

JACOBITE POLITICAL ARGUMENT IN ENGLAND,  
1714-1766

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*Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766*

By Paul Michael Chapman

By the production of political propaganda Jacobites were able to reach Englishmen more directly than by plots and parliamentary opposition. The thesis demonstrates the need to reappraise assessments of the balance of political ideas current in England in the years immediately after the 1715 rebellion. Disproportionate attention has been accorded the small group of whig “Commonwealthsmen” or republicans, and the new “Country” opposition created by Lord Bolingbroke, with its famous literary coterie including Pope, Swift, and Gay. The publications of these groups were outnumbered by Jacobite works. The Jacobite printer Nathaniel Mist produced a newspaper which, at least throughout the 1720s, was as popular as the most successful organs of these other opposition groups; neither could rival the flood of cheap Jacobite broadsheets and ballads which came onto the market between 1714 and 1724.

Study of the arguments put forward to justify a Stuart restoration reveals the diversity of Jacobite support. A majority used the traditional tory tenets of non-resistance and hereditary right of succession in order to condemn the revolution of 1688. But perhaps most interesting is the hitherto unrecognized existence of a number of Jacobites who accepted the revolution and adopted whig contract arguments (even citing the whig John Locke and the “Commonwealthsmen”) to justify resistance to the Hanoverian monarch.

Most important of all, the thesis shows that the bulk of Jacobite propaganda was produced independently of political patronage. Despite determined government efforts to suppress them, printers and publishers strove to satisfy a public demand for scandalous and seditious political works. The presence of a Jacobite press dependent upon the market indicates a level of popular support which was never exploited. The failure of Jacobite politicians to utilize

either the press or potential popular support highlights the failure of Jacobitism as a movement to fuse together diverse social groups into an effective political force in England. In part this can be explained by reference to views of the ordering of society to be found in Jacobite printed work.

## DECLARATIONS

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. The footnotes indicate the sources from which my information is derived and at which points I have drawn upon the work of other scholars.

This dissertation is not the same as any I have submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at any other university. No part of it has already been or is being currently submitted for any such degree, diploma, or qualification.

This dissertation, including the appendices but excluding the footnotes and bibliography, is 79,450 words in length.

Paul Chapman

18th November 1983

## CONTENTS

Preface  
Acknowledgements  
Notes on style  
Abbreviations

### PART ONE

1. Introduction
2. Jacobite Publishing and its Political Context in England, 1714-24
3. Jacobite Publishing and its Political Context in England, 1724-66

### PART TWO

4. The Old Pretender and the Propaganda War in England
5. The Organisation of Jacobite Publishing in England
6. The Mechanics of Jacobite Publishing in England, 1714-24
7. The Distribution and Diffusion of Jacobite Propaganda

### PART THREE

8. The Nature of Legitimate Government and the Right of Resistance
9. The Hanoverian Tyranny
10. Rhetoric, Imagery, and Language: Jacobites and the Political Role of the People

Conclusion

#### *Appendixes:*

1. Jacobite Newspapers, Pamphlets and Broadsheets, 1714-66
2. Jacobite Broadsheet Ballads
3. Works Printed by Francis and Katherine Clifton
4. Jacobite Declarations, Pamphlets, and Broadsheets in the County Records Offices

Bibliography

## PREFACE

The term “Jacobite” is directly derived from the Latin for James. Following the enforced flight of the King from England in 1688 supporters of James II, and then of his son James Francis Stuart (1688-1766), continually advanced arguments for a Stuart restoration. This thesis is a study of Jacobite argument and of how that argument was put into print and distributed to an audience in England during the reigns of the first two Hanoverian monarchs. It is based primarily on a study of the correspondence of the exiled Stuart court, the papers of the Secretaries of State in England, and several hundred contemporary pamphlets, broadsheets, and newspapers.

During the first decade of George I’s reign the threat of a Jacobite invasion or rebellion loomed large in the minds of government ministers. In this period Jacobite publications circulated on the streets of London in numbers hitherto unrecognized by historians. I shall maintain that in these early years Jacobite political works were at least as significant and popular as other forms of opposition propaganda, and that Jacobites were heterogeneous in their political argument and anticipated the supposedly new line of attack on the ministry initiated by Lord Bolingbroke in the late 1720s.

I have used the term “argument” in the title of this dissertation to suggest a study both of Jacobite ideas and of the means by which they were advanced. I have avoided the word “propaganda” because it implies a greater degree of organization and direction than was actually the case. I shall show that the Jacobite court attached little importance to putting its views to a wide audience other than when an attempt to seize the throne was in progress, and that other potential Jacobite leaders did not take the initiative in this sphere. The impetus behind the not inconsiderable Jacobite publishing industry in the period 1714-1724 came from relatively

humble authors, printers, and publishers who were motivated both from political conviction and by the prospect of commercial gain. The vitality of the market for cheap Jacobite ballads and newspapers indicates a level of involvement in Jacobitism in social groups rarely considered by historians of the movement. Without significant political support from above the Jacobite publishing industry collapsed in the 1720s; it never really revived. The failure of Jacobite politicians to utilize either the press or potential popular support highlights the failure of Jacobitism as a movement to fuse together diverse elements into an effective political force in England.

The thesis falls into three parts. The first gives a chronological account of Jacobite publishing between 1714 and 1766, establishing its importance in the earlier years, and relating its development and decline to the changes in political fortune of the movement. The second discusses those responsible for writing, printing and publishing Jacobite argument, and looks at its production and distribution. The third examines in more detail the arguments advanced in favour of a Stuart restoration, and the language, imagery, and symbolism, in which they were drawn.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the research for this dissertation I have been extremely fortunate in my two supervisors, Linda Colley and Mark Goldie, who have been generous and patient in their encouragement, guidance and criticism. I am most grateful.

I have been assisted by the staffs of the Cambridge University Library, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Public Record Office. I would also like to thank the staffs of the City and county Record Offices who conscientiously answered my enquiries and supplied photocopies when requested.

Mrs. L E Humphreys typed most of the dissertation with speed and accuracy. My friends David and Vanessa helped overcome my own eighteenth century attitude to spelling and punctuation.

I have been sustained in my research by a Department of Education and Science Studentship, and received support from Gonville and Caius College.



## NOTES ON STYLE

All works cited were published in London unless otherwise stated. Anonymity or uncertainty of date of publication is recorded in the footnotes but not in the bibliography. The original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained in the text and footnotes, but capitalization has been standardized in the bibliography. The eighteenth century habit of frequent italicization has been suppressed.

Old style dates are used except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Add Mss	Additional manuscripts
Ballard Mss	Ballard collection of manuscripts, Bodleian Library
B L	British Library
B M	British Museum
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
C (H)	Cholmondeley (Houghton) manuscripts
Corresp.	Correspondence
C R O	County Record Office
Coxe, <i>Pelham</i>	William Coxe, <i>Memoirs of the Administration of the Rt Hon. Henry Pelham</i> (1829)
C U L	Cambridge University Library
D N B	Dictionary of National Biography
E C	Francis Atterbury, <i>The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches and Miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D.D. Lord Bishop of Rochester. With Historical Notes</i> (4 vols., 1783-7)
ed.	Editor
edn	Edition
E H R	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Firth Mss	Firth collection of manuscripts, Bodleian Library
F J	<i>The Freeholder's Journal</i>
Fog	<i>Fog's Weekly Journal</i>
G M	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i>
Grove's	Eric Blom, ed., <i>Grove's Dictionary of music and Musicians</i> (5 <sup>th</sup> edn, New York, 1954)
H J	<i>Historical Journal</i>
H M C	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Ms Eng Hist.	English History collection of manuscripts, Bodleian Library
M W J	<i>Mist's Weekly Journal</i>
n d	Undated
Nichols	John Nichols, <i>Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Centiry</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> edn, 7 vols., 1812)
P & P	<i>Past and Present</i>
P R O	Public Record Office
RAWL MS	Rawlinson collection of manuscripts, Bodleian Library
R O	Record Office
Robin	<i>Robin's Last Shift</i>
R S M	Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Stuart manuscripts

S P	State Papers
T B	<i>The True Briton</i>
t p	Title page
T H S C	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
vol.	Volume
W H R	<i>Welsh History Review</i>
W J S P	Nathaniel Mist's <i>Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post</i>

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

I call the Tories a desperate remedy, because I believe they will never be long found willing to support a Revolution Government, nor will Your Majesty find any disputes among the majority, that may arise in a Tory Administration, to be about one branch of your family against another, but against your whole family in favour of another. If this was the case in the four last years of the Queen's reign, you will find it so again whenever the same party is in power; for as the majority of the Tories are certainly Jacobites, so when they act as a party they must act according to the principles of the majority of that party, not of the few.

*Lord Hervey's Memoirs*, ed. Romney  
Sedgwick, (1952), 190-1

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

From the revolution of 1688 until the mid-eighteenth century British governments shaped their domestic and foreign policies haunted, with greater or lesser immediacy, by the spectre of Jacobitism. During this period writers, printers, and publishers overcame many difficulties in order to present Jacobite political arguments in print to a wide public. These propaganda efforts constantly and vigorously reminded the government of the threat which it faced. They played an important part in sustaining the Jacobite cause in England. Pamphlets, broadsheets, and newspapers could fortify the political and religious convictions of the faithful, and provide consolation in time of adversity. They could give information to sustain interest in the cause, and in the right circumstances win converts to it. This thesis seeks to establish the significance of Jacobite propaganda in eighteenth century England, and in particular its importance as a part of overall opposition attacks on the government. It also shows a need to reassess interpretations of the nature of the movement itself, and consequently of the political make-up of English society. It suggests that in the early years of Hanoverian rule Jacobitism enjoyed a potentially significant level of support among lower social groups which was independent of any political organization or direction from above, and that this support subsequently withered away for lack of such encouragement.

The existence of a “King across the water”, whose life was committed to waiting for any opportunity arising to overturn the political and religious settlement made at the revolution, was a constant obstacle to political stability. James Francis Stuart, the son of James II, was a claimant

nearer in the line of hereditary succession to the crown than the Hanoverian royal family, on whom it had been conferred by the Act of Settlement in 1701. On his behalf British subjects and foreign princes threatened to take up arms. For some, support of the exiled Old Pretender was a moral duty: the necessary concomitant of their inability to accept the forced deposition of his father at the revolution. For others, Jacobitism provided a means of expressing opposition to the political, religious, or economic policies of the whig government. It was always available as an alternative, an option which could be either paraded in order to force the ministry into political concessions, or seriously adopted as the final resort when all other remedies failed. As the credibility of the Jacobite alternative fell, the former became more important. For foreign powers, support (or the threat of support) for the Stuart claimant provided a useful diplomatic lever against Britain. The continued rule of the Hanoverian dynasty and political domination by a whig oligarchy were only secured by a combination of efficient action to suppress Jacobite activity at home, and a foreign policy which denied military support to the Jacobites by keeping the peace of Europe.

During the reign of Queen Anne the Jacobite threat had diminished in intensity. Although party conflict had raged bitterly, almost all had come to accept or acquiesce in her rule. Anne was uniquely placed to appeal to all of the contending factions in some degree. The daughter of James II, she owed her throne to the revolution. A devoted Anglican, she was determined not to have her government dominated by the extremists of either party. Jacobites could delude themselves that she was preparing the way for the restoration of her half brother. They were even prepared to contemplate a scheme whereby Anne would share the crown in some way with

James; or, at worst, that the way would be left clear for James to succeed at her death.<sup>1</sup> In the interim, both main political parties retained reasonable hopes of employment in government, and the associated fruits of office. But when Anne died in 1714 the succession, as prescribed by law in 1701, passed to the family of the Elector of Hanover. George I began with serious disadvantages. He was a foreigner, a Lutheran, and only fifty-eighth in line of succession by blood.<sup>2</sup> Even worse, from the viewpoint of many of the political nation, he was known to favour the Whig party at the expense of the tories. The whigs alone had consistently supported the Hanoverian succession; the tories were tainted with suspicion of intrigue to restore a Stuart monarch. Moreover during the previous four years the tory government had, in the view of the Elector of Hanover, betrayed the terms of the European grand alliance by concluding a separate peace with France at Utrecht in 1713. George's representatives in England associated almost entirely with whigs. The first few months of his reign only confirmed the darkest fears of the tories.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See below, chapter 2. It is stressed that these plans were the fabrication of Jacobites. It has been convincingly demonstrated that Anne herself had no such intentions. Edward Gregg, "Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?", *History*, (57, 1972); Gregg, *Queen Anne*, (1980), 364-66.

<sup>2</sup> The latter point was made by a Jacobite pamphlet written primarily to canvass support at the courts of Europe, *Manifeste Touchant Les Doits Du Roy Jacques III*, [1714-15], at RSM 3/98.

<sup>3</sup> W. A. Speck, *Stability and Strife, England 1714-60* (1977), 170. The most recent work emphasizes that tories did not expect total proscription from the office under George I, but that they were surprised and even horrified by the scale of the reaction against them during their first

The serious nature of the Jacobite threat in the first ten years of Hanoverian rule should not be mistaken. In 1715 there was a full-scale rebellion in Scotland, and an invasion of England followed after the leaders of the projected rebellion there had been rounded up. In 1717 and 1718 there were scares of foreign invasion, and in 1719 an abortive landing was actually made. In 1723 the uncovering of a plot involving several leading tory politicians resulted in the banishment of Francis Atterbury, the Bishop of Rochester. Numerous Jacobite agents journeyed between England and the Continent. Men were enlisted “for the Pretender’s service” in the foreign regiments of France and Spain. In England, money, arms, ammunition, and stores were collected to support the expected Jacobite expeditions. In Parliament, Jacobite peers and MPs criticised and obstructed government measures. Outside Westminster, during the first decade of George I’s reign, there were numerous riots and demonstrations both against the Hanoverian King and for the Stuart claimant. Scores of individuals were arrested for speaking treasonable and seditious words.<sup>4</sup> And between 1714 and 1724, a flood of Jacobite propaganda came onto the streets: declarations from the Jacobite court, broadsheets, pamphlets and newspapers. The Jacobite printer Nathaniel Mist produced a newspaper which, at least throughout the 1720s, was

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months of whig administration. L J Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy. The Tory Party, 1714-60*, (Cambridge, 1982), 178-88.

<sup>4</sup> The State Papers for the reign of George I are filled with the results of government investigations revealing such activities. See also Nicholas Rogers, “Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England”, in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, (Edinburgh, 1982).



one of the two most popular of its day. No other opposition group could rival the hundreds of Jacobite ballads which were sold in this period.

Contemporaries were acutely aware of the seriousness of the situation. The political threat was not ended by the defeat of the 1715 rebellion. Lord Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, was worried in April 1716, that “The rage and spirit of the party is still far from being subdued,” and feared, “that the fire of the whole rebellion is rather smothered for a time than totally extinguished and that it is ready to catch hold of the first convenient matter that shall be offered it, and may break forth with fresh fury”.<sup>5</sup> The overall impression gained by reading the State Papers for the reign of George I is that the government was heavily preoccupied with countering Jacobite activity in its various forms. Elaborate networks of spies and informers, both at home and abroad, were developed. The Post Office and Customs service were used to gather information about Jacobite transactions. Any rumour of suspicious goings-on in the counties resulted in the despatch either of government Messengers, or of orders to local JPs or the Lord Lieutenant to investigate.<sup>6</sup> The government acted with swiftness and severity to prevent rebellion. In both 1715 and 1723, leading English Jacobites were arrested and committed to the Tower of London, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and other suspect persons taken up, and troops were moved to key points throughout the country — most obviously, to Hyde Park. In

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Paul Fritz, *The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745*. (Toronto, 1975), 6.

<sup>6</sup> SP 35/31/48, 17/65, 15/87, 22/42.

the aftermath of the 1715 rebellion, two peers and 26 officers were executed, and about 700 rank and file were transported.<sup>7</sup>

One Jacobite activity which particularly disturbed the government was the production and distribution of political propaganda. Great efforts were made to discover and punish the authors, printers and publishers of scandalous and seditious works. Printing houses were raided and searched; copy and type was seized or destroyed. Printers and publishers were arrested, questioned, and where possible tried, convicted, fined, imprisoned, and pilloried. Several printers found themselves jailed for long periods without trial: Edward Farley of Bristol died in custody still awaiting a decision as to whether he was to be prosecuted for High Treason or a Misdemeanour, although he had been arrested more than nine months before.<sup>8</sup> The nineteen year old Jacobite printer John Matthews was hanged. In addition, the government devoted substantial amounts of money and effort to the production of its own propaganda to counter the effect of Jacobite works. The first task of government apologists was to refute Jacobite criticism.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> E. Handasyde, *Granville the Polite*, (1933), 151-4; G. V. Bennett, "Jacobitism and the Rise of Walpole", in N. McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives*, (1974), 85, 87; Fritz, *English Ministers and Jacobitism*, 6.

<sup>8</sup> The Attorney General finally accepted that Farley could not be successfully prosecuted and recommended his release on 14 July 1729, by which time Farley was already dead. SP 35/79/109.

<sup>9</sup> Laurence Hanson, *Government and the Press, 1695-1763*, (1936), 101-22; G A Cranfield, *The Press and Society, From Caxton to Northcliffe*, (1978), 44-6.

Other opposition groups in their published works had to begin by demonstrating that their opposition was not treasonable; thus distinguishing themselves from the Jacobites. Of necessity, both Hanoverian Tories and old Whigs had to express their support for the revolution settlement, and their abhorrence of popish absolutism, which would, they suggested, be the inevitable result of a Stuart restoration. In particular, Tories had to answer the embarrassing Jacobite accusation that they had reneged on their long-cherished political principles by their acceptance of the deposition of the rightful monarch in 1688. Jacobite argument could not be ignored.

So serious a threat did Jacobitism appear to contemporaries, that the government was able to use it in establishing itself in power. Against a background of rebellion, plots, and popular unrest, the Whigs were able to exclude their political rivals from office, to pass measures designed to curb popular political activity (such as the Riot Act and the repeal of the Triennial Act), and to enforce loyalty among their own supporters.<sup>10</sup>

By the accession of George II in 1727 the situation had changed appreciably. Astute diplomacy had all but removed the possibility of serious foreign support for a Jacobite expedition. Jacobites in England had been demoralised by the collapse of their plans on the discovery of the Atterbury plot. Robert Walpole had achieved an unprecedented level of control over parliament by means of political patronage. Nonetheless, Jacobitism continued to influence the English political scene. The government remained vigilant and responsive to any sign of Jacobite activity.<sup>11</sup> Political writers continued to use Jacobitism to smear their opponents. Lord

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<sup>10</sup> J H Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725*, (1967), 168-72; G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, (Oxford 1975), chapters 13 and 14.

<sup>11</sup> Fritz, *English Ministers and Jacobitism*, 131-6.

Bolingbroke, in his endeavours to fuse together disparate factions into an united opposition “country” party, was forced to recognise the importance of Jacobite influence among the tory group in Parliament.<sup>12</sup> The prospect of French support for an expedition in 1744, and then the rebellion in Scotland in 1745 and the subsequent invasion of England, once again made the threat immediate. Jacobite symbolism remained important for a significant part of the tory party even after the prospect of a restoration had finally lost all credibility. In 1747 tory gentlemen attending the Lichfield races had appeared wearing plaid and encouraged their riotous supporters to drink the Pretender’s health and sing “treasonable songs”. In 1749 the tory gentry and academics gathered for the ceremony to dedicate the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford warmly applauded the Jacobite oration made by William King, the Master of St Mary Hall.<sup>13</sup>

Politicians were becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the press, and its power of influencing public opinion. Queen Anne’s first minister, Robert Harley, had developed

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<sup>12</sup> On several occasions Bolingbroke’s well-laid plans to embarrass the government came to naught because of the refusal of a significant part of the tory party to cooperate, as in 1737, when 45 refused to vote for an opposition motion to increase the civil list allowance paid to the Prince of Wales. As a result it was lost by a majority of 30. Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables. The Tories and the '45*. (1979), 14. More recently Dr Colley has questioned the significance of Jacobite involvement in this incident. Colley, *Defiance of Oligarchy*, 221-2. But she has also emphasized the difficulties Bolingbroke faced in his relationship with the tory party, including its Jacobite wing, Colley, *The Tory Party, 1727-1760*, (unpubl. Cambridge University PhD thesis, 1975), 89-95.

<sup>13</sup> Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 106-10.

a carefully controlled government propaganda machine, designed to provide the public with a constant flow of opinion favourable to the ministry. The production of newspapers, the employment of talented writers, and the organisation of distribution through the Post Office were essential aspects of this.<sup>14</sup> Robert Walpole practiced similar measures. In 1722 he bought up *The London Journal* in which the “Commonwealthsmen” John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon had been attacking the government, and had it transformed into a government organ. By 1731 he also controlled, in some measure, *The Daily Courant*, *Read’s Journal*, *The Free Briton*, *The Flying Post*, and others. Hundreds of copies were sent into the counties for free distribution, by the Post Office, each week.<sup>15</sup>

The distribution of printed propaganda by the Jacobites was likely to reach and influence far more people than any of their other activities. The numbers involved in making preparations for a foreign landing were necessarily small. But broadsheets, pamphlets, and newspapers could make a direct appeal to “the people”. The potential threat posed by popular political involvement to the political and social order weighed heavily on the minds of eighteenth century property owners. The lesson learnt from the dissolution of society during the Great Rebellion of the mid 17th century was fixed in their minds. More recently the power of the mob, and its potential hostility to the whig party, had been demonstrated during the disturbances accompanying the

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<sup>14</sup> J A Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press. Propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe*, (Cambridge, 1979).

<sup>15</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 109-10; for the distribution of newspapers and pamphlets as instructed by Walpole during the 1730s see C (H) 75/5 – 15.

trial of the High Church cleric Henry Sacheverell, in 1710.<sup>16</sup> Numerous smaller riots and demonstrations during the first years of Hanoverian rule highlighted the danger.<sup>17</sup> The government responded by passing “An act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing the rioters”, the celebrated Riot Act.<sup>18</sup> Troops were sent to quell disorders, or to guard against their outbreak. Members of the administration were worried by the popular nature of much Jacobite publishing. Charles Delafaye, the Under Secretary of State responsible for government dealings with the press, considered that Nathaniel Mist’s newspaper did more harm than any other publication, because it was “wrote ad captum of the common people”.<sup>19</sup> The London magistrate Sir John Fryer, in a note intended for Delafaye, was concerned about the Jacobite ballads produced by the printer Francis Clifton: “tho they are silly ridiculous things, yett they do much hurt among ye common people ... I hope you will put some effectual stop to his Roguery”.<sup>20</sup>

The reigns of the first two Georges were crucial in the development of a free press in England. Although legal censorship had ended with the expiry of the printing Act in 1695, governments were still determined to suppress the most virulent attacks on ministers — and on the royal family. In addition, Parliament was fiercely jealous of its own privileges: it was an offence not only to print the proceedings of either House without permission, but also to mention

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<sup>16</sup> Geoffrey Holmes, “The Sacheverell Riots”, P & P (72, 1976).

<sup>17</sup> Nicholas Rogers, “Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London”, P & P (79, 1978), 71-83.

<sup>18</sup> E N Williams, ed., *The Eighteenth Century Constitution*, 414.

<sup>19</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 104-5.

<sup>20</sup> SP 36/18/35.

the names of members of Parliament.<sup>21</sup> The Jacobite press was self-consciously in the forefront of the struggle for the liberty of the press. Inevitably Jacobites were responsible for the most virulent attacks on King and ministers, provoking government reaction. And the Jacobite newspapers, *The Freeholders' Journal*, and *Mist's Weekly Journal*, or *Saturday's Post*, were among the first to print lists of MPs, and give accounts of their voting behaviour. In March 1722, *Mist* printed a list of those MPs who had voted for the repeal of the Triennial Act in 1716, and listed beside each name the office that he held. His aim was to persuade the electorate in the forthcoming general election to turn out MPs holding government places.<sup>22</sup> *Mist* was often the victim of government action against the press, but carried on his paper until 1737 despite frequent arrest and prosecution. He considered that, "A political Writer may not improperly be compared to a candle, which, whilst it gives Light to others, burns itself..."<sup>23</sup>

Defence of the freedom of the press was just one aspect of a concern for "liberty" and an attack on the "corruption" of the times shared with other opposition groups. Disproportionate attention has been accorded the small number of whig "Commonwealthsmen" or republicans, and the new "country" opposition created by Lord' Bolingbroke, with its famous literary coterie, including Pope, Swift, and Gay.<sup>24</sup> The one popular organ of the former, *The London Journal*,

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<sup>21</sup> The House of Commons consistently resisted any incursions on its privileges. Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 32-4, 73-5; Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 50-1

<sup>22</sup> WJ/SP 172, 17 March 1722; see also FJ 8, 16 March 1722.

<sup>23</sup> WJ/SP 203, 6 October 1722.

<sup>24</sup> For the opposition to Walpole see C Robins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthsman*, (1959); Archibald S Foord, *His Majesty's Opposition, 1714-1830*, (Oxford, 1964); I Kramnick,

was bought off by the government in 1722. *The Craftsman*, which became perhaps the most popular newspaper of the first half of the century, was not founded by Bolingbroke and his political ally Pulteney until December 1726. In the crucial first years of Hanoverian rule, the heaviest burden in opposition attacks on the government was borne by Jacobite publicists, most notably by Nathaniel Mist.

Jacobite propagandists used a wide variety of arguments to justify their call for a Stuart restoration. Most drew their ideas from the pre-revolution tory doctrines of Non-Resistance to Kings, and Hereditary Succession by proximity of blood, which they argued had been abandoned for no good reason at the revolution of 1688. But there were a significant number of others who took an opposite line. They allowed that the Glorious Revolution had been valid, but argued that the Hanoverian monarch had broken the new contract by which government had been refounded after its dissolution in 1688, and could therefore be replaced. It was reasonable to turn again to the Stuart royal family, which in the past had governed well, and could now be expected to have learnt a lesson from its more recent misfortunes. A few went beyond this, to justify tyrannicide as a means of preserving the state. This intellectual diversity has hitherto been unrecognized.<sup>25</sup>

Publishing was an important aspect of Jacobitism. But a study of the ideas put into print, and the methods taken to disseminate them, indicates much about the very nature of the movement. Above all, a study of those who wrote and published on behalf of the Pretender, and

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*Bolingbroke and His Circle*, (1968); H T Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, (1970); B G Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits*, (Lincoln Neb, 1976); Dickinson, *Liberty and Property, Political Ideology in Eighteenth Century Britain*, (1977).

<sup>25</sup> See below, chapter 8.



those to whom their arguments were directed, is revealing of its organisation and support. In fact, the diffusion of effort in this field reflects accurately the lack of cohesion and unity in the Jacobite movement itself.

Jacobitism has been much written about. But the large number of diplomatic and military histories, and the romanticised biographies do not provide an adequate account of the movement in England. More recent work has highlighted problems which require further consideration. Dr Cruickshanks and Dr Colley have raised the thorny question of the nature of the relationship between Jacobitism and the tory party.<sup>26</sup> Nicholas Rogers has tried to establish the level of Jacobite involvement in the popular disturbances of the early years of Hanoverian rule, and at the time of the 1745 rebellion.<sup>27</sup> These contribute to, but do not yet provide, an overall view of the nature, scope, and significance of Jacobite activity during the first half of the 18th Century.

Despite all the attention given to Jacobitism, Jacobite propaganda after 1715 has been all but ignored. G H Jones, in *The Main Stream of Jacobitism*, dismissed it as ineffective. The only newspapers cited in his work were *The Craftsman*, and *Common Sense*.<sup>28</sup> Paul Fritz, in his study

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<sup>26</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, "The Tories", in R Sedgwick, ed., *The House of Commons, 1715-54*, (1970), I; Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*; Colley, *Defiance of Oligarchy*; Cruickshanks, Introduction to *Ideology and Conspiracy*, 6-8.

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Rogers, "Aristocratic Clientage, Trade, and Independency: Popular Politics in Pre-Radical Westminster", P & P (61, 1973); Rogers, "Popular Disaffection in London During the '45", *London Journal*, (vol. 1, No. 1, 1975); Rogers, "Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London"; Roger, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism."

<sup>28</sup> G H Jones, *The Main Stream of Jacobitism*, (Cambridge Mass, 1954), esp. 254.

of the government response to Jacobitism, devoted one sentence to the arrest of Nathaniel Mist, in 1717, and noted the involvement of Philip Neynoe, one of those involved in the Atterbury Plot, in a journal he mistakenly called *The Freeholder*.<sup>29</sup> Bruce Lenman discussed Jacobite writing and printing in Scotland, but not in England.<sup>30</sup> Conversely, historians of the press have recognised the importance of Jacobite journals in their accounts of the development of the newspaper, and the struggle for a free press, but have had little regard to their political content. Laurence Hanson, in his important work, *Government and the Press, 1695-1763*, labelled newspapers as Jacobite, as it were in passing. Michael Harris recognised that, “Initially it seems that Mist’s paper ... was far more popular than *The Craftsman*,” and it long remained of equal importance. But he saw no fundamental political difference between them. When Mist’s journal changed its name to *Fog’s Weekly Journal*, in 1728, Harris thought, “the already obscure distinction in political tone between the two journals faded still further”.<sup>31</sup>

The supporters of the Hanoverian Succession grossly caricatured and misrepresented Jacobite political values, warning of the threat of popish absolutism. But although recent work has shed much light on Jacobite thought in the period before the 1715 rebellion,<sup>32</sup> that of the

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<sup>29</sup> Fritz, *English Ministers and Jacobitism*, 88.

<sup>30</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746*, (1980).

<sup>31</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*; M R A Harris, *The London Newspaper Press, c 1725-1746*, (unpubl. London University PhD Thesis, 1974).

<sup>32</sup> J. P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles. The Politics of Party, 1689-1720*, (Cambridge, 1977); M A Goldie, *Tory Political Thought, 1689-1714*, (unpubl. Cambridge University PhD Thesis,

Walpolean era has remained in shadow. H T Dickinson's general survey of eighteenth century political ideas scarcely thought it worthwhile to mention the Jacobites after 1715. They were a "tiny" group, a "handful ... who still flirted with the idea of restoring the Pretender." Others have been even more dismissive. E P Thompson could refer to the threat of "a nostalgic and anachronistic Jacobite counter-revolution".<sup>33</sup>

This thesis examines the production and distribution of Jacobite works in England, and the ideas expressed in them. Scottish, Welsh, and Irish Jacobites had their own distinguishing characteristics, and deserve separate study.<sup>34</sup> They are dealt with here only where they impinge upon the movement in England. The study begins with the death of Queen Anne, which transformed the political situation, and brought about a new spate of Jacobite activity unparalleled in the preceding reign. It ends with death of the Old Pretender, in 1766. Although by that date Jacobitism had ceased to be a serious political threat, it retained some vestige of

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1977); Goldie, "The Revolution of 1688 and the Structure of Political Argument", *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, (83, 1980).

<sup>33</sup> Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 164, 166; E P Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act*, (1977), 258.

<sup>34</sup> For Scotland see Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings*; Lenman, "The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism", in Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy*. For Wales see P D G Thomas, "Jacobitism in Wales", *WHR* (vol. 1, No. 3, 1962); D Nicholas, "The Welsh Jacobites", *THSC* (1948), 467-74; J P Jenkins, "Jacobites and Freemasons in 18th Century Tales", *WHR* (vol. 9, No. 4, 1979); Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class. The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1790*, (Cambridge, 1983).

influence during the late 1740s and early 1750s, and Jacobite ideas and sympathies retained some currency even after the accession of George III in 1760. James Boswell's *London Journal* for 1762-1763 records the sentiments of several who wistfully looked back at the heroic deeds of the Stuarts.<sup>35</sup>

Jacobite in this work is simply defined as supporting the restoration of a Stuart monarch. It should not be regarded as synonymous with tory, for that would be to beg the whole complex question of the relationship between the two. A number of tories had completely reconciled traditional tory values with the Hanoverian Succession, and totally rejected any association with the Stuarts. Others were driven to espouse Jacobitism as the only viable alternative open, by which they could protect themselves and their political and religious liberties, in the face of the ruthless exclusion of tories from office, in Westminster and the counties, and the repressive and illiberal measures adopted by the new whig government. Francis Atterbury was a prominent example of the latter group.<sup>36</sup> Thus tory support for the Jacobite cause was in its very nature shifting: it depended upon the political circumstances of the moment; on government policies; and on the prospect of success held out by Jacobitism.

But, if the tory party was not wholly Jacobite, neither were Jacobites all simply extreme tories. Dickinson's view that, "The small body of radical Whigs or Commonwealthmen, who criticised the Court Whigs for abandoning Revolution Principles by seeking to increase the power of the Crown had nothing in common" with the Jacobites, is mistaken.<sup>37</sup> In fact,

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<sup>35</sup> F A Pottle, ed., *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763*, (1966), 170-.

<sup>36</sup> Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 181-2, 195-99, 205-7.

<sup>37</sup> Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 166.

Jacobitism could have an appeal for those who deprecated what they saw as the government's betrayal of the gains made at the revolution of 1688. Although many MPs crossed the floor in the opposite direction in this period, only four were listed by Romney Sedgwick as having changed their allegiance from whig to tory. But of those, John Fane, George Heathcote, and William Godolphin (later marquess of Blandford), were whigs who became Jacobites.<sup>38</sup> The other was Archibald Hutcheson, who might be better described as an independent tory, who held office for a time in 1716, and who was driven seriously to contemplate adopting the Jacobite cause.<sup>39</sup> Thus the mercurial Philip, first Duke of Wharton was able to make out a cogent argument, that his decision to own allegiance to the Pretender was consistent with the whig principles of his father. In the late 1740s the Independent Electors of Westminster were closely allied with Jacobites.<sup>40</sup>

The historian of eighteenth century political propaganda walks a path beset with traps and snares. The precise meaning of newspaper articles, pamphlets, and ballads is often difficult for the non-contemporary to appreciate. The problem is compounded by the government's determination to suppress subversive publications, which forced many authors to write in an equivocal way, in order to avoid prosecution. Much Jacobite political argument was disguised in satire, allegory, ironical eulogies of the Hanoverians and their ministers, or parallel history. Two essays published by Mist on fencing turned out to hint at much more: fencing was "that art by

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<sup>38</sup> Sedgwick, *House of Commons*, i 25; ii 25-6, 66-7, 121-2.

<sup>39</sup> Sedgwick, *House of Commons*, ii 163-4.

<sup>40</sup> Philip Wharton, "His Reasons for leaving his Native Country, and espousing the cause of his Royal Master King James III", in *Select and Authentic pieces, Written by the Late Duke of Wharton*, (Boulogne, 1731), 86-97. Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 109.

which the Rights and Privileges of the subject are to be asserted and maintained”.<sup>41</sup> The real meaning of such writings could thus be covered over and denied if necessary. Mist’s newspaper affected incredulity that a work on pirates could be thought by anyone to reflect on certain “Great Men”.<sup>42</sup> Philip Yorke, the Attorney General, noted with chagrin that it would be impossible to prosecute *Fog’s Weekly Journal* for an account of a speech advocating the restoration of Charles II, printed in 1730. The newspaper claimed that the speech, which seemed calculated to raise Jacobite sentiments, was made by General Monck, and was recorded in the contemporary Gregorio Leti’s *Life of Cromwell*. Extensive researches by government officials had revealed that the speech really had been taken word for word from that history.<sup>43</sup>

This thesis, of necessity, concentrates only on those works which can be demonstrated to be Jacobite. Many more pamphlets and ballads were equivocal: they could have been read and approved by both Jacobites and Tories. Large numbers of ballads eulogised Queen Anne and Charles I. Many pamphlets criticized government policies. They were not necessarily produced by Jacobites, although some undoubtedly were.

Contemporary descriptions are not always helpful. Government supporters commonly branded opponents as Jacobite as a means of discrediting them. Jacobites frequently exaggerated the support for their cause, and claimed supporters where they did not exist. *The Craftsman* was labelled as Jacobite by some; during the first few years of its life it was read avidly by Jacobites; but its promoters were essentially hostile to the Stuart cause, despite their courting of Jacobite

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<sup>41</sup> MWJ 156, 13 April 1728; MWJ 162, 25 May 1728.

<sup>42</sup> WJ/SP 305, 29 August, 1724.

<sup>43</sup> SP 36/19/102.

support in Parliament. The paper eventually revealed its true colours in a series of attacks on the Stuart Kings, which, according to the Jacobite historian Thomas Carte, caused its readership to fall away dramatically.<sup>44</sup>

The unpredictable survival of printed material poses a further problem. Pamphlets, newspapers, and broadsheets were at best ephemeral; the most widely read and most frequently handled being perhaps most liable to destruction by wear and tear. The possession of Jacobite propaganda was dangerous. In time of trouble, when the government carried out extensive searches of the premises of suspected persons, it was likely to be destroyed. Later generations, perhaps embarrassed by the treasonable activities of their forbears, may have deliberately suppressed Jacobite works. Propaganda surviving in government records might reflect the changing concern of ministers with the Jacobite threat, rather than provide an accurate assessment of Jacobite publishing. It might also overemphasise work produced in London, where government agents were better placed and equipped to locate the printing of seditious works. Very little Jacobite propaganda has survived outside London and Oxford.<sup>45</sup>

Nonetheless, much material has been preserved; and study of both government and Jacobite sources can, in part, compensate for deficiencies in either. The Burney collection of newspapers in the British Library, and the Nichols collection in the Bodleian Library, contain extensive runs of Jacobite journals. The same two libraries also house extensive collections of Jacobite pamphlets and broadsheets, although until the completion of the Eighteenth Century

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<sup>44</sup> Thomas Carte to -, c 1747, RSM Box 1/299; Carte to -, c 1739, RSM 216/111b.

<sup>45</sup> The County Record Offices have only a very limited amount of Jacobite propaganda, although this may be for a variety of reasons. See below, chapter 7, and appendix 4.

Short Title Catalogue, the lack of adequate subject indexes prevents the fullest use of these. David Foxon's invaluable catalogue of 18<sup>th</sup> Century printed verse, however, has revealed scores of Jacobite ballads – a number of which are only to be found in the United States.<sup>46</sup> The papers of the Secretaries of State provide an account of Jacobite publishing for the whole period: the accusations of informers; the results of searches; and examinations of suspected authors, printers, and publishers.<sup>47</sup> There are also copies of numerous Jacobite works, some of which (although apparently widely distributed) have not survived elsewhere. The papers of the exiled Stuart court, in the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, show the involvement of the Jacobite monarch and his ministers, both in sending propaganda into England, and in organizing its production there. The collections made by the nonjuring Bishop Richard Rawlinson for a history of the nonjuring church, indicate the nature of the literary activities of those clerics who divided from the established church over the oaths required in support of the revolution settlement and the Hanoverian succession.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> D F Foxon, *English Verse, 1701-50. A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1975).

<sup>47</sup> The papers of Sir Robert Walpole contain similar material; Cambridge University Library, Cholmondeley (Houghton) collection.

<sup>48</sup> Bodl. Rawlinson Manuscripts. The Bodleian also holds the papers of the nonjuring historian Thomas Carte.



The thesis does not study a whole range of other expressions of Jacobitism, in such items as drinking glasses, medals, swords, and portraits.<sup>49</sup> Other literary forms, for example almanacs and plays, show some signs of Jacobite activity, and might repay further study.<sup>50</sup> The content and incidence of cases of treasonable and seditious words spoken against the king and the government are already being examined.<sup>51</sup>

The sources studied all indicate a similar chronology and pattern of activity. In particular, the number of newspapers and pamphlets surviving in libraries, and the nonjuring papers,

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<sup>49</sup> For the former see Grant R Francis, "Jacobite Drinking Glasses and Their Relation To The Jacobite Medals", *British Numismatic Journal* (16, 1921-2). Jacobite swords and pictures were discovered by the government from time to time. For swords see SP 35/12/192, 31/61, 34/69. For pictures see SP 35/11/99, 23/74, 34/85, 40/47, 68/112. A treasonable snuff-box was found in 1717, SP 35/11/115.

<sup>50</sup> In 1723 Leige's Almanac prophesied a Stuart restoration. SP 35/41/68. The almanac maker George Parker was a Quaker and a Jacobite. He was fined £50 and forbidden to publish further almanacs for including James II as one of the sovereigns of Europe. However his almanac continued to appear after his death in 1743 until 1781. DNB. See also Bernard Capp, *Astrology And The Popular Press, English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (1979), 50, 253-4. John Loftis, *The Politics of Drama In Augustan England*, (Oxford, 1963), shows a considerable range of plays hostile to the government, although he indicates none which were explicitly Jacobite. Jacobite newspapers reprinted extracts of plays on the fall of tyrants, a favourite subject of the eighteenth century theatre. WJ/SP229, 3 August 1723, Fog 137, 19 June 1731.

<sup>51</sup> By Mr Paul Monod of Yale University.

correspond with the evidence of the State Papers; demonstrating that the government records do provide an accurate assessment of the level of Jacobite publishing. The bias of the sources towards London is more difficult to evaluate. Inevitably Jacobite propaganda was concentrated in London. The great majority of printers were established in the capital. Distribution of printed material via the Post Office was expensive, unless the franking rights of MPs or Post Office officials could be used. Both *Mist's Weekly Journal*, and its successor, *Fog's Weekly Journal* were banned from the posts after 1728.<sup>52</sup>

The thesis begins with a chronological account of Jacobite publishing, showing the development and importance of different forms of propaganda, and relating its production to the political fortunes of the movement. Subsequent sections deal with the organisation and production of propaganda, with Jacobite political ideas, and with how far Jacobite productions influenced “the people”.

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<sup>52</sup> C (H) 75/19.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Jacobite Publishing and its Political Context in England, 1714-1724

The same Government, that in 1715 boasted It self everywhere settled for ever, trembled before the End of 1716. What wrought this change but the Pen? & wou'd not the same Pen, had it been, as it might have been ... employed abroad, have blown up the fire it Kindled to the overthrow of the Usurper?

Mary Flint to James Edgar, 2 August 1745,

RSM 266/161

## CHAPTER TWO

### *Jacobite Publishing and its Political Context in England, 1714-1724*

The death of Queen Anne on August 1st 1714 was long expected and much discussed in anticipation. Nonetheless the supporters of James Stuart, the Old Pretender, were ill-prepared to seize the political initiative opened to them.

The international situation was unpropitious. The failure of the attempted expedition of 1708 provided a discouraging example, and thereafter France was increasingly preoccupied with obtaining a peace settlement and unresponsive to Jacobite requests for aid. By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, made between Britain and France in 1713, the Jacobite court had been forced to move from France to the Duchy of Lorraine. At a distance from affairs in England, and with little possibility of substantial foreign assistance, James was in no position to launch a serious military venture. On the news of the death of his sister on August 1st 1714 he attempted to make his way to the Channel ports, but was stopped by the French authorities and forced to return to Lorraine.

During the last years of the reign of Queen Anne many Jacobite expectations ran in another direction. Leading English politicians had been negotiating with the exiled Stuart court,<sup>1</sup> raising the attractive possibility of a restoration by peaceful political means. The Queen herself was commonly thought to be involved in such discussions, although it is clear to historians that

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne*, (1980), 364, 375-7; Sir Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, (1948) i. 144-150.

she had no such intention.<sup>2</sup> James wrote a series of letters urging her, “to do him justice, and to retrieve the peace, honour and felicity of your Country”. Some Jacobites came to expect either an accommodation during Anne’s lifetime, or that she would name James as her successor. The Jacobite court had actually gone so far as to prepare a declaration, in 1714, outlining the details of an agreement made between the Queen and her half-brother. She was to enjoy quiet possession of the throne during her lifetime, but James would be accorded the title of King, and his name would appear alongside hers on the coinage and in public acts. James would succeed to sole possession on her death.<sup>3</sup> Hence the Jacobite organisation abroad appears to have been surprised that there was no move to call over the “rightful King” in August 1714, and that the Hanoverian “usurper” should have ascended the throne so peacefully.

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<sup>2</sup> Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 364-366; Edward Gregg, “Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?”, *History*, (57, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> Carte MS 180/38, 211/308. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, made a Baron by Queen Anne in 1711 as one of twelve creations designed to secure a tory majority in the Lords, the political ally of the leading tory politician Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was convinced in 1712 that James would succeed Anne, and that she was ruling as his regent. E. Handasyde, *Granville the Polite*, (1933), 119,136. This myth was still used after the Hanoverian accession, appearing for example in the manuscript, *The Church of England’s Advice to her Children and to all Kings, Princes, and Potentates*, of 1715 : Anne “Found the Restoration of her brother Impracticable and took the Government upon her till it should please God to favour her with a better opportunity of Restoring him...” RSM 4/52

Some politicians in England had seriously considered the possibility of James' return, but support for a Stuart restoration had fallen significantly once it had become apparent, in 1714, that James would not renounce his Catholicism and convert to the Anglican faith. The total exclusion of tories from central and local government was not thought likely by most political observers. It was more generally expected that a small but significant number of moderate tories would retain office and influence under the new regime. The full extent of tory exclusion, and the concomitant impetus to Jacobitism, only emerged some months after the arrival of George I.<sup>4</sup>

In addition, during the last days of Queen Anne's life, personal and political divisions within the tory party, between the adherents of the earl of Oxford and of Lord Bolingbroke, became open and acrimonious. A few days before her death Anne had dismissed Oxford from his post of Lord Treasurer. But Bolingbroke had not been given effective power, and the administration was in a considerable state of confusion when she died. The tories were in no

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<sup>4</sup> Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy The Tory Party 1714-60*. (Cambridge, 1982), 178-185. See also Bolingbroke's explanation of the incident, written after he had been dismissed from his position as Secretary of State to the Pretender in 1716. "The article of religion was so awkwardly handled, that he made the principle motive of the confidence we ought to have in him to consist in his firm resolution to adhere to Popery. The effect which this epistle had on me was the same which it had on those tories to which I communicated it at that time; it made us resolve to have nothing to do with him". Bolingbroke, *A Letter To Sir William Wyndham*, (1717) reprinted in *The Works of Lord Bolingbroke*, 4 vols., (1967), i 168

position to do anything but accept the proclamation of George I, and wait to see what their fate would be.<sup>5</sup>

For all these reasons Jacobite response to the new state of affairs was muted and wrong-footed. Both the exiled court and politicians at home were unprepared for the event, and in no position to act effectively. This political situation ensured that there was no immediate large-scale propaganda output asserting the Old Pretender's cause. The first printed reaction from official sources came from James himself. His declaration of 29th August 1714, issued after he had failed to get through France, reflects only disappointment and hopelessness. James asserted that, without the restoration of the rightful King, his people could enjoy no lasting peace and happiness, and continued:

“we had reason to hope that a wise People would not have lost so naturall an occasion of recalling us as they have lately had ... Yet contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the Princess our Sister (of whose good intentions towards us we could not for some time past well doubt, and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our People, instead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour & true interest of their Country by doing us & themselves justice, had immediately proclaim'd for their King a foreign Prince...”

He was left to reflect, rather lamely, that, “After meeting with such sensible disappointments from all sides, the onely comfort left us is, that we have done our part at least ...” For the future

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<sup>5</sup> Geoffrey Holmes, “Harley, St. John and the Death of the Tory Party”, in Holmes, ed., *Britain After the Glorious Revolution*, (1969).

James could only hope that God would “touch the hearts” of his subjects, and that other Princes would consider both the dangerous nature of the precedent set, and the threat posed by an united Hanover and England, and decide to act in his favour. But,

“In the meantime, in the Circumstances we are in, we have nothing left in our power to do at present but to declare to the world that as our Right is indefeasible, so we are resolved never to depart from it...”<sup>6</sup>

The common threat to the factions within the tory party did not bring about any new sense of unity. Individuals sought to make their own terms with the new government, and a bitter war of mutual recrimination was fought in print. Oxford employed Daniel Defoe to vindicate the last few months of his administration, and vilify Bolingbroke and Bishop Atterbury, accusing them of plotting to restore the Pretender. Atterbury, who had not yet committed himself to the Stuart cause, wrote the pamphlet, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, warning of the consequences of untrammelled whig rule. But his energies became increasingly devoted to a verbal duel with Defoe, repudiating the charge of Jacobitism, and publicly airing the dirty linen of the last administration. Bolingbroke, such an effective polemicist at other times, held an uneasy silence, preoccupied with fears of impeachment.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> RSM 3/97.

<sup>7</sup> [Daniel Defoe], *the Secret History of the White Staff*, (1714); followed by part II (1714), and part III (1715). [Francis Atterbury], *Considerations upon the Secret History of the White Staff, humbly addressed to the E--- of O-----*, (1714); [Atterbury], *The History of the Mitre and the Purse*, (1714). For the behaviour of leading tory politicians at this time see G.V.Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, (Oxford, 1975), 189-195.



But the Jacobite silence did not last long. Gilbert Burnet, the whig Bishop of Salisbury, explained that the Jacobite “faction” had been “struck dumb” at the death of the Queen, but they, “recover’d themselves in a few weeks, and began with their usual Insolence to spread their seditious Lies ... Their little Ballad-Makers were set to work to tack their treasonable Rhimes together, and their impudent Pamphleteers employ’d to invent Calumny and Scandal...”<sup>8</sup>

Jacobites abroad began to send printed material into England, while at the same time Jacobite broadsheets began to appear in large numbers at home.

Two declarations from the Pretender were sent into Britain through the post, although the Post Office soon became aware of this and took action to stop them.<sup>9</sup> Two “letters” from the nonjuring clergyman Charles Leslie were sent by the same route. These were specifically designed to reassure Anglicans that James posed no threat to the Church of England, a theme which Jacobites continually felt the need to reiterate. Because of the method chosen to introduce them into the country they are unlikely to have achieved a wide circulation. During this period the Jacobite court also published the *Manifeste Touchant Les Droits Du Roi Jacques III*. It included a family tree showing the Old Pretender as first in line of succession to James II, and George I as fifty-eighth. It was also published in English, but its main aim was an appeal to

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<sup>8</sup> [Gilbert Burnet], *Remarks on Lesley’s Two Letters from Bar Le Duc*, (1715), 2.

<sup>9</sup> SP 35/1/58.

public opinion abroad, and in particular to the court of France, upon which much attention was lavished over the years in the hope of receiving significant aid.<sup>10</sup>

Given the disarray of the Jacobite court and leading Jacobite politicians, it is all the more surprising that cheap Jacobite broadsheets appeared on the streets of London in significant numbers.

The meeting of the new Parliament in March 1715, with its whig majority, and the beginning of judicial proceedings against the tory leaders, increased political tension. At the end of the month Bolingbroke lost his nerve and fled to France. But April, May, and June saw popular demonstrations of anti-whig and anti-Hanoverian sentiment, some of which were overtly Jacobite. There were also numerous incidents in which individuals were accused of speaking seditious (usually Jacobite) words against the government.<sup>11</sup> At the same time Jacobite broadsheets circulated in greater numbers than at any other time. In many cases ballads appeared specifically to celebrate or satirise political anniversaries or occasions. *A Litany for the Present year* was a Jacobite satire on the election. The anniversary of Anne's coronation, 23rd of April, was marked by the publication of ballads, as well as by popular disturbances in London. *A new*

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<sup>10</sup> RSM 3/98. It was reprinted on the order of the earl of Mar, at the end of 1718, both in French and German, to be distributed through the courts of Europe. RSM 40/43, 40/44.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England", in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1688-1750*, (Edinburgh, 1989): and his earlier "Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London", P&P (79, 1978). Work is currently being done on the incidence of seditious word cases by Mr. Paul Monod of Yale University.

*song on St George's day. And to the glorious memory of Queen Anne. With the restauration of K.Charles the 2d. To the tune of now comes on the glorious Year.* was covertly Jacobite, as its title shows. The Pretender's birthday, on 10th June, prompted more open Jacobite expression:

“The just Astrea shall to Earth return,  
A British Prince, the British Throne adorn:  
Restore our Morals, and refine our Arts,  
And fix his Empire in his Subjects Hearts ...  
The righteous Cause consenting Nations own,  
And bind with or[mon]d's Lawrels Ja[me]s's Crown.”<sup>12</sup>

Jacobite broadsheets continued to be produced during 1715, even through the period of the rebellion itself. For example, both *The Landing* (“Appear O James! approach thy native shore”), and *Revolution upon revolution: an old song made in the year 1688, revised in the year 1715* (“Come, come, great monarch, come away”), were written in anticipation of the arrival of the Pretender to reinforce the rising in Scotland.

The rebellion itself was necessarily accompanied by more official publications. The earl of Mar, on raising the Jacobite standard in Scotland on September 6<sup>th</sup> 1715, published a declaration announcing that he and other Scots peers were appearing in arms by the instruction of James, and calling upon all good men to show their zeal for his Majesty's cause.<sup>13</sup> James authorized the publication of a series of declarations dated 20<sup>th</sup> October 1715, at Commercy,

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<sup>12</sup> *The birth-day, June 10, 1715*, (1715).

<sup>13</sup> Declaration given at Braemar, 9 September 1715, printed in Petrie, *Jacobite Movement*, i, 177-8.

issued under Bolingbroke's name. Separate declarations were given for England and Scotland; others were directed to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and common Council of London, to the Universities, to the navy, and to the army, making specific appeals for support to each of these bodies.<sup>14</sup> These were printed at Perth by Robert Freebairn, who achieved the unique distinction of being appointed royal printer by both George I and the Pretender.<sup>15</sup> Copies of these pieces reached England, but probably not in significant numbers. Attempts were still made to send declarations through the post, but the Post Office seems to have been vigilant in efforts to stop this traffic. Others might have been carried south from Scotland, but there is no evidence that this happened on any scale. Further orders and proclamations followed in early 1716, including some seeking to use the arrival of "the King" to inject new life into the dying cause. One ordered a public thanksgiving for the arrival of James in Scotland, another required all his loyal subjects immediately to join him. These were also printed by Freebairn. They came too late to have any impact on the course of the rebellion, which was already doomed, and they could not have circulated widely.<sup>16</sup>

Jacobite sympathisers in London were much better situated to produce effective political propaganda for distribution in England. They could be more responsive to the mood of the

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<sup>14</sup> RMS 5/60, 58, 43-46, Bolingbroke later disassociated himself from these declarations. Bolingbroke, *Letter to Wyndham*, 171-5.

<sup>15</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Rising in Britain, 1689-1746*, (1980), 225. Freebairn also produced Jacobite broadsheets, including *Advice to the Muse on the King's Landing*, [Edinburgh], (1716).

<sup>16</sup> BL BJ 5 (118), BJ 5 (119); RSM 6/9, 13.

moment, and were geographically best placed to spread their work. But, although at the lower end of the market Jacobite broadsheets appeared in profusion in the capital, they were not accompanied by any significant number of political pamphlets. In part this dearth may be explained by the continued state of disarray and confusion among tory politicians. Deprived of effective leadership, many by no means despaired of a rapprochement with the Hanoverian monarchy; few saw Jacobitism as the most attractive or viable political alternative on offer. At an early stage the government took decisive action against suspected Jacobite leaders. Lords Lansdowne, Dupplin, Jersey, and Powis were arrested, and the consent of the House of Commons gained for the seizure of six of its members.<sup>17</sup> This not only disposed of those responsible for a projected Jacobite rising in the West Country, but provided a direct warning to any others contemplating action in support of the Stuarts. In such a climate it was prudent to keep silent and await developments.

The collapse of the rebellion, and the hasty flight of the Old Pretender on 4th February 1716, did not mark the end of Jacobite publishing in England. Apart from one piece justifying James's departure from Scotland, little emanated from the exiled Jacobite court until the attempt of 1719.<sup>18</sup> Little flowed from the pens of Jacobite politicians, who understandably remained preoccupied with survival. But the government's handling of the rebellion, the severity of its treatment of the rebels, and in particular the execution of the two peers, Kenmuir and

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<sup>17</sup> Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 165-170.

<sup>18</sup> For the reception given the Jacobite author and publisher George Flint by Jacobites in France, and his lack of success in his declared aim of sending Jacobite propaganda back into England, see chapter 4.

Derwentwater, provided a mine of material for anti-government propaganda, which was assiduously worked by a popular press which did not depend upon the direction of politicians.

It was easy to present those executed in 1716 for their part in the rebellion as martyrs. By ancient English custom a condemned man had the right to make a farewell speech from the gallows or the block. Ideally he should acknowledge the heinous nature of his crimes, and repent, as an example and warning to his audience. This confession and repentance was an important part of judicial ritual, and its significance had been further extended in recent years by the publication of accounts of the behaviour, confession, and last speech of various criminals in broadsheet form.<sup>19</sup> In an age fascinated by death, and in which crowds flocked to witness public executions, the last words of the victim, and an account of his manner of dying, made exciting reading. But not all Jacobites died repentant. Instead this last opportunity was taken to reassert their political faith and belief in the justice of the cause for which they died, and even to lay claim to martyrdom. The government was surprisingly slow to prevent the publication of seditious speeches in this form.

Derwentwater hoped by his example to induce others to do their duty towards James III, and hoped that his death would contribute to, “the Service of my King and Country, and the Re-establishment of the ancient and fundamental Constitution of these Kingdoms, without which no

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<sup>19</sup> On the majesty and ritual of the legal process see Douglas Hay, “Property, authority and the Criminal Law”, in Hay, Linebaugh, Rule, Thompson, Winslow, *Albion’s Fatal Tree*, (1975), 26-31. A large collection of accounts survives at BL 1852. d. 4 printed by the tory printer John Morphew from 1703. Their titles emphasise their concern with the behaviour, confession, and last speeches of the sufferers, of the way in which they accepted their fate in the judicial process.

lasting peace, or true Happiness can attend them.” His speech was also reproduced in the Jacobite newspaper *Robin’s Last Shift*. Kenmuir died without making such a speech, but a last letter of his was very conveniently found and published, in which he claimed he was “a sacrifice” in defence of the title of “the true son of the late King James the Second.”<sup>20</sup> Four short pamphlets gave the Jacobite dying speeches of commoners hanged in 1716. One of these, the clergyman William Paul, inspired a ballad which made of him a second St. Paul because he, “bravely Sacrific’d his life,/To serve his Church and King”.<sup>21</sup>

Great interest was also shown in the fortunes and activities of those imprisoned awaiting trial. The broadsheet *A Poem on Self Denyal and Resignation Written by a Young Lady Address’d to the Prisoners, and their Friends* laboured the well-meant but doubtless unwelcome message that, “if to suffer we ourselves inure,/There’s nothing but we’re able to indure”. Anecdotal accounts of the activities of the prisoners appeared in both government and opposition

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<sup>20</sup> *The Speech of James Earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded on Tower Hill for High Treason*, (1716). *Robin’s Last Shift*, 3, 3 March 1716 *A True Copy of a Letter Written by the Lord Viscount of Kenmure, to a certain Nobleman the Day before his Execution*, (1716).

<sup>21</sup> *A True Copy of the Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs of London, by William Paul a Clergyman, and John Hall Esq: Late Justice of the Peace in Northumberland* (1716); *A True Copy of the Paper Deliver’d to the Sheriffs of London, by Richard Gascoigne*, (1716); *A True Copy of the Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs of London, by Colonel Henry Oxburgh*, (1716); *A True Copy ... by Capt. John Bruce...*, (1716), These and others were also collected and published in pamphlet form, *A Collection of the Several Papers Deliver’d by Mr. R. Gordon, R. Gascoigne, the Earl of Derwentwater...* (1716).

newspapers, as well as in two pamphlets of differing political bias, published in 1717, *The Secret History Of The Rebels In Newgate*, and *The History Of The Press-Yard*.

Jacobite broadsheets continued to be published in the aftermath of the rebellion, despite government efforts to suppress them. Eight manuscript broadsheets survive in the State Papers for 1716 which seem to have been seized by the government to prevent publication.<sup>22</sup> Four of these were verses written by Richard Savage, a hack author who later gained notoriety through his claim to be the illegitimate son of Richard Savage, the fourth Earl Rivers.<sup>23</sup> Another, entitled *To A Thing They Call Prince of Wales*, was a vicious personal attack on the Prince's birth and understanding. But it is interesting that both this piece and one of Savage's, *The Pretender*, were actually printed in 1717-18. In the two years 1716 and 1717 at least 27 Jacobite broadsheets were published; fewer than in 1715, but a still appreciable number.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the unpredictable appearance of "one off" broadsheets, the government was challenged by the appearance of newspapers, which threatened to reproduce Jacobite propaganda, albeit in veiled form, on a regular basis. Nathaniel Mist produced the first edition of his *Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post* in December 1716. In 1717 Mist was twice arrested for printing seditious libels against the government, in April and again in May, but in both cases was released because the government had insufficient evidence to gain a conviction. In 1718 the

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<sup>22</sup> SP 35/7/78

<sup>23</sup> Clarence Tracy, *The Artificial Bastard. A Biography of Richard Savage* (Toronto, 1953). He subsequently wrote in praise of both George I and Walpole. He had already been pardoned for the publication of seditious words in 1714, but had since then produced many more.

<sup>24</sup> My own figures. See Appendix 1.



mercenary author Daniel Defoe was being paid by the government to remove the political sting from Mist's paper: he was to write in such a vein that the journals would "pass as Tory papers and yet be disabled and enervated so as to do no mischief or give any offence to the government."<sup>25</sup> Mist's newspaper continued to appear, under various guises, despite government endeavours to suppress it, until 1737. Mist survived because he knew when to avoid overtly political subjects, and because his Jacobitism was almost always carefully veiled to avoid giving the government the material they needed to finish him off.

More virulent was the newspaper written by the Catholic George Flint in 1716, which he managed to pen even after his arrest and confinement to Newgate prison. *Robin's Last Shift* first appeared in February 1716, became *The Shift Shifted* later that year, and re-emerged as *The Shift's Last Shift* in February 1717, as it sought to evade government attention. The printer Isaac Dalton was fined, jailed and pilloried for producing *The Shift Shifted*, but it was continued by James Alexander, the churchwarden of a nonjuring meeting-house who was involved in the publication of a wide range of Jacobite works.<sup>26</sup> *Robin's Last Shift* included in its first issues a copy of a circular letter written by the earl of Mar extolling the virtues and attributes of the Pretender, and a copy of the dying speech of the earl of Derwentwater, adding remarks on the fine qualities of that peer. But the prevalent theme, usually expanded in discussion of foreign news, was that magnanimity invariably paid better dividends than bloodshed, and that, "the

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<sup>25</sup> Defoe to Delafaye, 26 April 1718, SP 35/11/124.

<sup>26</sup> Flint and Dalton were the frequent subjects of *The Secret History Of The Rebels In Newgate*, (1717); for Alexander see R. J. Goulden, "Vox Populi, Vox Dei: Charles Delafaye's Paperchase", in *The Book Collector*, (xxviii, 1979), 368-90.

Barbarous and Cruel sooner or later perish”.<sup>27</sup> This developed into increasingly blatant accusations, in *The Shift Shifted*, that Britain had become a military state, in which a standing army safeguarded a severe and cruel administration, and an illegally perpetuated Parliament. In a series of essays, Flint sought to sow dissent among his enemies by variously accusing the Whigs of aiming to establish a republic as soon as they could safely ditch George I, and by appealing to the duke of Argyle, the commander of the army dismissed for his too leisurely pursuit of the rebels in 1716, to act on behalf of the royal family and his country.<sup>28</sup> There is no indication of the circulation of Flint’s pieces, beyond his own perhaps inflated claims, but they enjoyed considerable public notoriety, and provoked vigorous government reaction.

Flint’s endeavours to portray the Hanoverian government as illiberal, arbitrary, and often illegal in its actions, were reinforced by a handful of other writers who sought to use whig political ideas and values to criticise whig abuse of power. Archibald Hutcheson, the MP for Hastings, who resigned his place on the board of Trade in 1716, pointed out this phenomenon in April 1721:

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<sup>27</sup> *Robin*, 3, 3 March 1716.

<sup>28</sup> In exile in France, Flint wrote to Captain Booth, with whom he had been imprisoned in Newgate, “You may remember that when you queried me in the pressyard about my extolling Argyle, I answered our only method was to bandy Whigs against Whigs, the weaker against the stronger, to divide and confound them. I would either make him draw his Sword or praise him out of his posts, if not his head off ... I ever was and am for confounding them with terrors from without and divisions and distrusts among themselves.” HMC Stuart vi, 480.

“IT is deny’d by no-body, That the Number of Jacobites has been greatly increased since His Majesty’s Accession to the Throne; but, I believe, it will be as generally agreed, That these New Jacobites are no-wise influenc’d by any Regard to the Pretended Hereditary Right, and act purely upon what they take to be Revolution Principles, how much soever they may mistake the same. These are certainly the Jacobites to be most apprehended; but surely, the easiest to be Regain’d”.<sup>29</sup>

The existence of this strand of Jacobite argument has not hitherto been noted by historians; it is dealt with at some length in chapter 8. The appearance of two of these whig Jacobite pamphlets was seized upon by an anonymous government apologist in 1717:

There has been just now thrown about the Streets at Midnight, and privately dropt in the shops, as notorious a collection of Lies and Treason, as perhaps ever stole thro’ the press ... many weak People may be deluded by the Bait ... the more so because this Agent in Darkness and Treason, puts himself off, not only as an Intimate of Mr. Walpole, but as a Friend to the Revolution, and the Protestant Interest; and as one whose Prejudice arises not from any Principle of superior Right in the Pretender ...”<sup>30</sup>

Both *To Robert Walpole Esq.* and *To The Army and People of England* argued that any contract between the people and the Hanoverian monarchy had been made void by the latter’s subversion of English laws and imposition of arbitrary and tyrannical rule. In the circumstances the best

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<sup>29</sup> Archibald Hutcheson, *Copies of Some Letters From Mr. Hutcheson to the Late Earl of Sunderland*, (1722), 7-8.

<sup>30</sup> *A Vindication Of The Honour and Justice Of His Majesty’s Government. Being Some Remarks Upon Two Treasonable Papers, of late privately dispers’d*, (1717), 4.

hope for a restoration of English liberties lay with the Stuarts. Similar arguments appeared in *To Mr. William Thomas*, which was clearly intended as a follow-up to the first of the above, and in *The Duty Of a Souldier to his King and Country*.

It is striking that even in the first years of Hanoverian rule the basis of a common attack on the whig government began to emerge. It was founded on the accusation levelled at the court whigs that in power they were betraying the political principles which they had espoused in opposition, and which were enshrined in the writings of the late seventeenth century Whig neo-Harringtonians and commonwealthsmen. No doubt such criticism was first levelled by whigs dissenting from the practice of their party in government, but it was soon taken up by Jacobites who found in the works of the whig theorists John Locke, Walter Moyle, Thomas Gordon, Andrew Fletcher, and the earl of Shaftesbury a comprehensive definition of tyrannical government which they could turn against contemporary whigs.<sup>31</sup> Whig writers were cited by

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<sup>31</sup> Contemporaries joined together *Mist's Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post*, and *The Freeholder's Journal*, which were Jacobite, with the *London Journal* which contained "Cato's Letters" by the commonwealthsmen John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, as "the Enemies to our present Establishment". *The Englishman's Journal*, 1, 6 June 1722. Another newspaper supporting the government pointed out the difference between *Mist's* paper and *The London Journal*. *Mist* "Huzzas the mob continually, with the engaging words, Freedom and Liberty, when at the same time he is inciting them, most bitterly to Rebel in order to introduce a Popish Pretender ... On the other hand... [Cato] bellows out ... the same amiable Sounds: but seems by Liberty at best to recommend Democracy". *Baker's News: Or, the Whitehall Journal*, 1, 29 May 1722. *Mist* criticized Cato's Letters for both republicanism and irreligion. WJ/SP180 12 May

Jacobites in their attacks on the standing army and Parliamentary corruption imposed by a whig government, which in terms of its own supposed ideological values was engaged in undermining English liberties. The rhetoric of patriotism, drawn originally from Machiavelli, and mediated through seventeenth century whig ideologues, had been adopted as a common language of opposition before Bolingbroke emerged in the mid-1720s to claim it as his own.<sup>32</sup>

At the opposite end of the Jacobite political spectrum, significant propaganda efforts were made on behalf of the Old Pretender by members of the nonjuring church. The majority of clergymen deprived of their livings as a result of their refusal to take oaths acknowledging the

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1722. It is interesting that *The Freeholders Journal* gave support for the proposed candidature of the commonwealthman Robert Molesworth, formerly MP for Mitchell, for the constituency of Westminster at the general election of 1722. It was intended that Molesworth would stand jointly with Archibald Hutcheson, MP for Hastings, who had written for that journal. In the event Molesworth withdrew and Hutcheson was unseated on a petition. PJ 8, 16 March 1722. Romney Sedgwick, ed., *The Commons, 1715-54*, 2 vols., (1970), 163-4, 262-3. For a detailed examination of Jacobite use of whig theorists see below, chapters 8 and 9.

<sup>32</sup> Bolingbroke's debt to the commonwealthmen and the neo-Harringtonian tradition has been well established. But it has not been recognized that he had been preceded in this tactic by Jacobite writers. This fact suggests that Bolingbroke had less choice in the selection of his ideological stance than has hitherto been implied. See Q R D Skinner, "The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole", in N McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives*, (1974); J G A Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century"; in *Politics, Language, and Time*, (New York, 1971).

legitimacy of the revolution settlement lived quietly and eschewed involvement in public affairs.<sup>33</sup> But a handful were among the most vociferous and outspoken writers in support of the Jacobite cause. During the reign of Queen Anne nonjurors were often the only supporters of James Stuart in print: Charles Leslie, who wrote *The Rehearsal* weekly from 1706 to 1709 in addition to numerous pamphlets, was perhaps the most persistent of these, until he found it necessary to flee to the Pretender's court in 1711, but he was by no means alone. In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion nonjurors remained active in the cause. The government seized editions of two works on the press in 1716. In September the *Daily Courant* reported that government Messengers had found "a large impression" of *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly Stated* at the house of the nonjuring priest Lawrence Howell. A month later the same newspaper disclosed the discovery of one copy of the late nonjuring Bishop Hicckes's *The Constitution of the Catholic Church and The Nature and Consequences of Schism* at the printers. The remainder of the edition had been removed just in time to evade seizure.<sup>34</sup> A sermon printed by the Reverend Willouby Miners also attracted government attention in that year. Other

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<sup>33</sup> J. C. Findon, *The Nonjurors And The Church Of England, 1689-1716*, (unpubl. Oxford University D.Phil Thesis, 1978); Thomas Lathbury *A History of the Nonjurors*, (1845).

<sup>34</sup> *Daily Courant*, 4652, 17 September 1716. This reprinted the account given in the *Courant* of 10 September, "there being still such a Demand for it". The *Courant* printed long extracts from it, to "shew the Tenour and Design of it", and also other nonjuring papers. Such detailed attention by opponents could have an opposite effect to that intended: the extracts were cut out and kept by the nonjuring Bishop Richard Rawlson. RAWL MS D 835/11. *Daily Courant*, 4676, 15 October 1716.

nonjuring contributions included two weighty theoretical tomes by Mathias Earberry, whose involvement in Jacobite propaganda continued into the 1730s.<sup>35</sup>

But 1717 marked the climax in the nonjuring contribution to Jacobite publishing. At this point their energies were turned inwards, and directed towards what proved to be an enervating and distracting theological controversy. Proposals to restore a number of usages claimed to have been those of the ancient, uncorrupted Christian church, and to reintroduce certain prayers and directions contained in the 1549 prayer book, but left out of the 1552 version, led to a bitter and hard-fought argument within the separated church. The nonjuring Bishop and antiquary Richard Rawlinson listed 43 tracts written around this debate between October 1717 and April 1722.<sup>36</sup> It could be argued that this effort might have been more profitably spent in the Jacobite cause.

The attention of the Stuart court, after the debacle of the '15, had come to focus increasingly on the possibilities of obtaining foreign assistance to bring about a restoration. Negotiations were entered into with Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish minister in London, who was subsequently arrested, despite his diplomatic immunity. This last incident prompted two single-sheet papers criticizing his treatment by the British government, but which seem to have

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<sup>35</sup> Willouby Miners, *True Loyalty: or Non-Resistance the only Support of Monarchy. A Sermon Preached at St Pancras, Middlesex, On Sunday June 10, 1716*, [1716] Miners was arrested in June 1716, and still in custody awaiting trial in February 1717. *Shift Shifted* 9, 30 June 1716; *Shift's Last Shift*, 1, 16 February 1717. Mathias Earberry, *The Old English Constitution Vindicated, And Set in a True Light. Offer'd to the Consideration of the Bishop of Bangor*, (1717); Earberry, *Elements of Policy, Civil and Ecclesiastical*, (1716).

<sup>36</sup> RAWL MS D 848/102

been principally designed for international consumption, containing parallel accounts of the case in English and French. The abortive attempt of 1719, with Spanish help, was to be accompanied by suitable declarations from James to his subjects, and these were actually printed.<sup>37</sup> But otherwise little effort was made to win over support to the cause by exiled Jacobites, until 1720.

Despite lack of encouragement from official sources, however, Jacobite broadsheets continued to be produced both by Jacobite zealots and by commercially motivated printers and publishers. Dying speeches and accounts of the deaths of Jacobite heroes remained important. One broadsheet looked back to the fate of Dr. Paul and Justice Hall, “murder’d” by whigs in 1716. Thomas Warner, the publisher of *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, published a large volume which sought to satisfy the “prevailing Curiosity in the Nature of Mankind, to observe and peruse the Sentiments of dying Men, or what has Relation to their sufferings”.<sup>38</sup> In 1718 a sharp government response was drawn by two separate editions of *The Dying Speech of James Shephard*. Shephard was executed for plotting against the life of the King, and in his last words reiterated his political convictions, beginning, “I am brought here by the Almighty’s

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<sup>37</sup> *A Letter from an unknown Hand, to Mr. Pettecum the Holstein Minister, in answer to that of Mr. Secretary Stanhope, of the first instant, to the foreign Ministers, concerning the Seizure of Mount Gyllenborg*, (1717); *Copy of a Letter Written to Mr. Petkum, the Holstein Minister...* (1717). RSM Box 6, 24-25. RSM 43/16, 18.

<sup>38</sup> *On Dr Paul and Justice Hall, who were Murder’d the 13 of July, 1716 by Whigs, for the Love of God and Justice*, (1718). *A Faithful Register Of The Late Rebellion: Or An Impartial Account of the Impeachments, Trials, Attainders, Executions, Speeches, Papers, &C of all who have suffered from the Cause of the Pretender in Great Britain* (1718), iv.



permission and the Usurper's power ..."<sup>39</sup> Six print-sellers and twenty hawkers were arrested for distributing this piece, but questioning failed to reveal the identity of those involved in its production.<sup>40</sup> Henry Crossgrove, who produced a Jacobite newspaper in Norwich from 1714, noted in his paper that Shepheard had produced a dying speech, and gave an account of his death: "He went to his Execution with such a smiling Countenance all the Way, as if it was the Day of his Nuptial, so hardy was he in his Principles. He died in the Nonjuring Communion...." For this Crossgrove himself was in trouble, but was bailed in January 1719.<sup>41</sup>

Having failed to lay hands on those responsible for Shepheard's speech, the government was determined to find the author of the short pamphlet, *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* brought to its attention in the following year.<sup>42</sup> This was a particularly blatant piece of Jacobite propaganda which sought to justify a Stuart restoration both by traditional and whig Jacobite arguments. James' claim to the throne was valid by the principle of hereditary right, because his princely

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<sup>39</sup> *The Dying Speech of James Shepheard; Who Suffer'd Death at Tyburn March the 17<sup>th</sup>, 1717-18*, (1718) Two editions at SP 35/11/41, 84.

<sup>40</sup> SP 36/11.

<sup>41</sup> *The Norwich Gazette: Or, the Loyal Packet*, 598, 22 March 1718. See also SP 36/15/1. There was also published the curious *An Hymn of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. Written by James Shepheard. During his Imprisonment in Newgate*, (1718), which was a prayer for love, that though condemned on earth Shepheard might not give way to hatred; a work Jacobite only in so far as it expounded the religious peace of a man condemned to be executed for plotting the death of his king, who was yet unrepentant.

<sup>42</sup> Goulden, "Vox-Populi, Vox Dei", gives a full account.

qualities recommended him as a suitable limited monarch, and by the will of the people – shown by the fact that the government could only support itself with “great numbers of Auxiliary Forces”. It ended with a direct and open call for resistance:

“I hope some Patriot will rouse up the People to shake off this Arbitrary Government, and Animate them with the saying of the Noble Roman who defended the Capitol ... How long will you be ignorant of your strength. Count your numbers. Sure you ought to fight with more Resolution for Liberty than your Oppressors do for Dominion”.

At least three separate editions of the pamphlet were produced. The first two, by Claudius Bonner and John Matthews, in May and June 1719, were printed at the instigation of James Alexander, a notorious Jacobite propagandist who had earlier been involved in the production of the newspaper *The Shift Shifted*, and were intended to be distributed free. The third was pirated from one of the earlier copies by Edward Holloway, a journeyman printer working for Elizabeth Powell, with the hope of making a quick profit out of a work made notorious by the trial of Matthews.

John Matthews, was found guilty of treason, and despite the fact that he was only nineteen years old, hanged. The government was determined that there should be no repetition of the adverse publicity which accompanied the execution of Shepheard. Access to Matthews was denied to a group of nonjuring priests, who were clearly hoping to stiffen his resolve to act the part of a martyr. After his death a government official noted with satisfaction that,

“he dyed penitent, and made no speech, having before given under his hand a declaration of his abhorrence of the nonjurors principles that brought him to this shamefull end.

There is no doubt but that this example will have the greatest influence upon those of his trade in deterring them from printing treason...”<sup>43</sup>

But despite this optimism, no less than six different broadsheets subsequently appeared, giving the public “a letter”, a “declaration”, “a paper”, a “last farewell”, and “the last dying words” of this “Youth cropt in his blooming Years”. The most daring of these gave a clear resumé of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, for the benefit of its readers:

“it says expressly, Not only that the Pretender has an Hereditary Right to the Crown of England; but that considering this an elective Monarchy, and he being possessed of all Princely Accomplishments, he has on that Account the Right; nay, that all Rights centre in him; it calls the Government Arbitrary and Tyrannical, and reproaches the whole Body of the People for their Obedience to King George, and excites them to count their Numbers, and exert their Strength to throw off this Government...”<sup>44</sup>

The Jacobite press was not to be deprived of its hero, whether or not the reality corresponded to the myth.

Broadsheet ballads also continued to appear regularly. The government actively encouraged informers to report on the activities of suspected printers, and to send the Under Secretary of State, Charles Delafaye, copies of Jacobite works. The most frequent victim of such accusations was the Catholic printer Francis Clifton, who, after having been prosecuted for debt, continued to print within the confines of the Fleet Prison. He and his wife were responsible for at

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<sup>43</sup> SP 43/63

<sup>44</sup> *The Last Dying Words, Character, portraiture, prison prayers, Meditations, and Ejaculations of Mr. John Matthews...* (1719). The others are listed in the bibliography.

least 16 Jacobite broadsheets between 1716 and 1724, as well as some cheap pamphlets and two newspapers, *The Oxford Post*, for which he was in trouble in 1719, and *The Weekly Medley: Or, The Gentleman's Recreation*.<sup>45</sup> Many of Clifton's ballads were so clothed in pastoral imagery as to have a very limited political content, to be no more than an expression of Jacobite sympathy or support. *The Sheppard's Holliday, Or the Maiden's Opinion of the Rose*, printed in 1720, was a fairly typical example. Supposedly printed in "Turn-again Lane", it celebrated the Pretender's birthday, "The Rose in all its splendour blows in June", and lamented his exile, "My Friends they are unkind unto my Dear/And he is Forc'd to wander Night and Day". Nonetheless even such veiled statements were politically highly sensitive, and Clifton's activities were closely scrutinised by the government until he finally took off for France in the mid-1720s.

Although the production of Jacobite broadsheets never again equalled the peak of 1715, there were 30 or so printed in 1719, and ten or a dozen in every other year until 1723-24. It is striking that another indicator of public dissatisfaction with the régime, records of prosecutions for seditious works spoken against the government, appears to show a similar chronology, with a peak in 1715-16, but a comparatively high number of cases continuing into the 1720s.<sup>46</sup>

A remarkable political opportunity was opened up to Jacobites by the financial scandal accompanying the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, which posed a grave threat to the whole administration. Large numbers of prints and broadsheets appeared attacking the South Sea

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<sup>45</sup> For Clifton see Chapters 5 & 6. A list of his known works is at Appendix 3.

<sup>46</sup> Appendix 1. The chronology of seditious word cases emerges from the work of Paul Monod.

Company directors and the ministry,<sup>47</sup> although these were general opposition pieces not expressly Jacobite, and the imagery of “the Bubble” does not seem to have found its way into specifically Jacobite broadsheets. The opportunity to make political capital from the scandal was seen by Lord Lansdowne, who had himself lost a considerable sum by the collapse of the South Sea stock, and who was on the point of becoming one of the Pretender’s principal advisers at Paris. On his own initiative, Lansdowne turned his considerable literary talents to the writing of Jacobite propaganda. He wrote a declaration, supposedly issued by James from Lucca in October 1720, noting the effects of the crisis, “The Cryes of our People having reach’d our Ears at this distance”, asserting his concern for their plight, and hoping that his people would repent their past errors and bring about their own deliverance by his restoration.<sup>48</sup>

But potential Jacobite supporters among political leaders in England were taken totally by surprise by the crisis which engulfed the earl of Sunderland’s ministry. Dispirited by political defeat and exclusion, and still divided amongst themselves, tories were still more inclined to pin their hopes on the next election than to risk all in supporting a Jacobite attempt at invasion. After the collapse of plans to engage first Sweden, and then Spain in the Stuart cause, prospects of significant foreign aid were bleak. Sunderland shrewdly took advantage of these divisions by negotiating with some tory leaders, and giving them reason to think that in return for their support in certain Parliamentary votes, he would call a general election at a time when tories were convinced that they could regain a majority in the House of Commons. It was only when

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<sup>47</sup> *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Division One. Political and Personal Satires*, (1873), II, 412-562, 573-586.

<sup>48</sup> Lansdowne’s contribution to Jacobite propaganda is discussed extensively in chapter 4.

Sunderland finally ended all hopes pinned on him, by ensuring that a Commons bill to reduce electoral corruption was defeated in the Lords at the end of 1721, that a significant group of leading tories, headed by Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, took the plunge and wrote to the Pretender undertaking to organise an armed rising in England on his behalf. But others, such as Lords Gower and Bathurst, distanced themselves from the plot, and Lord Orrery thought that tory resources would be much more profitably employed in contesting the general election of 1722. Between 1720 and 1722 the whig government experienced a period of crisis and internal wrangle, as it extricated itself from the South Sea scandal, and as Robert Walpole forced his way into power. But at the same time tory energies were dissipated, as their diverse leadership pursued a variety of policies.<sup>49</sup> Few of these groups supported their endeavours with any attempt at Jacobite propaganda. Negotiations with Sunderland were designed to make the Jacobite option unnecessary, and Archibald Hutcheson told him clearly that a free election was the surest way of undermining the recent increase in support for the Pretender.<sup>50</sup> Those involved in Jacobite conspiracy with Atterbury were anxious to avoid heightening government apprehensions by increasingly overt Jacobite activity on the streets, as well as being doubly careful not to compromise their own positions at such a delicate time.

Pamphlets and newspapers published during the election campaign often sought to portray it as the final hope for a peaceful solution. Recalling the title of Atterbury's pamphlet of 1714, although almost certainly not written by him, *The Second and Last English Advice To The*

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<sup>49</sup> The best account of this confusion is in Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy*, 195-203.

<sup>50</sup> See note 29.

*Freeholders of England* described the measures taken since 1714 to undermine the constitution, and concluded:

“Thus, Gentlemen, you have had an imperfect View of a long Train of Abuses, Oppressions, Injustice, Cruelties, and Arbitrary Proceedings. To these you have been Exposed these many years, and the Question now is, whether you will wear your chains any longer...”

In the face of an irretrievably corrupt House of Lords and bench of Bishops, and a King who had openly declared war on his subjects, the only remedy open to Englishmen was “to Act with Spirit and Vigor”, and elect “a House of Commons, who will tell his majesty Truth, and in their Country Justice”.

“The next stroke will decide it. It is follow now to talk of Whig or Tory. The Struggle is between the Court and Country, and if the Country-Party fail at this juncture, all we can say is that States as well as Men, have their Natural Period, and the time of the Expiration of the Freedom of England is arrived”.<sup>51</sup>

The exiled Lord Lansdowne produced a pamphlet equally cataclysmic in tone, but with more direct Jacobite implications, and a more open call for action:

“Old as I am, and wearied out with vainly wishing for better Times, I am yet ready to enter the Lists at their Call, to stand for Liberty and Old England, or fall an honourable Victim to God, my Country, and my Friends”.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *The Second and Last English Advice To The Freeholders of England*, (1722), 38-40.

<sup>52</sup> [Lansdowne], *A Letter from a Noble man Abroad, to his Friend in England*, (1722). “If then we neglect the approaching Opportunity upon the next Election, we betray all the Ties of Nature,

*The Freeholder's Journal* was explicitly founded to fight the election of 1722. It also presented the election as the last chance to save English liberties by returning a right-minded set of MPs to Parliament. In particular the campaign of Archibald Hutcheson in Westminster, where there was a large electorate, was supported and publicised. Hutcheson wrote at least one essay for *The Freeholder's Journal*, and may have contributed more.<sup>53</sup> Nathaniel Mist's *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, which had been published continually since 1716, and had maintained its Jacobite approach despite government attempts to suppress or emasculate it, took a similar stance. Both newspapers appealed repeatedly in 1722 for honesty in voting, and for electors to choose those who would remain independent from the court and act in the interest of the people. To this end both published the voting record of members of the previous Parliament.<sup>54</sup>

The logic of the argument advanced by Mist and the Freeholder, in the aftermath of the election in which the tories only marginally increased their representation, was that the only remaining alternative to an increasingly tyrannical Hanoverian government was the use of force

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Religion and Allegiance; if we lose it, we are lost with it. If a Majority of such Men should again prevail, farwel to all that is dear to the Lovers of Liberty and Britain". 7-8.

<sup>53</sup> FJ 1, 31 January 1722; 7, 14 March 1722. Hutcheson admitted to writing FJ 6, 7 March 1722, but denied involvement in any others, Hutcheson, *Three Treatises*, (1723), vii. Laurence Hanson, in *Government and the Press*, (1936), 5, 65, gives Hutcheson as the main author of the Journal, but his evidence for this is unclear.

<sup>54</sup> eg FJ 11, 28 March 1722; WJ/SP 173, 24 March 1722; FJ 8, 16 March 1722; WJ/SP 172, 17 March 1722.



to replace it. After the election *The Freeholder's Journal* made a number of veiled Jacobite statements, including discussion of the worthy example set by General Monck, and of the supposed plight of the inhabitants of the Moon who had deposed their rightful monarch thirty years previously. It also argued for a right of resistance to a tyrannical government.<sup>55</sup> During its short existence the journal was frequently in trouble with the government, and both printer and publisher arrested. It folded in May 1723, lamenting those patriots too timid to act in defence of their principles: “all their Bravery terminates in big Words, and the promise of Performance”<sup>56</sup> *Mist's* newspaper wrote in similar terms. Even more vehemently, the nonjuror Mathias Earberry produced a two part pamphlet assailing the conduct and intentions of the Hanoverian monarchy. Ironically entitled, *An Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru'd to England by the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover*, it concluded by asking whether the ancient English liberties were to be given up without any struggle for their preservation. Earberry evoked the restoration of Charles II in a direct appeal for military action:

“We remember an English Army were once the Champions of our Liberty, can they now sit still and basely look on to see it trampled upon? ... Let them see that they are able to pour out Vengeance upon those faithless and treacherous Heads that ruin'd and betray'd their Country”.<sup>57</sup>

More significant than the results of the election, however, was the government's carefully managed exposure of the Atterbury Plot, beginning in May 1722. Walpole's skill in presenting

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<sup>55</sup> FJ 12, 4 April 1722; JF 14, 11 April 1722; FJ 21, 23 May 1722.

<sup>56</sup> FJ 76, 18 May 1723.

<sup>57</sup> [Earberry], *An Historical Account...*, (1722), 37-8, 43.

the largely imaginary conspiracy of Christopher Layer as a part of Atterbury's design, making it seem a wide-ranging, immediate threat to the royal family and government, has been clearly shown by G.V.Bennett.<sup>58</sup> The government acted with firmness and determination, moving troops into Hyde Park and arresting those implicated in the plot. From May 1722, when the news of a plot was first broken, through August when Atterbury himself was arrested, until the Bishop's trial, in May 1723, Walpole sustained an atmosphere of tension and crisis. In such a political climate many tories felt it wise and prudent either to condemn the plot, or to affect to disbelieve its reality. Nonetheless, the tory party was once again labelled "Jacobite" by its opponents.

In this newly tense situation, government efforts to curb the press also increased. Mist avowedly eschewed political subjects, at first, and kept his head down, remarking coyly in his paper of 2nd June 1722, "why politics are not a subject seasonable to this Month; ... My Reader has the Liberty of guessing at..." In August a piece on the character of the duke of Marlborough came too close to the mark, and its sequel was not published: "certain Gentlemen, with GREYHOUNDS at their breasts, have seiz'd our Materials, desiring, as 'tis supposed, to have the first reading of our Materials".<sup>59</sup> Mist, and his apprentice Dr. Gaylard, Thomas Payne and Thomas Sharpe, the publisher and printer of *The Freeholder's Journal*, John Redmayne the printer of *The Second Part of the Historical Account of the Advantages that have accrued to England by the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover*, and Mathias Earberry, for his short-lived journal *Monthly Advices from Parnassus*, were all in custody soon after the beginning

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<sup>58</sup> G.V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis*, chapters 12 and 13.

<sup>59</sup> WJ/SP 183, 2 June 1722; WJ/SP 193, 11 August 1722.

of 1723.<sup>60</sup> Others could be added to the list. The nonjuror Richard Welton, and his printer and bookseller, were arrested for the publication of his sermons. Jacobite ballads were still seized by the government, and their authors and printers sought.<sup>61</sup>

The plot itself provided subject-matter for numerous pamphlets and broadsheets. Accounts of the trials, or other activities of the conspirators Christopher Layer, George Kelly, or the Bishop of Rochester himself, could appeal to Jacobite readers without necessarily incurring the wrath of the state. Francis Clifton, for example, produced two broadsheets concerning Layer,<sup>62</sup> and *The exact Effigies, Life, Character and Case of Francis Atterbury late Lord Bishop of Rochester. To which is added the Learned Speech made at His promotion*. Such works might convey a sympathy with Jacobitism through their subject matter, but were hardly effective propaganda. More useful was the extended defence of Atterbury by the young duke of Wharton which appeared in the pages of the *True Briton* in 1723. This journal was produced by the printer

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<sup>60</sup> *The Weekly Journal: or, British Gazetteer*, 2453-2458, 26 Jan 1723.

<sup>61</sup> SP 35/41/78b, 86, 102. Welton was notorious for having set up an altar-piece in his church at Whitechapel in 1714 which portrayed White Kennett, the whig Bishop of Peterborough, in the guise of Judas. An extensive pamphlet and newspaper controversy followed, and Welton was finally ordered to remove the altar-piece. *The whole Tryal an Examination of Dr. Welton, Rector of White-Chanel, and the Church-Wardens, On Monday last, in the Bishop of London's Court; for setting up the New Altar-Piece there with the Sentence pass'd thereon* (1714).

<sup>62</sup> *Counsellor Layer's Letter To his Grace the Duke of N-----le and the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount T-----d., (1722); Counsellor Layer's Second Letter Deliver'd by his wife..., (1722).*

and publisher of the *Freeholders Journal* after the latter's demise. It continued the libertarian arguments of its predecessor, but despite the involvement of the Jacobite duke of Wharton, I have not been able to discern any specifically Jacobite content in it. Like many tory and Jacobite writers, Wharton poured scorn on the notion that a plot really existed. Above all he attacked the dubious nature of the legal proceedings used against Atterbury.<sup>63</sup>

The number of explicitly Jacobite broadsheets tailed off considerably in 1723-24, with only three known to have been printed in 1724. There was a similar dearth of pamphlets produced in England. In France, Lord Lansdowne had breathed some life into the propaganda efforts of the Pretender himself, following up his pamphlet written for the election of 1722 with a declaration from the Pretender which attracted much attention in Britain, more particularly because the House of Commons ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. But in March 1723, while accepting a piece written in his name to the Archbishop of Canterbury, James told Lansdowne that — given the delicate political situation of his supporters in England — there was no need for further publications at that time: “there is no necessity of anything more being published now in my name, the quieter we keep for the present certainly the better”. At the end of the year, to Lansdowne's evident disgust, he received a strict injunction not to publish anything further in James's name.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> TB 2, 7 June 1723; TB 5, 17 June 1723; TB 7, 24 June 1723. See also, *His Grace The Duke of Wharton's Speech in the House of Lords, on the Third Reading of the Bill to Inflict Pains and Penalties on Francis (late) Bishop of Rochester; May the 15<sup>th</sup> 1723*, (1723).

<sup>64</sup> James to Lansdowne, 8 March 1723, RSM 66/77; Handasyde, *Granville*, 206.

Until the exposure of the Atterbury Plot significant amounts of Jacobite propaganda were produced in London, and appeared on the streets. Seemingly without direction, organisation, or financial support from the Jacobite court or leading Jacobite politicians, Jacobite broadsheets were printed despite government attempts to suppress them. With the exception of *Mist's*, Jacobite newspapers lasted no more than one or two years at most. But a succession of them came out between 1714 and 1724, and there was almost always one or more to reinforce *Mist's* message. In 1724 the last of these, *The True Briton*, ceased as a result of government action. The steady trickle of Jacobite pamphlets also dried up. Jacobite publishing never again approached the same scale of activity.

In part the explanation for its virtual disappearance must lie in the cumulative effects of government action to silence the Jacobite press, and in an increase in the efficiency of its measures at the time of the crisis of the Atterbury Plot. But it seems likely, as well, that Jacobite writers, printers and publishers, and their audiences were also affected by the altered prospects of Jacobitism following the disclosure of the plot. The Atterbury Plot revealed the weakness of the Stuart cause in England, and in its aftermath it must have been hard to view Jacobitism as a credible political alternative.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Jacobite Publishing and its Political Context in England, 1724-66

We then fell upon political topics, and all agreed in our love of the Royal Family of Stuart and regret at their being driven from Britain. I maintained that their encroachments were not of so bad consequence as their being expelled the throne. In short, the substance of our conversation was that the family of Stuart, although unfortunate, did nothing worthy of being driven from the throne. That their little encroachments were but trifles in comparison of what Oliver Cromwell did, who overturned the whole Constitution and threw all into anarchy; and that in a future period King William, who came over the defender of our liberties, became a most domineering monarch and stretched his prerogative farther than any Stuart ever did. That by the Revolution we got a shabby family to reign over us, and that the German War, a consequence of having a German sovereign, was the most destructive thing this nation ever saw. That by the many changes and popular confusions the minds of the people were confused and thrown loose from ties of loyalty, so that public spirit and national principle were in a great measure destroyed. This was a bold and rash way of talking; but it had justice, and it pleased me.

*Boswell's London Journal, 1762-63, ed.*

Frederick A. Pottle, (1966), 170-1

## CHAPTER THREE

### Jacobite Publishing and its Political Context in England, 1724-66

The repercussions of the exposure of the Atterbury Plot in 1722-23 were wide-ranging, both in England and among the Jacobite exiles. It provoked bitter recriminations as Jacobites sought to apportion blame for the disaster; it created an atmosphere of mutual fear and distrust; it disillusioned potential supporters as to the viability of the Jacobite alternative; worst of all, it allowed the government to establish complete physical and moral ascendancy, leaving Jacobite sympathisers afraid to act or express their thoughts.

Atterbury arrived in France convinced that he had been betrayed by the earl of Mar and his associates at Paris, and determined to purge the Jacobite organisation abroad of the disloyal and the ineffective. His arrival tipped the balance away from the formerly all-powerful “Triumvirate” of Mar, Lord Lansdowne, and General Dillon, in favour of a faction led by John Hay, a brother of the earl of Kinnoul, and James Murray, who had been involved in early negotiations with Atterbury on behalf of the Pretender. But the subsequent appointment by James of Hay as earl of Inverness and Secretary of State, and Atterbury as his minister in Paris, only served to increase bitterness among the already deeply divided Jacobite exiles, and to bring additional problems. Inverness was relatively unknown, and viewed with suspicion in England. Atterbury was well-known, but shunned by his former colleagues, who refused for example to respond to urgent letters sent by the Bishop in 1725 to co-ordinate support in England for a projected attempt to land with foreign troops. His problems were compounded when Scots

Jacobite leaders in France reached an agreement with the government, and ordered their supporters at home to hand in their arms.<sup>1</sup>

Disunity and division among Jacobites in France was paralleled by conflict between the Pretender's wife, encouraged by Mar and his supporters, and James's Protestant advisers in Rome. She complained about Inverness, but her greatest wrath was directed against the appointment of James Murray as governor to her son, Charles Edward, in the summer of 1725. Failing to secure Murray's dismissal, Clementina removed herself to a convent, acting the part of a martyr for her faith. Attempts were made to present this rift in a better light, by claiming that it demonstrated James's readiness to protect and support Protestants at his court, and not to insist on his son's Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> But the dispute could have only further disillusioned Jacobites, who until that time had eulogised the Princess as a repository of beauty, virtue, and good sense.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> This account is based on G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, (Oxford, 1975), 276-294; Edward Gregg, "The Jacobite Career of John Earl of Mar", in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed. *Ideology and Conspiracy, Aspects of Jacobitism 1680-1759*, (Edinburgh, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> The duke of Wharton commented: "This event will turn to advantage, especially if it is well represented in England & the occasion of it published viz, that her Majesty was inrag'd at the King's giving the Prince a Protestant Governour of this I dare say care has been taken." Wharton to Hay, 8 December 1725, RSM 88/1.

<sup>3</sup> See for example *Female Fortitude Exemplified, in a impartial Narrative, of the Seizure, Escape and Marriage of the Princess Clementina Sobieski*, (1722); *The Whole Life and Character of that*



subsequent resignation of Inverness in 1726 ended any hope of minimising the damage, and left a vacuum at the heart of Stuart affairs. James was left to conduct his own business, unable to secure approval from Jacobites in England for an effective successor, and relying for advice on the unpopular and increasingly isolated and embittered Atterbury at Paris.

Throughout his period of influence, Atterbury advised James to avoid arousing the suspicions and hostility of the government in England by engaging in any propaganda activities. This fitted in with James's own limited view of the role of printing in politics.<sup>4</sup> No declarations or other official publications were directed at English public opinion by the Jacobite court in the 1720s, or indeed until 1743.

Those political leaders in England still affecting loyalty to the Stuart cause appear to have become more timorous and wary of drawing attention to themselves than ever. Lord Orrery, who had previously advocated a Parliamentary rather than a conspiratorial approach, wrote several times to James outlining the helplessness of English Jacobites. Atterbury thought him "wary to excess". According to Orrery, public opinion was still favourable to the Pretender, but was unable to achieve much on its own in the face of effective government repression: "I do not think there is less spirit in the nation than there was but there is more fear":

"those that govern at present are generally despisd and abhorred, but their power is too great not to be feard, and 'tis the more feard because they are cruel, without principles, and act in the most arbitrary manner without regard to the known Laws or Constitution;

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*beautiful, pious and illustrious Princess Sobieski who is by Proxy espous'd to the Chevalier,*  
(1720).

<sup>4</sup> See below, chapter 4.

they have a large Army ... a large Fleet... the command of all the public monie, and by the fatal corruption that prevails almost over the whole nation, the absolute power in both Houses of Parliament”.

Consequently “a proportionable strength” would be needed to overcome the government, and that could only come from a significant number of foreign troops.<sup>5</sup>

In such circumstances Orrery too argued that it was better to sit quiet and wait for more favourable times, publishing nothing. In any case, the power of the government now extended to effective control over the press:

“tho there is no formal law to restrain the Liberty of the Press, yet several Printers have been so severely prosecuted, that ’tis allmost impossible to gett any thing published, that does but look like a reflection upon the Gouvernement”.<sup>6</sup>

It had become neither profitable nor safe to print Jacobite works. They were no longer politically relevant, because Jacobitism no longer appeared a credible political alternative to any but the most ardently committed supporter, and thus they had lost their market value. Conversely, the risk of detection and punishment had increased, and had become an effective deterrent. Only deep political conviction, of the sort held by Nathaniel Mist, or careful organisation, direction, and support from higher social levels, could have sustained a Jacobite press at this time. The former was in short supply; the latter did not exist.

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<sup>5</sup> Atterbury to James, 20 August 1727, RSM 109/87; Orrery to James, 7 May 1725, RSM 82/18; Orrery to James, 15 November 1723, RSM 70/46.

<sup>6</sup> Colonel William Cecil to James, 6 August 1726, RSM 96/17.

It is a measure of their total disarray that Jacobites were wholly unable to extract any advantage from the death of George I in June 1727. Taken by surprise, the Pretender's friends in England "thought it their best way to joyn with the rest" in pledging allegiance to the new monarch, Lord Strafford later explained to James, "to hinder distinction, that their party may be the stronger whenever dissatisfaction breaks out again".<sup>7</sup> With no prospect of foreign support the Pretender could do nothing but accept the situation with the best grace he could muster, and wait. Stung by an accusation that he was neglectful of his interests, in not publishing a restatement of his claims to the crown at this juncture, he had such a document drawn up. But the piece concerned drew such a vitriolic attack from Atterbury that James was forced to drop it and, much chastened, published nothing.<sup>8</sup>

In England, of the Jacobite printers, Nathaniel Mist alone survived the last years of George I's reign and continued to produce his newspaper. In May 1725 it changed its title and letterhead slightly, and reduced its size, as a result of government action to remove a loophole in the Stamp Act. This prevented newspapers which had previously been able to avoid paying duty on every sheet or half sheet of paper from evading this tax. The result of this action was to force the collapse of several journals, which were not able to afford the increase in production cost, and to deter would-be publishers from starting new ones.<sup>9</sup> But through his economy measures, and his continued popularity, Mist was able to remain defiant:

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<sup>7</sup> Strafford to James, 21 June 1727, RSM 107/97

<sup>8</sup> See below, chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> G A Cranfield, *The Press and Society*, (1978), 41.

“Methinks I look like some veteran soldier, who by the Misfortunes of war, has lost a Leg and an Arm in the service of his Country ... I shall not quit the Field; nay, tho’ I should be reduced at last ... to fight upon my stumps”.<sup>10</sup>

However he continued to avoid drawing retribution upon himself by avoiding political subjects, turning his journalistic attentions instead to music, art, literature, love, friendship, marriage, religion, and travel. From time to time Mist revealed his frustrations by a comment such as:

“NB. The excellent Letter, signed J. Smith is come to Hand, and if we could give it the Distinction we think it deserves, it should be to print it in Letters of Gold, but as there is a certain Person in the World, at present, a little too strong for us, we hope that our Correspondent will take that for an Excuse”.<sup>11</sup>

Mist’s essays gradually became more politically orientated, and by 1727 he was again frequently writing on the theme of corruption, tyranny, and the preservation of liberty. Such work written in general terms, or using historical example, could convey comment on current affairs without giving the government an excuse to silence him. Thus Mist cited John Locke to the effect that “one Branch of the Legislative Power is as much to be resisted if it betrays its Trust, as the other.”<sup>12</sup> Six months later he discussed the art of “defence”, or fencing, which was,

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<sup>10</sup> MWJ 1, 1 May 1725.

<sup>11</sup> MJW 7, 12 June 1725.

<sup>12</sup> MWJ 127, 23 September 1727. The use of whig theorists to justify resistance to the Hanoverian monarchy was an important element of Jacobite political argument which historians have not previously noticed. This subject is discussed in detail in chapter 8.

“not only essential in the Preservation of Mens Lives, it is that Art by which the Rights and Privileges of the Subject are to be asserted and maintained; and I will be bold to maintain that the Liberty and Property of the People of England cannot long subsist without it”.<sup>13</sup>

But in August 1728 Mist finally overstepped the mark and published a piece which was demonstrably Jacobite in content. The “Persian Letter” discussed “the Miseries that Usurpation has introduced into that unfortunate Empire”, and described the rightful heir, the Sophi, as “the greatest Character that ever Eastern monarch bore”.<sup>14</sup> It was written by the wayward duke of Wharton, who after being employed on diplomatic missions to the Empire and Spain by James and Atterbury, had more recently been disowned by them both as a result of his dissolute behaviour and his obviously cynical “conversion” to Catholicism. Mist prudently arranged to be in France when the letter was published, and remained there, offering his services to the Pretender. No less than twenty-five of Mist’s workers and associated mercuries and hawkers were arrested, and numerous others were taken in for questioning, as the government strove to find those responsible for this piece. Most were soon bailed or released, but two journeymen printers were convicted of a misdemeanour and sentenced to six months hard labour.<sup>15</sup> The government was determined to prevent similar publications in the future, as the Messenger Samuel Buckley acknowledged to Charles Delafaye, the Under Secretary of State, in October: “I will deal with the prisoners for the libel as you have ordered. They are journeyman printers ...

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<sup>13</sup> MWJ 156, 13 April 1728.

<sup>14</sup> MJW 175, 24 August 1728.

<sup>15</sup> SP 36/8/64, 166, 154-62.

who continued this project to get a penny. I believe this nipping of them in the bud will prevent any more such...”<sup>16</sup>

Despite the fate of Mist’s workforce, and a clear warning which he had received of the dangers of dabbling in such works — “Last post brought us an account that the great demand which was for Mist’s Journal a certain printer reprinted it for which he was taken into custody”<sup>17</sup> — the Exeter printer Edward Farley decided to reprint the “Persian Letter”. The government found difficulty in compiling enough evidence to support a charge of high treason against him, but Farley was jailed and died while still in custody a year later.<sup>18</sup> Robert Walker, who published a number of provincial journals from his London base, was also found in possession of a manuscript copy of the letter during the extensive searches and investigations following its publication.<sup>19</sup>

Mist’s journal survived even these upsets, although in September 1728 it again changed form and appeared as *Fog’s Weekly Journal*. A letter, supposedly written by Mist to his cousin Fog, claimed, “I was lately seiz’d of an Apoplectick Fit, of which I instantly died”.<sup>20</sup> To what extent Mist continued to influence or direct the newspaper from Boulogne must be a matter of conjecture, although it would have been difficult for him to have done more than appoint its managers. In December 1728 he explained to Colonel O’Brien, James’s agent in Paris, some of

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<sup>16</sup> SP 36/8/195.

<sup>17</sup> SP 36/8/115.

<sup>18</sup> SP 36/9/60.

<sup>19</sup> G A Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper*, (Oxford, 1962), 51-56.

<sup>20</sup> Fog 1, 28 September 1728.

the difficulties he faced in trying to arrange the printing of a self-justification of the duke of Wharton in England, at that time:

“I want the Authority and Convienieny I lately had, for my Servants are no more, my House is shut up, and I suppose by this Time the Goods sold, but not withstanding, nothing shall be wanting in me; I know some who have the same Regard for the Cause as my self, and on one or other I will endeavour to prevail; the Hazard is certainly great, and how their Coarege may stand the Test, I am not so well able to answer”.<sup>21</sup>

Mist continued to pay some allowance to those of his workforce who had suffered at the hands of the government, and received some assistance from the Pretender in doing so. He acted as a news-gatherer for James, presumably using journalistic sources for his information.<sup>22</sup> Contact with England was patchy, because his friends were naturally reluctant to rely on the security of the post. In early 1731 he sought to overcome this by running a small merchant vessel weekly to Dover, carrying private letters among its cargo, but the sloop seems to have been lost in March of that year. Mist often lamented that he was “ill-treated in England as to my private Affairs”, and he later sent his wife home to sort things out.<sup>23</sup> By 1733 he was able to send detailed accounts of debates in the House of Commons to the Pretender on a reasonably regular basis.<sup>24</sup> Presumably these had been originally made for *Fog's Weekly Journal*.

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<sup>21</sup> Mist to O'Brien, 7 November 1728, RSM 121/165.

<sup>22</sup> James Edgar to Mist, 29 November 1730, RSM 140/143.

<sup>23</sup> Mist to Edgar, 21 December 1730, RSM 141/33; 16 March 1731, RSM 143/158; 22 March 1731, RSM 143/187.

<sup>24</sup> eg Mist to Edgar, 27 February 1733, RSM 159/155; 8 March 1733, RSM 160/1.

There was no noticeable difference between the content of Mist's and Fog's journals. From the Jacobite standpoint Mist's newspaper must have shone out like a good deed in a naughty world. There was little else.

The duke of Wharton succeeded in having published his "Reasons For Leaving his native Country, and espousing the Causes of his Royal Majesty King James III", claiming, as ever, that in doing so he held true to the political principles of his father, Thomas Wharton, the patriot whig Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Privy Seal. In 1731 *Select and Authentic Pieces, Written by the late Duke of Wharton* were published posthumously in Boulogne by James Wolfe, an employee of Mist's arrested in 1728, including both the "Reasons" and the "Persian Letter". Wharton's mercurial career stirred up considerable interest in England, and his death resulted in the publication of several biographies of a sympathetic,<sup>25</sup> although not, overtly political nature, as well as a number of hostile satires directed at his debauched and corrupt lifestyle.<sup>26</sup>

The accession of George II did provide the occasion for the publication of one broadsheet drawing attention to the plight of three Jacobite prisoners, who had been held in Newgate

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<sup>25</sup> *Memoirs of the Life of His Grace Philip late Duke of Wharton, By an Impartial Hand*, (1731); *The Poetical Works of Philip Late Duke of Wharton*, (2 Vols., 1731); *The Life and Writings of Philip Late Duke of Wharton*, (2 Vols., 1732).

<sup>26</sup> *A New Express from the Dead, Or the late Duke of Wharton's Hymn to the Peace*, ([1731]); *The Humble Petition of His Grace Ph—p Duke of Wh-----n To a Great Man*, (1730). Alexander Pope dissected Wharton's character in his "Epistle to Cobham", *Pope Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1966), 174-209.



without trial since 1696, and who petitioned the new monarch for their release. John Bernardi, Robert Blackburne, and Robert Cassills had been jailed on suspicion of their involvement in the Assassination Plot against William of Orange, and had been held by a series of Acts of Parliament suspending Habeas Corpus.<sup>27</sup> Two years later Bernardi was still imprisoned, and published the lengthy, *A Short History of the Life of Major John Bernardi, Written by himself in Newgate, where he has been for near 33 Years a Prisoner of State, without any Allowance from the Government, and could never be admitted to his Tryal*. These works were not directly Jacobite in argument, but of obvious interest and concern to Jacobite sympathisers. The Attorney General finally recommended that Blackburn be discharged from custody in 1742, forty-six years after his confinement.<sup>28</sup>

One of the few leading Parliamentary figures who did not go to court in 1727 to acknowledge the accession of George II was the MP for Newton, William Shippen. Generally recognised as an unreconcilable Jacobite, Shippen's speeches in the House of Commons often sailed very close to the wind of what could be tolerated by the government. In 1717 he had been sent to the Tower for describing George I as "unacquainted with our Language and Constitution", and his proposals for the next Parliament as "rather calculated for the Meridian of

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<sup>27</sup> *The Most Sad and Deplorable Case of Robert Blackburne, John Bernardi, and Robert Cassills, humbly offer'd against the Bill now depending in Parliament, for continuing their imprisonment, (1727).*

<sup>28</sup> SP 36/58/266-7.

Germany, than of Great Britain”.<sup>29</sup> Shippen’s usually solitary near-Jacobite opposition in the Commons in the late 1720s and early 1730s resembles to some extent the isolated stand of Nathaniel Mist in another sphere. In 1727 Shippen, almost alone, refused to join in the general rush to vote the new monarch a greatly increased civil list. In a speech, which was subsequently published, he pointed out that Parliament had a trust reposed in it to be frugal with the money of those it represented, and he compared the low cost of government under Queen Anne with the higher cost under George I, which Walpole was yet seeking to increase. Money had been wasted in “a Strong Spirit of Extravagance” and secret funds “employed in Services not fit to be owned”.<sup>30</sup> In 1732 he had printed a collection of speeches mainly directed against the threat inherent in the maintaining of a large standing army in peacetime, which was a threat to liberty, and caused unnecessary taxation. According to Shippen,

“Force and Violence are the Resort of Usurpers and Tyrants only ... Because they are, with good reason, distrustful of the People, whom they oppress; and because they have no other Security for the Continuance of their unlawful and unnatural Dominion, that what depends entirely on the strength of their Armies”.

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<sup>29</sup> *Three Speeches Against Continuing the Army. &C. As They Were Spoken in the House of Commons, The Last Session of Parliament* (1718), 7.

<sup>30</sup> W[illiam] S[hippen], *A Speech Against Sir R----- W-----’s Proposal For increasing the Civil List Revenue*, (1727), 17.

But, he added, with tongue firmly in cheek, Britain had a Prince who needed no such support, “who reigns absolute in the Hearts of his Subjects” and considers their ease and interest above all.<sup>31</sup>

In general Jacobite sympathisers had to be content with subsuming their distinctive political views beneath a more general opposition approach which did not draw down on it the wrath of the government,<sup>32</sup> and to rely upon the products of a wider opposition press to satisfy their need for anti-Hanoverian literature.<sup>33</sup> No great ideological shift was involved in this process as the parameters of a common opposition attack on the whig administration had already been well-established during the first decade of the reign of George I. The delineation of modern corruption, incorporating the threat to English Liberty posed by placemen, a standing army, and the political influence of money, all of which subverted Parliament from its true function of safeguarding that liberty, and concomitant calls for limited Parliamentary reforms to re-emphasise the sovereignty of the people, had all been previously rehearsed both by patriot or old whigs, and (as has not been formerly noticed) by Jacobites, including George Flint and Nathaniel Mist, who even cited with approval the works of the whig commonwealthsmen.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> W[illiam] S[hippen], *Four Speeches Against Continuing the Army &C*, (1732), 39-40.

<sup>32</sup> The majority of articles in Mist and Fog’s papers were necessarily written from this standpoint; otherwise they could not have survived so long.

<sup>33</sup> This was particularly true with regard to *The Craftsman*, see below and note 40.

<sup>34</sup> Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman*, (1959) For Jacobite use of the whig commonwealthsmen, and an assessment of the significance of this strain of Jacobite argument, see below, chapter 8.

When *The Craftsman* was founded in December 1726, as the mouthpiece of Lord Bolingbroke's attempt to unite opposition to Walpole's ministry, it drew upon an already well-established canon of political argument.<sup>35</sup> *The Craftsman* attacked the whig government in exactly the same terms, but without the Jacobite overtones, as *Mist's Weekly Journal* and *Robin's Last Shift* had done before. The similarity in content between *The Craftsman* and *Fog's Weekly Journal* was noted by Michael Harris in his unpublished thesis on the London newspaper press.<sup>36</sup> For some time the two journals seemed to run in tandem, and were regarded as the two leading opposition newspapers. Fog often referred to Caleb D' Anvers, the supposed author of *The Craftsman* as a political ally. Writing to the Pretender's secretary, James Edgar, in February

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<sup>35</sup> Professor Skinner has shown how Bolingbroke's argument derived from a tradition incorporating Machiavelli, Harrington, and late seventeenth and early eighteenth century whig theorists. However he did not recognise that Jacobites also adopted this tradition in the late 1710s and early 1720s. See below chapter 8. Q R D Skinner, "The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole", in N McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives*, (1974); see also J G A Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the 18th Century", in *Politics, Language, and Time*, (New York, 1971). In general works on Bolingbroke have overemphasised the novelty of his political argument. See Isaac Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole*, (Cambridge Mass., 1968); H T Dickinson, *Bolingbroke*, 1970).

<sup>36</sup> M R A Harris, *The London Newspaper Press, c 1725-46*, (unpubl. London University PhD Thesis, 1974). Harris however underemphasises the difference between the two journals by not recognising the significance of the Jacobite content of some issues of Fog.

1731, Mist forecast that certain government pamphlets “will be answer’d in the future Papers of Fog and the Craftsman”. Copies of the latter were sent to Jacobites abroad, including the exiled Bishop of Rochester.<sup>37</sup> Through superior journalistic content, and a more eclectic appeal, *The Craftsman* overtook its ally in sales, and in the 1730s increasingly took first place in contemporary references to the opposition press.<sup>38</sup>

Jacobites were happy to purchase and read *The Craftsman*, with its inspired attacks on the arbitrary and illiberal nature of Walpole’s government, until in 1730-31 it turned to the history of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and the early Stuarts. Earlier criticism of James I had caused concern among Jacobites, but had been explained away. The Pretender’s agent in England, James Hamilton, had told Edgar,

“in the Craftsman and other papers writ and ordered to be writ by the same side, King James the first of England is often represented in a light that may raise some concern in H.M., but it ought not, for the design and intention of all that is said of King James is levelled at George and to raise the hatred of the Kingdom agst him”.<sup>39</sup>

But in 1730 Bolingbroke began a series of twenty-four essays in *The Craftsman*, later republished as *Remarks on the History of England*, arguing that the liberty, freedom and prosperity enjoyed by Englishmen under Elizabeth had been subverted and destroyed under

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<sup>37</sup> Mist to Edgar, 8 February 1731, RSM 142/141; Atterbury to Hay 21 February 1727, RSM 103/157; Atterbury to James, 20 August 1727, RSh 109/87.

<sup>38</sup> Harris, *London Newspaper Press*.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton to Edgar, 5 March 1729, RSM 125/115.

James I and Charles I. This was unacceptable to Jacobites, and according to the nonjuring historian Thomas Carte resulted in large numbers stopping reading the paper.<sup>40</sup>

Bolingbroke was directly countered by the nonjuring controversialist Mathias Earberry. In *The Occasional Historian* of 1731 Earberry described the reign of the virgin Queen in quite different terms:

“Arbitrary Power stalk’d in all its Forms of Horror; the Courts were pointed like swords for Destruction, the Parliaments fawn’d like spaniels, and the Clergy flatter’d”.

By contrast, the Stuarts, during thirty-eight years of peaceful rule before the civil war, “transmitted to us the greatest share of Liberty we now enjoy”. Earberry echoed Carte in withdrawing his support from *The Craftsman*:

“I am very sorry he forc’d this Quarrel upon my Hands. I read his Journals with pleasure, till he dip’d his pen in Scandal against the unfortunate and the virtuous; and if he proceeds, I shall proceed likewise to open great weaknesses in his Writings, his ministerial Enemies will not have Sense enough to come at”.<sup>41</sup>

Also in 1731, leading Jacobites became engaged in historical controversy with the pro-government writer John Oldmixon over Lord Clarendon’s history of the great rebellion. The issue was between whig and tory, without any explicitly Jacobite overtones. Oldmixon attacked Clarendon’s overall view of the civil war, but in particular objected to the pen portraits of

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<sup>40</sup> Ed. Isaac Kramnick, *Lord Bolingbroke, Historical Writings*, (Chicago 1972), Carte to - , c 1747, RSM Box 1/299; Carte to - , c 1739, RSM 216/111 b.

<sup>41</sup> Mathias Earberry, *The Occasional Historian, (number 2), Containing Instructions To An English Baronet in Northamptonshire*, (1731), 26, 2.

Parliamentarian leaders, and suggested that alterations had been made to the original manuscript by its tory publishers at the turn of the century.<sup>42</sup> One of those accused of historical malpractice was Francis Atterbury. Both Atterbury and Lord Lansdowne, neither of whom were by that time engaged in Jacobite affairs, and William Shippen, participated in the heated tory defence of the integrity of Clarendon's work.<sup>43</sup>

The greatest threat to the continuance of Walpole's ministry to date came in 1733, when the government introduced a bill to raise an excise on tobacco, creating fears that it would be extended to many other commodities. Led by Bolingbroke and the dissident whig, Lord Pulteney, the opposition press succeeded in stirring widespread and almost hysterical antipathy to what had been conceived of as a limited measure to reduce the level of direct taxation, undermining opposition to the administration by cutting land tax. The crisis was in large measure the product of effective opposition propaganda. It was prolonged by the general election of 1734,

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<sup>42</sup> The debate on the authenticity of the history is fully documented in J P W Rogers, *The Whig Controversialist as Dunce: A Study of the Literary Fortunes and Misfortunes of John Oldmixon (1673-1743)*, (unpubl. Cambridge University PhD Thesis, 1968), Appx 2. The original circumstances of publication and the significance of the history in tory ideology are discussed in M A Goldie, *Tory Political Thought, 1689-1714*, (unpubl. Cambridge University PhD Thesis, 1977), 198-208.

<sup>43</sup> Francis Atterbury, *The Late Bishop of Rochester's Vindication of Bishop Smallridge, Dr. Aldrich, and Himself, from the Scandalous Reflections of Oldmixon, Relating to the Publication of Lord Clarendon's History*, (1731); [William Shippen], *Mr. Oldmixon's Reply...Examin'd*, (1732); Lord Lansdowne, *A Letter to the Author of Reflections Historical and Political*, (1732).

in which it became the dominant issue, and in which the government lost twenty-one seats in the large open constituencies.<sup>44</sup> *The Craftsman* took a leading role in the attack on the excise, but it was joined by all of the opposition newspapers, and by scores of broadsheet, ballads and pamphlets. Jacobite writers, and in particular *Fog's Weekly Journal*, were involved in the attack. As usual, government apologists tried to smear the whole opposition to the excise as Jacobite inspired, although it clearly was not. A Jacobite agent, Andrew Cockburn, reported back that,

“If ever ye people of England were Mad, they are Now More yn ever. The favour they owe to those Incendiarys Fogg and Danvers who have wrought upon them so for by ye Scandalous papers ye lyke was Never seen in England”.

But “Not one Jacobite can be found to have a hand in promoteing itt, they do indeed joyn in ye Cry”.<sup>45</sup> Jacobites made no distinctive contribution, and failed to gain any political advantage from the crisis except in so far as the weakening of Walpole’s ministry and the strengthening of the opposition as a whole was to their advantage.<sup>46</sup>

*Fog's Weekly Journal* was distinguished from its ally and rival *The Craftsman* by its periodic Jacobite statements. As with its predecessor, these resulted in constant scrutiny by the government, and arrest and prosecution. The Attorney General drew a distinction between them in 1734, when deciding not to proceed against a particular issue of *The Craftsman*:

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<sup>44</sup> Paul Langford, *The Excise Crisis*, (Oxford, 1975).

<sup>45</sup> Cockburn to Edgar, March 1733, RS14 159/186.

<sup>46</sup> Colonel William Cecil, who corresponded with the Pretender on behalf of Lord Orrery, thought that it was not. The fall of Walpole might satisfy public unrest, removing the incentive for a Stuart restoration. Cecil to James, 8 March 1733, RSM 160/4.



“Papers of this kind, if not taken notice of, seldom survive the week, and fall into very few hands; ... [but] where His Majesty’s title is called in Question, or there are any insinuations in favour of the Pretender, I think that prosecutions are absolutely necessary”.<sup>47</sup>

In June 1730 Fog had been able to escape prosecution, much to the irritation of Philip Yorke the then Attorney General, because it transpired that the speech of General Monck which he reprinted in fact came word for word from a contemporary history, and was not a fictitious composition of the newspaper’s author.<sup>48</sup> During subsequent months copies of the journal were regularly scrutinised by government officials, and manuscript works intended for publication were seized.<sup>49</sup> In March 1732 Fog’s printer and publisher were jailed “for defaming the memory of the late King William” and calling into question the motives of the revolution of 1688. The Attorney General was anxious to prosecute because, “when one considers the connexion there is between that great Event and His Majesty’s Title & Governmt, it becomes of infinitely greater consequence”.<sup>50</sup> In the following year Fog seemed to hint that the solution to England’s political problems might lie in the assassination of Robert Walpole, although he later denied that this was his meaning.<sup>51</sup> The newspaper seems to have avoided Jacobite controversy in the mid 1730s,<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> SP 36/33/145.

<sup>48</sup> SP 36/19/102.

<sup>49</sup> SP 36/19/189, 20/100, 20/97-8.

<sup>50</sup> GM 1732, 676; SP 36/26/144.

<sup>51</sup> *Remarks on Fog’s Journal of February 10, 1733, Exciting the people to an Assassination*, (1733); Fog 230, 31 March 1733, 231, 7 April 1733.

and declined in both reputation and sales. It was revamped in June 1737 and begun “by a new hand”.<sup>53</sup> However it then lasted only as far as issue seven, for which the author, printer and publisher were seized because of “Reflections he made upon the History of the Emperor Augustus and his Empress”, called by Lord Harrington, “a false, scandalous, & seditious Libel”.<sup>54</sup> This marked the end of Mist’s remarkably long lived newspaper.

It had already been partially replaced by *Common Sense*, begun in February 1737 under the direction of the Irishman Charles Molloy. Molloy had long been associated with Mist, and was the principal manager of his journal during the 1730s.<sup>55</sup> However he seems to have broken

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<sup>52</sup> Mist returned to England in 1736. He wrote explaining his position to the still exiled Cameron of Lochiel, who he had met at Boulogne: “I hope to live quietly, and that without coming to any sort of Terms, for I have had no Treaty with them, nor ask’d any sort of Favour”, 11 July 1736, SP 36/39/21. But there seems to have been at least an implicit understanding that his newspaper would avoid giving offence to the government. *Fog’s Weekly Journal* for 10 July 1736 announced that it was abandoning politics.

<sup>53</sup> John Kelly was hired to write a series of astringent attacks on the government. SP 36/41/240.

<sup>54</sup> GM July 1737; SP 36/41/200.

<sup>55</sup> An account of Molloy’s past History was given by Mist in a letter to O’Brien recommending the use Of Molloy as a Jacobite agent in London, 3 June 1730, RSM 137/68. According to Mist, “Some of the best Pieces that have been wrote against the Corruption of the Times, and the Usurpation of the House of Hanover, have been of his doing”. Molloy’s papers at SP 9/35 include manuscripts for both *Fog’s Weekly Journal* and *Common Sense*.

with his employer, perhaps as a result of the political emasculation of *Fog's Weekly Journal*, and established a direct rival, announcing in his first issue that,

“Fog’s Journal, by a natural Progression from Mist to Fog, is now condensed into a cloud, and only used by way of wet brown paper, in case of Falls and Contusions”.<sup>56</sup>

*Common Sense* seems to have attempted to model itself on the success of its other self-acknowledged rival, *The Craftsman*, by appealing to a wide political spectrum, aiming to draw support from all opposition groups. Also like *The Craftsman* it sought contributions from leading political and literary figures, aiming to do better than rely solely on hack writers such as John Kelly, who wrote the leading political essays for *Fog* during the summer of 1737,<sup>57</sup> and moving away from the popular basis of *Mist*’s early success. Molloy claimed that he was promised the support of Alexander Pope, Lord Chesterfield, and Lord Grange.<sup>58</sup> He received some financial aid from the Pretender, paid through James’s organiser in England, Colonel William Cecil,<sup>59</sup> which is more than *Mist* ever had during his printing career. In May 1737 Molloy published a piece by the Jacobite Master of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, William King, supposedly giving a plan for a new government in Corsica, but in fact a thinly disguised argument for a Stuart restoration. This is the only work clearly attributable to King in the journal, and the only explicitly Jacobite

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<sup>56</sup> *Common Sense* 1, 5 February 1737.

<sup>57</sup> Kelly was paid one guinea per issue for this. SP 36/41/240.

<sup>58</sup> Harris, *London Newspaper Press*. John Nichols noted that “it has been said” that Lord Lyttleton wrote papers for *Common Sense*, Nichols vi, 467.

<sup>59</sup> G H Jones, “The Jacobites, Charles Molloy, And *Common Sense*”, in *The Review of English Studies*, (vol. 4, 14, 1953).

article.<sup>60</sup> *Common Sense* failed to give satisfaction to Jacobites in England. Whether because more support was forthcoming from whig politicians, or because such an approach had a wider commercial appeal and sold more newspapers, or because it was less liable to prosecution, Molloy's journal became dominated by other opposition groups. According to Thomas Carte, "it became a paper entirely under Whig management & an advocate for Whig principles when Mr. Cecil thought fit to stop [the subsidy]".<sup>61</sup> It never achieved the popular notoriety of *Mist* in his heyday.

The support given Molloy by the Jacobite court was an unusual departure from James's customary reluctance to soil his hands with political propaganda. More typically, he had refused in the 1730s to have anything to do with two, to him rather disreputable, hack authors, who had offered to undertake Jacobite writings on his behalf.<sup>62</sup> Both subsequently produced virulent and effective attacks on Walpole's government, which landed them in considerable trouble. But their work was not written in support of the Pretender, as it might have been given suitable encouragement. Charles Foreman was prosecuted for *The Adventures of Malouka, the beautiful Arabian: Or, the Triumph of Virtue and Innocence over Malice, Corruption and Perjury* in 1738. The Frenchman Denis de Coetlogan spent six months without trial in Newgate for writing the

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<sup>60</sup> D Greenwood, *William King, Tory and Jacobite*, (Oxford, 1969), 77-79.

<sup>61</sup> Carte to James, 4 May 1743, RSM 249/113.

<sup>62</sup> See below, chapter 4.

short-lived journal *The Alchymist* in 1737. As a result of this experience, in the following year he produced the pamphlet, *The Secrets of the English Inquisition Revealed*.<sup>63</sup>

In the period 1714 to 1724 the newspapers, pamphlets and ballads which gave most concern to the government were almost entirely Jacobite, both in origin and in content. By the late 1730s, and especially after the demise of *Fog's Weekly Journal*, very few of them were. Works such as *The Case of the Hanover Troops*, and *Old England's Te Deum*, both printed in 1743, could be approved of by Jacobites, but did not originate from them, and benefited only opposition parties in general.<sup>64</sup> Ballads appeared as frequently on the streets as before, as one government memorandum noted:

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<sup>63</sup> De Coetlogan claimed his paper was "The spirit of Fog reviv'd; or, an Attonement for the Loss of that late Hero". His patience with the government was not improved by the fact that he lost an eye while in prison. Harris, *London Newspaper Press*.

<sup>64</sup> Both William King and Thomas Carte approved of *The Case of the Hanover Troops*, the author of which was generally acknowledged to be Alexander Campbell, second earl of Marchmont. King to John Boyle, 5th earl of Orrery, 8 January 1743, Bodl MS Eng Hist d 103/64; Carte to O'Brien, 22 December 1743, RSM 246/72. Marchmont was associated with a group of opposition Whigs who clustered around the Prince of Wales in the late 1730s, and whose views were reflected in *Common Sense* and *The Champion*. This included Lords Cobham, Chesterfield and Lyttleton. L J Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy, The Tory Party, 1714-60*, (Cambridge, 1982), 223.

“It frequently happens that Ballads and other nonsensical Papers are published tending to feed the distempered humour of many of the Mobb against the Government”.<sup>65</sup>

But vicious personal attacks were now directed at Walpole, rather than the monarch, as in *The Negotiators* of 1738, which satirised the first minister for his feeble approach to dealings with Spain.<sup>66</sup>

Other opposition journals, including *The Champion* which was produced by Henry Fielding and James Ralph from 1739,<sup>67</sup> and *Old England, or the Constitutional Journal* begun in 1743 and in which Lord Chesterfield was involved, were accused of Jacobitism from time to time. Walpole, after his fall from power, called the latter “express and confessed Jacobitism”.<sup>68</sup> But such jibes were part of a stock rhetoric of government self-defence, and do not seem to have been taken seriously, or followed up by prosecutions, as would certainly have been the case if there had been any evidential basis to the accusations. In 1743, writing to the Pretender, Thomas Carte lamented the lack of “a paper in which one might from time to time be sure of inserting anything proper to be drawn up & published for your Ms. service”. He dismissed,

“*The Craftsman, Common Sense* & other publick papers which have laboured to root out of the minds of men all sense of religion, as well as all principles of loyalty”.

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<sup>65</sup> SP 36/46/341 undated.

<sup>66</sup> SP 36/46/337.

<sup>67</sup> For Ralph see Philip Stevick’s introduction to the reprint of James Ralph, *The Case of Authors, By Profession or Trade*, (Florida 1966).

<sup>68</sup> Coxe, *Pelham*, i 94-5.

He advised James to provide assistance for an attempt to undertake such a paper to be made by George Gordon, promising to write occasional essays for it himself, to get friends to do likewise, and to procure regular accounts of the proceedings of the House of Commons. James agreed to pay £30 a year to Gordon for this project, but it never got off the ground.<sup>69</sup>

Carte explained that he had so far been unable to assist Gordon because of his involvement in a pamphlet controversy. In the 208 pages of *A Full Answer To The Letter from a By-Stander* of 1742 he defended, in detail, Charles II's reign. He compared it with those of William of Orange and George I, during which the crown had acquired excessive powers, constituting a threat to English liberties. Carte, in turn, was attacked as "One who is grown old in the Cause of Slavery, and harden'd in a deep Aversion to the Happiness of Mankind", provoking a "Vindication" of his earlier work, incorporating a justification of General Monck's part in the restoration.<sup>70</sup> In 1744 Carte advertised his *magnum opus*, a history of England, which would show the people,

"upon what foundation their Civil Rights, Privileges, and Liberties stand, and be better enabled to support them: They will see what invasions or encroachments have been made upon any of those ... and be better guarded to prevent the like for the future".

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<sup>69</sup> Carte to James, 4 May 1743, RSM 249/113; James to O'Brien, 28 May 1743, RSM 250/37

<sup>70</sup> *A Letter To the Reverend Mr Thomas Carte, Author of the Full Answer to the Letter from a Bystander*, (2nd edn., 1744), 113-4; [Thomas Carte], *A Full and Clear Vindication Of The Full Answer To A Letter From. A By-Stander*, (1743), 22-3.

Following Machiavelli's doctrine that a state can only be effectively purified by returning to the first principles of its constitution, Carte advocated "returning to the old rules established by the wisdom, and warranted by the practice of their ancestors".<sup>71</sup>

Advice reaching the Pretender, both from Jacobites in England and those in exile, had constantly emphasised that nothing could be done to advance his cause without considerable assistance in troops and money from a foreign power. Such an event looked increasingly unlikely during the 1730s, and James resigned himself to his lot, merely going through the motions of repeating his claim to the crown, asking for help at the courts of Europe, and corresponding diligently with his friends at home.<sup>72</sup> Numerous declarations were drawn up, in consultation with

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<sup>71</sup> Thomas Carte, *A Collection of The Several Papers Published by Mr. Thomas Carte, In relation to his History of England*, (1744), 9. In June 1743 Carte wrote to the Pretender proposing to publish James II's memoirs on the death of Charles II as an antidote to whig histories published since the revolution. Carte to James, 23 June 1743, RSM 251/23.

<sup>72</sup> In 1728 James put his name to a declaration which seemed to accept that he would never be restored: "altho' ye same divine Providence shou'd never permit us to be restor'd to our own right, it will descend to our posterity". RSM 116/141. The declaration was never published as Atterbury took strong exception to it. There is also a very revealing discrepancy in a letter from James to O'Brien, 16 June 1733: "I shall not be without anxiety till the Court of France once send for me to come into that Countrey, For till that step is taken I shall not look on the execution of the project [for an invasion of England] as absolutly resolved on ... as I may have such a Call from one day to another, I am preparing for it, that I may have the less to do when it



friends in England, for use when an expedition could be mounted. But nothing was printed and actually sent into the country in this period. At most James was prepared to circulate manuscript pieces, to a limited number of selected, potentially influential political figures, who he was led to believe might be induced to support his cause.<sup>73</sup>

The situation was transformed in the early 1740s. Relations between Britain and France had deteriorated to the extent that, although not yet at war, they were both actively supporting opposite sides at conflict in Germany, and fought each other at the battle of Dettingen in 1743. The fall of Walpole in 1742, and the death of Cardinal Fleury, the French first minister, in January of the next year, removed from the scene two statesmen committed to peaceful relations between their countries. By the end of November 1743 the new ministry in France had decided upon a serious military invasion of Britain, with the objective of removing her from the European war by establishing a dependent Stuart monarch on the throne. In December 1743 James issued declarations addressed to England, Scotland, and the army, designed to accompany this attempt.<sup>74</sup>

In February 1744 the assembled invasion fleet was wrecked by storms, safeguarding the effects of the providential “Protestant wind” which had wafted William of Orange across the

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comes ... I go back to Albino on Thursday, & on Monday I reckon to return here with my children for the rest of the summer”. RSM 162/101.

<sup>73</sup> This was done extensively in 1731 at the instigation of the duchess of Buckingham, and again in 1742. James to the duchess of Buckingham, 26 January 1731, RSM 142/73, and 31 January 1731, RSM 144/98; SP 36/59/257.

<sup>74</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Rising in Britain 1689-1746* (1980), 235, 237.

channel in 1688. The French abandoned all serious intentions of invasion, but provided just enough encouragement to allow Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, without his father's knowledge or consent, to land in the Outer Hebrides in May 1745. The story of Charles's initial successes, his march to Derby, the subsequent retreat and defeat at Culloden, and the prince's flight through the highlands and islands has often been told. The fact that he found little practical support to welcome him in England has never been disputed. It remains a matter of conjecture whether significant support would have been forthcoming had the rebel army advanced beyond Derby and threatened the capital, and had French reinforcements landed in England. The precise level and nature of Jacobite sympathy remaining in England in the 1740s can never be known.<sup>75</sup>

It is certainly true that, given the stimulus of a serious prospect for a successful restoration, Jacobite propaganda appeared in the second half of 1745 on a scale unknown since the first decade of Hanoverian rule. Material was published in England, as well as sent in from France and Scotland.<sup>76</sup> Parallel to the revival in propaganda was the reappearance of cases of prosecutions for Jacobite seditious words, and incidents where Jacobite letters or threats were posted up in public places.<sup>77</sup> This activity was at a lower level than in 1715, and the riots and

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<sup>75</sup> Different assessments are to be found in Lenman, *Jacobite Risings* 258-9, and in Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables. The Tories and the '45*, (1979), 100-1. Dr. Cruickshanks thought that the Jacobites "threw in their hand when they held most of the trump cards".

<sup>76</sup> For example *Le conquérant d'Ecosse. A Edimbourg*, (1745); *Prince Charles His Welcome to Scotland*, (1745).

<sup>77</sup> SP 36/73/52, 74/157, 69/87, 73/68, 75/28

street disturbances were missing.<sup>78</sup> Nonetheless there was a residue of support for Jacobitism at lower levels in society, if not enough to justify the frequent Jacobite claims to be the popular party.

Much use was made of the postal service in an attempt to win support in England by distributing propaganda to potentially influential figures. Copies of old Jacobite pamphlets were sent to the earl of Dartmouth and H. Sydenham Esq. in early September 1745, which they passed on to the government.<sup>79</sup> It may be that this reflects a difficulty in procuring new Jacobite material for such a purpose at first. Printed and manuscript copies of declarations were collected by the government, and reports came in that they were circulating in Newark and the West Riding during the next months. Also posted were copies of the *Caledonian Mercury*, an Edinburgh newspaper, which came out in support of the Pretender once he had control of the city.<sup>80</sup> An anonymous letter from a Jacobite in Scotland to a friend in England, in October 1745, enclosed a small pamphlet, *A Letter To The Archbishop of York*, which the Young Pretender expected “great benefits from”. It was,

“a well drawn paper, and as it, in a great Manner promises Security to the 3 Materiale points, Religion, property in the funds, and the Laws and Liberties as establish’d, I truly

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<sup>78</sup> This chronology of seditious word cases emerges from the researches of Mr Paul Monod of Yale University. The absence of riots and other disturbances was noted by Nicholas Rogers. Militia and peace officers patrolled the streets of the capital to ensure tranquillity. Rogers, “Popular Disaffection in London During the ’45”, *London Journal*, (vol.1, no.1, 1975).

<sup>79</sup> SP 36/68/15, 6P/92.

<sup>80</sup> SP 36/76/343, 76/92, 74/171.

believe it may be as usefule to him as teen-thousand Highlanders, which is saying much”.<sup>81</sup>

Once the Post Office became aware of this traffic it acted to stop it, and it is doubtful if much Jacobite work was spread by this means.

But by the end of 1745 Jacobite declarations were being printed and distributed in London, although the government was only able to catch one man responsible for them.<sup>82</sup> In December the Whig magistrate Sir Thomas De Veil sent in an account that he had “Receiv’d from different Persons some of the Pretender’s printed Declarations which are every night thrust under Doors & putt into Key holes”. In January De Veil was able to report one minor success, the arrest of “the woman Elizabeth Scate, for Droping & Dispersing to several Persons the Pretender’s Declarations, both father and son”.<sup>83</sup> Jacobite broadsheets and pamphlets were also produced in the capital, and sold. Another woman, Mary Warren, was caught hawking a broadsheet account of a letter “For George the Usurper” thrown at the King by a Catholic priest, as he was reviewing the city militia at St. James’s. In it James Corbet advised George to secure himself and his family “from the fury of the Sword belonging to Charles King of England”.<sup>84</sup>

There seems to have been no shortage of Jacobite pamphlets and broadsheets directly addressed to the issue of the succession, and detailing the abuses of power which justified the

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<sup>81</sup> SP 36/71/219.

<sup>82</sup> SP 36/78/12, 78/12, 78/154.

<sup>83</sup> SP 36/71/219, 76/195.

<sup>84</sup> SP 36/72/348, 72/350.

overthrow of what had become a tyrannical government.<sup>85</sup> “Britannus”, in *Considerations Addressed to the Publick*, reflected that,

“You have now upwards of fifty Years felt the Burthen of a foreign Yoke, and a little Reflection will make you sensible what Advantages were proposed by changing the lineal Succession to the crown, and how far your Views have been answered”.

He went on to list, exhaustively, the ways in which the “civil and sacred rights” of Englishmen had been invaded since the revolution.<sup>86</sup> Another writer restated the whig Jacobite argument that if it was right to replace James II by William, it was justifiable to replace George II by James’s son when civil liberties were similarly threatened:

“Can any true Lover of his Country consider seriously the Justice and Importance of these Complaints, and not be convinced the Necessity is at least as strong, now as in 1688, to make a bold Attempt to save a sinking Nation from impending Ruin?”<sup>87</sup>

What was principally lacking in Jacobite propaganda in the ’45 rebellion, as compared to the ’15, was material to appeal to the popular end of the market. The broadsheet ballads which had appeared in significant numbers in 1715 failed to materialise in 1745. The verse which was published, both in broadsheet and pamphlet form, was generally of a different quality, and spoke to a more literate and literary reader. Stanzas such as,

“Give Him His Right, and in Return receive

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<sup>85</sup> This included the reprinting of Earberry’s *Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru’d to England by the Succession the Illustrious House of Hanover* in one volume.

<sup>86</sup> *Considerations Addressed to the Publick*, (1745), 3.

<sup>87</sup> *A Letter To A Gentleman in England, From One in the Prince’s Army* [1745], 3.

Such Happiness as He alone can give;  
For Slav'ry, Freedom, and for Suff'rings, Ease,  
Trade, Wealth and Fame to make those Blessings please",<sup>88</sup>

were a world removed from the earthy street songs of Clifton, Hinde, and Lightbody. There was little popular appeal in *The Contrast*, "An epitaph in imitation of Dr. Arbuthnot's on Col. Charteris", a satire of 1746 directed against the commander of the Hanoverian army, the duke of Cumberland.

Even while the rising was still in progress, but especially in the months following, there were a large number of works chronicling the events of the rebellion. To an extent the publishing of accounts of the progress of the rebels and the battles fought, was a safe way of expressing and encouraging Jacobite sympathies, and had been paralleled in 1715-16. But there was a far greater air of detachment in the later works, as though the writers were already aware that they were recording an historical event rather than a political happening. In the aftermath of the '45 the publication of dying speeches, declarations, charts, and more prosaic accounts increased. At the same time romanticised versions of the Young Pretender's adventures appeared, some of them self-consciously adopting the new literary form of the novel. The nature of the change in style and content is discussed more extensively in chapter 10.

Apart from the development of a romantic literature about Jacobitism, an account of Jacobite propaganda after the failure of the 1745 rebellion necessarily becomes episodic. The publication of the first volume of Carte's *A General History of England* in 1747 caused a minor

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<sup>88</sup> *A Poem Upon the 29th May, the Day of King Charles II. His Birth and Happy Restoration*, (1745).

scandal as a result of a note he included on the case of Christopher Lovel, who was apparently cured of the King's evil in 1716 after having been touched by the Old Pretender. Several pamphlets were written criticising Carte for including this account, and it led to the corporation of London withdrawing their sponsorship of his history. Carte asserted the accuracy of his account in the second volume, published in 1750, but thereafter his energies seem to have been entirely taken up with the writing, publication, and sale of his history, the fourth and last volume of which was published posthumously in 1755.<sup>89</sup>

Another Jacobite academic, the Latinist William King, provoked similar outrage in 1749 by his oration at the dedication of the newly built Radcliffe Camera in Oxford. Two editions of the speech were printed in the original Latin, and (without King's approval) three translations appeared. In his address King, like the tory politicians in his audience, flirted with Jacobite sentiment. His denunciation of the corruption of the times, and his call for a return to ancient virtues was punctuated by the prayer, "Restore to us our Astrea ... Restore ... him the great Genius of Britain". In response, according to Lord Shelburne, "the most unbounded applause shook the theatre".<sup>90</sup> Verses extolling King's work were published shortly afterwards, but they were greatly outnumbered by pamphlets attacking him.<sup>91</sup> King, however, was no mean controversialist, and well able to stand up for himself. Amongst other works in his defence he

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<sup>89</sup> Nichols ii 471-506.

<sup>90</sup> Greenwood, *William King*, 193-229; *A Translation Of a Late Celebrated Oration. Occasioned By a Libel, entitled, Remarks on Doctor King's Speech*, (1750).

<sup>91</sup> Greenwood lists two verses published in praise of King, and five pamphlets attacking him, one of which had run to three editions by the end of 1749. *William King*, 202-6, 218.

printed a parody of the attack made on him by John Burton of Corpus Christi, “on a large sheet of coarse paper, such as Grub-street ballads are printed on ... to be cried about the streets of Oxford, Windsor, and Eaton ... for foul language and hard names, when a man does not deserve them, like an overcharged gun, will always recoil on the author”.<sup>92</sup> The Oration was aimed at a wider audience than most of King’s publications. The language and academic nature of the latter ensured that they reached only a very limited audience, but at this same time allowed King to get away with expressions of Jacobite sentiment which might have attracted government reprisals if expressed in a more popular medium.

King’s loyalty to the Stuarts lasted until he met the Young Pretender in London in 1750. Charles was engaged in secret negotiations with English supporters, sounding out the possibility of raising men for another rebellion. The Ellibank Plot had no prospect of ever getting off the ground, and King had no practical part in it. He found Charles ill-mannered and uneducated, and unworthy of further support.<sup>93</sup>

A bitter anti-ministerial campaign in a by-election at Westminster in 1750 was coordinated by Alexander Murray, a younger son of the fourth baron Ellibank, who was influential among the Independent Electors of Westminster and acting for the Young Pretender. Murray was committed to Newgate in February 1751 for contempt of the House of Commons, but released by the Sheriffs of London in June, after Parliament had been prorogued, and was paraded through the streets to the cry of “Murray and Liberty”. The printer of *The Case of the*

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<sup>92</sup> [William King], *Elogium Famae Inserviens Jacci Etonensis sive Gigantis*, [1750]; Greenwood, *William King*, 209.

<sup>93</sup> Greenwood, *William King*, 235-237.



*Honourable Alexander Murray. Esq.*, published in the same year, was jailed for this outspoken attack on the commons.<sup>94</sup> It complained of “the most open Violation of the Constitution, the most daring Prostitution of Power”. Murray’s fate was “more becoming the Meridian of an Oriental Tyranny than the Region of British Liberty ... This could not happen if there was the least Spirit among us; but there is none”. Despite the vigour of this attack, however, it contained nothing explicitly Jacobite.<sup>95</sup>

It was possible to see Jacobite designs behind *A Letter From a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country* of 1750. The author answered four questions supposedly posed to him, showing that an oath taken to an illegal ruler was not binding, that government should not be obeyed if its directions went against the laws and liberties of the subject, and that there was no reason to doubt that the Pretender was the lawful son of James II. To the question whether he was a whig or tory he answered that,

“there is in this Nation another Set of Men ... some of whom are of great Quality, and many of great Honour, Virtue and good Sense, who love their Country, and do all in their power to serve it”.

The earlier part of the pamphlet emphasised the ancient virtue of frugality, and stressed the need always to have a reserve of ready money at hand, which could be used to serve King and

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<sup>94</sup> Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 109-10; DNB.

<sup>95</sup> *The Case Of The Honourable Alexander Murray, Esq.; In an Appeal to the People of Great Britain; More particularly, The Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of Westminster*, (1751), 3, 26.

country.<sup>96</sup> This led a pro-ministerial writer to caricature the pamphlet in its own title, as *A Fund Raising for the Italian Gentleman*. It was obvious that the third party was the Jacobites, and that they needed the money!<sup>97</sup>

Probably the only committed Jacobite journal produced after the '45 was *The True Briton* which appeared from 1751-53. This newspaper was sponsored by John Baptiste Caryll, a Roman Catholic land-owner who accompanied the Young Pretender on his abortive attempt of 1744, and who was later to become his Secretary of State.<sup>98</sup> Caryll was regularly consulted on financial and policy matters by the manager of the journal, George Osborne, and contributed numerous essays, at least some of which were published.<sup>99</sup> One was a thinly veiled allegory in which England was a parish which had seen a number of changes of minister:

“the family of the Scots have ever prov’d an honest worthy family, & good natur’d Neighbourly Gentlemen, Tho’ it is true some of them were guilty of some Mistakes

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<sup>96</sup> *A Letter From a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country*, (3rd edn, 1750), 14-21, 4 10-12.

<sup>97</sup> *A Fund Raising for the Italian Gentleman: Or, A Magazine Filling on the Scheme of Frugality*, (1750), 5

<sup>98</sup> Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope*, (1975), 101-2; Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 56-7

<sup>99</sup> The letters of Osborne to Caryll are at BL Add MS 28236. A series of manuscripts by Caryll intended for the *True Briton* is at BL Add MS 28252. I am indebted to Dr. Erskine-Hill for bringing these to my attention.

which prov'd of ill Consequences to them, yet it is the Opinion of the most serious of ye Parish, that it had been much better for us if they had yet held the living”.

The old familiar question had to be asked,

“If we were to be excus'd for using so ill those who had a real title to the Living, what can be said in favour of One to whom we ourselves gave it on certain Conditions which he has broken”.<sup>100</sup>

Other newspapers attacked the government, and even showed sympathy for the Jacobite Cameron of Lochiel, but never committed themselves to Jacobitism. *Jackson's Oxford Journal* was founded to cover the election of 1754, and circulated through six counties. It took contributions from both sides and avoided open espousal of the tory cause, although it carried long reprints from the opposition *London Evening Post* and generally modelled itself on the format and policy of the latter.<sup>101</sup>

In June 1753 the last man to be executed as a Jacobite, Dr. Archibald Cameron, brother of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, was hanged. Despite the fact that a hastily published life of Cameron claimed that he left no letters or papers, a *Copy of What Dr. Archibald Cameron*

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<sup>100</sup> BL Add MS 28252/201.

<sup>101</sup> Robson, *The Oxfordshire Election of 1754*, (Oxford, 1949), 29-31. The *London Evening Post* had consistently opposed the government since its founding in 1727. William King thought many essays, letters and political paragraphs in it, “the productions of an excellent wit, and full of good sense”, although he denied that he wrote any of it. Greenwood, *William King*, 274. *The Protester* was set up by James Ralph in 1753 at the instigation of the opposition whig duke of Bedford. Robson, *Oxfordshire Election*, 29.

*intended to have delivered to the Sheriff of Middlesex* was printed, asserting, in reference to the Pretender, “What great Good to these Nations might not be expected from such a Prince, were he in Possession of the Throne of his Ancestors!”<sup>102</sup>

In 1757 government messengers seized copies of *A Sixth Letter To The People of England, On The Progress of National Ruin ...*, which complained of the sacrifice of English to Hanoverian interests, and concluded,

“What Evils a Stuart on the Throne of England would have produced, can be but a speculative Consideration at present; however it may be perfectly discovered what are the Blessings which came with a North-East Wind from Germany”.<sup>103</sup>

But by that date there can have been very few who thought that the speculative consideration had any remaining chance of coming to pass. The Young Pretender’s visit to England had convinced him of the futility of any further attempt, and his pursuit of consolation in the form of women and drink rendered him a still less attractive figure as a prospective ruler. After the ’45 no European power would again think seriously of supporting a Stuart expedition; although they might pay lip service to the idea in order to put pressure on the British government, as Frederick

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<sup>102</sup> *The Life of Dr. Archibald Cameron, Brother to Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Chief of that Clan*, (1753), 29; *Copy of What Dr. Archibald Cameron intended to have delivered to the Sheriff of Middlesex at the place of Execution, but which he left in the Hands of his Wife for that End*, 7.

<sup>103</sup> *A Sixth Letter To The People of England, On The Progress of National Ruin, In Which It is shewn, that the present Grandeur of France, and Calamities of this Nation, are owing to the influence of Hanover on the Councils of England*, (1757), 38.

II of Prussia did in 1752.<sup>104</sup> The tight control which the government had kept on the capital during the crisis, and the severity of the treatment meted out to the rebels afterwards, convinced potential Jacobites at home (if they needed convincing) of the futility of attempting anything in the Pretender's cause until they had been liberated by a foreign army. The Ellibank Plot was never a serious venture, but another example of opposition politicians flirting with Jacobitism in order to disconcert the ministry.

When George III succeeded to the throne in 1760 the Jacobite problem no longer existed. When the Old Pretender died in 1766 it was an event of no political significance in England, and of moment only to a necessarily nostalgic and backward-looking remnant. His death was marked by a 26 page Latin work published in Rome. In England it prompted one ministerial broadsheet portraying Charles Edward as being contemptuous of his friends in England and concerned only to be given "asylum in the papal dominions".<sup>105</sup> The changed circumstances of the 1760s can be gauged from the attitude of the young James Boswell, newly arrived in London, to Jacobites and the discussion of the Stuart claim to the throne. On 17 January 1763 Boswell took delight in discussing with the Kellie family, the daughters of a Colonel in the Jacobite army during the '45, "our love of the Royal Family of Stuart and regret at their being driven from Britain". He admitted that "This was a bold and rash way of talking; but it had justice, and it pleased me". He would have been unlikely to take such a cavalier attitude twenty years earlier. On 24 February

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<sup>104</sup> Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 112-3.

<sup>105</sup> *In Funere Jacobi III. Magnae Britanniae Regis. Oratio*, (Rome 1766); *The Declaration of Charles Stewart, eldest son of the late Pretender, commonly called James the Eight, to his Holiness the Pope, February 16 1766*, (1766).

Boswell recorded meeting Alexander Macdonald, surgeon in an East India Company Ship, who was “warmly attached to the family of Stuart”:

“It was very entertaining to meet the superstitious warmth of an old Highlander seer mixed with the spirited liveliness of a neat clever young fellow. He had a picture of Mary Queen of Scots set in a ring, which he wore with much affection. I really took a liking to the lad”.

Macdonald is held up as a curiosity, certainly not as a serious enemy to the state.<sup>106</sup>

The production of Jacobite political argument in print was closely attuned to the political fortunes of the movement. Jacobite publishing reflected the movement’s political success or failure, and was at its most intense during the two rebellions and in the first decade of Hanoverian rule. The great watershed was the period of the Atterbury Plot and its immediate aftermath. After 1724 much less Jacobite propaganda was produced, and it was of a different kind. What was missing was the cheap street ballad, and, with the exception of *Mist’s* paper, journals aimed at the artisanal classes. Opposition groups accepting the Hanoverian settlement stepped in where Jacobites failed, and the Excise Crisis is a measure of their success. Pamphlets expounding a Jacobite critique of Hanoverian tyranny, and justifying a Stuart restoration, were relatively common during the later rebellion. The more popular dimension which had characterised the earlier period was not. A new type of work began to be produced which carried a different message and aimed at a different audience. Historical documentation of the rebellion, and romanticised verse and prose accounts focussing on the deeds of Charles Edward appealed to a more literate reader who could afford larger and more finely produced works. They were

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<sup>106</sup> Frederick A Pottle, Ed., *Boswell’s London Journal, 1762-1763*, (1966), 171, 223.

backward-looking and nostalgic, giving consolation in time of trouble, but not providing the imperative to action of a political cause.

How far Jacobite publishing simply reflected the political development of Jacobitism, and how far it may have exercised an influence on the movement in its own right remains to be assessed. The remainder of the thesis concentrates on three main questions. Who was responsible for the organisation and production of Jacobite propaganda? What was its political content and relationship to other political groups? What indications are there of the size and extent of Jacobite support among different social groups? Answering these questions reveals much about the nature of the Jacobite political machine, and of the potential threat it posed to the Hanoverian succession.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Old Pretender and the Propaganda War in England

Have you found Reason to love and cherish your Governours as the fathers of the People of Great Britain and Ireland ? Has a Family upon whom a Faction unlawfully bestowed the Diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due Sense of so great a Trust and Favour? Have you found more Humanity and Condescension in those who were not born to a Crown, than in my Royal Fore-fathers ? Have their Ears been open to the Cries of the People?

Declaration of Prince Charles Edward, 10

October 1745



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE OLD PRETENDER AND THE PROPAGANDA WAR IN ENGLAND

In the first decades of the eighteenth century printed pamphlets, broadsheets and newspapers acquired an ever more important role in political life. Leading politicians became increasingly aware of the potential for influencing opinion both within the world of Westminster, and outside, by the production and distribution of political propaganda. As first minister between 1710 and 1714 Robert Harley devoted much care and attention to the construction of an effective government propaganda machine. In the 1720s Robert Walpole went still further in the use of government funds to subsidise writers and printers, and in organising the distribution of pro-government material through the Post Office. Both were largely unsuccessful in attempts to curb opposition publishing, which also flourished and developed at this time so that by the 1720s it was clearly the opposition press which held the initiative in political debate and controversy.<sup>1</sup>

The propaganda war became a necessary and central part of all opposition campaigns. By the 1730s *The Craftsman* had become the lynch-pin of Lord Bolingbroke's attempt to concert the parliamentary opposition to Walpole. The Excise Crisis of 1733 was in large measure the creation of skilful opposition propaganda.<sup>2</sup> The importance of the printed word can be readily gauged by the growing direct personal involvement of leading politicians and men of letters: not

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<sup>1</sup> J A Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press*, (Cambridge, 1979); Laurence Hanson, *Government and the Press*, (1936), 108-118.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Langford, *The Excise Crisis*, (Oxford, 1975).

only Harley, Walpole and Bolingbroke, but Pulteney and Chesterfield, Swift and Defoe, Addison and Fielding.

If the supporters of the exiled Stuart claimant to the throne were to be seen as a credible alternative political option, they could not afford to neglect this essential field. In the early years of the reign of George I some Jacobites realised this, and succeeded in producing significant numbers of newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsheets. But what was missing from these attempts was the organising hand of a Harley or a Walpole. Without it their diffuse efforts were initially less effective than they might have been, and ultimately collapsed. There was no unison of subject matter or timing, and no organised system of distribution. In time of trouble Jacobite authors and printers had no back-up or support, no financial assistance or physical protection.<sup>3</sup> This chapter shows that the principal reason for this failure was the character and outlook of the Jacobite monarch himself, James Stuart, the Old Pretender. The remainder of the section examines Jacobite publishing in the light of this lack of direction from above, and investigates those responsible for the not inconsiderable scale of production which was achieved.

The potential for the creation of an effective propaganda machine was not lacking. At different times James had in his service some of the finest and most powerful literary talents of

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<sup>3</sup> In desperation George Flint petitioned Thomas Wentworth, third earl of Strafford, a leading Jacobite politician, for assistance during his confinement to Newgate for printing his Jacobite newspaper *Weekly Remarks and Political Reflections* in 1716: “pardon this Freedom from an Author of the Weekly Remarks now sick in Newgate & depriv’d of subsistence; In whom if it is a fault to insinuate a Petition of Relief, unknown as he is, to your Lordship...”. There is no record of any reply, Flint to Strafford, 20 February 1716. BL Add MS 31141 (Strafford Papers)

the age. Lord Bolingbroke, Lord Lansdowne, and Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, stood foremost in the ranks of men of letters. Lansdowne was a poet and playwright whose talents were admired in polite society. Atterbury was a fearsome controversialist and pamphleteer of proven abilities.<sup>4</sup> Bolingbroke was later to organise and direct opposition propaganda in England. The earls of Mar and Orrery, and the duke of Wharton were second only to these. Competent professional writers such as the nonjuring controversialist Charles Leslie, the historian Thomas Carte, and the journalist George Flint offered their services, as did the more disreputable Charles Foreman and Denis de Coetlogan. When the newspaper printer Nathaniel Mist was driven into exile in France in 1728, and was joined by some of his former employees, he was quick to put himself at the disposal of the Pretender. But this potential was never realised; these talents never effectively harnessed.

Much was done in England without assistance either from the exiled Jacobite court, or from leading Jacobite politicians at home. No other opposition group rivalled the hundreds of Jacobite ballads sold on the streets of London between 1714 and 1724. The Jacobite printer Nathaniel Mist produced a newspaper, *Mist's Weekly Journal*, which at least throughout the 1720s was one of the most popular of its day. Other Jacobite newspapers and pamphlets combined with these to constitute a grave threat in the eyes of government ministers: a network

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<sup>4</sup> Among Atterbury's most effective political writings were two pamphlets aimed at rallying tory supporters and warning in so many words that the only alternative policy remaining if they failed to counter whig influence with the King was to turn to Jacobitism: [Atterbury], *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, (1714); [Atterbury] *An Argument to prove the Affections of the People of England to be the best Security of Government*, (1716).

of spies and informers was constructed in an attempt to stem the flood of “treasonable and seditious libels” coming out of the capital. But these were individual, *ad hoc* works. Men like Mist and George Flint, who produced a series of Jacobite newspapers, including *Robin’s Last Shift*, in 1716, complained bitterly in later years of the lack of real assistance in their endeavours by Jacobite politicians.

After being forced to flee from England because of his publishing activities, Flint tried hard over many months to persuade Jacobite leaders to support him in further propaganda attempts. During 1717 he felt that, far from encouraging him, “much pains have been taken to keep me silent”. Eventually Flint received limited aid through the mediation of the earl of Mar in 1718, but this proved insufficient to sustain the sort of publishing campaign which he envisaged, and was short-lived. In 1729 Flint wrote a petition to the Jacobite court complaining that his zeal in “begging for many years, as if it had been for the salvation of his Soul, to have the Pen imploy’d in Yr Service”:

“every where branded him a Madman, stamp’d him a dreaded Bugbear even to his own party, avoided, hated, despised, ridiculed, himself and his family perishing unpitied”.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, Nathaniel Mist in exile complained to the Pretender’s secretary, James Edgar, in 1731, “I never suffer’d under the Tyranny of the Government, but I was twice, sometimes ten times as loaded by our friends, and never once assisted”.<sup>6</sup> Without such support Jacobite publishing in

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<sup>5</sup> Flint to Captain Booth [1718], HMC Stuart vi 480; Petition of George Flint, [1729], RSM 131/46.

<sup>6</sup> Mist to Edgar, 8 February 1731, RSM 142/141.

England all but ended with the uncovering of the Atterbury Plot in 1723, and the accompanying increase in government efforts to control the press.

In the production of propaganda, as in all its other activities, the difficulties faced by the Jacobite court should not be underestimated. It was impossible for the Pretender himself to exercise direct control of such a wide and disparate movement from Rome, money was always in short supply, considerable obstacles were placed in the way of the printing and distribution of Jacobite works by the British government, and the ministers upon whom James was forced to rely were not always wholehearted in his cause. Nonetheless these problems were not insurmountable. The achievements of independent Jacobite publicists, such as Flint and Mist, demonstrate what might have been done. In many cases difficulties were compounded rather than eased by the Pretender's approach to the problem. I begin by highlighting the obstacles faced by the Jacobite court in seeking to put its political arguments across, and move on to examine the attitude of James himself towards political propaganda. Finally I consider in more detail two examples in which the determining influence of the Pretender's attitude in shaping the Jacobite propaganda effort is clearly demonstrated.

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The great distance James was forced to be at from his affairs in England and from his leading ministers in Paris caused delay in all business, and prevented a swift response in print to circumstances as they arose. By the time that James (in Rome) had consulted Atterbury (in Paris) about the desirability of producing a declaration at the death of George I in 1727, the opportunity had passed by, and George's son had quietly been proclaimed King. To compensate for this delay James was prepared on occasion to delegate some powers to his ministers and to leading

supporters in England. Thus he wrote to the earl of Arran, the nominal head of his interest at home, leaving it to his discretion whether or not to publish drafts of declarations he sent him in 1720.<sup>7</sup> He even approved action taken by them without consulting him in response to opportunities offered. Lansdowne's declaration of October 1720, written to capitalise on the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, was warmly welcomed by James when he was informed of it.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, with few exceptions, James insisted on himself retaining control of Jacobite printing abroad, and stopped a number of propaganda efforts initiated on his behalf. He instigated the writing and ordered the printing and dispersal of the declarations and manifestoes which were sent to Britain, and to all the courts of Europe. Usually he controlled directly the contents of the works which bore his name, and followed a methodical, long drawn-out, painstaking, and slow process of consultation with his "friends" before sending a piece into the world.

Shortage of money was a constant complaint of the exiled court. The pensions which James receives from foreign governments were at best uncertain, often unpaid or years in arrears. Collections were raised in England, but this became increasingly difficult in the face of government control, and as supporters there became more and more despairing of political success. There was also the memory of past misappropriations of such funds. James continually

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<sup>7</sup> "I think it would be an advantage if they ... were executed out of hand, but that I leave to your determination & that of friends with you". James to Arran, 6 July 1720, RSM 48/21.

<sup>8</sup> James to General Dillon, 3 November 1720, RSM 49/106.

lamented his inability to assist his financially embarrassed subjects abroad because of his own chronic shortage of funds.<sup>9</sup>

Even so, printing was not expensive. In comparison to the expense incurred by the court at Rome, and by Jacobite agents spread across Europe the sums required to subsidise a newspaper or produce a series of pamphlets were small. Subsidies on the scale lavished by Robert Walpole on the press would not have been needed, simply sufficient money to sustain and encourage men who already produced propaganda on the Pretender's behalf. In 1718 the poverty-stricken Flint put the cost of a series of pamphlets at £100.<sup>10</sup> There is no indication that lack of funds prevented publication at any point. When James wanted a notice inserted in the *Amsterdam Gazette* in July 1732, he told his agent in Paris, Colonel O'Brien, to spare no expense

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<sup>9</sup> G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, (Oxford, 1975), 209, 239; Mr. B [possibly Alderman Barber who was known to have Jacobite sympathies, and as a printer himself, was well-known to Mist] to Mist, February 1731, RSM 142/142

<sup>10</sup> £18,000 was raised for the Pretender by English Jacobites in 1716-17, Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 209. Walpole spent £805 in the period June 1733 to June 1734 in subsidising the *Free Briton* alone. C (H) 75/7/1-2. In comparison to these sums Mar's offer to Flint of £25, and James's later offer of £30 per annum to George Gordon to produce a sympathetic newspaper seem niggardly. In 1737 John Kelly had been paid one guinea a week for his essays in *Fog's Weekly Journal*, so that the leading article alone cost more than £50 per annum. Flint to Mar, 1 August 1718, and Mar to Flint, 3 September 1718, HMC Stuart vii 103, 241; James to O'Brien, 28 May 1743; RSM 250/37; SP 36/41/240.

to get it put in.<sup>11</sup> What was required was a change of attitude, so that the production of a constant flow of printed material designed to win support in England was seen as a priority, and not as a marginal activity. Saving money by refraining from the propaganda war was a false economy.

Perhaps the most serious difficulty lay in actually getting the work printed, and then distributed in England, in view of the determined efforts of the British government to prevent the circulation of Jacobite material. From the early 1690s it had been possible to have declarations printed secretly in England.<sup>12</sup> Invading Jacobite armies brought propaganda into the country from Scottish presses. In Edinburgh Robert Freebairn enjoyed the dubious distinction of being simultaneously printer by appointment to both George I and James Stuart.<sup>13</sup> But in the course of George I's reign it became increasingly difficult to get Jacobite work produced. Publishers were prosecuted and harassed, so that by 1726 Lord Orrery wrote to explain to the Pretender that,

“tho there is no formal law to restrain the Liberty of the press, yet several Printers have been so severely prosecuted, that 'tis allmost impossible to gett any thing published, that does but look like a reflection upon the Gouvernement.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> James to O'Brien, 12 July 1732, RSM 154/164.

<sup>12</sup> Information of Dr. Richard Kingston against Anne Merryweather who was convicted of high treason in 1693 for publishing a Jacobite declaration, HMC Finch iv 515-6.

<sup>13</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746*, (1980) 225 and note

<sup>14</sup> Orrery to James, 6 August 1726, RSM 96/17. In 1728 James told O'Brien that he could not be sure of getting a declaration printed in England. James to O'Brien, 7 June 1728 RSM 117/16. In exile Mist was dubious about his abilities to get works printed in England, although he seems to



However, Nathaniel Mist's newspaper, a frequent victim of ministerial attentions, still continued to publish Jacobite pieces, including the notorious Persian Letter of 1728, even without any appreciable assistance from Jacobite politicians. Although Mist himself was forced to flee abroad, his newspaper did not finally give up the ghost until 1737. With more active support perhaps others too would have been able to carry on the struggle.

Jacobite works printed abroad were frequently detected on their entry into England, either by the Post Office, or by Customs Officers at the ports. Both agencies commonly received instructions from the Secretaries of State to search the mail, or passengers and goods passing through the ports, for Jacobite material.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the government used its influence at foreign courts to prevent the printing of treasonable pieces. Lord Lansdowne found difficulty in getting published a declaration at Paris in August 1722. "The restraint is so strict here upon the Press," he wrote to James, "that we have not been able to get the declaration you was pleas'd to approve of published as yet".<sup>16</sup>

The idea of setting up his own printing press seems to have occurred to James only once and that in extra-ordinary circumstances. He wrote appreciatively of the service done his cause by Nathaniel Mist and his newspaper.<sup>17</sup> But when Mist removed to France in 1728, and offered his assistance, James did not consider setting him up to practice his former trade. Later, when

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have been able to arrange for the publication of a self-justification by the duke of Wharton in 1728. Mist to O'Brien, 7 November 1728, RSM 121/165

<sup>15</sup> Eg SP 35/23/74; SP 35/10/39

<sup>16</sup> Lansdowne to James, 31 August 1722, RSM 61/153.

<sup>17</sup> James to Mist, 16 August 1728, RSM 119/42.

desirous of having a declaration produced secretly, in preparation for a projected expedition, he did think of using Mist. But his idea on this occasion only indicates his *ad hoc* approach to the use of propaganda. It also suggests that James was capable of acting in the high-handed manner usually associated with the Stuart royal family. He explained the plan to Colonel O'Brien on May 14th 1732:

“I think the best course to be taken ... is for you to send out of hand to Boulogne for Mist & his Man Wolf, and That as soon as they arrive; they should be immediately locked up either in the bastile or some other convenient place with all the necessary instruments for printing, and when they have done their work That they should still be kept up, till the expedition is executed. This is the securest method for keeping the secret, and does them I think on so extraordinary ocasion no wrong. They should be used with all possible care & attention, & have all the douceurs & liberty which the secret will allow of ...”<sup>18</sup>

The wealth of literary talent available to James posed its own problems. The Jacobite ministers were not always wholehearted in the cause, nor wholly to be relied upon. Bolingbroke, Mar, and Lansdowne were all removed from the Pretender's confidence under suspicion. One of the principal causes of dispute between Bolingbroke and the Pretender was the content of the declarations to be issued under the signature of the former to accompany the expedition of 1715.<sup>19</sup> The duke of Wharton was consistent only in his unpredictability. The Bishop of

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<sup>18</sup> James to O'Brien, 14 May 1732, RSM 153/110.

<sup>19</sup> Bolingbroke, *A Letter to Sir William Wyndham*, (1717), in *The Works of Lord Bolingbroke*, 4 Vols., (1967), 171-2. According to Bolingbroke they directly disagreed over safeguards for the

Rochester, a difficult man to deal with at the best of times, seemed not to want to become involved in the production of propaganda while he was James's chief representative at Paris, but then launched a vehement attack on the literary attempts of others. James's "friends" in England were ready to give advice about the content of declarations, but proved unwilling to do anything about getting them printed and on to the streets. Too often the Pretender was ready to rely on an assortment of Scots, Irish and French writers, of varying degrees of competence, to put his ideas on paper. Atterbury made much of the fact that, as none of these were English, they could know nothing of the political situation in that country.

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Nonetheless, the responsibility for failure must rest with James. Despite the care and attention which he showed in this field of business, as he did in all others, he did not fuse the materials available to him into an effective weapon against the British government. Despite his methodical and painstaking approach, he lacked the imagination necessary to build a propaganda machine such as that constructed by Harley, or that which Walpole was operating against him. The problem lay in the Pretender's limited conception of the purpose and use of propaganda. Whereas both Harley and Walpole saw the need for a constant flow of works, especially of newspapers, to mould public opinion, James relied on an essentially piecemeal approach, and addressed himself to a more limited audience. And because he exercised a personal control over propaganda, he stifled the efforts of those who attempted to make it effective on his behalf.

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Church of England, and the Pretender tried to have the declarations published under Bolingbroke's name without such provisions.

James readily saw the need to respond in print to opportunities and threats arising, both in England and abroad. Each time that he was led to believe that the moment for an expedition was at hand, he was careful to ensure that the necessary publications to accompany that attempt were prepared. Each time that the Princes of Europe seemed to be about to conclude a treaty without regard to his interest, he gave directions that a protestation asserting his right be got ready. But between such events, he saw little need simply to repeat former promises and arguments to his subjects in England. He lacked a wider conception of the role of propaganda in winning hearts and minds to his cause. Such publications would only provoke the government to exercise a greater vigilance against his friends there. Thus, at the climax of the government's uncovering of the Atterbury Plot in 1723, James told Lord Lansdowne that there was, "no necessity of anything more being published now in my name, the quieter we keep for the present certainly the better".<sup>20</sup> Above all he believed that the really politically significant people could be reached more effectively by other means. In December 1732, the Pretender told Colonel O'Brien:

"In the hopes we are in of an enterprize being soon undertaken, there can be no thought of my publishing a Declaration at this time, since that would give too great an Alarm, and is after all the less necessary that I have no reason to doubt that Lord Bolingbroke & many other considerable people are well informed of my dispositions as to the Church of England &c.tho' that indeed cannot serve for the mob".<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> James to Lansdowne, 8 March 1723, RSM 66/77.

<sup>21</sup> James to O'Brien, 3 December 1732, RSM 156/87.

He saw no role in politics for the wider political nation and consequently there was no requirement to put his views across to them.<sup>22</sup>

James believed that his views were well known in England at this time because he had recently made assiduous use of alternative methods of making them known, to which he attached more importance than printing. In the winter of 1730-31 he had held a series of meetings with the duchess of Buckingham in Rome, the substance of which she was charged with reporting back to her friends and associates in England. On her advice he had written numerous manuscript letters, expounding his policies, to important political figures, who it was believed might be induced to espouse his cause. In addition, he had conveyed to the duchess a bundle of notes, promising employment and rewards on his restoration, to fourteen eminent men, including Bolingbroke, the Pulteneys, and the duke of Argyle.<sup>23</sup> For James, such a direct and personal approach, made to those whose support could actually be of political significance, was always likely to produce better results than a more general declaration. Again in 1741, although remarking that his character and principles were “little known” and asserting that:

“were I known, and more justice done to my sentiments it would I am convinc’d make many alter their present way of thinking and induce them to concurr heartily in the measures for my restauration...”;

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<sup>22</sup> Jacobite attitudes to “the people” are discussed below, chapter 10.

<sup>23</sup> James to the duchess of Buckingham, 26 January 1731, RSM 142/73, and 31 January 1731, RSM 144/98.

he chose to remedy the situation by the dispatch of a series of manuscript letters into England, not by having anything printed and distributed on a larger scale.<sup>24</sup>

In 1729 the Pretender had been unable to comprehend why the duke of Wharton had wanted to publish his reasons for espousing the Stuart cause, and also a “ludicrous letter” attacking Walpole. He wrote to O’Brien:

“I do not enter into his [Wharton’s] Idea of his going out of France to get pamphlets printed ... For I think it would be a trouble & an expense that is not necessary, since any papers that he has a mind to publish, if they can’t easily be printed, he may have some Copies made of them & to send them over, wch I think would be sufficient to have them afterwards made publick in England.”<sup>25</sup>

James was also concerned that any works produced in his name should reflect the dignity of his rank, and the probity of his character. It was not fitting that he should indulge in a pamphlet war, nor that anything originating from him should be of doubtful veracity. He told O’Brien, referring to Wharton’s plans,

“the truth Is That in relation to pamphlets & such sort of papers, it is I think in general neither decent nor proper that they should come out in any way by my authority, neither indeed can I approve of anything where truth is not observed.”

O’Brien was to inform Wharton that, “such arts & practices are by no means allowable, nor do I think that any good can be done to the Cause by them. Lyes are the weapons of my enemies, but shall never be mine”. James concluded, “I should be glad therefor that this may come in time to

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<sup>24</sup> MS Circular letter, 25 May 1741, SP 36/56/58.

<sup>25</sup> James to O’Brien, 8 January 1729, RSM 124/43.

stop the publication of the paper you mention.”<sup>26</sup> Similarly, James was anxious not to be seen to have anything to do with Charles Foreman, the author of a number of vehement attacks on Walpole’s government; including a letter to the House of Commons, supposedly written in favour of Atterbury, in 1722,<sup>27</sup> and a piece which he published at Rotterdam in 1727, which O’Brien thought too “menacing”.<sup>28</sup> James was convinced that Foreman was a bad character, and refused to write directly to him. Faced with his persistent demands for employment, the Pretender wrote to O’Brien:

“I see no inconvenience in giving him a little Charity ... as from yourself, neither do I see any hurt in his being encouraged in general to write what may exasperate the English nation against the present Government, Provided no authority is given him for any particular thing he writes, because one can neither know with what view he goes about writing such papers, or what use he may make of them: Enfin, if a little money & a few civil words will quiet him, so much the better, but he must never be able to say that either you or I employ him, or authorise his proceedings...”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> James to O’Brien, 8 January 1729, RSM 124/43, and 18 October 1728, RSM 121/84.

<sup>27</sup> Foreman’s letters to Atterbury claiming the attention due to him for having written in the Bishop’s defence, and Atterbury’s refusal to have anything to do with him, in 1729, are at RSM 128/146-51.

<sup>28</sup> Foreman to James, 24 July 1730, RSM 138/74.

<sup>29</sup> James to O’Brien, 6 September 1730, RSM 139/25. The Jacobites had nothing to do with a pamphlet published by Foreman in 1730, James to O’Brien, 25 October 1730, RSM 140/54

Thus too, Denis de Coetlogan, who was later to write effectively against the government when in England,<sup>30</sup> was accorded a cold welcome at the Jacobite court in Rome, and dismissed without employment. James's Secretary of State, Sir John Graeme, thought him "not very sound in the head".<sup>31</sup> On their return to England, both proved effective anti-government propagandists. But not having received suitable encouragement, they did not write for the Pretender.

Through propaganda James aimed at reaching two different audiences. As well as to a narrow political nation at home, he appealed to a wider European audience, which he viewed as of at least equal importance. Much care and attention was devoted to putting the Stuart case to princes, ministers and ambassadors at the courts of Europe. From some of these powers James was in almost constant expectation of military and political support, and thus wrote to persuade them that the time for action had come, and that their interest really did lie in his restoration. To this end memorials were constantly being drawn up and sent, in manuscript, to foreign governments. Each negotiation was accompanied by its own particular manifesto: the duke of Wharton composed one to reinforce his attempt to persuade the Emperor to mount an expedition in favour of James while on his embassy to Vienna in 1725.<sup>32</sup> During his period of "office" in Paris, Atterbury had a whole series of memorials drawn up designed to accompany endeavours

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<sup>30</sup> De Coetlogan wrote for a number of journals including *The Craftsman* and *The Alchymist*, for which he was imprisoned in Newgate in 1739. see above, chapter 3.

<sup>31</sup> James to Atterbury, 31 October 1727, RSM 111/153; Graeme to O'Brien, 29 September 1727, RSM 110/78

<sup>32</sup> MS manifesto by the duke of Wharton, addressed to the Emperor, August 1725, RSM 85/83.



to convince Cardinal Fleury, the chief minister, that it was in the best interests of France to abandon her alliance with the Hanoverian royal family, and act in support of James.<sup>33</sup>

The pieces organised by Atterbury, and subsequently by his successor, O'Brien, were usually written by Frenchmen moving on the fringes of court life. Atterbury in particular recommended Blainville, a French cleric, who was very prolific in producing work to be circulated at the French court. James told O'Brien to make use of him because he produced good political memoirs, although, "he is very prolix in his writings": Blainville was paid an annual pension of 1000 livres (£50) by the Jacobite court for several years.<sup>34</sup> His work concentrated on presenting a Stuart restoration as being in the interest of France, rather than on the merits of James's case. Wharton's paper to the Emperor was exceptional in that it focused on the plight of the English people under the tyranny of Hanoverian rule, and appealed to him to set them free. Wharton at least in this work, ignored the advice of Atterbury, that he point out the Emperor's best interest, and in particular dwell upon the trade advantages to be gained in the Indian Ocean by the two new Flemish Companies he had set up.<sup>35</sup>

But in addition to such individual appeals, James was concerned to maintain his right and title in general; not to let his claim lapse by default, nor to give anyone a handle by which he could be accused of neglect. Thus on the occasion of the Hanoverian succession he had printed the *Manifeste Touchant Les Droits Du Roy Jacques III*, which was distributed in both French and

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<sup>33</sup> Atterbury to James, 21 November 1726, RSM 99/65; James to Atterbury, 14 June 1727, RSM 107/58.

<sup>34</sup> Atterbury to James, 14 June 1728, RSM 117/59; James to O'Brien, November 1728, 121/152.

<sup>35</sup> Atterbury to James, 16 July 1725, RSM 84/49.

English. This pamphlet, like other Jacobite works addressed jointly to the courts of Europe, emphasised the legitimacy of James's claim. It demonstrated that the succession to the crown of England was hereditary by proximity of blood, and that neither the Parliament nor the people had any right to depose the King: to do so was a violation of the fundamental laws and doctrines both of church and state. Attached was a family tree which clearly showed James as first and George I as fifty-eighth in line of succession to James II.<sup>36</sup> In such pieces James was rather keeping up a public appearance, conforming to what was expected from him, than trying to win positive assistance.

The Pretender's attitude in this regard is apparent in his letter to Atterbury of 15th March 1728. With a Congress designed to settle the peace of Europe called to meet at Soissons, James once more faced the prospect of being left without a powerful ally hostile to Hanoverian Britain, who would espouse his cause. Thus he told Atterbury, he ought to try to win support at that Congress, "or at least show the world that I am not neglectful of my interest".

"Many people are I believe Surprized that no publick paper was published by me, since the late Earl of Hanover's death, but I can't say I repent of that silence, tho' I don't know how far it might be advisable to break it now, by having a proper paper drawn in French by way of Memorial, to be delivered to all the Plenipotentiarys at the opening of the Congress, In which my right might be set forth, & arguments brought to prove that my Restoration can be the only solid basis of an universal peace, & that no one power has any true interest to oppose it. This is only a first thought, on wch I should be glad to have

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<sup>36</sup> *Manifeste Touchant Les Droits Du Roy Jacques III*, RSM 3/98. This was republished in 1718 on the initiative of the duke of Mar. Mar to Sternock, 27 December 1718, RSM 40/43.

your opinion, and if you see no objection to it, You might get good Pere Blainville to make a draught of such a paper under your direction, Recommending to him, that he make it in as small a compass as he can, since a paper of that kind should be strong & full, but not too long. [I do not indeed expect any essential good from such a paper, but something]<sup>37</sup> in the present juncture something may be owing to the publick, and such Princes, as may really have a desire of favouring me, may be glad of such an occasion to introduce the treating of my interest: neither do I see that such a step can displease any power or thwart whatever private prospects they may have in mind in my favour”.<sup>38</sup>

When printed, this manifesto was to be distributed to all of the delegates attending the Congress, except the British, and copies were to be sent to the duke of Ormonde in Spain, to O’Rourke in Vienna, and to all of the other Jacobite agents across Europe for distribution to the different courts. But, as an essential part of this propaganda campaign, those copies dispersed for foreign governments were to be accompanied by written “private Memoires”.<sup>39</sup>

The other half of James’s propaganda effort was directed at winning support in England. Here, to an even greater extent, James’s attitude to the printed word ensured that his propaganda would not have a wide effect. He was diligent in correspondence with individuals in England; he was anxious to converse with English visitors to Rome; but between 1722 and 1743 he did not publish a single printed declaration addressed to his English subjects. Some were projected, and

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<sup>37</sup> The words in brackets were deleted in the original, but seem to indicate James’s real opinion.

<sup>38</sup> James to Atterbury, 15 March 1728, RSM 114/166.

<sup>39</sup> James to O’Brien, 1 June 1728, RSM 116/150; James to Atterbury, 12 July 1728, RSM 118/52. O’Brien was to have the manifesto inserted in the *Amsterdam Gazette*.

even drafted, but the occasion for their publication, the attempt to be made on the English crown, never came to pass.

The Pretender's views on issues of such concern to people at home as the withdrawal of his wife to a convent in 1725, and Hay's vacating the post of Secretary of State, he preferred to communicate by word of mouth and circular letter only. Clementina's insistence on the dismissal of James Murray, the Protestant governor to her son, and of the Protestant Hay, Jacobite earl of Inverness, were used by James's enemies to raise grave doubts as to the sincerity of his promises to maintain the Church of England, and to reinforce all of the old prejudices against a Catholic King. Others recognised the importance of making his position on these matters widely known. One Englishman journeyed to Rome in order to "be able to give an impartial relation" of this affair, and sent back to a correspondent in London copies of a letter of the Pretender to his wife, and of a memorial on the subject drawn up by him, which were being circulated by Jacobite agents in manuscript form. He wrote:

"I leave it to yr prudence to communicate the Original to such of my Fellow Citizens, as you think you can safely trust; and for the satisfaction of the Common People shd advise, that a narrative shd be extracted & published from the facts, wth wch I shall now acquaint you..."<sup>40</sup>

The duke of Wharton, on receiving his copies of the letter and memorial in Vienna, commented that the event could be turned to advantage if care was taken to present it as an example of the

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<sup>40</sup> BL Add MS 32096/127. Such a pamphlet was in fact published, *The Memorial Of The Chevalr de St. George, On Occasion of the Princess Sobieski's Retiring into a Nunnery; & Two Original Letters, Written by the Chevalier to the said Princess, to dissuade her from that Design*, (1726).

Pretender refusing to be dictated to by a narrow-minded Catholic interest, and insisting instead that his son receive a Protestant education.<sup>41</sup> But whether James felt that the publishing of a more popular work on such a personal matter might compromise his dignity, by holding back, his case would have gone entirely by default but for independent action in England. It was no wonder that by January 1732 the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the duchess of Buckingham should tell James that his “sentiments” were “so little known”.<sup>42</sup>

Nonetheless, declarations were not lacking on those occasions when the fair words of foreign courts actually materialised into something more substantial. A flood of such works were produced during the '15 and the '45; declarations were printed to accompany the intended Spanish expedition of 1719. And many more pieces went through the long process of drafting, consultation, and approval usually employed by James, only to be discarded at last when all hope of the project for which they were intended had finally faded. The Stuart archives are littered with manuscript declarations which were never issued.

Where possible, James wrote asking the advice of his chief supporters in England as to the contents of any declaration to be published. He then had a draft prepared, under his own supervision, which was sent back into England for approval. Any additions or alterations to be made were then referred back to James for ratification. Thus when, in 1720 the European powers seemed to be moving towards concluding a general peace, to the exclusion of the Jacobite interest, James consulted his supporters on a protestation and declaration to be printed to assert his right and “to keep up the spirit of our friends”. The earls of Arran and Orrery were written to

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<sup>41</sup> Wharton to Hay, 8 December 1725, RSM 88/1.

<sup>42</sup> James to the duchess of Buckingham, 26 January 1731, RSM 142/73.

on the occasion, but, as James told his agent in Paris, General Dillon, “The greatest part of the Alterations in both papers come from the Bishop of Rochester”.<sup>43</sup>

Such consultations although they may have ensured that what was ultimately produced was acceptable to its intended audience, inevitably made Jacobite propaganda unresponsive to the mood of the moment in England. Under this system a declaration was bound to be months in gestation. Only on two occasions, in 1718, when Mar gave some encouragement to George Flint, and between the summer of 1720 and the end of 1723, when Lord Lansdowne, in self-imposed exile in Paris, enjoyed the confidence of the Pretender, was there any speed of reaction and responsiveness to events and circumstances in England shown by the official Jacobite press abroad. Limited though it was, Lansdowne’s contribution shows what might have been achieved had James fully employed the ablest pens at his disposal; it is worth considering in more detail.

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Faced with the prospect of his own financial ruin from the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, Lord Lansdowne was nonetheless able to see an opportunity for making political capital. He acted swiftly on his own initiative to have a declaration printed and published in England in the Pretender’s name. General Dillon, one of James’s principal representatives at Paris, wrote at length to explain the reasons for having acted without consulting him. He and Lansdowne were determined to,

“spread as many Copies as can be in the three Kingdoms ... L Lansdowne judges this way of speaking ye most proper to answer ye genius of the people with which he is thoroughly

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<sup>43</sup> James to Dillon, 6 July 1720, RSM 48/19; James to Arran, 6 July 1720, RSM 48/21.

acquainted, and that a feeling Gentile expression is the most suitable to the King's case and dignity, he finds him engaged hereby to no particulars but a free parliament, which the King promised in precedent papers, and which L Lansdowne knows to be the point most necessary for to give Satisfaction and to refer to for all cases of liberty and religion uneasy to be handled otherwise without disoblising one or other. according to my small judgement in matters of this kind I find this piece to express so much of greatness and goodness that I don't question that it will produce a very good effect".<sup>44</sup>

In the same year Lansdowne had assisted in the preparation of a formal invitation from James for the nobility of England to attend the birth of his son; a formality of considerable importance given the questions raised against the Pretender's own birth. James had been particularly anxious to discover the correct form for such a work, but had been unable to obtain an answer from the ailing earl of Oxford, to whom he had applied. Lansdowne and Sir William Wyndham, the MP for Somerset who (like Lansdowne) had been arrested for his involvement in preparations for a Jacobite rising in the west country in 1715, provided corrections for a draft which had been made at Rome. Lansdowne advised Dillon on its distribution in England, adding additional names to his list.<sup>45</sup>

More significant were Lansdowne's actions in 1722. At the beginning of the year he had written and published his pamphlet, *A Letter From A Noble-Man Abroad, To His Friend In*

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<sup>44</sup> Dillon to James, 12 October 1720, RSM 49/56.

<sup>45</sup> Dillon to James, 23 September 1720, RSM 49/9. For James's concern in this matter see James to the earl of Oxford, 20 May 1720, RSM 47/2; James to Dillon, August 1720, RSM 48/109.

*England*, which was designed primarily as a contribution to the Jacobite campaign in the general election of that year, although it was also a call-to-arms should that campaign fail. But the uncovering of the Atterbury Plot put any immediate plans for an expedition into abeyance. Nonetheless, Lansdowne wrote to James, negotiations with supporters in England could continue, and come to fruition in their own time. Papers to be published on that occasion, “should come from England, the finishing stroke of that kind will be best digested there where they have all the materials before them, which on this side we have not”. But, in the meantime, Lansdowne wanted to prepare public opinion in some measure:

“something in general should be said for amusement, and a draught has been submitted for your approbation by Mr Dillon, the meaning whereof is to give People a different expectation from anything yet thought of; to blind them in your reall views, to gain the general opinion in favour of your moderation and of your resolution at the same time, to warm the hearts of your friends, & take off the edge of your Enemyes who have been soe by wrong representations of your personall qualities. Whatever can answer those ends at this time of lying by, when nothing else can be put in motion, cannot fail of being of some use. The intention is good, & for that reason the sooner executed the better, to preserve that popularity which your enemyes must not be left at leisure to destroy or cool”.<sup>46</sup>

This declaration of Lansdowne’s, like his piece in response to the South Sea Bubble, showed a degree of awareness of, and feeling for, the situation in England, unmatched by any

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<sup>46</sup> Lansdowne to James, July 1722, RSM 60/128.



similar Jacobite productions. Whereas other Jacobite declarations tended to list the injustices resulting from the Hanoverian usurpation, in a rather pedestrian manner, Lansdowne stressed James's knowledge of the plight of his people, and his concern for them. The financial disaster of the South Sea Bubble, "the late un-exampled Violation of the freedom of Elections", "conspiracies invented on purpose to pretence for new Oppressions", "the Lives, Libertys, and fortunes of our Subjects at the mercy of infamous informers, cruelly exposed every day to subornation and perjury"; all these concerned a monarch who would replace them by "the ways of mercy and peace". Lansdowne drew an elegant contrast between,

"the restless unquiet possession of an Usurper in a strange Land, where authority forcing the inclinations of the people, can only be supported by blood, violence, and rapine; eternally subject to fears and alarms ... a throne which must be always shaking ..."

and the "happy accomodation" which James would reach with his subjects,

"that every Englishman may hereafter live quietly under his own shade, enjoy his conscience undisturbed, and rest upon his pillow in peace".

His device, which was to provide "amusement" and a "different expectation", was to offer George I a free and undisturbed passage to Hanover, should he choose to abandon "the frail and uncertain settlement of an usurped title" and return to "his natural born subjects"; or, if he chose to stay, the original version of this paper challenged him to face James in the field of battle, without the assistance of any foreign forces on either side, "leaving our subjects free and endemnify'd to Chuse which party they please".<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> C (H) 69/5E 23, final version; original draft at RSM 60/70.

The declaration of 1722 provoked a stern reaction from the government in England, reflecting fears of its effectiveness. Both Houses of Parliament took notice of it, and it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. But, as Lansdowne assured James, such actions only served to publicise the piece still further: “The Declaration has had a very strong operation, it has made both Houses break a great deal of unruly Wind which will stink all over Europe”.<sup>48</sup> One serious criticism levelled against the work by the Archbishop of Canterbury was its failure to mention any specific provision for the security of the Church of England. In response to this, Lansdowne published a defence of his earlier piece in the form of a letter from James to the Archbishop, in which he repeated former promises to accept any measures deemed necessary by a freely elected Parliament to safeguard the Church, and accused the latter of leading his flock astray from the Church’s principles of “the most Religious Loyalty”.<sup>49</sup> But, in approving this letter, James effectively put an end to Lansdowne’s propaganda efforts. In March 1723 James told him that — given the delicate political situation of his supporters in England — there was no need for further publications at that time. At the end of that year, to Lansdowne’s evident disgust, he received a strict injunction not to publish anything further in James’s name.<sup>50</sup>

Lansdowne was the most able publicist encouraged by James. While he was in political favour the Pretender was prepared to accept his ideas on what should be issued from the press into England. But James never viewed such works as necessary, and as his suspicions against

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<sup>48</sup> Lansdowne to James, 14 December 1722, RSM 63/168.

<sup>49</sup> MS version at RSM 64/61

<sup>50</sup> James to Lansdowne, 8 March 1723, RSM 66/77; E Handasyde, *Granville the Polite*, (1933), 206.

Lansdowne grew, he withdrew his confidence in this field too. In doing so, he put aside a considerable literary talent, which although not strictly popular had a powerful appeal to the 'political nation' to whom it was directed. Lansdowne was never effectively replaced.

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The successor to the discredited 'Triumvirate' of Lansdowne, Mar, and Dillon at Paris was the exiled Bishop of Rochester. The Bishop's contribution to the Jacobite propaganda effort was surprisingly negative, but remarkably effective. It is worth giving an extended account of the correspondence between Atterbury and James on the subject of political publications, not only because it brings to light an aspect of the Bishop's difficult relationship with the Jacobite monarch not previously related,<sup>51</sup> nor just because it reveals James as indecisive and easily influenced, but because it had a significant long-term effect in reinforcing the Pretender's natural caution in such matters.

Atterbury had been an effective and combative pamphleteer during the reign of Queen Anne, and in the critical first months of Hanoverian rule. Once he had come into the Jacobite cause he had provided corrections for Jacobite declarations, although he seems not to have published anything on his own account. But in Paris he provided no propaganda initiative and joined with Jacobite leaders in England who opposed suggestions of a declaration on the grounds that it might provoke a government reaction against them.<sup>52</sup> He even opposed the publishing of

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<sup>51</sup> Surprisingly there is no reference to this aspect of their relationship in the otherwise extremely comprehensive account by G V Bennett in *The Tory Crisis*.

<sup>52</sup> Hay to Atterbury, 16 June 1725, RSM 83/28; Atterbury to Hay, July 1725, RSM 84/161.

anything on the death of George I in 1727, and told James on the same occasion that he would in any case be “a little at a loss” in preparing anything because he had no copies of previous declarations to guide him. James himself was undecided, and merely replied with another question:

“whether something of a declaration for my own subjects might not be expedient Is I think the question, There are even for that I think reasons pro & con, & I should be glad to know your opinion of the matter”.<sup>53</sup>

Atterbury provided no positive answer, and there James seemed content to let the matter rest.

The stimulus which reopened the subject, and prompted James to act with unusual rapidity in having a declaration and manifesto drawn up and sent to be printed, seems to have come from the former MP for Steyning, Sir Henry Goring. Goring had been forced to flee to France because of his involvement in the Atterbury Plot, and had since become a somewhat risible character even in Jacobite circles, as a result of the succession of madcap schemes and projects which he submitted at regular intervals for the approval of the Jacobite court. But in submitting further plans in May 1728, Goring implied a neglect in James of his interest—an accusation the Pretender was always eager to avoid. Goring wrote from France:

“’tis much wonder’d at in this Court that you have not issued out proclamations against the present Usurpation in England, & that your Majestie has not sent Protestations to all the Courts in Europe against it, some people here who are pleas’d with nothing, put

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<sup>53</sup> Atterbury to James, 18 July 1727, RSM 108/87; James to Atterbury 22 August 1727, RSM 109/100

constructions upon it no way advantagious, but I thinks 'tis laid chiefly to ye Bpps Charge that he advis'd against it..."<sup>54</sup>

James immediately had papers drawn up, which were to be printed without following the usual process of consultation. He told Atterbury:

"You know how much I wished all along to have your thoughts on a Declaration, & your assistance for the drawing up of so important a paper, but the present juncture would not allow of any longer delay in publishing of one, and so I have had one drawn here the best we could, It goes by this post into England, and in a post or two I shall send you a copy of it..."<sup>55</sup>

The final version of the protestation to the European courts was to be written in France, probably by Blainville, based upon a draft sent from Rome. O'Brien was delegated to supervise

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<sup>54</sup> Goring to James, 17 May 1728, RSM 116/45. Earlier he had written "I find a declaration has been expected in England from Your Majestie against this Man's Title". Goring to James, 5 October 1727, RSM 111/16.

<sup>55</sup> James to Atterbury, 6 June 1728, RSM 117/7. This explanation of James's actions is substantiated by the account given by the Pretender's secretary, James Edgar, to his agent in England, James Hamilton: "HM thought that the not publishing such a Declaration might be lookt upon by his subjects as a neglect of them especially when no such thing has been done since this new usurpation". Edgar to Hamilton 10 August 1728, RSM 119/14. There had been no significant political change, either at home or abroad, making "the present juncture" different from when James had let the matter lapse. Nor had there been any letters from England complaining of a neglect.

the publication of this, when completed, without further reference to the Pretender. The declaration intended for England was written by someone at Rome, possibly by James himself or by Zeck Hamilton one of his secretaries.<sup>56</sup> Clearly James had been closely involved in the writing of the piece, which he considered “the best” he could get drawn up there, and “with which I am much pleased”.<sup>57</sup> It was to be printed both in Paris and in England, if possible, and published simultaneously in both places. But before that could happen, James received a shock which undoubtedly curbed his new-found enthusiasm for propaganda matters, and ensured that for the future nothing would roll precipitately from the Jacobite presses.

By the summer of 1728 the Bishop of Rochester no longer enjoyed James’s full confidence. Consequently Atterbury was sent a copy of the declaration only at the same time that it was dispatched to O’Brien for printing at Paris, and after it had gone into England for printing there. His reaction was swift and decisive. He wrote at once to O’Brien, with whom he was on anything but good terms, persuading him to stop the printing and refer the matter back to James. He then wrote a series of letters to the Pretender which became more and more outspokenly critical of the declaration and of those responsible for it. Atterbury argued that a declaration could do no good at that time, and that the one that had been drawn would do actual harm to the cause:

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<sup>56</sup> Zeck Hamilton wrote a number of political appraisals for James at about this time, and there is a draft of the declaration in his handwriting, although other copies are in the hand of other members of the court. Hamilton later wrote a strong defence of the piece against the criticisms made by Atterbury: RSM 123/57.

<sup>57</sup> James to Atterbury, 6 June 1728, RSM 117/7; James to O’Brien, 1 June 1728, RSM 116/150.

“your Enemys will make great advantages of it, as it stands at present. Your Majty may nevertheless see a Necessity, which I do not, of immediately printing something of ye kind, & may have reasons to do so, of which You alone can judge. Least this should be ye case, I Wayt not for your order to send ye Reflections I have made on that Draught, in hopes that, ye sooner they reach you, they may be of ye more use towards altering & enlarging it in sundry particulars”.

He explained the criticisms which he sent on the declaration thus:

“What I have observ’d in that is partly to minute points of Language & Connexion (which yet deserve not to be neglected) & partly to some Facts that are mistaken, some Ommisions of consequence, & to severall materiall objections which, I foresee will be made. All I have said, is designed to give that Paper a Popular air, and render it more agreeable, than I fear, it will in its present state, to ye Taste & Expectation of Those on whom it is to operate ...<sup>58</sup>

Atterbury’s points included the addition of a complaint against the standing army to the list of grievances held against the Hanoverian government, making more specific promises to the Church of England and to Dissenters, and emphasising that James would make the laws of the country the rule of his government. He also corrected a number of infelicities, such as the calling of London our “darling” city, which he thought would provoke either jealousy or ridicule, and the highly improper supposition contained in the sentence: “But altho’ ye same divine

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<sup>58</sup> Atterbury to James, 2 August 1728, RSM 118/139.

Providence shou'd never permit us to be restor'd to our own right, it will descend to our posterity... ”<sup>59</sup>

But Atterbury went further, and questioned the process by which it was drawn up, in terms which (given the personal involvement of James) had a chastening effect on the Pretender. On August 30th, the Bishop admonished him:

“How it came to be so drawn, & sent to ye Pr[in]t[e]rs in such a manner as that no Englishman could probably have an Opportunity of making his Remarks upon it, is to me, I confess, still matter of concern and Astonishment; nor can your Majty, in my humble opinion, too seriously reflect on it, in order to guard agst such suprizes for ye future” .<sup>60</sup>

Earlier the Bishop had expostulated that a line of conduct which deprived a prince of the best advice which was available to him, could not be correct:

“What injury can it do You to hear ye Advice of men of approv'd fidelity, in matters of their peculiar cognizance? especially when your Distance, & want of proper Helps at hand renders it all most impossible for you, Sr, to see clearly, what is, or is not to be said, at such Junctures.

I know, I speak to a Prince of great Discernment. However his Goodness will permitt me to add, that, since he has lived abroad from his infancy, & in Countrys, where ye Forms, & Maxims of Governmt, & consequently ye manners of speech relating to them, are so widely different from our own, he must be under great Difficultys in cases

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<sup>59</sup> MS list of corrections to the declaration, in Atterbury's hand RN 116/14.

<sup>60</sup> Atterbury to James, 30 August 1728 RSM 119/130.



like ye present. & those Difficultys are of so nice a nature, that ye neglect of them may be of ye worst consequence.

Your Subjects, Sr, have few Opportunities of knowing You, but from your Public Declarations, & Papers, & will certainly judge of what You think, & intend, by what You there do, or do not say. & ye Mistakes made therefore on those Occasions may be irretrievable, since an after correction of them will not be judgd so true an Indication of ye sentiments of a Prince, as what he says, at first, and from himself<sup>61</sup>.

Doubtless Atterbury took a certain delight in thus reprimanding a Prince who he recognised had withdrawn his confidence from him. And such stinging criticism, from such a powerful figure, on a subject in which James was but too painfully aware of his own limitations, and naturally inclined to caution, could not but bite deep.

James took Atterbury's strictures to heart. He commended O'Brien for halting production of the piece, and had his secretary write to prevent publication in England.<sup>62</sup> He was still unsure as to whether he ought to publish something, and caused the declaration to be rewritten incorporating Atterbury's amendments.<sup>63</sup> But he accepted that he should be guided in this by advice from England, and since that advice seems to have been unanimous against publication, what was at first intended as a delay to allow for consultation and revision, lengthened into a prolonged silence. The English Jacobites opposed the printing of any declaration, unless it was to

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<sup>61</sup> Atterbury to James, 21 August 1728, RSM 119/72.

<sup>62</sup> James to O'Brien, 2 August 1728, RSM 118/142; James Edgar to James Hamilton, 10 August 1728 RSM 119/14.

<sup>63</sup> MS declaration incorporating most of Atterbury's ammendments, RSM 116/146.

accompany a military attempt on the country, because of the reprisals which it might draw upon them. They were also critical of the paper sent to them. They were particularly worried that the omission of the standing army from the list of grievances against the Hanoverian government would suggest that James did not see it as a grievance, and would himself maintain such a force. Consequently no action had been taken to have the declaration printed in England before it was recalled by the Jacobite court.<sup>64</sup>

James never again tried to rush anything into print, and was more than ever scrupulous in consulting those friends left to him. In September 1728, when it seemed as though it would be necessary to publish a protestation against the Congress of Soissons, he was careful to ensure that the Bishop was consulted before the piece was sent to the printers. O'Brien was ordered to refer any objections Atterbury might have back to Rome before proceeding further.<sup>65</sup> In November of the same year, to facilitate the production of a declaration to accompany any future

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<sup>64</sup> James to Atterbury, 27 September 1728, RSM 120/33; Atterbury to James, 21 August 1728, RSM 119/72; Father Innese to James, 23 August 1728, RSM 119/84; Atterbury to James, 30 August 1728, RSM 119/130.

<sup>65</sup> James to O'Brien, 27 September 1728, RSM 120/143. James thought this "so much a thing of form that I take it for granted that he will not find any material objections in it." He did not know the Bishop: Atterbury considered that, "He who drew that Latin Paper, knows nothing of ye Language wherein it is written, & has not well-considered, what was agreeable to ye Dignity of ye Person, in whose Name he speaks; of whom it is alltogether unworthy, & will exceedingly hurt his Honor & Interest, when published". Atterbury to James, 3 April 1729, RSM 126/112. It was never published.

expedition, the English Jacobite leaders were asked to submit their proposals for what should be included. In January 1732, when James expected assistance from France, they were asked again.<sup>66</sup> But nothing further was printed to be sent into England until French forces were actually gathering for an expedition in December 1743.

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The contribution of the Jacobite court to the organisation of Jacobite propaganda can be quite clearly identified. It was almost all designed to accompany some specific political event, and there was no attempt to provide a constant flow of work to engage public support, such as was organised by Robert Walpole in England. In this the problems of distance and lack of funds were not crucial. The determining factor, as in other aspects of Jacobite policy, was the character and personality of the Jacobite monarch. Diligent and methodical, James himself directed the production of Jacobite works, exercising a degree of personal supervision unknown to any English monarch before or since. But his imagination never went beyond limited and specific propaganda objectives. He sought to persuade foreign princes to provide him with an army; he appealed to a narrow circle of political leaders in England. Beyond these, the cultivation of public opinion was perhaps desirable, but not strictly necessary. James was prepared to fund the activities of journalists when they were strongly recommended to him, as with George Flint in 1718 and Charles Molloy in 1737. But his subsidies were not sufficiently large, nor his support

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<sup>66</sup> James Edgar to James Hamilton, 16 November 1728, RSM 122/3; James to Colonel Cecil, 23 January 1732, RSM 151/65.

wholehearted enough to sustain those writers in the face of the difficulties they met with in England.<sup>67</sup>

Until the clamp-down on Jacobite publishing and general disillusionment with the cause which accompanied the uncovering of the Atterbury Plot in 1722-3, the Jacobite case had been kept in the public eye by a diversity of newspapers, pamphlets and broadsheets, which had appeared almost spontaneously, and without support or organisation from the Jacobite court or politicians at home. George Flint wrote to the earl of Mar in 1719 to explain that it was difficult to get the Jacobite works which Mar had commissioned vended in London because there was already a glut of such pieces on the market there.<sup>68</sup> This activity indicates a measure of commitment to Jacobitism at lower levels of society. But there was almost no contact between this plebian form of Jacobitism and either the Jacobite court or leading Jacobite politicians. Even Lord Lansdowne's call to arms was a patrician appeal from "a Noble-Man Abroad" to the "Freeholders" of England.<sup>69</sup> A more detailed study of the mechanics by which Jacobite works came to be printed and distributed, without direction from above, qualifies assessments of

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<sup>67</sup> G H Jones, "The Jacobites, Charles Molloy, And *Common Sense*," in *The Review of English Studies*, (Vol., 4, 14, 1953). Molloy's journal rapidly became dominated by the opposition Whigs. The Pretender's offer of £30 per week to George Gordon in 1743 does not seem to have been sufficient to induce him to actually begin the newspaper proposed.

<sup>68</sup> Flint to Mar, 7 March 1719, RSM 42/79.

<sup>69</sup> [Lansdowne] *Letter From A Noble-Man Abroad, To His Friend in England*, (1722), 8.

popular Jacobitism as being more a consequence of widespread resistance to the new Hanoverian regime than its cause.<sup>70</sup>

In choosing to remain aloof from the propaganda war in England the Old Pretender consigned the independent Jacobite publicists, who had borne a heavy burden in the opposition attacks on the government during the first years of Hanoverian rule, to their fate at the hands of Walpole's ministry. With the collapse of the Jacobite press in England the Jacobite case went by default. In the quest to win hearts and minds to support a Stuart restoration the Pretender's "worst enemies" according to his supporter Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, in 1733, were "the prejudices of the people of England". If only James's real views, which were "so contrary to all that has been asserted" by others were well known in England, a restoration would be assured.<sup>71</sup> But the disadvantages of religion, a foreign upbringing, and popular memories of his father and uncle could not be overcome as easily as Cornbury thought. Fears of Popery and Stuart absolutism were inextricably mixed, and deep-rooted in the English consciousness.<sup>72</sup> They could not be eradicated by manuscript circular letters and declarations published only on the eve of an invasion. James failed to utilise the resources at his disposal.

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<sup>70</sup> For such an assessment see Nicholas Rogers "Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London", P&P 79 (1978), esp 98; and more recently, Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England", in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy. Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, (Edinburgh, 1982).

<sup>71</sup> Cornbury to James, 17 May 1733, RSM 161/104.

<sup>72</sup> See J P Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, chapter 1, for the origins of anti-catholic prejudices.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The Organisation of Jacobite Publishing in England

I was the Fool in undertaking to tye the Bell about the Cat's neck. There is a Party in the World, whom I will not distinguish by a Name, that have betray'd Wiser heads than Mine, into a belief of their steady and unshaken Resolution. But all their Bravery terminates in big Words, and the Promise of Performance. I cannot better describe them, than by what I have heard of the Waters of the Fountain of Ammon, that they were very cold by Day, and extremely hot at Night. So I have known Gentlemen, who have shewn themselves most warm and sanguine over their Evening-Bottle, and yet been very temperate and luke-warm PATRIOTS in the Face of the Sun ... They put me in Mind of the Boy, who stood the Correction of my Lord Mayor with great passiveness; but as soon as ever his back was turn'd, swore resolutely, That if my Lord Mayor had stay'd a Moment longer he would have thrown a Stone at him.

*The Freeholders Journal*, 76, 18 May 1723

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *THE ORGANISATION OF JACOBITE PUBLISHING IN ENGLAND*

If the exiled Jacobite court produced only a limited amount of printed propaganda in support of a Stuart restoration, the burden of organization and direction of such material necessarily passed to leading Jacobite politicians and other potentially influential interest groups in England. This chapter assesses the role of Jacobite political leaders, and of the Roman Catholic and nonjuring churches, in promoting Jacobite argument. It shows that although individuals, particularly nonjurors, made significant contributions, leadership and cohesion were not forthcoming from these groups.

The importance of literary patronage in encouraging the achievements of the Augustan writers is a common-place of the history of English literature.<sup>1</sup> In the field of political writing the significance attached by leading political figures to the reproduction of their arguments in print grew as they became increasingly aware of the potential influence of propaganda on opinion both within the world of Westminster and without. The lapse of the Printing Act in 1695, so that licences were no longer required in order to print pamphlets and newspapers, allowed the more rapid development of a political press as the new freedom was exploited in order to report the activities and opinions of statesmen, and was partly responsible for intensifying the bitter party divisions of Queen Anne's reign. It was Queen Anne's first minister between 1710 and 1714, Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford, who constructed a well-organised and effective government

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<sup>1</sup> See the survey in J P W Rogers, *The Augustan Vision*, (1974), chapter 8.

propaganda machine, making use of the considerable talents of Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe.<sup>2</sup>

Oxford's propagandists owed their allegiance to him personally and not to the tory administration. On his fall from power the machine broke up. Its legacy to the succeeding whig government was one of example only. But Robert Walpole adopted Oxford's methods during the 1720s and 1730s, and ran an even wider-reaching and more closely controlled organisation. Like Oxford, Walpole himself wrote pamphlets and initiated the production of several newspapers in order to provide a regular outlet for the government's political views. Most notable were *The London Journal*, a leading opposition newspaper which Walpole bought up in 1722, and *The Free Briton*, which he funded during the 1730s. He also used the Post Office both to distribute ministerial journals and prevent the circulation of opposition papers. The secret committee appointed to investigate Walpole's financial management after his fall from office reported that he had spent more than £50,000 on the press between 1731 and 1741. The greatest difference between the systems operated by the two ministers lay in the abilities of the writers they employed. William Arnall, Walpole's most highly paid journalist, could not match the efforts of Swift and Defoe.<sup>3</sup>

In addition Walpole's press had to face far more effective opposition propagandists than the whigs had been able to match against Oxford. With the return of Lord Bolingbroke to

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<sup>2</sup> J A Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press*, (Cambridge, 1979), 1-15; G A Cranfield, *The Press and Society*, (1978), chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence Hanson, *Government and the Press, 1695-1763*, (Oxford, 1936) 108-18; Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 44-6.



England, but his enforced exclusion from Parliament, opposition politicians played a central role in directing attacks in print on the government. Bolingbroke and William Pulteney, his principal ally in the attempt to create a united opposition group, sponsored and wrote for *The Craftsman*, from 1726, which became the most successful newspaper of the first half of the eighteenth century. The opposition whig peers Lords Cobham, Chesterfield, Lyttleton and the duke of Bedford all wrote for or assisted leading opposition journals during the 1730s and 1740s.<sup>4</sup> One might expect that Jacobite leaders too would have played a significant part in what was becoming an increasingly important field of political activity.

But the most prominent Jacobite newspapermen, forced into exile in France, complained bitterly that they had received no support for their operations in England. Nathaniel Mist, the printer of the most long-lived Jacobite newspaper, told James Edgar, the Pretender's secretary, in 1731: "I never suffer'd under the Tyranny of the Government, but I was twice, sometimes ten times as loaded by our Friends, and never once assisted".<sup>5</sup> When his entire workforce was arrested by the government in 1728 for the publication of the "Persian Letter", there was no protecting "great man" interested or brave enough to help. Bail was eventually provided by about a dozen fellow artisans and shop-keepers. Mist, who had previously fled to France, felt himself obliged "in Conscience and Honour", he explained to the Pretender's agent in Paris, Colonel

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<sup>4</sup> Cranfield, *Press and Society*, 41-6; Nichols vi 467; R J Robson, *The Oxfordshire Election of 1754*, (Oxford, 1949), 29.

<sup>5</sup> Mist to James Edgar, 8 February 1731, RSM 142/141.

O'Brien, "to labour for their support, till I set them all free as I found them".<sup>6</sup> In the same letter he railed against:

"the stupid narrow Souls of some Men of Parts and Distinction, whose Heads are ever charged with Loyalty, but have nothing but Hypocrisy in their Hearts; Gentlemen that have condescended to be oblig'd by me, and yet when I have been distress'd plunder'd and ruin'd, have in some respects joyn'd with the Common Enemy in my Destruction ... I cannot remember that I ever had assistance of any kind in my life, except that of Providence alone".

Similarly George Flint, the author of numerous Jacobite pamphlets and newspapers in 1716, including *Robin's Last Shift* and its successor *The Shift Shifted*, complained that his efforts had been derided and despised by Jacobite leaders at home and abroad.<sup>7</sup>

It is strikingly significant that when James Alexander, the former clerk and churchwarden for the nonjuring priest Robert Orme, wrote asking for employment for Orme at the Pretender's court in 1729, neither James, his secretary, nor the English Jacobite leaders whose advice was

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<sup>6</sup> SP 36/8/248. Mist to O'Brien, 7 November 1728, RSM 121/165. He later informed O'Brien: "The Prisoners in London, I allow a small weekly subsistence, what I can spare out of my poor Remains". Mist to O'Brien, 6 August 1729, RSM 130/25. Discussing the plight of James Wolfe, one of Mist's employees who had eventually reached France penniless, the duke of Wharton told James: "Mr Mist has undertaken to pay his Bail since the Party [in England] want spirit to raise so Inconsiderable a summ". Wharton to James, 19 December 1728, RSM 122/110.

<sup>7</sup> Flint to James, 15 September 1727, RSM 110/68.

asked on the matter, were aware of Alexander's extensive and important publishing activities.<sup>8</sup> Alexander had continued the publication of *The Shift Shifted* in 1716, while its other two promoters, and its principal author, George Flint, were in jail. He was responsible for reprinting the nonjuror Laurence Howell's *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly Stated* in the same year, for which the author was sentenced to be fined £500, jailed for three years, and publicly flogged. He also organised the printing of at least two editions of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, in 1719, including that for which the nineteen year old printer John Matthews was hanged.<sup>9</sup>

There is little to show that Jacobite politicians were active in the production of propaganda for the Stuart cause. The lack of such evidence is not simply the result of an overriding need for secrecy in the face of a government determined to root out such treasonable activities. Correspondence with the Jacobite court indicates otherwise, as politicians in England, at least after the debacle of the Atterbury Plot, consistently advised the Pretender against publishing declarations or other works which might alarm the government and direct its

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<sup>8</sup> James Edgar to James Hamilton, 25 January 1729, RSM 121/165: "There is one James Alexander unknown to the King, & of whose character I am entirely ignorant..."; James Hamilton [the Pretender's agent in England] to Edgar, 18 April 1729, RSM 127/6: "... nor is the writer of the letter you mentioned [Alexander] without his merits in his way, he formerly was Clerk to the old Gentleman [Orme]".

<sup>9</sup> R J Goulden, "*Vox Populi. Vox Dei*, Charles Delafaye's paperchase", in *The Book Collector*, xxviii (1979); 368-90.

attentions at James's "friends".<sup>10</sup> In October 1736 James wrote to Colonel Cecil, his principal correspondent in England at that time, asking that his supporters give financial assistance to a new journal to be set up by Mist's former employee, Charles Molloy. But it seems that little was forthcoming and that, for want of such encouragement, Molloy increasingly turned to opposition Whigs to support *Common Sense*.<sup>11</sup> It was rare indeed for James to involve himself in such a propaganda venture. If the Jacobite leaders in England did not act even then, they were unlikely to have done so on their own initiatives.

The strategy of James's supporters in England was dominated by their over-riding conviction that a restoration would not be possible without the aid of a substantial foreign army. Until European affairs developed in such a way that it became the interest of a powerful nation to reinstate a Stuart monarch, they saw their prime duty as survival. Money, weapons and ammunition might be collected in advance, but the essential requirement was secrecy. The discovery of any Jacobite activity would alarm the government, enabling them to take measures to defend themselves, and put the English Jacobites at risk.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> For example, Lord Lansdowne to James, 31 August 1722, RSM 61/153; earl of Orrery to James, 15 November 1723, RSM 70/46; duke of Wharton to James, 25 February 1725, RSM 80/84.

<sup>11</sup> G H Jones, "The Jacobites, Charles Molloy, And *Common Sense*", in *The Review of English Studies*, (Vol., 4, 14, 1953), 146.

<sup>12</sup> Francis Atterbury to James, November 1723, RSM 70/25, "I am humbly of opinion that... [until a favourable foreign situation develops] ye wisest way is to ly still; & that all new ineffectual Matters will be attended wth ye worst of Consequences; as defeating ye very End

But such a strategy was to some extent simply a counsel of despair, providing an excuse for inaction and a self-justification for timidity. Francis Atterbury, vainly trying to stir his former associates into action to prepare for a Jacobite attempt in 1727, thought their leader, the earl of Orrery, “wary to excess”.<sup>13</sup> In 1738 Colonel Cecil, who undertook a correspondence with the Pretender on behalf of English Jacobite politicians, lamented the fact that there was no alternative but to wait for a foreign army to materialise, “for want as I conceive of a suitable disposition in those who are of figure and might have weight”. What was missing was one man “of a generous, enterprizing & resolute temper”; with such a leader, “we might Compose the important business by ourselves”.<sup>14</sup> The Jacobite press too was scathing of its erstwhile leaders for their lack of resolution and courage. *The Shift Shifted* rounded on them in June 1716, in a paragraph of extraordinary ferocity:

“Tories, whom nothing can awake but the last Trumpet; and whom the Angel that shall sound it, could not, with all his Rhetorick, Unite, or Inspire with a Thought worthy of a Man ... Go, creep under the Petticoats of your Wives, your Sisters, or your Daughters,

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they are designed to promote”. Wharton to James 25 February 1725, RSM 80/84: Lord Orrery is very concerned that James should not write to the Lord Mayor and members of the Common Council of London, “which might awaken the enemy who are now in a state of ignorance as to our affairs”.

<sup>13</sup> Atterbury to James, 20 August 1727, RSM 109/87.

<sup>14</sup> Cecil to James, 24 July 1738, RSM 208/59. A similar diagnosis was reached by Thomas Carte in *A Full Answer To The Letter From A By-Stander* (1742), 200.

and be thence dragg'd out to see them ravish'd, before your Eyes, and then yourselves kill'd like Dogs".<sup>15</sup>

*The Freeholder's Journal*, in its concluding essay, in 1723, was less vehement, but equally bitter:

"There is a Party in the World, whom I will not distinguish by a Name, that have betray'd Wiser heads than Mine, into a belief of their steady and unshaken Resolution. But all their Bravery terminates in big Words, and the Promise of performance".<sup>16</sup>

For those not deterred by the risks involved or lulled into apathy by despair, the publication of Jacobite propaganda on a large scale did not appear to be a priority.<sup>17</sup> The Bishop of Rochester had been an important contributor to the convocation controversy in the late 1690s.<sup>18</sup> He had engaged in a bitter duel with Defoe over the history of the final months of tory administration in 1714. In the first years of George I's reign he had published two pamphlets

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<sup>15</sup> *The Shift Shifted*, 9, 30 June 1716.

<sup>16</sup> FJ 76, 18 May 1723. For the disillusionment of Thomas Forster, the MP for Northumberland who headed the 1715 rising in England, see W A Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45*, (Oxford, 1981), 19-20.

<sup>17</sup> Among these may be included Sir Henry Goring the MP for Steyning and Lord North and Grey, who were consistently among the least cautious of Jacobite politicians, but who seem to have no record of involvement in propaganda.

<sup>18</sup> G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, 48-56. The significance of Atterbury's role is reexamined by Mark Goldie in "The Nonjurors, Episcopacy, and the Origins of the Convocation Controversy", in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, (Edinburgh, 1982).

which provoked a sharp reaction from the government, ostensibly warning the King that extreme whig policies were leaving the tories with no alternative but Jacobitism, in fact intended as a rallying call to tory politicians.<sup>19</sup> But Atterbury was no populist, and his writings were not aimed outside of a narrow audience of political activists. His view of the political process can be gauged by his pamphlet of 1710, *The Voice of The People No Voice of God*:

“it is the Right of Superiors to determine, and of the inferiors to acquiesce ... the voice of the People is the Cry of Hell, leading to Idolatry, Rebellion, Murder, and all the Wickedness the Devil can suggest”.<sup>20</sup>

Once he had finally adopted the Stuart cause, sometime in 1716, the Bishop corrected and amended draft declarations sent him from Rome. But his most significant literary effort was the writing of the series of Protests issued by the opposition in the House of Lords in preparation for the general election of 1722.<sup>21</sup> When the printer Thomas Gent gave an account of a clandestine meeting between himself, Atterbury, and the notorious Jacobite ballad printer Francis Clifton, in 1718, he presented both the meeting and the fact that Clifton was to execute a commission for the Bishop as highly unusual and noteworthy occurrences. According to Gent, the work to be

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<sup>19</sup> See above, chapter 2.

<sup>20</sup> F[rancis] A[tterbury], *The Voice of The People No Voice of God*, (1710), 5-6.

<sup>21</sup> James to General Dillon, 6 July 1720, RSM 48/19; Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 231-2, 235-6.

printed for Atterbury was in defence of a clergyman recently sent to King's Bench prison, and not of a political nature.<sup>22</sup>

The exception among Jacobite leaders in the matter of propaganda was the young, unstable, and vicarious Philip, first duke of Wharton, heir of one of the most prominent whig families in England.<sup>23</sup> In 1723-4 he sponsored the publication of *The True Briton*, in which he wrote a number of leading essays attacking the illiberal measures of the whig government, and criticising the evidence presented by the ministry against the Bishop of Rochester, and its use of the extraordinary measure of a Bill of Pains and Penalties against him.<sup>24</sup> In 1728 Wharton wrote the satirical "Persian Letter", which was printed in *Mist's Weekly Journal*, and for which Mist's workforce were taken into custody. In France he offered to take Mist into his household, but the printer wisely realised that he would fare better without the financial support that the penurious duke would be able to provide.<sup>25</sup> During 1729 Wharton sought to get published his "Reasons For Leaving his native Country, and espousing the Causes of his Royal Majesty King James III", and a satirical letter supposedly written by Mist's employee James Wolfe to Robert Walpole,

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas Gent, *The Life Of Mr Thomas Gent, Printer, Of York; Written By Himself*, (1832), 88-90. Government informers accused Atterbury of writing Jacobite pieces, although these informations were never substantiated. For example, SP 35/66/154.

<sup>23</sup> E Beresford Chancellor, *The Lives of the Rakes. Col. Charteris and the Duke of Wharton*, (1925), dwells lovingly on the inconsistencies and scandals surrounding Wharton's brief but varied career.

<sup>24</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 66. See TB 2, 7 June 1723; TB 5, 17 June 1723.

<sup>25</sup> Mist to O'Brien, 7 November 1728, RSM 121/165.



highlighting the injustice of Wolfe's treatment in England. The duke thought it "absolutely necessary to support the Spirits of our Friends at this Critical Juncture"<sup>26</sup> His propaganda plans were opposed by the Old Pretender himself, but Wharton succeeded in getting his "Reasons" into print, and both pieces were included in a posthumous volume of the duke's writings printed by Wolfe at Boulogne in 1731.<sup>27</sup>

Other supporters of Jacobite publishing from the upper reaches of society were either of doubtful political commitment, or of marginal political significance. Archibald Hutcheson, the MP for Hastings, who wrote at least one essay for *The Freeholder's Journal* in 1722 was at best an equivocal Jacobite, and really belonged to no party.<sup>28</sup> William King, the principal of St Mary's Hall, Oxford, who wrote one Jacobite satire for *Common Sense* in 1737, was an academic and not a political leader.<sup>29</sup> The Roman Catholic landowner John Baptiste Caryll, who supported the publication of a new *True Briton* in 1751-3, had no political influence in England, although he later became Secretary of State to the Young Pretender.<sup>30</sup>

The contributions outlined above appear to be the sum total of the assistance provided for Jacobite propagandists by their would-be political leaders. In comparison with the direct

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<sup>26</sup> Wharton to James, 3 January 1729, RSM 124/19.

<sup>27</sup> James to O'Brien, 8 January 1729, RSM 124/43. Wharton, *Select and Authentic Pieces Written by the Late Duke of Wharton*, (1731); Wharton, *The Duke of Wharton's Reason's For Leaving his native Country, and espousing the Causes of his Royal Majesty King James III*, (nd).

<sup>28</sup> Hutcheson's attitude to Jacobitism is discussed below, chapter 8.

<sup>29</sup> D Greenwood, *William King, Tory and Jacobite*, (Oxford, 1969).

<sup>30</sup> See below and notes 54 and 55.

involvement of government ministers and other opposition leaders, Jacobite politicians contributed remarkably little. In such circumstances the achievements of Jacobite authors, printers, and publishers between 1714 and 1724 appear all the more striking.

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In the eyes of government informers and propagandists, the group most responsible for the printing and dispersal of Jacobite writings was the Roman Catholic community. They were easily identifiable, and had long been a target for accusations of all forms of treasonable activity.<sup>31</sup> This was almost inevitable given the popular image of Catholicism held by most Englishmen. In the early eighteenth century Catholics remained no less objects of vilification and abuse to the popular mind than they had been in the late seventeenth century. Even later one advocate for greater toleration of his fellow religionists complained of the attitude which had long prevailed in English society:

“No sooner is the infant mind susceptible of the slightest impression, than it is the business of the nurse to paint a hideous form, and that she calls Popery. Every circumstance of horror, and all the scenery of glowing imagination, is called in to deck the curious Phantom”.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> For seventeenth century attitudes to Catholicism see J P Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (1972), chapter 1.

<sup>32</sup> [J Berrington], *The State and Behaviour of English Catholics, From The Reformation to the Year 1780*, (1780); see also the MS letter, seemingly intended for publication, 5th March 1766, in the Kent County RO, U 386 Z 8/9, arguing for the repeal of the penal laws.

These prejudices were reinforced by laws which banned Roman Catholics from public office, and imposed on them a double land tax.

Popery was viewed as intolerant and aggressive. It was seen as inextricably linked with absolute or arbitrary political power, and could not rest until civil and religious liberties were destroyed. The effects of this sort of society were writ large for all to see in France, where it was commonly supposed that the people wore wooden shoes and rags as marks of their oppression. In 1746 the seventeenth century pamphlet *Taxa Camerae: or, The Price of Sin In the Custom-House of the Church of Rome* was reprinted, “at this seasonable Juncture, when we are threatened with having the Romish Religion introduced amongst us”. It gave an account of “the Tributes they impose on their own People”, concluding that “Money is the God which they adore”.<sup>33</sup> In the following year another pamphlet brought out to warn of the consequences of a successful Stuart restoration gave “A particular Account” of James II’s “Design (in Conjunction with Lewis the XIV of France) to establish a Popish Successor to the Throne of England”, and sought to revive doubts of the legitimacy of the Old Pretender’s birth.<sup>34</sup>

Catholicism was inevitably seen as allied to Jacobitism. It was commonly accepted that James had lost his crown, whether rightly or wrongly, as a result of his attempt to impose Catholicism on his subjects by force. The tory historian Thomas Salmon, writing in 1722, considered that there was in James, “a moral Incapacity, such as an irremovable Persuasion in a false Religion ... so as to make the Exercise of his Government impracticable, and our Obedience

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<sup>33</sup> *Taxa Camerae: Or, The Price of Sin In the Custom-House of the Church of Rome*, (1746), iii-iv.

<sup>34</sup> R Wilkins, *A Chain of Facts In The Reign of King James the Second* (1747), title page.

to him, consistently with our Constitution and our Religion, impossible”<sup>35</sup> The refusal of the Pretender to convert to the Church of England in 1714 was a crucial factor in the decision of many not to support his claims to the throne.<sup>36</sup> His continued residence, of necessity, in Catholic countries, and his attempts to return to England with foreign Catholic armies, provided ample material to sustain this link. Anti-Jacobite propaganda constantly referred to a “Popish Pretender”. On the death of the Old Pretender in 1766, his son, despite reports of his conversion to the Anglican church, was still being tarred with the same brush.<sup>37</sup>

Informations were frequently filed with the government accusing Catholics of a wide range of treasonable activities, particularly during periods of high political tension, such as the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. These were always fully investigated and reported on. But despite frequent searches of the houses of prominent Catholics, virtually no evidence was found linking them with active Jacobite plotting. This is equally true of most accusations made that leading Catholics supported Jacobite publishing.

The Petre family of Essex was subject to frequent complaints about their proselytising, including one in 1720, that, “Ye treasonable Pamphlets, & songs (that mean & low ribaldry) ... have proceeded generally from them”. But a detailed report subsequently prepared on the family by Essex JPs failed to discover any such involvement; although the family’s support of Catholic

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<sup>35</sup> Thomas Salmon, *A Review Of The History of England*, (1722), iv-v.

<sup>36</sup> Sir Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, (1948), i 148-9.

<sup>37</sup> *The Declaration of Charles Stewart, eldest Son of the late Pretender, commonly called James the Eighth, to his Holiness the Pope, February 16, 1766*, (1766)

chapels and schools, and the winning of religious converts, was noted and disapproved of.<sup>38</sup> One alarmist report on disaffection in Norwich in 1722 stated that, “People are daily perverted to the Romish Doctrine”, as the first step to Jacobitism, and that “false Incendiaries and Popish Printers” were active in the town. But although the anonymous author gave details of those running Catholic schools, and the proprietors of Jacobite alehouses, his description of Jacobite propaganda activity misfires:

“Popish books are sold, Popish catechisms scattered about to draw off the minds of unwary and Credulous people from the Established Church; and here is a weekly paper publisht by Mist, who is a Papist, and is always reflecting against the Government Endeavouring to unhinge it”.<sup>39</sup>

But Catholic religious tracts were not of themselves Jacobite, and Nathaniel Mist was an Anglican. Charles Molloy, who wrote the leading article in *Fog’s Weekly Journal* while Mist was in France, and who subsequently set up the journal *Common Sense* was accused of being in league with other Catholics during the 1745 rebellion:

“Molloy the Author of a Weekly Libal, Intitel’d common sense and I was assured that he was Very active and at the bottom of all that is a doing; he is a rank papist, and an Intemate friend of George Kelly [one of those involved in the Atterbury Plot], and I have reason to believe a Correspones and is frequently with disguis’d papists, that gather every thing that is sayd in the prince’s famely”.

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<sup>38</sup> SP 35/22/21b; SP 35/22/42

<sup>39</sup> SP 35/33/62.

The reliability of this informant may be gauged by the fact that in the same letter he accused Thomas Wilson, the venerable and other-worldly Bishop of Sodor and Man, of Jacobitism.<sup>40</sup> Molloy had increasingly come under the influence of the opposition whigs, who supported *Common Sense* far more effectively than the Jacobites, had quarrelled with Mist, and had given up journalism altogether when he married a woman of fortune.<sup>41</sup>

The tone of some accusations levelled at Catholics was almost hysterical, and they seem wide of the mark. In 1722 the Secretary of State, Lord Townshend, received an account from one informant that,

“those scandalous papist newse writers allwise fomenting & raising Jelices betwixt ye King & his people ... they print 30,000 in one week of half peny poapers ye common ale houses takes them in & so thy go for good true news”.

“JH” went on further to complain that ballads and songs in favour of the Pretender were being sold openly on the street, and that “there is no such Liberty any place else in ye world”.<sup>42</sup> But in 1724 another government informer, Samuel Negus, produced a list of London printers for Townshend. In it there were only four Catholics, along with three nonjurors, thirty-four “High Flyers” and thirty-two “known to be well affected to King George”. This list is not wholly

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<sup>40</sup> SP 36/73/22. For Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man from 1697 until 1755, see the diaries of his son: C L S Linnell, ed., *The Diaries of Thomas Wilson, DD, 1731-37, and 1750*, (1964).

<sup>41</sup> Jones, “Charles Molloy”; A S Limouze, *A Study of Nathaniel Mist’s Weekly Journals*, (Duke University unpubl. PhD Thesis, 1947),109-11.

<sup>42</sup> SP 35/31/128. See also SP 36/77/50.

reliable. Nonetheless only one of the Catholics listed has been clearly identified as a Jacobite printer, the notorious publisher of broadsheets and ballads, Francis Clifton.<sup>43</sup>

The eighteenth century Roman Catholic church in England was only a small percentage of the population, and relatively declining in numbers. It was concentrated in the remoter regions of the country, principally in the north.<sup>44</sup> However it possessed an organisation and a community of spirit which spanned large parts of the country, and which might possibly have lent effective support to a political movement, or substantially aided its propaganda efforts.<sup>45</sup> Catholics could have provided money, political writings, and assistance to authors and printers in time of trouble. But although some individuals can be shown to have played an important part in Jacobite

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<sup>43</sup> Nichols, i 288-312. According to Thomas Gent, Negus put Gent in his list of “High Flyers” because of a quarrel that they had, although Gent was not at that time a printer in his own right, but worked for Henry Woodfall. Gent, *Life*, 76.

<sup>44</sup> Catholics formed less than 2% of the population in the North Riding, where they were relatively strong. Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics. The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790*, (1966), 8, 393-6; David Mathew, *Catholicism In England. The Portrait Of A Minority: Its Culture And Tradition*, (1936) 133.

<sup>45</sup> For the organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in England see John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, (1975). In 1745 the government seized the papers of Henry Sheldon, which revealed the extent of Jesuit organisation in England. By an extensive correspondence Sheldon directed the activities of 32 Jesuits as far apart as Somerset and Northumberland. SP 36/70/334. In 1716 a number of Catholic gentry actually subscribed £8,000 to the Jacobite court. Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 209.

publishing, neither the church itself, nor leading Catholic laymen, nor the majority of Catholics were involved.

If the Anglican supporters of the Pretender lived in constant fear of the power of the Hanoverian regime, as the letters of the earl of Orrery imply, the Roman Catholics had even more reason to dread the consequences of arousing suspicion in the minds of the administration. In 1722 the announcement of the Atterbury Plot was accompanied by the implementation of the laws against Catholics which had been allowed to fall into disuse. In addition to being required to take oaths of allegiance to the Hanoverian royal family, their arms and horses were seized, and they were confined to their houses. They were also subjected to a new tax amounting to £100,000 on their estates, which Walpole maintained was justified by,

“the ill use they make of the saving out of their incomes, which most of them laid out in maintaining the Pretender and his adherents abroad, and fomenting discord and rebellion at home”.<sup>46</sup>

In consequence the majority of Catholics eschewed politics under the Hanoverian succession, as countless later apologists asserted, on the grounds that any sign of involvement with Jacobitism would bring down on their heads the full wrath of the government.

As early as 1692 the Catholic Bishop and clergy of Lancashire had actively opposed plans for a rising on behalf of James II, because if it failed it would ruin all of the Catholics in

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<sup>46</sup> Paul Fritz, *The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745*, (Toronto, 1975) 84, 105.



England.<sup>47</sup> Under George I and George II prominent Roman Catholic families in the North Riding of Yorkshire, including the Fairfaxes and the Stricklands, retained Jacobite sentiments, drinking healths to the Pretender from Jacobite drinking glasses, but steered clear of political involvement. In 1745 the ninth Viscount Fairfax publicly drank the health of George II to stem accusations levelled at his family as the rebels advanced into England. The Catholic Sir Edward Gascoigne of Parlinton remarked: “I was from my Infancy taught to know I had nothing to do with politicks”.<sup>48</sup> The acknowledged lay leader of English Catholics, Edward Howard, ninth duke of Norfolk, approached the government on a number of occasions with pledges of loyalty, hoping to reduce the measures taken against them. In February 1720 he wrote assuring the government of the willingness of Catholics to take the Oaths of allegiance to George I: “every one that expects protection from a Government ought certainly to take an oath of Fidelity to that Government”.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Jane Garrett, *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696*, (Cambridge, 1980), 19.

<sup>48</sup> Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 367-9.

<sup>49</sup> SP 35/20/77. In October 1745 Norfolk wrote to the duke of Newcastle: “If the Catholicks are debarr’d from meeting & acting with the most Loyal of his Majesties Subjects for the defence of the country, the only proof they can give of their Loyalty is their peaceable behaviour, which I hope may obtain the protection of the Government & save them from Conviction ...” SP 36/70/329.

Some money was raised and sent abroad to the Stuart court, including £8,000 in 1716-17.<sup>50</sup> But it is clear that the majority of English Catholics followed the example set by their leaders, and although they wished for the Pretender's success, they did nothing to make it more likely. Although individual Catholics joined the Jacobite armies in 1715 and 1745, they did not do so in significant numbers. Similarly, Catholics wrote and published works in favour of the Pretender, but they were few in number and acted as individuals, in some cases with little regard for religious motivation.

The Catholic Francis Clifton was perhaps the most prolific printer of Jacobite ballads, and is known to have published at least twenty between 1716 and 1724.<sup>51</sup> However there is little sign of piety or religious motivation in his life, nor even of real political conviction. He worked within the confines of the Fleet debtors prison, to avoid his creditors. He was not adverse to informing upon other Jacobite printers who he saw as business rivals, and one government sympathiser thought that he could be turned into a regular and reliable source of such information. According to his former employee, Thomas Gent, Clifton concluded his career in a disreputable manner, and,

“proved himself a villain, in moving off to France with the money of a brewer, to whom he was a steward, and left his bondsmen to answer for what damage he had done thereby”.

Clifton was the subject of frequent informations, which he claimed were only laid against him because he was reputed a Catholic. Gent reckoned that “the Catholicks often relieved him; and

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<sup>50</sup> Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 209.

<sup>51</sup> See appendix 3.

he was equally as ready to oblige them in his publications”. But his premises were searched on numerous occasions, revealing no record of any aid from more influential Catholic sources.<sup>52</sup>

Other English Catholics involved in Jacobite printing showed more conviction. George Flint, the author of the *Weekly Remarks*, *Robin's Last Shift*, and other Jacobite newspapers in 1716, was a convert to the faith, and persisted in his new belief when in exile, despite his failure to obtain patronage in the French Church. His wife, who had assisted in the production of newspapers, was accused of trying to win religious converts among convicted Jacobites in Newgate during Flint's confinement in 1716.<sup>53</sup> He was still writing theological papers and pieces arguing for a toleration of Catholics in England in the early 1740s. In his old age Flint received financial assistance from the Catholic landowner John Baptiste Caryll, of Ladyholt in Sussex, a descendant of the John Caryll who had been Secretary of State to James II in exile.<sup>54</sup> Caryll also gave money to the publisher of the *True Briton* in 1751-3, and wrote a number of essays for it, some of which were explicitly Jacobite, as well as others (perhaps not intended for that journal), arguing that Catholics were not of unsound principles and ought not to be discriminated against

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<sup>52</sup> SP 35/27/33; SP 35/23/33; Gent, *Life*, 112, 86.

<sup>53</sup> *The Secret History of The Rebels in Newgate*, (1717), 44. The author goes on to claim that, “Mary Flint's Fine was adjusted, and her Fees paid out of the Popish Fund for Sufferers: Which is a fresh Proof how Libels against the Government are carried on”, 46.

<sup>54</sup> Mary Flint to Caryll, 4 July 1750, BL Add MS 28231/60. For Caryll see Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope*, (1975), 101-2.

by the State.<sup>55</sup> These were isolated individuals, and do not reflect the behaviour of the vast majority of English Catholics.

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The nonjuring branch of the Church of England also possessed an organisation which spanned the country, was able to raise funds, and could have produced political propaganda.<sup>56</sup> Although few in number, it included learned and able literary figures. It owed its existence as a separate communion directly to the revolution of 1688, and the refusal of a small but significant proportion of the Anglican clergy to take the oaths required by law to William and Mary as King and Queen of England, having previously sworn allegiance to James II. Consequently the nonjuring church was in its very essence indissolubly linked with the Jacobite cause.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> BL Add MS 28236 contains the correspondence between Caryll and George Osborne, the proprietor of *The True Briton*. BL Add MS 28252/101ff consists of MS pieces by Caryll, some of which are clearly designed for *The True Briton*.

<sup>56</sup> The nonjuring Bishop Nathaniel Spinkes acted as a financial manager for the nonjuring church, distributing money to those in need, and maintaining a wide correspondence across the country. The sums involved were said to amount to several thousand pounds. SP 35/6/33.

<sup>57</sup> On the origins of the nonjuring church see the as yet unsurpassed T Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors*, (1845). Also, J C Findon. *The Nonjurors and the Church of England 1689-1716*, (Oxford University unpubl. D Phil Thesis, 1978), 44-7, 94-5; Goldie, "Nonjurors", 15.

In practice, unlike the episcopalian church of Scotland, and the Irish Roman Catholics,<sup>58</sup> the nonjuring church as an institution had no established contacts with the Jacobite court. James was neither consulted on policy, nor appointments. His name was made use of by one faction during the internal wranglings of the nonjuring clergy in 1731, but he hastened to reassure Atterbury that he had never been applied to on any such matter, and that he was, “very sensible that on all accounts it is not fit for me to interfere or meddle in affairs of that kind”.<sup>59</sup> Although the noted nonjuring controversialist Charles Leslie was welcomed by James at his court in Bar-le-Duc in 1713, the Pretender’s motive was very clearly to use Leslie, who was encouraged to write on James’s behalf, to offset the bad effects of James’s continued refusal to convert to Anglicanism, and to dispel notions of the Pretender’s bigotry and religious prejudice. In later years James retained Anglican clerics at his court, but with no great enthusiasm and a reluctance to add to their numbers.

By the Hanoverian succession the nonjurors were declining in number, as their ordinations did not keep pace with their losses through death or compliance with the oaths. Many nonjurors devoted their considerable talents to academic pursuits, publishing scores of learned antiquarian and theological works which had no direct political relevance. Even the extreme Jacobite nonjuror Thomas Hearne confined his political views to his private journal. He published an extensive series of rare documents relating to medieval English history, but nothing

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<sup>58</sup> James to O’Brien, 16 August 1728, RSM 119/44; James to the Scots Bishops, 20 July 1726, RSM 95/113.

<sup>59</sup> James to Atterbury, 12 March 1732, RSM 152/46.

in support of the Jacobite cause.<sup>60</sup> In particular nonjurors turned to study the ancient forms and practices of the Christian church in its pristine state, before it had been degraded and corrupted by the Bishops of Rome. This research led to a bitter internal quarrel which caused a further schism among the nonjurors. An attempt to reconcile the two factions in 1731 failed, and they remained divided until the movement finally faded away in the latter half of the century.<sup>61</sup>

The schism provoked a fierce pamphlet controversy in which all of the church's leaders participated. The nonjuring Bishop Richard Rawlinson compiled a list of forty-three works written on the subject between 1717 and 1722 alone. Of these, thirty-four were published. The title of one, written in 1720, but "Suppressed not ever finished or published", indicates the ferocity of the debate:

"A short but full vindication of the book entitled Collier's desertion discuss'd from the ridiculous impertinent and malicious cavils of that apostate set of schismatics from the Church of England, who vainly call themselves Primitive Catholicks though they have not one word in the scripture to vindicate them in their belief and practice; But they think this sufficiently supplied by the bold, tho' extreamly weak assertions of their mighty Champion".<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, (Oxford, 1885-1907). Hearne's voluminous correspondence, which includes letters to all of the leading nonjurors, is almost entirely devoted to the collection materials for his manuscript publications, to publicising them, and to collecting payments due from the sale of them.

<sup>61</sup> Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 276-298, 363-71, 381, 389-90.

<sup>62</sup> Bodl RAWL MS D 848/102

The energies of the nonjuring church were thus directed inwards. The scholarship, skill in controversy, and passion shown in these debates only serve to indicate what might have been done on behalf of the Stuart cause.

Nonetheless the contributions made by individual nonjurors were considerable, and must not be underestimated. In particular nonjuring authors provided a large part of the more theoretical pamphlets published in the early years of Hanoverian rule, sustaining the Jacobite case that both by the ancient established constitution of England, and by all the most sacred tenets of the Church of England, the Elector of Hanover had no right to the allegiance of Englishmen, and that James Stuart was the only true and lawful King. The nonjurors Laurence Howell, Willoughby Miners, Richard Welton, and Mathias Earberry all suffered at the hands of the government in the first decade of George I's reign for the Jacobite content of their works. Both Welton and Earberry continued to publish writings in support of the Stuart cause, in defiance of the government, over an extended period.

Welton had provoked a considerable controversy in 1714 by having a new altar-piece set up in Whitechapel Church, depicting the Last Supper, and portraying the whig Dean of Peterborough, White Kennet, as Judas Iscariot.<sup>63</sup> In 1715, at the height of the rebellion, he published an appeal to the Bishop of London, demanding that the Bishop, "stand Unshaken at the Head of us, whilst we are Defending the Cause of Christ and of the Gospel". The nonjurors were determined to undo the evil done by the "weak compliances" of the clergy since the revolution:

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<sup>63</sup> Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 256-7. This resulted in an extensive pamphlet controversy.

“by the help of God, we are resolv’d to do what in us lies to wipe off those stains, and that great Guilt that presses heavily upon us”.<sup>64</sup>

Welton’s nonjuring meeting-house was raided by government Messengers in 1717 provoking another pamphlet complaining of his persecutions.<sup>65</sup> In 1723 the printer and publisher of his sermons were arrested, but could not be prosecuted because the sermons contained no explicit references to the government. However, their condemnation of rebellion against a lawful King, and praise of constancy under oppression was so fierce and immediate as could only be read as a Jacobite statement. The sermons were eventually published in 1724.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> [Richard Welton], *The Clergy’s Tears: Or, A Cry Against Persecution. Humbly offer’d in a Letter To The Lord Bishop of London, In Our Present Great Distress and Danger*, (1715), 3-5.

<sup>65</sup> Welton, *The Church Distinguish’d from a Conventicle: In A Narrative Of The Persecution of Dr. Welton and his Family, For Reading the Common Prayer in his own House* (1718).

<sup>66</sup> SP 35/41/78b; SP 35/46/32; Welton, *The Substance of Christian Faith and Practice: represented in eighteen discourses*, (1724). Welton was consecrated a nonjuring Bishop in 1724, although this was but an irregular process and not recognised by most of the nonjuring bishops. He then went to the West Indies to spread nonjuring ideas in the colony, until the Bishop of London intervened and put a stop to the mission. He died in Portugal in 1726. Bodl RAWL MS D 835/1; Lathbury, *Nonjurors*, 364.



Mathias Earberry was an even greater source of concern to the government. In 1716 and 1717 he published two theoretical works which were directly Jacobite in argument.<sup>67</sup> In 1722 he wrote, in two parts, the much more inflammatory *Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru'd to England by the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover*. This purported to explain how the Hanoverian royal family had schemed to acquire the English crown, and had from the first been determined to break through the Act of Settlement which had been devised to protect English interests. The Hanoverians had, “no notion of any other rule in Government but what is Arbitrary”. The printers and vendors of this work were arrested.<sup>68</sup> Earberry himself was taken up for a journal he wrote in 1722, entitled *Monthly Advices From Parnassus*. But in the early 1730s he was active again, defending the Stuart royal family from the attacks made upon them by Lord Bolingbroke in *The Craftsman*.<sup>69</sup>

Perhaps the most prominent Jacobite nonjuring writer was the historian Thomas Carte, who remained active in the cause until the 1740s. Carte was apparently the first editor of *The Freeholder's Journal* in 1722.<sup>70</sup> Later in that year he was forced to flee to France when a price was set on his head because of his involvement in the Atterbury Plot. In 1728 he was allowed to

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<sup>67</sup> M[athias] E[arberry], *Elements of Policy Civil and Ecclesiastical*, (1716); Mathias Earberry, *The Old English Constitution Vindicated And Set in a True Light. Offer'd to the Consideration of the Bishop of Bangor*, (1717).

<sup>68</sup> [Earberry], *The Second Part of the Historical Account ...*, (1722), 24. SP 35/31/7, 10, 11a, 15, 16. The work was republished in one volume in 1745.

<sup>69</sup> SP 35/41/63; Earberry, *The Occasional Historian*, (1731).

<sup>70</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 65.

return to England by the intercession of Queen Caroline.<sup>71</sup> During the 1730s he was a frequent correspondent with the Jacobite court, and in the early 1740s wrote several pamphlets implying that a Stuart restoration was the only remaining solution to the general corruption of society.<sup>72</sup> Much of Carte's energies, however, were devoted to the extensive researches which underpinned his historical writings. His masterpiece, a four volume history of England, created a scandal by its attribution of the power to heal the "Kings Evil" to the Pretender. The remainder was less controversial, although it emphasised the important role of the Stuart Kings in the development of English liberties.<sup>73</sup>

There are indications that on occasions, nonjurors were active behind the scenes in organising Jacobite propaganda. The extensive activities of James Alexander, who was clerk and churchwarden to Robert Orme's nonjuring meeting house, have already been noted. Orme attended the Jacobite James Shepherd at his execution in 1718, and provoked an outraged reaction by granting the unrepentant Shepherd absolution. He was later accused of having written Shepherd's Jacobite dying speech, which was published, and which the government made great efforts to suppress.<sup>74</sup> A year later, the brother of the young John Matthews, who was to be executed for printing *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, wrote to the Lords Justices to inform them,

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<sup>71</sup> Bodl RAWL MS D 835/22; DNB.

<sup>72</sup> [Thomas Carte], *A Full Answer To The Letter Prom A By-Stander* (1742); [Carte], *A Full and Clear Vindication Of The Full Answer To A Letter From A By-Stander*, (1743).

<sup>73</sup> Carte, *A General History of England*, 4 Vols., (1747-55). For an account of the controversy see Nichols, ii 495 ff.

<sup>74</sup> SP 35/11/50b ; SP 35/11/52.

“that his brother ... had complained ... that three or four non-juring ministers ... had been with him and plagued him to death, telling him his salvation depended on his persevering in his principles and communicating with them, to which ... John Matthews exprest himself to be entirely adverse”.

In fact, although a government report stated that Matthews died penitent, without making a speech, his death was immediately followed by the publication of six broadsheets giving, different, but Jacobite versions of his last words<sup>75</sup> Earlier, a writer sympathetic to the government, had given an account of the activities of nonjuring clergymen in visiting and keeping up the spirits of Jacobite prisoners in Newgate.<sup>76</sup>

A handful of nonjurors were directly implicated in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and some of these took advantage of the traditional right to deliver a dying speech to reaffirm their political and religious convictions. In his dying speech in 1716, the clergyman William Paul asked forgiveness for having taken the oaths. In 1746 both Thomas Sydall and Thomas Deacon declared their allegiance to the nonjuring church, in dying speeches which were published in a collection of Jacobite addresses from the gallows.<sup>77</sup>

But, despite the behaviour of this small though important minority, the majority of nonjurors avoided political involvement. A much more balanced account of the interests and

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<sup>75</sup> Goulden, “*Vox Populi*”.

<sup>76</sup> *The Secret History Of The Rebels In Newgate*, 35, 40, 42.

<sup>77</sup> *A True Copy of the Papers Delivered to the Sheriffs of London, by William Paul a Clergyman and John Hall Esq. Late Justice of the Peace in Northumberland ...*, (1716) , 3, 6; Bodl RAWL MS D 848/85, 88.

pursuits of those active enough to write and publish can be gained from the detailed description of the works produced by the leading nonjuring printer, William Bowyer, and from the papers collected by the nonjuring Bishop and antiquary, Richard Rawlinson, for a history of the movement. John Nichols collected an exhaustive list of the publications of the Bowyer family. Rawlinson accumulated volumes of published and unpublished works by nonjurors, and accounts of their lives and literary productions. Both testify to the scholarly interests and achievements, and to the political non-involvement of the majority of nonjurors.<sup>78</sup>

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The Jacobite court abroad, political leaders at home, the Roman Catholic and the nonjuring churches, can only be shown to have organised the production of a part of the material published in support of a Stuart restoration. Responsibility for the remainder, and above all for the large number of popular broadsheets and the newspapers produced between 1714 and 1724, must be placed elsewhere. Despite the growing importance of leading political figures in organising a political press, and the overall importance of literary patronage in Augustan England, a Jacobite press independent of these sources of support seems to have flourished in the first decade of Hanoverian rule. The next chapter examines the Jacobite press in England in that period in more detail, and argues that Jacobite writers, printers, and publishers were sustained by a buoyant

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<sup>78</sup> Nichols purports to list all of the works printed by the Bowyers. The Rawlinson MS in the Bodleian Library include a large number printed and manuscript writings by nonjurors, and memoranda and press-cuttings on their activities.

market for their goods; a public demand for scurrilous and treasonable Jacobite works which were within their comprehension, and above all, entertaining.

## Chapter Six

### The Mechanics of Jacobite Publishing in England, 1714-24

I hope to live quietly, and that without coming to any sort of Terms, for I have had no Treaty wth them, nor ask'd any sort of Favour.

Nathaniel Mist to Cameron of Lochiel, 11

July 1736, SP 36/39/21

I shall be concerned if so honest a man as Mr. Mist should have any just cause of Uniasyniss. His sufferings, that were intended to depress and disgrace him, ought to render him in ye Eyes of those for whom he suffer'd, more valuable; and I hope it will prove so; that others may not be discourag'd.

Francis Atterbury to John Semple, 2 March

1730, C ( H ) Corresp 1689

## CHAPTER SIX

### *THE MECHANICS OF JACOBITE PUBLISHING IN ENGLAND, 1714-1724*

Detailed investigation of the workings of the Jacobite press in England shows that it operated, for the most part, without direction or organisation by political or religious groups. Much was published which cannot be accounted for by the efforts of the exiled Jacobite court, Jacobite politicians at home, or the Roman Catholic or nonjuring churches. The most prolific and determined publicists produced treasonable pieces, despite government endeavours to prevent them, as a result of their personal commitment to the Jacobite cause. In addition, market forces had a more significant effect on many of those writing, printing, publishing, and distributing seditious material than any form of direction from above. In the early years of Hanoverian rule there was a clear demand for Jacobite or scurrilous anti-government publications, which encouraged the production and sale of such pieces.

This chapter studies the mechanics by which Jacobite views and ideas came into print and reached a wider audience. In particular it concentrates upon the more popular newspapers and broadsheets, which were so prominent in London in the period 1714-24. It suggests a vitality and commitment in the Jacobite movement at levels in society below those usually considered by its historians. It reemphasises how little contact there was between Jacobites in different stations of life, and shows how significant this may have been in the ultimate collapse of Jacobite publishing in England.

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It is often impossible to identify the author of Jacobite writings. The severe penalties meted out to writers of treasonable or seditious libels, by a government determined to suppress them, gave them ample reason to preserve anonymity. Surviving evidence reveals a cross-section of society writing for the Jacobite press, although it has already been shown that the involvement of politically influential landowners was limited. The contributions of the duke of Wharton, heir of the leading whig family, and of John Baptiste Caryll, the Roman Catholic landowner, were unusual in this respect.<sup>1</sup> Academics and the clergy, and in particular nonjurors, were better represented among the ranks of Jacobite propagandists. In 1716 the Bristol clergyman Edward Bisse was arrested, and manuscript verses intended for publication were seized. His sermons were also examined and held to be seditious. He was successfully prosecuted for a misdemeanour, and pilloried, fined £600, jailed for four years, and ordered to find sureties for his good behaviour for life.<sup>2</sup> The publishing activities of William King, the principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, of Thomas Carte, the nonjuring historian, and of other nonjuring clerics have been discussed in chapter five.

But the bulk of material for newspapers and most ballads and broadsheets was the work of a humbler sort of professional or hack writer. This group, satirised by Pope in *The Dunciad* and despised by Johnson in *The Rambler*, increased rapidly in size and importance during the period 1700-50, as the printing industry expanded to cater for a new demand for political and

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<sup>1</sup> See above, chapter 5.

<sup>2</sup> SP 35/13/55, 12/31, 14/36.



literary writings.<sup>3</sup> Daniel Defoe, frequently given as an example of the new type of jobbing writer or career journalist, wrote the leading political article in Nathaniel Mist's popular Jacobite newspaper during its early years. Unknown to Mist, Defoe was also being paid by the government to tone down the political content of that journal, although he still wrote articles which caused them some annoyance.<sup>4</sup> The successor to Mist's paper, *Fog's Weekly Journal*, employed a series of lesser writers on a weekly basis, including John Crawford, who wrote the leading essays during the early 1730s, and John Kelly, who was paid one guinea a week for his services in 1737, and was responsible for the series of astringent pieces published in that year which resulted in *Fog's* demise.<sup>5</sup>

It is rare that any detailed information about the personal background of these authors can be found. Exceptionally, some account of two other employees of Mist's can be gleaned from the Stuart papers. Edmund Bingley was put to work as a writer and manager by Mist after he had been released from eighteen months confinement in Newgate for suspected involvement in the Atterbury Plot in 1722-3. Bingley was of "good Family", and a graduate of the University of Dublin. He had formerly been imprisoned for asserting that "ye Prince of Orange & Princess Ann, were Usurpers" in argument with a fellow student, and for his possession of the Jacobite

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<sup>3</sup> J P W Rogers, *The Augustan Vision*, (1974), chapter 8; Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, (1963), 60-1.

<sup>4</sup> SP 35/12/124, 11/87, 12/38.

<sup>5</sup> SP 35/41/206, 41/202; M R A. Harris, *The London Newspaper Press, c 1725-46*. (unpubl. London University PhD Thesis, 1974), 164.

verses *Nero the Second*. As a result Bingley had been disowned and disinherited by his father.<sup>6</sup> Charles Molloy, who took over the direction of Mist's newspaper on the latter's flight to France in 1728 and also wrote leading articles in it, was similarly "born to a small Fortune ... of a good Family in Ireland", and had received a "good Education". His father had been a captain in the army of James II, and he was related to Colonel Henry Oxburgh, who had been hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn for his participation in the 1715 rebellion.<sup>7</sup> In 1737 Molloy became the projector and leading author of *Common Sense*, initially receiving some money and encouragement from Jacobites until it became apparent that he had chosen to throw in his lot with the opposition whigs, who also supported his paper.<sup>8</sup> Molloy also wrote and published three plays.<sup>9</sup> He finally married a woman of fortune and gave up political journalism.<sup>10</sup> Aside from

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<sup>6</sup> The Memorial of Edmund Bingley, enclosed in Bingley to James, May 1729, RSM 128/129-30. Bingley briefly acted as secretary to the duke of Wharton in France in 1729, but he was left behind as an unnecessary burden when the duke moved to Spain in that year. He was subsequently employed in the same manner by the more reliable duke of Ormonde, who was in exile in Madrid. Bingley to James, 11 September 1729. RSM 130/138

<sup>7</sup> Mist to O'Brien, 3 June 1730, RSM 137/68

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Carte to James, 4 May 1743, RSM 249/113. G H Jones, "The Jacobites, Charles Molloy, and *Common Sense*", in *The Review of English Studies*, (vol. 4, 1953)

<sup>9</sup> Charles Molloy, *The Perplex'd Couple*, (1715); Molloy, *The Coquet: or, the English Chevalier. A Comedy*, (1718); Molloy, *The Half Pay Officers, a Comedy*, (1720).

<sup>10</sup> DNB; A S Limouze, *A Study Of Nathaniel Mist's Weekly Journals*, (unpubl. Duke University PhD Thesis, 1947), 110.

their Irish origins, both Molloy and Bingley had in common some pretention to gentility and education, and a need to earn their livelihood by the pen.

An even more well known contributor to Mist's journal during the 1720s was Edward Cave, who later founded the highly successful *Gentleman's Magazine*. Cave's father was a shoemaker in Rugby, and Cave himself attended Rugby school. He was variously clerk to a collector of excise, an assistant to a timber merchant in London, and finally apprenticed to a printer. He worked both as printer and writer for Mist. He obtained employment in the Post Office for a time, but then established his own printing office and began *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731. During his later career his political views increasingly differed from those of his former employer, and his journal, although generally in opposition to the government, was not Jacobite.<sup>11</sup>

It is even more rare that any indication of the authorship of broadsheets survives. Only one manuscript found at the premises of the ballad printer Francis Clifton can be ascribed, and that to the otherwise unknown Timothy Donovan. More is known of two other professional writers who produced Jacobite ballads. Samuel Wesley the younger, "is known to have been a writer of Jacobite ballads", and was probably the author of the equivocal *Vicar of Bray*.<sup>12</sup> Wesley was educated at Westminster and Christ Church, and ordained in the Church of England,

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<sup>11</sup> An account of Cave's career is given by Samuel Johnson, who wrote for *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1740-43, in Nichols v 1-7. Nichols himself expands on Johnson's account, and lists other contributors to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, including two future clerics, a pen-cutter, the clerk to a city merchant, and a school-master. Nichols v 8-53.

<sup>12</sup> Foxon ii 886.

although he never took a benefice. He devoted his time to charitable works, and earned his living at least in part by writing. In 1733 he became master of Tiverton grammar school.<sup>13</sup> Richard Savage achieved a wider literary fame, and gained a certain personal notoriety from his claim, made in 1718, to be the illegitimate son of the fourth earl Rivers and Mrs Brett. The details of his claim were vague, and there was no documentary evidence, but Samuel Johnson subsequently believed his story. Lord Tyrconnel, Mrs Brett's nephew, took Savage into his household when the claim was made, and later paid him money to stop attacks on his aunt.<sup>14</sup> Previously Savage had written Jacobite ballads. He was pardoned by the government in 1714 for publishing seditious works, but afterwards produced more. Five of his pieces were seized by the authorities in 1716. However, his attachment to Jacobitism seems to have been short-lived. In 1727 he wrote verses in praise of George I, and in 1732 of Walpole. He died impoverished in 1743.<sup>15</sup>

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Evidence of the work of printers survives to a greater extent than that of authors. Printers were necessarily more vulnerable. A ballad or newspaper article could be written in secret, and printers and publishers were remarkably tenacious in refusing to divulge the identity of writers. But printing necessarily involved a large number of others, both in production and distribution.

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<sup>13</sup> DNB.

<sup>14</sup> Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*, (1779-81), (2 vols., Oxford 1906), ii 98-103; Clarence Tracy, *The Artificial Bastard. A Biography of Richard Savage*, (Toronto, 1953), provides a much more sceptical account of Savage's claim, as does DNB.

<sup>15</sup> For Savage's verses see SP 35/7/78. DNB.

Secrecy was more difficult, and the scope for informers greater. Moreover, a raid by the government Messengers of the press could more easily find evidence at a printer's workplace.

Francis and Katherine Clifton were a prime target for informers, and several raids on their establishments confirmed the nature of their activities. The Cliftons emerge as one of the most daring, scurrilous, and persistent producers of Jacobite broadsheets; although it is clear that they saw their activities as business rather than propaganda. It is worthwhile considering them in some detail. At least fourteen Jacobite broadsheets can be positively identified as theirs in the period 1718-1724, although this list is undoubtedly incomplete.<sup>16</sup>

As a result of prosecutions for debt Francis Clifton was forced to print within the confines of the Fleet prison. But his financial problems made no difference to the importance of his publishing. The zealous London magistrate, Sir John Fryer, was moved to complain of him and his works in October 1719. Clifton was,

“a sorry fellow in ye Liberties of ye Fleet, where my warrant will scarce be obeyed ... tho' they are silly ridiculous things, yett they do much hurt among ye common people, I often have such like papers brott to me & ye cryers of ym own they have them of ye said Clifton”.<sup>17</sup>

His journeyman Thomas Gent, who later became a prominent printer in York, described his employer as in “poor circumstances”, but painted a graphic picture of his hectic business life:

“Some time in extreme weather, have I worked under a mean shed, adjoining to the prison wall, when snow and rain have fallen alternately on the cases; yet the number of

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<sup>16</sup> For a list of works attributed to the Cliftons see appendix 3.

<sup>17</sup> SP 35/18/35

wide-mouthed stentorian hawkers, brisk trade, and very often a glass of good ale, revived the drooping spirits of the workmen. I have often admired at the success of this person in his station; for, whether through pity of mankind, or the immediate hand of Divine Providence to his family, advantageous jobs so often flowed upon him, as gave him cause to be merry under his heavy misfortunes.”<sup>18</sup>

Clifton was in trouble over a journal he had produced in 1719, *The Oxford Post*.<sup>19</sup> But in 1720 both he and his wife became the objects of continued government attention as a result of a bitter business quarrel with Richard Burrige, a hack writer who sold his pamphlets to numerous printers. The origins of this squalid little feud were outlined by Thomas Gent in his autobiography.<sup>20</sup> But in April 1720 Burrige was arrested after Katherine Clifton had complained that she and her husband “go in fear of their lives or of some other bodily harm” from him.<sup>21</sup> However, in the next month, she herself was taken up and questioned for her broadsheet, *The Tory’s Wholesome Advice*,<sup>22</sup> and by July Burrige had begun a torrent of accusations against the Cliftons which the government could not but take seriously, despite their frenzied tone. One letter to the Under Secretary of State, Charles Delafaye, complained that he was persecuted by, “yt curs’d papistick, jacobite, nonjuring, high flying party, especially one

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas Gent, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, Of York; Written By Himself*, (1832), 85, 86-7.

<sup>19</sup> SP 35/15/31

<sup>20</sup> Gent, *Life*, 97-109.

<sup>21</sup> SP 35/21/15.

<sup>22</sup> SP 35/21/77.

Francis Clifton, who lately assaulting me...”, had also had him successfully prosecuted for debt by employing false witnesses— even though Clifton was not entitled to go to law because he refused to take the oaths to the present government. In any case Clifton was,

“a Villain ... does he not glory in his Disloyalty against the present government? Does he not daily print most seditious papers, & reflecting satyrs & ballads against his most sacred majesty King George?”<sup>23</sup>

By the later half of 1720 Clifton was in deep trouble. Searches had revealed Jacobite works in his printing shop, and his pleas for mercy to the under Secretary met with a negative response.

Delafaye, Clifton wrote, “sent me no other answer, than (by word of mouth) yt I ought to have been hang’d long ago”.<sup>24</sup>

Clifton squirmed like a worm on the hook. He wrote pleading letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who disdainfully passed them on to Delafaye. The printer assured the Under Secretary that he had meant no harm, and offered surety for his future good behaviour.<sup>25</sup> But he remained in custody until late March 1721, when he was finally allowed bail. The Treasury Solicitor had reported that it would only be possible to prosecute Clifton for two broadsheets at most, and even then the result was doubtful.<sup>26</sup>

But despite the hardships he suffered, and his fair words and promises to the contrary, Clifton immediately returned to the production of Jacobite works. The zealous government

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<sup>23</sup> SP/35/22/37, 22/61, 22/66.

<sup>24</sup> SP 35/22/33 (3).

<sup>25</sup> SP 35/22/33, 24/75.

<sup>26</sup> SP 35/25/95.

informer Richard Shaw took over from Burrige at this point, and even in March 1721, the month of Clifton's bail, he complained: "Clifton has now bitter papers in his house".<sup>27</sup> He continued to file informations against husband wife with great frequency. In November 1721 Clifton again wrote to Delafaye, explaining that he was in desperate circumstances as a result of his imprisonment, ill health, and the breaking up of his print by government Messengers. He promised good behaviour for the future, denied any association with the Jacobite party, promised to inform on the producers of treasonable ballads—and desired to be excused payment of his court fees.<sup>28</sup> His request had no effect on Delafaye. But Clifton's Jacobite work continued until 1724.

Although persistent, Clifton's Jacobitism does not appear to have been heartfelt. He showed no solidarity with other Jacobite printers, and was ready to inform on them if it was to his advantage. He continually complained that he was the subject of disproportionate government attention because he was a Catholic. In 1720 he maintained that pamphlets and ballads which he had been taken up for, "have been printed by Others to ten Times ye Number and vastly more bare-fac'd things than ever I durst presume to." But because he was a papist he must "suffer all". In particular Clifton pointed the finger at the printer Dodd, who was also responsible for Jacobite pieces.<sup>29</sup> Clifton poached customers from the tory printer Daniel

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<sup>27</sup> SP 35/25/94.

<sup>28</sup> SP 35/29/31.

<sup>29</sup> SP 35/23/33 (3), 24/75 (3). Clifton complained that on occasions when he had refrained from printing pieces he was bid not to, others had printed them and made a great profit by doing so.



Midwinter, and hawkers from the Jacobite printer John Lightbody. The end of his printing career was as disreputable as the rest of it. Thomas Gent claimed that,

“the same Clifton proved himself a villain, in moving off to France with the money of a brewer to whom he was a steward, and left his bondsmen to answer for what damage he had done thereby”.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps Clifton’s Catholicism did attract disproportionate attention. But he was by no means the only broadsheet printer to be taken notice of and informed upon in this way. John Lightbody, who also worked within the confines of the Fleet, was commonly lumped together with Clifton in the accusations made by Richard Shaw, as a printer of “bitter” pieces. His works were “much cried about” in 1721, according to Sir John Fryer, who advised Delafaye: “you will do well to cause his presses to be seized”.<sup>31</sup> Only three broadsheets are clearly attributable to Lightbody, and two of those are not overtly Jacobite in content, although they treat the arrest of Francis Atterbury with sympathy and concern. Lightbody, like Clifton, was equivocal in his dealings with the government. Indeed in 1720 he wrote complaining of Clifton’s Jacobite activities. But his accusations were in terms which suggest that his over-riding concern was at the popularity of a rival printer, and hostility to attempts by Clifton to use Lightbody’s hawkers

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His wife had had four reams of one song confiscated, although it was now being sold openly by a Mr Bliss, who had married Dodd.

<sup>30</sup> Gent, *Life*, 90, 112; SP 35/24/75 (1).

<sup>31</sup> SP 35/25/87.

to dispose of his broadsheets. In 1726 Lightbody was offering to inform against any printers and publishers hostile to the government.<sup>32</sup>

At times it is difficult to see any sense of common purpose or unity among Jacobite printers.<sup>33</sup> The lower end of the market was a cut and thrust world where the weakest went to the

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<sup>32</sup> SP 35/24/75 (1), SP 35/61/50.

<sup>33</sup> Although it is remarkable that government informers were met with uniform hostility by opposition printers, and often complained that they subsequently found great difficulty in getting employment in the printing trade. See for example the letter of Samuel Negus to Lord Townshend asking for a letter-carriers place in the Post Office by way of compensation in 1724, in Nichols, i 288-312. One of the most explicit demonstrations of the hatred generated by such informers was the riot of printers, journeymen, and apprentices which took place at the funeral of Lawrence Vezey in June 1720. Vezey was one of the two assistants to John Matthews who had given evidence that his employer was the printer of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, resulting in the young man's execution. The other was William Harper, who later claimed that as a result of his evidence he was so persecuted by other printers that he lost, "all hopes of getting his bread in the busyness he was brought up to so that he is continually running out and must be entirely ruined unless speedily relieved". R J Goulden, "*Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, Charles Delafaye's Paperchase", *Book Collector*, (xxviii, 1979), 368-90. The conclusion must be that in the case of government informers who were a common threat to the livelihood of many, printers were prepared to join together. This was rather a bond of interest than principle, however, and did not preclude ruthless action in the pursuit of commercial advantage over a competitor.

wall. They lived in constant financial instability, and consequently there were no holds barred: Lightbody informed on Clifton, Clifton informed on Dodd.

Above all, the production of Jacobite works could be profitable, and printers were ready to cash in by reprinting particularly scandalous pieces, despite the danger of legal retribution. Elizabeth Powell, the printer of the Jacobite journal *The Orphan Reviv'd* in 1719-20, heard of the death penalty imposed upon John Matthews for printing the pamphlet *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* in 1719, but was still ready to risk printing another edition of it because she thought it would make money.<sup>34</sup> The “Persian Letter”, published in *Mist's Weekly Journal* of August 24th 1728 was reprinted by Edward Farley in his *Exeter Journal*, despite a warning that another printer who had republished it had been arrested, while a manuscript copy was found at the premises of Robert Walker, the successful proprietor of several London-based provincial journals.<sup>35</sup> In 1724 the printer Samuel Negus had written to the Secretary of State, Lord Townshend, to complain, that “The Country-printers in general copy from the rankest papers in London, ... how hard it is for such men to subsist, whose natural inclinations are to be truly loyal and truly honest and at the same time want employ; while the disaffected printers flourish, and have more than they can dispatch...”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Goulden, “*Vox Populi*”.

<sup>35</sup> SP 36/8/115, 9/60; G A Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700-1760*, (Oxford, 1962), 51-56.

<sup>36</sup> Nichols, i 288-312.

More vulnerable still to the exercise of government power were those who actually sold newspapers or broadsheets to the public, and those who sang ballads on the streets or in public places. Hawkers and ballad-singers bought their wares either at a pamphlet shop or direct from the printer, and took them to a wider audience. In doing so they laid themselves open to arrest and severe punishment. In particular, the interrogation of a hawker was often the only clue that the government had to the identity of the printer or author of an anonymous Jacobite broadsheet. Inevitably most of the evidence of the activity of this group comes from government sources. Most hawkers were probably illiterate. Certainly when questioned by the government some claimed that they could not read, and that consequently they had no knowledge of the treasonable content of what they sold.<sup>37</sup>

In 1717 the Attorney General, in response to an enquiry from the Under Secretary of State, told Delafaye that hawkers of libels against the government, “may be legally sent by a Justice of the Peace to the House of Correction as idle and disorderly persons”.<sup>38</sup> This became official government policy, and a number of hawkers and ballad singers met with that fate. But Sir John Fryer, for one, saw difficulty in enforcing this measure, and recommended financial incentives to encourage “officers” to do their “duty”. A month later Delafaye wrote to the Lord Mayor urging him to take action to suppress libellous hawkers and ballad singers.<sup>39</sup> But although a few were arrested, Jacobite wares were still peddled openly on the streets of London.

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<sup>37</sup> Another well-used defence was a denial of any knowledge of how such papers came into their possession, eg SP 35/11/109, 11/116.

<sup>38</sup> SP 35/8/26.

<sup>39</sup> SP 35/18/48, 18/101.

Throughout the period 1714-1724 correspondence on this subject continued among government ministers and officials, reflecting both their concern and their lack of success.

The odds were against being taken up for crying a Jacobite ballad. There were too many hawkers for a government without a regular police force to observe and control. A printer might employ two or three dozen, perhaps more, to distribute any one work, each selling possibly only a quire (24) of any one piece. Ballad singers existed in even greater number: several hundred copies of any one song might be printed, and others would rely on manuscript copies.<sup>40</sup> Rarely were more than one or two hawkers or singers seized for any particular piece. At most, as in the case of *The Dying Speech of James Shepheard* in 1718, half-a-dozen were taken up.<sup>41</sup> To the government they were small fry; nuisance, but really significant only if they could provide information as to the printer, publisher, or author of a work. The penalty involved, unpleasant enough, was not so drastic as it might be for author or printer, nor for other types of criminal activity available to anyone in need of money. Moreover it could be avoided. Some successfully evaded punishment by denying any knowledge of the content of the stuff they sold, and pleading illiteracy; others got off by arguing that their poverty compelled them to sell such works. It was noted at Westminster in April 1715 that, “severall loose and disorderly persons” who frequently sung and disposed of seditious ballads in the streets, “being very poor, in respect of their poverty,

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<sup>40</sup> See below chapter 7.

<sup>41</sup> SP 35/11/53, 11/86, 11/110, 11/116, 12/56.

have been excused from corporall punishment on their promise of reformation, but notwithstanding continue their evil practices”.<sup>42</sup>

For anyone having difficulty in scraping a living, the hawking of political libels must have appeared an attractive means of earning money. Time and again government reports lamented that scandalous and seditious works outsold all the others. It seems that hawkers were aware of this. One agent explained in 1721 that if Francis Clifton was put under sufficiently heavy monetary bonds for his good behaviour, he would be forced to live up to his promises to provide information against other printers libelling the government:

“the nature of the thing commands his performance, for when he’s strictly tyed up, he must prevent others printing those scandalous papers, which the folly of the populace are so fond of buying, for otherwise the hawkers would all go to them, & none come to him.”<sup>43</sup>

Clifton’s former assistant, Thomas Gent, printed some observations on the dying speech of Christopher Layer, the Jacobite conspirator executed for his part in the Atterbury Plot. The demand for this, according to Gent, was so great that, “the unruly hawkers being ready to pull my press in pieces for the goods”.<sup>44</sup>

Clifton was successful in forming a wide-ranging network of hawkers and ballad singers “beholden & indebted to him” across London. In 1722 two persons were committed to a house of

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<sup>42</sup> Middlesex RO Calendar of Sessions Books, 732/72. I owe this reference to Dr. Joanna Innes of Sommerville College, Oxford.

<sup>43</sup> SP 35/27/33.

<sup>44</sup> Gent, *Life*, 140-141.

correction as far away as Chatham for singing Clifton's ballads.<sup>45</sup> But his success, and that of others, clearly depended on his ability to supply a popular demand for scurrilous anti-Hanoverian and Jacobite broadsheets. Their work was heavily draped in symbolism and allusion, but was sold openly for what it was. Clifton's *A New Song, Commemorating the Birthday of her Late Majesty Queen Ann of ever blessed Memory. To The Tune of General Monck's March*, was cried on the streets by Elizabeth Robinson as "the new Ballad you may sing it but I dare not".<sup>46</sup> Andrew Hinde's broadsheet, *The Father's Letter To The Son, and The Son's Answer*, was cried by Ellen Vickers and her daughter Sarah Ogleby, "by the name of the King's letter to the prince", although they both denied that anyone had told them to do this. According to the Attorney General, they were, "crying a foolish, ridiculous paper, but containing villainous, seditious & traitorous innuendoes which were made the stronger by the manner of their crying it." Ellen Vickers said that she was selling it "purely for want of bread".<sup>47</sup> William Turner, a labourer and hawker of ballads, testified that when new ballads came out Clifton "explained the meaning thereof & alsoe acquainted them of the abbreviations, if any", before they were sold. Another informer, the notorious Edmund Curll referred to a "key" which was handed about to explain the meaning of an essay in the *Freeholder's Journal*, "The Principles of the Society of the Lunar Gossips", a particularly seditious Jacobite allegory.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> SP 35/24/75 (4), SP 35/31/102.

<sup>46</sup> SP 35/11/20 (1).

<sup>47</sup> SP 35/11/14.

<sup>48</sup> SP 35/31/45, SP 35/31/39. Even the government treated Curll with disdain. He was later jailed, and his petitions for release ignored. SP 35/63/266.

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The emphasis so far has been upon the cut-throat nature of a market in which a plebeian demand for Jacobite or seditious anti-Hanoverian writings was met by hack authors, business-like printers, and hawkers desperate to scrape a meagre living by purveying what the public most wanted. This does not take into account those publicists who demonstrated their political conviction and attachment to the Stuart cause despite often harrowing circumstances, over a number of years. George Flint and Nathaniel Mist, in particular, ran great risks and endured considerable hardships, in order to produce Jacobite propaganda in support of a monarch who was rarely appreciative or understanding of their efforts, and when there was little hope of financial reward. A more detailed study of these two reinforces the picture of an extensive demand for Jacobite works, at the same time as demonstrating that there was some altruism among Jacobite propagandists. The lack of aid offered them by Jacobite politicians also confirms the lack of cohesion within Jacobitism.

Flint himself stated his motives very clearly, and provided explicit detail of his activities. In a postscript to a letter to the earl of Mar written in June 1718, in which he complained of his plight in Calais, where he and his wife had been forced to flee as a result of his Jacobite publishing, he maintained that,

“I never was a mercenary scribbler, but threw up a very handsome fortune to take the pen in hand. I furnished not only copy but the whole expense of printing & c. out of my own



pocket, permitting the printer to reap all the gains, save of some few I sold in the pressyard.”<sup>49</sup>

Flint was a Catholic from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. By his own account he had his education in the customs house, in a bank, and through travel. At the Hanoverian accession he was involved in trying to organise a Jacobite rising, but in 1715 was seriously ill. He then turned to writing for the Jacobite cause.

“When not quite recovered, I betook myself to those labours, which had like to have ended at Tyburn, and in prison, when sick and in bed unable to wield a pen, I caused my wife to write by me, and when shut up from the sight & hearing of mankind other than the jailers, I caused them by my wife’s means, unknown to themselves, to fetch and carry my papers, had in spite of them pen, ink and paper and wrote from 1 to 5 or 6 in the morning ... our enemies oft said and still say I did them more harm than all the rest of their enemies”.

Eleven years later he gave more detail in a petition to the Old Pretender:

“after He [Flint] was known to be in Newgate, all the Tory News Printers repair’d [to him] for Copy; so that during his first three months in prison he caus’d forty or fifty thousand Papers against the Government to circulate every week throughout the three Nations ... Seventeen months from a Prison he dispers’d Loyal Papers in spite of all the Government could do to hinder him; & when he was to dye for an harang to the Army which he ventur’d to write in Newgate, he made his escape”.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Flint to Mar, 18 June 1718, HMC Stuart vi 551.

<sup>50</sup> Flint to Mar, 18 June 1718, HMC Stuart vi 551; Petition of George Flint, 1729, RSM, 131/46.

Flint's accounts of his publishing activities in Newgate were confirmed, in some measure, by contemporary writers of different political persuasions.<sup>51</sup> He was recognised by both the earl of Mar and the Pretender's mother, Queen Mary of Modena, as a worthy candidate for financial aid when he arrived at Calais in 1717. He was commissioned by Mar to write further Jacobite pamphlets to be sent back into England.<sup>52</sup> But this support does not seem to have been sufficient to keep Flint and his wife from considerable hardship. He continued to make suggestions for further propaganda efforts and to offer his pen in the service of the Stuart cause, but after about 1719 seems to have been ignored by Jacobite politicians. By 1720 he was imprisoned for debt at Calais, where he languished for twenty months. He again petitioned for aid in 1729, pleading that his pen be employed against the Hanoverian government, and again received a small sum on the direct authority of the Pretender. He offered similar advice in 1744, and 1745.<sup>53</sup>

Flint was also assisted in exile by the Catholic landowner John Baptiste Caryll mentioned above.<sup>54</sup> Both government and Jacobite supporters concurred in speaking of the sincerity of the attachment of both Flint and his wife to the Church of Rome. Mary Flint was apparently caught

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<sup>51</sup> See *The Secret History Of The Rebels In Newgate*, (1717), for a critical account of Flint's activities there, and for a more sympathetic one, *The History Of The Press-Yard*, (1717).

<sup>52</sup> Father Inese to Mar, 26 May 1717, HMC Stuart iv 275; Mar to Father Graeme, 3 September 1718, HMC Stuart vii 238.

<sup>53</sup> Petition, RSM 131/46; James to O'Brien, 1 November 1729, RSM 131/145; Flint to James Edgar, 13 December 1744, RSM 260/146, and 15 February 1745, RSM 261/163

<sup>54</sup> Mary Flint to Caryll, 4 July 1750, BL Add MS 28231/60.

trying to convert one Christopher Smith to Catholicism in his dying minutes in the press yard at Newgate prison. Her husband wrote Catholic theological tracts during his exile, and unsuccessfully sought a benefice for his son in the Catholic Church.<sup>55</sup>

Nathaniel Mist was first involved in the printing of a Jacobite newspaper in 1716. Between then and 1728, when he was forced to flee to France to avoid arrest for his publication of the “Persian Letter”, Mist was in trouble with the government on at least 14 separate occasions.<sup>56</sup> He was often arrested and questioned. In November 1718 he was presented to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, in June 1720 he was ordered to be prosecuted by the House of Lords, in May 1721 he was called to the bar of the House of Commons for his reflections on George I and the duke of Marlborough. He was frequently jailed, fined, and made to find sureties for good behaviour. His press and type were broken up, papers seized, and in 1721 he was pilloried at Charing Cross and the Royal Exchange. Nonetheless he continued to print Jacobite pieces even after the discovery of the Atterbury Plot in 1722-23, and one of his first actions on arriving in France was to offer his services to the Pretender. Mist was often used by the Jacobites abroad for gathering intelligence from London. In particular he supplied copies of newspapers from

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<sup>55</sup> *Secret History*, 44; Flint to Caryll, 8 January 1744, BL Add MS 28230/273, referring to his “*Proposal of Xn Union & Co*”; Mary Flint to Cardinal Gualterio, 28 May 1725; BL Add MS 20310/363.

<sup>56</sup> Limouze, *Nathaniel Mist’s Weekly Journals*, 60-94.

England and passed on messages to Jacobite sympathisers in the capital. But his considerable propaganda skills were largely untapped.<sup>57</sup>

Flint and Mist were perhaps exceptional in their dedication. Nonetheless the activities of both were attuned to the demands of the market. Flint claimed that he wrote purely for political reasons and that all profit went to his printer. But he also stressed the popularity of his writings and the fact that the hawkers all flocked to him. Mist claimed to have “abandon’d what they call Interest and Fortune for my Country and Conscience sake”.<sup>58</sup> But he ran a highly successful newspaper business, his journal being consistently one of the most popular of its day, selling perhaps eight or ten thousand copies a week in its prime. According to Delafaye, Mist’s deliberate courting of popularity was the key-stone of his success: Mist’s papers “do more mischief than any other libel, being wrote *ad captum* of the common people”. In exile Mist was to look back wistfully at the days when he “us’d to ride in my own Coach”, and when “perhaps no Man in England had greater Authority over Dependants than I had”.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> eg Mist to James Edgar, 21 December 1730, RSM 141/33. The Pretender’s proposal to have Mist seized and put in the Bastille to print Jacobite declarations secretly in the event of France deciding to support an expedition has already been noted, in chapter 4.

<sup>58</sup> Mist to O’Brien, 25 December 1732, RSM 157/183.

<sup>59</sup> Laurence Hanson, *Government and the Press*, (1936), 104-105, Mist to O’Brien, 7 November 1728, RSM 121/165.

Jacobite publicists in England laboured continually under the threat of government action to suppress their activities. These ministerial efforts indicate that the government recognised more clearly than the Pretender the potential threat Jacobite propaganda, posed to the Hanoverian regime. They significantly influenced the production of Jacobite work in two ways. First, the harsh penalties which could be incurred by those convicted of publishing or writing a seditious libel ensured that Jacobites adopted covert and equivocal ways of expressing their treasonable views in much of what they published. These methods are discussed extensively in a later chapter.<sup>60</sup> Second, government action partly explains the collapse of Jacobite publishing in England, which had almost disappeared by the end of 1724. Even *Mist's* newspapers deliberately eschewed political subjects for a time. But government action alone does not explain the collapse: in the face of determined efforts against it between 1715 and 1722 the Jacobite press had remained remarkably resilient.

The difficulties faced by the government in obtaining a successful prosecution against a printer or publisher for treason, or for seditious or criminal libel have been detailed by Laurence Hanson in his seminal *Government and the Press* of 1936.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless the government had important successes which ought to have deterred others from emulating those Jacobite publicists who suffered. Most dramatically, John Matthews the nineteen year old printer of the short Jacobite pamphlet *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* was hanged in 1719. The reaction of Mrs Elizabeth

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<sup>60</sup> See below Chapter 10. Also, Howard Erskine-Hill, "Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?", in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, (Edinburgh, 1982).

<sup>61</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, chapter 2.

Powell, in printing off another edition in the hope of cashing in on the notoriety of the piece, has already been noticed. It was generally recognised that George Flint had only saved himself from a similar fate to Matthews in 1717 by his spectacular escape from Newgate dressed as a footman.<sup>62</sup> Mist was convicted of the lesser offence of libel on several occasions, as was Thomas Payne, the publisher of *The Freeholder's Journal* in 1722-23.<sup>63</sup>

Nor was the government adverse to the use of extra-legal pressures to curb the excesses of the press. Although legal procedure was respected in so far as convictions were sought within the limits of the evidence available, and officials accepted the advice of the Attorney General when he recommended dropping cases which were unlikely to succeed, the government fully exploited its ability to act outside of the law. The Messengers of the Press were used to harass printers of suspect loyalty. Mist, Clifton, Hinde, and Thomas Sharpe, the printer of *The Freeholder's Journal* and *The True Briton* were all taken in for questioning on numerous occasions. Informers, including men of such dubious credibility as Richard Burrige and Richard Shaw, were encouraged and rewarded. Printers were arrested and held for long periods without trial, despite the Habeas Corpus Act, before being subsequently released for want of evidence. James Alexander, who had been involved in the production of a large number of Jacobite newspapers and pamphlets, was illegally seized by a Messenger in March 1721, and released the next year for want of evidence.<sup>64</sup> Philip Bishop, the printer of the *Exeter Mercury*, died in jail awaiting trial for printing the Jacobite ballad *Nero the Second* in 1716. Edward Farley, who

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<sup>62</sup> *Secret History*, 30; *History of the Press Yard*, 136-7.

<sup>63</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 65.

<sup>64</sup> SP 35/31/4.

reprinted Mist's "Persian Letter" in his *Exeter Journal* of 1728, suffered a similar fate.<sup>65</sup> Mist had paper and printed stock confiscated by Messengers, and type broken up.<sup>66</sup> The nonjuror Mathias Earberry had his books seized when he was taken up for Jacobite writings, and was reduced to making abject pleas for their return in 1725. From the safety of Rheims George Flint threatened legal action against the Keeper of Newgate if his plays, papers and books were not returned.<sup>67</sup>

Exerting pressure in these ways, the government succeeded in silencing a number of Jacobite voices. The longevity of Mist's journals was exceptional. Other Jacobite newspapers had an average life of one or two years only. Both Clifton's and Mrs Powell's journals folded within that time span as a result of government pressure.<sup>68</sup> But what is remarkable in the early years of Hanoverian rule is that new Jacobite newspapers appeared to take the place of those which had been closed. *The Freeholder's Journal* was immediately succeeded by *The True Briton*.<sup>69</sup> Sometimes the line of succession was made explicit, as in the case of *Robin's Last*

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<sup>65</sup> Cranfield, *Provincial Newspaper*, 141-142; R J Goulden, "Jacobite Pamphlets in the Public Record Office", *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, (Oct 1976).

<sup>66</sup> Type represented a considerable capital investment for eighteenth century printers, and its destruction was consequently a serious blow. Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, (Oxford, 1972). 12,39.

<sup>67</sup> SP 35/55/18; SP 35/23/115.

<sup>68</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 65.

<sup>69</sup> The *Freeholder's Journal* ended on May 18th 1723, and *The True Briton* began on June 3rd, with the same printer and publisher.

*Shift*, which reappeared in 1716 as *The Shift Shifted*, and again in 1717 as *The Shift's Last Shift*.

Whether for profit, as Elizabeth Powell and Francis Clifton, or from conviction, as James Alexander and Nathaniel Mist, Jacobite printers and publishers continued to defy the government. The body of the Jacobite press remained sound. From time to time this sharp-tongued hydra lost a head to the ministerial sword, but it seemed possessed of a disconcerting ability to grow others in place of those lost.

The situation was transformed by the discovery and exposure of the Atterbury Plot. It is not possible to demonstrate that government action against the press intensified at this time, although it is likely that it did. But such action took place in a new atmosphere, as part of vigorous measures designed to counter any Jacobite threat and to instil an air of crisis in the country. Almost as the news of a plot was broken to the public, in April 1722, the Guards appeared encamped in Hyde Park, and the Tower of London was garrisoned with troops, In May all laws against Roman Catholics and nonjurors were put into operation; their arms and horses were seized, and they were confined to their houses. Great publicity surrounded the succession of arrests made, and in particular the confinement of Bishop Atterbury to the Tower. Philip Neynoe's suspicious death in custody, Christopher Layer's trial and execution, and the trial and exile of Francis Atterbury added to the impression of a government firmly in control, and ruthless in its determination to root out Jacobitism.<sup>70</sup> Secondly, at this time, any Jacobite activity could only be seen in the context of the plot against the King. Without any change in the law

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<sup>70</sup> For accounts of Walpole's exploitation of the Plot see G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State. 1688-1730*, (Oxford, 1975), chapter 12 and 13; P Fritz, *The English Ministers and Jacobitism Between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745*, (Toronto, 1975), chapter 8 and 9.



itself, the publication and distribution of Jacobite works was less likely to be viewed by the government, or magistrates, judges and juries, as a mere misdemeanour, and more likely to be seen as high treason of a direct and immediate kind, warranting the extremes of punishment. At the same time supporters of the Hanoverian royal family inevitably became more assertive in their demonstrations of loyalty, and more intolerant of expressions of opposition to the government. The changed atmosphere was responsible for the demise of *The Freeholder's Journal* in 1723: "This Journal set out under the Disadvantage of a troubled Season. When the Weather is too boisterous, little Boats cannot live upon the Sea ... and the Sky is not serene enough, to induce me not to make the Porte."<sup>71</sup> Nathaniel Mist deliberately avoided political comment in his journal, while others, such as the newly founded *True Briton*, restricted themselves to expressions of disbelief in the seriousness of the plot, and personal defence and praise of Francis Atterbury.<sup>72</sup> One correspondent to a newspaper supporting the government commented, "We knew the vile Jacobites wouldn't own their Plot, and laugh'd at 'em, for swearing it off..."<sup>73</sup>

But those Jacobite publicists who rode out the storm did not re-emerge to carry on their work once the waves had subsided. It seems that the debacle of the Atterbury Plot marked a decline in demand for Jacobite work, as well as a reduction in the number of those willing to produce it. It is significant that there was a parallel decline in other expressions of plebeian

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<sup>71</sup> FJ 76, 18 May 1723.

<sup>72</sup> eg TB 62, 3 January 1724; TB 5, 17 June 1723.

<sup>73</sup> *Baker's News*, 22, 16 October 1722.

Jacobitism: fewer cases of seditious words, fewer demonstrations on Jacobite anniversaries.<sup>74</sup> It may be that the appearance of a plot with some chance of success forced people to question more seriously where their allegiance really lay, and that those who had adopted Jacobitism as a convenient means of expressing a general opposition to the government drew back from the consequences of a Stuart victory. Probably more significant was a profound collapse of belief in political success, and a disillusion with the ability of Jacobite leaders at home and abroad, which set in as a result of the fiasco of 1722-23. With Atterbury exiled and the government so obviously in control of the country, the prospect of a restoration was dim. Details of the plot which emerged seemed to indicate incompetence or duplicity, and bitter divisions within Jacobite circles. Atterbury's arrival in France heralded a messy post-mortem discrediting the "Triumvirate" of Mar, Lansdowne, and Dillon in Paris, but bringing credit to no one. In 1725 the defection of the Scots Jacobite leader Lord Seaforth was followed by the bitter and widely publicised rift between the Pretender and his wife, centring on James's employment of a Protestant governor for Charles Edward, and a Protestant Secretary of State, John Hay, earl of Inverness in the Jacobite peerage, who was driven to resign in the following year to placate Clementina.<sup>75</sup>

That despair and disillusion afflicted the remaining Jacobite political leaders in England is evident from the few letters written to the Pretender at this time by Lords Orrery and Strafford, and Colonel William Cecil, an intermediary made use of by a number of correspondents to the

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<sup>74</sup> Nicholas Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England", in Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy*.

<sup>75</sup> Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 279-289, 291.

Jacobite court.<sup>76</sup> That it permeated lower in society can only be surmised, although the bitterness and sense of betrayal evident in the comments of Mist, Flint, and the author of *The Freeholder's Journal*, already cited, are some indication of this. Mist reflected on, “the stupid narrow Souls of some Men of Parts and Distinction, whose Heads are ever charged with Loyalty, but have nothing but Hypocrisy in their Hearts”, who were ready enough to allow Mist to serve them, and yet did nothing to help him in his distress. Flint complained that he and his wife had been, “baffled by their many foes upon Yr Majty's Account & no friends”.<sup>77</sup> For them the Jacobite failure was one of leadership. They believed that the vast majority of the people were sympathetic to the Stuart cause and they were confident that propaganda could have achieved dramatic results. They were let down by supposed political leaders who were too timid or uncommitted to support Jacobite activists through difficult times. Mist's and Flint's answer to Lord Orrery's lament in 1726, that it was no longer possible to get Jacobite work published in England,<sup>78</sup> would surely have been that the reason for this was the failure of men like Orrery to assist printers and publishers to survive in the face of government oppression. The final chapter in this section examines the scale of Jacobite publishing activity, and tries to assess the size and social composition of the audience it reached.

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<sup>76</sup> Lord Orrery to James, 7 May 1725, RSM 82/18; Lord Strafford to James, 2 March 1726, RSM 91/47; Colonel Cecil to James, 28 May 1726, RSM 94/42.

<sup>77</sup> Mist to O'Brien, 7 November 1726, RSM 121/165; Petition of George Flint, 1729, RSM 131/46/

<sup>78</sup> Orrery to James, 6 August 1726, RSM 94/17.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### The Distribution and Diffusion of Jacobite Propaganda

There has for twenty years past been scarce anything published for that purpose: & yet all that time the Craftsman & other Newspapers have been continually poysoning the minds and principles of the people, & inculcating with the bitterest virulence every thing to render your Royal Ancestors & family odious throughout the Nation ... it has not indeed infected the middle & common people of the Kingdom, because that papers continual railing against K. Charles whose memory they adore, soon prejudiced them so much against it, that they left off reading it.

Thomas Carte to James, c1739, RSM

216/111b

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### *THE DISTRIBUTION AND DIFFUSION OF JACOBITE PROPAGANDA*

By the distribution of printed propaganda Jacobites could reach a far wider audience than was possible by other activities. Newspapers and ballads could circulate, and perhaps win converts, where Jacobite agents and politicians could not.<sup>1</sup> An assessment of the extent and success of Jacobite publishing activity, of how far Jacobite propaganda was distributed and diffused throughout the country, and of the size of audience ready to receive it, provides an indication of the maximum level of popular support which might have been mobilised in the Stuart cause. It suggests that Jacobitism had a far greater potential as a political movement, with a wider social base, than it was ever able to realise in practice. This chapter assesses the amount of Jacobite literature produced, and the size and identity of its readership.

Leading Jacobite publicists, such as Nathaniel Mist and George Flint, themselves made great claims about the scale and effect of their operations. By their own testimonies they reached large numbers and unaided by political leaders, built up a wide measure of popular support for the Old Pretender that was never capitalised upon. Flint asserted that while he was imprisoned in

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<sup>1</sup> The prime example of the political potency of a seemingly irrelevant piece of doggerel, when set to a tune which caught the popular imagination, was the song *Lilliburlero*, which supposedly whistled James II out of the kingdom in 1688, and William of Orange in. The whig Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet, in his *History of His Own Time*, described the effect of this “foolish ballad”: “The whole army and at last the people, both in the city and, country, were singing it, and perhaps never had so slight a thing so great an effect”. Grove’s v 237.

Newgate in 1716 all of the tory newsprinters came to him, “so that during his first three months in Prison he caus’d forty or fifty thousand Papers against the Government to circulate every week throughout the three Nations”.<sup>2</sup> Such claims might be dismissed as the inevitable hyperbole of broken men claiming alms on the basis of past endeavours. Nonetheless, on the recommendation of his minister at Paris, Colonel O’Brien, James recognised at least some merit in their cases by providing small sums of money to assist both Flint and Mist in exile.<sup>3</sup>

More significant than the Jacobites’ own claims, however, was the notice taken of them by contemporaries of varied political persuasion. The activities of Flint and Mist were much discussed in print, and their arguments attacked. The story of Flint’s daring in publishing Jacobite works from Newgate, and of his subsequent escape dressed as a footman, was recounted both as an heroic example and a warning of the lengths to which the Jacobite rebels would go.<sup>4</sup> Inconsequential gossip about Mist was related in other newspapers, suggesting that he was well known to the reading public. In 1719 *The Jesuite* gave a farcical account of a duel Mist supposedly fought with a French officer over a woman.<sup>5</sup> In *The Dunciad* Alexander Pope linked Mist with the leading whig journalist, the proprietor of *The Flying Post*, George Ridpath: “To Dulness Ridpath is as dear as Mist”.<sup>6</sup> The contents of Mist’s journals were frequently discussed

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<sup>2</sup> Petition of George Flint, October 1729, RSM 131/46.

<sup>3</sup> Flint to James, 28 November 1729, RSM 132/80; James to O’Brien, 7 June 1730, RSM 137/93.

<sup>4</sup> For example in *The Secret History Of The Rebels In Newgate*, (1717); *The History Of The Press-Yard*, (1717).

<sup>5</sup> *The Jesuite*, iv, 29 August 1719.

<sup>6</sup> *Pope Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Davis, (Oxford, 1966), 486, 208.

from varying political viewpoints in other newspapers and pamphlets. His most constant critic in the 1710s was Ridpath in *The Flying Post*. Pamphlets ranged from the attack on occasional conformity in *Some Seasonable and Important Queries Earnestly Recommended To the Serious Consideration Of Divines and Lawyers, Churchmen and Dissenters. In a Letter to Mr. Mist*, (1719), to the almost nonsensical *Mist's Closet Broke Open, Or, several Letters intercepted, in which are contain'd some old Truths new Told*, (1728).

It was common to disparage a rival newspaper as being of no importance because no one read it. This was not possible in the case of the leading Jacobite papers; it was the constant complaint of the pro-government journals that they were all too widely read. Mist's papers and (in 1722-23) the short-lived *Freeholder's Journal* were frequently pointed out as *the* significant opposition newspapers. *Baker's News: or, the Whitehall Journal* was typical of many in 1722 when it complained of the, "little, witty, sly, silly and slowly apply'd Treason in Print", produced by Mist and the Freeholder:

"... Journals grow so much the Custom, and some of them have such Authority with the Multitude, that all their State-Creed, nay, their Church-Creed, is taken from them; and unless Vigilance and Power be used, by this very means, our subjects, in a while, will most, or all of them, become Jacobites and Papists".

In June of the same year *The Englishman's Journal* explained that it had been formed with the express purpose of countering the views of "the Enemies to our present Establishment", citing

Mist, “Cato’s Letters” (which appeared in the opposition whig *London Journal*) and *The Freeholder’s Journal* as the most prominent of these.<sup>7</sup>

But *The London Journal*, despite the attention accorded it by later historians, did not last long as an opposition newspaper. It was bought out by the government in 1722 and its popularity consequently declined appreciably.<sup>8</sup> Mist’s paper continued, and under the new title of *Fog’s Weekly Journal* was still one of the best selling ten years later. *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, writing of *Read’s Weekly Journal*, explained that,

“though he’s not so popular as the *Craftsman* or *Fog*, he has overtaken the *London Journal* in credit and exceeds him in sale. The success of the two former is obvious. Scandal is like a Phenomenon, and always attracts attention”.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *Baker’s News: or, The Whitehall Journal*, 22, 16 October 1722; *The Englishman’s Journal*, 1, 6 June 1722.

<sup>8</sup> Laurence Hanson, *Government and the Press, 1695-1763*, (Oxford, 1936), 106-8.

<sup>9</sup> GM 13, January 1732. Contemporaries constantly discussed *The Craftsman* and *Fog’s Weekly Journal* together as the two leading opposition newspapers. See for example, *Observations on the Writings of the Craftsman*, (1730), which accused *The Craftsman* of hypocrisy in professing abhorrence of *Fog’s* cause, and yet following in his footsteps, and *A Coalition of Patriots Delineated. Or, a Just Display of the Union of Jacobites, Malcontents, Republicans, and False Friends, with an attainted Old Traitor, to revile the Ministry; impose upon People; set aside the Succession; and bring in the Pretender*, (1735), which sought to taint all opposition groups with Jacobitism.



Controversial and seditious writings achieved a notoriety which considerably boosted their sales. A government memorandum of 1722 reflected that, “There never was a Mist or any other Person taken up or tryed but double the number of papers were sold upon it”.<sup>10</sup> In 1741 *The Daily Gazetteer* recollected that, “Mist’s treasonable Papers were sold sometimes for Half a Guinea a-piece”, such was the demand for them.<sup>11</sup>

The government received many warnings of the harm done, particularly among “the common people”, by Jacobite pamphlets, newspapers and ballads. It was frequently advised to curb the activities of the press. Some informers could be dismissed as unreliable cranks, like one “J.H.” who wrote a scarcely literate letter to the Secretary of State, Lord Townshend, in June 1722. He complained of the activities of Catholic news writers in the city, who printed 30,000 “half penny poapers” a week, “and these Papist writers shall order ye Elections both hear and in ye Country with there falsehoods”.<sup>12</sup> Some were clearly anxious to provoke action against commercial rivals, or otherwise better their own position. The list of printers and their political affiliations produced for Townshend by Samuel Negus in 1724 was a direct result of his own failure in the printing trade, and was designed to earn him a letter-carrier’s place in the Post Office.<sup>13</sup> But the government nonetheless took such reports seriously enough to have them

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<sup>10</sup> SP 35/30/52.

<sup>11</sup> Cited in M R A Harris, *The London Newspaper Press. c 1725-46*, (London University unpubl. PhD Thesis, 1974)

<sup>12</sup> SP 35/31/128.

<sup>13</sup> Nichols, complained, “how hard it is for such men to subsist, whose natural inclinations are to be truly loyal and truly honest, and at the same time want employ; while the disaffected printers

investigated. Other information came from far more reputable and reliable sources. The London magistrate Sir John Fryer wrote with concern about the bad influence of the ballad printer Francis Clifton, and advised the government to take immediate action to stop him inflaming the population of the capital. Mr Justice Dewe asserted that Clifton “makes use of poor Ignorant Wretches to Disperse his Seditious Libels in order to inflame the Populace against the Government”. Fryer thought Clifton’s ballads “silly ridiculous things, yett they do much hurt among ye common people”.<sup>14</sup>

The surest measure of the widespread influence of Jacobite publishing in the first decade of Hanoverian rule was the level of concern and anxiety among government officials themselves about a threat which they perceived to be very real. The Under Secretary of State, Charles Delafaye, spent much time and effort tracking down Jacobite writers, printers, and publishers, and where possible subjecting them to legal action. Mist’s paper caused him especial concern, as he recognised that it was distributed in large numbers in both town and country, and did, “more mischief than any other libel, being wrote *ad captum* of the common people”.<sup>15</sup> Fourteen issues of Mist and five of Fog resulted in government action. Most Jacobite newspapers folded within

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flourish, and have more than they can dispatch ... there are many of them who give great offence and disturbance to the State, and who never have been brought up to the business and ought to be put down”. Nichols i 288.

<sup>14</sup> SP 35/31/45, 18/35.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 104-5. See also the undated memorandum at SP 36/46/341: “It frequently happens that Ballads and other nonsensical Papers are publisht tending to feed the distempered humour of many of the Mobb against the Government”.

one or two years as a direct result of this pressure. *The Freeholder's Journal* had five warrants issued against it within the first four months of its existence.<sup>16</sup> Severe penalties, including large fines and imprisonment, were inflicted on printers and authors convicted of producing Jacobite works. Mist was pilloried, Edward Farley of Exeter died in jail awaiting trial for High Treason for having reprinted Mist's "Persian Letter", the nineteen year old John Matthews was hanged for printing the short pamphlet *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*.

Although the amount of Jacobite material produced after 1724 declined considerably, the government remained anxious to root out any appearance of it for some years after. The King himself ordered the prosecution of Mist for the "Persian Letter" of 1728. In 1734 the Attorney General distinguished between journals such as *The Craftsman*, which although hostile to the government could safely be ignored, and those "where his Majesty's title is called in Question or there are any insinuations in favour of the Pretender", when prosecutions were "absolutely necessary". Three years later Lord Harrington called the *Fog's Weekly Journal* of 16th July a "scandalous and seditious libel" and demanded to interview those responsible himself.<sup>17</sup>

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More objective measures of popularity are difficult to find. Unfortunately circulation figures for Jacobite newspapers and records of the size of edition of most broadsheets and

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<sup>16</sup> A S Limouze, *A Study Of Nathaniel Mist's Weekly Journals*, (Duke University unpubl. PhD Thesis, 1947), 60-94; Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 65.

<sup>17</sup> SP 36/8/74, 8/76, 33/147, 41/202.

pamphlets just do not exist. However contemporary references and the nature of the printing and publishing trade provide some guide.

The only precise estimate of the circulation of *The Freeholder's Journal* is that given by Edmund Curll in a letter to Townshend in April 1722, where he talks of 8,000 copies of a particularly scandalous issue containing a Jacobite satire, in which John Bull supposedly described society on the moon.<sup>18</sup> If accurate, this was a large circulation. The leading government papers in the 1720s, with the advantage of political subsidies and free distribution through the Post Office, rarely matched this. *The London Journal*, once it had been taken over by the government, sold 8,000 at most; *The Free Briton* rarely circulated as many as 5,000.<sup>19</sup> Curll was notoriously unreliable, and doubtless would have wanted to make his evidence seem important.<sup>20</sup> But his testimony had to appear convincing to his intended employer, and it also corresponds to such other indications as there are. The main essays from the first six numbers of *The Freeholder's Journal* were republished as a pamphlet, the sale of complete sets of the

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<sup>18</sup> SP 35/31/85.

<sup>19</sup> C (H) 75/5; Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 106-7, 112-3; J R Sutherland, "The Circulation Of Newspapers And Literary Periodicals, 1700-30", *The Library*, (vol.15, no. 1, 1934), 118-20.

<sup>20</sup> The government treated him with disdain; he was later jailed and his petitions for release ignored. SP 35/55/102.

journal were advertised, and numerous midweekly supplements were produced; indicative of a sufficient demand to make these financially worthwhile.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly the only exact figure available for the circulation of *Mist's Weekly Journal* is for the extraordinary paper of 24 August 1728, containing the "Persian Letter". 10,750 copies of this were printed by Mist's employee John Clarke. Two volumes of Mist's letters and essays were reprinted.<sup>22</sup> Above all, the contemporary notoriety and the sheer length of their survival (twenty years) indicate a certain popularity. In later years Mist wrote nostalgically of his former prosperity while producing his journal, with a large number of employees and his own coach.<sup>23</sup>

A further guide to the distribution of both *The Freeholder's Journal* and Mist's papers can be achieved by relating contemporary comparisons between the popularity of rival journals to such circulation figures as are available. In 1718 the publisher Nathaniel Dodd took fifty to seventy quire (1,200-1,680) of Mist's *Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post* each week. He took 108 quire (2,160) of an issue of *The London Journal* known to have sold more than 10,000 copies, suggesting that if Dodd handled the same proportion of copies of each newspaper, Mist's

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<sup>21</sup> *A Collection of Political Essays and Letters in the Freeholder's Journal*, (1722). FJ 22, 30 May 1722. 9 supplements were included in the 76 issues of the journal; 3 more were promised in the last issue, but were never produced.

<sup>22</sup> Limouze, *Mist's Journals*, 13; WJ/SP 186, 23 June 1722.

<sup>23</sup> Mist to O'Brien, 7 November 1728, RSM 121/ 165: "while I was in Place, perhaps no man in England had greater Authority over Dependants than I had ... I now light my Fire with the same satisfaction that I us'd to ride in my own Coach".

paper sold more than 5,000 each week at that time.<sup>24</sup> In 1722 both *Mist's Weekly Journal* and *The Freeholder's Journal* were frequently linked with *The London Journal* as the most important and significant opposition newspapers, before the latter was bought off by the government. In the negotiations over this change of political allegiance the proprietors of *The London Journal* claimed a circulation of 15,000. This was probably an exaggeration designed to draw the highest possible compensation from the government for the anticipated drop in sales, to around 8,000, expected when it became a ministerial paper. In 1721 the publisher of *The London Journal* John Peele stated that the printer regularly supplied 10,000 copies.<sup>25</sup> *Mist* might be expected to have sold the same number. By 1730 it appears that *The Craftsman* was equal to or overtaking *Fog's Weekly Journal* in popularity. At that time the former was producing 10,000 copies per week.<sup>26</sup> It seems reasonable to assess the circulation of *The Freeholder's Journal* as in the region of 8,000 in 1722-3, and that of *Mist's* journals as approaching 10,000, at least throughout the 1720s.

The series of Jacobite newspapers in which George Flint wrote in 1716-17 attracted much attention, although there are no figures indicating how many of these were produced except Flint's own later claim to have been responsible for forty or fifty thousand papers against the government each week. This series included the *Weekly Remarks and Political Reflections*,

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<sup>24</sup> Limouze, *Mist's Journals*, 8.

<sup>25</sup> SP/35/28/9. Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 85.

<sup>26</sup> S R Varey, *The Craftsman, 1726-1752*, (Cambridge University unpubl. PhD Thesis, 1976), 55; Sutherland, "Newspapers", 119-20.

*Robin's Last Shift*, *The Shift Shifted*, and *The Shift's Last Shift*, the last three of which lasted only a few months each. The first numbers of *Robin's Last Shift* were republished in bound form.<sup>27</sup>

Other Jacobite newspapers were certainly more modest affairs. James Read, the proprietor of a successful Whig newspaper, thought that Francis Clifton's *The Weekly Medley: Or, The Gentleman's Recreation* of 1718-19 would fail because he printed only 1,200 copies, a number which would not yield sufficient income to meet expenses.<sup>28</sup> However Clifton was a commercial printer unlikely to produce a journal at a loss, and Read may have underestimated his circulation. Clifton printed another newspaper, *The Oxford Post*, from December 1717 until it incurred the displeasure of the government in 1719. Elizabeth Powell's *The Orphan Reviv'd: or Powell's Weekly Journal* (1719) was a similar commercial venture, on one occasion printed by Clifton for a brief period. Both Powell's and Clifton's journals were subjected to government action, and for that reason only survived for about a year each. The nonjuror Mathias Earberry's *Monthly Advices From Parnassus* (1722) was silenced by the government almost as soon as it appeared. To be financially viable it seems that a journal had to sell around 2,000 copies a week. It is hard to imagine the business-like Clifton or Powell running at a loss, and so it is likely that they produced something like that number of papers. Earberry's was a more literary publication, probably not intended as a commercial venture, and of small circulation and limited influence.<sup>29</sup>

Only Nathaniel Mist continually distributed thousands of newspapers each week over many years. But in the first ten years of George I's reign there were a clutch of other Jacobite

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<sup>27</sup> George Flint, *Robin's Last Shift*, (1717).

<sup>28</sup> Limouze, *Mist's Journals*, 9.

<sup>29</sup> Hanson, *Government and the Press*, 65.

journals writing in a similar vein, and reinforcing his message. Perhaps each added up to 2,000 copies to Mist's 8-10,000. The concentration of Jacobite journals in the period 1714-24 is strikingly demonstrated at appendix 1.

The other popular form of Jacobite writing which caused the government great concern was the broadsheet, usually carrying a ballad or verse to be sung or declaimed in alehouses or at street corners. My searches have revealed almost 160 printed between 1714 and 1746 which have survived and can be labelled "Jacobite" with some certainty. This includes only works calling for a Stuart restoration either explicitly or indirectly through an established symbolism, and a very few which attacked the Hanoverian monarchs in such strong terms as could only imply a demand for their replacement by a more acceptable royal family. It does not include the large number of works which might be read as Jacobite by those wishing to do so: pieces giving prominence to Jacobite affairs, such as the unravelling of the Atterbury Plot in 1722-23, or works by known Jacobite publishers which were anti-government but not necessarily Jacobite.<sup>30</sup> How many more were printed and have not survived must be conjecture. Broadsheets are frail and transitory and easily lost. Ballads were commonly pasted to the walls of pubs and alehouses, and

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<sup>30</sup> I have included as Jacobite those broadsheets and pamphlets which recorded in detail the dying words and speeches of Jacobites executed by the government, as these represented a means of publishing Jacobite argument and sentiment. In the case of John Matthews, executed for printing *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* in 1719, the fact that the sufferer died without making a speech did not prevent Jacobites from printing accounts of his death and versions of a dying speech in which he supposedly reaffirmed his commitment to the Stuart cause. See above page 58-9.



were unlikely to survive such treatment.<sup>31</sup> The government eagerly sought them out, but the collection in the State Papers is by no means exhaustive, including only just over 40 of the 160.<sup>32</sup>

The graph at appendix 1 shows that the great majority of these broadsheets were concentrated in the period 1714 to 1724. Fewer than 15 survive from after 1724, and those are from 1745-46. More than 45 appeared between 1714 and 1724.

Broadsheets were produced in very small editions. In 1720 the government seized almost four reams of printed songs from the press of Katherine Clifton, that is to say almost 1,920 copies. But this was her production of three different songs, making on average only 600 or so copies of each.<sup>33</sup> Some editions were probably smaller still, although no firm figures remain. Katherine Clifton claimed that she only published thirty copies of one ballad, although it is likely that she would have produced more had the government not prevented her. She paid for the original of this ballad with 100 printed copies of another.<sup>34</sup> It seems that around a couple of dozen hawkers worked selling broadsheets for each printer, but as each might handle anything from half a quire (12) to five or six quire, it is difficult to deduce more precise figures from the distribution mechanism.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Maud Karpeles, *An Introduction to English Folk Song*, (Oxford, 1973), 69.

<sup>32</sup> Those in the State Papers are listed at appendices 2 and 3.

<sup>33</sup> SP 35/24/75.

<sup>34</sup> SP 35/21/77.

<sup>35</sup> The hawker Ellen Vickers found about twenty others collecting ballads from the printer's shops of Francis Clifton and Andrew Hinde in January 1718. SP 35/11/14. SP 35/13/62, 27/24.

Small print runs of broadsheets were usual for several reasons. First, printers in difficult financial circumstances lacked the necessary capital to invest in large quantities of paper, a substantial proportion of the cost of printing. Secondly, printing on a single hand-press was a relatively slow business, and often the success of a piece depended on its political immediacy.<sup>36</sup> But in any case the scale of production was tailored to the extent of the market, which in this case was not, by and large, the individual reader, but ballad-singers and public readers who disseminated these Jacobite wares beyond the bounds of the potential literate audience. Ballads were intended to be sung, dying speeches to be declaimed, in alehouses, gin shops, inns, and the street. These works had an impact far beyond their printed numbers, and could reach the lowest of social groups. Inevitably the evidence for this is impressionistic, and one turns again to the concern of Sir John Fryer at the popularity which Jacobite broadsheets enjoyed, and his feeling of helplessness to prevent large numbers circulating in the streets; to the dedication shown by Delafaye in trying to curb the activities of the printers. Fryer warned Delafaye in 1719, “you see what Ballads are sung at ye streets ... which continues to alienate ye minds of ye common people by these things”.<sup>37</sup>

The impact of Jacobite pamphlets is even more difficult to gauge because the term encompasses a wide variety of product. The appeal of the nonjuror Mathias Earberry’s weighty *Elements of Policy Civil and Ecclesiastical* of 1716 was undoubtedly very different to that of the

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<sup>36</sup> Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, (Oxford, 1972), 54-6. James Alexander actually provided the printer Claudius Bonner with half a ream (240 sheets) of paper on which to print *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*. SP 35/19/15.

<sup>37</sup> SP 35/16/23.

short and vitriolic *To A Thing They Call Prince Of Wales* of the same year. The size of editions probably varied more than in the case of broadsheets, but very few records of edition sizes survive. 1,000 copies of *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly Stated* were found in the house of the nonjuror Laurence Howell in 1716. *The Daily Courant* referred to this as a “large impression”.<sup>38</sup> There were at least three editions of the notorious *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* in 1719. John Matthews printed 1,000; Edward Holloway, between four and five hundred, at the press of Elizabeth Powell; and Claudius Bonner 240, at the house of the widow Rumbold.<sup>39</sup> These suggest that the average size of an edition numbered hundreds rather than thousands. Fewer pamphlets than broadsheets were produced; some were academic in nature and unlikely to have a broad appeal or provide the subject matter of public readings in the way that printed ballads or dying speeches did.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, some of the more scandalous may have done so. In 1723 the government received information from Blackerby Fairfax M.D. that the Jacobite agent and publisher Walter Jeffreys had been reading publicly in John’s Coffee House in London from Mathias Earberry’s satirical *An Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru’d to England by the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover*.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Nichols i 31-2; *Daily Courant* 4652, 17 September 1716.

<sup>39</sup> See above page 58.

<sup>40</sup> I have plotted the Jacobite pamphlets I have found onto the graph at appendix 1 because they reinforce the overall picture of Jacobite propaganda. But it should be realised that such a procedure necessarily conceals large differences in quality and effect between different pamphlets.

<sup>41</sup> SP 35/42/61.

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But in all cases the actual number of copies produced was lower than the number of readers. Mist complained bitterly that “a great many people expect to see all my diversion for nothing”. Hawkers loaned out newspapers at a half penny a time, and some had the effrontery to return them to the printer in a tattered state and expect their money to be refunded. He later published an announcement to the effect that refunds on unsold papers would no longer be paid.<sup>42</sup> The many London and provincial coffee houses, inns, and taverns provided newspapers for their customers as an important part of their service. One government memorandum suggested that an effective way of suppressing Mist’s journal would be to make coffee houses and other public places responsible for the content of the papers they provided, forcing them to stop taking it for fear of government action.<sup>43</sup> Individuals circulated newspapers privately. In 1725 one ingenuous reader wrote to the government requesting that he be sent *Mist’s Weekly Journal* through the post instead of the pro-government *London Journal*, because that would be more acceptable to his neighbour.<sup>44</sup> Addison’s estimate that a newspaper would be read by 20 people is often cited. In 1731 *The D’Anverian History of The Affairs of Europe*, attacking *The Craftsman*, claimed that it was read “by no less than 400,000 of the good people of Great Britain, allowing no more than 40 Readers to a Paper”.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> WJ/SP 279, 29 February 1724; WJ/SP 234, 20 April 1723.

<sup>43</sup> SP 35/13/31.

<sup>44</sup> SP 35/58/121.

<sup>45</sup> G A Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760*, (Oxford, 1962), 177; *The D’Anverian History of the Affairs of Europe*, (1731).

*The Gentleman's Magazine*, from 1731, summarised articles from *Fog's Weekly Journal*, reproducing justifications for resistance to the government, and indicating as sympathetically as it dared their Jacobite content. Much of Fog's attack on William of Orange in March 1732 was printed, as was its vindication in the following month.<sup>46</sup> The founder of the magazine, Edward Cave, had formerly worked for *Mist*. *The Gentleman's Magazine* had the largest circulation of the periodicals which began to appear during the 1730s and 1740s.<sup>47</sup>

Circulation was further increased by the common practice of making manuscript copies of works. Mr Dearle, a schoolmaster in Stafford, incurred the displeasure of the government in 1721 because,

“hearing of a Paper said to be a New Declaration of ye Pretender's and that the same was in the hands of an acquaintance of his in Stafford and being Curious to see the same; Did procure a sight of that paper, and Liberty to take a Copy of it, and having transcribed it was prevailed upon by Mrs Walley the Post Mistress at Stafford to lett her have it to shew to a Friend of hers, on her promise not to part with it out of her Custody”<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> GM 15, March 1732; GM 16, April 1732.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Johnson recorded that *The Gentleman's Magazine* sold 10,000 per week. Apparently its founder, Edward Cave, “long thought that the success of his Magazine proceeded from those parts of it that were conducted by himself, which were the abridgement of weekly papers written against the Ministry, such as the *Craftsman*, *Fog's Journal*, *Common Sense*, the *Weekly Miscellany*, the *Westminster Journal*, and others...” Nichols v 34, 54, See above page 187.

<sup>48</sup> SP 35/25/68 (1).

Ballad singers were frequently taken up with written copies of seditious pieces in their possession. A written copy of *Vox Pouli, Vox Dei* was found in the street in a Surrey market town in 1724.<sup>49</sup> The nonjuror Richard Rawlinson had a huge manuscript collection of nonjuring and Jacobite pamphlets and verse, as did the historian Thomas Carte and the leading Jacobite politician the earl of Strafford.<sup>50</sup> The exiled Jacobite court placed great reliance on manuscript declarations and letters in order to get its message to potential supporters in England.<sup>51</sup>

A provincial press was beginning to develop in the early years of the eighteenth century, and in a few cases Jacobite works originated and made their impact outside of London. Perhaps the most successful printer was Henry Crossgrove, who distributed his *Norwich Gazette* over a wide area, including parts of Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, despite being harried

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<sup>49</sup> SP 35/53/13. E P Thompson called it “a genuine Jacobite handbill” but did not recognise its original, *Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act*, (1975), 166.

<sup>50</sup> Rawlinson’s and Carte’s collections are in the Bodleian. The earl of Strafford’s are at BL Add MS 31152. The Landor family of Rugely in Staffordshire had a small collection of manuscript Jacobite declarations, dying speeches and ballads from the 1740s. Warwickshire CRO OR 931/235-54. The Dyott family of Freeford in Staffordshire had a similar collection. Staffordshire CRO D 661/20/4, 20/7

<sup>51</sup> See for example the reply by the duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for home affairs, to the bundle of Jacobite papers sent him by the earl of Dartmouth in 1745, that such pieces had been received by many distinguished people in recent times. Staffordshire CRO D (W) 1778. v. 760. For the Old Pretender’s preference for this form of propagandising see above pages 125-6.

by the government and by Whig leaders in Norwich.<sup>52</sup> The Farley family ran a number of journals in the West Country which were generally opposed to the government, although not overtly Jacobite except in the case of the reprinting of Mist's "Persian Letter" of August 1728 by Edward Farley in his *Exeter Journal*. A manuscript copy of the "Persian Letter", possibly intended for republication, was found in the possession of Robert Walker, the proprietor of several London-based provincial journals.<sup>53</sup> Samuel Negus told Townshend in 1724 that, "The Country-printers in general copy from the rankest papers in London"; he certainly included Mist in this category because in listing the London printers Mist was the only one to be labelled "Scandalous".<sup>54</sup>

Some pamphlets and broadsheets also originated from outside London. Philip Bishop, the printer of *The Exeter Mercury*, died in jail awaiting trial for printing the Jacobite ballad *Nero the Second* in 1716. As late as 1754 Mark Farley was sent to jail in Exeter for one year for printing seditious verses on the Pretender's birthday.<sup>55</sup> It is not clear whether the ballads seized on the ballad-singer James Okes at an alehouse in Warwickshire in November 1722 were of local origin or not, but Colonel Duroure, a J.P., hoped,

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<sup>52</sup> Crossgrove to Strype, 2 December 1714, BIT, Add MS 5853/555.

<sup>53</sup> SP 36/9/60; Cranfield, *Provincial Newspaper*, 51-5.

<sup>54</sup> Nichols i 286-312.

<sup>55</sup> Cranfield, *Provincial Newspaper*, 141-2, 61.

“to see an example made of this wretch to the terrour of a swarm of them that Infect the Country gaining among the poor People from Cottage to Cottage and dispersing their Nonsense as this fellow has done for six months past”.<sup>56</sup>

The vast majority of Jacobite publications in England were undoubtedly printed and remained within a small area around London itself. The furthest any of the numerous ballads of Francis Clifton are recorded as having reached is Chatham, where two singers were sent to a House of Correction for purveying his works in May 1722.<sup>57</sup> Newspapers, and other material, were sent out through the post, but the cost was prohibitive. Henry Crossgrove wrote telling John Strype, the minister of Low Leyton in Essex, that it would cost one shilling a week to have *The Norwich Gazette* posted to him, unless he was able to have it franked under the name of a Member of Parliament.<sup>58</sup> Post Office clerks, also had franking rights, but after 1715 were increasingly likely to be whig sympathisers. A newspaper commonly cost 1½d; postage would make it eight times more expensive. *Mist's Weekly Journal* was banned from the posts in 1728. The government itself used the Post Office to flood county towns with thousands of subsidised pro-government journals. Mist and Fog claimed “correspondents” from the countryside, but it seems more probable that most came from near at hand. This impression is reinforced by the dearth of surviving Jacobite newspapers, broadsheets, and pamphlets in the papers of country families or in local record offices.<sup>59</sup> Of course families are known to have purged their

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<sup>56</sup> SP 35/41/86.

<sup>57</sup> SP 35/31/102.

<sup>58</sup> Crossgrove to Strype, 12 June 1715, BL Add MS 5853/557.

<sup>59</sup> Appendix 4 lists Jacobite publications found in County Record Offices.



collections of evidence of treasonable activities, and local records are by no means exhaustive. Nonetheless, surviving Jacobite propaganda is heavily concentrated in London, and at Oxford University which was notorious for its Jacobite sympathies and which had frequent traffic with the capital. Material also survives in Scotland as a result of the Jacobite printers who were active there, particularly during the rebellions.

This concentration of Jacobite newspapers, broadsheets, and pamphlets meant that they would have been available to a large proportion of the population of the capital. Ten or twelve thousand Jacobite journals each week might reach an audience of 200,000 or more, using the contemporary estimate of 20 readers per paper. If 500 copies of each surviving Jacobite broadsheet were distributed, 7,000 would have appeared between 1714 and 1724. If each reached 50 people, 350,000 could have heard them. The adult population of London at that time was perhaps 250,000. The government could hinder the distribution of seditious works to the provinces, but could not prevent them being generally available in London. The State Papers reveal the frustration of those seeking to gain successful prosecutions.

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Such figures can suggest, but not prove, that sufficient copies of Jacobite works circulated in London for them to have made an impression at every level of society. Nor was cost a bar to distribution. Clifton's broadsheets sold at 1d each.<sup>60</sup> But this sum represented a capital

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<sup>60</sup> Most ballads bore no price. But two printed by Clifton were priced at 1d. *A True Copy of David Rowland, the Welshman's Most Strange and Wonderful Prophecy*, (1716); *A Defence for the Ladies: Or, The Virtues of the Broad Birm'd Hat, In Answer to the Hoop'd Petticoats*, [1720?]. 8

investment to a ballad singer, from which money could be made by public performance. These men and women provided perhaps the cheapest and most readily available form of popular public entertainment.<sup>61</sup> Newspapers generally cost 1½d, a larger outlay, but not beyond the means of more prosperous artisans and tradesmen. They were also widely available in public places. In 1700 average annual earnings in London were £25, or about ten shillings a week. By 1750 this had increased to £30.<sup>62</sup>

Pamphlets were more expensive, but varied considerably in cost,<sup>63</sup> depending upon the size and quality of paper, the size of edition, and the audience aimed at. At one extreme, the 24 page *Memorial Of The Chevalr de St. George, On Occasion of the Princess Sobieski's Retiring into a Nunnery* of 1726 sold for as little as 2d, as did the 16 page *Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden* of 1749. At the other, Thomas Carte's more weighty *Full Answer To The Letter from a By-Stander* (208 pages), of 1742 cost 2s, and in 1716 the nonjuring *Plain Truths; Or A Collection Of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* (66 pages) was priced at 1s. Clearly some works

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copies of the Jacobite broadsheet *A True Copy Of a Scandalous Seditious Paper, which was thrown in the Face of His Majesty King George ... by James Corbet a Romish Priest ...*, (1745), were bought from the printer for 1d by the hawker Mary Warren, which suggests that she intended to make 7d by selling them, or that they were to be sold more cheaply. SP 36/72/350.

<sup>61</sup> Cranfield, *The Press and Society. From Caxton to Northcliffe*, (1978), 39.

<sup>62</sup> W A Speck, *Stability and Strife. England 1714-1760*, (1977), 134. In 1700 average wages in the west country were £17.10s, and £11.5s in the north. By 1750 they were £17.10s and £15.

<sup>63</sup> Where available the price of a pamphlet is included in the bibliography.

reached only the upper end of the market, while others could have been disseminated more widely.

Some Jacobite works were distributed free of charge as more direct attempts at propaganda. The copies of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* commissioned by James Alexander in 1719 were intended to be handed out and not sold, although this 8 page pamphlet was reprinted by Elizabeth Powell with the intention of making a quick profit by cashing in on its considerable notoriety.<sup>64</sup> A government pamphlet gave an account that the “whig Jacobite” *To Robert Walpole Esq.*, (8 pages) of 1717, was “thrown about the Streets at Midnight, and privately dropt in the Shops”.<sup>65</sup> It would have been more difficult to sell openly the core explicit Jacobite tracts, as they would have been certain to attract the unwelcome attentions of the government, whereas more covert and guarded expressions of Jacobite sympathy might be more safely vended. However it is clear that the majority of Jacobite pamphlets which I have considered were intended for sale. Other material was distributed *gratis* in the form of official declarations issued by the exiled Jacobite court. Emphasis was placed on dispatching these to politically-significant individuals, and several attempts were made to disperse them by post. But the printed declarations accompanying the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were more widely handed about, at least in London and the areas of the country closest to the rebel armies.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> See above page 58.

<sup>65</sup> *A Vindication Of The Honour and Justice Of His Majesty's Government*, (1717), 4.

<sup>66</sup> Appendix 4 shows Jacobite declarations surviving in County Record Offices near to the rebel incursion of 1745.

Little firm evidence exists of the social status of the readers of Jacobite propaganda beyond contemporary references to “the common people” and “the mob”. Such labels can be deceptive. Dismissing political opponents as a “rabble” is an attractive and convenient line of attack. George Rudé’s detailed investigation of the Parisian insurgents of 1789 showed them to be far more respectable than had previously been supposed.<sup>67</sup> I have shown that sufficient material was produced by Jacobites in the period 1714-24 to have been readily available, at least in London, at all social levels. Ballad singers ensured that neither lack of money or education prevented people from being exposed to Jacobite argument. Within the printing and publishing trade itself a microcosm of London society was involved in producing Jacobite propaganda, including artisans, dependant labourers, hawkers and ballad-singers. But there is also compelling internal evidence in the pieces themselves as to whom they addressed their argument and an indication in indictments made against individuals for speaking treasonable Jacobite words as to how far the ideas and rhetoric of Jacobite propaganda had been absorbed. The next section examines the content and appeal of Jacobite writings, and in particular chapter 10 looks at how far Jacobites consciously sought to win popular support, and suggests that in the early years of Hanoverian rule there existed a Jacobite plebeian subculture independent of political leadership or direction from above.

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<sup>67</sup> George Rudé, “The Social Composition of the Parisian Insurgents of 1789 to 1791”, in *Paris and London in the 18th Century*, (1970).

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### The Nature of Legitimate Government and the Right of Resistance

Yes Gentlemen, they promised us Liberty while they bound us fast with their Chains; they made us believe we should have Immunity and all manner of Liberty, whilst they rivetted our Chains and redoubled our Burthens; they always fed us with Hopes of dispersing our instant Calamities, whilst they added still worse Calamities ... we were obliged to maintain a powerful standing Army, which emptied our Purse, and ruined our Traffick; and why all this? to support a Tyrant, to maintain an Usurper .... Must we then arm once more, at the expence of Honour and Conscience to place upon the throne some Restorer of a Chimerical Liberty, or of an imaginary Commonwealth ... What other King would have done what this King has done? He pardons us like a father, like a Gentleman, and like a Christian; with all his heart; He prays to God to suspend the Thunder of his Indignation till our fury evaporate, and Reason take place of Passion; unwilling to make use of Violence and Force; he calmly waits for his Restoration from our own Experience, and from the Hand of God.

The speech of General Monck at the  
Restoration of Charles II, in *Fog's Weekly  
Journal*, 6 June 1730

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### *THE NATURE OF LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT AND THE RIGHT OF RESISTANCE*

Perhaps the most distinctive feature common to the majority of Jacobite political writings was a strong moral imperative, a shining conviction of the legality and justice of the Stuart cause. Even the most inveterate opponent of a Stuart restoration, it was claimed, was forced to concede that the crown belonged to the Stuarts as of right. The declaration signed by James in March 1720, after the collapse of his plans for an invasion of England with Spanish assistance, began:

“As our Title to the Imperial Crown of Great Brittain is manifestly founded in the unalterable Hereditary Constitution of that Monarchy, and the crying injustice by which a foreign Prince has ascended that Throne in our wrong is universally understood by all Europe, We do not suppose that anyone can doubt of the Justice of our Cause, and we think it therefore unnecessary to enter into a particular account of those barbarous proceedings by which the fundamental Laws of our Kingdoms have been violently overturn'd, Our Royal Father of blessed memory, driven from the Inheritance of his Ancestors, and We ourselves hitherto oblig'd to live in Exile”.<sup>1</sup>

Numerous pamphlets and declarations examined the basis of this right; many more simply asserted it.

This sense of moral rectitude was also strongly expressed in less elevated forms, and at all social levels. One popularly written broadsheet of 1716 exhorted, “his pretended majesty

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<sup>1</sup> RSM 46/28.

G\_\_\_\_\_”, to, “Resign to Royal James what is his Right”.<sup>2</sup> A wide variety of dying speeches and last papers by Jacobites about to be executed maintained that the sufferer died for, “The Truth and Justice of the Cause”, for the “uncontrovertable” claim of James to the crown.<sup>3</sup> A certain Green, of Snow Hill in London, was accused of speaking the following seditious words in 1718:

“that King George had noe more wright to the Crown then he had. that wee should have noe good times till King James came for he was kept out of his wright like his self.”<sup>4</sup>

A year later, one Anthony Thomas, of Nailsworth, wished that all true churchmen were of his mind, for then the rebellious usurper might be dethroned and beheaded—“I would soon wash my hands in his, and his Bastard’s blood”—and the true and lawful king brought in.<sup>5</sup>

In support of their claims for the legitimacy of the Stuart cause, Jacobites could deploy a well-established and subtle theory of political obligation, the foundations of which had been constructed in Restoration England. Most Jacobites still argued that the crown was hereditary by proximity of blood, and that the twin tenets of passive obedience and non-resistance were

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<sup>2</sup> *An Ironical Panagerick on his pretended majesty G----- by the Curse of G— Usurper of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Non-defender of the faith, &c.* Publication of this piece was prevented by the government in 1716. SP 36/7/78 (2).

<sup>3</sup> *A True Copy of the Papers Delivered to the Sheriffs of London, by William Paul a Clergyman, and John Hall Esq.; Late Justice of the Peace in Northumberland...*, (1716), 6; ms copy of the dying speech of David Morgan at RAWL MS D848/96.

<sup>4</sup> SP 35/14/26.

<sup>5</sup> SP 35/16/128.

fundamental parts of the constitution. Jacobites accused the tories of having abandoned these in the revolution of 1688, and sacrificed their principles for prudential reasons by offering resistance to James II.<sup>6</sup>

But not all Jacobites followed this line. There was a significant group which rejected traditional tory explanations of political obligation, and based their call for a Stuart restoration, not upon any recognition of the right of a deposed royal family, but upon the rights or interest of the people. They accepted that resistance in 1688 had been justified, but argued that the new Hanoverian dynasty should be resisted in the same way, since it posed an even greater threat to the people than the Stuarts had. These whig Jacobites produced a distinct strand of political argument, which is discussed separately in the latter part of this chapter.

Although other distinct groups of Jacobite writers can be distinguished, their arguments differed in emphasis rather than political principle. The nonjuring clergy dwelt at length upon the sinfulness of rebellion, and the eternal damnation awaiting those who opposed a King ordained by God. Declarations published by the exiled Jacobite court emphasised, rather, the inescapable consequences of rebellion in this world, and the chaos and confusion that would persist until a

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<sup>6</sup> Tory versatility in explaining away the events of the revolution of 1688, without departing from their basic tenets of hereditary right and non resistance, together with Jacobite and nonjuring accusations of betrayal, are examined comprehensively by Mark Goldie, *Tory Political Thought, 1689-1714*. (Cambridge University unpubl. PhD Thesis, 1977). A wider perspective on the post-revolutionary debate on the nature and significance of that revolution is given by J P Kenyon, *Revolution Principles. The Politics of Party, 1689-1720*, (Cambridge, 1977).



restoration was brought about. But such differences were complementary, not conflicting. Different Jacobite writers highlighted different aspects of one political viewpoint. Thus, excepting the whig Jacobites, who are considered separately in the second half of this chapter, it is possible to describe one corpus of Jacobite ideas, which took its roots from traditional tory principles and retained much in common with the beliefs and values put forward by tories who held back from adopting the Jacobite alternative.

This chapter considers Jacobite theoretical discussions of why a Stuart restoration was both right and desirable. The next considers Jacobite attacks on the features of what they described as a Hanoverian tyranny, and places them within the overall context of the general opposition definition of the political and moral corruption of the age. The concluding chapter to this section questions the extent to which Jacobite writers sought to broaden their appeal to include a wider political nation, and examines how far Jacobite political theories, values and rhetoric were expressed in the most popular literary forms, in broadsheets and ballads.

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For the majority of Jacobite writers, at varying levels of political complexity, the nature of political obligation was a central issue. Allegiance wrongfully given had dire consequences, both in this world and the next. In a collection of sermons, for which both he and the printer were taken up by the government in 1723, the nonjuring clergyman Richard Welton explained that the punishment warned of by St. Paul in Romans XIII—“they that shall resist shall receive unto themselves Damnation”—would be both temporal and eternal. He foresaw, “Ruin to our families, ... untimely Death to our Persons; ... utter Darkness and everlasting Burnings”. Conversely,

“let us but perform our Duty, let us restore his Due to every one, whom we have injured, ... and if we persevere in our Duty, every thing shall prove for the best, in respect of God’s Glory, and if we faithfully serve him, of our own Happiness and Good too.”<sup>7</sup>

A man who takes up arms for an unjust cause, the author of *The Advice of a Friend to the Army and People of Scotland* warned in 1745, “puts his Soul upon the most desperate Issue”.<sup>8</sup>

Inevitably, most Jacobites gave more attention to the horrors brought about by tyranny and usurpation in the present, than to the uncertain prospects raised for the hereafter. They pointed out that only a restoration could end the sufferings of the people and bring about a return to settled, legitimate government. This was most explicit in the declarations produced by the Jacobite court. The Plombières Declaration of August 1714 asked:

“what can our Subjects expect but endless wars & Divisions from subverting so sacred & fundamentall a Constitution as that of Hereditary Right, which has still prevail’d against all usurpations how successfull & for how long time soever continued, the Government finding still no rest ’till it return’d again to it’s true Center ... From all which it is plain our People can never enjoy lasting peace or hapiness ’till they settle the succession again in the right Line, & recall us the immediate Lawfull Heir...”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Richard Welton, *The Substance of Christian Faith and Practice: Represented in Eighteen Practical Discourses*, (1724), 220, 184.

<sup>8</sup> *The Advice of a Friend to the Army and People of Scotland*, (1745) 4.

<sup>9</sup> RSM 3/97. See also the manuscript copy of a pamphlet made by Thomas Carte, *An Address to the House of Lords*, (nd), 6-7, at Bodl MS Eng Hist c 374/27.

Jacobite dying speeches took up the same theme. For Thomas Syddall, executed in 1746, the restoration of “King James III” was “ye only human means by wch this Nation can ever become great and Happy ...”<sup>10</sup> One popular ballad, of 1723, expressed what was, in effect, a Jacobite commonplace, thus:

“For England will never be happy  
Till Honour comes over again.”<sup>11</sup>

The newspaper *Robin’s Last Shift* argued in 1716 that although for reasons of his own God might allow usurpers to prosper for a time, sooner or later right would prevail, and the legitimate succession be restored.<sup>12</sup>

Obedience was due to the rightful sovereign; it was the duty of all subjects to ascertain where that right lay and to act accordingly As one pamphleteer maintained in 1745, duty ought to be determined first, and “all lower Considerations must give way to that one”:

“If the Laws of God, of Nature, and of this Nation, give the King a Right to your Allegiance, you must not with-hold it, for fear of what may happen. He is but a bad Casuist, who reasons from possible Consequences, and does not begin with Principles”.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> RAWL MS D 848/85. The same point had been made by William Paul in 1716, *A True Copy*, 4: “till he is restor’d , the Nation can never be happy”.

<sup>11</sup> *Ah you Charmer of all Charming Lady’s*, (1723), SP 35/41/86 (2). See also *The Complaint of a Family, who being very Rich turn’d away a good Steward, and afterwards became Miserable*, [1715].

<sup>12</sup> *Robin’s Last Shift*, 6, 25 March 1716; 8, 7 April 1716.

<sup>13</sup> *The Advice of a Friend*, 9.

For the nonjuror Laurence Howell, whose *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly Stated* was seized on the press by government Messengers in 1716, it was the mistaken multitude who, by accepting resistance to the civil power in 1688, had departed from the Church's true communion. He praised "the Chast Few, who for the Preservation of a good Conscience quitted their then present support, and Prospect of further Promotion," remaining instead friends to,

"the True Old Church of England, with all her venerable Doctrines of Faith, Justice and moral Honesty; and all her strict Decrees against the resisting, deposing, and forfeiting Doctrines; the Church ... that never allowed her Children to do any moral Evil for a good End..."<sup>14</sup>

Jacobite theorists had a clear view of the origins and nature of political obligation. It was central to their creed that obedience was not due for prudential reasons. Although interest might reinforce the sense of duty in men's minds, force and possession alone could not bind men where there was no moral imperative. According to one pamphleteer of 1750, St. Paul's direction, to submit to the powers that be, for the powers that be are of God, meant,

"no other than that Submission should be made to such Persons, who have Authority and a moral Capacity to enforce Obedience; for if Power meant Force, then this Absurdity would follow, that every successful Violence would be the Power of God, and then consequently the Devil, and Usurpers upon the Constitution, and Robbers on the Highway, who have all of them doubtless some Power, must be submitted to as the ordinance of God, which as it would be horrid to affirm, so would it confound the

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<sup>14</sup> [Laurence Howell], *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly Stated*, (1716), 1-2. An account of the seizure of this work is given in *The Daily Courant*, 4652, 17 September 1716.

common received Notions of Right and Wrong, and encourage all sorts of Rapine and Injustice”.<sup>15</sup>

One more popular satirist in 1715 had written scathingly of the sheep and the ass:

“They ne’er consider’d who the Scepter Sway’d,  
Whoever rul’d they passively obey’d...  
They held that Kings their Crowns by Right Divine enjoy’d,  
But that Possession too that Right Divine destroy’d”.<sup>16</sup>

For the Jacobite, possession might only give a title where there was no rightful claimant, and where there was no injury done another.<sup>17</sup>

Neither was obligation derived from man himself. Whig contractual theory was far from being universally accepted,<sup>18</sup> and most Jacobites denied that government drew its authority from the people. Even John Matthews, the printer hanged in 1719 for printing the pamphlet *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, according to one published version of his dying words, renounced the views advanced in that work as a mere propaganda exercise:

“I solemnly Declare in the presence of God, that it never was my Opinion, that the Voice of the People was the Voice of God in relation to the Succession ... The sole view of

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<sup>15</sup> *A Letter From a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country*, (1750), 20-1; see also Welton, *Substance*, 220-26.

<sup>16</sup> *Mother Hubbard’s Tale Of The Ape and Fox, Abbreviated from Spencer*, (1715), 7.

<sup>17</sup> Mathias Earberry, *The Old English Constitution Vindicated*, (171?), 31-4.

<sup>18</sup> Kenyon, *Revolution Principles*, 200; and see note 51 below.

Publishing that Paper, which has been so fatal to me, was to demonstrate that even from the Whiggs own principles the King's Right may be undeniably prov'd..."<sup>19</sup>

The nonjuror, Mathias Earberry, in two theoretical works, reiterated a number of the telling attacks made on contract theory in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution. For Earberry, the notion of government founded on the consent of the people given in a state of nature gave no explanation of the moral relationship between governor and governed. There was nothing to prevent men reclaiming the power given away at the original foundation of society.

“The supposition of a State of Nature, makes us in a State of Nature still, all the Imaginary Contracts made since, are no stronger than the green Wythes with which Sampson was bound, which he could break at his pleasure ... I wou'd know why I may not as legally demand back my Power lent to another, as my Money, they being both equally my Property”.

By such logic, “every Man has a Supreme Power in his own Breast, to dispense with and take off the Obligation of any Humane Laws”.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *The Declaration of John Matthews, Deliver'd to a Friend two Days before his Death*, (1719).

<sup>20</sup> M[athias] E[arberry], *Elements of Policy Civil and Ecclesiatical, In a Mathematical Method*, (1716), 5-10; Earberry, *Constitution*, 8-12. In addition to the inherent contradictions outlined above, Earberry believed the state of nature to be an impious concept. It questioned both the nature of man, suggesting that “numbers of Rational Creatures were upon the level with Brutes”, and the wisdom of God's provision for man at the creation. Such a state had never in fact existed and no evidence had ever been brought forward to show that it had. If men were not from the

Earberry, one of the most active Jacobite supporters in the nonjuring church, was also one of a number of nonjuring writers who continued to give a patriarchal explanation of political obligation.<sup>21</sup> Drawing on the work of the seventeenth century tory theorist Robert Filmer, Earberry argued that men had never been free and equal, but that each was born subject to the authority of his father, and that parental right was the “Foundation of Civil Government”.<sup>22</sup> The nonjuring Bishop Richard Rawlinson similarly maintained that “because Parents and Patriarchs of families by nature had a Regal power, therefore they, who by any change succeeded in the care and government of Cities and Kingdoms, succeeded also in the power and authority of Fathers”.<sup>23</sup> Both Earberry and Rawlinson drew a further comparison between the two types of authority:

“If Paternal Government is of Divine Right, because Obedience thereto is commanded in Scripture, ... so likewise all Government, to which Obedience is requir’d in the same manner, must be of Divine Right also”.<sup>24</sup>

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first subject to government, why was there no scriptural account of them entering into it? *Constitution*, 20; *Elements*, 16.

<sup>21</sup> G J Schochet, *Patriarchalism In Political Thought*, (Oxford, 1975), 224, 274, 276-81 seems to write off Patriarchalism with the removal of Charles Leslie from the English political scene in 1711, referring to its “irrelevance as a political symbol”, although he acknowledged that Earberry and one or two others continued to use it.

<sup>22</sup> Earberry, *Constitution*, 17-20.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Rawlinson, manuscript sermons, i, at RAWL MS E 216, 131-2.

<sup>24</sup> Earberry, *Elements*, 17.

Frequent reference was made by Jacobites to the “Divine” aspect of monarchy, although few were in any way precise about what they meant by this. Where they spoke of a “Divine Right” in the ruler it was not to espouse a theory of direct providential intervention in government, but as a prelude to denying a right of resistance to that ruler. Thus obedience was a duty imposed by God, as a part of his divine ordering of the world. For the author of *A Letter to the People of Great Britain*, a manuscript in the Stuart papers dating from after 1745, “Civil Government is of Divine Institution”. For Richard Welton, “the Foundation of Government and Obedience is deeply, and firmly laid; ’tis rooted in the very Rock of our Religion”.<sup>25</sup> In this context the Jacobite newspaper *Robin’s Last Shift*, in March 1716, used the potent example of the supposed martyrdom of Charles I to point the moral that to resist Kings “is to rise against no less than God himself, by and under whom Kings reign”.<sup>26</sup> Most Anglican and nonjuring Jacobites would have denounced any political theory allowing resistance to the crown as “King Killing Doctrine” derived from the teachings of the church of Rome.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> RMS 40/110; Welton, *Substance*, 217. In 1715 *The Church of England’s Advice to her Children and to all Kings, Princes and Potentates*, RSM 4/52, condemned the whigs who “have excluded Almighty God from the business of making or unmaking Kings and plac’d the Sole Power of that Sacred Worke in themselves”.

<sup>26</sup> *Robin’s Last Shift*, 3, 3 March 1716.

<sup>27</sup> *A True Copy of A Letter Written by the Lord Viscount of Kenmure, to a certain Nobleman the Day before his Execution*, (1716) ms copy at Bodl Ms Eng Hist c 374/11; *An Answer to the Declaration Published by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops*, [1715].



Obedience to the legitimate ruler secured for the subject in return order, “which comprehends the good of all both as to Soul and Body”. In *A Letter to the People of Great Britain* it was argued that men could only fulfil the ultimate moral purpose intended for them by God through obedience to the rightful government:

“the End of Civil Government in general is To protect the humble, the virtuous, & industrious, from the Insults and Violence of the Proud, the Wicked and licentious, that the former may in Peace and Security, advance in Virtue and Goodness, and so Become fit for a state of great Happiness and Perfection”.

Human society had been created by God, with all its gradations and necessary laws, as the means of achieving the moral end he had designed for them.<sup>28</sup>

The keystone enabling the rightful authority (to which obedience was owed) to be identified was the principle of hereditary succession in the eldest son. Many Jacobite theorists used scriptural history in order to establish that this was the method given by God. A nonjuring Jacobite pamphlet of 1716 pointed out that God had explicitly commanded men to “sanctify to him all the first born” (Exodus 13), and that the Hebrews had always adhered to succession by proximity of blood. Moreover the hereditary principle in its very nature had “much more of Divine Right in it”, for order of birth was determined, not by any human authority, but by God alone.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> RSM 40/110.

<sup>29</sup> “A Letter from a Nonjuring Clergyman, to a Clergyman of the Church of England”, in *Plain Truths; Or a Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, [1716], 50-1.

The principle of hereditary succession was also validated by study of the laws and history of England. The *Manifeste Touchant Les Droits Du Roy Jacques III* was produced by the exiled Jacobite court in 1715 in order to demonstrate to the courts of other European countries that James was the rightful King by “les Loix fondamentales de L’Estat & par la Constitution d’Angleterre”. Kings of England were shown to have two rights: that of hereditary succession, “inherent à son sang et à sa naissance”, and the right to rule without being deposed. Both were demonstrated by examples where the principle had been confirmed in practice, as during the Wars of the Roses.<sup>30</sup> The 1745-6 broadsheet, *Constitutional Queries, Earnestly recommended to the serious Consideration of every True Briton*, discussed the examples of the tyrannies of John of Lancaster and “Crook-backed Richard”.<sup>31</sup> Even more important was the more recent example of the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, and the restoration of Charles II.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Manifeste Touchant Les Droits Du Roy Jacques III*, (1715), RSM 3/98 and English ms version at RSM 3/107.

<sup>31</sup> See also *A Short Scheme Of The Usurpations That have been made By several of our former Princes, Upon the Rightful Heirs to this Crown; With the Sad and Desolate Effects that were Consequent thereupon*, (nd).

<sup>32</sup> *The 29th of May: Or The Restoration: Being, A Short View of the many Calamities brought upon these Nations, by the Tyrannical Usurpers during the Grand Rebellion. And of the Prophetick Wishes and Prayers of Loyal Subjects, for the Return of their Rightful Sovereign, as the only Relief in their Distress*, (1718); and see below, chapter 10, for examples of the many ballads dealing with this theme.

The old established constitution of England was viewed by Jacobites, as by almost all other political theorists of the early eighteenth century, as an object worthy of great reverence. It was commonly referred to as both ancient and venerable. Discussion focussed upon how it was to be preserved, or returned to its oldest and purest form. Any change was *ipso facto* a threat to the liberties of the people.<sup>33</sup> One central feature stood out above all others: that “The Lineal hereditary Succession of our Kings was always the Foundation of the Constitution both in England and Scotland”.<sup>34</sup> Two important constitutional principles were attached to this. The first was that the King never dies, because the allegiance of the subject is immediately due to the lineal heir upon the death of the monarch.<sup>35</sup> This was an important principle for Jacobites to maintain, because it gave the lie to the popular abdication explanation of the events of 1688. Even if James II’s flight had been an abdication, there would have been no vacancy on the throne because his son would have succeeded at once. Nor could the Old Pretender’s right be diminished because he had not been crowned, and oaths had been sworn to another. The second principle was that the King can do no wrong, because of “the Sacred and inviolable Respect due

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<sup>33</sup> *Mist’s Weekly Journal* referred to the “Primitive Beauty” of the constitution, and considered that “humane Reason could not contrive a more excellent Form of government than what we enjoy”. MWJ 134, 11 November 1727; 132, 28 October 1727. *Fog’s Weekly Journal* drew explicitly upon Machiavelli’s dictum that in order to preserve liberty in a state it was necessary to return it to the principles upon which it had been originally founded. Fog 90, 13 June 1730; Fog 95, 18 July 1730.

<sup>34</sup> RSM 40/110.

<sup>35</sup> *Manifeste*, RSM 3/98; *Robin’s Last Shift* 3, 3 March 1716.

to the Sovereign's person, by the Laws of God and Man". Thus the King's ministers were directly accountable for the policies which they implemented, but he was not. Consequently Jacobites could argue that James II could not be called to account for the mistakes or misdeeds of his reign, which were to be attributed to his ministers, and in particular to the earl of Sunderland.<sup>36</sup>

Tory political argument had traditionally emphasised the symbiotic relationship between the state and the Anglican church. The sticking point for tories in 1688 had been the threat posed by James II to the Church of England. They withheld support for his son for the same reason. Contemporary perceptions of Catholicism as aggressive and intolerant had seemed to be confirmed by the actions of James II, and many Anglican tories found it hard to see how the church, which they viewed as an integral part of the state, could survive another Catholic ruler at its head. Bolingbroke pointed out that James's refusal to renounce Catholicism had prevented many tories from advocating a restoration in 1714. In 1722 the tory historian Thomas Salmon considered that James had "a moral Incapacity" to govern, because of his "irremovable Persuasion in a false Religion" making obedience to him inconsistent with "the constitution of our Religion".<sup>37</sup>

The charge of "Popery" was perhaps the most pervasive and difficult which Jacobite apologists had to overcome. The importance of success in this respect was recognised to some extent by James, as is indicated by the warm welcome he accorded the nonjuring controversialist

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<sup>36</sup> RSM 40/110.

<sup>37</sup> Bolingbroke, *A Letter To Sir William Wyndham*, (1717), in *The Works of Lord Bolingbroke*, (4 vols. 1967), i, 168; Thomas Salmon, *A Review Of The History of England*, (1722), iv-v.

Charles Leslie at his court in 1713. But the issue was never entirely satisfactorily handled. The argument put forward by some Jacobites, that the Pretender's continued adherence to his religion, when temporal advantage advised otherwise, indicated that he was a man of honour and principle, was rather tendentious, and was effectively ridiculed by Bolingbroke.<sup>38</sup> Jacobite declarations continually reiterated James's promises of security for the Church of England, Jacobite newspapers argued that Catholicism could be safely restrained, and Jacobite ballads sought to turn the tables in the whigs and associate them with irreligion, dissent, and a decline in the "true church". But not withstanding these efforts, Jacobitism remained tainted with the smear of Popery.<sup>39</sup>

The explanation of the English constitution, as based upon hereditary right and non-resistance theory, had originally been developed and refined by tories in Restoration England. Jacobites argued that the tories had abandoned it at the moment it was put the test in 1688, and betrayed what they had formerly held to be their dearest principles in return for short-term interest. In the face of such embarrassing accusations tories maintained that they had acted

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<sup>38</sup> "the article of religion was so awkwardly handled, that he made the principal motive of the confidence we ought to have in him to consist in his firm resolution to adhere to Popery ... it made us resolve to have nothing to do with him". Bolingbroke, *Works*.

<sup>39</sup> RSM 3/97; Fog 177, 25 March 1732; WJ/SP 237, 11 May 1723. For Jacobite ballads praising the Pretender as the champion of the Church of England see below, chapter 10. The Catholic George Flint argued in *Robin's Last Shift* 3, 3 March 1716, that, "To make the Preservation of Religion a Pretence to Rebellion, is impiously aggravating that dreadful Sin by another, with the highest affront to God, as if he wanted our Acts of Impiety to preserve his Holy Religion".

consistently with their political code. Thus the difference between tory and Jacobite was often not so much one of the principle, as a differing interpretation of the events of 1688, and a differing assessment of the significance of the Pretender's religion. In the aftermath of the revolution tories expounded a wealth of explanations of the deposition of James II, and his replacement by William and Mary, including the version whereby James had abdicated, or withdrawn, to leave a vacancy on the throne which had to be filled by the nearest lineal successor. Since James's son was supposedly an imposter, foisted on the public by means of a warming-pan, his eldest daughter, Mary, together with her husband, William, inherited the right to the crown. Because of these shared political values, the weight of the Jacobite appeal for support was necessarily directed at tories. As a result of the common theoretical base espoused by both groups, movement between the two was relatively simple, and involved no great strain on the individual conscience. Instead, for many, support for Jacobitism was an option to be adopted when it became apparent that no further political advantage was to be hoped for from the Hanoverian regime. Bolingbroke fled to France to join the Pretender in 1715 because he believed the tory party to be "gone". Atterbury finally responded to the overtures of the Jacobite court in 1716 because he saw no other way of safeguarding both the church and the state from the ill effects of unrestrained whig administration.<sup>40</sup>

Conversely it was as easy to move in the other direction when disillusion with the Jacobite monarch, or despair at his prospects of success, finally set in. Bolingbroke's serious

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<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey Holmes, "Harley, St. John and the Death of the Tory Party", in Holmes, ed., *Britain After The Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714*, (1969), 216; G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, (Oxford, 1975), 198-9, 206-8.

involvement with the Pretender lasted only as long as the 1715 rebellion. In the 1720s a series of tory politicians made their peace with the government as they perceived their continued adherence to a hopeless cause as increasingly futile. In 1724 Sir William Wyndham, MP for Somerset and former Jacobite leader, began to take every opportunity to declare his support for the Hanoverian monarchy. Lords Bathurst and Gower, formerly associated with Atterbury in planning a Jacobite restoration, followed suit.<sup>41</sup>

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It has traditionally been assumed that the opposition whigs and commonwealthsmen, at one end of the political spectrum, had nothing in common with “Divine Right” Jacobites at the other.<sup>42</sup> However, as I have suggested in chapter 2, there were Jacobites who came to advocate a Stuart restoration using very different arguments from those outlined above. These whig Jacobites accepted that government was originally founded upon the consent of the people, and that the people retained a right of resistance against a ruler who betrayed the trust reposed in him. In some cases they were even prepared to acknowledge that the revolution of 1688 had been a necessary and legitimate action. But they went on to argue that, rather than preserving positive

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<sup>41</sup> Romney Sedgwick, ed., *The House of Commons, 1715-54*, (1970), ii 563.

<sup>42</sup> For example, “The small body of radical whigs or Commonwealthsmen who criticised the Court Whigs for abandoning Revolution principles by seeking to increase the power of the Crown, had nothing in common with the handful of Jacobites who still flirted with the idea of restoring the Pretender”. H T Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*.

gains made at the revolution, the Hanoverian monarchy had gone further than James in imposing arbitrary and tyrannical measures on an unwilling people, and therefore ought to be overthrown for the same reasons. In such circumstances it was reasonable to restore a Stuart monarch, because (as well as having a claim by right of blood) he would be unlikely to repeat the mistakes which had forced his father into exile and excluded him from the throne for so long. In addition, the Old Pretender possessed all the fine qualities required of a King. I shall examine the arguments put forward by the whig Jacobites in some detail, because they have not previously been noticed by historians,<sup>43</sup> and then question the motives behind their writings.

A handful of Jacobite writers directly accepted a Lockeian idea of a contractual foundation of civil government, in which the ruler held power in trust for the good of the people.<sup>44</sup> *The Freeholder's Journal* conceded the importance of Patriarchal authority in “the

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<sup>43</sup> Linda Colley has recognised the existence of this strand of Jacobite argument, but seems to regard it as a largely defensive gambit, whereas I would suggest that it also provided a method of attack. *In Defiance of Oligarchy. The Tory Party, 1714-60*, (Cambridge, 1982), 27

<sup>44</sup> It is now generally recognised that support for a Stuart restoration was not necessarily based upon a simple “Divine right” theory, but that many Jacobite pamphlets of the 1690s described a legalistic or constitutional contract between monarch and subject. Unlike Locke’s contract, however, it was demonstrated by reference to legal, historical, and biblical proofs; still allowed a divine and patriarchal origin of monarchy; and presented the removal of James II as illegal and dishonest. G L Cherry, “The Legal and Philosophical Position of the Jacobites, 1688-9”, *JMH* (xxii, 4, 1950); Howard Erskine-Hill, “Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?” in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism*,



earliest Ages”, when heads of families naturally became the first governors. But this was merely a means to provide a more convincing, because slightly more historical and less abstract<sup>45</sup> account of an original contract in society:

“On the multiplication and encrease of Families, when they began to stretch into Nations, and form themselves into distinct Governments, this Family-Right was given up in great Measure by Contract, expressed or imply’d, to each Community”.

“At the first Institution of Government among them”, the people made a “Contract” with their governors.<sup>46</sup> *The Freeholder’s Journal* explicitly adopted a Lockean concept of government as a “Trust” conferred by the people, and lasting only so long as that trust was fulfilled. Locke was quoted with approval:

“That the Legislative, being only a Fiduciary Power, to act for certain Ends; there remains still in the People, a supreme Power, to remove or alter the Legislative, when they find that Legislative act contrary to the Trust reposed in them”.

Hence an appeal originally written against a Stuart “tyranny” could be utilised against the Hanoverians.<sup>47</sup>

Mist’s newspapers were less theoretical in their references to the origins of government, but put forward a similar view. An “Original compact” was usually simply assumed, and casual

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1689-1759, (Edinburgh, 1982), 51-2. For Locke’s disregard for such an approach see P Laslett, ed., *Locke’s Two Treatises of Government* (New York, 1965), 89-92.

<sup>45</sup> Locke himself gives a similar account in passing, *Two Treatises*, 359-61.

<sup>46</sup> FJ 47, 14 November 1722; FJ 12, 4 April 1722.

<sup>47</sup> FJ 33, 8 August 1722. Locke is also explicitly cited at FJ 3, 14 February 1722.

reference to “Contract” and “Trust” abounded.<sup>48</sup> Once again John Locke was directly cited by *Mist’s Weekly Journal* in arguing that, “one Branch of the Legislative Power is as much to be resisted if it betrays its Trust, as the other”.<sup>49</sup> In another issue the writer explained how the government of pirates, “like all others”, was “founded on Covenant”, giving them the right to elect a new leader if the present one betrayed them. The nonjuror Thomas Carte, in *A Full Answer To The Letter From A By-Stander* of 1742, quoted Locke, at length, to indicate that the measures taken by the Hanoverian government were exactly those defined by Locke as demonstrating, “as great a Breach of Trust, and as perfect a Declaration of a Design to subvert the Government, as is possible to be Met with”.<sup>50</sup> The use of John Locke’s theories by Jacobites to justify the overthrow of a supposed Hanoverian tyranny is all the more surprising as Locke’s influence in the early eighteenth century is generally accepted to have been very limited. The radical implication of his *Two Treatises of Government* appealed “largely for those who were situated somewhat outside the established order and wanted to appeal against its practice to its somewhat remotely perceived principles”. However these whig Jacobites were radical in so far as they presented government as originating from and accountable to the people, and subject to

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<sup>48</sup> Eg at MWJ 134, 11 November 1727; MWJ 20, 11 September 1725; Fog 129, 13 March 1731; Fog 184, 13 May 1732.

<sup>49</sup> MWJ 127, 23 September 1727. *The Shift Shifted*, 13, 28 July 1716, quoted Locke in the same sense, before going on to attack the septennial bill.

<sup>50</sup> WJ/SP 291, 23 May 1724. [Thomas Carte], *A Full Answer To The Letter From A By-Stander*, (1742), 208.

alteration by them; and more practically, because of their call to overthrow the established political regime by force.<sup>51</sup>

Whig Jacobites, at least on the surface, seemed prepared to concede that the revolution of 1688 had been necessary and allowable. *Fog's Weekly Journal* of 4 November 1732 explained that,

“the ill steps of King James, and the treachery of his Ministers, occasion'd more violent Measures of that Prince than his own inclinations; and ... his own Retreat and the general Assent of the People ... affirmed his Abdication”.

Earlier Mist had criticised “Cato”, in *The London Journal*, for seeming to deny the right of the people to resist James II.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> J G A Pocock, “Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century”, in *Politics, Language and Time*, (New York, 1971), 144. See also John Dunn, “The Politics of Locke in England and America in the Eighteenth Century”, in John W Yolton ed., *John Locke: Problems and Perspectives*, (Cambridge, 1969); M P Thompson “The Reception of Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government*, 1690-1705”, in *Political Studies*, (24 , 1976); J M Nelson, “Unlocking Locke’s Legacy: A Comment”, *Political Studies*, (26 , 1978); Thompson, “Reception and Influence: A Reply to Nelson on Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government*”, *Political Studies* (28 , 1980).

<sup>52</sup> *Fog* 177, 25 March 1732; *WJ/SP* 190, 21 July 1722. *WJ/SP* 175, 7 April 1722 refers to “just reasons” for the abdication. Others accepted that there had been a case for resisting the measures advanced by James II, but thought that his forced exclusion from the throne went too far.

But if the revolution might be justified, it had certainly proved unwise. Writing of the situation “on the Moon”, “John Bull” in *The Freeholder’s Journal* argued that the demand made by the rightful Prince for a tax of an old button,

“was certainly contrary to the known Rules of their Government, and therefore was justly to be Resented, and the People were highly commendable for endeavouring to Redress themselves; but here Sir they took so strange an Alarm, that by Argueing thus, they brought as many Evils upon themselves, as those they endeavoured to Remedy”.

The new rulers of the moon very quickly demanded taxes of whole suits of clothes.<sup>53</sup> More prosaically “Britannus”, in *Considerations Addressed to the Publick* of 1745, suggested that,

“You have now upwards of fifty Years felt the Burthen of a foreign Yoke, and a little Reflection will make you sensible what Advantages were proposed by changing the lineal Succession to the Crown, and how far your Views have been answered”.<sup>54</sup>

Several Jacobite pamphlets published in 1717 claimed that their authors had now become disillusioned with the effects of a revolution from which they had expected so much long-term good.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> FJ 14, 11 April 1722; FJ 16, 25 April 1722. A later issue told the story of the Roman Trebonius, who when his people had succumbed to “a new race of tyrants”, “asked them that important Question, to what End and Purpose they had expelled the proud Tarquin?” FJ 27, 22 June 1722.

<sup>54</sup> *Considerations Addressed to the Publick*, (1745), 3.

In particular, several Jacobites argued that they had thought English liberties secured by the Act of Settlement of 1701. They pointed out that, in this Act, Parliament had conferred the succession upon the house of Hanover under certain conditions, designed above all to ensure that English interests were not sacrificed to German.<sup>56</sup> In this sense the Act was referred to as the “Act of Limitations” by the author of *To Robert Walpole Esq*, who thought it, “the best Fence that ever was made for our Liberties, and without which we should not have thought ourselves safe in Electing a Stranger for our King”. But George had used English money to purchase territory for Hanover, and “As the Act was no Law to the Crown in this Case, what can make it so in Time to come?”<sup>57</sup>

Whig Jacobites continually emphasised the tyrannical nature of Hanoverian government; their call for a Stuart restoration rested upon the claim that such a move would relieve the sufferings of the people. In 1722 *The Second and Last English Advice To The Freeholders of England* lamented that there was, “No hope of changing our Condition: no Prospect of his Majesty’s opening his Eyes, and of his becoming an Equal parent of all his People”, so that “We

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<sup>55</sup> *To Robert Walpole Esq.*, [1717]; *To The Army and People of England*, [1717]; *To Mr. William Thomas*, [17]; *The Duty Of A Souldier to his King and country*, [1717]. For hostile reaction to these pamphlets see above, page 51.

<sup>56</sup> [Mathias Earberry], *The Second Part of the Historical Account of the Advantages That have Accru’d to England by the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover*, (1722), 42, refers to “the Act of Settlement, which is by some esteemed the Original Contract between King and People”.

<sup>57</sup> *To Robert Walpole*, 2-3.

therefore see what we are to trust to". If a free and independent Parliament were not elected, then "the time of the Expiration of the Freedom of England is arrived", and other measures became necessary.<sup>58</sup> The author of *To Robert Walpole Esq* had realised his past errors: "I am now convinc'd and sorry 'twas not earlier, that nothing can deliver us from utmost Peril but the King's Restoration".<sup>59</sup> It was argued that anyone who remained true to whig principles had necessarily to support the Pretender. *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* advanced a "seeming Paradox", in 1719,

"that every Whig who sticks to the Whiggish Principle must at this time be a Jacobite ... The Sense of the Majority of the People, was always the declar'd Whiggish Principle, the Majority of the People are Jacobites".<sup>60</sup>

The duke of Wharton gave his reasons for espousing the cause of James II as consistent with the whig principles of his father:

"I saw the Reasons which my Father gave for the support of the Hanoverian Succession, fall to the Ground; and those who follow the Maxims of the old Whiggs are obliged to resist such destructive Tyranny, unless they forget their Principles, and grow obdurate in Guilt, and tenacious in Iniquity".<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *The Second and Last English Advice To The Freeholders of England*, (1722), 40.

<sup>59</sup> *To Robert Walpole*, 8.

<sup>60</sup> *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, (1719), 3.

<sup>61</sup> Philip Wharton, "His Reasons for leaving his Native country, and espousing the Cause of his Royal Master King James III", in *Select and Authentic Pieces, Written by the Late Duke of Wharton*, (Boulogne, 1731), 88. Leading Jacobite politicians in the 1730s, such as William

Thus the Jacobite press could turn the tables on the whigs. Resistance to tyranny was justified, and therefore the Hanoverians could be resisted. Whig principles were thrown back at them; an appeal made to “Old” and “Honest” whigs, whigs “by Principle” and not by “Pension”.<sup>62</sup> In addition to John Locke, other prominent whig theorists were cited to demonstrate that the present day whig government had adopted the very measures which had been found tyrannical in former times. *Fog’s Weekly Journal* quoted extensively from the writings of the Scots patriot whig Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun,<sup>63</sup> and from the introduction to the collected works of Tacitus, translated and edited by Thomas Gordon in 1731.<sup>64</sup> Fog gave a long extract from the latter in February 1731, which reached the conclusion that, “Violence, and especially

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Shippen and Sir John Hynde Cotton, directly accused the government of betraying its political principles in this way. Colley, *Defiance of Oligarchy*, 92.

<sup>62</sup> As Linda Colley has shown, this was a rhetorical device used by writers in the tory interest since the 1690s, and not entirely new, *Defiance of Oligarchy*, 92. However I would argue that whig Jacobites went further than this, either from personal conviction, or because they believed in the possibility in winning converts to the cause through this means of argument.

<sup>63</sup> Fog 159, 20 November 1731: “tho’ he was a Whigg, he was a man of Honour; he always acted consistent with the Principles which he profess’d—Those Men, above all others, were his Aversion, who, having made their Court by crying up the Revolution, and having got into Power, employ’d that Power in making the Government arbitrary, by introducing Corruption into Parliaments, and poisoning the very Vitals of our Constitution”. See also Fog 184, 13 May 1732.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Gordon had been the joint author, with John Trenchard, of “Cato’s Letters” in *The London Journal*.

Violence from Men who owe us good Usage, will sooner or later be return'd with Violence, and ought to be".<sup>65</sup> Other luminaries whose writings were deployed to the same end included the whig political leader of the 1670s and 1680s, and the first earl of Shaftesbury, and the "trimmer" earl of Halifax, both of whose works were cited approvingly in *Mist's Weekly Journal*.<sup>66</sup>

The final stage in the whig Jacobite argument was to justify the Old Pretender as the proper replacement for the tyrant who was to be deposed. In some cases it was suggested or assumed that James's hereditary right gave him some claim to consideration. Others concentrated on the regal qualities of the Stuart claimant which suited him for the crown. The whig convert, William Godolphin, Viscount Rialton, wrote the anonymous *Letter from an English traveller at Rome to his Father* in 1721, which described the personal attributes of the Pretender in glowing detail.<sup>67</sup> Wharton's "Persian Letter" in *Mist's Weekly Journal* of 1728, presented the Sophi as possessed of "the greatest Character that ever Eastern monarch bore".<sup>68</sup>

Contemporary journalists and pamphleteers were alive to the seeming incongruity of Jacobites using whig theorists to justify a right of resistance, and were quick to question the motives of such writings. *The Clergyman's Caution to the Freeholders* of 1722 was concerned that *The Freeholder's Journal* might appear as other than Jacobite,

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<sup>65</sup> Fog 126, 20 February 1731. See also Fog 138, 26 June 1731.

<sup>66</sup> E.g. MWJ 93, 28 January 1727; MWJ 122, 17 August 1727.

<sup>67</sup> Rialton was grandson of the earl of Godolphin, and inherited a sizeable sum of money from the Marlborough estate. He was MP for Penryn (1720-22) and later New Woodstock (1727-31). Sedgwick, *Commons*, ii 66-7.

<sup>68</sup> MWJ 175, 24 August 1728.



“by setting up for a Defender of Liberty, by speaking of our Glorious Defender King William ... These I must own are a pretty Masquerade Habit for one of his Principles to walk incognito in, being such as Jacobites and Tories were never known to make use of before”.

In the same year *The St. James' Journal* attacked both *The Freeholder's Journal* and Archibald Hutcheson, before making the more general remark that,

“those Persons, who of late have been the greatest Sticklers for Liberty and the Protestant Religion, have been the Emissaries of Rome, and all the while, under that Cloak, advancing the Interest of the Pretender”.

For supporters of the government, Jacobites arguing from whig principles were adopting a disguise, insidiously trying to seduce “unwary undiscerning People” from their true interest.

Another pamphleteer affected incredulity at the political tone of *Fog's Weekly Journal* in 1734:

“the chief writers and Managers of Fog's Journal are professed Non-jurors or known Jacobites, yet Fog writes now for Liberty, and would pass for an Old Whig”.<sup>69</sup>

This use of traditional whig argument, against a whig government, had obvious propaganda value, It undermined whig attempts to portray their government as defending revolution principles, and it distanced opposition to that government from the contemporary

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<sup>69</sup> *The Clergyman's Caution to the Freeholders*, (1722), 17; *St. James Journal*, 7, 14 June 1722; *Plain Reasons of the Highest Interest and Concern to Honest Voters*, (1734), 12.

identification of formed opposition with treason.<sup>70</sup> Given the utility of this mode of argument, and the fact that Jacobites and radical Whigs are conventionally placed at opposite ends of the political spectrum, it is tempting to accept contemporary allegations that whig Jacobitism was a mere propaganda ploy. Nor can it be denied that there were Jacobites who consciously used whig arguments, without themselves believing in them, to embarrass the government or to win political converts.

In commissioning a short pamphlet to be written by George Flint in 1718, the earl of Mar advised that,

“Since you design it for gaining people of all parties, I think you had best personate one of those, called King George’s Jacobites, I mean one who was resolved to have acquiesced in the settlement made, since it was made,... but that your seeing the strange ways taken since they came, and how far George and his son are different from the fine characters given of them had made you bethink yourself of the wrong way you were in, and, as every honest man ought to do, cast about how to save your country by proposing what seemed to you the substantial and effectual method”.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Quentin Skinner, “The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole”, in N McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives, Studies in English Thought and Society*, (1974), defined Bolingbroke’s “*coup*” as a politician in exactly these terms.

<sup>71</sup> Mar to Flint, 3 September 1718, HMC Stuart vii 239. Earlier Flint had claimed that he had aimed in his writings in Newgate to confuse and divide the whigs among themselves, Flint to Captain Booth, 1718, HMC Stuart vi 480.

The confession of the printer of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, John Matthews, that he had never believed the voice of the people to be the voice of God, and that he had only printed that pamphlet in order to show that a Jacobite restoration could be justified even from whig political principles has been quoted earlier in this chapter. However there are some other indications that at least some whig Jacobites became so from political principle.

Whig Jacobitism was not without precedents in the 1690s. The Quaker Charlwood Lawton, a friend of Penn, portrayed himself as a “Whiggish Jacobite”, and advocated a restoration with constitutional limitations and guarantees, thinking “reformations... more lasting under uncontested titles than where title is too great a part of the dispute”.<sup>72</sup> The Scot Robert Ferguson, “the Plotter”, argued that William was “no otherwise King, than as he is upon his Behaviour”, and listed numerous illegal actions sanctioned by that monarch which justified a Stuart restoration.<sup>73</sup> However I have found no reference to these earlier writers by Jacobites in the eighteenth century.

It was not unknown for Jacobites and radical whigs to work together in opposition to the government. The Jacobite *Freeholder's Journal* supported the plan for the joint candidature of

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<sup>72</sup> Charlwood Lawton, *The Jacobite Principles Vindicated*, (1693); see also [Lawton], *The Vindication of the Dead*, (1691); [Lawton], *A French Conquest, Neither Desirable nor Practicable*, (1693).

<sup>73</sup> [Robert Ferguson], *A Letter To Mr. Secretary Trenchard*, (1694), 4-5. See also [Sir James Montgomery], *Great Britain's Just Complaint*, (1692). Montgomery was a whig member of the Scots convention of 1689.

the whig commonwealthsman Robert Molesworth, and the independent, potentially Jacobite, Archibald Hutcheson at the Westminster election of 1722. Jacobites, including Alexander Murray, an agent of the Young Pretender's, were active among the Independent Electors of Westminster in the late 1740s.<sup>74</sup> A handful of radical whigs or members of traditionally whig families became Jacobites under the first two Georges. Of the four MPs whom Romney Sedgwick listed as having deserted the whigs and become Tories in the period 1715-54, at least three actually became Jacobites.<sup>75</sup> The duke of Wharton also maintained that he supported the Pretender in pursuit of the libertarian principles of his father.

The very fact that Jacobites thought it worthwhile to posture as whig supporters of the Pretender suggests that they believed it possible to win over those disillusioned with the practical results of the revolution settlement. Mar was advising Flint to adopt a line of argument which he recognised was already being used in England. Another Jacobite agent advised Mar to try to pass off a piece on the national debt as the work of Archibald Hutcheson, "for they say he is a Hanoverian Jacobite".<sup>76</sup> Mar himself expressed the hope that the duke of Wharton would be able

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<sup>74</sup> FJ 4, 21 February 1722; FJ 8, 16 March 1722. Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables. The Tories and the '45*, (1979), 108-9. On a number of occasions the Pretender wrote urging his supporters in England to concert Parliamentary opposition with the dissident whigs. The role of his directives has been disputed by Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 14, 27-9; Colley, *Defiance of Oligarchy*, 230.

<sup>75</sup> Sedgwick, *Commons*, i 25; ii 25-6, 66-7, 121-2, 163-4.

<sup>76</sup> T. Bruce to Mar, 11 November 1718, HMC Stuart vii 526.

to win over his supposedly large Parliamentary interest, “mostly of the whig side”, to the Jacobite cause.<sup>77</sup>

The ambiguous position of Hutcheson seems to highlight the dilemma faced by men of libertarian inclinations who felt the tightening grip of whig power. Initially willing to accept office at the Hanoverian accession, he resigned his place on the Board of Trade early in 1716, and was bitterly opposed to the septennial bill.<sup>78</sup> Robert Arbuthnot, brother of Alexander Pope’s friend the doctor, wrote informing Mar of Hutcheson’s visit to Rouen in 1718:

“He was a great Whig, and is still of the Revolution Principles but heartily wishes for a new revolution as far as I can guess. He seems to think George an obstinate German-ridden fool ... He hears me with very great patience and acknowledges that the King’s party increases in England and that many old Whigs see a new revolution necessary for the good of the nation”.<sup>79</sup>

In 1722 Hutcheson wrote several times to warn the head of the government, the earl of Sunderland, that his measures had greatly increased support for the Pretender in England by antagonising those who stood for “Revolution Principles”. Such Jacobites could easily be won over, he argued, by a free election which would result in the return of frequent, representative Parliaments, ending corruption and restoring liberty. Hutcheson’s proposals if adopted by

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<sup>77</sup> Mar to Queen Mary of Modena, 7 October 1716, HMC Stuart iii 38

<sup>78</sup> Sedgwick, *Commons*, ii 163-4.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Arbuthnot to Mar, 22 September 1718, HMC Stuart vii 314.

Sunderland would make Jacobitism unnecessary, and by removing the incentive make a Jacobite restoration “absolutely impracticable”.<sup>80</sup>

Hutcheson’s hopes were dashed with the defeat of the opposition in the 1722 election. Afterwards he remained largely quiescent, trying to avoid being tarnished with the brush of the Atterbury plot.<sup>81</sup> The logic of his previous arguments was that failure in the election left Jacobitism as the only remaining political alternative. *The Freeholder’s Journal*, which had supported Hutcheson’s electoral campaign, and for which Hutcheson had written at least one leading essay, moved to support the Stuart cause after the election.<sup>82</sup> In January 1723 the Jacobite agent in London, James Hamilton, advised the Pretender to write directly to Hutcheson, “by whose means in time other old Whigs may be gain’d”, describing him as a “real Patriot”. In May 1724 the earl of Orrery told James that Hutcheson was,

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<sup>80</sup> Archibald Hutcheson, *Copies of Some Letters From Mr. Hutcheson to the Late Earl of Sunderland*, (1722), 7-8, 26.

<sup>81</sup> He published an elaborate denial of his involvement in the plot, after having been named as a conspirator by Christopher Layer, one of the conspirators.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. FJ 21, 23 May 1722, which effectively called for a new Monck and a new restoration, and FJ 35, 22 August 1722, which published verses suitable to be addressed to any true and rightful prince who, in modern times, suffered the fate of Charles II.

“a very honest man and to be depended upon. I think he is a good friend of yours, but he is of a peculiar turn, and will serve the cause in his own way”.<sup>83</sup>

Throughout the period Hutcheson remained the financial agent in England of the exiled Jacobite duke of Ormonde. He was held in esteem by many leading opposition politicians, including the exiled Bishop of Rochester, who frequently wrote inquiring of Hutcheson in his letters to his family in England.<sup>84</sup> But there is no evidence that Hutcheson ever espoused Jacobitism in any practical sense. He never went further than the (suggestive) assertion that, “the Happiness of my Country, is infinitely dearer to me, than the Grandeur of Any One, or All the Royal Families upon Earth”.<sup>85</sup>

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Jacobite political argument was eclectic in that it sought to gain support from both Tories and Whigs. Historically Jacobitism had drawn its strength from those who denied any right of

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<sup>83</sup> James Hamilton to James, 27 January 1723, RSM 66/12. In fact Hutcheson had already been recently approached through another Jacobite agent; Dr. Chavleton to James, 27 January 1723, RSM 66/13. Sedgwick, *Commons*, ii 164.

<sup>84</sup> Atterbury wrote to his son-in-law, William Morice, 15 August 1728, describing Hutcheson as, “a worthy, honest, incorruptible man; which is, at this time of day, a great rarity ... The Duke of O[rmonde]’s affairs will never find one, after he is gone, I fear, that will manage them with so disinterested a zeal, and so much to his service”. E.C. iv 184-5. Morice frequently passed on to Atterbury Hutcheson’s inquiries after him, C (H) corresp 1406, 1533, 1542.

<sup>85</sup> Hutcheson, “A Collection of Advertisements, Letters, and Papers, And Some Other Facts, Relating to the Last Elections at Westminster and Hastings”, in *Three Treatises*, (1723), xi.

active resistance to a monarch, whatever his misdeeds; who argued that James II had been wrongfully deposed in 1688; and who claimed that Englishmen would continue to suffer the consequences of their folly in overturning established constitution, in the form of a tyrannical and harsh government, until they saw sense and returned to the legitimate succession. Such a line of argument, as Jacobites and nonjurors frequently pointed out in the aftermath of the revolution, was derived directly from the most cherished political tenets of Restoration Tories and the teaching of high church Anglicans. The variety of explanations produced by Tories in order to reconcile these principles to the actual events of 1688 were a measure of that intellectual potency of the Jacobite case. There is no doubt that Jacobites regarded all Tories as potential supporters, and principally directed their propaganda at them. Their anger and frustration with Tories who refused to see where their principles ought to lead them occasionally broke the surface in abuse. George Flint thought them “tools in the hands of knaves”.<sup>86</sup>

Yet even in the immediate aftermath of the revolution, a handful of Whigs had seen advantage in restoring James II with constitutional limitations placed upon him, and had criticised the illiberal measures employed by the Whigs when in power. After 1715, disillusion with a Whig government which introduced septennial Parliaments and a Riot Act, maintained a standing army, and flouted the terms of the Act of Settlement, among other charges laid against it, drove a handful of Whigs to consider the political alternative offered by a Jacobite monarch whose apologists offered constitutional limitations and guarantees. *The Freeholder's Journal* may be taken as their mouthpiece. Some Jacobite politicians and journalists, including Mar, Wharton, Flint, and Mist, saw the potential for winning support in this quarter and responded

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<sup>86</sup> Flint to James Edgar, 13 December 1744, RSM 260/146.



with arguments likely to gain it. Mist's attachment to revolution principles cannot be proved, although they appear in his journals, but exiled in France he showed great interest in the activities of opposition whigs, particularly when their speeches had a radical slant, and he was anxious to suggest Jacobite co-operation with them in Parliament.<sup>87</sup> Jacobites also saw the propaganda value to be gained by attacking the government with its own professed principles, and in this respect pre-empted Bolingbroke's supposed *coup* of the late 1720s. Quentin Skinner has shown that Bolingbroke perceived that,

“according to the most impeccably whig canons of beliefs about the nature of the agencies by which political liberties are usually and most readily jeopardized, the Whig Ministry could in fact be claimed to be pursuing certain policies which could quite plausibly be made to look like a threat to such liberties”.<sup>88</sup>

But the novelty of his subsequent “strategy” has been overemphasized. Bolingbroke's critique of Walpole's government was a logical adaptation of opposition arguments already common currency among patriot whigs and Jacobites. The next chapter assesses the Jacobite role in the opposition attack on what was portrayed as a Hanoverian tyranny.

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<sup>87</sup> Mist to James Edgar, 8 February 1731, RSM 142/141; Mist to Edgar, 22 March 1731, RSM 143/187.

<sup>88</sup> Skinner, “Principles and Practice of Opposition”, 113.

## CHAPTER NINE

### *The Hanoverian Tyranny*

I had the Honour to be one of the first Officers who joined the Prince of Orange. I am still perswaded that it was my Duty and, when I find a Government behaving as they did at that Time, viz. Endeavour to set up a Military Government doing everything they can to Alienate the Affections of the Subjects, favouring only one set of People and executing the Laws Rigorouslie against all the rest, ruining all Old Families and setting up new and mean born Favourits, endeavouring to ruin and subvert the Church of England, calling no Parliament at all, or continueing one illegally, Trusting more to Foreign Troops than to their own Army, or to the Love of their Subjects, and Sacrificing all the Branches of our Trade for the sake of Foreign Alliances to protect them against the injured People; Then will I think it my Honour and Dutie to be engaged in a new Revolution, and I hope Yea I dare positivelie Aver there are not a few in the Armie of the same Principle with me.

*The Duty of a Soldier to his King and  
Country, Addressed to the Present Officers  
and Souldiers of the British Army, (1717), 4*

## CHAPTER NINE

### *THE HANOVERIAN TYRANNY*

Jacobite identification and criticism of the “tyrannical” features of Hanoverian rule was the necessary obverse side to their concern for legitimate government. It formed a fundamental aspect of an overall picture of political society, providing the necessary antithesis to the ideal of rightful, legal, and natural government. It reinforced the value placed by Jacobites upon legitimate rule, graphically displaying the effects of its opposite. The Hanoverian tyranny, under which life, liberty, and property were no longer secure, and the rule of law had been overturned, was presented as the inevitable consequence of the setting aside of the rightful Stuart monarch, and it was claimed that it could not be ended until he was restored. Jacobites maintained that a legitimate King would always rule in the interests of his people, but that a usurper was inevitably a tyrant, because he was concerned primarily with gaining personal advantage through government, and was prepared to sacrifice the interests of the people to this end.

Detailed criticism of the government was a means of appealing to a wider base of support than might otherwise be reached. Those not moved by direct Jacobite appeals to principle might find themselves led to adopt the Stuart cause as the only viable alternative available to an increasingly unacceptable tyranny. There was more chance of gaining wide agreement in opposition to the government and its policies than on any alternative to it. In addition expressions of general opposition were far safer for writer, printer, and publisher than any open avowal of Jacobite belief. Thus Jacobite writing was often difficult to distinguish from the work of other opposition authors who similarly attacked the standing army, the corruption of Parliament, and other features of tyranny in England. At times, for political reasons, there was a conscious

decision to subsume Jacobite argument in a more widely acceptable general opposition.<sup>1</sup>

However Jacobite attacks on Hanoverian rule often differed from those of other opposition groups in emphasis and intensity.

Professor Pocock has shown that the central opposition theme of corruption in government in eighteenth century England was drawn from Machiavelli's critique of the corrupt state, and his conception of civic *virtù* as its only salvation. Machiavelli's ideas were revived in the seventeenth century by James Harrington, in *Oceana*, and the whig political leader the earl of Shaftesbury, in his speeches and political pamphlets. They were picked up and developed by a succession of radical whig or neo-Harringtonian writers, including Walter Moyle, Robert Molesworth, John Trenchard, Thomas Gordon, and Andrew Fletcher. The political ideas of Robert Harley, who first developed a "Country" opposition group under Queen Anne, have also been included in this neo-Harringtonian tradition.<sup>2</sup> Its apogee has been recognised in the country platform put forward by Lord Bolingbroke in opposition to Walpole in the 1730s. Bolingbroke, it is claimed, was the first to realise that Walpole was vulnerable to a strategy which identified the features of a tyranny in his government, and the first to co-ordinate a joint Parliamentary and

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<sup>1</sup> See for example MWJ 13, 24 July 1725.

<sup>2</sup> J G A Pocock, "Machiavelli, Harrington and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century", in Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time*, (1971); Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth Century Commonwealthman*, (1959); Angus McInnes, "The Political Ideas of Robert Harley", *History*, (50,1965)

propaganda campaign against the ministry using this line of attack.<sup>3</sup> I have shown in chapter 8 that some Jacobites were already using whig arguments and citing whig theorists to attack the whig government in 1714-24.

The elements of the opposition attack on corruption in early Hanoverian England have received much attention from historians, and are well established.<sup>4</sup> The points of similarity between Jacobite and opposition whig, tory, and country criticism of the ministry are easy to discern and require little explication. This chapter focuses, instead on points of difference. It looks at differences of emphasis in Jacobite discussion of political corruption and its causes, and then examines peculiarly Jacobite remedies for this corruption.

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In discussing the various aspects of political degeneracy in England Jacobites commonly emphasised the tyrannical nature of the present regime. Most were clear that corruption had gone so far that the government had become a tyranny, whereas other opposition writers usually presented tyranny as the ultimate fate awaiting England if certain projected reforms were not implemented. Jacobites also stressed the personal responsibility of the Hanoverian royal family for the degeneration of the political system, often launching into vitriolic personal abuse of the King and his heir.

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<sup>3</sup> Q R D Skinner, "The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke versus Walpole", in N McKendrick, ed., *Historical Perspectives*, (1974), 112-3.

<sup>4</sup> The most comprehensive survey is H T Dickinson, *Liberty and Property. Political Ideology in Eighteenth Century Britain*, (1977).

Corruption in the state was viewed as having been brought about by the dangerous growth of government power in two areas: the creation and maintenance in peacetime of a large standing army, and the development of effective government control over Parliament by electoral corruption and the undue influence of place and patronage. Hostility to a standing army developed during the political turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century, and had become a central feature of the whig canon of political argument. In the 1690s the radical whigs Molesworth, Fletcher, Moyle, and Henry Neville maintained that a standing army was always a threat to liberty; a citizen militia was sufficient for the defence of the state and represented no such danger.<sup>5</sup> Under George I the theme had become commonplace. It was taken up by the Hanoverian tory MP for Suffolk, Sir Thomas Hanmer, in a speech to the House of Commons in 1717, and by the opposition whigs Trenchard and Gordon in “Cato’s Letters” published in *The London Journal* in 1720-22. But although standing armies were presented as a means by which tyrannies had been established in the past, other dangers were also highlighted. The high cost of maintaining such a force resulted in unnecessarily high taxation. A large army provided increased opportunities for government patronage, facilitating the growth of ministerial influence in society, as well as giving ambitious and unscrupulous men the means to achieve fortune and power by exploiting the commercial possibilities arising from such a body.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Robbins, *Eighteenth Century Commonwealthsman*, 105-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Three Speeches Against Continuing the Army, & C. As They were Spoken in the House of Commons, Last Session of Parliament*, (1718), number 3, by Sir T[homas] H[anmer] Bart. Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 184-6. The argument persisted throughout the eighteenth century, and is to be found in, for example, Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* of 1776.

Jacobites emphasised the threat posed by the standing army to the constitution, and to the liberties of the subject, and linked the danger with the Hanoverian royal family.<sup>7</sup> The Jacobite MP for Newton, William Shippen, frequently returned to this theme in speeches to the House of Commons, a number of which were published as pamphlets. In 1717 Shippen was sent to the Tower by the House for an outspoken speech in which he argued that the fact that the number of troops to be maintained in 1718 had been put forward in the King's name was not a sufficient reason for accepting that number without question. In the two passages which gave particular offence he suggested that the proposals for such a large force were "rather calculated for the Meridian of Germany, than of Great Britain", in other words that they were designed with an absolutist government in mind, and that they had been put forward because the King was "unacquainted with our Language and Constitution".<sup>8</sup> In 1729 Shippen had maintained, with tongue in cheek, that a large standing army was unnecessary in Britain where the country was at peace, and had a ruler "who reigns absolute in the Hearts of his Subjects":

"Force and Violence are the Resort of Usurpers and Tyrants only ... Because they are, with good reason, distrustful of the People, whom they oppress; and because they have no other Security for the Continuance of their unlawful and unnatural Dominion, than what depends entirely on the Strength of their Armies".<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Of course a reduction in the standing force would facilitate any attempted Jacobite rising, and was to be desired for this reason also.

<sup>8</sup> *Three Speeches*, number 1, by W[illiam] S[hippen], 7.

<sup>9</sup> W[illiam] S[hippen] *Four Speeches Against Continuing the Army, & C. As they were spoken on several Occassions in the House of Commons*, (1732), 36, 39-40

Parliamentary consent might give legal sanction to such a force, but could not remove the danger: a Parliamentary army had once committed far greater outrages than any army of the crown ever had. The very presence of an army in the state had a debilitating effect, depressing the spirit of the people, “extinguishing their Love of Liberty”, and engendering “a mean and abject Acquiescence in Slavery”.<sup>10</sup>

The second means by which tyranny could be established was through the subversion of Parliament, so that it no longer represented the interests of the people, but acted instead in conjunction with the crown to undermine English liberties. It was generally accepted that the ancient constitution had been so contrived that safeguards were provided against any attempt by one part to dominate the others: England’s mixed monarchy was viewed as the best possible form of government, and spoken of in terms of deep reverence.<sup>11</sup> This balance of powers<sup>12</sup> was being upset by the executive, which was gaining undue influence over the legislative by

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<sup>10</sup> *Three Speeches*, 12. For other Jacobite attacks on the standing army see [Thomas Carte], *A Full Answer To The Letter From A By-Stander, & C.*, (1742), 2, 200; *To Robert Walpole Esq.*, [1717], 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> See for example MWJ 121, 12 August 1727; WJ/SP 216, 15 December 1722.

<sup>12</sup> *Fog’s Weekly Journal*, perhaps under the influence of articles in *The Craftsman*, contains one of the first explicit references to the concept of the separation of the powers: “All wise Nations have endeavoured, as much as possible, to keep the Legislative and Executive Parts of their Government separate and divided, that they may be a check upon one another”. *Fog* 125, 13 February 1731. See R Shackleton, “Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, and the Separation of the Powers”, in *FS* (3, 1, 1949); I Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and His Circle*, (1968), 146-50.



manipulation of elections and the suborning of MPs. Jacobites emphasised Parliament's role as the defender of the people against the incursions of a tyrannical ruler; once it had been corrupted there was no hope for English liberties. *Fog's Weekly Journal* quoted the commonwealthsman Andrew Fletcher in November 1731:

“there is no Crime under Heaven more enormous, more treacherous, and more destructive to the very Nature of our Government than that of bribing the Trustees and Representatives of a People”.<sup>13</sup>

The most blatant attack on liberty was the continuation of Parliament beyond its legitimate term of office by the repeal of the Triennial Act, and the substitution of a septennial Parliament.

According to Lord Lansdowne this was,

“the Freedom of the People, the most inestimable Article of their Freedom, the Freedom of Elections, betrayed by their own Representatives, so that the most precious Part of our Liberty may be justly said to have been stabbed by its own Guard.”<sup>14</sup>

Both Lansdowne and the author of *The Second and Last English Advice To The Freeholders of England*, published in the same year, presented the 1722 election as the last remaining hope for English liberties. Thomas Carte, after outlining the processes by which Parliament had been corrupted, concluded that once it had become so, “there is an End of all Hopes of Relief from Oppression”, leaving the people “lost without Resource”. He ended by quoting one of the more inflammatory passages from John Locke's *Two Treatises of*

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<sup>13</sup> Fog 159, 20 November 1731.

<sup>14</sup> [Lansdowne], *A Letter From A Noble-Man Abroad, To His Friend in England*, (1722), 4. See also the ms letter of the duke of Wharton to the House of Commons, at CARTE MS 230/178.

*Government*, from the chapter “Of the Dissolution of Government”, to the effect that any attempt by the executive power to corrupt the representatives of the people constituted “as great a Breach of Trust, and as perfect a Declaration of a Design to subvert the Government, as is possible to be met with”.<sup>15</sup> The implication made by all these writers was that a tyranny had been established in England, and that only desperate measures could remedy the situation.

Jacobites highlighted the tyrannical measures already adopted by the government, finding no shortage of subject matter for their theme: that the security of the individual and his property, and the freedom of speech and writing were no more. There had been many notorious instances where the government, by setting aside the established course of law, had threatened the rights of the people. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, so that prisoners could be held without being charged, was loudly complained of. It was,

“so Fundamental a Subversion of the Liberties of the People, that I believe there cannot possibly be any one Case put, that should make an honest Man consent to the Suspension of that Act, even for an Hour”.

Riots had been used as a pretext for an act which struck directly at “the Freedom of the Subject”.

The treatment of the prisoners taken at Preston in 1715 was a subject much dwelt on.

Impeachments had been introduced “to prevent the ordinary course of Law”; an act for the speedy trial of those levying war against the King was,

“directly contrary to Magna Charta and an open Subversion of the Antient and undoubted Rights of the Subject ... as if there could be any necessity to make all the People of

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<sup>15</sup> Carte, *A Full Answer*, 22.

England Slaves ... or as if the Maintenance of any family could be an Equivalent to the Nation for the Loss of their Liberties”.

The real purpose of the act had been “to put the Lives of these poor People intirely in the power of the Crown, by Divesting them of their Birthright and natural Defence”, so that,

“all possible Barbarities were acted in cold Blood throughout the Kingdom. Many Hundreds were kept Starving and Rotting in several Goals: many others were put to Death in such places as were chosen for such Butcheries”.<sup>16</sup>

George Flint, in the 1716 newspaper *Robin's Last Shift*, railed often and at length against the harsh measures which had come to characterise English government: the use of “Whips, Pillories, Prisons, Starving, Halters, and Axes”. In addition he considered the liberty of speech and writing to be under attack; so that if a man “Ventures upon a poignant Truth or two he must perish for it in a Prison”.<sup>17</sup>

Property was threatened both by the unnecessarily high level of taxation imposed upon freeholders, and by the creation of a new and unstable financial edifice based upon credit and paper money. Criticism of the level of taxation, and a profound distrust of the new financial world created since the revolution, characterized much opposition argument under the Hanoverians, and was not peculiar to Jacobites alone.<sup>18</sup> But Jacobites emphasised that the raising

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<sup>16</sup> *The Second and Last English Advice To The Freeholders of England* (1722), 17, 11-3, 20-2. See also FJ 7, 14 March 1722; MWJ 51, 16 April 1726.

<sup>17</sup> *Robin's Last Shift*, 4, 10 March 1716. See also *The Duke Of Wharton's Reasons For Leaving his native Country, and espousing the Causes of his Royal Majesty King James III*, [1727], 6.

<sup>18</sup> Dickinson, *Liberty and Property*, 170-3.

of such large sums was a betrayal of the trust reposed by the people in their representatives, who ought to exercise frugality on their behalf,<sup>19</sup> and further stressed the personal role of the monarchs in promoting excessive spending. In 1717 *To Robert Walpole Esq.* complained that vast sums of money had been sent to Hanover, that England had become a mere province used to feed Hanover with wealth, and that the King's German dominions would load the nation with debts and complete its destruction.<sup>20</sup>

Britain's folly in having brought over a foreign monarch was frequently dwelt on by Jacobite propagandists. The nonjuror Mathias Earberry reflected that it was no wonder that English liberties had been trampled underfoot, when it was considered that the King was ignorant of the language, customs, and constitution of his subjects. Hanover, as his birthplace and first state, was bound to be his prime concern. It was inevitable that English interests would be made subservient to those of Hanover, that English money and men would be used in pursuit of the foreign policy of the Electorate. Earberry argued that George I would attempt to introduce

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<sup>19</sup> Carte, *A Full Answer*, 163-6, 171; W[illiam] S[hippen] *A Speech Against Sir R----- W-----'s Proposal for increasing the Civil List Revenue*, (1727), 5-6.

<sup>20</sup> *To Robert Walpole Esq.*, 3. See also *Considerations Addressed to the Publick*, (1745), 7-8, 10-11, which complained of "this draining the Nation of its Wealth" to support "the puniest, poorest Electorate in Germany": "How well the Usurper has lov'd you, let your Blood, your Treasure spent, the heavy Taxes unknown to your forefathers, the Decay of your Trade, the Bribery, the Corruption, the universal Depravity of Manners, the allowing puny Hanoverians, not long since content to dine on a Turnep, to wallow in your Riches, and fatten themselves with the Spoils of your honest Industry, bear Witness".

a similar form of government in England to that absolutism which he practiced in his native land, “having no notion of any other rule in Government but what is Arbitrary”.<sup>21</sup> The terms of the Act of Settlement, which was designed explicitly to prevent any such misuse of British resources, provided a yardstick by which Jacobite propagandists could measure this process and expose it to public view.<sup>22</sup>

Political and financial corruptions were seen as paralleled by moral and religious degeneracy throughout the state. Jacobite voices swelled the general chorus lamenting corruption in every walk of life. Corruption at the centre was seen to be reflected throughout society. The personal and political vices of the ministry, or for Jacobites the vices of the Hanoverian royal family, were detected in the people: extravagance, over-indulgence, and immorality. *Robin’s Last Shift* voiced a general sense of despair:

“we are now arrived to the Height of senselessness and hard-heartedness in Vice; feel no reverence to God, no Love to one another; no Spice of Morality, no Notion of good

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<sup>21</sup> [Mathias Earberry], *The Second Part of the Historical Account of the Advantages that have accrued to England by the Succession in the Illustrious House of Hanover*, (1722), 24. *A Letter To His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury*, [1717-22], 11, asserted that George had “a strong Inclination to break thro’ all the Laws and Customs of this Nation”.

<sup>22</sup> *To Robert Walpole Esq.*, 2-3; See also Lansdowne, *Letter From A Noble Man*, 4: “... the most important Articles of our new Contract, upon settling the Protestant Succession, evaded, suspended, or set aside”.

Principles; nay, not so much as a Touch of Humanity. Are not such a People ripe for Destruction?”<sup>23</sup>

William King, in his oration at the dedication ceremony for the Radcliffe Camera in 1749, saw corruption polluting the whole country: “Luxury which descends from the Palace down to all Orders of Men, even to the very lowest”.<sup>24</sup>

The traditional tory rallying cry of “the Church in danger” retained some of its former potency,<sup>25</sup> although careful whig management of the church took out much of the heat generated by religious debate in the reign of Queen Anne.<sup>26</sup> Jacobites, burdened by the Pretender’s Catholicism and accusations that they intended to overthrow the established church, readily joined in the attack on whig irreligion and encouragement of deviation from the Anglican Church. Much use was made by Jacobites of the example of the Protestant hero the duke of Ormonde. A broadsheet published in his name in 1719 warned that “Socinians and Free Thinkers” were everywhere being preferred to orthodox clergy, and that the state was trying to tell the clergy what they should preach. Thus the church was in “real Danger” from the whig

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<sup>23</sup> *Robin’s Last Shift*, 4, 10 March 1716.

<sup>24</sup> [William King], *A Translation Of a late Celebrated Oration*, (1750), 40.

<sup>25</sup> For example in 1717 the tory printer John Morpew republished the first 13 issues of the newspaper *The Scourge*: [Thomas Lewis] *The Scourge, Designed as a Modest Vindication of the Church of England*, [1717].

<sup>26</sup> T F J Kendrick, “Sir Robert Walpole, The Old Whigs, and the Bishops”, *HJ*, (vol XI, 3, 1968).

government.<sup>27</sup> *A Letter To The Archbishop of York* of 1745 began by detailing the ways in which George II had threatened the liberties and property of the nation, and then went on to point out the decline of religious life under the Hanoverians. Luxury and profaneness had grown unchecked, while church offices were sold or allocated according to party and not by merit.<sup>28</sup> For nonjuring Jacobites the case went even further than this. In 1688 the church had been taken over by schismatics, who placed the immortal souls of the people in grave danger by offering up prayers for an unlawful prince. One pamphlet of 1715 spoke as if it were the Church of England calling to her children:

“It is now Twenty seven Years that I have been seeking you whom my Soule loves. I sought you but I found you not and to which way soever I turn’d my Self I saw nothing but Desolation. I see the Hand of the Adversary upon all my Pleasant things and the Heathen within the Walls of my Sanctuary”.<sup>29</sup>

Richard Welton portrayed himself as surrounded by “Fanatick Rage”, which was ready “to tear a Clergyman to Pieces, only for doing his Duty”. In such circumstances it was possible to present the Pretender as the protector and champion of the Church of England, despite the fact that he

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<sup>27</sup> *The Letter of the Duke of Ormonde to all True Lovers of the Church of England and their Country*, (1719), at SP 35/18/67b.

<sup>28</sup> *A Letter to the Archbishop of York*, at SP 36/71/222.

<sup>29</sup> *The Church of England’s Advice to her Children and to all Kings, Princes, and Potentates*, (1715), ms at RSM 4/52.

was not a member of it, and to argue that his restoration would also restore Anglicanism to its proper role and influence in society.<sup>30</sup>

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Jacobite remedies for the corruption of the age operated two levels. The blacker the picture they were able to paint of Hanoverian tyranny, and the greater the personal responsibility for it which they were able to load on the King, the greater the need they established to turn to a Stuart monarch to restore liberty and freedom. They had to provide a credible account of how such a restoration might be brought about. But they had also to present a coherent set of detailed proposals by which the tyrannical features they complained of might be replaced, and the ancient constitution restored. In setting about this latter task a number of Jacobites advocated some of the more radical and democratic reforms proposed in the early eighteenth century, belying the labels “nostalgic” and “reactionary” with which they are conventionally tagged.

Jacobites agreed that it was essential to preserve the independence of MPs from government influence, so that they would continue to represent the interests of the people. At the very least triennial Parliaments were necessary. Preferably elections should take place annually, so that it was not worthwhile to purchase a seat by bribing the electors, and members had insufficient time to corrupt public finances.<sup>31</sup> The problems caused by the Septennial Act of 1716

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<sup>30</sup> Richard Welton, *The Church Distinguish'd from a Conventical: In A Narrative Of The Persecution of Dr. Welton and his Family, For Reading the Common Prayer in his own House*, (1718), 6. For Jacobite broadsheets portraying the Pretender as the champion of the Church of England see below, chapter 10.

<sup>31</sup> MWJ 45, 5 March 1726; FJ 2, 7 February 1722.



were compounded, according to Thomas Carte, by the existence of numerous small and poor boroughs in which the electors could be easily bribed. These outnumbered the larger constituencies and so, “having little or nothing of their own”, they controlled “the Property and Liberty of the Freeholders of England”, and perverted government to their own ends. A redistribution of seats, so that population and wealth were more accurately reflected in the Commons, and the disenfranchisement of corrupt boroughs, were the remedies proposed by Carte and *Mist’s Weekly Journal*.<sup>32</sup> *Mist’s* newspaper in 1722 was one of the first to advocate a secret ballot at elections. By “managing the Poll so that the Elected shall never know who are for, or against them”, as they did in Venice, it would be possible to put an end to bribery in elections because it would no longer be possible to determine whether it had been effective. The proposal was repeated in *Fog’s Weekly Journal* in 1734.<sup>33</sup>

Nonetheless it is clear that, like the whig commonwealthsmen, Jacobite reformers saw no requirement for any increase in the franchise. To be represented in Parliament the people did not require a vote. What was necessary was that those with a vote be free to chose MPs who had sufficient land in the area to ensure that they retained its interest at heart, and enable them to

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<sup>32</sup> Carte, *A Full Answer*, 206; MWJ 125, 9 September 1727.

<sup>33</sup> WJ/SP 175, 7 April 1722; Fog 285, 20 April 1734. Dickinson cites Carte and the issue of *Fog’s Weekly Journal* listed above in his discussion of “Country” proposals for Parliamentary reform without noting their Jacobite convictions, *Liberty and Property*, 190-2. For the absence of proposals to introduce a secret ballot in the first half of the eighteenth century see John Cannon, *Parliamentary Reform, 1640-1832*, (Cambridge, 1972), chapter 2. The secret ballot only gained appreciable support in the late 1760s: 54, 55, 61.

resist government attempts to buy their votes. *Mist's Weekly Journal* was concerned that these traditional representatives of the people were being replaced by wealthy and avaricious men who regarded a seat in Parliament as a form of investment, and not as a means of serving their country:

“It is owing to this, that the Country Gentleman is jostled out of his Borough. He who is of the same interest with the People; he who must bear the Weight of all the Taxes, and whose Family must be much reduced by the Burden that lies upon them, is now bought out...”<sup>34</sup>

Carte's vision of a well-constituted Parliament was one that was “composed chiefly of Gentlemen of the most ancient Families in the Kingdom, and who had the natural Interest of the Places for which they served”.<sup>35</sup>

Once MPs had been elected it was important that the public be able to keep a watch on their actions, to ensure that they carried out their representative function, and to provide electors with appropriate information on which to base their choice when called upon to cast their votes. It was illegal to report the debates or divisions of Parliament, but Jacobite newspapers, in the run up to the election of 1722, took a leading role in publicising the activities of MPs. In a supplement published on 16 March 1722 *The Freeholder's Journal* printed division lists from

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<sup>34</sup> MWJ 135, 18 November 1727.

<sup>35</sup> Carte, *A Full Answer*, 175-6. *The Freeholder's Journal* asked, “Whether Gentlemen of large Properties, are not the fittest Guardians of their own and the liberties of their Country?” FJ 6, 7 March 1722. This issue was acknowledged to have been written by Archibald Hutcheson. See also Fog 194, 22 July 1732.

the previous Parliament. The next day *Mist's* journal emphasised the need for electors to choose the most virtuous representatives in order to restore the constitution to its former purity, and appended a list of those MPs who had voted in favour of the repeal of the Triennial Act, together with their respective government employments, as a warning against choosing placemen.<sup>36</sup>

Jacobite writers expressed widely disparate ideas about how a Stuart restoration might actually be accomplished. In many cases they failed to draw a really convincing scenario for the event they most desired; at times some espoused methods which were likely to alienate some potential supporters. A right of resistance was justified and asserted by whig Jacobites, but they rarely gave any clear indication of how it was to operate.

The most optimistic of Jacobite authors and politicians hoped for a restoration through normal, peaceful political processes. A truly representative House of Commons, once elected, might vote to return the Stuarts. This view was especially strong in 1721-2, when Lords Orrery, Gower and Bathurst argued that all Jacobite resources should be concentrated on winning control of the Commons in the general election, and not sent abroad to finance a Jacobite expedition.<sup>37</sup> Both *The Freeholder's Journal*, which was explicitly founded in 1722 to fight the election, and *Mist's Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post* concentrated their attentions on gaining this end in early 1722. Outside of election years many Jacobites seemed to envisage the peaceful accession

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<sup>36</sup> FJ 8, 16 March 1722; WJ/SP 172, 17 March 1722.

<sup>37</sup> G V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, (Oxford, 1975), 233.

of the Pretender by universal acclaim, and through the mediation of the army. In this vision they drew upon the potent example of Charles II's restoration by the hand of General Monck.<sup>38</sup>

There were Jacobite journalists who seemed convinced that printed propaganda could win sufficient support for the Pretender to put him on the throne. George Flint consistently argued that James would only ever return “by the Call of the People; & that this Call is best to be procured by the pen”.<sup>39</sup> *The Freeholder's Journal* referred to the ability of the subject to publicly complain and protest “against those invasions of the Privileges of his Country which he has not Power to oppose”, and cited a remonstrance drawn up against Cromwell, which “raised such a Spirit and such a Clamour” among the people for a free Parliament, that,

“when Monck declared for one, the Nation almost unanimously came into his Measures ... and the Spirit never ceased, 'till it had effected a Restoration of the King to his Rights, and of England to its ancient Liberties. The same Measures will produce the same effects ...”<sup>40</sup>

A theoretical right of resistance against tyranny, or a duty to restore the legitimate monarch, were asserted by Jacobites, implying violent action, but rarely showing any indication

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<sup>38</sup> Carte dwelt at length on “the Wisdom and Judgement of that great Man”, in [Carte], *A Full and Clear Vindication Of The Full Answer To A Letter From A By-Stander*, (1743) 22-4. “Brave Monck” featured in many Jacobite ballads; see *The Restoration Ballad*, (1721), at SP 35/29/62 (4); *An Hymn to the Restoration*, (1724), at SP 35/49/74 (2).

<sup>39</sup> George Flint to James Edgar, 15 February 1745, RSM 262/163.

<sup>40</sup> FJ 21, 23 May 1722.

of the likely fighting and bloodshed which this would entail. The whig Jacobite pamphlet *To Mr. William Thomas* of 1717 concluded with the appealingly deceptive couplet,

“O Free Born Britons since a Tyrant Reigns,  
Assert your Liberty, shake of yoar Chains”.<sup>41</sup>

The mechanism by which this was to be achieved was unclear. Much use was made of the example of Roman patriots who had defended their state from tyranny. Lord Lansdowne urged Englishmen to “take a Roman Resolution to save their Country, or perish with it”, presenting an idealised picture of the nobleman leading his willing freeholders in asserting the Stuart cause.<sup>42</sup> Even the more popular appeal of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* was couched in the words of Livy’s “Noble Roman who defended the Capitol”: “How long will you be ignorant of your strength. Count your numbers.”<sup>43</sup>

A handful of pamphlets made a more practical appeal to the armed forces to come out in favour of the Pretender, in some measure anticipating Trotsky’s lesson drawn from the revolution of 1905, that “an insurrection is, in essence, not so much a struggle against the army, as a struggle for the army”.<sup>44</sup> *The Duty Of A Souldier to his King and Country, Addressed To the Present Officers and Souldiers of the British Army* insisted that the army bore a high degree of

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<sup>41</sup> *To Mr. William Thomas*, [1717], 4.

<sup>42</sup> Lansdowne, *Letter From A Noble-Man*, 6, 8. See also *Letter To The Archbishop of Canterbury*, 13.

<sup>43</sup> *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, (1719), 7.

<sup>44</sup> Leon Trotsky, *1905*, (1972).

responsibility for preserving the liberties of the nation, and that it had a duty to act where these were threatened:

“You ought to continue in your Commissions, and by Vertue of them appear at the Head of your several Commands for the interest of your Country in opposition to all Usurpers and Invaders of its Libertys & Privileges”.<sup>45</sup>

A similar point was made by the author of *To The Army and People of England*; that the military was as concerned in the proper administration of law as the rest of the community, and ought to act where necessary to secure the laws. The Jacobite court addressed declarations to both the army and the navy in 1715 and in 1745.<sup>46</sup>

But in the absence of another Monck, most Jacobite politicians came increasingly to realize that a restoration was only likely if imposed by the army of a foreign power. This remedy was unlikely to win approval in all quarters. *The Freeholder’s Journal* was loath to accept it, considering foreign intervention “a Remedy most Commonly as bad as the Disease”.<sup>47</sup> Mist’s

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<sup>45</sup> *The Duty Of A Souldier to his King and Country, Addressed To the Present Officers and Souldiers of the British Army*, [1717], 1.

<sup>46</sup> *To The Army and People of England*, [1717] 2. See also the broadsheet ballad, *To the Soldiers of Great Britain. Upon passing an act which enables the court martial to punish mutiny and desertion with death*, 1717-18, (Foxon). Declarations to the army and the navy, issued under Bolingbroke’s name on 20 October 1715, are at RSM 5/43, 44. James issued a declaration, *To the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, at this Time in the Service of the Usurper*, on 23 December 1743, a copy of which is at SP 36/62/254.

<sup>47</sup> FJ 42, 10 October 1722; FJ 19, 9 May 1722.

newspapers however were prepared to countenance a French army. The duke of Wharton's "Persian Letter" of 1728 made a thinly disguised appeal to the French government:

"If the Turks should listen at last, as no doubt they will, to the Cries of an injur'd, oppress'd, and plunder'd Nation, who implore their Protection..."<sup>48</sup>

*Fog's Weekly Journal* reproduced the Florentine patriot Rinaldo's appeal to the duke of Milan, for a just war to rescue Florence from slavery:

"So that tho' formerly this Enterprize might be look'd upon as a Usurpation and Violence, it will now be esteem'd a high piece of Justice and Charity".

The people of Florence would refuse to help their unjust rulers, and the city would easily fall. All Tuscany would then show its gratitude to the duke by supporting Milan in all her "just Designs".<sup>49</sup> Declarations published by the Pretender emphasised that foreign forces would behave with strict propriety in Britain, and that they would be withdrawn, as soon as their task was complete. Nonetheless supporters of the Hanoverian succession found it easy to brand him as "a pensioner of Rome and France", acting in the interest of those powers.<sup>50</sup>

Without a Jacobite army on British soil, supporters of the Pretender were necessarily constrained in their endeavours to fulfil their duty to the man they regarded as their legitimate monarch. In these circumstances *Mist's* newspapers even went so far as to advocate tyrannicide

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<sup>48</sup> MWJ 175, 24 August 1728.

<sup>49</sup> Fog 53, 27 September 1729.

<sup>50</sup> See the declaration designed to accompany the Jacobite invasion to be made with Spanish troops in 1719, at RSM 43/16. *A Fund Raising for the Italian Gentleman: Or, A Magazine Filling on the Scheme of Frugality*, (1750), 28.

or political assassination as a laudable public act. Turning again to Roman example he cited with approval the measures taken by Brutus against Caesar. Brutus distinguished tyrants from other kinds of enemy:

“Tyrants, being Wolves in the clothing of innocent Lambs, shou’d be attack’d with their own treacherous Arts; and, like Foxes, by all Sorts of Cunning be drawn into a Trap”.<sup>51</sup>

In an earlier issue Mist had maintained that “Tyrants generally fall by a private blow”, and that, “whoever would dare to kill a Tyrant, should receive the Rewards assign’d to a Conqueror in the Olympic Games and whatever else he would please to demand of the Legislature”.<sup>52</sup>

*Fog’s Weekly Journal* was accused of producing a “Panegyrick upon Assassinations” in 1733, inciting the murder of Sir Robert Walpole.<sup>53</sup> It seems likely that Jacobites were responsible for the republication in 1745 of the tract originally written against Oliver Cromwell, *Killing No Murder*. There can be little doubt that many Jacobites would have repudiated such extreme measures. It was reported that the exiled Bishop of Rochester had refused to see Mist and

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<sup>51</sup> WJ/SP 218, 29 December 1722. In August 1723 *The True Briton* also praised Brutus’s action: “The Great Brutus who stabb’d Caesar, is a Noble Mark of Publick Spirit...when he imbrued his Hands in his Blood, it was at the Tyrant, not the Friend he struck”. TB 20, 9 August 1723.

<sup>52</sup> WJ/SP 166, 3 February 1722.

<sup>53</sup> *Remarks on Fog’s Journal of February 10th 1732/3, Exciting the People to an Assassination*, (1733).



Charles Molloy in France because of their suggestion “that it would be no crime to murder the Royal Family”.<sup>54</sup>

Whatever the precise form of political action envisaged by individual propagandists, the overall emphasis of the Jacobite press was on action. England was subject to a foreign tyrant and the patriot had to act in order to preserve the freedom of the state. Accusations of timidity were frequently levelled at those who failed to do their duty in this respect. The earl of Mortimer, in the play of the same name quoted by *Fog's Weekly Journal* in 1731, remained all-powerful despite much talk of action to be taken against him:

“He stalks on as a Mountain by himself,  
Whilst we creep humbly in the Vale below,  
And eye, and curse what we're afraid to reach at”.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> This information was given by an informer reporting on Molloy during the 1745 rebellion, SP 36/73/22.

<sup>55</sup> Fog 137, 19 June 1731. Mist labelled those who allowed a minority to impose tyrannical rule on them: “the most timerous, the most abject disconcerted Crew that ever breath'd the Air, or crawl'd on Earth”. MWJ 142, 6 January 1728.

## CHAPTER TEN

### Rhetoric, Imagery, and Language: Jacobites and the Political Role of the People

Loud the winds howl, loud the waves roar,  
Thunder claps rend the air;  
Baffled our foes stand by the shore,  
Follow they will not dare.

(Chorus ) Speed bonnie boat like a bird on the wing,  
'Onward' the sailors cry,  
Carry the lad that's born to be king,  
Over the sea to Skye.

Though the waves leap, soft shall ye sleep,  
Ocean's a royal bed,  
Rocked in the deep Flora will keep  
Watch by your weary head.

Many's the lad fought on that day  
Well the claymore could weild  
When the night came silently lay  
Dead on Culloden's field.

Burned are our homes, exile and death  
Scatter the loyal men;  
Yet ere the sword cool in the sheath,  
Charlie will come again.

*Skye Boat Song*

## CHAPTER TEN

### *RHETORIC, IMAGERY, AND LANGUAGE: JACOBITES AND THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE PEOPLE.*

The production of Jacobite propaganda on a large scale during the first ten years of the reign of George I was the achievement both of politically committed and of commercially motivated authors, printers and publishers, who worked independently of those regarded by contemporaries as proper political leaders. Without adequate encouragement and support from politicians the activities of these Jacobite propagandists all but ended in the mid 1720s. The lack of interest shown by Jacobite politicians in printing more popular Jacobite material was reflected strongly in the equivocal role accorded the people in the political process by many of the more literate Jacobite writers. On the one hand there was a great concern to emphasise the overwhelming popularity claimed for the Stuart Pretenders, and to describe the Hanoverian monarchy as a tyranny holding free-born Englishmen in subjection and misery. On the other lay the weight of a political philosophy based upon non-resistance and passive obedience; and the fear of public disorder associated with the social unrest of the mid-seventeenth century, so that whigs and dissenters were frequently taunted with accusations of rabble-rousing. For the most part Jacobites presented artisans and labourers as having only a limited, subservient, and closely defined part in political activity. Their contribution to the projected restoration, or even how that restoration was achieved, was rarely spelt out.

A very different impression was given by more plebeian Jacobite publications, in particular by broadsheets, which suggest a high level of political concern and an awareness of political issues among the lower ranks of society. This chapter examines the role accorded the

people in Jacobite political theory, and their participation in the political process as revealed by the extent to which Jacobite ideas, themes, and imagery permeated popular ballads and broadsheets. Finally I discuss the significance of the Jacobite literature produced in the 1740s and 1750s, which was strikingly different in character from the more plebeian works printed between 1714 and 1724, and indicates a far lower level of popular involvement in Jacobitism in the later period.

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One prevalent strain of Jacobite argument, which reflected a more general Augustan classicism, presented “the people” as a repository of civic virtue and purity to be drawn upon to preserve the state. The example, usually derived from Machiavelli’s *Discourses*, was of the incorruptible Roman citizen whose virtue had long kept that city from tyranny.<sup>1</sup> However, in practical terms, the emphasis was upon those of the highest rank in society, whose function it was to represent the people and to administer the state in their interest. Political independence could only be maintained by those in possession of sufficient land, and thus it was necessary that landed men should monopolise central and local office. Lord Lansdowne, the Old Pretender’s representative in Paris, made a stirring appeal to emulate the Roman spirit and “awaken the Genius of Old England” in his pamphlet of 1722, *A Letter From A Noble-Man Abroad, To His Friend In England*. But his was a patrician, not a plebeian view of politics. His ideal vision was of a leader of ancient family, extensive lands, and good education:

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<sup>1</sup> For example in *Mist’s Weekly Journal, or Saturday’s Post* 165, 27 January 1722. The importance of Machiavelli is stressed by J G A Pocock, in “Machiavelli, Harrington and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century”, in *Politics, Language, and Time*, (1971).

“at the Head of his Freeholders amiable in his Person, sincere in his Friendship, firm in his Principles, beloved and almost adored by his Country, nobly asserting in the midst of Ten Thousand Acclamations, this very Cause which now calls so loudly for Help. He was the Delight and Darling of all that knew him”.<sup>2</sup>

Such a leader would mobilise his dependants to defend the rights and liberties of the people both in peace, through Parliamentary elections, and if necessary in war. Roman virtue was to operate through a carefully ordered social structure.

Much discussion necessarily focused on the relationship between a King and his people. All accepted that there were reciprocal duties and obligations between the two,<sup>3</sup> although inevitably attention often concentrated on the obedience owed by a subject to his monarch, as writers sought to condemn the illegal exclusion of King James II and his family. The nonjuror Richard Welton explained that subjection to authority was “our Interest as well as Duty” because it guaranteed the rule of law, and thus the security of every man:

“Without Rulers we cannot live in Peace, and without Obedience there can be no Government. This is the great Charter of our Lives, and Liberties, the true Protector of all that is dear unto us”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> [Lord Lansdowne], *A Letter From a Noble-Man Abroad, To His Friend In England*, (1722), 8.

<sup>3</sup> “as Caesar has his Rights and Prerogatives which the People must not seek to violate, so the Subjects also have their Rights and Properties, which the Sovereign must not invade.” *A Letter From a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country*, (1750), 15.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Welton, *The Substance of Christian Faith and Practice: Represented in Eighteen Practical Discourses*, (1724), 218, 230-31.

Mathias Earberry argued that a legitimate prince would necessarily rule for the benefit of his kingdom, acknowledging his duty to procure the wealth and prosperity of his people, and deriving his personal happiness from that function. By contrast, a usurper naturally considers the kingdom and people to be provided to satisfy his own desires and appetites. Underlying all these writings was a belief that government and society existed to defend and prosper the people. For Earberry, “The Perfection of Liberty is That State which makes most People in a Commonwealth happy”. That could only come about under a rightly constituted government, where the legitimate prince received his due obedience.<sup>5</sup>

The problem for the nonjurors was that this legitimate prince was in exile, and another sat on the throne in his stead. God would undoubtedly punish a usurper in time,<sup>6</sup> but what ought a subject to do in the meantime? By the creed of the nonjurors the people were “to stand by our Prince with our utmost Assistance”.<sup>7</sup> Yet they went no further than this vague recognition of the need for action. The people were not envisaged as embarking on a spontaneous restoration of themselves; they were to support the prince when he required it. Such a philosophy could

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<sup>5</sup> Mathias Earberry, *The Occasional Historian*, (1731), 72-73, 67.

<sup>6</sup> “Princes, who are Examples to all Mankind, should take care of doing Vilenesses or rank Injustice, for the King of Kings will shew himself at last in Justice, even in this World...”  
*Robin’s Last Shift*, 8, 7 April 1716.

<sup>7</sup> Welton, *Substance of Christian Faith*, 220.

produce no result until the Pretender put himself in a position where he could be so helped, that is to say, raised his standard on British soil.<sup>8</sup> The people were to respond, but not lead.

Other Jacobite writers examined more closely the mechanics of the political system, defining the political problem and its remedy in terms of the subversion of that system, and the need to purge it of corruption. Variations of rank and degree were desirable and necessary in society.<sup>9</sup> The great families of England, marked out by birth, land, wealth, and education, naturally held positions of responsibility in society. As Members of Parliament, Lord Lieutenants, Sheriffs, and magistrates they exercised power for the benefit of the people, whom they were considered to represent not as elected but as natural representatives.<sup>10</sup> Hence society should be an harmonious network of reciprocal relationships in which men of power, influence

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<sup>8</sup> James Stuart's demands for assistance from his subjects were couched in the same terms: in his declarations he called on them to join his forces if they could, or otherwise to ensure that nothing they did could be of benefit to the usurper. Eg RSM 6/95.

<sup>9</sup> "There are, and must be different Ranks and Degrees of Men amongst us: Some must sit upon the Thorne; others must labour at the Plough; otherwise the Community cannot subsist long ..."  
Welton, *Substance*, 218.

<sup>10</sup> [Thomas Carte], *A Full Answer To The Letter From a By-Stander, & C. Wherein His false Calculations, & Misrepresentations of Facts in the Time of King Charles II are refuted,...* (1742). The Parliament of James II was "perhaps the best constituted of any that ever met in England, not only with Regard to the merit of the Members, but in Respect of their Qualities and Estates, it being composed chiefly of Gentlemen of the most ancient families in the Kingdom, and who had the natural Interest of the Places for which they served". 175-176.

and wealth had a duty to ensure stability and the rule of law, so that all might prosper; a duty to care for the poor, through charitable organisations; and also the traditional duty of hospitality at certain times of the year. In return they received deference and respect, votes at elections (from those able to vote), and physical support in time of war. The Jacobite William King, principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, in his oration at the dedication of the Radcliffe Camera in 1749, praised the zeal of former times when Britons chose their representatives with care, and,

“weighed the Thing well with themselves, who, and what the Candidates were, of what Family and in what Place they were born; in what Manner they were educated; what was the Compass of their Genius and Extent Of their Estate; but above all in what Manner they were affected to the Constitution...”<sup>11</sup>

Under the Hanoverian monarchy this natural harmony had been destroyed. The Jacobite newspaper *The Shift Shifted* explained in 1716 that the nobility and gentry were “all discontented and afflicted, all retir’d and growling at their own homes”. Peers had been suborned by places and pensions; seats in the Commons had been bought, or false returns made by new and upstart Sheriffs; judges were given pensions, undermining their independence, and JPs “created of the very Dregs of the People”.<sup>12</sup> The result of all this was to leave the people leaderless. The nonjuror historian Thomas Carte outlined the dilemma in his pamphlet, *A Full Answer To The Letter From A By-Stander* of 1742. There was no longer any “Warlike Leader, no great Man with such a following in all the Kingdom” who could stand up to the Hanoverian regime.

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<sup>11</sup> [William King], *A Translation of a late Celebrated Oration*, (1750), 39.

<sup>12</sup> *The Shift Shifted*, 17, 25 August 1716.



“The People, now having no Head, are a loose Multitude, a Rope of Sand, and are to be considered only as so many Individuals or single Persons, without any means of Union among themselves, and without almost any Possibility of acting in Concert”.<sup>13</sup>

The people could do nothing of themselves. They could not initiate political action. Without leadership they were lost.

This limited political role was not extended in more popular Jacobite literature. Ballads and broadsheets contained no precise or direct exhortation to arms. There were calls of a general nature for support and assistance to be given to the Pretender, and even dramatic offers to die in his cause. But the actions most commonly called for were drinking or singing. In the main these were songs of fellowship, and even of romance, not of war; of the pub and tavern, not the battlefield. To this extent the people can be said to have shared the perception of their constrained political function with their social betters. It is worth giving some attention to the recurring themes and symbolism in such Jacobite works as they are highly suggestive of the level of political debate lower down the social scale. They show something of the political awareness and the amount of interest in national politics on the streets and in the ale-houses of London. Together with records of prosecutions made for seditious words, Jacobite broadsheets and ballads provide a major source for assessing the strength of Jacobitism as a popular movement.

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Two salient reasons for supporting the Pretender emerge from Jacobite broadsheets and ballads. The more predictable is the comparison made between the regal virtues of the Stuarts and the

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<sup>13</sup> Carte, *A Full Answer*, 200.

often crudely delineated unkingly qualities of the Hanoverians. Perhaps less expected is the constant emphasis on the moral nature of the Stuart claim to the crown, on the legitimacy of their title. This usually took the form, not of any expanded explanation or justification of Stuart rights, but of simple assertion, in such phrases as: “I love the true king dear,” “the right heir ... kept from his own, “our true rightfull Lord”, and “the king shall enjoy his own again”. Even works appearing to be primarily anti-Hanoverian frequently accused them of seizing “another man’s rights”. A few expanded the theme further, as did Richard Savage in his verse *The Pretender*, which was seized with other manuscripts by the government in 1716:

“Is n’t he pretended God’s annointed,

Who, by Theft is Crown’ d?

Is he who shou’d be such appointed

Less just, because Dethroned?

Is he, who makes a Breach of Trust,

As property’s Defender

Or he who like his Claim is just

The King or the Pretender?...

No longer let us then mistake

The King for the pretender

Nor the pretender a King make

But Right to right surrender”.<sup>14</sup>

An awareness of right and legality implicitly permeated much of the imagery used: the shepherd and his flock, the noble youth contrasted with the country clown, and, “The Rose so Virgin-white before, / Now blushing with the Stain of Gore”.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps from this conviction of rectitude sprang the confidence in an eventual restoration which was to be found in many ballads.

If the moral imperative of the Stuart cause was asserted but seldom dwelt on, the characters of the two royal families and the comparison between them formed the bulk of the subject matter of Jacobite popular works. On the one hand lay an imagery of light, life, and romance. The Stuarts were symbolised by objects suggesting youth, innocence, beauty, and wisdom: by white roses and lilies, birds and lambs, the sun, honest shepherds and purling streams, the royal oak. In some cases the verse was written with a strongly romantic or love-sick yearning:

“Let cruel Tyrants use their Will,  
Jerry’s the Master of my Heart;  
That Godlike Creature I’ll adore,  
He’s in my Heart for evermore”.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> [Richard Savage], *The Pretender*, (1716), ms at SP 36/7/78(3).

<sup>15</sup> *A Prophecy*, (1718), SP 35/11/85 (1).

<sup>16</sup> *The Happy Pair*, (1721), at SP 35/29/36 (1). The marriage of the Old Pretender to the Polish Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski prompted a spate of commemorative verse, and a long work published by Francis Clifton, *The Whole Life and Character of that beautiful, pious and illustrious Princess Sobieski who is by Proxy espous’d to the Chevalier*, (1720).

Conversely, the Hanoverians were associated with all that was gross and sordid. The horns of cuckoldry featured prominently, as did fat whores and ugly, dull children. George I was fancied as hoeing his turnip patch when told the news of his accession to the throne, and that vegetable was frequently linked with the Hanoverian family. They also appeared as thorns and dogs. Worst of all, in the xenophobic minds of eighteenth century Englishmen, they were foreigners who clearly preferred their own kind to their adopted subjects.<sup>17</sup>

Ballads dealt in personalities, and especially in direct and extravagant contrast between Stuart and Hanoverian. For example:

“Jerry does not make his Country poor,  
Nor spend his substance on a Whore,  
His loving wife he does adore,  
For he is brisk and Lordly...  
He looks not like a Country Clown,  
Nor their grows no thorns upon his ground,  
Nor keeps no Whore of Forty stone,

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<sup>17</sup> In *Sir James King's Key to Sir George Horn's Padlock*, [1719-20], Sir George Horn grew turnips on a small estate, “with wooden shoes and a large Hoe”, and was “as cruel as Cruel Nero”. He was cuckolded by his wife who had “an itching Belly” and played the whore. SP 35/24/75 (13). The ms *Address to Brittainia* (1716) concluded, “Pray let no Cuckold be still ruler of thee / Nor any German bastard begot in Privity”. SP 35/6/66. See also *The Turnip Song: a Georgick. To the Tune of, a Begging we will to*, [1715-20], Bodl Ms Firth c 20/44.

For he is brisk and Lordly”.<sup>18</sup>

Other lesser figures also featured: the duke of Ormonde, as the Protestant military hero who remained loyal to the Stuarts, and the duke of Marlborough who ungratefully betrayed James II.<sup>19</sup>

A further significant and recurring theme was the threat posed to the Church of England by dissenters, sectarians, and the supposedly ungodly whigs. The importance of this subject in popular ballads was recognised by Nicholas Rogers,<sup>20</sup> who has suggested that the crowd in Hanoverian England was primarily moved by the issues which had fired the party divisions of Queen Anne’s reign, when one popular rallying cry of the tory “mob” was “the Church in danger”, and not by Jacobite sentiments. But of the three focal points of “plebeian hostility towards the Whigs” identified by Rogers, two (their cosmopolitanism and their war policy) no longer featured to any great extent after 1714. The third, the association of whigs with Low churchmen, dissenters, and the threat to the Church of England, was peculiarly adapted by Jacobites to their own purposes. In Jacobite ballads James Stuart, his Catholicism conveniently ignored, could appear as the champion and defender of high church:

“Alas! our holy mother Church,  
You never will leave in the lurch,  
But to her e’er will faithfull be,

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<sup>18</sup> *The Highland Lasses Wish*, (1721) at SP 35/29/60 (1).

<sup>19</sup> Ormonde was the hero of *The Forlorn Lover. A New Song*, (nd), who, unlike Marlborough, “never wrong’d my Soldiers of what was their due”. SP 35/65/126.

<sup>20</sup> N Rogers, “Popular Protest In Early Hanoverian England”, P & P, (79, 1978), 91-95.

To keep her out of Heresie”.<sup>21</sup>

In this way Jacobites could go some way towards countering attacks on the Pretender’s religion, and thus undermine one of the principal justifications given for his exclusion.

Historical example was as important in popular Jacobite writings as in more erudite works, although the more recent past featured more prominently than the Roman histories. The attack on Church and crown during the 1640s, the resultant social turmoil, the imposition of a military tyranny under Cromwell, and the glorious action of General Monck in restoring the rightful Stuart monarchy, were held up as relevant to the present situation. Nol and his presbyterian crew were Jacobite bogeymen.<sup>22</sup> The implications of the parallel were obvious, although not always spelt out. Political anniversaries were charged with meaning and emotional significance, giving rise in some years to demonstrations and crowd ritual. The execution (or martyrdom) of Charles I, and the restoration of Charles II were frequently celebrated.<sup>23</sup> The other significant Jacobite date was the 10th of June, the birthday of the Old Pretender.

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<sup>21</sup> *A Song, Sung on the 10th of June, being the Birth-Day of the Shevalier de St. George, before the Pope of Rome*, (1720) at SP 35/21/122b (1). See also *The Royal Churchman’s Health*, (1721) at SP 35/29/62 (1).

<sup>22</sup> For example the ironical *An Account of a Solemn Thanks giving upon June 7, 1649. for K. Oliver’s Victory...* (1716).

<sup>23</sup> “Down down with the Nations Foes,  
That did the Royal King dethrone,  
And banish the Right Heir from his own,  
Which caused poor England’s woe”.

As Dr. Erskine-Hill has shown, Jacobites developed a language or rhetoric by means of which they could implicitly convey their support for the Stuart cause without drawing down upon themselves the full wrath of the government, which would have been attracted by a more open avowal of their political creed. Certain qualities or values were consistently praised above others, and often themselves became catchwords indicating Jacobitism. The label “honest” was particularly associated with Jacobitism, and the Jacobites were often known as the “honest” party. It signified resistance to the corruption which was seen to have permeated society and distorted the political process. It appeared more frequently in pamphlets and more serious political works, but was also found in verses such as that discovered in the house of the Catholic ballad-printer Francis Clifton in 1720, *The honest Man’s Observations, on the Biles of the Nation...*<sup>24</sup>

Loyalty, especially in adversity, was prized above all virtues, because it signified continued allegiance to the Pretender, despite the power of the whig government ranged against him. One verse seized in manuscript in 1723 was entitled *The Loyall Resolution*, and promised,

“Antipathies shall weell agree  
the stars clear be to their Center

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*The Restoration Ballad*, at SP 35/29/62 (4). See also *King Charles the Second’s Restoration. Tune, The Duke of Ormonde*, at Bodl Douce Ballads 3 (49).

<sup>24</sup> Howard Erskine-Hill, “Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?”, in Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, (Edinburgh, 1992), SP 35/24/75 (12).

e'r I permit disloyalty  
within my breast to enter".<sup>25</sup>

Closely associated to this was the theme of self-sacrifice to the benefit of country, monarch and the Stuart family—even to the extent of martyrdom. The royal example of Charles I, and more latterly of Lords Kenmure and Derwentwater, who were beheaded for their part in the 1715 rebellion, formed the basis of a tradition which was drawn upon in the dying speeches of others put to death for Jacobitism, and in ballads written to extol such martyrdom. The last words of John Hall, a Northumberland JP hanged in 1716, expanded a recurrent Jacobite claim:

“The Truth and Justice of the Cause for which I suffer, makes my Death a Duty, a Vertue, and an Honour. Remember that I laid down my Life for asserting the Right of my only Lawful Sovereign King James the Third; that I offer myself as a Victim for the Liberties and Happiness of my Dear Country, and my beloved Fellow-Subjects; That I fell a Sacrifice to Tyranny, Oppression, and Usurpation. In short, consider that I suffer in defence of the Commands of God, and the Laws and Hereditary Constitution of the Land: and then know and be assur'd that I am not a Traitor, but a Martyr”.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> SP 35/47/81 (3). See also *Loyalty reviv'd, a song*, [1715], (Foxon).

<sup>26</sup> *A True Copy of the Papers delivered to the Sheriffs of London, by William Paul a Clergyman, and John Hall Esq.; Late Justice of the Peace in Northumberland. Who were Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd at Tyburn, for High-Treason...*, (1716), 6. See also the collection of Jacobite dying speeches made by the nonjuring Bishop Rawlinson, especially those of Thomas Syddall, Thomas Theodore Deacon, and James Dawson in 1745-6, at RAWL MS D 848.



The duty of hospitality incumbent upon the leaders of society was emphasised by both Tory and Jacobite writers of varying social status, and Whigs were condemned as mean-minded and unfeeling. At one level Whig rejection of the old-fashioned traditions of sociability were presented as the result of a breaking down of the natural ties and bonds in society.<sup>27</sup> But this theme had a parallel more often found at a lower level in society. In ballads and broadsheets the Whigs were popularly linked with narrow, dull, disapproving Presbyterians and Roundheads, while the Stuarts drew strength from the cavalier tradition. The drinking of Jacobite toasts at the social gatherings of the gentry has been much discussed. But vast numbers of Jacobite ballads seem to have been drinking songs, proposing healths to the Stuart Pretender, or cracking bumpers to the success of the Jacobite cause:

“Then fill up your Glass, for the Cause it is good,  
Here’s a Health to the lad that has firmly stood,  
And always was true to the Royal Blood,  
We are not of the king-killing train:  
The seed of old Oliver we defy,  
For High Church for ever shall be my Cry,  
So drink to my Love o’er the Main”.<sup>28</sup>

Such pleasant associations doubtless strengthened the Jacobite appeal in many quarters.

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<sup>27</sup> A detailed discussion of the traditional “Country House ideal”, and its decline, in particular as viewed through the poetry of Alexander Pope, is contained in Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Social Milieu of Alexander Pope*, (1975).

<sup>28</sup> *The Church-man’s new Health*, (1721), at SP 35/29/23 (1).

There was a large body of cheap literature produced during the period 1714-24. These ballads and broadsheets overtly stated Jacobite ideas and aspirations in a simple, often trivialised form. Without indulging in subtle political argument, which would perhaps have lost its audience, it was made clear that the Stuart monarchy had a right to rule. Above all it laid down a black and white, stark contrast between the merits and kingly qualities of the Pretender, and the defects of George I. Personalising the debate in this way ensured that it was easily understood and also lively. Scandal and vilification always attracts interest, and can engage the emotions where reason may not. Underpinning all was the appealing prophecy that neither happiness, peace, prosperity, nor liberty could return unless and until James was brought back. In its most trivialised form it appeared in a pastoral setting:

“A Health to the lost Shepherd,  
Whose Sheep for him is bleating...  
For ’till you return,  
All our Joys they are vanish’d”.<sup>29</sup>

Such works enjoyed a popularity and reached an audience that pamphlets and even most newspapers could not. Work done on prosecutions brought against those accused of speaking “seditious words” against the government in this period shows them reiterating the themes, ideas, and images to be found in these broadsheets. There was the same concern for legitimacy, the same contrast drawn between monarchs, the same denigration of presbyterians and dissenters, and the same fascination with the images of turnip-hoeing and cuckoldry.<sup>30</sup> Popular Jacobite

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<sup>29</sup> *A Health to the lost Shepherd*, (1721), at SP 35/28/95 (1).

<sup>30</sup> Work is now being done on this subject by Mr Paul Monod of Yale University.

demonstrations, which often provided the occasion for such seditious words, frequently centred around the symbolic parading of white roses, oak leaves, or the horns of cuckoldry.<sup>31</sup> It has been shown in an earlier chapter that Jacobite ballads and broadsheets were not written or even instigated by political leaders, the nobility or gentry. They were the product of the artisan and tradesman class, and particularly of hack professional writers, and printers and publishers working for profit. The same social group provided the largest part of the rioters at Jacobite demonstrations, and the majority of those tried for seditious words.<sup>32</sup> In the sense that it had its own distinctive literature, the ideas and language of which were reflected in the words and actions of plebeian political disturbances, Jacobitism can be said to have had its own vital plebeian sub-culture, independent of manipulation from above, during the period 1714-24.

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After 1724 this sub-culture disappears from the view of the historian. The late 1720s and the 1730s saw little in the way of popular Jacobite publication, or political disturbance. The chronology of riot and seditious word cases almost exactly followed that of Jacobite printing. The mid 1740s and early 1750s saw another flowering of Jacobite literature on a smaller scale. But on closer observation it was of a different kind, reflecting a different political climate.

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<sup>31</sup> For example, at Bridgewater on 10th June 1721, white roses, horns and turnips were set up in the market place and over the door of the quarters of the officer commanding the troops there. The crowd then went on to fling stones at the dragoons, and to set dogs on them. One loaded and primed pistol was brandished. SP 35/27/57.

<sup>32</sup> Rogers, "Popular Protest", 84-8.

Although Jacobite broadsheets appeared in England at the time of the 1745 rebellion, there were far fewer than in the earlier period; partly no doubt because it had become much more difficult for Jacobite works to be printed. Those that did appear were more politically refined, and lacked the plebeian feel of the works of Clifton, Hinde and others. Some took the form of prose political argument at a far more detailed level than the ballads and dying speeches of former years. One, *A Letter To The Author of the National Journal*, was given the significant date of June 10th. But it had classical allusions in its signatory (“Ithacus”), and an involved argument: that Jacobites should now regard that date as a day of sorrow, not rejoicing, because of the “dismal prospect” for their King and country after “the fatal Issue of the late glorious, but unsuccessful Struggle, in the present Rebellion”.<sup>33</sup> In the same mould, *Constitutional Queries, Earnestly recommended to the serious Consideration of every True Briton* gave a close examination of the arbitrary and military rule then prevailing, as well as citing the examples of the tyrannies of John of Lancaster and “Crook-backed Richard”, to reach the conclusion: “God preserve the Succession”.<sup>34</sup>

The main subject matter of broadsheets produced in the 1740s, however, was praise of the Young Pretender, taking the form of a more elevated verse than was contained in the earlier ballads. But if the style was intended to be refined, literary, and heroic, the content was romanticised and equally lacking in substance. The broadsheet *Poem by a Lady on seeing His Royal Highness the Prince Regent*, published in 1745, began,

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<sup>33</sup> *A Letter to the Author of the National Journal, Tuesday, June 10th. 1746, (1746).*

<sup>34</sup> *Constitutional Queries, Earnestly recommended to the serious Consideration of every True Briton, [1745-46].*

“O Glorious Youth! ‘tis evidently plain,  
By thy majestic Eyes thou’rt born to reign”.<sup>35</sup>

Another, also supposedly written by “a Lady” and “extempore”, celebrated Charles’s “Youthful Charms”, and concluded,

“Behold our brave successful Hero,  
In razing down a German Nero,  
Counts Laurels vain, while British Blood,  
Must flow t’ exalt the public Good,  
Refuses Glory which He wan,  
And greatly cries ’twas God not Man”.<sup>36</sup>

Similar verse appeared collected in pamphlet form.<sup>37</sup>

Romanticised prose histories also dwelt at length on the adventures of the Young Pretender. *Aeneas, And His Two Sons. A True Portrait*, directly linked the Stuarts with Vergil’s semi-divine Greek hero who was also forced to endure a prolonged exile and seemingly endless

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<sup>35</sup> *Poem by a Lady on seeing His Royal Highness the Prince Regent*, (1745).

<sup>36</sup> *On the Signal Victory at Gladsmuir, gain’d by His Royal Highness Prince Charles, September 21, 1745. By a Lady, extempore.* (1745)

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *A Full Collection Of All Poems Upon Charles, Prince of Wales, ... Published since his Arrival in Edinburgh ...* (1745), There is a selection of English Jacobite verse, as well as Scots, in Robert Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, 3 vols, (1895), e.g. ii, 267; iii, 68.

wanderings in his quest to return home.<sup>38</sup> The subject of *Alexis; Or, The Young Adventurer. A Novel* was a shepherd who,

“having with a sorrowful Heart long viewed the Degeneracy and Miseries of the lower Shepherds, at last formed noble and generous Designs of reforming their Manners, and gently leading them back to that happy Simplicity and Innocence, for which their hardy Ancestors are so famed in Story”.

Following the example of Alexis the shepherds endured many dangers and hardships: “They eat the brown Crust, and drink the cold Stream. The Grass and the Heath is their Bed, and the hard Stone their Pillow.” Betrayed by the lethargy of the people of Felicia, and unable to raise them “to one manly thought”, he was defeated and his adherents butchered. The tale of his escape occupied almost half of the pamphlet.<sup>39</sup> *The Chronicle of Charles, The Young Man* gave an account of the early stages of the '45 in the form of a biblical parody, which emphasized the personal attributes of the Young Pretender. Charles was “a great Prince”,

“Yet he humbled himself in his Host, he did eat as the soldiers did eat, and he lay as they did, he marched on Foot before them, and encamped with them, saying, I will not dwell in Ease, whilst they that fight for me suffer Hardships”.<sup>40</sup>

It is significant that one of the fictionalised histories cited above should use the term “novel” in its title, reminding us of the extraordinary variety of forms covered by this term when used by

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<sup>38</sup> *Aeneas, And His Two Sons. A True Portrait*, [1746].

<sup>39</sup> *Alexis; Or, The Young Adventurer. A Novel*, (1746), 3-4, 15-29.

<sup>40</sup> *The Chronicle Of Charles, The Young Man*, (nd), 3. See also *Manlius; or the brave adventurer. A poetical novel*, (1749).

eighteenth century authors, and which found favour with the eighteenth century reading public. These completely overshadowed the works later regarded by literary critics as the first novels. Historians of literature, anxious to chart “The Rise of the Novel”, have devoted disproportionate attention to Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett.<sup>41</sup>

There was great interest in the campaign and battles of the '45, in the speeches and declarations of those Jacobites executed for their part in the rebellion, and in the deeds of the Young Pretender. These themes were reflected in publications.<sup>42</sup> One pamphlet, which ran to three editions, gave a detailed account of the quarrel between Charles and the French court after his return from Scotland, making much of the Young Pretender's resolute behaviour and refusal

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<sup>41</sup> Maximillian R. Novak, “Fiction And Society In The Early Eighteenth Century”, in H. T. Swedenberg, Ed., *England in the Restoration and Early Eighteenth Century. Essays on Culture and Society*, (California, 1972), 53-4.

<sup>42</sup> *The Battle of Falkirk. As no Body can form a well-grounded Judgement, wihout hearing the Evidence on both Sides, the partial and impartial World are desir'd to read the following relations, and then give Verdict, according to their Consciences*, [1746]; *A Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746. In a Letter from an Officer of the Highland Army, to his Friend at London*, (1749); *A Full Collection Of All the Proclamations and Orders published by the authority of Charles, Prince of Wales ... Since his Arrival in Edinburgh ...*, (Edinburgh, 1745). For the popularity of dying speeches after the '45 see appendix 4.

to compromise his principles under adversity.<sup>43</sup> A chart showed the marches and battles of Charles's army, as well as the route of his flight through the Scottish islands, depicting his escape as through the midst of the English fleet.<sup>44</sup> This sort of work constituted the bulk of Jacobite publications in this latter period.

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<sup>43</sup> *An Authentick Account Of the Conduct of the Young Chevalier From His first Arrival in Paris after his Defeat at Culloden, to the Conclusion of the Peace at Aix-la-Chapelle*, (3rd edition, 1749).

<sup>44</sup> *A Chart, Wherein are mark'd all the different Routes of P. Edward in Great Britain, and the Marches of his Army and the English, The Seiges are distinguish'd and the Battles that were fought in this Enterprise*, (nd), at RAWL MS D 848/109. This is probably the map discussed in the correspondence of John Baptiste Caryll in 1751. Caryll was prevailed upon by the author, J. Finlayson, to take an interest in his case after he had been arrested for printing the chart. Caryll sought legal advice and received a pessimistic reply: "Upon perusing the Marginal Notes of Mr. Finlayson's Map I don't at all wonder he was taken into custody ... They contain a Panegyrick upon the Young Pret[ende]r from his Landing to his return." Finlayson's defence, as expounded to Caryll, was ingenious: "Can the bare recital of the facts be injurious to the Government, can saying the Pretender made an extraordinary escape from the diligent search made After him by the King's troops be deem'd a panegyrick, can the saying the Duke [of Cumberland] took an advantage of his enemys distress before the battle of Culloden and, General like forced them to a battle be any Reflection. If the Contraction Pr gave any offence it can be altered at the same time it is evident the only reason of putting Pretender in that shape was but a harmless equivoque to make the map sell amongst a foolish set of people, who think that word too harsh a term to



Jacobite propaganda had lost its immediacy and its cutting edge; it had lost its plebeian appeal. It was different both in form and content. The verse had become high-flown and would-be-literary, intended more for private reading than singing in public. Hence it could be collected into volumes, as it had been only rarely earlier.<sup>45</sup> The prose concentrated increasingly on past deeds and past glories. The substance had changed, from attack through biting satire, to tragic resignation, lament, and regret.

The themes and images of the earlier period, although continued, were dwarfed by the adoption of Scottish symbols, which became important Jacobite touchstones only during and after the '45. The habit of wearing highland dress taken up by the Pretender, and its subsequent prohibition by the Hanoverian government, the heroic if hopeless fight of the highlanders at Culloden Moor, and Charles's dramatic escape through the highlands, provided ideal subject matter for a new romantic legend and inextricably linked Jacobitism with all things Scots. The new Jacobite literature found its ultimate expression in the lyrical ballads of Robert Burns, written in Scots English: sentimental, nostalgic, and no longer politically vibrant.

“Their waefu' fate what need I tell,

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express the person meant”. H. Legge to Caryll, 2 April 1751; J. Finlayson to Caryll, 28 April 1751, BL Add MS 28231/81, 92.

<sup>45</sup> Some small collections of ballads had been made earlier. For example the four page collection headed by *An Epithalamium On The King's Marriage*, (1718). But these were rare because printed ballads depended for their success on being sufficiently cheap to be bought by professional ballad-singers. They differed greatly from the more up-market products of the late 1740s.

Right to the wrang did yield;  
My Donald and his Country fell  
Upon Culloden field”.<sup>46</sup>

With *The Master of Ballantrae*, *Waverley; or 'tis Sixty Years Since*, and *Red Gauntlet*, Robert Louis Stevenson and Sir Walter Scott took romantic Jacobitism into the next century.

Scottishness was seen clearly in the visual representation of Charles Edward in Jacobite pictures and on the drinking glasses used by the Jacobite gentry.<sup>47</sup> It also became the prominent feature of Jacobite demonstrations. But the demonstrations of the late 1740s and the 1750s were of a different kind to those of the 1710s, clearly instigated by the gentry rather than spontaneous plebeian outbursts. At the Lichfield races in 1747 MPs actively encouraged a show of support for the Pretender. Sir Charles Sedley, the member for Nottingham, and Sir Thomas Gresley, who later became MP for Lichfield, apparently led “the Burton mob, most of them in plaid waistcoats, plaid ribbon round their hats and some of them white cockades”.<sup>48</sup> If a Jacobite sub-culture had re-emerged in the 1740s it was an élite and not a plebeian one.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Quoted in Erskine-Hill, “Literature and the Jacobite Cause”, 59.

<sup>47</sup> Grant R. Francis, “Jacobite Drinking Glasses And Their Relation To The Jacobite Medals”, *British Numismatic Journal*, (16, 1921-2).

<sup>48</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables. The Tories and the '45*, (1979), 107.

<sup>49</sup> Yet it is interesting to note that some of the images of earlier Jacobite ballads, devoid of their political content, were still in use and featured in popular ballads of the 1790s. The name Jemmy had become associated with a love far away across the sea, and roses appear to have been a cure for all ills: “O Cruel press-gang for to press My Jemmy over the main/ ...But suppose in the

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Jacobitism, even after the failure of the 1715 rebellion was still a serious political force. Until the mid 1720s it found expression among the artisanal and labouring classes in the form of street ballads and declamations, seditious words, and symbolic public display; a living Jacobite sub-culture which might potentially have been effectively harnessed in support of the Stuart cause. But political leaders could see no proper role for these classes in initiating Jacobite action, and even feared the consequences of the social disruption which they thought such political involvement would necessarily bring. Nor did artisans, tradesmen, and labourers view themselves as having such a role. In the face of repressive government action, and without support from Jacobite political leaders, this plebeian sub-culture died out during the 1720s. It is a measure of the lack of real, committed support remaining for the Jacobite cause in 1745 that it was not reborn. Instead, as the tragi-heroic tale of the Young Pretender's attempt unfolded, the '45 provided not a rallying point for political action against George II and the Whig government, but the material for a new, more élite sub-culture. Even at the zenith of its fortunes, the 1745 rebellion failed to convince the English gentry that Jacobitism was either a credible or desirable political option; after its failure the Stuart cause was clearly no longer a realistic political alternative. But Jacobitism still provided a language and symbolism of opposition for tory gentry still deeply alienated from the government. The drinking of Jacobite toasts, the wearing of plaid,

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Wars my Jemmy should return, / With roses I will his bed adorn". CUL Madden 6/145B. See also *Polly's Lamentation And Jemmy's Farewell*, and *The Rose in June. A New Song*, CUL Madden 6/1558, 1630.

the planting of Scots firs, all were gestures of defiance to authority which could be safely made without recourse to political action. The new Jacobite literature, making a romantic tragedy of the deeds of the '45, was inward-looking and nostalgic, providing consolation for the solitary fireside rather than the leaven for a popular movement.

## CONCLUSION

*In Answer to one who said the Revolution of 1688 resembled the Case of Saturn, who was dethroned by his son Jupiter because he was old and good for nothing.*

Could William have perform'd in ev'ry Grove,  
In Imitation of the mighty Jove,  
And JAMES had grown less pow'rful than his Son,  
The Revolution had been well begun;  
But since nor Wife nor Daughter ever felt  
WILL'S manly Parts, but rather thought him gelt,  
JAMES was but ill depos'd, whose fruitful Cods,  
Scatter'd a generous Race of Demi-Gods,  
While t'other unperforming puny Prig,  
Could only with his Page retire and fr--.

Alexander Robertson of Struan, *Poems. On  
Various Subjects and Occasions,*  
(Edinburgh, 1751 )

## *CONCLUSION*

In the ten years following the Hanoverian accession Jacobites published substantial quantities of material reproducing arguments in favour of a Stuart restoration. The impetus in this propaganda effort came from both commercially motivated and from politically committed authors, printers, and publishers. The role of the exiled Jacobite court in this process was limited, and can be closely defined. Neither Jacobite political leaders in England, nor interested groups such as the Roman Catholic or nonjuring churches, played any major part in directing or organising propaganda. Consequently although Jacobite political argument appeared in print in a variety of forms, there was no coordinated propaganda campaign, such as had been waged by Robert Harley under Queen Anne, and was being implemented by Sir Robert Walpole and by Lord Bolingbroke under George I and George II. There was no coherent sense of direction or purpose in Jacobite publishing, and little consistent attempt was made to influence public opinion over a period of time. The achievements of men like Mist and Flint are remarkable, although they have been little regarded by modern historians. But without effective political support from above they were doomed to be always whistling in the wind. James Stuart had many talented propagandists at his disposal, but their abilities were under-used. How far the ultimate failure of Jacobitism as a movement was a result of its failure to put its ideas across convincingly to a wide audience in England, and how much it is to be explained by other ( political, financial, military, and diplomatic ) factors, must remain a matter of conjecture. But the military position of the Hanoverian government in 1715 and in 1745 was far from secure, and it is easy to envisage a Jacobite restoration had a substantially larger number of Englishmen joined the Pretender's army, or even withheld support from the King.

Jacobitism remained an important factor on the English political scene throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, regardless of the actual level of the threat of a Jacobite invasion. Consciousness of the presence of an alternative Stuart monarch “across the water”, sustained by the considerable number of Jacobite publications before 1724, and also by the determined anti-Jacobite propaganda efforts of the government, influenced politics throughout the period. Even when government ministers were no longer preoccupied with the Jacobite threat, Jacobitism was used effectively as a smear to label opponents as disloyal and unpatriotic. Tories, even when they had rejected Jacobitism as a practicable or desirable political alternative, were continually faced with the problem of disassociating themselves from treason, and establishing their credibility as a loyal opposition. This difficulty remained even in the late 1740s and 1750s and was compounded when many tories were driven to flaunt Jacobite symbols as a badge of political opposition to the government, as happened at the Lichfield races in 1747, and at the ceremony to open the Radcliffe Camera in 1749.<sup>1</sup>

Jacobite political arguments, set out in pamphlets, newspapers, and broadsheets, demonstrate the eclectic nature of the Jacobite appeal. It is no longer sufficient for historians to dismiss Jacobites as simply nostalgic and conservative supporters of divine right monarchy.<sup>2</sup> Chapters 8 and 9 demonstrate that a significant number of Jacobites assimilated whig theories of government, allowing for resistance to tyrannical monarchs, emphasising the crucial role of the

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<sup>1</sup> See above pages 103-4 and 323.

<sup>2</sup> See for example E P Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters. The Origin of the Black Act*, (1977), 258; H T Dickinson, *Liberty and Property. Political Ideology in Eighteenth Century Britain*, (1977), 164, 166.

representative in the political system, and advocating some of the more radical proposals for Parliamentary reform put forward in this essentially conservative period. Doubtless some consciously adopted this stance as a useful method of attacking the whig administration, without really believing in resistance theory. But it is clear that there were whigs who were driven to espouse Jacobitism as a last resort when faced with a government which had reneged, as they thought, on so many cherished whig principles. Jacobite attempts to gain support across the political spectrum may have been a source of strength to the movement, although one suspects that more traditional Tories found it hard to stomach Jacobite writings which accepted that the revolution of 1688 had been justified, and argued that another revolution had now become necessary. Those Jacobites who used the works of John Locke in a radical way, supporting a demand for a violent overthrow of the government based on the rights of the people, helped keep Locke's writings from obscurity, and perhaps foreshadowed the use made of him by later eighteenth century radicals.<sup>3</sup>

If Jacobite propagandists were ideologically divided, there appears to have been a far wider social gulf. Chapter 10 demonstrates that Jacobite political leaders saw little practical application for the support which the Pretender enjoyed at lower levels in society. Jacobites shared a general conception of a political process in which the people had rights and interests which had to be represented in Parliament, but in which the people were not expected to participate, whether by voting or by direct political action. More popular Jacobite publications implicitly adopted a different viewpoint by reproducing Jacobite political argument, albeit in a personalised and often trivial way, for a large audience. Comparison of the chronology and

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<sup>3</sup> See above pages 258-9.



political content of Jacobite broadsheets, of riots and disturbances, and of seditious word cases, although not yet fully developed, suggests, a coherent pattern of plebeian involvement in Jacobite political activity between 1714 and 1724, and prompts the description, popular Jacobite sub-culture. The precise strength of plebeian Jacobitism can never be ascertained, but the weight of evidence indicates a substantial level of support for the cause in the lower ranks of society which has seldom been considered by its historians. It is against this background that government policy in the early years of Hanoverian rule must be judged.

The demise of the Jacobite press in the 1720s reflects the reasons for the decline of Jacobitism itself. On the one hand, government attempts at suppression and control appear to have been much more effective in the aftermath of the Atterbury Plot. On the other, disillusion engendered by the failure of successive expeditions and plots, and by the evident disunity and division among Jacobite political leaders, certainly set in among politicians and was probably passed on down the social scale. The lack of support for authors, printers and publishers forthcoming from political leaders was likely to foster this disillusion, and on a practical level left publicists without the backing and encouragement which might have enabled them to weather the storm. Both the author of *The Freeholder's Journal*, which folded at this time, and Nathaniel Mist, whose paper did not, complained bitterly of the absence of this support. At the same time the dearth of material published in the Stuart cause after 1724 no doubt contributed to the falling away of plebeian Jacobitism which had become evident by the 1740s. Thomas Carte warned the Pretender of the need for a consistent propaganda effort to sustain Jacobite opinion and sentiment in Britain; an effective response was never made.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Carte to James, c1739, RSM 216/111b; Carte to James, 4 May 1743, RSM 249/113.

## APPENDIX 1

### *JACOBITE NEWSPAPERS, PAMPHLETS, AND BROADSHEETS, 1714-66*

The graph on page 335 is designed to provide some indication of the scale and extent of Jacobite publishing during the period 1714-66. It does not pretend to be a complete account of Jacobite propaganda for those years, and suffers from a number of evidential and methodological defects, some of which are noted below. Nonetheless it does give a useful visual representation of the account of Jacobite publishing given in chapters 2 and 3.

1. *Broadsheets.* A large number of Jacobite broadsheets are to be found listed in David Foxon's invaluable catalogue of *English Verse, 1701-50*, and this forms the main source for this part of the graph. I have found a substantial number of Jacobite broadsheet ballads not included in this catalogue, however, most of which are preserved in the government's papers at the Public Record Office. These are listed separately at appendices 2 and 3. Prose Jacobite broadsheets, which fall outside the scope of Foxon's work, are listed in the bibliography. Foxon's extensive researches, supplemented by those of informers and government officials at the time, probably provide a reasonably comprehensive account of Jacobite broadsheet publishing. Nonetheless a number of problems remain.

The problem of defining a Jacobite work can never be wholly satisfactorily resolved. I have accepted Foxon's categorization for those works catalogued by him. In general I take as Jacobite only works expressing support, in some form, for a Stuart restoration, or attacking the Hanoverian royal family in such a way as could only imply a call for their replacement by another. Not all broadsheets can be dated with precise accuracy. In plotting these on the graph I

have given them a precise year, using a weighted average, so that if (for example) three were dated 1718-19, two would be plotted as from 1718 and one from 1719.

2. *Pamphlets*. The pamphlets included on the graph were all uncovered by my own researches, which do not pretend to have been exhaustive, and may not reflect the production of Jacobite works in some years. The term “pamphlet” covers an enormous variety of productions ranging from weighty nonjuring theoretical tracts to short popular works more comparable to broadsheets, and editions differed greatly in size.<sup>1</sup> In particular statistical representation on a graph conceals the vast qualitative difference between the more assertive and aggressive propaganda works of 1714-24, and the inward-looking, nostalgic and romantic dying speeches and histories of the aftermath of the '45. But I have included these pamphlets on the graph, differentiating them from broadsheets because this reinforces and expands the picture of Jacobite publishing given by broadsheets alone. Figures for the production of pamphlets confirm the dearth of Jacobite material available in the late 1720s, the 1730s, and the early 1740s, and indicate the nature of the small revival of the late '40s and early '50s.

3. *Newspapers*. The inclusion of Jacobite newspapers on the graph again reinforces the impression given of a concentration of Jacobite publishing in 1714-24. It has been impossible to show graphically the relative distribution of each paper: *Mist's* journals may have sold 8-10,000 copies per week, *The Freeholder's Journal* up to 8,800, and the others between one and two thousand.<sup>2</sup> The longevity of newspapers is dramatically shown, and compares to the relatively brief duration of the others. Of course not all issues of any given newspaper made Jacobite

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<sup>1</sup> See above pages 225-7.

<sup>2</sup> See above page 221-4.

statements, and there were qualitative differences between them; in particular between the plebeian journalism of *Mist*, Clifton and Powell in 1714-24, and the more literary and urbane *True Briton* of 1751-3. It is quite possible that I have not discovered other minor Jacobite newspapers. I have also plotted four leading opposition journals on the graph by way of comparison. These include *Common Sense* which received Jacobite subsidies and published one Jacobite essay in 1737, but which is more properly characterised, at least after its first couple of years, as an opposition whig journal.<sup>3</sup> Again the graph shows clearly that the Jacobite newspaper press preceded Bolingbroke's *Craftsman*, helping to establish a political consensus which Bolingbroke sought to exploit.

4. *Declarations*. Declarations produced by the Jacobite court are not included on the graph. Their inclusion would greatly increase the amounts recorded for 1715-6 and 1745-6, and further emphasise the lack of Jacobite material in the period 1725-42.

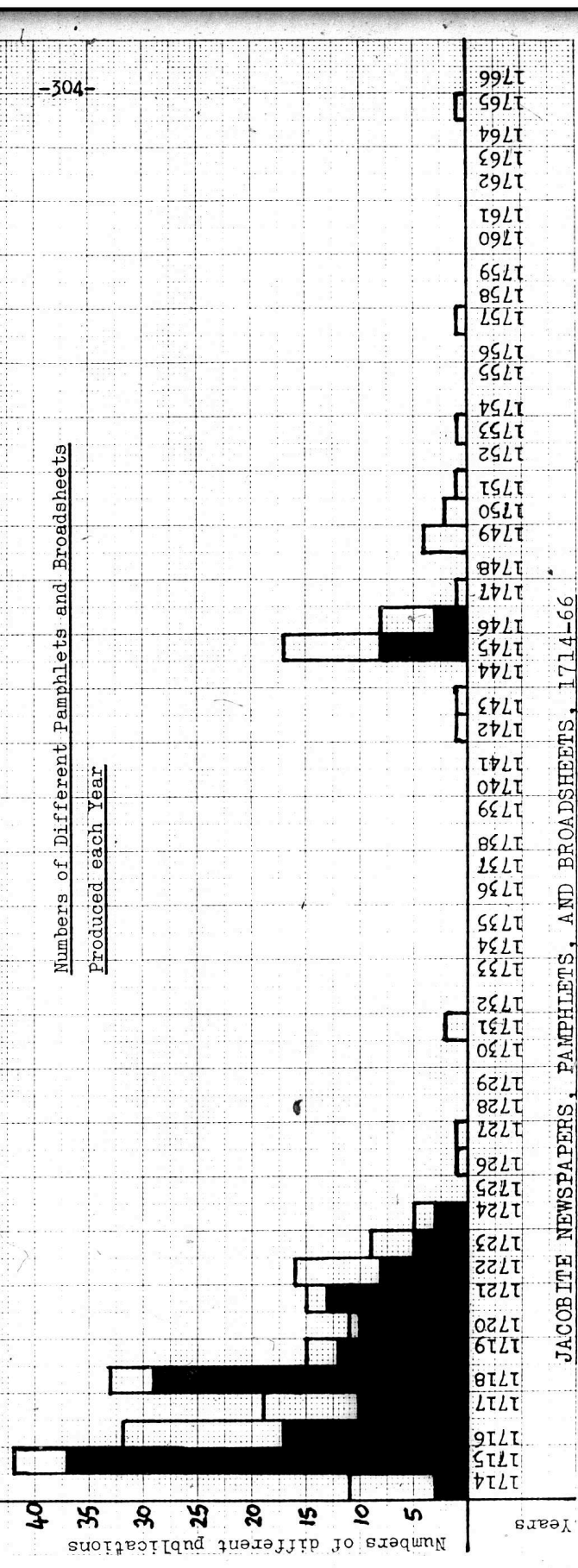
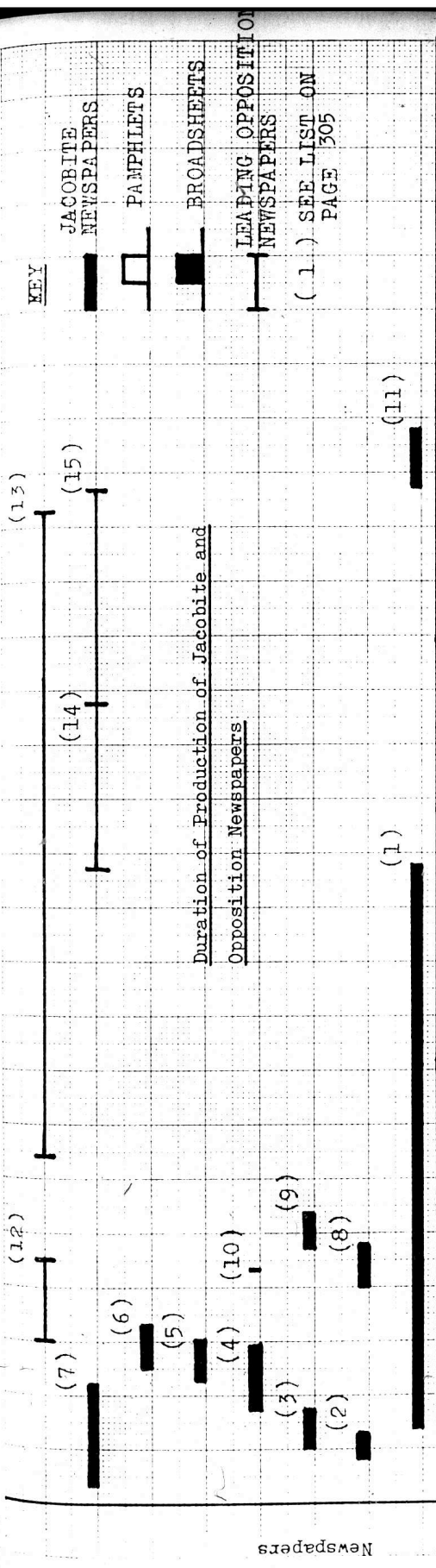
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Despite the limitations noted above, the three forms of publication plotted on the graph (broadsheets, pamphlets, and newspapers) combine to give an overall picture of the incidence of Jacobite propaganda which is convincing. If anything it underestimates the quantity of material available, but gives a fairly reliable indication its relative distribution over time. It clearly demonstrates not only that the peaks of Jacobite propaganda coincided with the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, as might be expected, but also that Jacobite publishing continued at a remarkably high level after 1715, and only collapsed in 1723-4. The break-down between different forms of

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<sup>3</sup> See above pages 90-2.

propaganda shows the prevalence of more popular works (broadsheets and newspapers) in the period 1714-24, and of pamphlets in the 1740s and 1750s. This impression is also confirmed by qualitative differences in the material (discussed in chapter 10) which are impossible to represent graphically.



JACOBITE NEWSPAPERS, PAMPHLETS, AND BROADSHEETS, 1714-66

NOTES TO THE GRAPH ON PAGE 304

1. Jacobite newspapers:

- (1) Mist's *Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post; Mist's Weekly Journal; Fog's Weekly Journal*
- (2) Flint's *Weekly Remarks and Political Reflections, Upon the most Material News Foreign and Domestick*
- (3) Flint's *Robin's Last Shift, The Shift Shifted, and The Shift's Last Shift*
- (4) Clifton's *The Oxford Post*
- (5) Clifton's *The Weekly Medley: Or, The Gentleman's Recreation*
- (6) Mrs Powell's *The Orphan Reviv'd: or, Powell's Weekly Journal*
- (7) Crossgrove's *The Norwich Garzette*
- (8) *The Freeholder's Journal*
- (9) The duke of Wharton's *The True Briton*
- (10) Earberry's *Monthly Advices From Parnassus*
- (11) Osborne's *The True Briton*

2. Opposition newspapers:

- (12) *The London Journal*, containing "Cato's Letters"
- (13) *The Craftsman*
- (14) Molloy's *Common Sense, Or The Englishman's Journal*
- (15) Fielding's *The Champion*

## APPENDIX 2

### JACOBITE BROADSHEET BALLADS

This appendix comprises a list of Jacobite broadsheet ballads and verse which are not included in David Foxon's *English verse, 1701-50. A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1975). It should be supplemented by reference to appendix 3, in which I have listed separately those works printed by Francis and Katherine Clifton. The main source for this list is the State Papers Domestic for the reign of George I at the Public Record Office. Although these ballads have been preserved as a result of their being taken notice of by the government, in almost all cases this was occasioned by their sale in the streets, and not through seizure before publication. Where possible the printer's name has been given after the date.



1. *A New Song on St. George's Day. And To The Glorious Memory Of Queen Anne. With the Restauration of King Charles the 2d To the Tune of, Now comes on the Glorious Year*  
[1715] BL 1876 f 1 (68)
2. *King Charles the Second's Restoration. Tune, The Duke of Ormond.*  
[1715] Bodl. Douce Ballads 3 (49)
3. *Poor Teague; Or, The Faithful Irishman's Joy, for the Duke of Ormond's Happy deliverance.*  
[1715] BL 1876 f 1 (72)
4. *Elergy on The much to be Lamented Death, Of Loyal Margaret. Who Departed this Life June the 6<sup>th</sup> 1717.*  
(1717) BL 1876 f 1 (95)
5. *A Pastoral Letter, printed on one sheet with Forty-One, A Speech deliver'd by the High-German Speaking Dog, when he had Audience at Kensington, and A New Song.*<sup>1</sup>  
[1718-19] BL Add MS 31152/60
6. *Free-Thinkers Confession. Written by the Author of the Hymn to the Victory in Scotland.*  
(1719) A. Hinde BL 11626. i . 11 (3)
7. *The valiant Heroes: O----d Ma-----sh*  
(1720)<sup>2</sup> SP 35/24/83

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<sup>1</sup> This piece is contained in a collection of printed and ms Jacobite verse and prose made by Thomas Wentworth, 3rd earl of Strafford. Copies of the first two of these verses, joined together, are at BL 1876 f 1 (83) (with a ms date 1718), and at Bodl Firth b 22 (21) (with a ms date 1719).

8. *A Song, Sung on the 10th of June, being the Birth-Day of the Shevalier de St. George, before the Pope of Rome.*
- (1720) A Hinde SP 35/21/122b
9. *The Lady's Case: or a Letter From an Injur'd Wife beyond Sea to a Munster Crack.*
- (1721) SP 35/28/62
10. *A Health to the lost Shepherd*
- (1721) SP 35/28/95
11. *The Church-man's new Health*
- (1721) SP 35/29/23
12. *The Happy Pair*<sup>3</sup>
- (1721) SP 35/29/36
13. *The Old T---p M--'s Letter To his Son concerning the Choice of a New P-----t. With his Son's Answer*
- (1721) SP 35/29/60 (2)
14. *The Honest Man's Resolution*
- (1721) SP 35/29/62 (3)
15. *The Restoration Ballad*
- (1721) SP 35/29/62 (4)

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<sup>2</sup> Dates are given as authoritative even where the broadsheet itself is not dated, where they are dated reliably by the source itself.

<sup>3</sup> This is also included in the collection at number 16.

16. *The Handsome Slave's Garland*, a collection of four songs, comprising *The Languishing Lady, who fell in Love with one of the young Slaves, The Distress'd Lover, The Extravagant young Man's Lamentation*, and *The Happy Pair*  
 1721-2 SP 35/30/2 (1)
17. *The Happy Lady*  
 (1722) Dodd SP 35/31/154
18. *A Prophetick Congratulatory Hymn To His Sacred Britannick Majesty King James the III. Written by Mr. ----- during his Concealment after his Escape from ----- . O.S. Left at his Lodgings.*  
 (1722) SP 35/40/60
19. *The Dutch Embassy*  
 (1722) SP 35/40/85
20. "The World now abandons poor Jemy"  
 (1723) SP 35/41/86 (1)
21. "Ah you Charmer of all Charming Lady's"  
 (1723) SP 35/41/86 (2)
22. *Dialogue between an ancient Citizen's Horse and a Country Plowman as they met together in Old-street Square*  
 (1723) SP 35/43/50 (1)
23. *A Song on The Happy Restoration*  
 (1723) SP 35/43/85 (1)
24. *The Shepherdes'es Lamentation for the loss of her Shepherd*  
 (1724) SP 35/49/74 (1)

25. *A Hymn to the Restoration*  
 (1724) Lightbody SP 35/49/74 (3)
26. *Poem by a Lady on seeing His Royal Highness the Prince Regent*  
 [1745] BL c 115 i 3 (76)
27. *The Highlander's Letter To his Master*  
 (nd) SP 35/65/27
28. *The Forlown Lover, A New Song*  
 (nd) SP 35/65/126
29. *What's the difference betwixt an Orange and a Turnip? or like to like as the devil said to  
 the Collier, both pernicious to England*  
 (nd) SP 35/66/65
30. *On Reading a certain Speech, printed on one sheet with The Spanish Expedition, The  
 Us--pers, and other verse<sup>4</sup>*  
 (nd) BL Add MS 31152/16
31. *The Age of Riddles<sup>4</sup>*  
 (nd) BL Add MS 31152/100
32. *Tom Brown's Letter From the Shades, to the French King in Purgatory*  
 (nd) BL 1850. C. 10 (55)
33. *A Dialogue between the Old Black Horse at Charing Cross, and the New One, with a  
 Figure on it in H-----er Square. To the Tune of the Abbot of Canterbury*  
 (nd) BL 1876 f 1 (87)

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<sup>4</sup> These verses were also in Lord Strafford's collection, (see note 1).

APPENDIX 3

*WORKS PRINTED BY FRANCIS AND KATHERINE CLIFTON.*

1. *Broadsheets and pamphlets*

1. *A True Copy of David Rowland, the Welshman's Most Strange and Wonderful Prophecy, Fortelling many Things, already past, now Present, and which are to come found in my Lord Powis's House, being left there 60 Years since: Together with Dr. Wheatstone's Explanation thereof*

(1716)<sup>1</sup> F. Clifton<sup>2</sup> 1d<sup>3</sup> J.<sup>4</sup> BL 1876. f. 1 (79)

2. *No Fence from Rogues, or turn in, turn out, turn up, turn down, turn which way you will, you can't save your Bacon*

(1718) Referred to at SP 35/11/14 as obtainable from Clifton.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All dates are given as authoritative even when the broadsheet itself is not dated, because they are dated accurately by the source itself.

<sup>2</sup> An indication of the authority for attributing these broadsheets to the Cliftons is given. F.C. or F. Clifton outside quotation marks indicates that those letters or words appear on the broadsheet itself. The prefix Ms, followed by quotation marks, indicates that an attribution has been made at the Secretary of State's office or by an informer. Other sources are explained where appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> The price is given for those broadsheets on which it was printed.

<sup>4</sup> The letter J indicates that the work has some Jacobite statement or symbolism, however trite.

<sup>5</sup> Copies of a few works listed have not survived, but were referred to in the State Papers. These have been indicated.

3. *A New Song Commemorating the birthday of her late Majesty Queen Anne of ever blessed Memory. To the tune of General Monck's March.*  
 (1718) F.C. J. SP 35/11/20
4. *The last dying words, character, portraiture, prison prayers, meditations, and ejaculations of Mr. John Matthews; printer: a youth of 18 years of age, who was executed upon Friday November the 6th, 1719, at Tyburn, for High-Treason against the King and Government (1719)*  
 SP 35/19/47
5. *An Outlandish Present, or a true Pattern of Love and Constancy: sent in a Letter from a Foreign Princess To Butler's Lady*  
 (1720) Ms "Clifton" J. SP 35/21/122b
6. *A Defence for the Ladies: Or The Virtues of the Broad Brim'd Hat, In Answer to the Hoop'd Petticoats*  
 (1720) F.C. 1d J. BL 1876 f 1 (91)
7. *The Tory's Wholesome Advice*  
 (1720) Katherine Clifton admitted to printing. J. SP 35/21/77
8. *The Sheppards Holliday, Or the Maidens Opinion of the Rose*  
 (1720) Ms "Clifton" J. SP 35/22/62
9. *The Whole Life and Character of that beautiful pious and illustrious Princess Sobieski who is by Proxy espous'd to the Chevalier. Containing Her Family, Birth, Education, Fortune and Nuptial Ceremonies*  
 (1720) F.C. 8pp. J. SP 35/24/68
10. *The honest Man's Observations, on the Biles of the Nation, with an Hue and Cry after the Much Money and little Honesty Who's running the Lord Knows whither*

- (1720) Ms “found in Clifton’s drawer” (Ms copy only) SP 35/24/72 (12)
11. *Sir James King’s Key to Sir George Horn’s Padlock*
- (1720) Francis Clifton J. SP 35/24/72 (13)
12. *The Wandering Jews Prophecy*
- (1721) Noted at SP 35/25/95 by Attorney General as printed by Clifton
13. *The Old Man’s Opinion of his Grand Son, Or, please him well ’tis all your own*
- (1721) Ms “Clifton” J. SP 35/26/29
14. *The Highland Lasses Wish*
- (1721) Ms “sung at Clifton’s” J. SP 35/29/60 (1), 30/2 (2)
15. *The Loyal Churchman’s Health*
- (1721) Ms “Clifton” J. SP 35/29/69 (1)
16. *Jeremiah Prat’s Letter to his Brother, and his Brother’s Answer*
- (1721) Ms “Clifton” J. SP 35/29/62 (2)
17. *A Dialogue between the Parrot and the Fox*
- (1722) Ms “Clifton” J. SP 35/33/53 (3)
18. *The Hunting of the Newfound Dear, with its last Legacy*
- (1722) Ms “Clifton” J. SP 35/33/53 (4)
19. *Counsellor Layer’s Letter To his Grace the Duke of N----- and the Right Honourable  
The Lord Viscount T-----d*
- (1722) Ms “Francis Clifton” SP 35/34/98 (1)
20. *Counsellor Layer’s Second Letter Deliver’d by his Wife, To his Grace the D. of N-----le  
With the Manner of his Grace’s receiving the Same*
- (1722) Ms “Clifton” SP 35/34/117 (1)

21. *The exact Effigies, Life, Character and Case of Francis Atterbury late Lord Bishop of Rochester. To which is added the Learned Speech made at his Promotion*  
 (1723) Francis Clifton SP 35/43/85 (2)
22. *An Hymn to the Restoration*  
 (1724) Ms "Clifton" J. SP 35/49/74 (2)
23. *The Butler and Steward's Key to the Cuckold's Padlock*  
 (nd) F.C. SP 35/66/66
24. *The Tale of the Robin, and the Tom-titt, Who all the Birds in the Air have bitt*  
 (nd) Katherine Clifton. J. Dated as 1729 by BM *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, II, 1839; but this is unlikely as Clifton fled abroad in the 1720s, and no other work printed by him or his wife has been found after 1724.
2. *Newspapers*
1. *The Oxford Post* (1717-19)
2. *The Weekly Medley: Or, The Gentleman's Recreation* (no. 1, 26 July, 1718)



## APPENDIX 4

### *JACOBITE DECLARATIONS, PAMPHLETS AND BROADSHEETS IN THE COUNTY RECORD OFFICES*

This appendix is a highly impressionistic piece of evidence which may offer some indication, (albeit negative), of the distribution of Jacobite propaganda in England. It is based on replies to a postal inquiry about Jacobite printed material contained in the County Record Offices and some city archives. It is not the result of a rigorous search through these archives, but depends entirely on the thoroughness and accuracy of each subject index. Undoubtedly these vary in quality between record offices. Not all County or City Record Offices were approached; CROs do not contain all the family papers preserved in their area. Many collections of printed material have been lost, and (in the case of treasonable political papers) have been destroyed. However the 36 offices used present the same view of Jacobite propaganda, suggesting that it did not circulate in large quantities in the provinces. I have listed all of the CROs contacted, although most had no Jacobite material, to give weight to this impression.

The majority of the surviving printed propaganda dates from the 1745 rebellion. Many of the declarations are to be found in the north and midlands, and it is probable that they were initially dispersed by the invading Jacobite army. A man by the name of Jervis was arrested in Stafford in January 1746 for possession of a Jacobite declaration, which he acknowledged were, “distributed in abundance at Congleton where I was when [the rebel army] pass’d thro it”.<sup>1</sup> The survival of a significant number of dying speeches, across the country, suggests that they were

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<sup>1</sup> SP 36/80/78.

regarded as a “safe” form of literature to own. It also indicates the popularity of this type of writing, particularly in the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion. Broadsheet ballads have been indicated by the letter b.:

BEDFORDSHIRE

BERKSHIRE

BRISTOL

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

CESHIRE

CORNWALL

*A true copy of the paper read by Mr. James Broadshaw and delivered by him to the sheriffs, just before his Execution at Kennington Common Friday ye 28th of Nov. 1746, (1746)*

CUMBRIA

DERBYSHIRE

DEVON

DORSET

DURHAM

A ms copy of Colonel Oxburgh’s dying speech is included in a letter commenting on the sentences given to the rebels in 1716. (D/Sa/C17)

ESSEX

*An Account of how the Highland army came into Manchester Novr 29 1745, (1745)*

*A plain, authentick and faithful Narrative of the several Passages of the Young Chevalier, (1765)*

HAMPSHIRE

HEREFORDSHIRE AND WORCESTERSHIRE

Fragment containing the dying words of William Paul and John Hall, executed in 1716 (889: 38/9 (3) )

HERTFORDSHIRE

*A Song*, (1715), b. “In a council of state,/Was a mighty debate”

*Let each have their own*, (1715), b.

*An excellent new ballad*, (1717-18), b. “The christ’ning was not yet begun’

HUMBERSIDE

KENT

LANCASHIRE

*The Speech of the Elector of Hanover to the pretended Parliament*, (1745)

3 manuscript Jacobite songs (1745), including one enclosed in a letter. (DDSc 19/33, 44/15; DDF 2439)

LEICESTERSHIRE

LINCOLNSHIRE

MANCHESTER

*The genuine trial of Francis Townley ... to which is added the trials of G. Fletcher, T. Chadwick, and W. Battragh [ie Brettargh], officers in ... Townley’s regiment*, (1746)

*A genuine account of the behaviour, confession and dying words of F .Townley, T. Deacon, J. Dawson....* (1746)

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*True copies of the dying declarations of Arthur Lord Balmerino, T. Sydall, D. Morgan...*, (1750)

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Declarations by the Old Pretender (1743) and the Young Pretender (1745). Charles Edward's proclamation to the Mayor of Carlisle, (1745). Copies of Jacobite proclamations reprinted in *The Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh, 1745)

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The bibliography contains all works which have been cited in the text and in the footnotes, except in the case of broadsheets. Appendices 2 and 3 list Jacobite broadsheet ballads other than those cited in David Foxon's catalogue of *English Verse, 1701-50*. The bibliography lists only broadsheets additional to those contained in Foxon or the two appendices. Works were published in London unless otherwise stated. Works are listed alphabetically by title or by author if known. Works listed under the same name are arranged chronologically.

Most contemporary works appeared anonymously. Where the author can be identified with reasonable certainty the name has been supplied without the use of square brackets.

Similarly publication dates have been supplied silently where this has been possible.

Capitalisation in titles has been standardised. The price of contemporary pamphlets has been recorded where it is available. In most cases the party affiliation of works has been supplied: J - Jacobite; W - whig; T - tory. These attributions cannot always be infallible.

	page
I. PRIMARY SOURCES	
i Manuscripts	353
ii Newspapers	355
iii Pamphlets	356
iv Broadsheets	375
v Contemporary works in modern editions	381
II. SECONDARY SOURCES	
i Bibliographies, works of reference, and collections	382

ii Books	383
iii Articles	385
iv Theses	385

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

I.i MANUSCRIPTS

The two principal Ms sources for this thesis are:

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Ballard Mss                      48                      Misc. Ms copies of political tracts



Carte Mss	175	Papers of the society for the publication of Carte's <i>History of England</i>
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*O Cruel Pressgang, (179-)*

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