993:182 et seq). Without such awareness how could there be knowledge of, in this particular case, Great Britain? However, concentration on this traditional view of this group’s literacy alone is unduly restrictive and a focus on understanding is

more appropriate for two reasons. Firstly, such documents and symbols are likely to have circulated among those with a direct, or indirect, interest in them (the gentry) and despite the number of documents that existed most news still spread by word of mouth (Paragraph 7.1) “.... much information (and misinformation) was disseminated by word of mouth when the gentry met together at Quarter Sessions, dined together in the inns of provincial capitals, or participated in the miniature "season" of the nearest large town. Government proclamations against ‘lavish and licentious talking in matters of state, either at home or abroad’ did little to stem the flood. The only cure for rumour and misinformation was news, and the gentry round about knew it.” Secondly, the education to which this group had been exposed “mirrored the image of the humanist gentleman, trained in classical Latin, passionately interested in becoming a courtier in the approved Italianate mode, yet also full of a patriotism expressed in his [More’s] volumes of *English* history and poetry” (my italics) (Levy, 1982:24-26).

It is clear that, by whatever measure is adopted, “Seventeenth century England appears to have been a partially literate society, in which literacy varied with sexual, social, and economic position”(Cressy, 1977:150) But what of that substantial part of the population that had limited or no literacy? As Paacejus et al point out “It is simply a mistake...to identify the means of communication with the knowledge that is communicated. Knowledge can be communicated in a number of ways...” (Olson, 1994:12) – see Paragraph 3.6 above on the role of signifiers in branding. So how then could knowledge of the term British be disseminated to the majority of the population including those of limited or no literacy who would be expected to adopt it if it was to succeed? In marketing terminology what were the means of promotion and what was the message? At this point it is necessary to consider the role of other acting units and their role as channels of communication, both literal (in the second sense of literacy referred to above) and symbolic and what they communicated about James’ brand Great Britain/British.

Chapter 7- Identity and Influencers: The promotional media – Institutions of State, Symbols

7.1 Introduction

James brought his brand Great Britain/British into being in October 1604 (Paragraph 5.2.2). However a necessary condition for the success of the brand would be its dissemination to its target market in, among other things, the content of proclamations and other official documents (some of which are discussed in the previous chapter); key to this is their physical distribution. With regard to documents of state, in particular proclamations, Steele's analysis provides details in terms of how and how many. The distribution mechanism under the Stuarts was the four "Messengers attending the Great Seal of England and the Receipt of the Exchequer" (Steele, 1910: xvi) who delivered the documents on horseback, not a particularly rapid process by modern standards but as quick as was available at the time. As for how many:–

The number of proclamations sent out and the places to which they were sent are ascertained from a document of the reign of Charles I preserved in the Crown Office. Sixty-seven bundles of proclamations and as many writs were made up in ordinary course, but it appears that when wider publicity was desired fifty-five additional bundles were prepared.

(Ibid:xvii)

It can reasonably be inferred from this that the physical distribution resource, in terms of time and space, was small in relation to a total population of approximately four million people (Muldrew, 2003:149).

However, if the brand was to obtain wider recognition and acceptance it would be necessary to communicate it to the majority of the population with limited literacy (Paragraph 6.6) and who, in any case, were unlikely to have access to official documents. In essence, given the levels of literacy, the primary medium would be "word of mouth" (WOM) i.e. the passing of information orally between individuals and groups. WOM is an extremely powerful method of communication, "...prior beliefs formed by vivid WOM information ... are more accessible and held with a higher degree of confidence." (Grewal et al, 2003:188). The purpose of this chapter is to examine the sources for and the role of word of mouth i.e. to look at the people and institutions (acting units – Paragraph 1.6.5) involved, to consider how they performed as communications media and the way in which Great Britain/British was portrayed, in terms of quantity and quality. Such acting units are important not only as promotional

media but also in the way in which they behave, as “incoherent activities” can have the effect of diluting the corporate brands’ coherence” (de Chernatony, 2002:115). The following acting units are believed to be important in such a process:-

- The Institutions of State in particular the Church of England and Courts
- Symbols (coins and flags)
- Theatre
- The Press and printed media

The extent to which each promoted the use of British in the period is discussed: the first two, Institutions of State and Symbols in this chapter, the second two Theatre, Press and printed media in Chapter 8.

7.2 The Institutions of State

The analysis of the content of various documents is contained in the previous chapter. However such documents did not exist in isolation. They should be considered in the context of the organisations of state, i.e. those institutions which could be expected to implement and support their content. Religion in general and the Established Church in particular were, in terms of importance, in the first rank of these institutions

7.3 Church of England

7.3.1 Religion was one of the dominant factors, if not the dominant factor, in the social life of this period, it “...provided a central and essential component in both English and Scottish identities. Each identity was deeply and inextricably associated with the organization and ceremonies of its respective churches”(Dawson, 1995:113). Within that sphere the Church of England, as the established church was the major player within England while the Kirk in Scotland, although not established occupied a similar position in Scotland. To see the Church in England as a unified entity would be a mistake as it comprised a number of factions with different theological and political views (Webster, 2003); and as a promotional vehicle it would be misleading to see it as being under the control of its titular head and leader i.e. James. However its pervasiveness is beyond doubt; indeed, following the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 attendance at Anglican Church on Sunday was a statutory requirement in England (Field, 2008:5).

It can be argued that “If we would understand the general progress of the nation ... we must enquire somewhat minutely into the relations of Church and State, the laws and institutions by which these relations were governed and defined, and the opinions held at different time by the different religious parties” (Prothero, 1913:xxx). While this view is acknowledged to do so is beyond the scope this research. It is not considered necessary to examine in detail the precise nature of the dogmatic and political disputes within the Church and therefore a high level approach is adopted. At a macro level the factions within the Church of England were capable of providing their own slant on a message and followed particular directions with varying degrees of accuracy. On this level, and for this research, two main groups can be identified as significant within the Church of England at this time:-

1. Puritans (reformists) – low church, there is a direct route to God with minimal mediation from Church and Priest
2. Anti-Calvinists (conformists) – high church in which the priest functions as an intermediary providing the route to salvation.

This is not to say that these groups internally held identically consistent views “... these groups were not uniform as to the specific elements of their case...”(Prior, 2005:8). As previously stated this research has no intention of discussing in detail the nature of the disputes between the two groups but what is significant is that they and their differences were managed by James on the principle of divide and rule (Webster, 2003:257). Indeed, such “divide and rule” has been described as “a basic element of James’ kingcraft” even before his ascent to the English throne (Fincham and Lake, 1993:33). In terms of delivering one of the core values of Great Britain and British, i.e. unity, the concept of divide and rule would seem to be somewhat problematic generally, and within the churches specifically. It becomes even more problematic when these are organisations whose very names contain the terms England and Scotland which clearly distinguish one from the other and emphasise the difference between the two kingdoms; and by inference obviate Great Britain/British. Within the Church of England the reformist view of the relationship between ecclesiastical and civil authority was that authority over ecclesiastical matters lay with the Crown in parliament which was charged to promote the true doctrine, proper governance and ceremonial. However, deprivation of the rights of non-conformists in the ecclesiastical sphere ran contrary to common law and the sovereignty of parliament. Not only was this an issue in England:-

Scots writers went a step further, and suggested that the imposition of English worship and governance on the Kirk was both doctrinally indefensible and an assault on the legal and national independence of the Scottish confession.

Prior (2005:6)

7.3.2 By way of contrast, not to say contradiction, conformists spoke of a “Church of Great Britain” that appears to emphasise a “church of the realm” justified in both doctrinal and political terms (Prior, 2005:205-207). Although it has been argued that James did not look for “an early or even an ultimate fusion of or institutional union of the two churches”, (Morrill, 1994:214) argues that there was no Church of Great Britain, or if there was it was closely associated with the conformists, which meant that it served to highlight division and contradiction rather than provide a source of support for British unity. A key point of this for the brand is that the state was not completely secular and as the Church was divided its role as a promotional channel for the brand was problematic. The attitude towards British within the church(es) was associated with specific doctrinal standpoints thus making it very difficult to carry a consistent, far less coherent, message with regard to it. Indeed it might be argued that the channel (the medium) contradicted the message. If, as McLuhan puts it “The medium is the message”, (McLuhan, 2006:1) it was reinforcing social contradictions rather than helping resolve them. Such were the difficulties that James had with this medium that in 1623 he issued the proclamation “Directions to Preachers” which, inter alia, states

That no preacher of what title or denomination soever, shall presume from henceforth in any auditory within this kingdom to declare, limit, or bound out, by way of positive doctrine, in any lecture or sermon, the power, prerogative, jurisdiction, authority, or duty of sovereign princes, or otherwise meddle with these matters of state and the references betwixt princes and the people, than as they are instructed and presided in the homily of obedience ...

Gee and Hardy (1896: 516-8)

Taken at face value this would forbid discussion of Great Britain and British by the Church i.e. the promotional medium could not discuss the message.

7.3.3 In addition to what has been said regarding unity within the church(es) there are additional factors that should be judged as a potential promotional vehicle for British – the first of these is Bible or to give it its formal title “*The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, AND THE NEW. Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: & with the former Translation diligently compared and revised. By his Maiesties Special Commandment*”. Its first page dedicates it to:- “The MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE Prince, JAMES by the grace of God King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland,

Defender of the Faith etc” (Bible, 1611;3). It is precise in its use of the term British (Paragraph 6.2). At one level therefore it is clearly positioning James and thus British as being at the forefront of important matters. However a certain ambiguity is revealed in the first sentence of the Epistle Dedicatorie which reads:

Reat and manifold were the blessings (most dread soveraigne) which Almighty God, the Father of all Mercies, bestowed upon us the people of ENGLAND, when first he sent your Majesties Royall person to raigne over us.

(Ibid: 3)

Note that no emphasis has been added and that England is capitalised in the original text. It then goes on to express the hope that the Church of England will “reape good fruit” from this publication of which James was the “principall mover and Author.” (Ibid:4). James was therefore clearly identified with this publication, eventually to become known colloquially as the “King James Bible”. For the purpose of this research however the question is “how does it promote ‘Great Britain/British’ in the wider community?” Publication would of itself open it up to the literate but as has been discussed they were the minority. As a first step, how were the contents of the new bible distributed? The assumption is that the primary mechanism would be through the pre existing network of parishes that constituted the Church of England. In 1603 according to the Diocesan Population Returns there were 9244 parishes in England and Wales, 2,273,088 communicants and 4793 clergy (Dyer and Palliser, 2005:ixxxv). While others have produced slightly different figures - (O’Day, 1979) and (Curtis, 1962) - for this research the differences are not significant i.e. whether the precise number of clergy was 4793 or 3800 makes little difference, in either case it is a significant number. The extent of this network, over 9000 branches, a reach of greater than 50% of the population, and over 4500 “representatives” is, even by modern standards, impressive. For example, in terms of branches, Tesco had, at February 2010, 2482 stores in the UK (Tesco, 2010:7). It seems clear that a network existed but two further factors are relevant - quantity in terms of availability of the product i.e. the book, and quality in terms of the efficiency and effectiveness of the clergy in interpreting and disseminating the message.

7.3.4 For many years, before and after James’ reign, the Bible was a widely distributed book. It is estimated that between 1526 and 1640 over two million Bibles, New Testaments and parts were published (Daniell, 2003:462). Printing of the translation of the Bible ordered by James was entrusted to the King’s printer Robert

Barker and the physical size of the work he produced is, it is suggested, significant. The first copies produced by Barker were folio, and at 8½ by 13½ inches (22 × 34 cm) were clearly not designed to be portable. Although smaller quarto editions were produced in 1612 they were still 8 ¾ by 11 inches (22 × 28 cm), and given these dimensions these were hardly pocket sized. It was not until 1620 that “...Norton and Bill produced a vicesimoquarto edition – which was a mere 4 by 2 inches [10.16 × 5.8 cm], capable of being carried in the pocket” (McGrath, 2001:205). It can thus be inferred that at its introduction and in its early phase the King James Bible would be placed in the network of places of worship or grand houses where it would be read by the literate to, among others, the illiterate. However, there is “irrefutable evidence that, far from rushing out to buy or make use of the new [King James] translation, people preferred to use ... the Geneva Bible...The King James Bible might be the Bible of the English religious and political establishment; it had a long way to go before it became the Bible of the English people” (ibid:278)

In England when James acceded to the throne in 1603, as Hill succinctly puts it:-

The vernacular Bible was the property of all the literate laity, and radical protestant preachers made a point of trying to extend knowledge of it to all levels of society. By the seventeenth century the Bible was accepted as central to all spheres of intellectual life: it was not merely a ‘religious’ book in our narrow modern sense of the word religion. Church and state in Tudor England were one; the Bible was, or should be, the foundation of all aspects of English culture. On this principle most protestants were agreed.

Hill (1993:7)

For this research the critical issue is during James’ reign what did the Bible do to extend “to all levels of society”, knowledge and acceptance of Great Britain/British? As shown above the Bible(s), whether vernacular or the King James’ version, plainly did not do so, indeed it did quite the reverse and “played a large part in moulding English nationalism...” (ibid: 7)

7.3.5 The second additional element is the key group of actors within the acting unit, the clergy. While it would be wrong to characterise them as homogeneous group Collinson’s work on combination lectures provides evidence of a degree of coherence sufficient to treat the clergy as a single group for the purposes of this research (Collinson, 1975). There is evidence that shortages of clergy in Elizabethan times were being overcome and indeed by the second decade of the seventeenth century there may have been an oversupply (Curtis, 1962:32). Oversupply notwithstanding, coverage across the whole of England was, in parts, patchy and the quality in terms of education,

behaviour and pastoral care appears to have been variable; although it is likely that overall standards were improving (Wrightson, 1993:206-208). By the 1620s most clergy were graduates and with, as a conservative estimate, an average term of service twenty seven years six months (Curtis, 1962:30-31). They were physically embedded in the life of their parish where in their daily lives clergy would have been subject to close scrutiny. Not only were they scrutinised, they were held to account, frequently in the ecclesiastical court, for their behaviour in their personal life and for their position on the dogma of the factions referred to above. It seems that the literate minority of their parish were particularly assiduous in pursuing what they perceived to be non-conforming activity (Maltby, 1993) (see below regarding the clergy's dependence on this group). In addition there is evidence that the clergy were "...increasingly separated from the laity because of their education, their awareness of a separate special and important vocation, and the hereditary nature of their profession." (O'Day, 1979:190)

From an economic standpoint O'Day estimates that 90% of "benefices" (the rector's annual stipend) in England were less than £26 per annum and 75% were worth less than £20 per annum (O'Day, 1979:173) and goes on to conclude that:-

...whereas a large number of rectors were keeping their heads above water economically and even prospering as a result of rising prices, a great number of the country's 3800 vicars were remaining impoverished and in real terms were being more stretched than ever...

(ibid: 176)

Lack of an income led to a dependence by the clergy on the patronage of the wealthy, literate minority - "...They subscribe to any opinions and decisions contrary to the word of God, that they may not offend their patron, but retain the favour of the great, the applause of the multitude, and thereby acquire riches for themselves; ..." (Burton, 1624: line 2103). Wealthy patrons were gentry who were likely to be driven by their own social needs as landowners and their social roles (see Chapter 8). This observation indicates that clergy could be motivated by material factors, were open to influence if not control, by their wealthy patrons and therefore were unlikely to contradict them. The impact of this economic poverty bred "contempt" and, partly due to their poverty, clergy were subject to many pamphlets accusing them of corrupt practices (Hill, 1956:212-213).

7.3.6 With regard to Great Britain/British it would seem that their economic situation of itself made it unlikely that this was at the core of their ministry. Furthermore, in

addition to their economic position the Bible, the source of their position, promoted English rather than British; their economic weakness, led to a dependence on their literate patron whose primary focus was England (Chapters 6 and 8); they were members of an organisation plainly designated as English; their organisation was in the midst of an intense doctrinal debate. All of this makes it extremely unlikely that the clergy would actively, or even passively, promote Great Britain/British as a brand.

7.3.7 So from the point of view of a promotional channel how does the Church, or Church (es), perform? The obvious first issue is that, there was no “Church of Great Britain” – no British Church thereby creating the situation in England that the channel had a name that directly undermined British. Given that the church and religion were inextricably linked with every aspect of life it would be surprising to say the least if any term other than English would be promoted by it. Even the very latest version of the text that contained the core values of the Church, the Bible, paid what seems to be no more than passing reference to British and indeed specifically reinforces English by virtue of the emphasis placed on the latter in the title. However there are only two further references to either term (specifically to England) in the epistle. Given that there can be no doubt about the impact of the Bible in popular culture, such lukewarm support in the document would, of itself, be sufficient to be fatal to the brand. Had there been within the channel a cadre of dedicated motivated individuals prepared to use word of mouth to push the brand then perhaps there may have been some prospect of it being accepted. However, the biggest group within the Church, the clergy, had other priorities such as making a living, not offending their patrons and issues of ecclesiastical dogma. As a promotional channel for the brand Great Britain/British it was at best poor and at worst counterproductive by promoting an alternative England/English.

7.4 The Courts

7.4.1 As has been discussed above (Paragraph 5.2.5) the respective parliaments in England and Scotland effectively agreed in 1607 that there was to be no unified British legal system. So in much the same way that the Church of England reinforced English so did the separate courts and legal systems support the adoption of the brand British? It is to this point that the research now turns. From the outset it should be made clear that, with regard to England, the discussion relates to the formal administrative system of justice that was distinct from the “informal mediation” in which disputes were settled

locally without recourse to the legal system preferred by many, in part due to the severity of penalties imposed by the state agents of the law (Wrightson, 1993:157).

7.4.2 The structure of the formal judicial system is important. Hierarchically structured the different levels would have different impacts on the adoption, or otherwise, of the term British. It should be clearly stated that there were two distinct legal systems – English and Scottish. The former had its roots in common law whereas the law in”...Scotland belonged formerly to the civil law and not to the common law camp” (Walker, 1975:325). However, for this research it is the scope of the coverage of the courts in England that is important as “...when they [judges] toured the country they acted as agents of the crown...” (Lockyer, 1999:17) and as such were an important promotional channel for its ideas in general and Great Britain/British in particular.

In terms of reach the coverage of the system in England via the Assizes was virtually 100% as the following table shows:-

Table 7.1 English Assize Circuits by County 1558-1714

| Circuit | Home | Midland | Norfolk | Oxford | Northern | Western |
|----------|--------|----------|---------|----------|----------------|----------|
| Counties | Essex | Derby | Bucks | Berks | Cumberland | Cornwall |
| | Herts | Leics | Beds | Glos | Durham | Devon |
| | Kent | Lincoln | Cambs | Hereford | Lancashire | Dorset |
| | Surrey | Notts | Hunts | Mon | Northumberland | Hants |
| | Sussex | Nothants | Norfolk | Oxford | Westmorland | Somerset |
| | | Retford | Suffolk | Salop | Yorkshire | Wilts |
| | | Warwick | | Staffs | | |

Adapted from Cockburn (1972:24)

In addition to these circuits the Regional Councils in the North and the Welsh Marches provided further judicial coverage of more remote geographic areas, although in the early seventeenth century with regard to the latter “The official records of the Council clearly show that its importance was declining in spite of vigorous efforts to support its authority” (Skeel, 1915:23). Given this reach, i.e. “the number of different people likely to be exposed to a given number of issues of a combination of media” (Claycamp and McClelland, 1968:44), the message that was carried with regard to British is significant in that it had a high level of exposure. This analysis begins by considering the top, macro level and moves on to cover the message that was disseminated from the top down.

7.4.3 Macro political level

Early in his reign, on 18 April 1604 and prior to declaring himself King of Great Britain, in an attempt to circumvent the reluctance of Parliament to accept the term Great Britain, James wrote to Robert Cecil to "...adjure the judges upon their consciences to God and their allegiances to me, to declare the truth if I may not at this time use the name of Britain, warranted by Act of Parliament, without direct abrogation of the laws..." (Akrigg, 1984:225). However, on 28 April 1604 Robert Cecil wrote to the Earl of Mar that "... all the judges of the realm have joined with the opinion of three parts of the House that the first hour wherein Parliament gives the King the name of Great Britany there followeth necessarily... an utter extinction of all the laws now in force" (Spedding, 1868:200). Thus the courts were not at this point of time willing to support James' brand. James' difficulties with the English Parliament regarding the Bill of Hostile Laws have been discussed above (Paragraph 5.2.5) and while Parliament continued to thwart James the courts seemed to provide him some, limited, support in the Calvin Case.

7.4.4 Calvin's Case

The specific issue of this case related to the inheritance of property in England by a juvenile named Robert Calvin who was born in Scotland after James' accession to the English throne. He complained that he had been unjustly deprived of his inheritance as an alien. Calvin was an alien, they [the defendants] argued, because he had been born "within [James'] kingdom of Scotland, and out of the allegiance of the said lord the King of his kingdom of England" (Price, 1975:5). If Calvin was an alien, he would, according to English law, be unable to be seised (sic) of a freehold in England. The defendants' plea thus made the status of persons born in Scotland after the accession of James I to the throne of England the paramount legal issue.

... All but two of the justices determined that persons born in Scotland after the accession of James to the throne of England (the postnati, as they were referred to in the case) were to be regarded not as aliens in England but as natural-born subjects, qualified to inherit English land. The postnati as subjects born into the allegiance of James after he became King of England owed their allegiance to the sovereign of England as well as Scotland. By contrast, the antenati, those born before 1603, were born into the allegiance of a King with no relation to the English throne. Therefore, unless the antenati were naturalized by statute, these Scottish subjects of James remained aliens as a matter of English law.

Price (1997:5)

Thus the judges were, in essence, supportive of James' project of Union in that all citizens were equal under the law but, and it is a major "but" for this research, the terms being used England and English clearly indicating that it was under English law. Furthermore the terms of the judgement indicated that Scots born before James' accession were "aliens". All of this would seem, de facto, to reinforce the differences between Scotland and England rather than support Great Britain/British.

7.4.5 Further evidence of an ambiguity towards the brand is, at a later date, provided by James himself in a speech to Judges in the Star Chamber in 1616 when he states:-

... when I endeavoured most, a union reall,... my desire was to conformance the Lawes of *Scotland* to the Law of *England*, and not the Law of *England* to the Law of *Scotland*

...

It was a foolish Querke of some Judges, who held that the Parliament of *England*, could not unite *Scotland* and *England* by the name of *Great Britaine*, ...For my intention was always to effect union by uniting *Scotland* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*: For I ever meant, being ever resolved, that this Law should continue in this Kingdome, and two things moved mee thereunto; One is,..., you shall never see any thing anciently and maturely established, but by Innovation or alteration it is worse then (sic) it was,... Another reason was, I was sworne to maintaine the Law of the Land...

James I (1616:553)

The motivation for the above is not discussed in detail here but the English legal profession was fundamentally wedded to England/English .

An English lawyer of, say, 1620 found lengthy discussions in educational manuals on the cultivation of memory, ... Constructing and challenging lineages of local and constitutional customs extending back beyond memory into "immemorial" antiquity occupied his practice... Through his participation in the burgeoning study of legal antiquarianism, he offered a distinct style of access into the national past and commanded a key route back into England's medieval and Saxon heritage.

Ross (1998:5)

Whatever James' motivation, it seems clear that the message, whether deliberately conveyed or not, is that Scotland and England are, from a legal standpoint, different: they are not united. Indeed, the view of Coke, Lord Chief Justice in 1616, was that in the legal world English liberty was for England and "... went no further than the English border" (Hulseboch, 2006:194). The significance of this however extends beyond the legal elite because the judges' role went beyond the strictly judicial. A responsibility that James reminded them of in the same Star Chamber speech stating "...Remember that when you goe your Circuits, you goe not only to punish and prevent offences, but you are to take care for the good government in generall of the parts where you travel"

(James I, 1616:562). From the content of James' homily in the Star Chamber it seems plain that in doing so the promotion of English rather than British would be at the forefront of the judges' minds. Once again it appears that a key acting unit from a promotional and behavioural standpoint was not aligned with the brand Great Britain/British but with England/English. However, this only relates to the "elite" cadre of judges. What was the impact in the wider administration of justice and the wider population?

7.4.6 Table 7.1 shows the pervasiveness of the assize system across England in terms of reach. It was also pervasive in terms of frequency (the number of times that the target audience is exposed to the medium) which is another important dimension in terms of brand promotion, (Cheong et al, 2010), "Twice a year - except for the northern counties, which received only annual visitations – the judges went on circuit, holding assizes in the principal towns throughout the kingdom" (Lockyer, 1999:178). The symbolic importance of the system and its consequent impact on the local community should not be underestimated and is described by Cockburn as follows:-

At the border of the first county on each circuit the judges were met by trumpeters and the sheriff's bailiff...the sheriff himself, and other local officers, and representatives of the local gentry. The ensuing cavalcade...attended by pike- and liverymen specially clothed for the occasion. Welcomed into the town with bells, music... the judges now robed and again attended by the sheriff and his men passed to the church where the local minister read prayers and the sheriff's chaplain delivered a sermon.

Cockburn (1972:65)

It is clear that the assize was something of an event and of significance in local communities across England twice a year, and as such it would have been the subject of considerable WOM (Paragraph 7.1). The substance of that WOM led by the judges seems likely to have been consistent with Bacon's view of their "duty to represent to the people the graces and care of the king;" (Spedding, 1868:211). In particular given that the "Sheriffs were encouraged to consider the political leanings of the clergy they selected as assize chaplains and ... the Privy Council itself took notice of appointments." (Ibid :65) it seems unlikely that the views conveyed by James at the Star Chamber would not be passed on. In addition given what has been said above regarding the absence of positive support for the brand in the Church the likelihood of Great Britain/British having a high level of significance within this acting unit seems remote in the extreme.

7.4.7 Dissemination of the top down message

Sitting below the assize were Justices of the Peace (JPs). Nominated by the Lord Chancellor and in theory respected for their birth, wealth and status they met quarterly usually in the county town to deal with cases brought before them by a grand jury of the shire (comprising approximately fifteen lesser landholders it was a creature of the assize) supposed to represent the local community. It seems therefore that the JPs were another element of the communication channel, an interface between “community” and the term Great Britain/British. “The effectiveness of the Justices of the Peace in governing the local communities derived in large part from the fact that they were resident there. Indeed all the gentry, whether or not they were appointed to the Commission of the Peace, acted as guardians of the established order, for their continuing presence in the countryside served to maintain the traditional bonds between them and their inferiors.” (Lockyer, 1999:180). Once again it seems that a powerful source of WOM existed that was likely to reflect the views being expressed in the assize by the judges who in turn would be expected to reflect the views of the monarch which, from the above, was at best inconsistent in its promotion of the brand. All of this should be viewed in the context of the importance of the gentry in the community. From the early sixteenth century there had been a rapid growth in education among the gentry the majority of whom had at least a grammar school education which gave them give them access to a language that “... served to differentiate them from the increasing body of men with whom they shared the powers of mere literacy; and it gave them as well the forensic technique (and attitude) which was at once associated both with that language and with their own social needs as landowners and rulers. Their education left them as well with a desire to acquire and catalogue new information for use as *exempla* ...” (Levy, 1982:12). However, in common with the Church the courts seem to have been ineffective as a promotional vehicle for the term Great Britain/British through the gentry while doing a somewhat better job in the promotion of England/English. Nevertheless there were other factors under the influence of James that impacted the daily life of the population which could have provided support for the brand and it is to those that the focus now turns, in particular to the role of symbols.

7.5 Symbols - Coins and flags

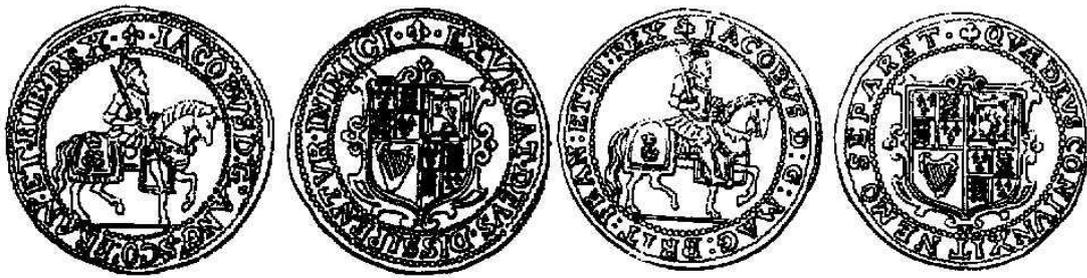
The role of symbols in branding is discussed in Paragraph 3.6 and in a society of limited literacy symbols are of particular significance in representing ideas. This section considers two important symbols which would have wider significance, in terms of both reach (the number of people exposed to them) and frequency (the number of times that they are exposed to them) in the period under consideration - coins and flags.

7.5.1 Coins

The importance of the first of these (coins¹) is illustrated by one of the first proclamations issued by James on 8 April 1603 was “A Proclamation at what values certain Moneys of Scotland shall be currant (sic) within England.” Money was important and the proclamation sets the value of the Scots coinage in Sterling and is accepted in England and “...henceforth to be accepted and allowed by all his loving subjects whatsoever within the said Realme of Englande” (James I, 1603c). They are also explicitly referred to in James declaration as King of Great Britain on 20 October 1604 (Paragraph 5.2.7). From a branding point of view every time a Scots Marke changed hands in England or Sterling changed hands in Scotland it emphasised, at least for a short term transaction, the difference between the two kingdoms.

7.5.2 There were three coinages in James reign the first 1603-1604, the second 1604-1618 and the third 1618-1624 (Seaby, 1985). In this research, as is shown below, the critical date is 1604, i.e the first coinage after James declared himself King of Great Britain, and the distinction between the second and third coinages can be ignored. The first coins minted in James’ new reign, 1603-1604, were crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half shillings, two pennies, pennies and half pennies bearing the motto “IACOBUS DG ANG SCO FRAN ET HIB REX”. However James seems to have moved rapidly to change this as the example of the Shilling shows:-

¹ “Coins” for the purposes of this research excludes paper bills of credit as they have relatively restricted albeit important, commercial, circulation. For a discussion on the role of these see Rowlinson (1999)



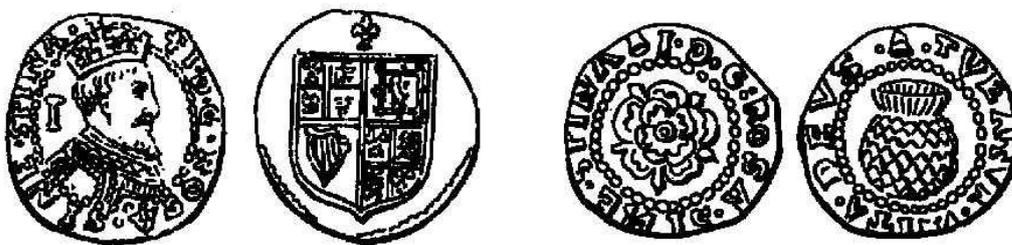
Shilling Pre 1604

Shilling Post 1604

Source: Perkins (2008:125)

The pre 1604 carries the inscription “JACOBUS D.G. ANG. SCO. FRAN. ET HIB REX” [James King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland] while the Post 1604 is inscribed “IACOBUS DG MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB REX [James King of Great Britain, France and Ireland]”. Such a change provides a clear example of the promotion of the brand with high reach and frequency among those rich enough to use such coins. The obverse carries the exhortation “NEMO SEPARET QUA DEUS CONIUNXIT - [Let no one put asunder what God has joined]” a clear call to unity – the key brand value. In symbolic terms there is no apparent difference between the two coins, the text is clear but there is no symbol representing Great Britain (Humphries, 1854:98).

7.5.3 The situation is somewhat different with respect to coins of a smaller denomination, presumably more common among the general populace hence with greater frequency and reach:-



Penny Pre 1604

Penny Post 1604

Source: Perkins (2008:125)

The pre and post 1604 coins bear the inscription “IDG ROSA SINE SPINA” [James a Rose without a Thorn] on the obverse while the post 1604 coins bear the additional inscription “TUEATUR UNITA DEUS” [May God guard these united (kingdoms)]. However, the allusion to the union in the motto, in Latin it should be noted not English, should be set alongside the dual symbols for Scotland and England, thistle and rose, but

where is the equivalent signifying Britain? There appears to be none. Thus pictorially every time a penny changed hands the symbols of Scotland and England were seen.

Before the issue of the second coinage, the term Great Britain for the United Kingdom, was adopted “Mag Brit” instead of “Ang Scot” being used on that coinage, and on the reverse a new and appropriate motto, allusive to the union of the crowns, was used – “Que Deus conjunxit nemo separet”^{*} The shillings were the same as the half-crowns and crowns... The two-penny pieces had a rose on one side and a thistle on the other, crowned, with “I. D. G. rosa sine spina” and “Tueatur unita Deus”^{*} The pennies had the rose and thistle without the crown, with the same legends; and the halfpennies the simple rose and thistle without mottos. These several pieces now continued to be minted without alteration till the end of the reign.

Humphries (1854:98)

^{*}What God hath joined let no man put asunder

^{**}May God guard these United Kingdoms

Note: although none of these coins bar the sixpence bear a date, the mint marks indicate they date from before 20 June 1605 (Ibid: 98) – an indication of fairly rapid action on James’ part. A detailed description of the coins of the period is provided by Humphries (Humphries,1854:98-107).

The use of Latin is likely to have communicated to the educated but even on the larger denomination coins the semiotic appears to be contradictory in that the shield shows the symbols for England, Scotland, France and Ireland. A similar situation exists in the lower denomination coins which would have wider reach and frequency except that the semiotic contradiction is even more evident with the simple rose of England and thistle of Scotland on opposite sides of the coin. Such symbolism emphasises difference rather than the key brand value of unity.

The timing of the introduction of the second currency, by proclamation dated 16 November 1604 only weeks after his assumption of the title King of Great Britain, would appear to indicate some awareness on his part of the importance of this symbol of the brand (James I, 1604c). However, as the discussion above shows, the relationship between coins and the brand Great Britain/British and its value unity does not seem to be clearly understood. The use of the unifying Great Britain is counterbalanced by differences in symbolism, indeed it seems to be defined by difference. In essence it is a mixed message i.e. we are the same but different. In terms of the key brand value of unity it is confusing. Given that there was an increase in economic activity over this period and a rapid increase in the service industries, for example “Nationally the number of alehouses per inhabitant went from one per 142 people in 1577 to one per

104-189 inhabitants by the 1630s, or over 50,000 premises” (Muldrew, 1998:19) which must have increased the circulation of coins to facilitate transactions (Clark, 1983:42-44). However, it is possible to overestimate the influence of coins for two reasons:-

- a) Within the merchant/trading community most trading was done on the basis of credit rather than in cash – “...full and direct payment in cash was unusual except in the smallest transactions, or in cases where the buyer's credit was weak or unknown” (Muldrew, 1993:171)
- b) The amount of coin in circulation was, relative to the population, small. It is estimated that even by the end of the seventeenth century “there would have been only about £1 15s. in circulation for every household in the country” (Muldrew, 2001:88).

Whatever its impact the coinage draws attention to the absence of a numismatic symbol for Great Britain/British and the endurance of the dual symbols of Scotland and England throughout James’ reign. Thus the coinage too is at best ambivalent as a supportive symbol for the brand. A further symbol visible to the general populace would be the flags flown on public buildings and displayed at the assizes (Paragraph 7.4.6) and it is these that are considered in the next section.

7.5.4 Flags

“Since the inception of nations, national leaders have embraced and adopted national flags and anthems, using them to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honor the efforts of citizens, and legitimate formal authority” (Cerulo, 1993:234) “Flags are used worldwide and are important symbols that embody the very spirit of each nation they represent” (Wallace, 2000). The role of the flag as a symbol of the nation tends to be accepted almost without question; it is regarded as a source of unity. In the British case, as is shown in Chapter 3, over the centuries the Union Jack (Flag) has developed into a quintessential symbol of Great Britain and British, a clearly identifiable signifier of the brand. This section examines role of the flag as a means of developing the brand at its introduction. How did it promote the brand’s core value of unity and help establish Great Britain i.e. how did James develop the flag as a symbol of the brand?

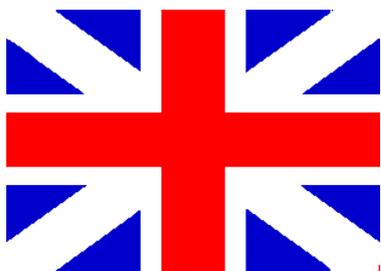
7.5.5 The role of the flag as a national symbol is inextricably linked to ships and shipping as it provided identification of the country from which it originated: any ship without a flag was regarded as a pirate (Mansell, 2007:18). Specifically, the English cross of St. George was one of the earliest examples of the use of a national flag by

ships (Znamierowski, 2004:88). It is therefore no surprise that on the 12 April 1606 James issued the following declaration:-

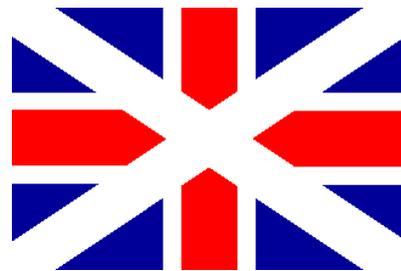
Whereas some difference hath arisen between our subjects travailing by Seas, about the bearing of flagges: for the avoiding of such contentions hereafter, wee have with the advise of our Councill ordered; That from henceforth all our Subjects of this Ille and Kingdome of great Britaine, and the members thereof, shall beare in their Maintoppe the Red Crosse, commonly called S. Georges Crosse, and the White Crosse commonly called S. Andrewes Crosse, joined together according to a forme made by our heralds, and sent by us to our Admiral to bee published to our said Subjects: And in their fore-toppe our Subjects of South Britaine shall weare the Red Crosse onely as they were wonte, and our Subjects of North Britaine in their fore-toppe the White Crosse onely as they were accustomed. Wherefore wee will and command all our Subjects to be conformable and obedient to this our Order, and that from hence forth the doe not use or beare their flagges in any other sort, as they will answeere the contrary at their peril.

James I (1606)

There are several points of interest in this proclamation. Firstly, the use of the terms “North Britaine” and “South Britaine” rather than Scotland and England, which when set against the clear references to the patron Saints of the respective countries, seems somewhat odd and is likely to have been confusing. More significantly, for this research, is that it appears that the ships of Scotland (North Britaine) and England (South Britaine) were to retain the ability to display their differences by flying their traditional national flags on their foresail. As a symbol of British unity this seems to be, at best, a mixed message and at worst, contradictory. However, it seems that the proposal for a “joined together” flag was not well received. The Scots objected and on 7 August 1606 proposed further drafts (Masson et al, 1970:498-499). As a result of the various objections a compromise was reached that “tended to undermine the whole principle of the union. Two designs became acceptable: an English version and a Scottish version, to be flown on the ships of each respective country” (Groom, 2006:137) and as the following shows the contrast is marked:-



The St. George Version



The St. Andrew Version

Source: http://www.know-britain.com/general/union_jack.html

Neither of these was the subject of a royal proclamation by James. Analysis of the EEBO database shows the only proclamation by James on the subject was that referred to above. If, as Cerudo argues “the method of combining or repeating those elements [of a flag], or emphasizing one element over another can change both the meaning and the effectiveness of the symbol's [the flag's] message “By varying the syntactic structure, one varies the message” (Cerulo, 1993:246), then James’ communication of the British message by the flag was fundamentally flawed. Hence, in terms of the schema set out in Paragraph 3.6.1 the connection between the signifier (the Union Jack) and the signified (Great Britain) is not established. The myth of Great Britain/British as a source of unity is not reinforced.

Furthermore the proclamation relates solely to ships ; Charles I further restricted it to the King’s own ships on 5 May 1634 other ships were to fly the English or Scottish flags (Perrin, 1922:55). It was not until 17 January 1707 that the commons decided that

... [Scotland and England should be] united into one Kingdom by the Name of Great-Britain, and that the Ensigns Armorial of the said united Kingdom, be such as her Majesty shall appoint; and the Crosses of St. *Andrew* and St. *George* be conjoined in such a manner as her Majesty shall think fit, and used in all Flags, Banners, Standards, and Ensigns, both at Sea and Land.

The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons (1742b)

But note that the final form is left at the discretion of the monarch. Even now “Unlike the flags of other countries, the proportions of the Union Jack have never been codified in law.” and there have been numerous variations on its theme over the centuries (Groom, 2006:236 et seq.)

7.5.6 In sum therefore it seems that the flag as a symbol for British unity was limited in reach, limited to the sea. The absence of any discernable attempt by James to introduce a land based equivalent could be indicative of a lack of importance of this symbol. Moreover, even at sea it was not universally accepted; indeed its symbolic value was contradicted by the pre-existing symbols of St Andrew and St. George as illustrated by the following communication from the West Indies in March 1607:-

Besides the disorder amongst the younger and most ungoverned sort of merchants, here is many times disorders amongst the mariners and sea faring men, in such sort that great quarrels are many times likely to arise through their wilful follies; and principally betwixt the Scottish masters and the English touching the wearing of their flags, which are made with both the red

cross and St. Andrew's cross joined in one; and the Scot wears the English cross under the Scottish, which breeds many quarrels, and were very fit it were decree which should be worn uppermost, for avoiding contention.

Cecil Papers (1607e)

While it may be an overstatement to suggest that "... the hollow and purely symbolic use of the Union Jack, aroused more national antagonism than feelings of national unity" Levack (1987:190), in terms of promoting a brand with unity as a key value, the flag does seem to have been designed to be inimical to the success of that brand.

7.5.7 The factors above were to some extent under James' control. If additional emphasis of the lack of clarity regarding unity is required, it is shown by the use of two personal coats of arms by James:-



Coat of arms of James I of England - 1603 to 1625 Coat of arms of James VI of Scotland -1603 to 1625

Source: Brooke-Little (1978:213, 215)

Apart from the existence of two coats of arms emphasising difference both appear to contain symbols of difference as much as of unity.

7.5.8 From the above it seems that the institutions of state provided a poor focus for the brand Great Britain/British and it is worthy of note that two institutions that have been suggested as forging the brand, the army and the empire (Colley,2003), did not exist during James' reign. In addition to institutions under his control, as a pseudo brand decider (Paragraph 2.2.1) James had, at the very least, considerable influence in the message being communicated by other media. However, a social interactionist approach to branding implies there are other promotional factors beyond the control of, but potentially influenced by, the brand leader and it is to these that the research now turns, specifically the theatre and the printed media.

And then you shall live freely there [Virginia], without sergeants, or courtiers, or lawyers, or intelligencers, only a few industrious Scots, perhaps, who indeed are dispers'd over the face of the whole earth. But, as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't, in the world, than they are. And, for my part, I would a hundred thousand of 'em were there, for we are all one countrymen now, ye know; and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than we do here.

Chapman et al (1605:Act III, Scene II, Lines 1380-7)

This passage from *Eastward Ho* with its implication that there were few industrious Scots and that England would be better if a hundred thousand Scots were elsewhere was considered to have "...reflected [badly] on the Scottish nation, and the matter was represented to the king by Sir James Murray, one of his courtiers, in so strong a light, that the authors were apprehended, thrown into prison, and threatened with the loss of their ears and noses" (Mills, 1851:314). It seems evident that James was at least "sensitive" to such media and capable of exacting severe retribution on those of which he disapproved. They were therefore important and are considered in the following chapter.

Chapter 8 - Identity and Influencers: The promotional media - The Theatre and Printed Media

8.1 The theatre

Before considering its importance it is necessary to establish the meaning of theatre as it is used here. As a starting point it would be a mistake to view the theatre as a single entity. There were three distinct types in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries each catering for a different audience.

8.1.1 The first of these, Masques, may not strictly be theatre. They were “theater-oriented...courtly spectacles” (Limon, 1990:16) and their target market was select, exclusive and high status i.e. they were held at the instigation of a high personage such as the King, Queen or other nobility as an entertainment and the players included eminent members of the Court. However, court masques were not intimate soirees: on 18 February 1613 Chamberlain in his letters writes of the failure of the players to perform thus:-

...they came home as they went without doing anything, the reason whereof I cannot yet learn thoroughly, but only that the Hall was so full that it was not possible to avoid it or make room for them, besides that most of the ladies were in the galleries to see them land and could not get in

Thomson (1966:75)

As to content “The British motif ran through most of the early court entertainments presented before James ... A recognisable complex of themes recurs: the glory of the union, the imperial condition of James in his new empire of the north, the incomparable peace of Britain with its attendant blessings of prosperity and the flourishing of the arts that make these the Fortunate Isles, hitherto known only in legend” (Parry, 1993:87-90). The significance of this is that as an input of how the brand was performing it was, particularly given the punishment such as that visited on the participants in Eastward Ho (Paragraph 7.5.8), hardly unbiased and unlikely to portray the brand in a negative light to James. Such “systemic silence” has been identified as having potentially unfortunate consequences, for the brand manager, whereby “... [in] organizations plagued by silence, problems may accumulate to the point that they can no longer be hidden from the view of important stakeholders ... At this point, these constituencies may conclude that the organization suffers from ‘poor management,’ and top managers may lose their jobs” (Morrison and Milliken, 2000:721). It is therefore considered unlikely that any lack of progress in popular acceptance of Great Britain/British would have been made evident to James by this medium, indeed the reverse may have been true.

Beyond the somewhat reified realms of the masque was a second group of “private playhouses with the stage at one end of the hall” which charged higher prices [than the public playhouses] and had “a more select clientele” that was intellectual, satirical and sceptical. The third, and to a certain extent for this research most interesting, group comprised the “...public playhouse open to the sky “. For the purposes of this research these two are taken together under the heading of public theatre as each addressed an open audience in similar fashion. Whatever the type of theatre, it should be clearly

understood that the theatre as a whole was a commercial enterprise whose aim was to “...give entertainment and to take money” (Gurr, 1992:6). Thus “public theatre was popular theatre not only because it played to a large general public, but also because it was audience-centred, giving the public what it wanted. These are plays whose chief function is not to express an artist’s personal vision but to cater to the needs and tastes of an audience; they are a consumer product, part of a commercial enterprise” (Leggatt, 1992:2). If one accepts this view then popular theatre can be seen as reflecting not simply the views of the playwright but also what the audience wanted to see and to hear. Hence the use of Great Britain/British in public theatre can be taken as a simple measure of the public salience, if not acceptance, of the brand and it is for this reason that plays performed in the public theatre are analysed in more detail below. However, it should be noted that public and private dichotomy is not discrete, overlaps occurred and the same play could appear in either with different interpretations (Leggatt, 1992:3). The analysis that follows covers public and private theatre but excludes masques as they related to a more elite market whose access to the brand is considered to be adequately discussed above and in Chapter 6.

8.1.2 Much has been written on the subject of the role of the theatre in the Jacobean era, in particular interpreting James’ actions and motivations by analysis of individual texts such as, to choose an unrepresentative but illustrative sample,

- Cymbeline by Shakespeare at the Globe
- Coriolanus, Shakespeare at the Globe
- Bonduca, Fletcher, Globe/Blackfriars
- Sejanus, Jonson at the Globe
- The White Devil, Webster at the Red Bull
- The Bondman, Massinger at the Cockpit

Shakespeare’s Cymbeline, the “union play” (Wormald, 2003:7), written by 1610 has been described as ending with a “joyful rapprochement” between the British and Romans which “In this context the theme of Cymbeline of two former adversaries looking forward to their coming union, was entirely appropriate.” At a time when James was pushing for the Act of Union, London was full of Scots and the English nationalism of Shakespeare’s earlier historical plays was inappropriate (Creighton, 2006:6). For such a view to be sustainable it must be assumed that the text of the play is a reflection of the socio-political understanding of the audience and, particularly in the light of the commercial nature of the exercise, the author’s interpretation of it. Similarly:-

In Coriolanus, Shakespeare analyzes both the fictional and constructed nature of a political analogy on the decline and the political affiliations of a literary genre dependent on that analogy. In the process, he constructs an alternate model for the state and an alternate genre for the play which the folio calls,

somewhat deceptively, *The Tragedy of Coriolanus*. Shakespeare satirizes those generic aspects of tragedy that depend on an unquestioning faith in the complex medical and political analogy of the body politic, taking as his butt so many tragic conventions that it becomes difficult to think of *Coriolanus* as sharing a dramatic genre with *Richard II*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Hamlet*.

Holstun (1983:486)

The assumption here is that the audience would be intimately familiar with “both the fictional and constructed nature of a political analogy”. Such assumptions can appear to be taken to extremes, for example *Bonduca*, which contains the most references to “Brit” in its text (Paragraph 8.1.6), concerns the ancient British heroine and her fight against the Roman invasion and, according to one analysis, the play:-

... articulates an important cross-section of anxieties and conceptual shifts about women worthies and male homosociality that alludes to the court and reign of James I. The figure of Boadicea as a powerful, warlike, or "Amazonian" woman identified with British nationalism necessarily constituted a challenge to the official ideology of James' court. ... Just as James' homoerotic and even sodomitical behaviors compromised the homosociality of his court and further troubled public perception of his ability to govern England in *Bonduca*, Caratach's over-zealous allegiance to male alliances and affinity for all things Roman trouble his heroism and cast doubt on his ability to serve the Britons.

Crawford (1999:357)

Could/would such modern allusions to gender issues have been identified by a contemporary, seventeenth century, audience? With regard to *Sejanus*, Hill makes the general point that “Character writers of the seventeenth century used Roman allusions, as modern political cartoonists employ a kind of visual short-hand, to ‘tune in’ to a required stock response” and that this cartoon language runs through *Sejanus* and *Cataline* (Hill, 1960:114). The understanding of such a “cartoon” implies a familiarity with the character on which it was based. Similarly, in *The White Devil* “...it is not only the simple values of the traditional Revenge play that Webster repudiates as unsuited to the vindication in his tragedy. His sensibility demanded the creation of a world in which no set of values is shown to be the ‘right’ one, no attitude as intrinsically better than any other; a world of, in the most literal sense, emotional anarchy” (Mulryne, 1960:202). For such a cartoon to have the desired impact on an audience it has to be assumed it was evident to its members.

Finally,

The Bondman, performed in 1623 and printed in the following year, appropriately features not only a foreign political invasion, but also, in the form of Corinthian ideology brought by Timoleon, a foreign intellectual invasion. The fictitious arrival of Timoleon and his political ideology suggests the intellectual invasion of a very real sort during the policy

crisis of the late 1610s and 1620s: that of Dutch political thought. This reading situates the play within the context of the crown's highly criticized relations with Spain and the Netherlands, relations which created a growing awareness of the Dutch political problem and its ideology.

Fulton (2002:153)

Here it is assumed not only that the audience knew of Timoleon but also what he represented and that the audience could make the connection between classical Corinth and seventeenth century Holland.

The importance of contemporary life (political, moral, religious) in the authorship of plays is not in dispute and "... in the light of what we now know about the parliamentary activities of the year 1606, we can assert with confidence not only that the tragedy of Coriolanus is politically oriented, but that it was written and played against a background of contemporary politics to which every Paul's walker in Shakespeare's audience would have been immediately sensitive ..." (Zeeveld, 1962:21). [A Paul's walker was a habitu  of "the middle aisle of St. Paul's, the gossip and news center of Jacobean England" (Hulme, 1941:87)] It is possible that the educated gentry and the gossips of St Paul's may have identified such nuances. However, there is in such works a debatable assumption, explicit or implicit, of what can be considered an extremely high level understanding by the wider mass audience of the classical, moral, ideological, philosophical and political references/allusions contained in the performance. It is not only the level of knowledge in the audience that is debatable; there is some evidence that the playwrights themselves were not fully cognisant of the subject of their plays - for example, see *The Medical Jargon in A Fair Quarrel* (Holdsworth, 1972). The question arises, would the majority of the audience have identified and understood the references being made and, with regard to the specifics of this the brand, made the connection to Great Britain/British?

8.1.3 Even practitioners of such an approach express doubts as to its validity. In concluding his analysis of *King Lear*, which he sees as fundamentally undermining the Brutus myth of Britain (Paragraph 5.1.5) from which English kings derived their hereditary right to rule, Schwyzer writes; "Few members of early audiences, perhaps not even James himself, would have been so well versed in genealogical lore as to recognize the full implications of these particular deaths [the extinction of the Brute line]" (Schwyzer, 2006:41). The link to James presumably being that, as James did not come from the Brutus line (Paragraph 5.1.5), his right to be king was debatable - it has

at the very least to be questionable that the Brutus debate would be known and identified by the audience. Similar comments can be made more generally about the body of the analysis of such works. For example, “By tracking changes in its [Cymbeline’s] performance history we can see how attitudes to the past were changing in parallel to contemporary geo-political events” (Creighton, 2006: 6) i.e. the presentation of the ending changed as the socio/political environment changed. Not only are such arguments based largely on textual analysis (which of itself can be viewed as an issue – Paragraph 8.1.9), they seem to be based on assumptions about the knowledge levels and sophistication of audiences that are, at the very least, debatable and evidence of an extremely sophisticated application of the interpretation of the symbolic meaning environment discussed in Section 1.3.2 et seq. above. Perhaps reservations as to the audiences’ understanding are best expressed by Shakespeare:

O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious, periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for the most part are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows and noise.

Shakespeare (1988: Hamlet III.2.8-13)

Groundlings were the mass of the audience who paid a penny to stand and watch the play. The term groundling “originally meant a small fish that lived in mud at the bottom of the water. Hamlet’s term is a metaphor, chosen presumably because the groundlings gaped up at the actors on the platform above them like fish from the bottom of stream” (Wells, 2004:10), which is hardly a ringing endorsement of their sophistication.

8.1.4 The following sections focus on the promotion of the brand by applying normal advertising techniques to the acting unit, the theatre. In assessing the utility of the acting unit as a promotional (advertising) medium it is common practice to examine “the extent to which a message is delivered to its target audience, or reach, and the frequency with which it does so” (Mullins et al, 2005:335). How many people went to the theatre and how frequently were these theatre-goers in Jacobean London exposed to the brand? (Note: frequency as used here refers to the use of Great Britain/British rather than to frequency of exposure to the medium) No assumptions are made that the sophistications of allegory, classical and political thought were widely understood by theatre audiences of the period; which is not to say that the nature of the audience, its size (numbers) and attitudes to the brand Great Britain/British are unimportant. Firstly, it seems clear that theatre attendance was a mass activity:-

The City of London alone hath foure or five Campanyes of players with their peculiar Theaters Capable of many thousands, wherein they all play every day in the weeke but Sunday, ... to which and to many musterings and other frequent spectacles, the people flocke in great numbers, being naturally more newfangled then the Athenians to heare newes and gaze upon every toye, as there be, in my opinion, more Playes in London then in all the partes of the worlde I have seen...

Fynes Moryson 1617:476 cited by Bentley (1941 VI: 29)

While it has not been possible to verify this quotation from the original document Moryson does say “The Theaters at *London in England* for Stageplaies, are more remarkeable for the number, and for the capacity, than for the building” (Moryson, 1617:64). There therefore does appear to be contemporary evidence that theatres were important and wide ranging, addressing not simply the elite but a mass audience, and that the privileged groups in society were the minority (Gurr, 1987:4). Although there is a counter argument that the mass of the population could not afford to attend (Cook, 1981:195 et seq.). Leggatt argues that there existed playgoers who were “...a large group with many subdivisions – shopkeepers, merchants, professional people, craftsmen – reflecting the variety of a stratified, class-ridden society” (Leggatt, 1992:29). This is persuasive if for no other reason than the scale of the operations of the playhouses and the low prices whereby “[townsmen] paid from 1d. to 3d. admission and sometimes more for a seat in the galleries and rooms: the ‘groundlings’ stood in the open yard for their penny” (Burnett, 1969:95). Given that these were intended to be profitable operations they required a steady stream of customers that was unlikely to be met from a small elite group if they were to be filled as the following table of the size of their operations shows:-

Table 8.1: Capacity of Jacobean Playhouses

| Blackfriar's | Cockpit | Fortune | Globe | Hope | Paul's | Red Bull | Whitefriar's | Rose | Swan |
|--------------|--------------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------------|--------------|--------|--------|
| 600* | 500 α | 2340** | 3000** | 3000 x | 200* | 3000 ∞ | < 500**** | 2425** | 3000** |

Sources: ** Leggatt (1992:12-18), *Gurr (1992:117) α Astington (1999:163), ∞ estimate based on ** and Munro (2006:100), **** estimate based on Lawrence (2000), x my estimate

The weekly total attendance at playhouses in London in 1620 has been estimated at 25,000 (Harbage, 1941:22-34) which is around 12% of the total population; the average attendance for each playhouse being around “half the capacity” (Gurr, 1992:213).

“Amphitheatres, baiting-houses, prize-fights and whorehouses were always within

reach for the great majority of the working population as well as the wealthy” (Gurr, op cit: 12). The focus is inevitably London where, as Gurr points out, the major playhouses were located. However, that is not to say that there was not an itinerant travelling theatre in the counties as shown by George’s account of the visits of London companies such as the King’s in October 1624 to Lancashire (George, 1991: 184-212) or Flemings discussion of performances in Southwest Britain (Fleming, 2003). While this may be the case the difficulty in identifying precise texts for such performances means that they are not included in this analysis.

8.1.5 If the dual role of the theatre as channel of mass communication and a reflector of popular opinion is accepted then analysis of the content of the plays with regard to Britain provides and insight to the adoption of the brand. Before proceeding to this analysis several caveats identified by Gurr are in order:-

- The majority of plays were London centric because only London had dedicated Playhouses and had the biggest audiences. Outside London it was town halls and market places with the occasional grand hall. Thus most theatre was written specifically for London audiences – again for commercial reasons, the large market size being one important factor
- Much of the largest body of playwriting in the Shakespearian period was hack-work....what has survived into this century is probably not a large proportion of the total output, though it is likely to include most of the best material. Certainly what is read today is only the “cream”, and being so it can be misleading as to the quality of the rest.
- “Even for the majority of the poets it was entertainment they were creating, not art, and the poets accordingly wrote for their age, not for all time...” Regarded as ephemeral plays were a “diversion” that “ by their nature were thoroughly occasional productions”

Gurr (1992: 6-22)

However, the desire to entertain is likely to have led the author to include material that was relevant to, struck a chord with, the audience and thus the inclusion, or otherwise, of the brand Great Britain/British in such a performance can be assumed to reflect the salience of it.

8.1.6 Gurr provides a select list of plays performed between 1583 and 1639 (Gurr, 1992: 233 et seq). Taking this list as a base (excluding performances of the same play in different playhouses) those dated between 1603 and 1625 were extracted from the list and an examination of their texts was undertaken. In essence this is a content analysis as described in Paragraph 6.2 and is an attempt to analyse and quantify occurrences of specific elements in a systematic and replicable manner (Bryman and Bell, 2003:302). Where more than one text was found the one with the publication date closest to the performance date given by Gurr was used. (Gurr points out that performance dates are not exact, however they are sufficient for the purposes of this research in that they are within James’ reign). The 140 plays that were identified are shown, in date order, in Appendix A. The method adopted was to consider the plays as media and examine the frequency of use of Great Britain (British), England (English), and Scotland (Scottish) and associated words. The text for each of the 140 plays was downloaded from EEBO or Literature on line. A search was then carried out on each for the following terms:-

- “Brit” and “Bryt” – to identify Great Britain and all of its synonyms, plus British
- “Engl” – to identify England, English and words containing the letter such as Englishman (woman)
- “Scot”– to identify Scotland, Scottish, Scots, Scotch and other words containing the letters such as Scotsman (woman)

Detailed results for each play are shown in Appendix A. A summary of the results is shown in the following table:-

Table 8.2: References to British, English and Scottish in 140 plays performed between 1603 and 1625

| | Great Britain/British | England/English | Scotland/Scottish | Number of References |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| No of References | 181 | 517 | 42 | 740 |
| % of References | 24 | 70 | 6 | |
| Average No of References per play | 1.3 | 3.7 | 0.3 | 5.3 |

The small number of references to British overall is noticeable, as is the predominance of England/English; almost three times as frequent as British. The length of time a performance lasted is the subject of some debate (Klein, 1967) but if the approximation suggested by Leggatt two and a half to three hours is accepted (Leggatt, 1992:25), it can

be seen that references to any of these terms were infrequent at best. In the case of British, assuming two and a half hours per play, the brand would be referred to once every two hours which is hardly intensive promotion. Given the discussion in Paragraph 8.1.1 regarding the audience centric nature of the content of plays it would appear that Great Britain/British was not significant enough for the authors to include it with any great regularity as distinct from England/English which clearly was significant.

The figures in the table do, however, mask the true situation regarding a mass exposure to British. Of the 181 references to “Brit” no fewer than 133 (73%) are contained in two plays. Fletcher’s *Bonduca* performed from 1611 to 1614 has 81, and Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline* performed in 1609 has 52. Both plays were performed by the King’s Players, who were under James’ personal patronage (Barroll, 2001:132) and if these two plays are excluded the brand is only mentioned forty eight times in all plays that were performed. Overall if the two plays are excluded the average reference per play is as follows:-

Table 8.3: References to British in 138 plays performed between 1603 and 1625

| | British |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| No of References | 181-133=48 |
| No of Plays | 140-3=138 |
| Average No of References per play | 48/138=0.35 |

In other words the brand was only likely to be referred to once in around every third play, which demonstrates a very low level frequency.

8.1.7 Although the data from this analysis seems to point clearly to a lack of frequency in the promotion of the brand a caveat is necessary i.e. there must be a concern about the representativeness of the sample of the population of all plays performed in London during James’ reign. The 140 plays analysed are a sample based on a theoretical sampling approach in which “sample units are chosen on the basis of their relevance to the research problem” (McGivern, 2003:180). Given the eminence of Gurr as an expert in this field they are believed to be a valid representation. As an additional check a search of the Lion database identified 359 plays first performed between 1603 and 1625 (LION, 2011). Thus in terms of sample size, 39% of the total population is included allowing concerns over the representativeness of the sample to be regarded as minor. With regard to the split between private and public theatre as the

following table shows there seems to be no cause for concern i.e. the split between the two is not unrepresentative:

Table 8.4: 140 Plays performed between 1603 and 1625 by Playhouse

| | Number of Playhouses | Number of Plays Performed |
|--|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Private: Blackfriars, Cockpit, Paul's, Whitefriars | 4 | 76 |
| Public: Fortune, Globe, Hope, Red Bull, Rose, Swan | 6 | 64 |
| Total | | 140 |

Overall, given what has been said, there can be no doubt about the relevance of the sampling units to the research and as such the sample can be taken as a reasonable indicator of the overall position regarding the salience of the brand in the theatres (private and public – Paragraph 8.1.1) of the time.

8.1.8 It may well be true that, as Patterson points out,

... there is evidence , if we look carefully, of a highly sophisticated system of oblique communication, of unwritten rules whereby writers could communicate with readers and audiences (among whom were the very same authorities who were responsible for state censorship) without producing direct confrontation. The official recognition of the public theatre as both, up to a point, a privileged domain with laws of its own, and a useful safety valve or even a source of intelligence has been well established.

Patterson (1990:53)

However, based on analysis of this sample it seems clear that, in terms of a mass promotional medium, the theatre could be termed a success in terms of reach i.e. it reached a high proportion of the market. However, in terms of frequency of reference to the brand it does seem to be failure. Although other research, based on textual analysis, may well appear to show that the brand was visible and alluded to by means of various dramatic devices, the frequency of reference to it suggests very strongly that this visibility is founded on questionable assumptions about the knowledge in the market. Yet this finding does seem to deviate from the more common interpretation, such as Patterson's, of texts based on individual plays in this area i.e. that audiences were sufficiently sophisticated to identify allusions and make links from them to contemporary events. The difference is acknowledged and there is evidence that such

sophistication of language may have been accessible to the gentry referred to in

Paragraph 8.1. An example of this is provided by the following:-

In February 1606 John Day's *Isle of Gulls* got them [Children of the Queen's Revels] into trouble again ... [for] satire against James and the long tail of Scotsmen who had followed him to the English Court ... The Company now lost the patronage of Queen Anne, and had to drop her name from their title ... the leading boys of the company were put in Bridewell prison.

Gurr (1992:53)

However, in the entire text of this play there is not a single reference to Scotland and only one to England. If the interpretation of the play as cited is correct, then there does appear to have been at least one highly sophisticated member of the audience capable of identifying the allusions and the concomitant satire but they, it is suggested, were more likely to have attended a masque than to be a groundling.

8.1.9 To this point the focus has been on content analysis of the texts; but the theatre is also a visual medium and therefore the semiotics of the performance would be relevant to the promotion of the brand. The role of signifiers is considered in Chapters 3 and 6. In this context the semiotics of theatre refers to "... the complex of phenomena associated with the production and communication of meaning in the performance itself..." (Elam, 1980:2). The difficulty of any analysis in this area is contained in the phrase "in the performance itself". The communication takes place in real time and cannot be meaningfully recaptured some 500 years later. Furthermore the visual nature of performances of the time compound this and "while better than ninety percent of the dialogue text can be recovered, with a good degree of accuracy, for most surviving plays of the Elizabethan period, ninety percent of what actually happened on stage in their performance is not to be found in the stage-directions of any manuscript or printed text, or in the occasional descriptions of performances, and illustrations" (Hammond, 1992:81). The paucity of evidence availability of relevant evidence leads to the exclusion of such analysis in this research.

8.1.10 This section has discussed the content of play and the interpretive capabilities of theatregoers as they relate to the brand. However, the mass of the population did have access to other sources of information which could relate to the brand.

People at every level of society gathered and recycled information by the traditional methods of oral exchange based upon personal contact. To this extent, then, everyone had the chance to hear about and talk of current affairs. Of course, verbal intelligence was highly prone to distortions and inaccuracies, but since the written

news, upon which so much discussion was ultimately based, could scarcely be more reliable at this time, there was often little qualitative difference between the sources of the educated elite and those readily available to the lower orders.

Fox (1997:598)

The documentary sources of information available to the “educated elite” have been discussed in Chapter 6. The sources and content of “written news” available to the in the public sphere are of importance to the promotion of the brand and are considered in the next section.

8.2 Press and Printed Media

8.2.1 This section is concerned with the sources of information relating to the brand available in the public sphere. “By the end of James’ reign, news was not only an established business but part of the culture of ordinary English men and women, a powerful medium for the representation of affairs of state in ways that did not always compliment authority” (Sharpe, 2010:126). Whatever their sources of information, there is considerable evidence that the general public were aware of political issues and analysis of court records show that a considerable effort was expended to suppress seditious ideas (Fox, 1997). While the importance of word of mouth is accepted (Paragraph 7.1) at this remove only written sources and associated inferences are available. Once again the aim is to assess the print media in terms of frequency and reach (Paragraph 8.1.4). As part of the oral (word of mouth) tradition the role of ballads as a means of transmitting information is acknowledged but it is impractical to apply these concepts to ballads as “Due to the paucity of evidence, it is scarcely possible to contextualize any piece of this literature and to place it in the hand of an actual recipient in a given time and place, much less to recapture the way in which it might have been read or heard, internalized and appropriated...”(Fox, 1994:47). However, by the time of James’ accession, ballads seem to have been diminishing in importance as they were replaced by pamphlets:

... between the mid sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth, pamphlets became part of the everyday practice of politics, the primary means of creating and influencing public opinion. Notwithstanding their commercial and contestatory basis, they assisted in creating informed critical debate about news, politics and culture. Put another way, pamphlets became a foundation of the influential moral and political communities that constitute a ‘public sphere’ of popular public opinion.

Raymond (2003:26)

Key to defining a pamphlet is size of paper and availability. In general term the larger the size of paper the higher the status of the publication. Thus Folio where the sheets are folded once was the largest had the highest status, the next Quarto where the sheets were folded twice, was smaller with lower status, and Octavo where the sheet was folded three times was the smallest and had the lowest status. “A pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety six pages in quarto.” This sizing having been determined by the Stationers’ Company in 1586 was accepted as practice by the time of the Stamp Act of 1712 (Raymond, 2003:82). Regardless of the specific format of the publication one of the central, but complex, factors in these developments is the technology of printing. Specifically, the printing press by providing the means of printing 200 to 500 copies of each document, increased the market opportunity, helped create a public sphere, initiated the separation of production (printing) and content (copy) i.e. printer and publisher (Halasz, 1997:15-27). In many ways its impact can be viewed as similar to the impact of the internet in the early twenty-first century. Thus if the brand was important, or was being effectively promoted, one would expect to find it widely referred to in the publications of the time. As for availability of printed media, during the reign of James’ predecessor, Elizabeth, “... booksellers proliferated, so that a stationer's shop could be found in most large towns. Reference tools made it possible for the provincial booksellers to know what was available in London, while the increasingly well-organized network of carriers efficiently brought orders to the capital and the books back to the localities” (Levy, 1982:32). Hence, there was a pre-existing, and apparently efficient, distribution system.

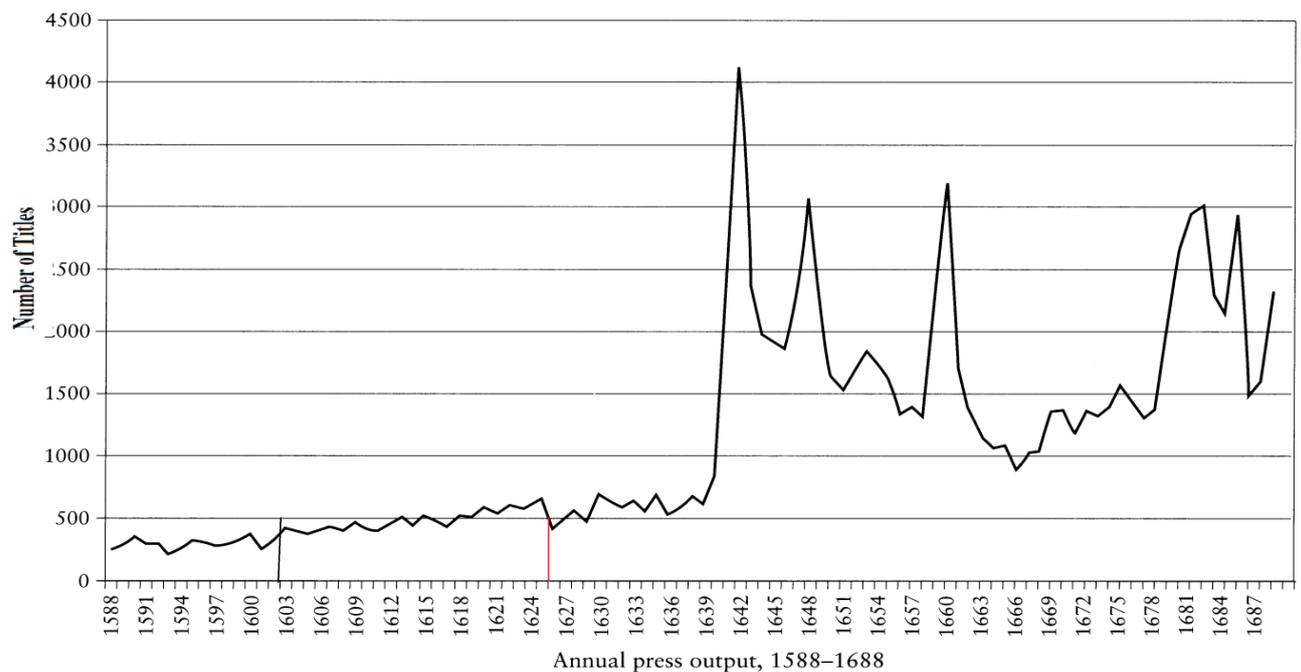
8.2.2 From the outset it should be made clear that this analysis is not related specifically to newspapers. Newspapers have three key characteristics in that they:

- Are printed not hand written
- Are published at regular intervals - in the later seventeenth century this was weekly
- Concentrate on current events

In the period under consideration such publications do not appear until 1620 (Frank, 1961:3-4), furthermore as is shown below the material printed largely excluded discussion of domestic matters.

In terms of raw frequency as the following table shows the amount of published material (“extant items printed in Britain, plus English books printed overseas”) produced was limited with an average of 459 items being produced per annum between 1588 and 1639 (Raymond, 2003:163):-

Table 8.5 – Annual Press Output 1588 - 1688



Source: Raymond (2003:164)

In James’ reign the number of titles per annum increases gradually and varies around the 500 mark, approximately ten per week, across the geography of Britain as a whole of which more than 90% was produced in London (Raymond, 2003: 184). However, as Levy points out this London centric bias was supplemented by a network of booksellers across the English counties (Levy, 1982:15-19). Although these figures exclude manuscript (handwritten) documents, if Raymond’s estimate of print runs of 250 to 1000 copies (op cit: 165) is accepted, then between 125,000 and 500,000 documents per annum were in circulation. Dahl’s estimate of a print run of 400 copies for a coranto (Dahl, 1952:23) gives a figure of 200,000 which is of a similar order of magnitude. Furthermore, as the documents in Appendix B show, by 1622 titles had appeared with “Weeklie” in their title indicating a degree of regularity in production see (A Continuation of the Newes of This Present Weeke, 1620:1) Document 39 (Appendix B). Price is a further factor which affects reach i.e. the price per publication. The

consensus appears to be that “Except for a broadside, 2d. [approximately 0.8 pence in modern terms] seems to have been the minimum price at which a printed work was offered to the public” (Johnson, 1950:93), “a sum which would also buy two visits to the theatre at the cheapest rate or a pound of beef” (Clark, 1983:36), and as such would be out of the reach of many. However, the impact of this is likely to be mitigated by the impact of word of mouth (Paragraph 8.2.1) passing stories on from those who had read to those who had, or could, not. If the printed media in general, and pamphlets in particular, provide “a wealth of vivid and detailed observation of contemporary life” (Clark, 1983:37) then its coverage of Great Britain and British reveals the salience of the brand.

8.2.3 In order to examine the extent to which British is covered in these media an online search of the British Library’s Collection of seventeenth and eighteenth century newspapers database was undertaken to identify documents published between January 1604 and July 1625. The initial search identified 541 articles, this is the terminology used by the database to describe each entry. A census of these was carried out in which each article was assigned unique identifier and was then visually inspected to identify and count the occurrence of the terms Britain, England, Scotland and their associated adjectives (Paragraph 6.3). However as this work progressed it quickly became evident that multiple articles related to the same publication. It was therefore decided to aggregate the articles to create the totality of entries for each specific publication, albeit an approximation of the actual article. By doing so 121 publications were identified – a complete list of the articles and the publications with which they are associated is provided in Appendix B. This exercise further identified duplications between articles as the same page appeared in more than one article. These duplications have been included in the analysis because, as is shown below, their impact on the inferences drawn are minimal, and the difficulty in identifying precisely each individual duplicate was, in terms of their impact and the time required to do it, not justifiable.

8.2.4 Analysis of the results of the investigation of the 121 documents shows that the majority, 74, were published in 1623 and 1624, the last two full years of James’ reign which indicates a more rapid growth at the end of the period than would be expected from the data in Table 8.5 (in the previous paragraph), but is not inconsistent with an overall growth over the period. In terms of content their subject matter is almost universally foreign affairs, only nine deal primarily with domestic matters

- *Summe and Substance of the Conference (Hampton Court, 14 January 1603)* (London, England), Saturday, January 14, 1604
- *Kings Maiesties Speech As It Was Delivered by Him in the Upper House of the Parliament* (London, England), Monday, March 19, 1604
- *Authoritie of the Church in Making Canons and Constitutions* (London, England), Thursday, April 9, 1607
- *Publication of His Maties Edict and Severe Censure Against Private Combats and Combatants* (London, England), Friday, February 4, 1614
- *Declaration of His Maiesties Royall Pleasure in What Sort He Thinketh Fit to Enlarge Or Reserve Himselfe* (London, England), 1619
- *His Maiesties Declaration Touching His Proceedings in the Late Assemblie and Convention of Parliament* (London, England), 1622
- *Proclamation Declaring His Maiesties Pleasure Concerning the Dissolving of the Present Convention of Parliament* (London, England), Sunday, January 6, 1622.
- *Fisher Caught in His Owne Net* (London, England), Friday, June 27, 1623
- *October 11 Number 2 Two Wonderful and Lamentable Accidents Herein Related* (London, England), 1624.

(Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 16, 18, 69 and 90 in Appendix B).

It is worthy of note that only two of these, the last two, do not emanate directly or indirectly from James. The primary reason for this is that the Star Chamber decree of 1586 forbade the publication of news in England which resulted in much of the material being published in Amsterdam (Goff, 2007a). The impact of such censorship is considered below but the severity of its enforcement cannot be doubted:-

May 13, 1613: Upon Friday one Bostock, an Under-customer of Rochester, and one Waller were fined in the Star Chamber at 5000 marks apiece and censured further to stand in the pillory, lose their ears, and be whipped from thence through the streets, the one for reporting that presently after the Prince's death, four or five of the Council.. had kneeled to the King and besought him for toleration of religion: the other for writing this news to a Customer of Dover, who being dead before the letter came, his wife let it run from hand to hand.

Thomson (1966:127)

With regard to specific references to Britain, England and Scotland the results are shown in the following table (Details of the precise documents relating to each year are in Appendix B):-

Table 8.6 Number of References to Britain, England and Scotland in Publications
between 1604 and 1625

| Year | N of refs | | |
|------|-----------|---------|----------|
| | Britain | England | Scotland |
| 1604 | 0 | 17 | 13 |
| 1605 | | | |
| 1606 | | | |
| 1607 | 0 | 42 | 1 |
| 1608 | | | |
| 1609 | | | |
| 1610 | | | |
| 1611 | | | |
| 1612 | | | |
| 1613 | | | |
| 1614 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1615 | | | |
| 1616 | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| 1617 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| 1618 | | | |
| 1619 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 1620 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| 1621 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 1622 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1623 | 2 | 44 | 8 |
| 1624 | 5 | 68 | 4 |
| 1625 | 9 | 47 | 3 |

Source: British Library

The most striking feature of this table is dominance of England in the references, 82% of all references. Britain by contrast accounts for 7% which is even exceeded by Scotland's 11%. In this calculation the use of *Mercurius Britannicus* has been excluded. Within the articles there are 150 Classified Ads which are effectively flyers designed to publicise the articles being published. For example, on 31 January 1623 a classified ad appeared for the *Weekly Newes* “.. we must advertise to you... I desire you to take notice of...” (January the 31 Numb 16 *Weekly Newes*, 1623:1) Document 48 (Appendix B). Contained in these flyers is the name of the printer/publisher. (Note: This is greater than the number of documents as the same document may be the subject of several flyers). On the whole these are, for the purposes of this analysis unremarkable. However, on 5 January 1625 a classified ad appeared stating “printed for *Mercurius Britannicus*” (The Continuation of Our *Weekly Newes*, 1625:1) Document

108(Appendix B) and appears on the next 16 Classified Ads. The use of *Britanicus* in what seems by this time to be a weekly publication is significant in that it is consistent with the emergence of “newspapers” (Paragraph 8.2.2) but it is at the very end of the period and as such not regarded to have an impact on this analysis. In only one case do the articles refer directly to the British nation - and even this makes a clear distinction between Scotland and England (Our Last Weekely Newes, 1623:13) Document 78 (Appendix B). James himself, the personification of the brand, is referred to twice. Once, early in his reign when he is referred to as King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland Summe and Substance of the Conference (Hampton Court, 14 January 1603) (1604:7-8) Document 1(Appendix B). The second, dated 20 May 1625, refers to him as “...my brother (King James of Great Brittain)...” and also contains a report of his death "there came today tyding by an expresse Poste the decease of King James of Great Brittain" The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes (1625:2-4) Document 118 (Appendix B). Given that James’ death was a significant event it is noteworthy that this is the only reference to it and it is some two months after the event emphasizing the lack of coverage of domestic events. Although the numbers are small it is clear that in terms of exposure in the press the brand lacked visibility and thus could not generate awareness.

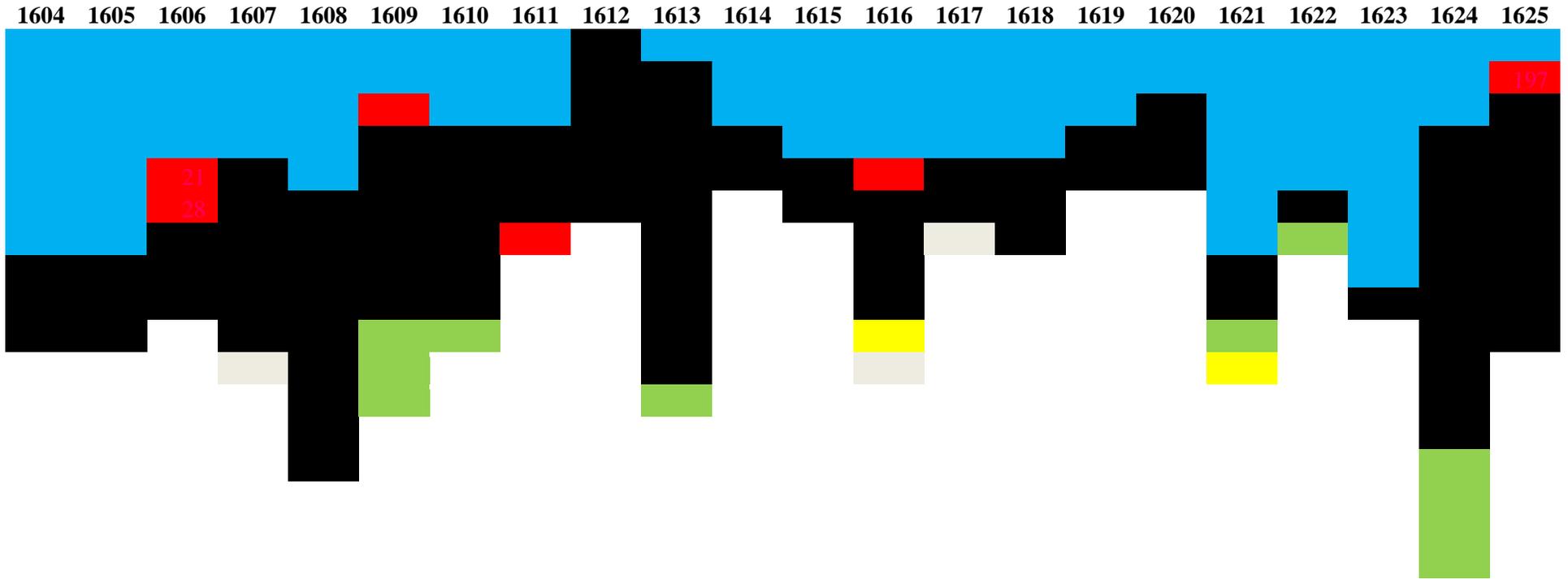
8.2.5 There is also within the publications some evidence of the way in which the brand was positioned, i.e. the place the brand occupied in the mind (Paragraph 2.2.6). On 3 July 1624 the “Late Newes or True Relations” reports of “The English Ambassador whom his Majesty of Great Brittain sent lately into France ...” Late Newes or True Relations (1624:2) Document 98(Appendix B); while on 5 January 1625 a report from Freyburg on 22 November refers to “a picture of gold of his Majesty of Great Brittain” but on the next page states “The Grifons had sworne loyalty to the Crownes of *England, France, Sweden...*” The Continuation of Our Weekly Newes (1625:7-8) Document 108 (Appendix B). Both of these seem to indicate a lack of clarity of differentiation between England and Great Britain, in particular the former implies an equation of the two perhaps reflecting the English imagination that Britain was identified with England to the exclusion Scotland and Wales (Paragraph 5.1.5).

8.2.6 The results of the foregoing analysis are useful but unsatisfactory because of their foreign sources and their focus on external events. In order to address this a further search was carried out on the Early English Books Online database (see Chapter 6)

focusing on the search term pamphlet published between 1604 and 1625 i.e. consistent with the analysis of the British Library Newspapers. This search identified 202 documents. The analysis approach adopted was identical to that in Chapter 6. In all cases where formatted text documents were available the ctrl F and ctrl alt F functions were used to scan the document for the following four terms:

- Brit – to identify British, Great Britain
- Bryt - to identify Brytish, Great Brytain
- Engl - to identify England and English
- Scot – to identify Scots, Scottish, Scotland and Scotch

Table 8.7: Analysis of EEBO documents containing the term “pamphlet” 1604 to 1625



- No clear predominance of a specific term (British, English, Scottish)
- Predominantly Britain/British in combination with others
- Predominantly England/English
- Precise use of Great Britain, France and Ireland
- Predominantly Scotland/Scottish
- Play - excluded as these have been discussed above

N=202

The pattern is clear and remains stable over the period. Britain is notable by the small number of references to it, 17 documents out of two hundred, i.e. 8.5%, and of these 11 contained specific reference to “Great Britain, France and Ireland” in referring specifically to James, usually in the opening dedication with limited references thereafter. In some ways many of these references can be seen as a simple acknowledgement of protocol rather than substantive references to the brand i.e. they are of limited relevance to the content of the document. By way of contrast nearly half (47%) can be seen as predominantly English. (Note: For the purposes of this specific analysis “predominance” is defined as a minimum of 10 references with a ratio of 2:1 between the dominant term and the next most frequent term). Even within those publications specifically relating to Great Britain in their title England tends to predominate. For example, John Speed’s “The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans” (Speed, 1611) has a dedication to James, but not in the fullest term by the use of his title King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, contains almost twice as many reference to England/English as to Britain/British (2054 to 1191), and slightly less than ten times as many as to Scotland/Scottish (267). There are glimpses of some acknowledgement of the brand and its values such as Braughton’s “ A iust and moderate answer to a most iniurious, and slaunderous pamphlet, intituled, An exact discouery of Romish doctrine in case of conspiracie and rebellion” refers to James as "... your royal Majestie (the Life, Union, Rule and Direction of these United Kingdoms)" (Broughton, 1606:2). However, such glimpses are the exception and even in those documents that are predominantly British in their content, rather than simply in their dedication, such as Chester’s poem “The anuals [sic] of great Brittain” connections to Great Britain/British in terms of the brand are somewhat oblique, in this case focusing on the Arthurian legend of King of Britain (Chester, 1611:34)

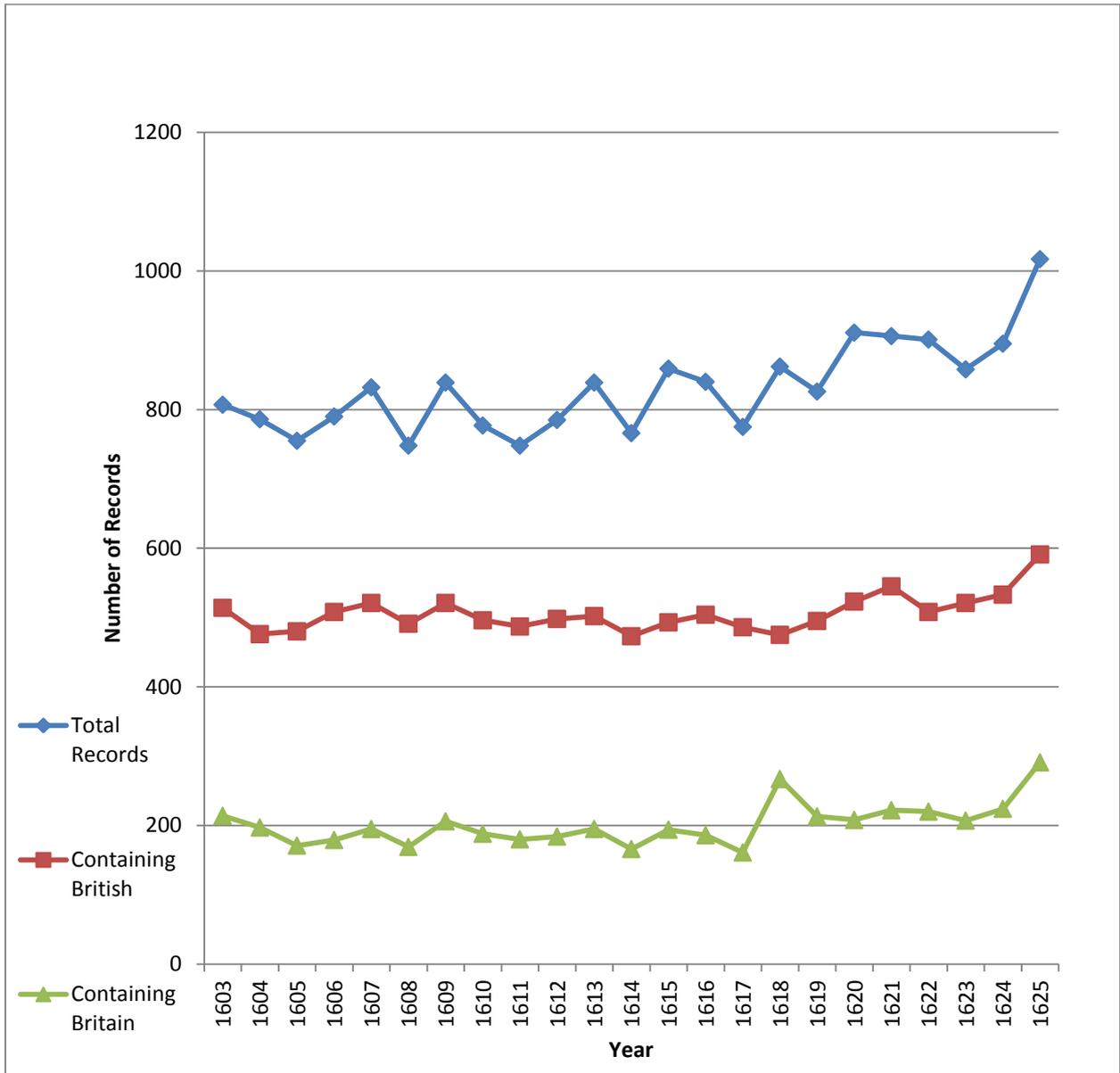
8.2.7 The material in this chapter and the previous two has been considered in the context of different acting units as communications media. In order to provide a global view of the salience of the brand a final analysis of EEBO records for the period 1603 to 1625 was carried out. The approach taken was purely quantitative. Searches were carried out using the EEBO search facility to identify the following:-

- a) The number of records held for each year from 1603 to 1625
- b) The number of records containing the term British
- c) The number of records containing the term Britain
- d) The number of hits for British within the identified records

e) The number of hits for Britain within the identified records

In carrying out these searches the variant spelling facility was used whereby "... If you type a search term in the Keyword(s) box and the Variant spellings box is checked when you submit your search, you will automatically retrieve all instances of your search term and its early modern variant forms in EEBO. For example, if the box for Variant spellings is checked and you type the word *murder* in the Keyword(s) field, when you submit your search you will retrieve all occurrences of the word *murder* and its early modern variants *murther*, *murdre*, *murdir* and *mvrder*" (EEBO, 2012) . Hence by typing in Britain, Brittain and other variants were identified. Based on these searches the following table was constructed:-

Figure 8.1: Number of Records (Documents) Referring to Britain, British in EEBO Records between 1603 and 1625



Source: Data collected from EEBO 2012

From this it is evident that, in terms of the number of documents, references to the brand remain fairly constant over time both in absolute terms and as a proportion of the total, suggesting that there is little change so far as salience is concerned. As a result adoption of it would be unlikely. (Note: there is an element of double counting as Britain and British can appear in the same document which means that the two series should not be aggregated). However examination of the number of hits i.e. the number of times the brand is referred to within each record paints a slightly different picture as the following table shows:-

Figure 8.2: Number of Hits (References) Referring to Britain, British in EEBO Records (Documents) between 1603 and 1625



Source: Data collected from EEBO 2012

For the first 15 or 16 years growth in the use of the term is relatively flat but with what appears to be a rapid growth towards the end of the period. There are two distinct peaks in references to Britain in 1611 and 1612. Examination of the documents for these years shows that the figures seem to be skewed by Speed’s very large publications in 1611 “The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans” which contained approximately 120 references to Britain and 890 to British (Speed, 1611). Similarly, Speed’s “The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning” in 1612 contained approximately 1320 references to Britain and 200 to British (Speed, 1612), but in its provisions of a map of Great Britain and Ireland provides a visual representation of the Great Britain. In essence there is some evidence of an increase in the use of the brand by the

end of the period and that the number of references to it is increasing at a relatively rapid rate. Key however is that, with the exception of 1611 and 1612, the average number of references per document remains stable at three per document across the entire period which appears to be a low level of exposure.

8.2.8 James was aware of the power of printed material and sought to enforce the restrictions on discussion of domestic matters imposed by the 1586 Star Chamber. In January 1621 his Ambassador to the Netherlands asked the States General to ban the export of corantos to England (Frank, 1961:6), James having previously issued his “proclamation against excesse of lavish and licentious speech of matters of state”:-

forasmuch as it is come Our eares, by common report, That there is at this time a more licentious passage of lauish discourse, and bold Censure in matters of State, then hath been heretofore, or is fit to be suffered; Wee haue thought it necessary, by the aduice of Our Priuie Councill, to giue forewarning unto Our louing Subjects, of this excesse and presumption; And straitly to command them and euery of them, from the highest to the lowest, to take heede, how they intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home, or abroad, but containe themselues within that modest and reuerent regard, of matters, aboue their reach and calling, that to good and dutifull Subjects appertaineth; As also not to giue attention, or any manner of applause or entertainment to such discourse, without acquainting some of Our Priuie Councill, or other principall Officers there with|all, respectiue to the place where such speeches shall be vsed, within the space of foure and twentie houres, vnder paine of imprisonment, and Our High displeasure. ...

James I (1620a)

That such edicts were enforced is not in doubt; and when Thomas Archer began issuing corantos in 1621 he was quickly jailed, charged with publishing an unlicensed news sheet (Siebert, 1952:61). There does seem to be something inherently contradictory between James’ desire to promote Britain and his expressed desire to prevent discussion of domestic issues in the printed media and indeed the entertainments, presumably including the theatre. Particularly since government inspired news pamphlets, often propaganda, had been commonplace since the early sixteenth century (Levy, 1982:20)

8.3 Summary

The role of various acting units and their role in developing the brand have been discussed. The salience of the brand in terms of reach and frequency in aggregate and in a number of media has been qualitatively and quantitatively examined. In each of the media examined there has been a distinct lack of visibility from which a low level of salience and hence acceptance can be inferred. In essence the case study material shows little evidence of

adoption of Great Britain and British as a brand in these media. So was this the introduction of a successful brand; were its objectives achieved? In the following chapter the extent to which it was a success from both branding and historical perspectives is discussed. It is however worthy of note that on 18 June 1625 the English Parliament refers to James' successor as "Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland ..." (England and Wales Parliament, 1625). Whether this is deliberate or not it does provide an indication of a weakness in the brand in England .

Chapter 9 - The Introduction of the brand of Great Britain & British – Success or Failure?

9.1 Introduction

This research set out to address the following specific questions (Paragraph 1.2):-

- From a brand perspective was the term Great Britain/British a success in the period 1603 to 1625?
- What were the factors that contributed to the success or failure of the term?
- Do branding theories adequately explain the success or failure of the term Great Britain/British in the period 1603 to 1625?

The central thesis of this research is that brand Great Britain/British is a successful brand but that it failed in the period 1603 to 1625 when it was first introduced. Further it is contended this failure cannot be satisfactorily explained by theories of brands and branding. Previous chapters have considered theories of branding and the events relating to the introduction of the specific brand Great Britain/British by James VI and I during his reign from 1603 to 1625. As is shown in Chapter 3 the brand, although variable in its salience, was in later times after James' reign undoubtedly well known and powerful; few would argue that in the long run it has not been a success and it could be that the survival of the brand in the long term was a success of the period of its introduction. Based on the material presented above this chapter sets out to answer the research questions posed and takes as its starting point to measure the success of a brand, and this brand in particular?

9.2 Criteria for success

One of the ways in which the success, or failure, of a brand is likely to be assessed in terms of “customer based brand equity” where “... the true measure of the strength of a brand depends on how consumers think, feel, and act with respect to that brand” (Keller, 2008:87). The mechanisms for achieving such a relationship are discussed in generic terms in Chapter 2 and discussed further below with regard to the specifics of this case. The benefits of positive brand equity are perceived to be:-

- Greater loyalty
- Less vulnerability to competitive marketing actions
- Less vulnerability to marketing crises
- Larger margins

Keller (2008:637)

In this case the objectives are inferred from the material rather than explicitly stated in it. The last of these (larger margins) is plainly not relevant while the first, given the lack of certainty of his accession and James' need to consolidate his position (Section 5.1), is plainly relevant. The second and third benefits can, with a little modification, also be seen to be relevant. James had a need not only to consolidate his position in England he had to maintain it in Scotland - to minimise his vulnerability. The unification of the monarchy under the single title Great Britain was seen by him as important in that aim (Section 5.2). On this basis the benefits of positive brand equity in James' Great Britain/British corporate brand can be set out as:

- Greater loyalty to Great Britain hence to James as its embodiment
- Maintenance of James in his position as monarch in Scotland, and more importantly, England.

James' personal position was inextricably linked to the brand (Paragraph 5.2.7) and as Chapter 5 shows he desired to be king of England as well as Scotland. The objective of the unity that was the key brand value was to achieve this. The establishment of his position in England, the larger richer kingdom, was critical and this research focuses on the role of the brand in that geographic area (Paragraph 5.3.1)

9.2.1 Given that James maintained his position until he died on 27 March 1625, at Theobolds House apparently during an attack of dysentery, then from a teleological point of view he achieved his overall objective i.e. he established and maintained his position for twenty two years until he died of natural causes. The published account of his funeral refers to him as "Great Britain's Salomon ... the most high and mighty king, James, the late King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c" (Williams, 1625) – a precise use of his preferred title and the brand. However it seems that the ability of the brand to continue after his death may be problematic as his successor, Charles, is in 1625 referred to by the English Parliament as "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" (Paragraph 8.3) rather than King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. It may be that in the teleological terms expressed above James met his two objectives. However, how much did the brand contribute positively to that success, was it a success in its own right? The following sections examine this in the context of the branding theories discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

9.2.2 Criteria for the success of a brand are discussed in Paragraph 3.6.5

- Depth of brand awareness- it is easy to recognise and recall
- Breadth of brand awareness – features highly in a wide number and range of situations
- Strong brand associations –conveys relevant information consistently over time
- Positive brand associations – effectively delivers benefits that are desired
- Unique brand associations – is strong and favourably distinguished from other brands.

Adapted from Keller (2008:637)

Using these as a base it is possible to evaluate, if not specifically measure, the performance of Great Britain/British during James' reign regardless of the process (unidirectional or social interactionist) that led to the result. In evaluating Great Britain/British on the five criteria the research divides them into two groups. The first "Depth of awareness" and the second "Breadth of awareness" are combined to form a measure of awareness as defined in Paragraph 3.1.4 - awareness at a point of time, the frequency of reference to the brand and use by acting units implying that a number of people are aware of the term which is equivalent to the brand awareness. The second measure comprises the remaining three criteria (Strong brand associations, Positive brand associations, and Unique brand associations) which are combined to form a measure of power (Paragraph 3.1.4) – depth, the impact on society and behaviour of the brand, equivalent to brand image, the impact on the market (in this case England and its population). A third element, coherence, is also considered - the extent to which the criterion of coherent delivery and the tangible and intangible elements of a brand are created (Paragraph 2.2.5). These measures are discussed with specific reference to Great Britain/British over the period 1603 to 1625.

9.2.3 Awareness – At this remove it is plainly not possible to survey quantitatively the population to ascertain the extent of their awareness. As an alternative the material presented in Chapters 6 to 8, Documentary Record (Chapter 6), the Institutions of State (Chapter 7), and Theatre and the Printed Media (Chapter 8) is examined to identify frequency of references to the brand as a means of estimating awareness levels. The material in Chapter 5 provides context for this.

9.2.4 Power

As discussed above, success on this criterion is measured in terms of strong brand associations, positive brand associations, and unique brand associations i.e. their impact on

the market. Each of the acting units is assessed in terms of both awareness and power against the criteria but in doing so a potential illogicality is acknowledged. The associations that create power depend on awareness and if that awareness of a brand does not exist then, logically, neither can the relative associations. The definition of awareness above implies that should awareness not exist or be poor, then awareness is not likely to have existed and therefore any assessment of awareness is irrelevant. The significance of this is discussed in detail below with specific regard to branding theory. At this point the issue is acknowledged and the analysis is pursued to assess the degree of awareness that existed. By adopting this approach the case study material is assessed in terms of the role of the various acting units in generating strong, positive and unique associations for Great Britain/British; hence maintaining James' position as king of England and Scotland. In all of this the key brand value of unity, as set out in the Bishop of Sarum's sermon of 28 October 1604 (Paragraph 5.2.7) is regarded as central.

9.2.5 Coherence

The way in which the brand is enacted in a coherent manner that develops the tangible (such as symbols and slogans, name, brand mark) and intangible attributes (such as identity and corporate brand, relevance, opportunity to share a dream) of a successful brand. As with power this criterion can be assumed to be to some extent to depend on awareness.

9.3 Analysis of the Case

Each of the elements discussed in Chapters 6 to 8 is now discussed with regard to their performance against the criteria discussed in the previous section.

9.3.1 Documentary Record

The content analysis of the documentary record as discussed in Chapter 6 focuses on the awareness of the term within the various documents that were circulating among the gentry in the period 1604 to 1625. If these documents are viewed hierarchically then the most important are the Royal Proclamations which, allegedly, James claimed personally to have dictated most if not all (Paragraph 5.3.8). Also, if James' statement is accepted to be true then the title that he adopted when he signed such Proclamations can be deemed to be significant both to him and those reading the document. The majority of those to whom such documents were relevant are likely to have been literate (Paragraph 6.6) and hence exposed to the brand when it was referred to. As Table 6.1 shows the number of Royal Proclamations

per year is relatively small (the largest annual number was 16 in 1619): thus, on an aggregate level, exposure to the brand from this source was likely to be limited. It could be assumed, as discussed above, that without exposure there can be no awareness, an assumption which is consistent with the epistemology set out in Paragraph 1.6.1 et seq. The importance of this is considered in more detail below. There is within these documents a high level of use of the brand in the signature block, over 70% of the Royal Proclamations issued by James from 1604 to 1625 carry the term Great Britain which can be inferred to be an indication of James' focus on the brand. In essence while there seems to have been a degree of internal consistency within Royal Proclamations they have limited reach and frequency as a promotional medium, as defined in Paragraphs 7.4.2 and 7.4.6 respectively. The relatively short reach and low frequency means that the awareness of the brand in this source is limited. Further the analysis of James' shows an overwhelming dominance of England/English Tables 6.7 and 6.8 indicating a bias toward England/English within the seat of government.

As for the other documents circulating among, and likely to be important to the overlapping groups that composed the gentry the picture is somewhat different. Tables 6.2 to 6.6 provide evidence that documents in which Great Britain/British is the predominant spirit did exist. While the qualitative nature of the content analysis underpinning these tables is such that the application of percentages would accord the data a spurious level of accuracy (Paragraph 6.3) a visual scan of them shows that the use of the brand name was not uncommon but others, notably England/English, were equally if not more, common; but the impact of this is a question of power which is considered below. With regard to awareness generated by the wider, non royal proclamation documents, the evidence regarding text is inconclusive. It is, however, worthy of note that there is little evidence of an increase in the use of the brand over time. The number of documents that are predominantly Great Britain/British in spirit is virtually unchanged, perhaps even slightly decreased, over the period which indicates that the level of awareness of the brand is essentially static.

The final element of this documentary record is the non-textual element, the symbols used in the documents to represent the brand. Given the low levels of illiteracy within the gentry (Table 6.10), approximately 2% were illiterate meaning 98% were literate, it could be argued that these are less important than they would be for a group with lower levels of literacy. However, given the importance of rank and status among the literate group such symbols were regarded by them as important (Paragraph 6.4) and thus worthy of consideration. As Table 6.9 shows there is a clear change in the devices, symbols, used in the most important

documents, Royal Proclamations. From his succession in 1603 until 1613 the majority of the proclamations carry no device. However by the last six years of his reign, 1619 to 1625, the majority carry the Royal Arms surmounted by helmet and crown encircled by Garter and motto flanked by Lion (English) and Unicorn (Scottish) with motto beneath (Paragraph 6.4):-

Most Common Device on Royal Proclamations - 1619 to 1625



The precise meaning of this device, and each of its elements, is considered as part of the power of the brand, i.e. its association, but at this point it is worthy of note that it does not carry a clear symbol for Great Britain, the only mottos are in French and refer to James not the brand. Clearly there is a frequently used symbol within the Royal Proclamations but as stated above not only were few of these documents produced annually there is no clear semiotic for Great Britain/British and hence awareness is limited.

The content of the documentary record, both textual and symbolic, that is analysed is inconclusive with regard to awareness. Within the documents there is some evidence of increased use in the Royal Proclamations with regard to the style adopted by James on signature. There is also evidence of increased use in terms of semiotics of the devices within Royal Proclamations, subject to a potential lack of clarity of the message in the symbolic device used. Over the wide range of documents there little evidence of a high level of awareness.

On the second criterion for measuring brand equity, power, the evidence of the content analysis of text in the documentary record is equally inconclusive. While Royal Proclamations show evidence of the consistency of use of the brand (Table 6.1) the remainder of the documentary record provides evidence of a lack of consistency. Great Britain/British

is one brand that competes for attention in the documents with England/English and, to a lesser extent, Scotland/Scottish. (Tables 6.2 to 6.6) The lack of a predominance of any style in the documentary record, (the most frequent category of document,) suggests that the associations with Great Britain/British were neither, strong, positive nor unique and therefore it is likely that the brand was weak. To some degree the significance of the associations in documentary record stems from the important role gentry played in dissemination by Word of Mouth (see below). The analysis of the semiotics of the documentary record, specifically Royal Proclamations, provides more insight regarding the power of the brand. There is evidence of a move towards a consistency of presentation in the symbols used and a new symbol is developed that predominates. This new device, or logo, can be viewed as providing a strong message that could be positively received and was unique. In terms of content, the bringing together of the English Lion and the Scottish Unicorn around the shield representing England, Scotland, Ireland and France can be viewed as symbolising unity. However, this is a somewhat subtle interpretation. From a visual point of view the two symbols that stand out are the Lion and the Unicorn which were well understood symbols for England and Scotland (Paragraph 6.4) and as such can be seen as emphasising them and the difference between them. The critical issue however is the absence of a clear symbolic identifier for Great Britain. There is no single symbol that clearly identifies Great Britain; there is therefore no source of uniqueness and nothing with which to strongly identify favourably. Looked at from this standpoint the documentary record would not create a powerful brand. Indeed it can be argued that in symbolic terms it actually undermined it by reinforcing the concept of difference between England and Scotland rather than unity between them. Overall, in textual and symbolic terms, the documentary record is seen to provide evidence of a poor source of power for the brand in that it does not encourage the necessary strong, positive, and unique awareness of Great Britain/British. But what of the acting units, the institutions of state, did they generate awareness and power for the brand?

9.3.2 Church

The acting units of the Institutions of State (Church and Courts) and symbols (Flags and Coins) are examined in detail in Chapter 7 with regard to their role as promotional media for the brand. Each is now examined in order to evaluate their role in contributing to the awareness of the brand. First among these institutions is the Church. Religion, of which the Church was the source, was all pervasive in the daily activities of the population at this time (Paragraph 7.3.1.) and is reflected as such in the model for a myth brand in Paragraph 2.3.4.

The Church also had, even by modern standards, a very large physical presence of over 9000 parishes and more than 3500 clergy in England (Paragraph 7.3.3), and had the rights to the most widely circulated publication, The Bible (Paragraph 7.3.4). The support of the Church can therefore be seen as a key factor in the success of the brand. Wholehearted support for Great Britain and British by this institution would not guarantee success but lack of support by it would dramatically increase the likelihood of its failure. The major concerns of the Church(es) were dogmatic and ecclesiastical and these religious matters were at the centre of factional disputes that overshadowed most of its activity. In such factional disputes Great Britain was not central to the debate, although it was associated with a particular view of state/church relations (Paragraph 7.3.1). The first thing to note about the role of the Church regarding awareness of Great Britain/British is its name, there was no Church of Great Britain; in England the Church was The Church of England and James was its head (Paragraph 7.3.2). It seems therefore that there were over 9000 parishes promoting England rather than Great Britain, meaning the former was more widely available than the latter. As for the approximately 3000 clergy it seems that they had preoccupations other than Great Britain/British. Largely dependent on patronage for their living, subject to scrutiny on dogmatic and personal issues the clergy do not seem to be likely candidates to form a cadre promoting the use of the brand regularly, if at all (Paragraph 7.3.5). In addition, as previously stated, they were clergy of the Church of England. Finally, in this institution, the role of the Bible in fostering the brand is considered. There is no doubting the wide availability of this publication, between 1526 and 1640 over two million Bibles, New Testaments and parts were published (Paragraph 7.3.4). Further, the publication in 1611 of what, even now, is known as “The King James Bible” dedicated to James as “King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland...” would, on one level, seem to indicate a high level of awareness. However, the detailed dedication, rather than the opening dedication, plainly focuses on England rather than Great Britain and this combined with the continued use of the previous Geneva Bible somewhat diminishes this view of the bible as supportive of the brand (Paragraph 7.3.3). When assessed in terms of awareness of the brand in England the Church, despite its huge reach and high frequency, is at best marginal and at worst counterproductive by virtue of its emphasis on England/English.

Given the width and depth of its operations referred to above the potential of the church in terms of creating a powerful Great Britain/British brand in England is fairly clear cut. Of itself the church can be seen as a powerful brand. The population had a strong attachment to

it that was, subject to disputes over dogma, generally positive, and it had a unique position in society (Paragraph 7.3 et seq.). It was also responsible for the dissemination of the most widely read text, the Bible (Paragraph 7.3.4). From the point of view of creating a powerful brand it was extremely important. The central problem was that it was the Church of England and was referred to as such. Thus not only did a critical source of brand power not support the brand Great Britain/British, and its value of unity, it effectively promoted an alternative, separate, brand - England/English. Essentially there was no Church of Great Britain to provide a source of the associations that create power for the brand Great Britain/British in England (Paragraph 7.3.2). As Hill observes the Bible “played a large part in moulding English nationalism...” (Paragraph 7.3.4) i.e. it promoted England rather than Great Britain.

9.3.3 Courts

The second acting unit considered is that of the Courts. The formal system of administration of justice covered the entire geographic area of England (Table 7.1) and was carried out in the King’s name. The assizes were important in the local calendar but for large parts of the country infrequent, normally held being held twice a year (Paragraph 7.4.6). Thus the Court system’s reach covered large parts of the country but with limited frequency. In assessing the awareness of the brand within that reach and frequency the question that arises is “was the justice that was administered British?” The English Parliament and the English courts seemed to think not as events surrounding the Bill of Hostile Laws (Paragraph 5.2.5) and the Calvin Case (Paragraph 7.4.4) show. Although the latter offers some support for union it is plainly on the basis of English, not British, law. Most interesting is the ambiguity towards the brand evident in James’ Star Chamber speech of 1616 to the judges (Paragraph 7.4.5) which appears to be the brand manager undermining the name and key value of the brand. He does this by pointing out that he always believed that English law was superior and that this should be remembered by the Judges and conveyed by them at the assizes. The message that was then taken into the channel and passed by the judges to the Justices of the Peace seems hardly likely to have promoted the brand, quite the reverse. Measured in terms of generating awareness the evidence strongly suggests that the Court system had wide coverage and was highly visible, it did little to promote the brand Great Britain/British.

On the criterion of power the courts provide a more complex picture with regard to the brand. The system of Justice was the King’s and the King was the King of Great Britain, indeed he

was the embodiment of the brand (Paragraph 5.2.7). It would therefore seem to be a safe assumption that the Courts would be a source of positive associations for the brand.

However, as the discussions above regarding the Bill of Hostile Laws and Calvin's case show the system of justice that was administered was not British but English. In this regard James' speech to the Star Chamber with its emphasis on the English system, his positive disposition to maintain it and his exhortation that this message be disseminated by the Judges at the assizes indicate an emphasis on difference and disunity rather than the unity that was the key brand value (Paragraph 7.4.5). Such an attitude in the institution reduces the potential for positive association with the brand and hence diminishes its power. Once again it appears that an important medium for promoting the power of the Great Britain/British as a source of unity was at best ambivalent and at worst inimical towards it by favouring England/English thus exhibiting incoherent behaviour (Paragraph 7.1). The importance of such a position is increased by the role of the assize as a high profile social event that made a big contribution to local word of mouth (Paragraph 7.4.6).

9.3.4 Coins

The role of coins as symbolic of the brand Great Britain/British and their dissemination of it seems to have been recognised by James. The rapidity with which he issued his proclamation on the subject, two months after his accession (Paragraph 7.5.1) followed by changes in the coins themselves a year later in 1604 (Paragraph 7.5.2) are evidence of this. While it may be possible to overestimate the importance of coins in society at that time, in terms of the volume in circulation, (Paragraph 7.5.3) every time a coin was used so a symbol was passed and that symbol related to the brand. Coins therefore have a large reach and a high frequency as a promotional channel. The larger denomination coins, presumably used by the wealthy gentry, bore a clear textual reference to Great Britain in Latin which was likely to be understood by most of those using the coins. However, even in the coins bearing such textual reference there is no symbolic representation of the Great Britain (Paragraph 7.5.2). With regard to the lower denomination coins, which would have had wider circulation, symbolic representation of the brand is somewhat problematic. Once again the textual references are in Latin which coupled with low literacy levels would restrict the level of understanding. In these lower denomination coins the text makes no reference to Great Britain, although it does refer to United Kingdoms. In terms of symbols not only is there no symbol for Great Britain the symbols plainly identify England (Rose) and Scotland (Thistle) (Paragraph 7.5.3) Thus,

despite high reach and frequency, as a source of awareness of the brand the evidence is that coins are not likely to have been important.

The wide reach and high frequency of coins (Paragraph 7.5.3) means that they also had the potential to be an important source of power for the brand. However, in this new coinage, not only is the text on them in Latin but direct reference to the brand “IACOBUS DG MAG BRIT FRAN ET HIB REX” [James King of Great Britain, France and Ireland] but also it is limited to larger denomination coins. The effect of these two factors would be to limit awareness to the upper echelons of society but within that group coins be viewed as generating strong, positive and unique associations. As for lower denomination coins the closest to a reference to the brand is the inscription “TUEATUR UNITA DEUS” [May God guard these united (kingdoms)] on the post 1604 penny. The text on the coins by its lack of a direct reference to the brand is unlikely to generate the positive associations necessary to create power for it within the wider, less wealthy, population. From a semiotic view the position is clearer. The absence of any symbol for Great Britain/British on the coinage means that neither the brand nor its message of unity is communicated symbolically, indeed the symbols on the lower denomination coins in particular appear to emphasise England and Scotland and difference, rather than Great Britain and unity (Paragraph 7.5.2). The levels of awareness generated by this medium are limited to the wealthier gentry but for the wider population unlikely to create the strong, positive, unique associations necessary for a powerful Great Britain/British.

9.3.5 Flags

The “flag” in general terms is an extremely powerful symbol of a nation (Paragraph 7.5.5) and the Union Flag, in later years, became one of the key signifiers of Great Britain/British (Paragraph 3.6.2 et seq.). In a similar fashion to the coinage James seems to have realised the importance of flags as a symbol of unity (Paragraph 7.5.4), and his Proclamation of 1606 on the topic of flags and what should be flown where provides evidence of this. The question of the power of the union flag is dealt with below but in terms of awareness of the brand this declaration is significant in that while it does mention Britain it is not Great Britain but a Britain that is divided into two parts, North Britain and South Britain. Perhaps more significant, in terms of reach and frequency, is that the Proclamation relates solely to ships and there is no reference to the use of the flag on land within James’ realm. Almost by definition this restriction limits the flag’s reach and frequency thereby reducing its potential

as a source of awareness for the brand and as such can be considered as failing to provide it. It was not until a century later that the use of the flag in the kingdom was prescribed and even then in fairly vague terms. (Paragraph 7.5.5)

In addition to the limitations of the Union Flag in terms of awareness the debate over its structure illustrates the potential for such symbols to undermine the power of the brand that they are intended to support. Firstly, the English and Scots disagreed on the structure of the new Union Flag, each trying to establish their pre-eminence through the position of their national flag on it. Secondly, it had the potential in those areas where it was flown to generate violent reactions as the dispute in the West Indies shows (Paragraph 7.5.6). It does therefore seem to be a powerful symbol but hardly reflecting the key brand value of unity, quite the opposite. In essence the Union Flag generates strong and unique awareness but it is negative rather than positive in its association thus undermining the brand's power.

9.3.6 Theatre

The four acting units considered so far are areas in which James, as head of state, had some direct control. There were, however, two other elements (communication channels) covered by this research that had the potential to increase the awareness of the brand but over which he had less direct control and which had a wide popular appeal. It is fair to say that, by the use of direct and indirect censorship, James tried directly to control these media. which was a widespread and well established practice that had varying degrees of success (Paragraphs 8.1.8 and 8.2.4). The first of these is the theatre which, in London at least, reached a mass audience across a wide social range (Paragraph 8.1.1); and because of its wide reach and frequency had the potential to be an important source of awareness for Great Britain/British. It is, however, difficult to assess the awareness of the term as, at this remove, only the textual record remains and the experience of the performance cannot be recreated nor can the audience reaction be measured (Paragraph 8.1.9): this is accepted as a weakness of the analysis. It may also be that allusion and allegorical references provided symbolic, coded, references to the brand but this would depend on a degree of sophistication in the audience that is considered to be unlikely (Paragraph 8.1.3). Accepting these caveats the content analysis of the text of the plays performed in the period show that references to the brand in the contemporary texts that survive were very infrequent, approximately once in every three plays (Table 8.2); and that the brand featured rarely in the sample examined. It can thus be concluded that Great Britain and British had a low level of awareness in this medium.

In the case of the theatre power is somewhat driven by the lack of awareness and the conundrum that this creates (Paragraph 9.5) i.e. how can a brand have power if there is no awareness of it? This issue is dealt with below with reference to branding theory, but at this point it is considered to be unlikely that the theatre provided a source of power for the brand. The paucity of textual references to Great Britain/British supplemented by assumptions about the sophistication of the audience, and the inability to recreate the ambience of the performance (Paragraph 8.1.9) all conspire to make a definitive finding difficult. However, the material presented is considered sufficient to justify the finding that the theatre was not a source of power for the brand. It did not generate strong, positive and unique awareness of it which is significant given that the theatre, given its commercial audience centric nature, can be seen as a reflector of the interest of its audiences (Paragraph 8.1.1). In addition Table 8.2, exhibits evidence of a greater brand equity in England/English rather than Great Britain/British.

9.3.7 Printed Media

The second acting unit is the printed media for which there was an effective distribution network of bookshops both in London and the counties, the existence of which supported the increasing output from the printing presses and gave the medium a wide reach (Paragraph 8.2.2). There were a large number of printed documents in circulation and the number was increasing, although not as rapidly as later in the century (Table 8.5), providing a detailed account of contemporary events. At the start of James' reign pamphlets were an important printed medium providing input to the public sphere (Paragraph 8.2.1) and analysis of them shows that references to the brand were few. As a promotional medium for the brand these documents were poor. One of the reasons for this seems to have been the actions of James and his predecessor in their censorship of the medium. The prohibition of discussion of domestic affairs in printed media by the Elizabethan Star Chamber in 1586 and its continued imposition by James served to exclude discussion of domestic issues relating to Great Britain from this medium (Paragraph 8.2.4). However even within the predominantly foreign content of the publications the number of references to Great Britain/British is small and is exceeded by references to both England and Scotland (Table 8.6.). The apparent success of censorship means that the analysis of the documents in the British Library database of newspapers is of limited value. Therefore, a wider analysis of the EEBO database was carried out to examine the extent of the use of the brand in documents containing the term pamphlet. The result of this analysis confirms the limited use of Great Britain/British and

indicates that its use was of marginal relevance to the brand or its value of unity (Table 8.7, Paragraph 8.2.6). Thus in this specific category of printed media - pamphlets, the awareness of Great Britain/British is poor and is not a source of equity. The final element of the analysis of the printed media is an attempt to assess the awareness of the brand across the entire EEBO database. The conclusion from this analysis is that there was an increase in the use of the brand towards the end of James' reign but that overall the number of references to the brand is low (Figures 8.1 and 8.2). Once again the conclusion is that, in terms of awareness, this medium is not a source of equity for the brand. Further, as Tables 8.5 and 8.6 show, where an identifiable brand exists in pamphlets it is most commonly England/English rather than Great Britain/British giving the former a higher level of awareness and greater brand equity.

The role of the printed media in generating power for the brand is in some ways similar to that of flags discussed above, in that the lack of awareness undoubtedly has an impact on awareness and therefore power. The lack of awareness makes it difficult, if not impossible, for strong, positive and unique associations to be formed.

The material presented does not provide evidence of a successful brand and there is little evidence of the characteristics of a brand with awareness and power, i.e. strong, positive and unique associations. Indeed there is some evidence of confusion between Great Britain/British and England/English (Paragraph 8.2.5). It may be that the control exercised by James through censorship (Paragraphs 8.1.8 and 8.2.4) effectively prevented this medium from being a source of power for the brand. Before finally arriving at a conclusion, the role of Word of Mouth is considered to assess its role in a myth market for Great Britain/British (Paragraph 2.3.4).

9.3.8 Word of Mouth

The foregoing examination of the Institutions of State, Documentary Record, the Theatre and the Printed Media demonstrates that none of these can be considered as particularly effective in contributing to the development of a successful Great Britain/British brand. In each there is evidence of a low level of awareness which is a key dimension for assessing the success of a brand. Similarly, with regard to the second dimension of success, power, there is little evidence of the strong, positive and unique associations characteristic of a successful brand. In concluding this examination however the role of word of mouth and its association with the success or failure of the brand is now examined. The examination starts from a

standpoint that the acting units discussed above provided input (see for example Paragraph 8.2.1 on the role of news) to word of mouth promotion of the brand.

The oral tradition is well established as a powerful means of communication (Paragraph 7.1) and this particularly true in societies like early modern England with limited levels of literacy (Paragraph 6.6). From Tacitus' time Britain (note not Great Britain) had been well established as part of the tradition in both England and Scotland – albeit with a different interpretation of that tradition and their respective positions within it (Paragraph 5.1.5). Britain's ancient heritage was therefore a pre-existing myth in Barthes's terms (Paragraph 2.3.1) and can be viewed as an input to word of mouth relevant to the new Great Britain/British brand. The brand as introduced by James in 1604 appears to have been designed to build on the myth of ancient Britain as a source of unity (Paragraph 5.2.7). To achieve success in this it would be necessary for the brand to be linked to the ancient concept and for this link to be widely accepted. It would have to be frequently used and powerful in the medium of word of mouth. It is very difficult to establish exactly the content of word of mouth some hundreds of years after the conversations took place – examination of contemporary sources such as diaries is in essence a micro level content analysis exercise similar to that carried out on the Documentary Record and Printed Media above. However, if the acting units discussed above are viewed in the aggregate as an input to conversations that took place when people came together, at the Church on Sundays or at the assizes, then it is possible to estimate the likely impact (Paragraph 6.7). The role of the gentry and the prosperous elite in such conversations, as exemplified by their hold over the clergy they patronised (Paragraph 7.3.6) is particularly important. Consequently, the sources of information to which they were exposed and their content are important (Chapters 7 and 8) as it is these that would be likely to contribute to the topics of conversation. The evidence above is clear in that Great Britain/British was not a term that was widely disseminated in the documentary record, the Institutions of State, the Theatre or the Printed Media from which it is inferred that the probability of it being a topic for conversation is unlikely. Far more likely that England and English would be discussed and that the views expressed would reflect the parochialism of the debate in the Parliament of March 1604 (Paragraph 5.2.4)

9.3.9 It is highly improbable that word of mouth provided the brand Great Britain/British with either the awareness or the power to help it succeed and this, coupled with the lack of success evident from other sources, drives the conclusion that there was little equity in the brand and that it was not a success. Was it a failure? It certainly did not disappear; it

continued to exist but with little discernible impact in the period under consideration. Although, as Chapter 3 shows, it was to become extremely successful in the longer term this is beyond the scope of this research. Did the brand help James to achieve his overall objective of consolidating his position? Given the lack of awareness, power and coherence identified above, it probably did not. The implications of the lack of success of the brand form the second strand of this research and it is to this that it now turns.

9.4 Branding theories - Unidirectional and Social Interactionist

The case study and the conclusions drawn from it above indicate that from a brand perspective Great Britain/British was not a success at the time of its introduction. The implications of this lack of success for the theories of branding discussed in Chapter 2 and the epistemological assumptions in Chapter 1 are addressed in this section. The assumptions on individual and social learning i.e. that individuals not only respond to social stimuli but anticipate and shape them (Section 1.3) and the social interactionist view of branding which is derived from it (Section 2.3) were believed to be key to this case. It was the hypothesis, in the sense of a focus for the research rather than a test (Paragraph 1.6.7), that James' view of his role as a monarch (Paragraphs 2.2.11 and 5.1.2) enabled him to be viewed as very powerful brand manager who could impose the brand on society, consistent with a unidirectional view of branding (Paragraph 2.2.3). Should he be unable to do so then the unidirectional view of brand management would be found wanting. The alternative model of social interaction in which James would be the embellisher of the brand (Paragraph 2.2.7) thereby giving the brand an ability to address social contradictions (Paragraph 2.3.4) and create unity was also to be tested in a similar fashion being considered to be more sustainable. The results of the tests are as follows.

9.4.1 Unidirectional Branding

The distinctive name for the brand chosen by James for his dual monarchy was Great Britain/British (Paragraph 2.2.5). The first step in Keller's Strategic Brand Management Process is to "Identify and Establish Brand Positioning and Values" (Paragraph 2.2.10) which James seems to have done on 28 October 1604 in the Bishop of Sarum's speech (Paragraph 5.2.7). However the other elements of Keller's process are more problematic:-

- a) Plan and implement Brand Marketing Programs - the lack of awareness discussed above is indicative of an absence of a plan in any meaningful sense; there was no

conscious effort to promote the brand. Furthermore the inconsistency with which the brand was used in the documentary record (Tables 6.1 to 6.6) reinforces the view that no coherent plan existed to manage the brand and that James carried on despite advice (Paragraph 5.2.7).

- b) Measure and interpret Brand Performance – the absence of a plan means this element is unlikely to be found and indeed the case provides little evidence of any attempt by James to identify how the brand was progressing. The exception to this is, paradoxically, negative in that censorship as applied to the church, printed media and the theatre actually may have inhibited the brand’s progress. In the case of the Church James’ prohibition of discussion of state affairs in his 1623 “Directions to Preachers” (Paragraph 7.3.2) and the enforcement of the Star Chamber decision forbidding the publication of domestic news (Paragraph 8.2.4) in the printed media not only closed off potentially powerful promotional media, they shut down forums in which progress could be measured. In the case of the theatre, the masques attended by James were hardly likely to provide anything other than positive reinforcement (Paragraph 8.1.1). The severity of the penalties for causing offence such as the imprisonment and other sanctions meted out in the case of the Isle of Gulls (Paragraph 8.1.8) was such that circumspection in referring to matters like the brand was highly likely, once again restricting scope for assessing performance via feedback.
- c) Grow and sustain Brand Equity – given a) and b) above plus what has been said regarding brand equity in Section 9.5 this element is nugatory. The absence of a brand in which equity can be sustained and grown is illogical and requires no further discussion.

It is clear that this process does not fit well with the case study. It can be concluded that the failure of James, as traditional brand manager, to follow this unidirectional model led to the lack of success for the brand. In essence the model is valid but in this case it was not applied correctly. Before reaching such a conclusion the alternative modified version of Holt’s Cultural Branding (Paragraph 2.2.7) as it applies to this case is considered.

The basis for consideration of this model is each of the rows in the following table reproduced from Paragraph 2.2.7:-

Cultural Branding

| Cultural Branding | | Case Study |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Key Words | Cultural Icons, Iconic Brands | King, Monarchy, Royalty |
| 2.Brand Definition | Performer of, and container for, an identity myth | British, Great Britain, Britain, United Kingdom |
| 3.Branding Definition | Performing myths | Unity based on ancient history |
| 4.Required for a Successful Brand | Performing a myth that addresses an acute contradiction in society | Removing the contradictions of dual monarchy by institutions and symbols – e.g. Church, Courts, Coins, Flags |
| 5.Most Appropriate Applications | Identity categories | Nationality, English, Scots. Religion. |
| 6.Company's (James') Role | Embellisher | Divinely appointed messenger |
| 7.Source of Customer Value | Buttressing Identity | Being British |
| 8.Consumers' Role | Personalizing the brand's myth to fit individual biography. Ritual action to experience the myth when using product. | Adoption of the term as an identifier of self as part of daily life. |

1. Key words – in the case study the Monarchy in general and James in particular is accepted as performing a central, iconic, role. Despite some initial resistance to his accession (Paragraph 5.1.1) and challenges to the way in which he performed his role (Paragraph 5.2.3) there is no evidence in the case study that monarchy as an institution was under serious threat at this time. Even if only for the fact that James died a natural death after twenty two years on the throne means that this criterion is met.
2. Brand definition – the brand Great Britain/British should contain a myth and perform it. It is clear that the brand was based on the myth of ancient Britain (Paragraph 5.1.5) and as such was intended to promote a common identity across the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. James as the embodiment of that British myth, Brute or otherwise, had the potential to perform (embody) the brand (Paragraph 5.2.7). Again this criterion can be judged to be met.

3. Branding definition – performing myths. The actions pursued to promote the brand and the extent to which these exhibited the key value of unity is critical because of a common ancient history (Paragraph 5.2.7). As the case study shows, and is considered below in the following criteria, this criterion was not met because in promotional media such as the theatre the brand was largely invisible (Paragraph 8.1.8), or in others such as the printed media excluded (Paragraph 8.2.4).
4. Required for a successful brand – the brand should address an acute contradiction in society, in this case it should remove the contradictions of the dual monarchy i.e. establish the brand value of unity. To do this the acting units, the elements that comprise the brand, would consistently support the brand and its values. As the case study shows the acting units actually increased the contradictions by their emphasis on England in areas such as the printed media (Table 8.6), Coins and Flags (Section 7.5) and above all in the extremely important institution of the church (Section 7.3). It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this last factor given the importance of religion in everyday life (Paragraph 7.3.1) and the designation of the church as The Church of England. That there was no Church of Great Britain (Paragraph 7.3.2), undermines the probability of success for the Great Britain/British brand. This criterion is therefore considered not to be met.
5. Most Appropriate categories – in this case the nationalities of English and Scottish have to some extent been dealt with by the reference to the Church of England in the previous paragraph. However, the institution of the law as evidenced in the Calvin Case (Paragraph 7.4.4) and the English Parliament’s Bill of Hostile Laws (Paragraph 5.2.5) appear to reinforce national differences rather than national unity. The result of this is that there were two distinct legal systems i.e. there was no British legal system to support the brand. Accordingly the criterion is not considered to be met.
6. James’ role as embellisher – given his view of the role of a monarch that was divinely appointed (Paragraph 5.1.2) it could be anticipated that he would expect to impose the brand. His personal identification with the brand is evidence of an attempt to do this (Paragraph 5.2.7). He plainly took some interest in the promotion of the brand but the evidence is that he failed to do so consistently, notably in royal proclamations (Table 6.1) and in his public pronouncements such as his speech to the Judges in the Star Chamber, thirteen years after his accession, praising England over Scotland (Paragraph 7.4.5). On balance this criterion can be judged to be partially met.

7. Source of customer value – the buttressing of British identity is from the previous paragraphs not met. Indeed the most important institution, the Church and the Bible, can be seen as buttressing English rather than British national identity (Section 7.3). The criterion is not met.
8. Consumers' Role - Adoption of the term as an identifier of self as part of daily life. Logically, based on what has been said in the preceding paragraphs, this criterion cannot be met. Although it may have been adequately defined and provided key words the failure of Great Britain/British to be a source of value, to be adequately embellished, to address the most appropriate categories, to meet the requirements of a successful brand, or be sufficiently defined in its branding, means that it would not have impacted daily life. Specifically it is unlikely to have been included in everyday word of mouth communication. It would not have been adopted as identifier of self which poses questions for the social interactionist model of branding which are now addressed.

9.4.2 Branding as Social Interaction

This section is, as Paragraph 1.6.6 suggested it might be, particularly challenging as it attempts to cope with the fuzziness of matching theory with the case study material. The epistemological assumptions (Section 1.6) on which this research is based are that individuals and society interact with their environment and that brands and branding can be examined with reference to this. In particular the concept of an acting unit which is an individual or any group of individuals that take action, that any particular action they take is formed in the light of the situation in which it takes place, and that the action is formed or constructed by interpreting the situation (Paragraph 1.6.5). On this basis the development of a common understanding is essential for a successful brand.

The development and promotion of a common understanding and acceptance of the value of unity provided by Great Britain/British was essential for the success of James' brand. The role of the acting units (Institutions of State, Coins, Flags, Theatre and Printed Media) has been discussed in detail above and found to be wanting in the creation of a successful brand. However the social interactionist model developed in Section 2.3 is considered to be an alternative to the unidirectional model. In particular, iconic brands and the role of the myth of Britain that underpins Great Britain/British are viewed as a potential source for the creation of a successful brand. For Great Britain/British to be a successful brand it should

draw its power from the identity myth that underpinned it (the pre-existing Brutus myth – Paragraph 5.1.5 as invoked by James - Paragraph 5.2.7). This underpinning myth would in turn be grounded in experience of the populist worlds in which people live. It would provide a means by which people, individually and collectively, could cope with their daily lives. The power of Great Britain/British and the concomitant unity would be derived not only from individual experience but also from collective experience. Because of this collective importance it would create a community built on an identity myth (Paragraph 2.3.3) - the foundation of which was Britain. The acting units in the case study and their impact on the evoked set (national ideologies, populist worlds, citizens' identity projects, identity influencers – Paragraph 2.3.5) for the myth of British can be viewed as the authors of the cultural brief and hence as an alternative to James as the brand manager in the unidirectional approach. In this, alternative scenario, the brief created by the acting units embodies the brand's role in culture. It draws on material that audiences believe to be authentic earning respect through literacy (showing a nuanced understanding of codes and idioms) and fidelity (sacrificing a broader based popularity to stand up for the ethos). It exhibits a distinctive and compelling style that epitomises the populist world from which they speak – a charismatic aesthetic (Paragraph 2.3.6). (Note:- other potential alternative authors are considered below). The case study found no evidence that the various acting units met these criteria with regard to Great Britain/British if only because within each of them the brand had limited visibility i.e. it lacked awareness (Section 9.5). There is some evidence of reference to ancient Britain and associated myths in acting units such the theatre, for example *Bonduca* and *Cymbeline* (Paragraph 8.1.2), but overall given there is a limited number of references to Britain in its seventeenth century context. As Tables 6.2, 8.2, 8.3, and 8.6 show the predominant reference is to England/English rather than Great Britain/British and England/English is likely to have been a more important myth than British. The ability to maintain multiple identities (Paragraph 2.3.5) is acknowledged but the limited frequency of references to it is such that Great Britain/British would be unlikely to be one of any such multiplicity.

The importance of each acting unit lies in its role as a high referent input (Paragraph 2.3.5) to the primary communications medium, word of mouth. In this context word of mouth provides the mechanism which made the myth available to be grounded in the individual and collective experience. Acting units such as the Church and assizes were part of a social system as well as religious and legal events (Paragraphs 6.7, 7.3.1, 7.3.5, 7.4.6). It is difficult at this remove to verify, but as part of the socialising that took place at these

gatherings, the gentry were likely to discuss and make known their views on contemporary events based, in part, on documents they had read and in which Britain did not feature highly, if at all (Paragraph 6.6). Similarly, everyday objects such as coins that were part of daily life and could have evoked the myth failed to do so unequivocally (Paragraph 7.5.3). Equally the printed media, for those who were literate, (Table 8.6) and the theatre, particularly the open theatres in London, (Tables 8.2 and 8.3) in common with the other acting units did not contribute to the creation of a viable cultural brief for word of mouth i.e. a brief that was discussed as part of and had the potential to be embedded in the populist world.

Alternative, perhaps complementary, means of creating the cultural brief for the acting units have been postulated in which consumers synthesise the various elements of their environment to develop a resolution for their cultural contradictions (a brand), and thus become the author of that brand's values. The concept of tribalisation (Paragraph 2.3.6) in which consumers rally round something archaic and re-enchant the world, while attractive, does not fit with the empirical lack of visibility of the brand. There is little in the case study that shows a resurgence of ancient Britain or its association with Great Britain/British – (Section 9.3). Furthermore the conflicting English and Scottish views of the pseudohistory of ancient Britain (Paragraph 5.1.5) is evidence to the contrary and it can, in effect, be seen as a source of division. Similarly, with regard to transformative teleology (Paragraph 2.2.3): for this to have been the author it can be expected that there would be evidence in the case study of Great Britain/British as an expression of the identity and difference of individuals and collectives for which, once again, there is no evidence.

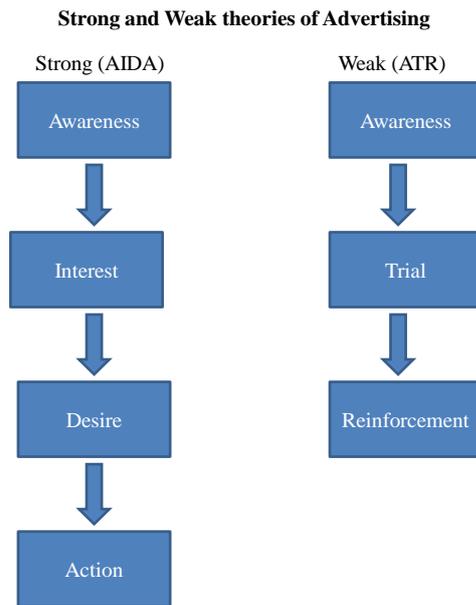
The case study therefore does not support a social interactionist view of branding. Of the seven axioms of cultural branding: (Paragraph 2.3.3)

- a) Addresses acute contradictions in society
- b) Performs identity myths
- c) Shares ritual action
- d) Is set in populists worlds – separated from everyday life
- e) Performing as an activist, leading culture – encourage people to think differently about themselves
- f) Relies on breakthrough performances rather than consistent communications – a few masterful performances set it up
- g) Enjoys a cultural halo effect

None of these is met and the relevance of Great Britain/British to what were likely to be key concerns, such as falling real incomes, is difficult to identify (Paragraph 5.3.4). It seems therefore that the social processes of interaction between individuals and groups (Paragraphs 2.3.2 -2.3.5) did not come into play and that the hypothesis of branding as social interaction can be rejected. However the case study does not support the alternative unidirectional view of branding (Paragraph 9.4.1 above) thereby permitting it also to be rejected as a hypothesis. Other than the name and minor elements of images (Coins and Devices in documents) Great Britain/British did not fulfil the criteria for a brand identified by de Charnatony (Paragraph 2.2.5) far less reach the consensus for branding a nation (Paragraph 2.2.10). In essence the central characteristic of a corporate brand, enactment, did not occur. If both models are rejected some explanation is required.

9.4.3 The importance of awareness

It would be simple to suggest that the rejection of both branding models in this case stems from the apparent failure of the brand in the period under consideration (Section 9.5) and posit a counterfactual that had either model been applied appropriately it would be validated i.e. had the brand succeeded the appropriate theory would be vindicated. At this point it is simply noted that in both models of branding it is essential that the market adopts the brand with its associations, positive or negative. In order for that adoption to take place the market must have an awareness of the brand name. In the terminology used above a degree of awareness is required for adoption to take place and power generated. The simple general communications model and AIDA model of advertising in particular (Paragraph 2.2.6) are relevant in this regard:-



Source Jobber (2004:421)

The case study shows low levels of awareness of Great Britain/British across the range of acting units and in promotional media in the period. Such low levels make the achievement of the strong, positive, unique associations necessary for a successful brand impossible. If no one, or very few people, knows about the brand it will fail. The power of a brand therefore can be seen to be derived from awareness of it and it was the failure to generate this awareness that led Great Britain/British to fail as a brand in the period 1603 to 1625. The starting point for a brand, the name, was attained but the other tangible, visual and intangible elements were not (Paragraph 2.2.5). As a consequence the brand did not develop an emotional attachment and as such did not succeed in a) creating greater loyalty to Great Britain and hence to James as its embodiment; and b) maintaining James in his position as monarch in Scotland, and England (Paragraph 9.2).

The lack of an emotional attachment to the brand stems from the logical impossibility of having a strong association with something that you do not know exists and extreme unlikelihood of to having a strong association with something that you barely know exists. Similarly, a positive association requires knowledge not only of the existence of an entity but implies knowledge of (or belief in) its nature. Finally, a unique association requires a degree of knowledge (or belief) of the extent to which something differs from other known entities. None of these is validated in the case study with regard to Great Britain/British because of the lack of awareness (knowledge of its existence). Such a conclusion seems simplistic and self evident. However, there is within the case study evidence of the awareness of an alternative

brand i.e. England/English across all of the acting units that are examined - the documentary record (Tables 6.2 to 6.5) the courts (Section 7.4), coins and flags (Section 7.5), theatre (Section 8.1) and press and printed media (Section 8.2) and above all the Church (Section 7.3-in particular Paragraph 7.3.4). If the criterion of awareness is applied to England/English in the same way as to Great Britain/British produces a different result i.e. it has a high level of awareness, England/English can therefore be viewed as a stronger brand on this criterion. With regard to the three associations, strong, positive and unique (Paragraph 9.4), the importance of religion was such that the designation of the Church of England would of itself be sufficient to confer these associations on the brand England/English in England (Section 7.3-in particular Paragraph 7.3.4). Of these associations the positive association is the most problematic in that for James the positive was unity which would maintain his position and create a united kingdom (Paragraph 5.2.7). However the existence of a more frequently referenced and powerful alternative brand, England/English which would have had a more positive association in the wider population in England meant that the new brand, Great Britain/British, could have a negative rather positive association in terms of unity. It would therefore be possible for there to be a single, Great Britain/British, brand with two antithetical views of what was positive with divisive consequences as exemplified by the fracas of March 1607 (Paragraph 7.5.6). It may be that James recognised this which could explain his Star Chamber speech to the Judges praising England/English (Paragraph 7.4.5).

9.4.4 On the basis of the above it is concluded that there was more equity in England/English than in Great Britain/British and that it was the stronger of the two brands with a strong emotional attachment. This conclusion poses a key question for the two models of branding. In the unidirectional model the brand is created by its author and its associations identified by them, in this case James. James' unidirectional brand management, as discussed above, does not appear to have created a successful brand in Great Britain/British. However, the alternative brand, England/English, for which there is no identifiable author but which does have very strong, long held, positive and unique associations (Paragraph 5.2.3 – 5.2.4); and its development is more consistent with the social interactionist model and is successful. As discussed above the acting units in the case study and their impact on the evoked set (national ideologies, populist worlds, citizens' identity projects, identity influencers – Paragraph 2.3.5) are more supportive of the myth of English not British. It is this myth that can be viewed as the cultural brief created by the acting units and it was an alternative to, if not the antithesis of, James' as the unidirectional brand manager. Viewed in this way the

brief created by the acting units still embodies the brand's role in culture: it draws on material that audiences believe to be authentic earning respect through "literacy" (showing a nuanced understanding of codes and idioms) and "fidelity" (sacrificing a broader based popularity to stand up for the ethos), and exhibits a distinctive and compelling style that epitomizes the populist world from which they speak – a charismatic aesthetic (Paragraph 2.3.6). But in this case it was for England/English rather than Great Britain/British. Hence, with regard to the theories of branding the evidence of the case study strongly suggests that the social interactionist provides better explanation for the success of a brand than the unidirectional in this specific case. However this suggestion is based on a combination of the failure of one brand Great Britain/British and the success of another England/English in a particular historic time period, 1603 to 1625. While it is not possible to generalise from this case it does provide insight of the comparative utility of the models that can be applied in other cases, or indeed to Great Britain/British in the later seventeenth century.

9.5 In the light of the above the answers to the research questions posed are:-

From a brand perspective was the term Great Britain/British a success in the period 1603 to 1625? In the terms of brand equity, awareness and power, as discussed the answer is no, Great Britain/British did not achieve a sufficient level of awareness to justify calling it a success. However it did survive, which may be an alternative criterion for success.

What were the factors that contributed to the success or failure of the term? Various important acting units, institutions of state, symbols, theatre, printed media considered in the case study did not actively support it and some, notably the church, militated against it. The coherence necessary for a successful corporate brand was not present.

Do branding theories adequately explain the success or failure of the term Great Britain/British in the period 1603 to 1625? Given what has been said, the theories discussed do not fully explain the failure. However they do illuminate the complex interrelationship of brands and branding and the time in which they exist and suggest the nature of activities and behaviours necessary for success.

9.6 Limitations of the approach

The problem of anachronism caused by the application of modern business concepts to a time period when they did not exist clearly is an issue which is addressed and Sharpe's view that present experiences can open questions and perspectives on the past has been found valid and

the problems of present centredness, hopefully, avoided (Paragraph 1.3). The empirical research, Chapters 6 to 8, draws heavily on digitised sources. It follows that potential sources that have not been digitised may have been missed with the result that there could possibly be some bias, but it is not believed that there is a systematic bias in the material that has been digitised. The analysis of the material presented is qualitative based on judgements, which could be a problem. However, in accordance with best practice, assumptions made have been clearly stated and detailed audit trails are available. Thus, while the analysis is not replicable as a social survey might be, it is possible to verify and challenge it in detail (Paragraph 1.3). In sum the approach is believed to be methodologically sound and robust.

9.7 Contribution to Knowledge

The research is multidisciplinary in that it addresses two constituencies, business and history, and contributes to knowledge in each.

In the business constituency the research develops an alternative to the traditional unidirectional model of branding (social interactionism) which it applies to the case study. However the research shows that there are weaknesses in both models of brands and branding (unidirectional and social interactionism) and that neither satisfactorily explains why the brand failed. Perhaps this is because the definition of a brand as something that exists in the mind of consumers means that for something to be a brand the consumer must have an awareness of it. In this case it is clear that the level of awareness of Great Britain/British across the population of England was low. It is therefore a reasonable conclusion that unless there is awareness, whatever branding model is appropriate, a brand will fail – in effect a brand that is unknown is an oxymoron. It indicates the necessity of some process to generate positive associations for the brand, whether conscious (planned- unidirectional) or emerging (unconscious-social interactionist); indifference is unlikely to create a successful brand, particularly a corporate brand. The unanticipated support for the social interactionist model provided by the evident strength of England/English as a successful brand is significant in this regard. In terms of the metrics of awareness and power used above, it is clearly successful between 1603 and 1625 and despite the absence of an identifiable author fulfils the requirements of the seven axioms of Holt's model of cultural branding. It shows that it is possible to have a successful brand for which here is no identifiable author. Finally the successful, but variable, continuation of the brand in the period after 1625 shows that the success or failure of a brand varies over time and the values attached to it can be determined

by external factors over which unidirectional control is limited. A fruitful area for further research could be into the creation of brands without identifiable authors.

With regard to the history constituency, there is an enormous amount of research on the early Stuarts making an original contribution difficult. Perhaps the major contribution is that the research views the period from an original standpoint and provides a new focus on the origins of Great Britain as a nation and state in the seventeenth rather than the eighteenth century. The application of the business techniques provides an unusual and useful vehicle for an original examination of the events relating to the development of Great Britain/British. It shows that there is some confusion over when Great Britain started but it was clearly 20 October 1604 that it formally became active. James succeeded in maintaining his role as King of both England and Scotland until he died a natural death. He undoubtedly saw Great Britain as a means to create and cement (legitimise) his position as King of England while maintaining his monarchy in Scotland. Viewing Great Britain/British as a brand allows an assessment of its contribution to his success in meeting this objective. The overall lack of conviction and coherence in the way in which it was pursued - there was no plan, meant that it did not succeed as a brand at that time. In the first instance he does not seem to have put the full might of his power, as he would see it given his espoused views on the divine right of monarchs, behind rigorous enforcement of the brand and its value of unity. Although it is fair to pose the question that if unity is enforced does it truly exist? At the same time the key acting units in the key market, England, were at best uninterested and at worst acting against the brand Great Britain/British by reinforcing an alternative - England/English: an alternative that was well established (Chapters 6 to 8) and which persisted (Paragraph 3.3.2 et seq.). In this regard this period can be seen as a precursor, or perhaps the basis, for the debates regarding the relationship between England and Britain that occurred in later periods. By the business metrics used above it is clear that the brand was a failure in the period under consideration but despite this the corporation, James, succeeded. Great Britain/British as a brand seems to have provided little support for the establishment and maintenance of James' monarchy. However, in later times and under different circumstances it went on to be extremely successful which suggests that further research of the role of Great Britain/British as a brand in the period, 1625 to 1707, could provide insight into the origins, development and success of Great Britain in later times. Finally, this research provides an original input into understanding Great Britain's origins that are relevant to current debates about its future.

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the names of those that were of the precedent Parliament, held 1624. and likewise of the former held 1620. shewing how neere they were the same chosen againe, and the names of those that are now new come in, so distinguished as they haue serued in either the two former Parliaments, or in all three of them may be hereby discerned.

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Appendix A - Select List of Plays and their Playhouses showing number of references to British, English and Scottish (Paragraph 8.1.6)

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|----|---|---------------------------|-----------|--|-------------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | The Malcontent | Marston | 1603 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1603 | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| 2 | Measure for Measure | Shakespeare | 1603 | King's | Globe | 1603 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 3 | Othello | Shakespeare | 1603-04 | Chamberlain's | Globe/Blackfriars | 1603 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 4 | The Phoenix | Middleton | 1603-04 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1603 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Sejanus | Jonson | 1603 | King's | Globe | 1603 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 6 | A Woman Killed with Kindness | Heywood | 1603 | Worcester's | Rose | 1603 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 7 | Bussy D'Ambois | Chapman | 1604-1606 | Paul's Children - Blackfriars children | Blackfriars | 1604 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 8 | The Fair Maid of Bristow | Anon | C 1604 | King's | Globe | 1604 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 9 | 1 and 2 The Honest Whore | Dekker & Middleton | 1604-05 | Prince's | Fortune | 1604 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 10 | 1 and 2 If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody | Heywood | 1604-05 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1604 | 1 | 32 | 0 |
| 11 | Law Tricks | Day | 1604 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1604 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 12 | Westward Ho! | Dekker & Webster | 1604 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1604 | 1 | 11 | 5 |
| 13 | When You See Me, You Know Me | Rowley | 1604 | Prince's | Fortune | 1604 | 0 | 42 | 0 |
| 14 | The Dutch Courtesan | Marston | 1605 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1605 | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| 15 | Eastward Ho! | Chapman, Jonson & Marston | 1605 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1605 | 0 | 8 | |
| 16 | Epicene | Jonson | 1605 | King's | Globe | 1605 | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| 17 | The Fawn | Marston | 1605 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1605 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 18 | King Lear | Shakespeare | 1605 | King's | Globe | 1605 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | A Mad World, my Masters | Middleton | 1605-06 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1605 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 20 | Monsieur D'Olive | Chapman | 1605 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1605 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 21 | Northward Ho! | Dekker & Webster | 1605 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1605 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| 22 | Sophonisba (Wonder of Women) | Marston | 1605 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1605 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|----|---------------------------------------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|-------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 23 | A Trick to Catch The Old One | Middleton | 1605-06 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1605 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 24 | Volpone | Jonson | 1605 | King's | Globe | 1605 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 25 | The Widow's Tears | Chapman | C 1605 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1605 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 26 | The Devil's Charter | Barnes | 1606 | King's | Globe | 1606 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 27 | The Fleer | Sharpham | 1606 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1606 | 3 | 7 | 4 |
| 28 | The Isle of Gulls | Day | 1606 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1606 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 29 | Macbeth | Shakespeare | 1606 | King's | Globe | 1606 | 0 | 14 | 12 |
| 30 | Michaelmas Term | Middleton | 1606 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1606 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 31 | The Miseries of Enforced Marriage | Wilkins | 1606 | King's | Globe | 1606 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 32 | The Puritan | Middleton | 1606 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1606 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 33 | The Revenger's Tragedy | Middleton? | 1606-7 | King's | Globe | 1606 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 34 | The Two Maids of Moreclacke | Armin | 1606-8 | King's Revels Children | Whitefriars | 1606 | 1 | 7 | 0 |
| 35 | The Whore of Babylon | Dekker | 1606 | Prince's | Fortune | 1606 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 36 | The Woman Hater | Beaumont | C 1606 | Paul's Children | Paul's | 1606 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 37 | The Yorkshire Tragedy | Anon | C 1606 | King's | Globe | 1606 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 38 | The Conspiracy & Tragedy of Byron | Chapman | 1607-8 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1607 | 1 | 9 | 1 |
| 39 | The Dumb Knight | Markham & Machin | 1607-8 | King's Revels Children | Whitefriars | 1607 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 40 | Fortune by Land & Sea | Heywood & Rowley | 1607-9 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1607 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 41 | The Insatiate Countess | Marston & Barksted | 1607-8 | Blackfriars Children | Whitefriars | 1607 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 42 | The Knight of The Burning Pestle | Beaumont | 1607 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1607 | 0 | 12 | 1 |
| 43 | Ram-alley | Barry | 1607-8 | King's Revels Children | Whitefriars | 1607 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 44 | The Travels of Three English Brothers | Day, Rowley, & Wilkins | 1607 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1607 | 0 | 47 | 0 |
| 45 | A Trick to Catch The Old One | Middleton | C1607 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1607 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 46 | The Turk | Mason | 1607 | King's Revels Children | Whitefriars | 1607 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|---------------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 47 | Antony & Cleopatra | Shakespeare | 1608 | King's | Globe | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 48 | Charles Duke of Byron | Chapman | 1608 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1608 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| 49 | Coriolanus | Shakespeare | 1608 | King's | Globe | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 50 | The Coxcomb | Beaumont & Fletcher | 1608-9 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars? | 1608 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 51 | Cupid's Revenge | Beaumont & Fletcher | 1608 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 52 | Cupid's Whirligig | Sharpham | 1608 | King's Revels Children | Whitefriars | 1608 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 53 | The Faithful Shepherdess | Fletcher | 1608 | King's | Blackfriars | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 54 | Pericles | Shakespeare | 1608 | King's | Globe | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 55 | The Rape of Lucrece | Heywood | 1608 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1608 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 56 | The Captain | Fletcher | 1609-12 | King's | Globe?/Blackfriars? | 1609 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 57 | Cymbeline | Shakespeare | 1609 | King's | Globe | 1609 | 52 | 0 | 0 |
| 58 | Philaster | Beaumont & Fletcher | 1609 | King's | Globe/Blackfriars | 1609 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 59 | A Woman is a Weathercock | Field | 1609? | Blackfriars Children | Whitefriars | 1609 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| 60 | The Alchemist | Jonson | 1610 | King's | Blackfriars | 1610 | 1 | 5 | 1 |
| 61 | Amends For Ladies | Field | 1610-11 | Blackfriars | Whitefriars | 1610 | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| 62 | The Brazen Age | Heywood | 1610-13 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1610 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 63 | The Golden Age | Heywood | 1610? | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1610 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 64 | Hengist (The Mayor of Quinborough) | Middleton | c1610?- c1617 | King's? | Blackfriars? | 1610 | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 65 | The Maid's Tragedy | Beaumont & Fletcher | 1610 | King's | Blackfriars | 1610 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 66 | The Poor Man's Comfort | Daborne | 1610-17 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1610 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 67 | The Revenge of Bussy | Chapman | C 1610 | Blackfriars Children? | Whitefriars | 1610 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| 68 | The Silver Age | Heywood | 1610-12 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1610 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 69 | The Tempest | Shakespeare | 1610 | King's | Blackfriars | 1610 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 70 | Valentinian | Fletcher | 1610-14 | King's | Globe?/Blackfriars? | 1610 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 71 | The Winter's Tale | Shakespeare | C 1610 | King's | Globe | 1610 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|----|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|------------------|---------------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 72 | Bonduca | Fletcher | 1611-14 | King's | Globe?/Blackfriars? | 1611 | 81 | 5 | 0 |
| 73 | Catiline | Jonson | 1611 | King's | Globe?/Blackfriars | 1611 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 74 | It Be Not Good the Devil Is In It | Dekker | 1611 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1611 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 75 | The Roaring Girl | Dekker & Middleton | 1611 | Prince's | Fortune | 1611 | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| 76 | The White Devil | Webster | 1612 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1612 | 0 | 7 | 1 |
| 77 | Chabot | Chapman | C 1613 | Lady Elizabeth's | Hope? | 1613 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 78 | A Chaste Maid in Cheapside | Middleton | 1613 | Lady Elizabeth's | Swan | 1613 | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| 79 | Henry VIII | Fletcher & Shakespeare | 1613 | King's | Globe | 1613 | 1 | 22 | 0 |
| 80 | Thierry and Theodoret | Fletcher | 1613-21 | King's | Blackfriars | 1613 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 81 | The Two Noble Kinsmen | Fletcher & Shakespeare | 1613? | King's | Blackfriars | 1613 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 82 | Bartholomew Fair | Jonson | 1614 | Lady Elizabeth's | Hope | 1614 | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| 83 | The Coxcomb | Beaumont & Fletcher | C 1614 | Lady Elizabeth's | Globe/Blackfriars | 1614 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 84 | The Honest Lawyer | S.S. | 1614-15 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1614 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 85 | The Beggar's Bush | Fletcher (& Massinger?) | 1615-1622 | King's | Blackfriars | 1615 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 86 | A Fair Quarrel | Middleton & Rowley | 1615-17 | Prince's | Red Bull | 1615 | 0 | 8 | 2 |
| 87 | The Devil is an Ass | Jonson | 1616 | King's | Blackfriars | 1616 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 88 | The Knight of Malta | Fletcher & Field (& Massinger?) | 1616-19 | King's | Blackfriars | 1616 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 89 | The Queen of Corinth | Fletcher (& Massinger? & Field?) | 1616-18 | King's | Blackfriars | 1616 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 90 | The Widow | Middleton | 1616 | King's | Blackfriars | 1616 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 91 | The Witch | Middleton | C 1616 | King's | Blackfriars | 1616 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 92 | All's Lost by Lust | Middleton & Rowley | 1617-19 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1617 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 93 | The Bloody Brother | Fletcher | 1617? | King's | Globe/Blackfriars | 1617 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 94 | The Chances | Fletcher | 1617 | King's | Blackfriars | 1617 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------|------------------------|-------------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 95 | The Devil's Law-Case | Webster | 1617 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1617 | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| 96 | Swetnam the Woman Hater | Anon? Beaumont | 1617-18 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1617 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 97 | Humour out of Breath | Day | 1608 | King's Revels Children | Whitefriars? | 1618 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 98 | The Loyal Subject | Fletcher | 1618 | King's | Blackfriars | 1618 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 99 | Sir John Van Olden Bernavelte | Fletcher | 1619 | King's | Globe? | 1619 | 1 | 19 | 1 |
| 100 | The Costly Whore | Anon | 1619-32 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1619 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 101 | The Double Marriage | Fletcher & Massinger | 1619-23 | King's | Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 102 | The False One | Fletcher & Massinger | 1619-23 | Blackfriars Children | Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 103 | The Fatal Dowry | Fletcher & Massinger | 1617-19 | King's | Globe/Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 104 | Dr Faustus | Marlowe | 1619 | Prince's | Fortune | 1619 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 105 | Herod and Antipater | Markham & Simpson | 1619-22 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1619 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 106 | The Humorous Lieutenant | Fletcher | 1619? | King's | Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 107 | The Island Princess | Fletcher | 1619-21 | King's | Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 108 | The Laws of Candy | Fletcher? & Ford? | 1619-23 | King's | Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 109 | The Little French Lawyer | Fletcher & Massinger | 1619-23 | King's | Blackfriars | 1619 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 110 | The Two Merry Milkmaids | I.C. | 1619-20 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1619 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 111 | The Two Noble Ladies | Anon | 1619-23 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1619 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 112 | Anyhting for a Quiet Life | Middleton | 1620-21 | King's | Blackfriars | 1620 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 113 | The Custom of The Country | Fletcher & Massinger | 1620 | King's | Blackfriars | 1620 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 114 | Greene's Tu Quoque | Cooke | 1611 | Queen Anne's | Red Bull | 1620 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 115 | The Heir | May | 1620 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1620 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 116 | The Virgin Martyr | Dekker & Massinger | 1620 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1620 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 117 | The Duke of Milan | Massinger | 1621-2 | King's | Blackfriars | 1621 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 118 | The Maid of Honour | Massinger | 1621/22 | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1621 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 119 | A Match at Midnight | Dekker | 1621? | Red Bull Company | Red Bull | 1621 | 0 | 3 | 0 |

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|-----|------------------------|-------------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 120 | The Pilgrim | Fletcher | 1621? | King's | Blackfriars | 1621 | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| 121 | The Wild Goose Chase | Fletcher | 1621? | King's | Blackfriars | 1621 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 122 | The Witch of Edmonton | Dekker, Ford & Rowley | 1621 | Prince Charles's | Cockpit | 1621 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 123 | The Changeling | Middleton & Rowley | 1622 | Lady Elizabeth's | Cockpit | 1622 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 124 | The Prophetess | Fletcher (& Massinger?) | 1622 | King's | Blackfriars | 1622 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 125 | The Sea Voyage | Fletcher (& Massinger?) | 1622 | King's | Globe | 1622 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 126 | The Spanish Curate | Fletcher (& Massinger?) | 1622 | King's | Blackfriars | 1622 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 127 | The Bondsman | Massinger | 1623 | Lady Elizabeth's | Cockpit | 1623 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 128 | The Maid in the Mill | Fletcher & Rowley | 1623 | King's | Blackfriars? | 1623 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 129 | The Spanish Gypsy | Dekker & Ford | 1623 | Lady Elizabeth's | Cockpit | 1623 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 130 | The Captives | Heywood | 1624 | Lady Elizabeth's | Cockpit | 1624 | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| 131 | The City Nightcap | Davenport | 1624 | Lady Elizabeth's | Cockpit | 1624 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 132 | The Duchess of Malfi | Webster | 1624 | King's | Blackfriars/Globe | 1624 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 133 | The Duchess of Suffolk | Drue | 1624 | Palsgrave's | Fortune | 1624 | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| 134 | A Game of Chess | Middleton | 1624 | King's | Globe | 1624 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 135 | The Renegado | Massinger | 1624 | Lady Elizabeth's | Cockpit | 1624 | 0 | 5 | 0 |

| | Play | Author | Date | Company | Playhouse | Year | Brit | Engl | Scotl |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|---------|------------------|-------------|------|------|------|-------|
| 136 | Rule a Wife and Have a Wife | Fetcher | 1624 | King's | Blackfriars | 1624 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 137 | The Unnatural Combat | Massinger | 1624-25 | King's | Globe | 1624 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 138 | A Wife for a Month | Fletcher | 1624 | King's | Blackfriars | 1624 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 139 | The Fair Maid of The Inn | Fletcher | 1625 | King's | Blackfriars | 1625 | 0 | 13 | 1 |
| 140 | A New Way to Pay Debts | Massinger | 1625 | Prince Charles's | Cockpit | 1625 | 0 | 4 | 0 |

N=140

Where > 1 printed version closest to date taken

3 plays = 80% of brit

Source:- Gurr (1992:233 et seq)

Appendix B - Census of Articles from the British Library's Collection of 17th and 18th
Century Newspapers Database (Paragraph 8.2.3)

1. *Summe and Substance of the Conference (Hampton Court, 14 January 1603)* (London, England), Saturday, January 14, 1604. 1*
2. *Kings Maiesties Speech As It Was Delivered by Him in the Upper House of the Parliament* (London, England), Monday, March 19, 1604. 15
3. *Authoritie of the Church in Making Canons and Constitutions* (London, England), Thursday, April 9, 1607. 19
4. *Publication of His Maties Edict and Severe Censure Against Private Combats and Combatants* (London, England), Friday, February 4, 1614. 23
5. *His Maiesties Speach in the Starre-Chamber the XX of Iune Anno 1616* (London, England), Thursday, June 20. 31
6. *Speech of Sir Dudley Carlton Lord Ambassadour for the King of Great Britaine* (London, England), Monday, October 6, 1617. 36
7. *Declaration of His Maiesties Royall Pleasure in What Sort He Thinketh Fit to Enlarge Or Reserve Himselfe* (London, England), 1619. 41
8. *Newes out of Holland Concerning Barnevelt and His Fellow Prisoners* (London, England), 1619. 47
9. *Answere to the Question Whether the Emperour That Now Is Can Be Judge* (London, England), 1620. 53
10. *Courante of Newes from the East India* (London, England), 1620. 57
11. *Newes from Poland* (London, England), 1620. 58
12. *Proclamation Made by the High and Mighty Fredericke by the Grace of God King of Bohemia* (London, England), 1620. 61
13. *Briefe Description of the Reasons That Make the Declaration of the Ban* (London, England), 1621. 65
14. *True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord George Ossolinski* (London, England), Sunday, March 11, 1621. 67
15. *Newes from France* (London, England), Wednesday, October 24, 1621. 74
16. *His Maiesties Declaration Touching His Proceedings in the Late Assemblie and Convention of Parliament* (London, England), 1622. 79
17. *True Copies of Two Especiall Letters Verbatim Sent from the Palatinate* (London, England), 1622. 88
18. *Proclamation Declaring His Maiesties Pleasure Concerning the Dissolving of the Present Convention of Parliament* (London, England), Sunday, January 6, 1622. 94
19. *23 of May Weekely Newes from Italy* (London, England), Thursday, May 23, 1622. 98
20. *True Relation of All Such Battailles As Have Been Fought in the Palatinate* (London, England), Friday, May 24, 1622. 100
21. *More Newes from the Palatinate the Second Time Imprinted June the 5* (London, England), Wednesday, June 5, 1622. 104 =+1
22. *True and Ample Relation of All Such Occurrences As Have Happened in the Palatinate* (London, England), Thursday, June 13, 1622. 108
23. *18 of June Weekely Newes from Italy* (London, England), Tuesday, June 18, 1622. 110

24. *Safe Arrivall of Christian Duke of Brunswick Unto the King of Bohemia* (London, England), July, 1622. 113
25. *Surprisall of Two Imperial Townes by Count Mansfield* (London, England), Friday, July 19, 1622. 116
26. *27 of September A Relation of Letters and Other Advertisements of Newes* (London, England), Saturday, August 31, 1622. 118
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