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# **Rule Britannia**

**An analysis of the propaganda which fuelled the wave  
of belligerent nationalism in Great Britain**

**from 1719 to 1739**

**Oliver Thomson**

**PhD Thesis**

**Glasgow University**

**Modern History Department**

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine in depth the role which propaganda played in forcing Walpole's government to start the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739. There are a number of features which make this episode particularly interesting both as an example of the power of propaganda and as an example of the way in which a study of propaganda techniques throws new light on the political and artistic history of a particular period. Firstly it is unusual for an opposition rather than a government party to be going out of its way to create popular demand for a war. Secondly it is unusual to find so many writers, artists and musicians of the highest quality being recruited to assist in a propaganda campaign of any kind. Pope, Swift, Johnson, Gay, Chesterfield, Arne, Handel and Hogarth were among the list of contributors which included many other highly competent if less well known talents. Thirdly, while not unique, this campaign is nevertheless rare in providing an example of the use of a very wide range of media to achieve its ends: drama, ballad-opera, journalism, poetry, prose, satire, history, biography, painting, engraving, ceramics, sculpture and even architecture. Fourthly it provides a very interesting range of psychological techniques with heavy use of irony, a penchant for exotic metaphor and considerable reliance on the crude tools of tribal motivation. Finally the campaign provides an example of the way in which public hysteria can be created and developed by a group of leaders whose real short term objectives bear no relationship to the topic of the hysteria, who are substantially removed from its immediate consequences and totally regardless as to its long term effects.

The study is beset by two problems. It has perforce to straddle a number of different disciplines in that it must dovetail a historical causality with the content of literature, drama, music and the visual arts. There is not and can never be any direct proof that the propaganda actually caused the event, only an accumulation of numerous pieces of evidence which support a high degree of probability. Equally there is unlikely ever to be any conclusive proof that the huge outpouring of patriotic propaganda in the 1719 - 1739 period was all part of a concerted deliberate plan, only that there was a whole range of personal contacts suggesting a pattern of mutual influences and common objectives, a mixture of political jealousy, ideology and

commercial pressures which combined to sustain a united effort towards a single end. However, detailed study should produce sensible pointers to the motivation, structure, organisation and technical proficiency of the campaign.

Overall the campaign must be seen as a classic example of the way in which the power of propaganda, particularly nationalistic propaganda, is divorced from the responsibility for its consequences. The emotive connotations of the contrast between the patriotic opposition's aggressive posture against Spain and Walpole's apparent appeasement run very deep. The nurturing of corporate vanity in nations is one of the most common real causes of wars throughout history.



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# 1. The Political Background To The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear

"Sir Robert was forced into the war by the people who were inflamed to this measure by the most leading politicians, by their own orators and the greatest poets of the time..." Burke (1)

## (i) Preliminaries

Edmund Burke made his famous comment about Walpole's government being forced into the War of Jenkins' Ear more than fifty years after the event; he was referring back to a period when he was himself only ten years old. However his explanation has been accepted and developed by many subsequent historians. The complexity of the events makes it potentially a most interesting case study on the role of propaganda, particularly as an example of attitude manipulation leading to a probably unnecessary war. It acquires additional significance because this war has been shown to have led to a chain reaction of further wars (2) and the attitudes created were in turn also at least partly responsible for a prolonged imperialist posture which contributed substantially to those wars (3).

It is important therefore to examine whether Burke's basic comment on a reluctant government being forced into war by an opposition propaganda campaign was in fact true.

Secondly if it was true who was responsible, why did they want to promote a war and how did they manage to "inflame" the people?. This will lead to a detailed

1. E. Burke, Two Letters addressed to a Member of the Present Parliament on the Proposal for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France (London, 1796), 71-2.
2. R. Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies (Oxford, 1936), 59-64
3. G. Newman, The Rise of English Nationalism. A Cultural History 1740-1830 (London, 1987), 77.

examination of the use of media, the deployment of published literature, theatre, art and music as well as the more direct forms of propaganda to achieve a change in attitudes.

Before tackling the propaganda theme there are certain fundamental historical questions which must be addressed with regard to the background causes of the war of 1739. The first one is whether Walpole's government was, as suggested by Burke, actually reluctant to declare war. Clearly unless it can be shown that it was the administration's firm policy to avoid war and it could have succeeded in doing so by ignoring public opinion, the role of propaganda does not have any huge significance.

The War of Jenkins' Ear must be put into perspective as part of a long drawn out period of confrontation with Spain ever since the Treaty of Utrecht and its Asiento component sowed the seeds of conflict in the Caribbean (1). The confrontation had peaked in both 1719 and 1729 with the ill-fated expedition of Admiral Hosier to the West Indies. Not only the commercial rivalries of the Caribbean but also Gibraltar and later Georgia were potential sources of friction with Spain. So the war of 1739 was not particularly surprising.

Secondly it is worth emphasising that the actual declaration of war in October 1739 when Walpole made his famous pun about the people soon wringing their hands instead of bells (2) was only the final recognition of a *de facto* situation dating back several months. Vernon was already well on his way to the West Indies with reprisal orders in July, Admiral Haddock had with intervals been threatening the east flank of Spain from Minorca since May of the previous year and General Oglethorpe with his regiment in Georgia had been adopting a most aggressive posture for about the same period. The final irrevocable step to war had been taken by the Council on June 3rd 1739 (3).

1. J.O. McLachlan, Trade and Peace with Old Spain (Cambridge, 1940), 60-61.
2. W. Coxe, Memoirs of the Life of Administration of Sir Robert Walpole (London, 1798), I, 618n.
3. H.W. Richmond, The Navy in the War of 1739-1748 (Cambridge, 1920), I, 24:  
A.A. Ettinger, James Edward Oglethorpe (Oxford, 1936), 237-240.

The formal start of the war is therefore harder to relate to the main outbursts of public indignation. The actual decisions which more effectively committed Britain to war with Spain were taken mainly by Newcastle at earlier periods; letters of reprisals in April 1738, the first despatch of Haddock to the Mediterranean, the reinforcement of Georgia, the counter-order of March 1739 stopping Haddock's withdrawal from the Mediterranean and the despatch of Vernon to the Caribbean all spread out over a 15 month period (1). It is possible to relate these acts to Newcastle's well known personal fear of unpopularity. While individually they were relatively minor decisions they nevertheless led cumulatively to a position where war was almost inevitable. They were not one single cabinet decision forced by recognition of a specific public outburst. If there was one more significant than the rest it was the counter-order to Haddock, mainly because of the effect it had in making the Spaniards more aggressive, and this particular decision followed on the news of the marriage of Elizabeth Farnese's young son Don Philip and Louis XV's eldest daughter. This signal of Franco-Spanish rapprochement may have caused Newcastle and his colleagues more alarm than any domestic unpopularity (2).

1. H.W.V. Temperley, "Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear", Transactions of Royal Historical Society, 3rd ser., III, 1909, 198-203; P. Woodfine, "The Anglo Spanish War of 1739" in J. Black (ed.), The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe (Edinburgh, 1987), 192.
2. A. Browning, Newcastle (New Haven, 1975), 94.

## **(ii) Attitudes of the Government**

In assessing the alleged reluctance of the Walpole regime to start a war in 1739 it is essential to analyse the motivation of the two key decision-makers: Newcastle and Walpole himself, who to some extent seem to have acted separately from each other and certainly not always as part of any coherent cabinet policy. Throughout the eighteen month period during which war threatened, Walpole gave every indication of his firm belief in the possibility of settling the dispute without conflict (1). It was rumoured at various times that he had expressed willingness to surrender both Georgia and the right of the Spaniards to search British ships in order to achieve peace (2), and in both matters the original provocation for conflict had come from British subjects. In general Walpole tended to disown unauthorised British aggression over the Georgian border and illegal British trading practices in the Caribbean, because he did not regard himself as thus betraying any real long term national rights, only those spuriously claimed by fringe pressure groups. On occasions, Walpole did adopt a more aggressive posture, for example in the Convention debate when he strongly advocated no surrender on Georgia and no search in the Caribbean, but this was probably a vote winning pose or a palliative to the opposition, like his appointment of Oglethorpe to the commander-in-chief's post in Carolina (3).

Overall Walpole was perfectly consistent in working for peace, a policy traditionally admired by Whig historians, but condemned as appeasement by the opposition and by some subsequent Tory historians. Seen in the light of the Bolingbroke, later Chathamite, ethic of British imperial expansion, his lack of aggression towards Spain could be painted in dark colours, his patience as cowardice, his diplomacy as a failure to pursue the thrust of world conquest which later became the criterion for judging governments. His reluctance to make war in defence of unofficial British log cutters in the Honduras, semi-legal slave-traders in the Caribbean

1. J. Black, Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole (Edinburgh, 1985), 111-12.
2. Pares, War and Trade, 50.
3. J.A. Henretta, Salutary Neglect: Colonial Administration under the Duke of Newcastle (Princeton, 1972), 177-9.

or the expansionists of Georgia is more acceptable to those who do not simply see things in terms of empire, "my country right or wrong." Burke's statement that Walpole's entry into the war of 1739 was reluctant was probably close to the truth, but the suggestion that his reluctance was overcome because of pressure of public opinion must still be examined.

Newcastle, the minister specifically responsible for relations with Spain, played a much more ambivalent role than Walpole. Frequently he adopted a more belligerent stance than his senior colleague, though this was probably a mixture of political and diplomatic posturing rather than any real enthusiasm for war. He supported the illicit British log-cutting colony at Campeachy Bay - "the King can never give it up". He blustered about "no search" (1). He encouraged Oglethorpe to fortify St Simon's Island, Georgia, in 1736 and had moved Carolina troops southwards the year before, whereas Walpole several times ordered Oglethorpe to be more cautious in asserting his Georgian frontier positions (2). Some historians regard Newcastle's belligerence as the main cause of the war rather than his and Walpole's fear of public opinion. "The hostile climate of opinion that faced the Walpole ministry in the late 1730s was less significant than has been supposed." (3).

The view, that Newcastle had his own reasons for pushing towards war rather than either himself or with Walpole being swayed by an eruption of public protest, is borne out by examination of the build up of the Newcastle-Pelham faction within the cabinet (4). This points to the possibility that Newcastle and Pelham saw a belligerent policy against Spain as a help in building up their system of patronage with key posts going to their supporters while they managed colonial and military affairs, thus improving their chances of supplanting Walpole as chief minister. There was a great deal of competitive manoeuvring in allocating the much sought-after governorships of the North American colonies and the West Indian islands, many of which were left

1. Browning, Newcastle, 88-96.
2. Phinzy Spalding, Oglethorpe in America, (Chicago, 1977), 100.
3. Black, Foreign Policy, 170.
4. Henretta, Salutary Neglect, 146-9.

vacant in the immediate pre-war period while the internal cabinet struggle for power persisted. The suggestion is that if Newcastle took an active role in promoting war then his powers of patronage in the relevant sectors increased at the expense of Walpole, who might lose some of the initiative by concentrating on peace.

The relationship between Walpole and Newcastle may have been deteriorating simply as the younger man, encouraged by his brother, saw the possibility of succession to the premiership; and it may have been exacerbated by Walpole's wish to promote Hervey, whom Newcastle intensely disliked. It certainly has become clear that not many of the vitally important decisions on the deployment of force which pushed Britain towards the brink of war were genuine cabinet decisions (1). The delineation of responsibilities between Newcastle and Walpole was vague, the process of delegating and reporting far from efficient. It is also highly probable that Newcastle did have at least some political motives for edging Britain into war.

The presence of his brother Pelham, not officially part of the team, with Newcastle and Admiral Norris at the main meetings to decide on the handling of the Caribbean manoeuvres backs up the impression that the two brothers were developing a joint power base rather than working wholeheartedly for Walpole (2).

There is one further possible modification of this view that Newcastle was using a war policy as part of a joint drive for increased power alongside his brother. His warlike posture may not have been so much an actual desire for a war to help lever up his ambition, as a slightly misjudged attempt at brinkmanship designed to bully the Spaniards into submission. He may well have felt that the deployment of the fleet in 1729 without instructions to engage in combat had not been a failure, since a peace had been secured, and so in 1739 the same policy was tried with Admiral Haddock's cruise in the Mediterranean. If this was the case then there was probably at least an element of domestic as well as foreign public relations, so Burke's thesis

1. R. Sedgwick, "The Inner Cabinet from 1739 to 1741," English Historical Review, XXXIV, 1919, 296.

2. J.W. Wilkes, A Whig in Power, (New Haven, 1964), 39; Henretta, Salutary Neglect, 210.



is only marginally weakened.

There are also other signs of a pro-war attitude within Walpole's government even when he was doing his best to stop it. Martin Bladen, albeit a junior minister, was involved with a number of Caribbean expansionist ideas. In April 1739 he was advocating an aggressive frontier policy for Georgia and two months later promoting the idea of a new military colony in Darien. His protégé John Tinker, an ex-manager for the South Sea Company in Portobello, was being pushed as a candidate for the governorship of the Bahamas. Bladen himself was shortly afterwards heavily involved in mounting the preparations of expeditions to attack Cartagena and Havanah. The working relationship of Newcastle and Pelham with a man like Bladen is not insignificant; nor was their close friendship with the chauvinistic Earl of Lincoln, later naval governor of Newfoundland, and with the Lascelles family who were to become heavily involved in lucrative war contracts in the Caribbean.

While it does emerge that there is little sign of Walpole himself being influenced by public opinion to give up his policy of appeasing Spain, his colleague Newcastle made a series of executive decisions which cumulatively made war almost inevitable. These decisions may have been made as part of a long slow internal coup against Walpole or as a bluff to attempt to cow Spain or out of fear of unpopularity amongst a peer group who had been "inflamed" by anti-Spanish hysteria, or, as seems most likely, a blend of all three. The effect on Newcastle's judgement of a desire to escape criticism in parliament and in the media may or may not have been considerable, but according to the French minister "The English ministers gave out to their friends that this [dispatch of fleet] was only a gesture to please the mob" (1).

1. Pares, War and Trade, 38-9.

### (iii) Attitude of Spain

Before examining the pressures of political and public opinion on the government in more detail it is also important to clarify whether the war was actually wanted by the Spaniards, because if they did want it this might also nullify the Burke judgement. Certainly it is important to remember that it was Spain which actually broke both the Convention of Pardo by refusing to pay the agreed damages and Spain which also at the same time broke the Treaty of Utrecht by unilaterally cancelling the Asiento. But both these actions were only taken after the South Sea Company had refused to hand over the legitimate debts whose repayment had been a condition of the Convention(1).

Also by this time Spain was once more threatened, on Newcastle's instruction, by Admiral Haddock's fleet cruising off its eastern coast. Overall however it seems clear throughout that the Spanish government did not really want war. It felt threatened in Florida by Oglethorpe's encroachments on the Anglo-Spanish frontier there, and reacted provocatively by refortifying St Augustine and by publishing an edict in 1738 which offered freedom and sanctuary to slaves escaping from British Carolina or Georgia to Florida (2). Spain also always resented the loss of Gibraltar.

So far as the Caribbean was concerned the situation was highly complex in that Spain had delegated the policing of its colonial trade there to freelance "guarda costas" over whom it had very little control and some of whom, like Henriques of Porto Rico, were little better than pirates (3). Spain was no more able to control the excesses of the guarda costas who were unnecessarily violent in their searches of non-Spanish ships than the British were able to control the para-legal trading or smuggling activities of the numerous small merchants based in North America, the West Indies and Bristol or Liverpool who kept probing beyond the official limits allowed for trading in the Spanish Empire. Certainly Spain was if anything attaching more rather

1. Pares, War and Trade, 58-59; Woodfine "Anglo Spanish War", 188-9.

2. Ettinger, Oglethorpe in America, 198.

3. McLachlan, Trade and Peace, 89.

than less importance to its trading position in Central and South America. The foundation of the Caracas Company in 1728 and the increased number of sailings between Cadiz and the Caribbean, as well as generally increasing guarda costa activity, particularly in 1737 can be seen as evidence of this (1).

Theoretically the three areas of conflict - Georgia/Florida, Gibraltar and the Caribbean - were enough to make Spain contemplate war, but in fact its government was weak and unprepared, the king was mentally unstable, and his queen was not as aggressive as her portrayal in British propaganda. Spain had a further reason for not wanting war with Britain in that at least during the early part of the pre-war conflict her relationship with France was so unreliable that she felt isolated. Most of the time the chief negotiator La Quadra seemed as anxious as Walpole for peace. Except for a low patch in the early summer of 1738 when Haddock arrived at Minorca and Oglethorpe returned to Georgia, he remained optimistic for a successful outcome to the negotiations. By mid summer the optimism was back and during the remainder of the negotiations it was simply a question of the value of the settlement that Spain would pay as damages for the British shipping losses in the Caribbean to be offset against what the South Sea Company still owed for its share of the profits of the Asiento slave trade. After the British parliament had ratified the Convention of Pardo, Spain happily abandoned the coastal refortification work and fleet preparation which it had undertaken in mid 1738, thus revealing a preference for peace if given a reasonable chance (2). Similarly in Florida Spain had made preparations for a preemptive strike on Georgia in late 1737 but cancelled the plans in the spring of 1738 as it was wrongly convinced that Britain was abandoning its outposts on the Altamaha River (3).

Looking at the Jenkins dispute rationally it is quite clear that despite its many complications the actual differences were amenable to a peaceful solution, as they did indeed appear to be resolved by the Convention of Pardo. Even Bladen thought

1. R. Harding, Amphibious Warfare in Eighteenth Century (Woodbridge, 1991), 26.
2. Browning, Newcastle, 93.
3. Larry Ivers, British Drums on the Southern Frontier (North Carolina, 1974), 73.

outright war was an unnecessary expense. The Chancellor Hardwicke pronounced that there was no need for a war because it could be sorted out by diplomacy and he foresaw that war would force Spain into an alliance with France that would have much more long term damaging consequences (1). The negotiating teams of Keene, Stert, La Quadra, Geraldino and the rest were co-ordinated with substantial diplomatic professionalism and in a rational atmosphere. There was often awareness of public opinion: Keene commented "I have omitted no occasion of setting this court right on its notion of the motives of the present general dissatisfaction in England and convincing them that it does not arrive from any intrigues of party but from the just resentment of the whole nation occasioned by the cruel treatment of H.M.'s subjects received from the Spaniards" (2). Here is an element of the national hysteria of the Jenkins scandal being used by Keene to emphasise the necessity for Spain to pay appropriate damages, but it must be seen as the deliberate posturing of a determined diplomat with a clear brief from his chief minister to achieve a peaceful settlement.

Overall it appears that Spain was too vulnerable to have anything to gain by starting a war; Gibraltar was for the time being a lost cause, the Caribbean could be allowed to simmer with no great damage and the nearest thing to a serious threat, the expansion of Carolina and Georgia towards their territory in Florida, could be dealt with on a local basis. The British, on the other hand, even if inspired by ideas of imperial expansion, could have developed new colonies, like Bladen's idea for Darien, discreetly without causing open war. In so far as the undercurrent long-term fear of French rivalry was relevant in the current situation, the proponents of war seemed to want to ignore it. Everything except the thwarted ambition of the opposition pointed towards a negotiated peace. It had been both negotiated successfully and ratified by a government majority in parliament. The opposition's fulminations appeared to have failed. It was only the South Sea Company's refusal to pay its debts to Spain, plus Spain's reaction to that refusal, together with Newcastle's subsequent order to Admiral Haddock to resume his threatening cruise off Spain's eastern shores, that led to the

1. P. Yorke, Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke... (Cambridge, 1913), I, 190.
2. Temperley, "Causes", 212.

breakdown in the negotiated settlement. On the surface this might all seem to suggest that Burke's view of the role of propaganda in pressurising the government into war was invalid, but both the actions of the South Sea Company and Newcastle have to be set against the background of a population perhaps quite deeply stirred up to revenge against the Spaniards. Lyttelton, albeit a biased witness who had been involved in the propaganda effort, commented: "At last our merchants weary of these useless methods (the negotiations). I believe it is difficult to find a period when this nation was so universally and eagerly bent upon war as at this time" (1).

The interaction between the propaganda and the declaration of war may not have been as simple as suggested by Burke, but it may nevertheless contain some grains of truth.

1. G. Lyttelton, Memoirs and Correspondence of George Lord Lyttelton ed. R. Phillimore (London, 1845), I, 131.

#### (iv) The South Sea Company

The decisive role played by the South Sea Company in contributing to the outbreak of war needs special examination. Walpole had many supporters on the board yet failed to force them to fulfill the condition of the peace he had worked so hard to secure. It was in February 1739 that there occurred the final breakdown of payment negotiations between "the fire-eating directors" (1) of the Company and its creditor, the Spanish government. The motivation of the directors, however remains obscure. Keene was conscious of their baneful influence - "we must bow and cringe" (2). Peter Burrell, the sub governor, had been re-elected for a further three year term as effectively chairman of the company with a massive 1071 votes from the qualified members. He was a Walpole supporter and voted for the Convention, but the minutes of the company over the previous three years show the board's consistent concern to claw back the losses inflicted by Spain in 1718 and 1728. John Bristow, the deputy governor, also re-elected with a large majority to his position, also a Walpole supporter in the Commons, combined with Burrell to give the company strong, methodical leadership as is reflected in the number of their board meetings which were almost weekly during the crisis period and generally had a very high attendance of the thirty strong board (3).

Both Burrell and Bristow were Portugal merchants who were to win government contracts in the war. If anything the composition of the board in 1739 was even more pro-government than it had been in 1734-8. William Bowles, who had Carolina connections, had been removed while the Tory John Hanbury and John Merrick, Pulteney's friend and secret informer on the board, had both died (4). The first of these appears on the list of subscribers to the play Gustavus Vasa in 1739, an

1. Temperley, "Causes", 224.
2. Henretta, Salutary Neglect, 202-4; Temperley, "Causes", 222; McLachlan, Trade and Peace, 118.
3. British Library, Add. Mss 25, 544. passim.
4. Romney Sedgwick, The House of Commons 1715-54 (London, 1970), II, 121; I, 248; II, 105.

excellent indication of pro-war sympathies; but none of the thirty board members of 1739 was on the subscription list or had any known opposition inclinations except for Richard Jackson who had lost his seat in the Commons. Nor is there any sign of opposition voices on the committees or working parties set up by the company to sort out its problems. Even John Phillipson who had come in as a bit of a rebel during the turmoil of 1733 appears to have been won over by Walpole and supported the Convention (1).

Overall the minutes of the Board and of the General Court of the South Sea Company reveal a carefully calculated, well documented, professionally conducted insistence on the terms of the original Geraldino plan accepted by the company in June 1737, and rejection of the detailed terms of Pardo as "drawn up in loose and ambiguous terms" (2). Their decision not to pay the £68,000 appears to have been made without any internal argument at the February 12th board meeting at which they also decided to call a General Court meeting on 1st March. This duly endorsed their stand.

There is more than a suggestion that the company were major smugglers under the cover of the Asiento trade. Two former company officials, Dr John Burnet and Matthew Plowes, had betrayed the company in 1729 and denounced it for smuggling activities, presumably bitter because of their own meagre remuneration compared with the huge profits allegedly going to a few directors. Plowes believed that the British public blamed the South Sea Company for the undeclared war waged in 1729 (3). Most stockholders were city merchants who received dividends and at the same time lost business on the direct trade to the Spanish mainland because of the Asiento trade. Walpole's bias in favour of the company, perhaps for financial reasons, may have led him into being lax in forcing them to open their books and settle their accounts with the Spanish government. He failed to persuade the group of directors who were his

1. Sedgwick, House of Commons, II, 341.

2. B.L., Add. Mss, 25 544-45, 25 494-513.

3. V.L. Brown, "South Sea Company and Contraband Trade" in American Historical Review XXXI (1926) 662; McLachlan, Trade and Peace, 119.

supporters to override those who were not prepared to take the actions which would have led to his negotiated settlement with Spain being finally successful. It would be hard to believe that public opinion dissuaded him from being hard on the South Sea Company, because of all the pressure groups involved in the Spanish question it was one of the least popular. However it is possible that despite some government pressure to pay up and thus ratify the Convention of Pardo, the more bullish directors sensed a mood in the public that would not disapprove if they delayed in meeting the government's demands. Instead of appearing as greedy profiteers standing in the way of a just peace, they could fit in with the image projected for the rest of the city as struggling tradesmen resisting the depredations of an evil foreign government. If this scenario is broadly true, and there is no other obvious explanation for the facts, then the propaganda campaign waged by the opposition to force Walpole into a war with Spain had the by-product of shielding and justifying one of the key organisations in a position to halt the drift into war.

As a result the directors supported by their General Court voted against a money payment which could have preserved the peace and was no more than a normal dividend from their profitable, human cargoes. If, as has been suggested, a coterie of directors were making substantial additional profits from non-human, non-authorized trade, then perhaps their motivation would have been to risk going to the very brink of war and beyond rather than open up their books to inspection (1). Besides it has been further argued that the rewards of smuggling were being eroded by Dutch competition and heavy guarda costa activity (2). So the ending of their trade by a new war was not the disaster it might seem, especially if they could look forward to exciting military contracts. Overall therefore Woodfine's comment that the South Sea Company "more than any other body precipitated the ensuing war" is not unreasonable(3). But they did not do this as opponents of Walpole, rather got away with it because of the psychological climate created by Walpole's enemies.

1. E.G. Hildner, "The Role of the South Sea Company in the Diplomacy leading to the War of Jenkins' Ear" in Hispanic American History Review, XVIII (1938), 56.
2. Ibid, 67.
3. Woodfine, "Anglo Spanish War", 187.



## **(v) Bolingbroke**

Having examined briefly the motivations of the British and Spanish governments during the events leading up to the War of Jenkins' Ear, it is now necessary to look at a third major grouping, the British opposition parties and their component lobbies. The opposition represented not one cohesive party but a disparate group of former Whig ministers displaced by Walpole, plus a loose amalgam of Tories and Jacobites, all largely disunited except in their one overriding desire to bring down Robert Walpole. They were willing to clutch at almost any issue significant enough to rally opinion inside or outside parliament against the chief minister. The Excise Bill had been such an issue six years earlier; now they latched on to Walpole's reluctance to make war against Spain as a chink in the armour of his cabinet which might be exploited. Also, at a time when he still had an overwhelming majority in parliament, the opposition saw the potential for Spanish behaviour in the Caribbean to be portrayed as a national humiliation for the British which could be, like the Excise Bill, an emotive focus for extra-parliamentary agitation. Thus all the major opposition politicians wanted war in 1738/39, their real reason almost certainly in every case being to divide Walpole from his supporters either because he would refuse to make the war or, if he made it, would do so ineffectively. In due course it is not unlikely that these politicians came to believe their own propaganda, couched as it was in highly emotional, nationalistic terms, but it is also probable that they were not concerned with the detailed reasons for, or consequences of, the war which they were so eagerly advocating.

Most highly motivated of all the opposition politicians and most dependent on extra-parliamentary activity was Viscount Bolingbroke. The former Tory leader, Jacobite and ex-senior minister, had been condemned for treason, exiled, allowed to return but was still banned from all hope of entry to parliament or office. In 1738 he had been out of office, mostly in France, for twenty four years, but his influence remained significant (1). In this long, fruitless and always really hopeless battle to restore his own political career Bolingbroke had been compelled by his ostracism to

1. H.T. Dickinson, Bolingbroke (London, 1970), 247-8.

seek new techniques in order to pursue his vendetta against Walpole. In terms of pioneering new propaganda methods he must be seen as a figure of considerable stature in the history of the manipulation of the media. He wrote to Swift:

"This monstrous beast (the public) has passions to be moved, but not reason to be appealed to ... the plain truth will influence half a score of men at most in a nation, while mysteries will lead millions by the nose." (1)

Bolingbroke had begun cultivating and using a group of distinguished poets and prose writers as early as 1711 (2). He later went on to develop new techniques of newspaper journalism which led to the creation of a whole new layer of middle class political articulacy. Above all he was the prime architect of the patriotic theme which dominated opposition ideology in the 1720-40 period. This began as an appeal for putting the interests of country before those of party and place, and as the constant criticism of government for corruption and self interest; but gradually the patriotism came to include jingoistic pride in the British nation and acute sensitivity to the very idea of foreign encroachment.

"It is time for all who desire to be esteemed good men and to procure the peace, the strength and the glory of their country ... should join their efforts to heal our national divisions and change the narrow spirit of party into the diffusive spirit of national benevolence."(3)

Thus for Bolingbroke patriotism became a moral stance against which those who condoned violation of Britain's international rights could be depicted as virtual traitors. He had of course as a minister many years before helped to pioneer the image of blue-water imperialism, of transoceanic colonies rather than wasteful continental conquests. Then his main objective had been to undermine the prestige

1. Bolingbroke, Works, ed. F.E. Ball (London, 1910-1914), II, 89.
2. I. Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle (Massachusetts, 1968), 10-12.
3. Bolingbroke, Works II, 24.

of Marlborough as the Captain General appointed to lead the British continental armies against Louis XIV by his Whig predecessors (1). As propagandists for the destruction of Marlborough Bolingbroke had hired Swift to write The Conduct of the Allies, Mrs Manley to write her Atlantis and later Alexander Pope his Windsor Forest. All these works contained elements of the theme which was later developed in order to undermine Walpole from a totally different standpoint. As a minister Bolingbroke had put his non-continental imperialism briefly into practice with the Canadian and Caribbean clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht and the Asiento itself. Then having thrust himself into the political wilderness by his indecisive mishandling of the Hanoverian succession, he clung in exile to his policies of opposing wars in Europe, opposing standing armies on grounds of expense and their possible use for domestic oppression, and favouring the expansion of the navy and the development of more overseas trading colonies on grounds of potential profit. In the pre-exercise period he exploited the emotive side of a number of foreign policy problems: the threat to Gibraltar in 1727, the failure of the government to protect British West Indian trade in 1728, the irresolution of Admiral Hosier and the navy in 1729, the weakness of the South Sea Company, the Spanish trade rivalry, the concessions made to the Austrian-owned Ostend Company, the use of Hessian troops by Walpole in 1730 and France's secret refortification of Dunkirk in 1731 (2). He used his own highly successful newspaper, The Craftsman, as a means to pursue his obsession to unseat Walpole and regularly as part of his ongoing campaign to exploit the xenophobic theme as one of his main techniques to build up irrational prejudices. Amongst many inspirational comments it was he who suggested to Pope the idea of Horatian satires and his hand can be detected in many other media.

Thus for nearly thirty years Bolingbroke had been operating on the national psyche:

1. Dickinson, Bolingbroke, 70-89.
2. The Craftsman, 7 Apr. 1727, 2 Sep. 1727, 28 Dec. 1728, 4 Jan. 1729, 18 Jan. 1729, 24 Jul. 1731.

"Why should foreigners take the bread out of the mouths of Englishmen ... is what sticks in English stomachs." (3)

His specific contribution to the propaganda effort both as innovative newspaper publisher, as a journalist and writer himself and a patron of others, will be dealt with in more detail later; but it is important to consider a broad initial view of his methods. Ever since his first involvement with "The Brothers" (Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, Parnell and the others) in 1711, he had been orchestrating the output of a widening circle of poets, dramatists, journalists, ballad-writers and caricaturists in order to lace their work with nationalist innuendo. He provided an oratorical theme for a whole generation of opposition politicians to help develop their careers, particularly Pitt who became his most successful disciple. The appeal of his xenophobic, expansionist but anti-army theme to the lesser gentry and the city merchants was considerable. Its true power lay in the effects of decades of repetition of barbed prejudices, which meant in the end that a relatively minor incident like the injury to Captain Jenkins could easily be turned into a national outrage. By chance Bolingbroke was on one of his rare visits back to Britain in 1738, having been in exile again since 1735. He lodged with Pope at Twickenham while he attended to the sale of his own house at Dawley, but this provided an opportunity to meet the Prince of Wales, an event which inspired the writing of The Patriot King in December, following his Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism from 1736. The presence of Bolingbroke with Pope at Twickenham during those particularly febrile months suggests that, encouraged by his understanding of the new stance of Prince Frederick, he once more played an active part in orchestrating "the inflaming of the people"(2). His overall contribution to the creation of populist nationalism and a new colonial ideology in Britain, albeit it was for him no more than a means to the end of embarrassing Walpole, had substantial long-term effects. The outburst of activity from so many of his favourite writers in favour of war and empire was more than mere coincidence. Erratic in his judgement and suspect in his

1. Ibid, 13 Apr. 1733.

2. M. Percival (ed), Political Ballads, Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole (Oxford, 1916), 117.

motivation Bolingbroke may have been; but as an organiser of propaganda he was almost uniquely skilful.

Before turning to the artistic propaganda campaign in detail it is essential to review briefly the motivations and relevant skills of other opposition politicians. These can be considered under three headings: opposition Whigs, Tories or Jacobites, and specific pressure groups.

## (vi) The Opposition Whigs

The opposition Whig leader in the Lords was Carteret, a former minister with Walpole. Out of office for eight years already, he was an able orator whose main objective, like that of so many of his contemporaries, was to unseat Walpole; and he was one of those who had most to gain by doing so, since he did in the end virtually succeed him in 1742 (1). He was also an effective developer of the patriotic theme: "I am not for war, but if they disturb our navigation let us disturb theirs"(2); "The Cardinal (Fleury) would not suffer a minister to come into the tenth anti-chamber that should talk of searching French ships"(3); "I can call this treaty nothing else but a mortgage of your honour, a surrender of your liberties"(4). It was with such oratory that Carteret extracted from Newcastle the parliamentary admission that Spain was insisting on the £68,000 repayment of South Sea Company debts offsetting the £95,000 agreed in the convention of Pardo, to leave only a net £27,000. "This nation had never so little influence upon the councils of Europe as since we pretend to give weight to our negotiations by maintaining or increasing peaceable armies or fitting out harmless squadrons"(5). This was the theme which the opposition turned into a rich seam by constant repetition. Carteret was one of the significant orators of the pro-war movement, and though not so interested as Bolingbroke in mass communications he did have a number of literary connections. As Lord-lieutenant of Ireland he had suffered substantially from Jonathan Swift's propaganda campaign on the Irish coinage and indeed had yielded to it, but subsequently became an admirer and friend of the author (6).

1. B. Williams, Carteret and Newcastle (London, 1966), 104-21.
2. Parliamentary History, X. 731.
3. Ibid, X. 877.
4. Ibid, X. 1120.
5. Ibid, X. 1160.
6. Williams, Carteret, 75-7, 90.

He is also recorded as having enjoyed a long conversation with Gay at the Duchess of Queensberry's (1). In addition he did some useful pioneering work on the reform of authors' royalties, having been particularly shocked by the treatment of the historian Rapin by the publisher Knapton. Also, as a major Carolina landowner Carteret was an enthusiastic supporter of Oglethorpe in Georgia which he therefore had a vested interest in protecting (2). Back in 1733 he had made a strong attack on the South Sea Company (3) so he had a number of reasons for taking an aggressive stance in 1739. "No search", he thundered. "No search my lords is a cry that runs from the sailor to the merchant, from the merchant to Parliament and from Parliament, my lord it ought to reach the throne"(4).

Leader of the Whig opposition in the Commons was William Pulteney, another disillusioned former supporter of Walpole with a reputation both as an orator and as a publicist. Pulteney had formed a close association with the Tory Bolingbroke in 1728 when he played a major part in the creation of The Craftsman as the most effective political newspaper of the period, and he is known to have contributed a number of hard-hitting, wittily ironic articles to the paper (5).

As Commons opposition leader Pulteney, like Carteret, theoretically had much to gain from the deposition of Walpole, but in fact he always declared that he had no interest in high office and when Walpole fell he stuck to his principles. The earldom which he received may reflect his motivation or he may have been quite genuine. As a founder member of the original group nicknamed "the Patriots" he was a firm upholder of Bolingbroke's blue water policy and an ardent imperialist. In May 1738 he declared "We have no need of allies, the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers"(6),

1. Ibid, 90.

2. Ettinger, Oglethorpe, 117-20.

3. Gentleman's Magazine, Apr.1733.

4. Ibid, Apr. 1739.

5. Dickinson, Bolingbroke, 185, 217-18.

6. I.S. Leadam, The History of England from the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II, 1702-1760 (London, 1909), 358-9.

and in the Convention debate of March 1739 "it is scandalous to the British nation"(1). His record of attack on Walpole with regard to the Spanish question went back to 1729, and, since it is unlikely that a man of such ironically witty temperament would be influenced by chauvinist hysteria, it can be assumed that he was an instigator of it. Not only was he an active speaker and co-founder contributor to The Craftsman but he produced a number of skilfully concocted pamphlets, including specifically A Review of all the Disputes between Great Britain and Spain 1721-1739: In addition he is credited with writing a number of popular political ballads (2). These included in May 1738 the highly aggressive Negotiators to the tune of Packington's Pound, with its sly innuendo against Walpole:

"And since he so often has ventured a Halter.

Who knows but at last he may give up Gibraltar" (3)

and cunning bathos harping on the old theme:

"Nor mourn lost Liberty, Riches and Ears".

Overall Pulteney stands out as a remarkably persistent and diligent manipulator of the media, if not quite so original or extreme as Bolingbroke. One of his aides was Samuel Sandys, the Worcester M.P. who was close to Rushout, a keen sugar lobbyist, neighbour of Lyttleton and with his wife a minor patron of James Thomson. Both subscribed to Gustavus Vasa.

The third major opposition Whig, and himself also an able communicator with propaganda expertise, was Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield. He too was highly motivated to bring down Walpole although he did not return to office in Carteret's ministry of 1742.

1. Gentleman's Magazine, Mar. 1739.
2. Percival, Political Ballads, 108.
3. Ibid, 109.



Like Pulteney he had been very close to Bolingbroke and was very much part of the literary set, both as an able writer himself and as a friend of Pope, Swift, Fielding and Johnson (1). His role therefore as a senior link between the parliamentary opposition and the anti-government literary lions needs further examination. Like both Carteret and Pulteney he was a stylish orator who could exploit the emotive issue of national humiliation. Typical was his speech in the Convention debate, when he raised his eyes to the large tapestry in the House of Lords depicting "the immortal navy" and asked "if there are any historical looms now at work? ... Let us for once speak the sense of the nation and let us regain by our arms what we have lost by our counsels" with his subtle repetition of the phrase "it is almost 20 years since"(2).

In 1737 Chesterfield was co-founder along with Lyttelton of the new opposition newspaper Common Sense, which seized the initiative from the almost moribund Craftsman and became the most successful opposition weekly. In this enterprise he showed skill both as publisher and journalist. He was also a gifted writer of pamphlets, albeit his most well-known ones followed the outbreak of war: i.e. The Case of the Hanover Forces Vindicated and The Interest of Hanover steadily pursued were prominent in the campaign which brought down Carteret in 1744 and were simply an extension of the pre-1739 patriotic theme, all material according to Horace Walpole "aimed at inflaming the lowest classes"(3).

He is known also to have written at least one anti-Walpole ballad, The Cambro Briton in 1727, and probably several others (4). He was thus seen in his own time as a significant propagandist and this must be examined further. His style is typified in his letter to Stair in early 1739: "The sleeping lion is roused and one hundred and

1. Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle, 17.
2. Yorke, Hardwicke 1, 188-9; Parliamentary History, X, 1187-89.
3. Horace Walpole, Letters, ed. P. Toynbee, I 396; II 6.
4. Percival, Political Ballads, 7.

twenty men of war now at sea and forty thousand land forces in England will show our enemies abroad they have assumed too much ..." (5).

Moving now to the younger generation of opposition Whig orators the fastest rising star in 1739 was ex-cornet William Pitt. He had been in the Commons for only four years, but he had earned notoriety and dismissal from the army for a speech on the Prince of Wales's wedding (2). He was the leading protégé of the Cobham and Lyttelton group or the Young Patriots, subsidised by a legacy from the Duchess of Marlborough. He was also patronised by the ubiquitous Duchess of Queensberry, sister of Cornbury, and had begun to develop his relationship with the London merchants by joining with the Prince of Wales and Lyttelton in hosting a dinner at Carlton House in 1736 at which there were toasts to "Liberty" and "The Royal Navy" (3). Among his key contacts from about this time was William Beckford, the absentee sugar plantation owner, massively rich and recently returned from Jamaica, about to become a leading light of the West Indies lobby and later a major influence on Pitt's own New World imperialist policy. Through Lyttelton and Cobham, Pitt also became friendly with some of the younger literary set, particularly James Thomson - Pitt and Lyttelton actually helped to shift scenery for Thomson a few years later on the first night of his Tancred (4).

While unquestionably motivated by personal ambition, pique and the desire to achieve Walpole's dismissal, Pitt's desire for war in 1739 was probably more sincere than Carteret's or Chesterfield's, because he was young enough to have been brought up on the propaganda of the post-Marlborough period and the ideas of Bolingbroke. Add to that the influence of men like Beckford with his well-thought out commercial expansionism and Pitt acquired a clear, uncomplicated and fanatical imperialism which was to make him "a voice of destiny" to the next generation. His speech on the Convention showed early signs of the emotional invective which was to be one of his

1. Letters of Philip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield, ed. B. Dobrée (London, 1932) II, 372.
2. S. Ayling, The Elder Pitt (London, 1976), 53-5.
3. Ibid, 56.
4. D. Grant, James Thomson (London, 1951), 235.

oratorical hallmarks: "the complaints of your despairing merchants and the voice of England has condemned it ... a stipulation of national infamy, an usurpation of inhuman tyranny, insecure, unsatisfactory and dishonest." The parliamentary reports of the Gentleman's Magazine may not have been verbatim, but Pitt's distinctive style shines through. His blatant appeal to irrational prejudice, xenophobia and the fear of continental entanglement derived very much from the vocabulary of The Craftsman with biting sarcasm at the expense of his victims; "our honest admirals triumph over Sir Robert and Spain"(1).

William Temple, Viscount Cobham was the somewhat enigmatic figure behind Pitt in his early days in parliament. Cobham was significant not for his parliamentary performances, which were almost non-existent, but because of his catalytic power to develop young political and literary talent in the patriotic cause. Dismissed by Walpole for opposing the Excise Bill, Cobham set about using his money to embarrass Walpole. In 1734 he helped found the Liberty or Rumpsteak Club, a haven for anti-Walpole politicians. During 1735 at Stowe he entertained Pitt, his cousins the Grenvilles and Lyttelton, the nucleus of his political group, then brought in poets such as Pope and Thomson so that there was an interchange of ideas. With the additional help of his wife's money - she was the daughter of a brewer and shortly to take part in parliamentary protest as one of the "Heroines"(2) - he was turning his house at Stowe into an architectural and horticultural embodiment of the patriotic theme. His gardens were dedicated to the British nation and its heroes, with a Temple of British Worthies, statues commissioned from Rysbrack and Roubiliac, and landscaping advice from Pope. They were a three-dimensional expression of the Bolingbroke theme, a training ground for the new poets and politicians. Cobham's unique role as co-ordinator of political and artistic talent must be examined in more detail later as it was clearly of considerable importance (3).

1. Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1740.

2. See below p31.

3. L.M. Wiggins, Faction of Cousins; the Grenvilles 1733-63 (Yale, 1955), 51-5.

Almost as important as Cobham as an inspirational leader of the young patriots was George Lyttelton who built his own British Temple at Hagley where he too could entertain the wandering poets. He was a promising parliamentarian (although soon overshadowed by Pitt), an energetic patron and recruiter of poets and dramatists for the anti-Walpole group, in fact an active poet and pamphleteer himself and co-publisher with Chesterfield of Common Sense. In particular he was a link between the younger politicians and the Prince of Wales, whose secretary he became. He was excellently connected; he had been with Pitt, Dashwood, Fielding and possibly Arne at Eton, and he continued to build on his contacts. For a while he was highly rated as an adversary by Walpole: his own speech on the Convention expressed considerable aggression: "the reign of the weakest and the most cowardly king that sat upon the throne"(1).

Beneath this layer of highly talented parliamentary performers, most of whom also had wider communication talents, there were a number of other enthusiastic Whig opponents of the ministry who gathered in sub-groups round Pulteney, the Prince of Wales, the sugar lobby or other trading interests.

1. Gentleman's Magazine, Mar. 1739.

## (vii) The Scots

A further significant group amongst the opposition were a number of Anglo-Scottish aristocrats. The Duke of Argyll, a late defector from Walpole, and a highly regarded general, brought considerable respectability to the patriots; but he had extensive contacts from an earlier period with the patriotic fringe. Living as he did at Richmond, he consorted with the Countess of Suffolk, Pope and the rest of the Twickenham group, while his own tame architects, the Morris cousins, were also involved in political pamphleteering. Hugh Hume Campbell, Lord Polwarth was perhaps the most able member of the Scottish opposition, frustrated because he was excluded from the Commons in 1740 as a Scottish peer and from the Lords because he was not chosen as a representative peer by Lord Islay. Walpole had earlier rated him highly: "When I have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate" (1). He produced a number of well-written pamphlets on the Spanish crisis of 1739, such as A State of the Rise and Progress of the Dispute with Spain whose content will be discussed later. He too was a connecting link between Bolingbroke, Pope, who appointed him as his executor, the publisher Dodsley, Cobham, Stair and the rest of the patriotic set. His cousin Grizell Baillie was a link with Thomson, Mallet and the literary set. His own thwarted political career forced him, like Bolingbroke, to look for sources of influence outside parliament, and his strong emotive stance was typical of his group: "Our honest merchants are treated like pirates by Spaniards who are themselves fiends" (2). Other Scots included William Murray, later Earl of Mansfield (1705-97), who had been at school at Westminster with Beckford and who perhaps partly as a result of this was asked to represent the London merchants in their 1738 petition against the Caribbean depredations. He also became a friend of Pope who dedicated his Imitation of the Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace to him, and whose personal lawyer he became in 1737. Other Scottish dukes included Charles Douglas of Queensberry, husband of the irrepressible Kitty, supporter of Gay, friend of the Prince of Wales, and

1. Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 1973), X, 227.

2. H. Hume Campbell, A State of the Rise and Progress of the Dispute with Spain (London, 1739), 21.

subscriber to Gustavus Vasa. The Jacobite Duke of Hamilton similarly supported Gustavus Vasa - there was a whole group of Hamiltons in the Prince of Wales opposition set - as did James Graham, Duke of Montrose, an enemy of Walpole since 1733, and a resident of the merchant city of Glasgow. He was patron of the patriotic poet Mallet who tutored his son Lord George Graham, one of the professional naval officers who later sat in the House of Commons. Similarly the Earl of Haddington, tutored by Thomson, subscribed to Gustavus Vasa. Finally, of this group of Scottish aristocrats in the anti-Walpole lobby was Viscount Stair, another reasonably distinguished army commander, now an opponent of Walpole and a close friend of Polwarth. Stair, like Polwarth, bitterly resented his failure to be picked as a representative Scottish peer, resented Walpole's high-handedness and as an old soldier believed wars could easily be won: "I shall take it for granted that Great Britain has it in her to make a prosperous war against Spain"(1). He patronised the minor patriotic poet, another Scot, Samuel Boyse.

The existence of this Scottish group is surprising, particularly when considered alongside Mallet and Thomson, two Scottish poets, who were most closely identified with patriotic propaganda, joint claimants to the authorship of Rule Britannia, plus a number of entrepreneurial Scottish publishers such as Andrew Miller who published his edition of Areopagitica at the height of the Jenkins debate, and George Hamilton who worked for both Thomson and Pulteney. The Act of Union was still quite recent and Jacobitism, a totally different kind of patriotism, was quite prevalent amongst the opponents of Walpole. The evocation of Scottish nationalism, for instance in Fog's Weekly Journal in July 1737 and in Jacobite poetry, echoes the tone of Thomson's British nationalism. Whether anything more can be read into it than thwarted careers must be assessed later, but Scots did make a surprisingly large contribution to the flowering of British nationalism in the 1730s. The same is true to a lesser extent of the Welsh, with the poet David Morgan and the political group of John Morgan and Watkin Williams Wyn (2).

1. Sir G.H. Rose (ed), Marchmont Papers, II, 170.

2. H. Erskine Hill, "Literature and the Jacobite Cause" in Ideology and Conspiracy-Aspects of Jacobitism ed. E. Cruickshanks (Edinburgh 1982), 56-9.

Connected also with these groups was Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury to whom Bolingbroke dedicated his Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism and who earned a lasting reputation for integrity, if for nothing else, by turning down one of Walpole's pensions in 1732. As Tory M.P. for Oxford he had Jacobite leanings and was the brother of Kitty, Duchess of Queensberry, another patron of Pope, friend of Cobham, Mansfield and Pitt. Though he never lived up to his political promise he was not an insignificant part of the patriotic nexus.

So far it is clear that there was a considerable grouping of senior opposition figures, many of them with political talent, several with journalistic or literary ability and all with significant contacts with the main writers of the day. They all disliked Walpole's regime on principle and, often because they had lost office through opposing his will, they had fallen under the spell of Bolingbroke's anti-corruption, patriotic theme. They had all sensed the power of public opinion harnessed to undermine Walpole during the Excise crisis of 1733 and they all saw in his appeasement of Spain a chink in his political armour. They all began therefore to champion the suffering West Indian merchants without any real examination of the moral issues or deep thought as to the consequences. They backed the media expressions of horror about the Spanish guarda costas' ill-treatment of British sailors, quite oblivious to the fact that British sailors suffered equal harshness at the hands of their own ships' captains and quite oblivious to the fact that war with Spain would create a chain reaction of conflict. In fact as aristocrats they turned it into an affair of honour, a romanticised poetic drama.

### **(viii) The Prince of Wales**

One more major figure attached to the Whig opposition needs to be looked at in some detail: Frederick the somewhat maladjusted Prince of Wales, who over the three year period leading up to the War of Jenkins' Ear became more involved with the patriots. Given his father's age (55 in 1739), Frederick like most heirs-apparent was a focus for the attention of disaffected potential ministers of the crown. His disastrous relationship with both his parents, who apparently hated him, made him the object of occasional sympathy, but despite his at times riotous and unpredictable behaviour he attracted a number of able men, notably Lyttelton, Pitt and to a lesser extent Carteret, to his side. His first literary adviser had been George Bubb Dodington who was an early patron of Thomson, Mallet, Glover, Whitehead and Savage, all of whom were at his house, Eastbury in 1727 (1). Frederick's household became the centre of an alternative government and significantly he attended the Lords himself to sit through more than seven hours of evidence on the depredations and to vote against the Convention in 1739, a warlike posture not unsuited to a prince-in-waiting (2). In addition to helping the opposition politicians Frederick was also an important patron of the patriotic poets, thus rounding off the respectability of the literary set which favoured the imperial fashion. He regularly attended plays with an anti-government message and his applause for scenes with pro-patriotic speeches was several times noted by the diarist Egmont (3). He hosted the famous Carlton city lunch of 1736. His mistress Lady Archibald Hamilton underlined her pro-patriot stance by subscribing to Gustavus Vasa and being one of "The Heroines" of the female parliamentary protest of 1739. It was at Frederick's home at Clevedon that the masque Alfred was first performed in 1740 when the war was at its height. Written by the poets whom Dodington and Lyttelton had recruited to his side, Thomson and Mallet, composed by Arne and containing the aria Rule Britannia, it was the quintessential artistic legacy

1. J. Sambrook, James Thomson, (Oxford, 1991), 65.

2. Yorke, Hardwicke, 1, 188; Sir G. Young, Poor Fred: The People's Prince (Oxford, 1937), 48.

3. See below p86-7.



of the patriotic mode (1). The large collection of anti-convention tracts and broadsheets in the Prince's papers found at Windsor suggests his active ongoing interest in the overall propaganda campaign (2).

It should be remembered that on at least one issue of national pride Frederick's attitude was not all that different from his father's: as early as 1728 George II had asked for reprisals in the Caribbean, and, though still dedicated to Walpole's administration in 1738-9, he seems to have been by no means averse to a war.

Reference has already been briefly made to the extraordinary - for that period - incident when parliament was invaded and proceedings held up by the group of irate ladies referred to as "the Heroines". The probable leader of these was Lady Archibald Hamilton, the prince's mistress who was referred to by Chesterfield as "controlling the country from Carlton House"(3) in 1737. She was the wife of an opposition Whig M.P., appeared on the subscription list for Gustavus Vasa, and remarkably her daughter Mrs Scott was another of "the Heroines". Others mentioned were Lady Cobham, the Duchess of Queensberry, another Hamilton - the Duke's sister Lady Charlotte Edwin, Lady Huntingdon, the Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Westmorland, Mrs Pendarves, Mary Granville and Lady Frances Saunderson, yet another of the Hamilton ladies (4). The significance of this extraordinary suffragette-style action by a group of such well connected ladies demonstrates the level of pro-war hysteria which had gripped the drawing rooms of the great and the female contribution to the nexus of politicians and writers who were combining to push Walpole into war with Spain. Mrs Pendarves' correspondence reveals the level of hero worship for Carteret and Chesterfield almost as theatrical stars in the war debate. The ladies referred to themselves as "patriot ladies", yet judging by the letter their enthusiasm for war had

1. Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle, 234; Grant, James Thomson, 194.

2. Young, Poor Fred, 146.

3. Letters of Chesterfield, II, 314-5.

4. Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague ed. R. Halsband (Oxford, 1966), II 136; Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delaney ed. Lady Llanover (London, 1861), II, 42-5; Yorke, Hardwick, I, 188.

little more real depth than a temporary fashion in music or poetry. The additional role of these ladies, together particularly with the Countesses of Suffolk and Hertford, in providing patronage for writers interested in the patriotic cause will be dealt with later.

There were various other groupings attached to Frederick as part of the patriotic opposition to Walpole. James Erskine acted as his agent in Scotland, liaising with Marchmont and other anti-government figures (1). There was also the minor poet James Hammond who acted as an additional aide in literary recruitment and the membership drive for fashionable masonic lodges (2).

Amongst his close friends with transatlantic interests were Henry Drax, a Barbadian plantation owner, Martin Maden, a wealthy Nevis planter and professional soldier, as well as Lord Baltimore who had tobacco plantations, brewing interests and a wife who subscribed to Gustavus Vasa. Two other husbands of "heroines" were also amongst his aides; Sir Thomas Sanderson who made a somewhat hysterical Jenkins' Ear speech (3) and Francis Douglas who had married the Duchess of Ancaster. Others included Daniel Boone, Thomas Bludworth, James Herbert, Lord Inchiquin, William Irby and Edmund Thomas, all of whom subscribed to Gustavus Vasa (4).

1. Young, Poor Fred, 142-3.
2. See below p224-5.
3. Cox, Walpole, III, 519.
4. Sedgwick, House of Commons, passim.

## **(ix) The Tory Opposition**

The next important segment of the opposition was the Tory party, albeit badly damaged by the conduct of Bolingbroke who had taken it to the brink of Jacobitism in 1714, and allowed Walpole to raise the spectre of Jacobitism whenever the Tory party was a threat. As a party it lacked the talent and leadership qualities of the Whig ex-ministers and played a much less significant part in the war fever campaign of 1738-9. Sir William Wyndham, its leader, suffered somewhat from being a friend of Bolingbroke's and being regarded as his mouthpiece in the Commons. He had handled the attack on Walpole over the refortification of Dunkirk, as briefed by Bolingbroke in 1729-30, but by 1739 he was a sick man and the Jacobite/Hanoverian split still bedevilled his party and his own attitudes. His most remarkable achievement during the Convention crisis was to help organise the secession from parliament after the debate, an action on the verge of revolution and almost as remarkable as the invasion of "the Heroines"(1).

One of the most active Tory speakers on the patriotic theme was William Shippen, a veteran Jacobite and long-term Bolingbroke supporter who had helped the attack on Marlborough back in 1711, criticised Walpole for his soft Caribbean policy in 1728, opposed the size of the army in 1738 and played a forceful part in the anti-Spanish debates of 1738/9. He was also close to the patriotic literary set, referred to by Pope as "honest Shippen" and a close friend of John Gay (2). He had been in his youth quite an able satirical poet and may well have continued to produce ballad material in the later Walpole era. However his regard for the Whig patriots was low and his cooperation with them strictly limited.

With the exception of Bolingbroke there seems to be little evidence connecting any other Tory politicians with patronage or inspiration of the literary and artistic propaganda campaign supporting a war against Spain.

1. Linda Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy (Cambridge, 1982), 220-6; Letters of Chesterfield, II, 358.
2. Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle, 223.

## (x) The Jacobites

The relevance of the Jacobite element in Tory ideology to the dislike of Walpole's foreign policy is hard to assess. Jacobitism and Tory patriotism do not seem to have been incompatible for Bolingbroke and others like Cornbury or Shippen. Jacobitism seemed to have become in the late 1730s not so much a serious attempt to restore the old dynasty as a form of sentimental conservatism reinforcing dislike of Walpolean corruption. During this period there was a considerable level of compatibility between opposition Whigs, Hanoverian Tories and the Jacobite Tories, all united in their hatred for Walpole, all for marginally different reasons objecting to Walpole's peace policy with Spain. In 1731 the core group consisted of Sir John Hynde Cotton, Gower, Strafford, Bathurst and Cornbury - and four of these five were subscribers to Gustavus Vasa in 1738, as were the western Tory/Jacobite group of the Morgans, Williams Wyn and Beaufort (1). The Jacobite John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, who spoke against the convention in the Lords, was a partial political ally of Chesterfield and Bolingbroke, associate of Barrymore and patron of both Swift and Pope. Gower was a minor patron of both Pope and Johnson, a member of the loyal Brotherhood and subscriber to Gustavus Vasa. For the Jacobites war with Spain was an outlet for patriotism and also a possible catalyst for some future coup d'etat. It is not insignificant that of the 170 political figures who subscribed to Gustavus Vasa, 37% were on Butler's 1742 list of assumed Jacobite supporters (2). Several of the pro-war London aldermen were also Jacobites including Humphrey Parsons. It could be suggested that some of the Jacobites were more active supporters of the pro-war propaganda campaign than were the rest of the Tories, but their contribution was much less than that of the opposition Whigs (3). The Jacobite element in London was physically and financially well placed to patronise the pro-war propaganda campaign, but the evidence suggests they were passive supporters rather than active promoters.

1. E. Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables (Edinburgh, 1979), 18-19; B. Lenman, Jacobite Risings in Britain (London, 1980), I, 53; Paul S. Fritz, The English Ministers and Jacobitism 1715-45 (Toronto, 1975), 156-9.
2. Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables, 18.
3. See Appendix VI.

Of the actual contributors who could be referred to as Jacobite there were very few, perhaps just the poets Morgan and James Miller

## (xi) London and the Provincial Towns

The City of London produced a number of M.P.s and aldermen who played a major part in the attack on Walpole in the 1730s and who generally campaigned under the Tory, occasionally also the Jacobite, banner. Most formidable of these was probably Sir John Barnard, "a ship insurer of not more than moderate wealth"<sup>(1)</sup> and Turkey merchant, whose tongue was feared even by Walpole. He helped master-mind the Caribbean atrocities petition by the merchants in March 1738, announced the list of fifty-two ships attacked by the guarda costas, moved the London petition for reprisals in February 1739 and showed his colours once more by subscribing to Gustavus Vasa. As his own business may well have suffered from the depredations he may have had a vested interest, but it seems more likely that this was all part of a general London dislike for Walpole's policies amongst all except the ultra-rich.

One of Barnard's chief helpers and, like him, probably at the Prince of Wales dinner in 1736 to toast the Royal Navy, was Micajah Perry, alderman, member of the Common Council and member of parliament from 1727-41. Perry, a tobacco merchant, attended the protest meeting held in the Ship Tavern on February 24, 1738, and played a major part in organising the pro-war petition of March 1738. He had done the same ten years before in the 1728 crisis; he had attacked the East India Company in 1730; and he was chairman of the city committee on the Caribbean crisis during 1738, becoming Lord Mayor of London as the agitation escalated later that year (2).

Another long term supporter was Sir John Barber, a printer and publisher who had worked for Pope and the other members of Bolingbroke's Scriblerus Club. His mistress for some years had been the Tory propaganda novelist Mrs Manley. He was

1. H.T. Dickinson, "Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole" in J. Black (ed) Britain in the Age of Walpole (London, 1984), 56; L. Sutherland, "The City of London in Eighteenth Century Politics" in Essays presented to Lewis Namier (London, 1956), 49; A.J. Henderson, London and the National Government 1721-42, (Durham, 1945), 180-1.

2. Coxe, Walpole, I, 576.

reputed to have made a fortune out of South Sea Company stock. When he became Lord Mayor in 1736 he thought of having a float representing satirical poetry in his inaugural procession (1). He illustrated well the link between the City politicians and the professional writers of Grub Street and beyond. It was Barber who convened the meeting of the Common Council in 1733 which organised real opposition to the Excise scheme and formed a link between the parliamentary opposition and the London aldermen. Barnard, Parsons, John Williams, Francis Child and Micajah Perry were all involved (2).

One of Perry's most ardent supporters was the brewer alderman Humphrey Parsons, a city folk hero who had a second controversial spell as Lord Mayor after the highly charged elections of 1740 and was given substantial credit for organising the London agitation for war (3). So also was Sir Robert Godschall, father-in-law of Barnard, notorious as "chief promoter of city discontent" in Walpole's eyes (4) and one of a number of Portugal merchants who opposed the Convention. He too was a subscriber to Gustavus Vasa. Alderman Robert Willimot, another London M.P. and leading member of the city's anti-convention committee, made a highly emotional speech in the Commons which typified the merchants' superficially genuine anger at the behaviour of the Spanish Guarda Costas: "Seventy of our brave sailors are now in chains in Spain ... is this not enough to fire the coldest?"(5) Perhaps most articulate of all the city fathers was the Hamburg merchant Richard Glover, a highly popular member of the Common Council, who became an almost overnight literary success when he published his Leonidas in 1738, a somewhat obscure epic poem with patriotic undertones geared to the mood of the moment. Glover helped write the 1738 merchants' petition against the Spanish depredations, backed by Barnard and Godschall. He became a popular orator at pro-war rallies and was a guest at Stowe,

1. P. Rogers, Literature and Popular Culture (London, 1984), 132.
2. N. Rogers, Whigs and Cities; Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole (Oxford, 1989), 52.
3. Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables, 24-5 ; G. Rude, Hanoverian London, 78; Percival, Political Ballads, 149.
4. Daily Gazetteer, Oct. 1740.
5. Coxe, Walpole, I, 578.

brought in by Lyttelton to the literary set with Mallet and Thomson. He was one of those who went to the aid of the publisher Dodsley when he was arrested for publishing Paul Whitehead's pro-patriot Manners. Then came perhaps the most popular of all his works, the lyrics for the ballad Hosier's Ghost.

Among London merchant M.P.s who supported Gustavus Vasa were Solomon Ashley and Richard Lockwood, both of the Royal Africa Company, Edward Stephenson, the former East India Company official who bought Bolinbroke's house at Dawley, James Bateman and Peter Delme. Other senior aldermen and corn merchants contributing to the agitation included Daniel Lambert, Slingsby Bethell, John Bosworth, John Chapman and John Michell, only the last of whom appears to have supported Gustavus Vasa. The official London Committee against the Convention included Perry, Godschall, Barber, Lambert, Westly Aycliffe, Sandford, Benn, Parker, Roberts, and Heywood (1). Also significant was another Jewish merchant Solomon Mendez, who gave patronage to Thomson, Savage and Brooke.

London, with its large proportion of the British population, particularly of its commercial class, played a major part in the attack on Walpole for his appeasement policy; but there were also signs of activity from other cities. Bristol as the second city with a population of around 50,000 was also home port for a number of Caribbean traders. William Wood, the ex-Jamaican customs officer who represented the British West Indies merchants in London. Egmont commented:

" .... The Bristol merchants who have likewise been great sufferers by the Spaniards ... determined ... to come up with a band of a hundred and twenty"(2)

and in fact they sent five separate petitions on the Caribbean issue. Abraham Elton senior organised the Bristol petition against depredations in 1731 and Thomas Coster, another Bristol M.P., and copper merchant, did the same in 1738 with some help from

1. Henderson, London and the National Government, 183.
2. Egmont Diaries, II, 442.



Burrell (1). The Bristol Stedfast Society, founded in 1737, was a meeting place for anti-government activity (2).

Liverpool was a smaller city anyway but it was a very fast growing port, especially for the slave trade, and a number of its ships suffered from the depredations. The most vocal Liverpool spokesman was Thomas Bootle, an M.P. who defended The Craftsman in 1731 and with Oglethorpe attacked the handling of the navy in the Caribbean. He lost his Liverpool seat in 1734 but was found a new one by the Duke of Somerset and his legal clients included other key opposition figures such as Pulteney (3).

Thomas Aston, another former Liverpool M.P. who then won a seat at St Albans, was an active supporter of the merchants trading in the West Indies. Norwich, too, went through a belligerent period with its local Tory newspaper editor, Henry Cosgrove, fully exploiting local patriotism and supporting the local hero, Admiral Vernon. Norwich merchants do not seem to have been involved even indirectly in the Caribbean, so business for them was damaged rather than helped by the war (4).

1. Egmont Diaries, II, 442.
2. Rogers, Whigs and Cities, 233, 264, 277.
3. Journal of the Commons, XXIII,53-4; Sedgwick, House of Commons, 1, 473.
4. Rogers, Whigs and Cities, 337.

## **(xii) The Sugar Lobby**

Before turning to examine the nature of extra-parliamentary pressure it is important to consider the grouping of specialist lobbies which also contributed in different ways to the crisis on the edge of parliament. All these groups had some kind of vested interest in the Anglo-Spanish frontier on the other side of the Atlantic. They included the sugar lobby, which in turn divided down into further sub-groups: the Jamaican planters, Barbadian planters, the merchants and the shippers. The other two main groupings were the other merchants and shipowners trading into the Caribbean and the proponents of the new colony in Georgia.

The sugar planters, many of them resident in Britain or with full time agents there, were without question a wealthy and increasingly influential group. Those from Barbados were led very actively by John Ashley, who both helped to organise their lobby in parliament and wrote a number of pamphlets arguing the cause of the sugar trade and the empire. The reason for this activity lay in the rapidly declining fertility of the island, exacerbated by recent years of drought and storms as well as by over-cropping which made it desperately hard for the planters to compete with the more fertile French sugar colonies. The objective of Ashley was therefore to keep foreign owned sugar out of all British territory, to keep prices artificially high, and to make it possible to sell Barbadian sugar direct in various other overseas markets without having to do so through mother-country middlemen. To this end Molasses Bills were pushed through parliament in 1733 and 1739. Ashley's allies in this were men like Henry Bromley, an M.P. and himself a Barbadian owner; Sir John Rushout, an adherent of Pulteney's, a strong opponent of Walpole and chairman of the Molasses Committee in 1731; Jeremy Sambrooke, another anti-Walpole M.P. and a friend of the Duke of Bedford's; Martin Maden, a future M.P. with a West Indies fortune who was a close friend of the Prince of Wales; George Heathcote the London alderman, a West Indies merchant on the boards of both the South Sea Company and the Georgia Company; and James Dawkins, yet another M.P. from Jamaica (1). On the whole this group did not want to extend the empire particularly, nor had they any vested interest

1. R.B. Sheridan, "The Molasses Act" in Journal of Economic History XVI, (1957-62), 64-5.

in war; but they probably all opposed the Convention in 1739, hated Walpole, and thought the war would do them no harm (1). The only major Barbadian family to support Walpole were the wealthy Lascelles, who won lucrative government contracts from Newcastle when the war began.

The Jamaican half of the sugar lobby was initially much less active, mainly because the newer plantations on that island were still fertile enough to produce an economical crop. The leader of the Jamaicans was soon the newly arrived William Beckford, whose early parliamentary contacts were William Murray (Mansfield) and Pitt. Beckford soon himself evinced ambition for a role in British politics which became more important for him than his Caribbean origins.

In about 1736 the London Planters Club was founded, meeting at the Jamaica Coffee House in Cornhill which had been used since the 1690s. The Club's secretary was William Perrin, a writer of polemical pamphlets. Beckford employed James Knight, who objected to the idea of new sugar colonies though he did want reprisals against Spain and seems to have played a part in the 1738 pro-war agitation, suggesting that Beckford was of the same view. Certainly two identifiable members of the Jamaican lobby - Solomon Merrit, a Beckford supporter, and James Dawkins, a Jamaican Tory M.P. - were amongst those who subscribed to Gustavus Vasa, a sure sign of adherence to the patriotic wing. John Sharpe, a lawyer employed first by Ashley, later by Beckford, opposed the planter's bills and yet requested an end to the illicit trade in a petition to the Commons in March 1739. Another subscriber was Samuel Greathead, shortly (1747) to enter parliament and a Nevis planter. Richard Harris another prominent Jamaican lobbyist had a team of Scroope, Baker, Day and Morris (2).

Thus the sugar lobby had no real vested interest in war, and except where the planters were dabbling in illicit trade on the side, had not really suffered from the

1. L. Penson, "London West Indies Interest in the 18th Century," English Historical Review XLVI, (1931), 373.
2. F.W. Pitman, Development of the British West Indies (Yale, 1917), 264-6.

depredations; but they disliked the behaviour of the guarda costas in their sea, shared in the anti-Walpole mood and were probably mostly on the pro-war side in 1739. Within the government, they had at least some support from Martin Bladen who also took a salary from the Nevis legislature, and who was a patron of the half-pay naval captain and future admiral, Edward Hawke. He adopted the vaguely anti-Spanish posture, suggested a trading colony at Darien, but did not want more sugar colonies: "We have more land already than we can people, more sugar and tobacco than we can dispose of"(1).

The other variant of the sugar lobby was represented by William Wood on behalf of the Bristol sugar merchants; they did want more sugar colonies to bring down the price of sugar, and more naval action to protect their ships. It was probably Wood, maybe with Beckford's help, who hired Mansfield to plead the merchants' cause against depredations by Spain. The case of the sugar merchants was in fact more in line with that of the illicit or semi-licit traders of the Caribbean and in turn more in tune with the political objectives of the opposition than was that of the sugar planters, but the various strands drifted together in the common motivation to get rid of Walpole. Even the rumours of a large new silver mine in Peru which swept the London financial community in 1737 added to the complexity of motives (2). Other merchants, ships-husbands and captains involved in the West Indies trade clearly had a vested interest if not in war, at least in a more aggressive policy for naval defence. Thomas Hall, the energetic shipping entrepreneur, had no known political views; but he did subscribe to Gustavus Vasa and was married to a niece of Humphrey Parsons. He was a close friend of Richard Pinnell who became a director of the South Sea Company, and was involved both in the Anglo-Brazil trade and the London Assurance Company.

1. Pares, War and Trade, 78-9.

2. P. Woodfine, "Ideas of Naval Power and Conflict with Spain" in J. Black and P. Woodfine, The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the Eighteenth Century (Leicester, 1985), 72.

### (xiii) The Georgia Lobby

The other significant lobby with a vested interest was the Georgia company, which had prominent supporters like Carteret and to some extent the King himself after whom the colony had been named. General Oglethorpe, still a sitting member of parliament and a prime mover of the new colony, was an avid imperialist with strong religious and humanitarian motivations for his new territory. His career had developed considerably as a leading light of the Prison Reform Committee in 1729 which became a useful nucleus of parliamentary opposition both Whig and Tory - "the spawn of the Gaol Committee". It included such later influential figures as Elton of Bristol, Parsons, and Child. Its interests spread into the conditions of sailors at sea and also to the use of colonies as a vehicle for penal reform, both topics leading to imperialist implications (1). Significantly the poet James Thomson had taken a very keen interest in the ideas of the Committee so Oglethorpe may well have inspired him on the wider imperialist front.

As Egmont recorded when he was trying to bridge the gap between Oglethorpe's unbounded enthusiasm for Georgia and Walpole's extreme caution, Walpole referred to Oglethorpe and his friends as "warm men", a very evocative phrase which sums up neatly the attitudes of the political equivalents of the Wesley brothers. In London Oglethorpe acquired the image of a latter day Sir Walter Raleigh, significant in view of the Raleigh cult which grew in Britain in the late 1730s. The Georgia Trust in trying to curb Oglethorpe's extravagance was thought to be putting him in a position where if the Spaniards swallowed up Georgia "he would have good reason to reflect upon poor Sir Walter Raleigh's unhappy case when he was betrayed and given up to the Spaniards"(2). In 1738 the two Heathcote brothers appear to have resigned in sympathy and the remaining members of parliament on the Georgia board were cajoled by Walpole's promises of support into voting for the Convention (3).

1. Colley, In Defiance of Oligarchy, 206, 343n4.

2. Spalding, Oglethorpe in America, 44; Diaries of Thomas Wilson 1731-1737, ed. C.L.S. Linnell (London, 1964), 172.

3. Sedgwick, House of Commons, II, 121-4.

Pamphlets foretelling dire concessions even affecting Carolina were circulating in London so they probably felt they had a lot to lose (1).

Oglethorpe was also an able self-publicist who produced a number of pamphlets for various causes - even a poem for Georgia - as well as making sure that the media of the day, particularly the Gentleman's Magazine (2) allocated plenty of space to his exploits. He was a close associate of the Wesley brothers; indeed it is not entirely a coincidence that the birth of Methodist enthusiasm is dated from 1739, the same year when the imperialist enthusiasm to which Oglethorpe was a major contributor bore its first major fruit in the naval war against Spain. Oglethorpe was a somewhat erratic politician and lobbyist, however, who grew impatient with boardroom formalities (3). His chairman was the tireless diarist Egmont and his fellow directors included Vernon, the brother of the fire-eating admiral (4). Oglethorpe, like Tyrconnel, another fellow director, was close to some of the literary patriots such as James Thomson, Richard Savage, Aaron Hill, himself the conceiver of an earlier plan to colonise Georgia, and their patroness the Countess of Hertford, as were the Turkey merchant Sir Jacob Bouverie and the Earl of Shaftesbury - all three of these subscribed to Gustavus Vasa. Another possible connecting link was Lady Huntingdon, one of the "heroines", a subscriber to Gustavus Vasa, and an active patron of George Whitfield who went out to assist the Wesleys in Georgia in 1738. Lord Limerick who was also a close associate of Oglethorpe's both on the Gaol Committee and with regard to Georgia, was a member of the Hamilton clan and a subscriber to Gustavus Vasa. So, while the Georgia board as a whole picked a very careful path through the 1730s to avoid offending Walpole and win as much support from him as possible, there is plenty of evidence that its members were more anti-Spanish than the government. Oglethorpe himself had certainly provoked Spain by advancing his frontier towards Florida and was in turn very vulnerable to attack

1. J.T. Lanning, Diplomatic History of Georgia, (Chapel Hill, 1936), 158.
2. Gentleman's Magazine III, 209; IV, 505; VI, 219, 357, 683; VII, 500; IX, 48, 215, 203, 242, 359, 468.
3. Ettinger, Oglethorpe, 188-194.
4. Egmont Diaries III, 25-30.

from the Spanish bases of Cuba and Florida. The Caribbean crisis was in some ways a blessing for Oglethorpe in so far as the blame for starting a war was shared with, if not entirely shifted onto, the Jenkins furore, and Oglethorpe's declaration of war against Spain created less of a stir than would have been the case if Vernon had not set sail at almost the same time.

#### (xiv) The Navy Lobby

One other potential lobby is also worth considering although there is no concrete evidence that it contributed much to the war furore: the cadre of professional naval officers, many of whom were unemployed or semi-employed during the 1730s. Edward Hawke, for example, a nephew of the influential colonial minister Martin Bladen, became a captain with his uncle's help in 1733 but was on half-pay in 1734 and 1736-8 (1). As the career of Pitt had shown, it was very dangerous for a serving officer to oppose the government. Yet of the naval officers who were in the Commons, two could be identified as favouring war and therefore disobeying Walpole's party line. Admiral Vernon himself was to win his first major command once the war started and was lucky to have got away with his anti-government stance. He had referred to the Convention as "a treaty which dishonours us by tying down our navy so that we cannot exert ourselves to protect our merchants"(2). His brother was a Georgia trustee and subscriber to Gustavus Vasa, as was his cousin the opposition M.P. Richard Lockwood, a Royal Africa Company director. Subsequently he was to show considerable flair for personal image building, using both his brother and Charles Knowles to project his case to the public (3)

Charles Stewart, another naval officer and M.P. of Scottish extraction, protégé of the Duke of Argyll had been in command in the Caribbean in 1731 and had not been oversympathetic to depredations victims, but voted against the Convention (4). John Charleton, a naval officer and ex Whig M.P., was among the subscribers to Gustavus Vasa, but he had left the Commons in 1734. Lord George Graham, a son of the Duke of Montrose, had been tutored by the patriotic poet Mallet, subscribed to Gustavus Vasa, opposed the Convention but did not enter the Commons until 1741. Admiral Haddock was a serving M.P. in 1739 but did not attend the Convention

1. R.F. MacKay, Admiral Hawke (Oxford, 1965), 12-14.
2. B. McL. Ranft, Vernon Papers (London, 1951), 4.
3. Harding, Amphibious Warfare, 6.
4. Sedgwick, House of Commons, II, 448.



debate. George Anson, another naval Captain who was to make his name in the war which ensued, was also on half pay between 1733-36, though he had made himself a popular figure in Carolina and was a nephew of the chancellor Hardwicke (1). So it is clear that a significant number of able officers, some in parliament or connected with parliamentarians, were on half pay and pining for employment. This was at a time when the navy had been gradually reorganised with a new pay structure designed to appeal to professionals, with regularised uniforms for officers, better training organised by Wager, and several bases rebuilt in Gibraltar, the West Indies and Minorca (2). More attention was paid to crews' health - Vernon himself of course pioneered the grog issue - and Oglethorpe had been a staunch supporter of this trend: he wrote The Sailor's Advocate in 1728 arguing against press gangs and ill treatment at sea - "The welfare of these nations undoubtedly depends upon their being powerful at sea" (3). Similarly T. Robe produced Ways and Means to Man the Navy in 1726: significantly it was republished in 1740. This noted the new image of the Royal Navy - "So many brave and skilful men all appearing in the national livery cannot but affect the minds of every truly British spectator"(4). While the image of Jack Tar still caused terror amongst potential press gang victims, substantial efforts were being made to improve and popularise the image at all levels. This blended well with the civilian adulation of ruling the waves which was cultivated by Bolingbroke and his followers. At the same time the vast expense of maintaining the Navy even in peace time was beginning to be felt as costs reached some 4% of national income (5). Other writers working for the naval lobby included Nicholas Tindal, a naval chaplain, and the versatile Thomas Lediard (6).

1. W.V. Anson, Life of Anson (London, 1912), 6.
2. D.A. Baugh, Naval Administration 1715-1750 (London, 1977), 35 and passim.
3. J.S. Bromley (ed.), The Manning of the Royal Navy: Selected Public Manning Pamphlets 1693-1873 (London, 1974), 78. 71
4. Ibid, 89.
5. John Brewer, Sinews of Power: War and Money (London, 1989), 34.
6. See below 171.

Possibly also on the fringe of the naval lobby were Archibald Hamilton, husband of the Prince of Wales' mistress, an ex-naval officer who fell out with Walpole, and the Duke of Queensberry who had also held a senior naval command. Savage Mostyn, a serving naval officer, and Charles Knowles, Vernon's chief engineer, did not enter the Commons until later but their subsequent articulacy suggests that they also had the capacity to stir things up in 1739.

## **(xv) The Build-up of hysteria**

From this preliminary review of the strands which made up the anti-Walpole group of lobbies wanting to force him into a war in the Caribbean, a number of factors have become evident. Firstly, only a very small minority of those involved had any genuine motive for wanting a war against Spain. Secondly, the parliamentary opposition never came really close to achieving a majority against Walpole's policy of patient negotiation and peaceful settlement. Thirdly, the issue of injury to British sailors was deliberately turned into an emotive issue in order to bring pressure on Walpole to embark on a policy which would undermine his otherwise impregnable career. Fourthly, Walpole's control over his own executive was sufficiently loose to allow his colleague Newcastle to take gradual steps which made war almost unavoidable anyway. Fifthly, a substantial number of key people in the opposition either had an unusually high level of mass communication skills themselves, or were intimately connected with a particularly talented group of writers and, as will become evident later, practitioners of other art forms, so that an exceptional mustering of propaganda talent was made possible. Finally, a kind of apotheosis had taken place in which resentment against Walpole's prolonged retention of power and his dismissal of all who crossed him had been transmuted into an allegorical form of patriotism, which found inspiration in the injuries done to British sailors in the Caribbean by the *Guarda Costas*. Ultimately Jenkins' ear did provide the perfect symbol for hurt international pride, which in fact was little more than a sublimation of hurt domestic pride, the hurt of an upper and middle class denied power by an over-successful minister.

The result was that in the spring of 1739 the balance between Walpole's grinding efforts to achieve an unpopular but probably very sensible peace and the opposition's ineffectual desire for a romantic path to glory was particularly delicate, especially when the creeping polemicism of Newcastle is taken into account. Even relatively minor events could push the situation either way. Thus the campaign of orators and poets described by Burke, and as will be shown, of many other art forms, could have been enough to make the difference. If that is true, then Burke's thesis

that the propaganda campaign forced Walpole into war is essentially valid, albeit the language a little exaggerated. It is not a question of all-powerful media, but of media powerful enough to help topple a crumbling edifice. On that basis the detailed structure of the propaganda campaign can now be examined.

It is clear that despite the logic of Walpole's peace, there were many frustrations which the poets, artists and musicians could easily tap. How they did so will be examined shortly: the results may not have been overwhelming, but they were enough to give the small extra momentum that was all that was required. Hervey commented "Peace and war are at present the topics of all conversation both public and private, both high and low, rich and poor and it is generally believed that peace will be the result of our consultations, arguments and negotiations." (1) Indeed the Commons majority should have made peace the proper outcome.

The tone of the House of Lords tended to dwell on "neglect of the honour of the nation" and at times bordered on hysteria (2). Egmont observed: "there was apparent discontentedness of the people against the terms of the Convention" (3) and Geraldino, the ambassador, noted: "every day pamphlets are published by the opposition to inflame the people as though to rebellion ...." (4). This tallies with Marchmont who wrote of "the city in flame" (5). Egmont again noted "Many people apprehend some strange violences before next year" (March 1739) (6). The opposition secession from parliament was very disturbing. Indeed it was potentially a revolutionary act attempting a direct appeal to the people "as it (parliament) could do no real service... till the independency of parliament was restored". James Erskine hinted at the public relations aspects of the secession when he wrote disappointedly "nothing .... appears

1. Lord Hervey and his Friends, 1726-38, ed. Earl of Ilchester (London, 1950), 281.
2. Journal of the House of Lords, XXV, 306-9.
3. Egmont Diaries, III, 18.
4. Temperley, Causes, 227.
5. H.M.C. Polwarth MSS, V, 163.
6. Egmont Diaries, III, 32.

to vindicate the secession except a little in some of the weekly papers and everybody expected more"(1).

From another point of view it seemed "The Liverpool ships plundered by the Guarda Costas with impunity aroused at length the indignation of the whole country"(2). Benjamin Robbins, the pamphleteer and another supporter of Gustavus Vasa, wrote of the Convention: "almost every individual in the land to whom the most obscure account of it has been given...not ten thousand out of ten million approved of it ..." and referred to the:

"destruction of the Excise Scheme which was entirely owing to the public spirit supported by the general voice of the People without Doors ... Their indignities affected the public so strongly at last that on the petition of the merchants for relief the Minister saw himself under the necessity of giving way to the current." (3)

In addition to the wave of pamphlets and warlike poetry, sailors were wandering the streets of London with rotted samples of what they claimed was food from Spanish prisons (4).

Cumulatively, therefore there emerges a picture of growing hysteria against Walpole's policy of maintaining peace with Spain and settling the problem of ship interference in the Caribbean by peaceful means. The administration had already shown signs of bowing to such pressure on previous occasions: the Excise Crisis is 1733 and to a lesser extent the gin riots of 1736. There appeared to be a sense of outrage mixed with a sense of insecurity and doom in many of the comments. The amazing

1. Marchmont Papers, ed. Rose, II, 115.
2. G. Williams, Liverpool Privateers (London, 1897), 37.
3. B. Robbins, Address to the Electorate Particularly and Account of the Negotiations with Spain (London, 1739).
4. W.H. Lecky, History of England in the 18th Century (London, 1878), 1, 384.

secession of opposition M.P.'s from March 9th to November 3rd 1739 was an acute example of frustration, as was the invasion of parliament by "the Heroines". We shall see how the manipulation of the media by the opposition contributed to this build-up of tension and illogical attitudes. Horace Walpole warned his brother of the dangers of the West Indies furore (1).

The opposition had managed to penetrate almost all levels with its romanticised view of the Caribbean confrontation: "The patriots were resolved to damn it (the Convention) before they know a word of it and to inflame the people against it which they have done with great success."(2)

While the prime movers for the opposition campaign against the peace were aristocratic parliamentarians or senior city merchants, the Duke of Argyll commented on the level of middle class support (3). Liverymen, tradesmen and lawyers were co-ordinated at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside while a group at the artisan level met at the Crown and Anchor (4). There were two opposition clubs in Bristol, the Steadfast and the Union. The precise links between extra-parliamentary agitation, the opposition and the media practitioners are not easy to identify, but we shall examine such traces as can be identified. Hardwicke had commented that "the opposition influenced public opinion with great art and succeeded in rousing formidable passions among the people who clamoured for revenge and immediate war"(5). Geraldino wrote as early as April 1738 "these measures [naval recruitment] make people believe that the ministry has been forced into making war"(6).

1. Coxe, Memoirs of Horatio Lord Walpole (London, 1808), I, 417.
2. H.M.C. 14th Report Onslow (London, 1895), IX, 243.
3. Parliamentary History X, 1142.
4. Dickinson "Popular Politics", 51.
5. Yorke, Hardwicke, I, 186.
6. Temperley, Causes, 212.

The manipulation of public opinion in favour of heroic naval postures across the seas, begun essentially as a long-term campaign by Bolingbroke in 1710, then intensified in the late 1730s, might not have been enough to change the mind of a confident, well integrated ministry; but it may well have been enough to edge the slightly dithering and ill-coordinated component parts of a ministry like Walpole's into starting the war. The opposition created a nationalist blood lust which demanded a rather silly and probably unnecessary war which was to cost 20,000 lives, a great deal of money and any hope of a French alliance; it also laid the attitudinal foundations for 150 years of further empire-building and confrontation with other European powers. In many ways it was as irrational as the kind of balladry used to foment it:

"It's true they have ventured to piss on our flag.

But why should friends quarrel about an old rag?"(1)

Yet this kind of irrationality was to be developed and exploited regularly over the next two centuries to popularise the British ruling class's desire for an even larger empire. As Hardwicke put it: "It is always an easy and grateful task to uphold in glowing terms the honour of a nation when no responsibility is involved and no subject lends itself to more brilliant declamation than the call to arms."(2)

In vain Walpole had asserted: "A patriot sir, why patriots spring up like mushrooms".(3)

1. Percival, Political Ballads, 116.

2. Yorke, Hardwicke, I, 188.

3. Coxe, Walpole, I, 579.

## 2. Poetry and the Lure of War

The role of poetry in enhancing the growth of nationalistic and imperialist attitudes in early 18th century Britain was not peculiar to that period. Goldgar referring to the patriot poets of the Walpole era comments: "in their glorification of British liberty, their fusion of chauvinism and sentimentality these poets continued the tradition of Whig panegyric verse"(1). Similarly Rothstein has described the Pindaric ode during the second half of the 17th century as a development: "refurbished by Cowley for exploiting analogy and psychology in the service of national panegyric"(2). What however is exceptional about the patriotic poetry of the early 18th century and particularly the 1730s is its sheer volume, the specific new ideas which it sought to inculcate, its determination to achieve political objectives and the substantial legacy of long term nationalist images which it bequeathed to subsequent centuries.

It is of course not possible to isolate poetry totally from other art forms which were used during the same period for spreading the patriotic message. The majority of the fifty or so poets who contributed significantly used at least one other literary form: journalism, the novel, the ballad opera or drama. Nor is it possible to isolate the influence of poetry, though as we shall see there is ample evidence that it was avidly read, struck the right chord with its audience and played a part in the overall shift in attitude which resulted in the middle and upper classes demanding war against Spain in 1739. As George Lyttelton wrote in his ode on Richard Glover's Leonidas, itself a major popular success as a patriotic epic:

"The patriot verse will cold Britannia warm" (3)

1. Bertrand Goldgar, Walpole and the Wits. The relationship of Politics and Literature 1722-42 (London, 1976), 137.
2. E. Rothstein, Restoration and 18th Century Poetry (London, 1981), 25.
3. A. Chalmers (ed.), The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper (London, 1810), XIV, 187.



and indeed the shift in attitudes was very much based on the appeal to emotion rather than reason. Bolingbroke had laid down the guidelines in his letter to Swift about "the monstrous beast"(1). Goldgar disagrees with Burke's estimate that the poets as well as orators had played a major part in forcing Walpole into war: "The greatest poets of the age cannot really be said to have played a significant role in forcing Walpole into war....it is at least true that literary men both great and small seemed united as never before in their hostility to all aspects of the administration"(2). But the efforts of the poets must be placed alongside the rest of the multi-media campaign orchestrated by the opposition. Certainly the poets themselves were conscious of their role as national mouthpieces. Pope referred to it several times:

"and me with Britain's glory fired ...  
My Country's Poet to record her fame"(3)

and Prior wrote in his introduction to Solomon that he was glad:

"to have it observed that there appears throughout my verses a zeal for the honour of my country...I had rather be thought a good Englishman than the best poet".(4)

Similarly John Gay in his Proeme commented:

"My love for my native country Britain much pricketh me forward to describe the manners of our own stout and labourous ploughmen, in no wise more unworthy a British poet's imitation than those of Sicily or Arcadia".(5)

1. Bolingbroke, II, 89.
2. Goldgar, Walpole and the Wits, 185.
3. Alexander Pope, Poetical Works ed. H. Davis (London, 1966), 703.
4. Chalmers, English Poets, X, 207.
5. Bonamy Dobree, Early 18th Century English Literature, (London, 1965), 141.

Thus the poets of Bolingbroke's circle, the "Brothers", or as they became later the Scriblerus Club, had an underlying sense of nationalism on to which it was quite easy for the politicians to graft the idea that this pride should be naval and transoceanic rather than military and continental. Bolingbroke made all his writers aware of their own power by master-minding the successful campaign against the Whigs, Marlborough and the continental war policy in 1710. Pope too was again reminded of the power of propagandist writing by the success of Jonathan Swift in his campaign on the Irish currency in 1724:

"Let Ireland tell how wit upheld her cause" (1)

The younger generation of poets therefore perceived the value of writing to satisfy the opposition's aspirations. Thus Mallet, Thomson, young Samuel Johnson and others, saw patriotic poetry as a useful avenue to career advancement.

Before proceeding to analyse the nationalist content of early 18th century poetry in detail we should distinguish between two strands in the patriotic theme. Most of the poets in our group were, at least for a portion of their careers, active supporters of the anti-Walpole opposition, the mixture of Tory and out-of-office Whig politicians. Many of them however had been through periods of trying to make a living by writing in favour of, or at least not against, Walpole; Gay, Thomson, Fielding and others switched allegiance to the opposition, mainly during the period 1728-1735 (2). Much of the work they produced was on the Bolingbroke theme of country before party, comparing the corruption and lack of idealism of the government with the imagined selfless zeal of the opposition. As a major by-product of this the group concentrated in the 1730s on the issue of Walpole's imputed reluctance to defend British merchant ships in the Caribbean against Spanish depredations. Thus a substantial output of warlike nationalist poetry was the result. In addition to this however there was fair volume of nationalist panegyric work produced by writers who

1. Alexander Pope, Works, ed. G. Groly (London, 1835), II, 357.
2. J.A. Downie, "Walpole The Poet's Foe", in J Black (ed.), Britain in the Age of Walpole, (London, 1984), 180-2.

did not support the opposition, men like Edward Young who sought to identify the government with a continuing patriotic stance compatible with Walpole's policies. The combined effect of poetic imperialism must therefore be regarded as quite substantial. This was particularly evident due to the increase in readership of such poetry encouraged by the politicians and publishers. The plugging of Thomson's Liberty by Bolingbroke in The Craftsman, of Leonidas by Lyttelton in Common Sense, of Johnson's London by Cave in the Gentleman's Magazine, the general help of Aaron Hill in The Prompter and the use of poetry in the London Evening Post all ensured that patriotic poetry enjoyed greater prominence than might have been the case if it had relied solely on sale of hardback volumes (1). Even so works like Leonidas and London often went rapidly to two or more editions, so it can be safely assumed that there was a very reasonable level of readership.

As will be demonstrated shortly, the poets of the Walpole era projected the nationalist theme in such similar terms that there might be a case for considering the possibility of a concerted plan, not mere fashion and imitation. Certainly the original group of "Brothers" led by Bolingbroke and including Pope, Swift, Prior, Parnell and Gay encouraged each other. They met in favoured coffee houses and at the homes of their patrons like the Queensberrys. A group consisting of Thomson, Mallet, Aikman, Young, Tickell, Savage and Voltaire met at Dodington's home in Eastbury in 1727 (2). Similarly the extended group including the surviving "Brothers" and the newer recruits like Thomson, Mallet, Glover and Lyttelton, all met regularly at Stowe where the Cobhams had created a monument of horticultural nationalism and where they mingled with up-and-coming politicians like Pitt and the Grenvilles. Both groups can be shown also to have met regularly with artists, dramatists, musicians and other writers, all also contributing to the patriotic tone of the media, in coffee houses or clubs like the Beefsteak Club. In addition Gay, Swift and some others of the Scriblerus Club are known to have mixed with London bankers and merchants at Garraway's Coffee House (3). Further connections were provided by the more active publishers of

1. Common Sense, 9th Apr 1737.
2. Sambrook, Thomson, 56.
3. Pat Rogers (ed.), The Eighteenth Century, (London, 1978), 45.

poetry: Tonson, Lintot and Dodsley, who encouraged and promoted the better selling authors. Dodsley for example was a common factor between Glover, Johnson, Whitehead, Young, Akenside and Shenstone. Goldgar's comment that "it is far from clear that they [the Patriotic poets] operated as an organised unit"(1) is perfectly fair, but it is also true that few if any of the poets worked in isolation and most had at least some regular contacts with the political opposition.

There are also a number of common background features which may have contributed. Both Fielding and Lyttelton were at Eton with Pitt and possible Arne the composer and Croxall; at least five poets with some patriotic output were at Winchester, while Gay went to school with Aaron Hill at Barnstable. The connections at this age may have been relatively unimportant, but the revival of interest in Roman imperial satire, with its appealing message of the decline of empires, the popular reworking of classical themes, may well have owed much to the teachers like Richard Busby at Westminster who taught Prior, Dyer, Webster and many others (2).

The links provided by patronage should also be borne in mind. There were a number of wealthy patrons who supported the patriot writers; the Countess of Hertford with Savage and Thomson; the Duchess of Queensberry with Gay; the Prince of Wales through Lyttelton with Glover, Mallet, Brooke, Ralph and Thomson; Viscount Cobham with Pope, Thomson and numerous others; and to a lesser extent partial patrons such as Burlington, the Earl of Lincoln and Tyrconnel. This nexus of patrons, assisted by the catalytic efforts of Bolingbroke, Dodington and Lyttelton who acted as go-betweens, all helped to shape the pattern of poetic support for the opposition. There was also the habit of multiple patronage in the form of subscription issues. The list of subscribers to Brooke's Gustava Vasa has already been referred to on a number of occasions because of its usefulness in identifying patriotic supporters in the crucial year 1738, but the subscription list for the collected edition of Thomson's The Seasons in 1730 included the Dukes of Argyll, Gordon, Hamilton, Montrose and Norfolk, the

1. Goldgar, Walpole and the Wits, 139.

2. T. Setcombe, "Lesser Verse Writers" in History of English Literature, (Cambridge, 1913), IX, 158-164.

Countess of Hertford, Lords Lovat, Bolingbroke and Bathurst, other writers such as Pope, Savage, Sommers, Arbuthnot and Young, and key patriot figures such as Pulteney, Chesterfield and Oglethorpe, though it should be emphasised that Sir Robert Walpole himself also took a copy, as of course naval imagery was not yet a controversial issue (1).

The poets also had good contacts in the City. Sir John Barber, printer to the Scriblerus Club and a long term associate of Swift and Mrs Manley, rose to be Lord Mayor and maintained the connection between writers and the city fathers. Sir John Barnard, another key alderman and influential London politician was also a member of the Stowe group, and the merchant poet Glover bestrode both camps.

A number of interlocking and frequently recurring themes demonstrated the extent to which British poets were focusing on a nationalistic message consciously or unconsciously designed to excite the chauvinism of the reading public. Firstly there was the development of the theme of Britain being a special country and the British a chosen people, a message of national elitism. For instance it appeared in Yalden's poem Conquest of Namur.

How are thy realms triumphant Britain blest  
Enriched with more than all the distant west.

and later:

The Britons are a warlike race  
In arms expert and famed for arts of peace:     ...  
Not all the bellowing engines of the war  
Amidst the storm can British minds afright. (2)

1. Sambrook, James Thomson, 76-78.
2. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 86.

Gay struck a similar note in Fable VIII:

Hail happy land whose fertile grounds  
The liquid fence of Neptune bounds  
By beauteous nature set apart. (1)

The versatile Fielding produced "Liberty" probably in 1735/6 dedicated to Lyttelton and Allen:

To thy Britannia then thy Fire transfer  
See how her sons have lov'd her heretofore  
While the bare sword oppress'd Iberia draws  
And Slavish Gauls dare fight against thy cause. (2)

Somerville in his Chase of 1735, in which the pastime of hunting was used as a political allegory, followed the same theme:

Hail happy Britain, highly favoured isle  
And Heaven's peculiar care .... (3)

and developed the eugenic concept with echoes of Pope's Odyssey:

Distinguished land by heaven indulged to breed  
The stout sagacious hound, the generous steed. (4)

James Thomson, the Scottish immigrant who perhaps made British nationalism more central to his poetic and dramatic output than any other poet in this period, referred to:

1. Ibid, X, 536.
2. Henry Fielding, Miscellanies ed. H.K. Miller (Oxford, 1971), I, 40.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 155.
4. Alexander Pope, The Odyssey of Homer, ed M. Mack (London, 1967), 207.

The chosen land, the last retreat of freedom (1)

and later in his masque Alfred:

Blest isle! with matchless beauty crown'd  
And manly hearts to guard the fair. (2)

The overall theme was of the benefits of being an island, with the contrast of fertile land and rugged landscape, not too luxurious or soft-making, conducive to liberty and self-defence against all intruders. The theme was emphasised by every trick of alliteration, rhyme, repetition and metaphor. It was not the atmosphere for self-effacing patient negotiations with a truculent enemy power.

A second recurrent theme was the expansionist interpretation of British history. This tended to glorify those kings and queens who had won victories against foreign enemies: Alfred, Edward I, Edward III, Henry V, and Queen Elizabeth. In addition there was glorification of non-royal heroes, particularly naval ones such as Drake, Raleigh and Blake. Overall the lesson of bold rulers defending Britain's liberty and acquiring territory overseas was propounded again and again. Prior at the turn of the century in his Carmen Seculare dwelt on this:

Show all the spoils by valiant kings achieved  
And groaning nations by their arms relieved (3)

in the second line here pointing to a moral justification for imperial wars. Again:

The bold Plantagenets and Tudors bring  
Illustrious virtue .... (4)

1. James Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, ed. J. Logie Robertson (Oxford, 1951), 472.
2. P.G. Adams (ed.), The Plays of James Thomson, (New York, 1979), III, 228.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, X, 160.
4. Ibid, X, 160

Mark Akenside, the precocious young doctor poet, in his A British Philippic of 1738, appealed to:

Come ye great spirits, C'andish, Raleigh, Blake  
Oh come disperse these lazy fumes of sloth ...  
Teach British hearts with British fire to glow. (1)

Pope in his First Epistle to Augustus in 1737:

Edward and Henry, now the boast of fame  
And virtuous Alfred, a more sacred name. (2)

This followed the same theme which he had begun more than twenty-five years earlier in the Bolingbroke inspired Windsor Forest, designed to boost the new Tory foreign policy of 1713:

Here o'er the martyr-king the marble weeps  
And fast beside him once-fear'd Edward sleeps:  
Whom not th' extended Albion could contain (3)

and he talked of "Gaul subdued". Similarly Paul Whitehead in his controversial Manners, the poem which resulted in its publisher Dodsley being arrested in 1739:

Be Edward wafted on the Faerie's Eagle wing  
Each patriot mourns the long departed king. (4)

1. Park, British Poets, LII, 223.

2. Pope, Poetical Works, 361.

3. Ibid, 46.

4. Paul Whitehead, Satires, Augustan Reprints (London 1983), No.223, 7.



Particularly popular because of its naval and anti-Spanish relevance was the Armada story. Edward Young in his Ocean of 1728 called on the present to:

Rival great Eliza's reign (1)

and Thomson's Britannia in 1729 devoted a major section to a description of the Armada:

When all the pride of Spain in one dread fleet  
Swelled oe'r the labouring surge ...  
But soon regardless of the cumbrous pomp  
My dauntless Britons came, a gloomy few ...  
And laid their glory waste (2)

In this and many more examples of poetry in the 1700-1740 period we see the use of historical anecdote to justify an imperialist, warlike posture, accentuating it with shame for the present. Linked very closely with this was a third theme, the idolisation of British sea power and the cult of the Royal Navy. Edward Young, for instance, wrote two poems on the subject of sea power, though he resisted pressure to become a full member of the Scriblerus set and lost his chance of church promotion by even consorting with them.

In his Ocean, an Ode occasioned by His Majesty's Royal Encouragement of the Sea Service in 1728 he wrote:

The main, the main  
Is Britain's reign  
Her strength her glory is her fleet  
.....  
The British flag shall sweep the seas (3)

1. Chalmers, English Poets, XIII, 406.
2. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 473.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, XIII, 405-7.

and in his Imperium Pelagi, a Naval Lyric occasioned by His Majesty's Return in September 1729 and the Succeeding Peace developed the same theme. The outstanding example in the first half of the period was Pope's Windsor Forest where sea power was pushed at the expense of land-based forces:

Thy trees, fair Windsor ...  
Bear Britain's thunder, and her cross display  
To the bright regions of the rising day (1)

and later he had a reminder in his Epistle to Burlington:

Whose rising forests, not for pride or show  
But future Buildings, future navies grow. (2)

In the late 1730's however British nautical poetry reached an absolute crescendo with a succession of writers ramming home the value of sea power. Paul Whitehead expressed this in his Vision at Stowe:

Rapt in thought lo I Britannia see  
Rising superior o'er the subject sea  
View her gay pendants spread their silken wings  
Big with the fate of empires and of kings....  
The towering Barks dance lightly o'er the main  
And roll their thunder thru' the Realms of Spain (3)

and again in his Honour with despairing irony:

1. Pope, Works, II, 22.
2. Alexander Pope, Epistles ed. F.W. Bateson (London, 1951), 150, Poetical Works, 321.
3. Whitehead, Satires, 17.

Ocean's god indignant wrests again  
The long deputed trident of the main. (1)

Samuel Johnson who was at the same time working on his rabble-rousing pot-boiler biographies of Drake and Blake caught the same mood in his London:

And call Britannia's glories back to view  
Behold her cross triumphant on the main  
The guard of commerce and the dread of Spain (2)

The merchant poet Richard Glover, who had already achieved huge success by communicating the patriotic message through innuendo in his pseudo-classical epic Leonidas, pursued the naval theme in his London or the Progress of Commerce:

Our angry fleets when insolence and wrongs  
To arms awaken our vindictive pow'r (3)

and particularly popular were his lyrics for Admiral Hosier's Ghost in 1740:

There while Vernon sat all glorious  
From the Spaniards' late defeat  
And his crew with shouts victorious  
Drank success to England's fleet. (4)

James Thomson was the poet of sea-power par excellence. In his later Castle of Indolence he reworked the theme he had encapsulated in the Rule Britannia lyrics for the masque Alfred of 1740:

1. Ibid, 20.
2. The Poems of Samuel Johnson, ed. D.N. Smith & F.L. McAdam (Oxford, 1974), 68.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, XVII, 22.
4. Ibid, XVII, 17.

Bade tyrants tremble on remotest shores  
While o'er the encircling deep Britannia's thunder roars...  
Britons proceed, the subject deep command  
Awe with your navies every hostile land. (1)

Henry Fielding chose naval themes at least twice. His Sailor's Song is thought to date from the 1729 Caribbean crisis:

The Spaniard with a solemn Grace  
Still marches slowly on;  
We'd quickly make him mend his pace  
Desirous to be gone (2)

and he returned to the same theme in his longer mini-epic the Vernoniad of 1740.

Lesser writers took up the same ideas, as Boyse with his Birthday of Admiral Vernon:

When proud Iberia insolently vain<sup>(?)</sup>  
Dar'd to dispute the empire of the main. (3)

Linked with the idolisation of sea-power in early 18th century poetry came a new poetic admiration for overseas trade which became a popular theme in its own right. Tickell in his Royal Progress of 1714 had seen:

Ten thousand vessels from ten thousand shores  
Bring guns and gold and eastern India's stores...  
Fearless our merchant now pursues his gain  
And soars securely o'er the boundless main. (4)

1. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 285-6.
2. Fielding, Miscellanies, I, 68.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, XIV, 533.
4. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 106.

Young in his Imperium Pelagi of 1729 also developed the idea:

Nor earth alone all nature bends  
Its aid to Britain's glorious ends ...  
Let Britain thunder or let Britain trade (1)

while John Gay in his Trivia of 1725 echoed the same thought and Richard Savage in his London and Bristol Delineated in 1744 picked up the theme with:

Two Sea-port cities mark Britannia's Fame  
And these from commerce different honours claim. (2)

James Thomson, as was to be expected, also developed it with even more imperialist vigour:

I see thy commerce, Britain, grasp the world  
and  
And bind the nations in a golden chain. (3)

Richard Glover took up the theme again in his London or the Progress of Commerce in 1739:

Thou gracious commerce from his cheerless caves  
The helpless wanderer man forlorn and wild  
Didst claim to sweet society. (4)

So trade was being idealised in terms foreshadowing Adam Smith, and the status of the merchant rose with the greater prestige attached to international trade. There was

1. Ibid, XIII, 527.
2. R. Savage, Poetical Works, ed. C. Tracy (Cambridge, 1962), 257.
3. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 370.
4. Chalmers, English Poets XVII, 19.

all the more reason to feel outraged if British merchants were interfered with by foreigners. David Mallet, Thomson's close friend later summed up the feeling:

It should be felt by British men  
When France insulting durst invade  
Their clearest property of trade. (1)

The period was to produce a number of poems glorifying particular aspects of industry and commerce: Granger's Sugar Cane, John Philip's Cyder and later Dyer's Fleece, all with strongly patriotic passages.

The themes already discussed led naturally to a fifth, a cult of empire, owing much, as the arts so often did in Augustan Britain, to the model of imperial Rome which was the major topic of teaching at schools and university. Granville was an early example:

Great Britain's Queen but guardian of mankind  
Sure hope of all who dire oppression bear,  
Freedom and peace for ravished fame you give  
Invade to bless and conquer to relieve (2)

which was almost a paraphrase from a passage in Virgil's Aeneid. Pope had drawn a similar picture in Windsor Forest:

There kings shall sue, and suppliant states be seen  
Once more to bend before a BRITISH QUEEN. (3)

Johnson in his London took up the theme:

1. Ibid, XIV, 40.
2. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 35.
3. Pope, Poetical Works, 48.

No peaceful Desart yet unclaim'd by SPAIN,  
Quick let us rise the happy seats explore (1)

and Thomson typically wrote:

Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands. (2)

Pride in empire grew upon itself, fed by poetic romanticisation. It linked with yet another theme, that of hostility to the main European powers which had rival empires, France and Spain. Granville had referred to Queen Anne as:

Young Austria's refuge and fierce Bourbon's dread (3)

and Fenton had to:

Gaul's perfidious head. (4)

Glover joined in the xenophobic trend, referring to Spain as:

Insatiate race the shame of polished lands,  
Disgrace of Europe, for inhuman deeds  
And insolence renown'd (5)

and Akenside was particularly venomous, bearing in mind the ill-treated British sailors:

1. Johnson, Poems, 76.
2. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 410.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 35.
4. Ibid, X, 392.
5. Ibid, XVII, 20.

Those sons that now ...  
Drag the vile fetters of a Spanish lord...  
And dare they, dare the vanquished sons of Spain  
Enslave a Briton? Have they then forgot? (1)

Pope as ever encapsulated the resentment about Caribbean depredations in two ironic lines:

And own the Spaniard did a waggish thing  
Who cropt our ears and sent them to the King. (2)

Swift, though a rare contributor on this subject, also summed up the mood neatly in his Character of Sir Robert Walpole, written in 1731 but reprinted in The Craftsman in 1739:

Though I name not the wretch you know who I mean  
The cur dog of Britain, the spaniel of Spain  
and  
The inquisition taught by Spain  
Of which the Christian would complain. (3)

Fielding attacked the French in his Sailors Song:

Or if we bend ourselves to France  
We'll teach monsieur more tricks to dance  
and  
Slavish Gauls dare fight against my cause (4)

1. Park, British Poets, LII, 221-222.
2. Pope, Poetical Works 409; Pope, Imitations of Horace ed. John Butt (London, 1939), 298.
3. Jonathan Swift, Complete Poems, ed. Pat Rogers, (Yale, 1983), 472.
4. Fielding, Miscellanies I, 67.



as did Thomson with his:

When France insults and Spain shall rob no more. (1)

The xenophobic strain was to re-emerge in many media and was an integral part of the attitude formation of the century.

A seventh theme which has some relevance also had origins in Roman literature; this was the apocalyptic idea of a present dark or at best silver age to be succeeded shortly by a new golden age when corruption would be banished and empire reasserted. Pope set out the thesis in his Epilogue to the Satires Dialogue II:

Here last of Britons! let your names be read  
Are none, none living? let me praise the dead. (2)

Whitehead put forth the challenge:

Sleep our last heroes in the silent tomb?

but then saw hope for the future in the Prince of Wales:

Such days what Briton wishes not to see  
And such each Briton, Frederick, hopes of thee. (3)

Granville had forecast the new era:

My labouring mind so struggles to unfold  
On British ground a future age of gold, (4)

1. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 465.
2. Pope, Poetical Works 422.
3. Whitehead, Satires, 18.
4. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 35.

and this was echoed amongst others by Savage:

But mark Augustus still above they rage  
Steps forth to give a second golden age. (1)

While the patriotic poets admired the navy and maritime imperialism, one of their other common themes was an intense dislike for the army, which was regarded as symbolising continental entanglements, expense and a threat to personal liberty at home. In particular they disliked the idea of a standing army. As Whitehead put it:

A standing army is a standing jest. (2)

Pope in his To Dennis had put it succinctly:

If there's a Briton then true bred and born  
Who holds dragoons and wooden shoes in scorn. (3)

Wooden shoes were a standard symbol of French poverty and loss of freedom generally. Johnson too had harsh words for the military in his To Posterity:

Thro thy Fields shall scarlet reptiles stray. (4)

and Fielding was contemptuous in the Champion:

Give each pretty fellow his share of command. (5)

1. Savage, Poetical Works, 86.
2. Whitehead, Satires, 20.
3. Pope, Works, II, 45.
4. Johnson, Poems, 87.
5. Champion, 29 Feb. 1739.

Another negative theme pervading the poetry of the patriots was the shame of political corruption. This was prevalent throughout the Walpole period and not peculiar to the campaign against Caribbean appeasement, but it is significant because of its perceived incompatibility with the new pure, imperialist ethos. Swift summed it up:

Oppressing true merit, exalting the base  
And selling his country to purchase his peace (1)

Lyttelton in his poem To Mr Glover put it typically:

Eternal taxes, treaties for a day  
Servants that rule, senates that obey. (2)

and Thomson gives an example of the popular identification of party with corruption:

On our vitals selfish parties prey  
And deep corruption eats our souls away. (3)

Akenside demonstrated the even more strident tone of the late 1730s:

... baneful vice  
How it unmans a nation, yet I'll try  
I'll aim to shake this vile degenerate sloth (4)

Thus in the 1729-39 period particularly the poets identified Walpole's corruption with what they regarded as his shameful reluctance to tackle colonial problems firmly. Their definition of virtue was naturally the opposite with the common adjectives

1. Swift, Poetical Works, ed. H. Davis, (Oxford, 1967), 87.
2. Lyttelton, Works, III, 193; Chalmers, English Poets, XIV, 187.
3. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 464.
4. Park, British Poets, LII, 221.

"dauntless" (Thomson), and "valiant" (Prior). Swift had set the tone in his Ode to Oxford of 1716:

How blest is he who for his country dies  
Since death pursues the coward as he flies (1)

as had the senior Scriblerian Matthew Prior in his Carmen Seculare:

The wounds of patriots in their country's cause  
And happy power sustained by wholesome laws. (2)

As has already been shown the poetry of the opposition patriots made deliberate use of the emotions to help achieve its persuasive power. Even in the early examples this was evident, for example in Granville:

Rise from our ashes some avenging hand  
To crush the tyrants and invade their land (3)

but in the late 1730s emotive exploitation became more blatant. Pope in his Epilogue to the Satires Dialogue I, published in May 1738, provided a fine example:

Old England's genius, rough with many a Scar  
Dragg'd in the dust! his arms hang idly round,  
His Flag inverted trails along the ground!  
Our youth, all livery'd o'er with foreign gold,  
Before her dance ... (4)

Johnson too milked the idea of British sailors in captivity with:

1. Swift, Poetical Works, 156.
2. Chalmers, English Poets, X, 160.
3. Ibid, XI, 48.
4. Pope, Poetical Works 414.

His tortur'd Sons shall die before his Face  
While he lies melting in a lewd Embrace (1)

and Whitehead was predictably extreme in his To Pope:

Each heart shall bleed each eye with pity flow  
If to revenge you swell the sounding strain;  
Revenge and fury fire each English swain (2)

as was young Akenside in his A British Philippic:

With patriot zeal inspirit every breast  
And fire each British heart with British wrongs. (3)

The desperate Savage sought to follow the same fashion:

And Guardian patriots thence inspire the Land ...  
The patriot throb that beats, her eye the tear reveals (4)

and Miller in a piece two years after the war started, his The Year '41:

To describe our eminence in shame  
Our impotence in all that merits fame. (5)

The loading of emotive alliterations, short sharp clauses, many single syllable words like "fire", "shame" and "zeal", all helped to create the persuasive effect. This was

1. Johnson, Poems, 88.
2. Whitehead, Satires, 21.
3. Park, British Poets, LII, 220.
4. Savage, Poetical Works, 222.
5. Gentleman's Magazine, Mar. 1741.

extended by the slightly more subtle repetition of a number of sentimentally symbolic phrases or metaphors (1). "Old England" for instance, a word combination used by Pope is also found very frequently in other writers. Swift used it in his Windsor Prophecy of 1711:

Then let old England make good cheer. (2)

The phrase was helped to popularity by its inbuilt alliteration and easy iambic scansion. The use of "Old Thames" in the same way by Charles Pitt and others is parallel, as was the frequent use of the evocative "Albion" which also, like "Britannia", fitted the Augustan poetic rhythm. It ranged from Tickell's:

Hail Albion's cliff (3)

or Pope's:

When Albion sends her eager sons to war

and:

High in the air Britannia's standard flies. (4)

and Prior's:

And lo Britannia's lions waving there (5)

1. B. Charleston, Emotional and affective means of expression in English (Berne, 1960), 133.
2. Swift, Poetical Works, 96.
3. Chalmers, English Poets, XI, 107.
4. Pope, Poetical Works 40.
5. Chalmers, English Poets, X, 161.

to Thomson's numerous workings of the "Britannia" theme, building up the image. Pope was enthusiastic about a return to the old English language:

Summon old words that long have slept to wake  
Words that once Bacon and true Raleigh spake (1)

which went with the desired revival of "the old English spirit". Traditional visual symbols were important as when Philips had used St George in his To Lord Carteret:

Behold Britannia waves her flag on high. (2)

The British lion was to become more popular in all media. Savage used it in his poem to George I:

But when her (Turkey's) menace braves our envied shore  
She trembles at the British Lyon's roar (3)

and Christopher Smart applied xenophobia to pets:

Well of all the dogs it stands confessed  
Your English bulldogs are the best. (4)

While British images were well utilised the patriotic poets showed exceptional fondness for classical structures. Pope's period of imitating Horace coincided with his most virulent attack on Walpole. Both Johnson and Whitehead imitated the satires of Juvenal, Akenside used the Philippic model for one of his most strongly pro-war poems and Fielding made his Vernoniad a pastiche on the Aeneid:

1. Pope, Works, IV, 331.
2. Ambrose Philips, Poems ed. M.G. Segal (Oxford, 1937), 191.
3. Savage, Poetical Works, 85.
4. C. Smart, Collected Works, ed. N. Callan (London, 1949), I, 61.

Arms and the man I sing who greatly bore  
Augusta's flag to Portobello's shore. (1)

Glover with his Leonidas, Thomson and Akenside all tended towards Greek rather than Roman models, but the overall quarrying of the classics by the patriotic poets helped make it easier for them to communicate with their audience, for whom such material was very easily digestible (2). Of all the classical techniques which became particularly popular in the late 1730s satire was the most important, tinged with an ironic sarcasm born of years of opposition frustration. Pope provided a fine example in his First Epistle of the Second Book of Horace Imitated (To Augustus) of May 1737:

New-market's Glory rose, as Britain's fell. (3)

and he, Johnson and Whitehead were the prime providers of this style, though Pitt, Pulteney and Chesterfield applied the same technique in parliamentary speeches.

In attempting to assess the overall impact of the poetic output of the opposition in terms of contributing to a change of attitudes about war with Spain, various factors have to be considered. Firstly, the effect of poetry cannot be isolated from other art forms. Secondly, it is not easy to distinguish between the effects of the longer term xenophobic build-up which could be traced back to Shakespeare or beyond and the effect of the particularly strident pro-war poetry of the late 1730s. However the volume of material produced, the consistency of its message, and the levels of sales and readership achieved, make it highly likely that poetry did make a contribution to the war fever. The priest Douglas "remembered well the effect that [Johnson's] London produced" and Boswell noted Oglethorpe's warm approval of the poem (4).

1. T.R. Cleary, Henry Fielding Political Writer (Ontario, 1984), 147; Champion 22 Jan. 1741.
2. B.H. Stern, The Rise of Romantic Hellenism (New York, 1969). 30.
3. Pope, Poetical Works 305.
4. J. Boswell, Life of Johnson, ed. J.W. Croker (London, 1839), I, 138; D. Greene The Politics of Samuel Johnson, (Athens, Georgia, 1990), 88.



There was Arbuthnot's famous comment that Gay was an "obstruction to the peace of Europe"(1) albeit that referred to his poetry as performed on stage. Probably the single most telling contribution came from Pope, mainly because he was an established literary figure who regularly sold well. There was a gap in his interest in foreign affairs between his Bolingbroke-inspired Windsor Forest of 1713 and the remarkable output of satire in 1737-8. He had entertained the Prince of Wales in Twickenham in 1735, renewed his friendship with Bolingbroke and been drawn into the Cobham/Lyttelton circle. In April 1737 he produced the Second Epistle to an unknown friend of Cobham, then in May The First Epistle of the Second Book. In January 1738 came the Sixth Epistle of the Fourth Book addressed to Murray, shortly to act as lawyer for the merchants' petition. An Imitation of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book of Horace was published on March 1st, six days before the depredations debate on 7th March 1738 and the First Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated when the debate was at its height, a week before the public production of Jenkins' ear(2). It is clear that Pope was anxious to help his political friends and that is what he did. Just the odd ironic comment of his was often more effective than complete propagandist poems written by others.

Of the other major poets Gay and Thomson were probably the most influential in propaganda terms, though Gay's poetry was at its most telling on the stage. Thomson, despite or perhaps because of being a Scot, was more consistently nationalist in a British sense, deploying a whole new fashion of blank verse and romantic nature-worship alongside the panegyric tradition and pushing forward a deliberate policy of oceanic imperialism over a twenty year period:

Your well-earned empire of the deep. (3)

Certain images persist through Thomson, such as the heat of:

1. Lyttelton, Memoirs, I, 232; W.H. Irving, John Gay (Durham, 1940), 43.
2. Berry, Reginald, A Pope Chronology (London, 1988), 142.
3. Thomson, Complete Poetical Works, 476.

and patriots borrow flame (1)  
Patriots ardent as summer's noon (2)  
Burn in the patriot's thoughts (3)

or the metaphor of thunder as gunfire:

nor ceased the British thunder here to rage (4)  
sleeping thunder (5)

and short emotive phrases often repeated in slightly different forms and akin to the short sharp sentences which made Bolingbroke's propaganda so effective:

violated merchant (6)  
slyly conquering Gaul (7)  
secret leaguings nations (8)  
the insulting Spaniard (9)  
despise my navies (10)  
beseeching of rejected peace (11)

1. Ibid, 479. ✓
2. Ibid, 379.
3. Ibid, 479.
4. Ibid, 384.
5. Ibid, 472.
6. Ibid, 472.
7. Ibid, 401.
8. Ibid, 408.
9. Ibid, 472.
10. Ibid, 472.
11. Ibid, 422.

drooping warship (12)

Though his Liberty was not commercially very successful and some of his plays like Sophonisba (for which, see the next chapter) were relatively short-lived, the overall emotive message of Thomson's input was substantial and his influence, at least amongst decision influencers in his own time considerable. More than any other poet he put across the message that:

The winds and seas are Britain's wide domain  
And not a sail but by permission spreads. (2)

Readership was extensive; for example his Ode to the Prince of Wales in 1737 was published in the London Evening Post, Fog's Weekly, the Gentleman's Magazine and the London Magazine. Most similar in approach, though less successful, was Richard Savage, again a poet much admired in his own lifetime, particularly by Thomson and Johnson, despite commercial failure and a life marred by personal bitterness about his bastard aristocratic birth. Some of his early work flirted with Jacobitism; and, though his allegiances were erratic (3), he had the same emotive quality and nationalist obsession:

O England, I, to me the British state  
Rise in dear memorial ever great. (4)

His enthusiasm for transoceanic empire makes it not surprising that he was subsidised by Oglethorpe, whose work in Georgia he praised in his Public Works of June 1737. Several passages are very reminiscent of Thomson:

1. Ibid, 472.
2. Ibid, 410.
3. H. Erskine Hill "The Political Character of Samuel Johnson" in The Jacobite Challenge ed. E. Cruickshanks and J. Black (Edinburgh, 1988), 84.
4. Works of Savage, 104.

Oft where Britannia's navy spreads her sails  
There ever wafting on the breath of Fame  
Unequalled Glory in her Sovereign name (1)

and he was also believed to have given Johnson the idea for his Marmor Norfolciense (2). His mentor Aaron Hill, friend and supporter also for Mallet and Thomson, and himself a pioneer of the Georgian colony concept, wrote a poem to celebrate the founding of Georgia in 1732.

Two other poets shared some of the lyrical patriotic quality. The young Akenside started producing work of this kind for the Gentleman's Magazine in the late 1730s which had a savage topicality, called by Johnson "outrageous zeal", for instance in his Phillippic:

... view the loathsome food  
Refused by dogs and oh the stinging thought,  
View the dark Spaniard glorying in their wrongs.  
The deadly priest triumphant in their woes. (3)

The versatile Richard Glover's London or the Progress of Commerce fell into the same category, and his much publicised Leonidas incorporated the theme at a mystical level while Hosier's Ghost treated it at the most populist level.

The other main grouping of poets was the new breed of satirists working in the shadow of Pope. The three most significant were the Jacobite priest James Miller, Samuel Johnson and Paul Whitehead. Miller had several stage successes to his name, so he was the most commercially successful of the three at this period. He was also almost certainly the author of the highly influential poetic tract Are These Things So? if not also of its follow-up Yes They Are. In the former he stated his standpoint:

1. Ibid, 147.
2. J.L. Clifford, Young Samuel Johnson, (London, 1955), 205.
3. Park, British Poets, LII, 222.

... love of Britain clings about my Heart ...  
Unquestioned Monarch of the water flood,  
Is she now sunk to such a low degree  
That Gaul or Spain must limit out her sea? (1)

and he managed some delightful xenophobic touches:

The Gallick Horn whose winding tube in vain  
Pretends to emulate the Trumpet's strain. (2)

Johnson produced only one major poem in the period, London, plus the fragment To Posterity in his brilliant prose tract Marmor Norfolciense. Both works were however very extensively read and full of nationalist paranoia. London, appearing at the height of the Jenkins furore probed particularly deep:

Behold the Warrior dwindled to a Beau,  
Sense, Freedom, Piety refin'd away  
Of FRANCE the Mimic and of SPAIN the prey. (3)

Whitehead was to satire what Savage was to lyric poetry in the decade, the impoverished outsider, notorious rather than successful, highly competent but flawed. At least his satire was biting enough to rouse the government into punitive action against his publisher Dodsley and himself in 1738. Equally notorious was the Jacobite poet David Morgan, adviser to the Duke of Beaufort, who dedicated the first part to his Country Bard to the Welsh Jacobite M.P. John Morgan and the second to his colleague Watkins William Wyn. This poem embodied the Jacobite version of sentimental partiotism, delighting in the outbreak of the Caribbean war, and though the work does not seem to have achieved wide readership Morgan was one of those

1. Are Things So? (Anon) Augustan Reprints (Los Angeles, 1972) 13.
2. Ibid, 16.
3. Johnson, Poems, 73.

rare writers who eventually went to the scaffold for his ideals in 1746 (1). Of the remainder of the patriot poets most were relatively minor influences or better known as dramatists like Hill or Mallet or lyricists like Carey, so their work will be discussed in later chapters. Beneath the layer of acknowledged poets there was a whole stratum of anonymous or amateur contributors producing ephemeral verse which was important because the wit and mnemonic qualities of poetry were recognised as an effective medium for communicating viewpoints in this period. This was particularly encouraged by Cave who gave space to political poetry in the Gentleman's Magazine and Mere who made telling use of short verse pieces in the London Evening Post. Cave for example in his November 1739 issue published an anonymous On the Declaration of War against Spain: a Rhapsody which included:

The British lion bursts and rampant shakes  
Nor a dread Haddock doubts a second Blake  
Equal the honour of illustrious Byng (2)

- not great poetry but good polemical journalism. Similarly Mere projected Britain's other sea-going admiral of the time:

First hath he (Vernon) roused Britain from her passive sleep  
And bid her thunder vindicate the deep. (3)

The versatile Henry Carey, better known as a lyricist, also wrote some significant political verse, for example his Union of Parties:

That trade and navigation  
Those bulwarks of the nation  
We should with life defend  
And not with tame subjection

1. Erskine Hill, "Literature & Jacobite Cause" 56.
2. Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1739.
3. London Evening Post, 16 Aug, 1740.

Be subject to inspection

Or to prond Spaniards bend .... (1)

Poems both good and bad were given a substantial boost in readership by inclusion in magazines and newspapers and by their direct involvement in topical controversy. Both by ridicule and passion the Augustan poets contributed to the build-up of anti-Spanish war fever in 1739 and the longer term national vanity.

In assessing to what extent the opposition poets had specific allegiances it is difficult to be precise. Clearly the Scriblerus group including Pope were originally at least under Tory patronage with a hint of Jacobitism, but by the 1730s they were equally patronised by Whig patriots such as Cobham, Chesterfield and Lyttelton. Many other writers were financially so insecure as to switch party patronage whenever it suited: Savage, from Jacobite to government, to Whig opposition; Gay from Bolingbroke to Walpole then Queensberry. Pope flirted with Walpole before going back to Bolingbroke, Fielding vacillated, Johnson has been considered a Tory with Jacobite leanings. Aikenhead was with the Whig opposition, as, if anything, was Whitehead. Essentially, so far as the poets were concerned, the party concept was less relevant than the combined weight of patronage and bookstall sales which without question indicated the commercial benefit of opposing Walpole's peace policy rather than defending it.

In trying to assess to what extent this poetic effort was part of a co-ordinated plan to force Walpole into a war, a number of factors must be considered. Certainly there was some evidence of deliberate patronage organised first by Bolingbroke, then Lyttelton with Cobham, the Countess of Hertford, Oglethorpe, the Queensberrys, James Hammond and others more or less closely associated with the Prince of Wales. It is also reasonably clear that a number of entrepreneurial printers, booksellers and publishers perceived a commercial advantage in assisting the patriotic poets to achieve a wider circulation: Aaron Hill was a generous promoter of other poets such as

1. Henry Carey, Poems, ed. F.T. Wood (London, 1930), 88.

Thomson, Savage and Mallet - for instance in The Plain Dealer (2). Dodsley was the most successful publisher of patriotic poetry, Cave and Mere the two most helpful periodical owners, Cooper one of the most opportunistic promoters. There is also evidence of some meeting-up between the poets; Thomson, Pope, Savage, Mallet, Brooke and others at the country house parties at Cobham's Stowe or Lyttelton's Hagley, the coffee house meetings, The Scriblerus Club and the Beefsteak Society; but equally several of the poets seemed able to produce a common theme despite being in complete isolation. Planned co-operation was perhaps less important than a shared sensitivity to the mood of the country and the direction in which it could be manipulated.

1. Plain Dealer, 28 Aug. 1724.



### 3. The Influence of Theatre on Attitudes towards War and Empire

The contribution of theatre, like poetry, to the change in attitudes leading up to the War of Jenkins' Ear must be considered in two parts: the long term build up of chauvinist sentiment, independent of party motive, and the shorter term specific effort to stir up national feeling against Spain from 1719-39. Before considering examples of polemical playwriting, there are several general factors which should be taken into account to help in assessing the overall impact of theatrical performances at this time.

Firstly in terms of audience exposure it should be remembered that revivals of older plays were just as important as new ones; for example the revivals of Joseph Addison's Cato and George Sewell's Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh were probably more important politically in 1738/9 than any new plays written that year. Similarly plays such as Shakespeare's Henry V and Dryden's Arthur, made topical with a few minor textual adjustments, took on substantial significance in a politically sensitive atmosphere (1).

Secondly theatre was the most vulnerable of all media in Walpole's era to the imposition of censorship. Even before the passing of the Licensing Act of 1737 led to the closure of three small theatres and the last minute cancellation of major patriot plays such as Henry Brooke's Gustavus Vasa and James Thomson's Edward and Leonora, there had been a number of instances of forced withdrawals because of government objections. John Gay's Polly and Henry Fielding's Grub Street Opera were two examples. This vulnerability of the theatre led not only to the non-performance of a number of plays which could otherwise have been amongst the most influential, but also to the tendency for authors to score their points by tenuous innuendo rather than direct comment. Plays such as Fielding's The Historical Register of 1736, which in its day was regarded as outrageously critical of the government,

1. Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-50 (Cambridge, 1925), 20.

appear to a modern reader almost innocuous; it was the nuances of the lines and the actors' gestures which often put across the writers' message, what the Daily Gazetteer called "the power of such exhibitions to make a minister appear ridiculous to a people." (1)

A third general feature of early eighteenth century drama was the large number of plays written by non-established authors. Many of the popular chauvinist plays came from writers who appear to have only managed one play in their entire careers - Henry Brooke, author of Gustavus Vasa, was one example, an Irishman whose other output barely stretched beyond a single minor novel. Numerous other playwrights appear on the lists with perhaps one or two offerings and a couple of poems accounting for their entire careers: Thomas Southerne, Samuel Madden, Nicholas Brady, Francis Lynch and others. William Havard, the actor, had a slightly larger output, and acting was shown to be one successful avenue into play writing by the most productive of all writers in this period, albeit not on the side of the patriots: Colley Cibber. Defoe, under his pseudonym of Charles Johnson, commented "you'd think the whole town full with playwrights"(2). Only a handful of the writers however achieved any reasonably consistent level of success by combining output with a pro-patriotic stance. Henry Fielding had a short, brilliant career during his opposition period of around 1735-7 before the Licensing Act forced him away from the stage to journalism and novel writing. John Gay, though he was as much librettist as playwright, was briefly also very successful; and the other major contributors included James Thomson, George Lillo and Aaron Hill.

A fourth general factor which must be borne in mind in making any assessment of political impact is that there were very large numbers of productions on the London stage during this period which contained absolutely no reference to contemporary politics. Numerous farces, most of the works of Colley Cibber, many translations of Molière and numbers of other productions fall into this category. Even those plays which were recognised as having a chauvinist content and which may have been

1. P. Loftis, The Politics of Drama in Augustan England (Oxford, 1963), 137.

2. Charles Johnson, The Successful Pyrate (London, 1713), 3.

influential, usually only exhibited it for brief moments of an otherwise non-controversial play. But these brief moments were often enough; a single innuendo could excite the audience. As Fielding remarked through one of his actors "nay I'll only name 'em, that's enough to set the audience hooting"(1). Similarly Egmont noted how the Prince of Wales applauded especially at one mention of liberty in Eurydice Hiss'd with all the side effects that such a person's applauding would have on the rest of audience(2).

So far as calculating the potential impact of specific productions or theatre in general is concerned there is an inevitable shortage of both qualitative and quantitative evidence. The records of numbers of performances do survive, together with an approximate idea of the capacity of the main theatres, so assuming viable levels of occupancy - productions were rapidly pulled off if this was not achieved - it is possible to make rough estimates of the percentage exposure of particular plays (3). On this basis it is reasonable to suggest that the longer running productions like The Beggar's Opera, which ran for sixty days in Drury Lane were probably seen by a very high proportion of the middle and upper class residents of London. The statistics however are vague at best and even if they were accurate would not prove that the plays themselves exerted an influence on the audiences. This is indicated more effectively by a combination of textual analysis plus the various surviving comments on audience reaction. Arbuthnot's comment on Gay was particularly telling: "He is now become one of the obstacles of the peace of Europe, the terror of ministers. He has got several turned out of their places and is the darling of the city."(4)

This contemporary consciousness of Gay's influence is borne out by the government's decision to prevent the performance of his Polly in 1730. Equally the Egmont diaries provide a number of examples of first hand comment on theatre audiences. As noted, Egmont saw Eurydice Hiss'd the same night as the Prince of

1. H. Fielding, Historical Register of the Year 1736, ed. W.W. Appleton, (London, 1961), 14.
2. Egmont Diaries, II, 390.
3. Nicoll, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 8-12.
4. A.S. Collins, Authorship in the Age of Johnson (London, 1927), 148.

Wales and commented on his reaction. He and the audience enjoyed The Historical Register of 1736. He attended Havard's King Charles 1 at Lincoln's Inn Fields and remarked on the good audience response. He attended Dodsley's King John and the Miller in February 1737. On February 15th 1739 he attended David Mallet's Mustapha at Drury Lane, observing "the language of it is lofty but not bombast ... principles of honour ... and virtue ..."(1)

The following day he attended the parliamentary debate on the Georgia frontier problem, with Mallet's words still fresh in his mind. Nine days later, when Mustapha had its third performance, the West Indies merchants presented their petition on the Convention and were refused a hearing by counsel.

Another contemporary remarked on Mustapha: "It was written to please not to improve the audience and even to please by falling in with prejudices; the drama was so very apparent that at the first appearance of the play there was not a single stroke of wit lost on even the dullest auditor in the gallery."(2)

Thus there is clear evidence of a link between the "lofty" rhetoric of a patriotic tragedy like Mustapha and the attitude of decision influencers in and close to parliament. Egmont provided another example of theatre audience reaction nine months later when he went to see the revival of George Sewell's The Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh on 25th September at Drury Lane. This overtly anti-Spanish play was written in 1719 at the time of the Passaro crisis; was revived, significantly, for the Hosier crisis of 1729 and again proved popular in the Jenkins crisis of 1739. Three separate productions, a decade apart each coincided with a naval confrontation with Spain. Egmont commented "when any severe things were said which bore a resemblance to our backwardness to resent the insults of Spain, the audience clapped all over the house."(3)

1. Egmont Diaries, II, 375; II,364; II 339, III; 23.

2. Daily Gazetteer, 24 Feb. 1739.

3. Egmont Diaries, III, 83.

There was a similar comment in the London Evening Post on Fielding's Eurydice Hiss'd in April 1737: "the most splendid audience ... where universal applause is sufficient evidence that the old brave English spirit is not as entirely lost as some people might suggest".(1)

Further back there is evidence of the strong reaction both to Addison's Cato when Pope was present; and Gay's Beggar's Opera, where the Queensberrys took block bookings and entertained amongst others the Duke of Argyll. In April 1731 the Universal Spectator blamed Cato for "infesting the world with wild notions of liberty and patriotism!"(2)

Also during this period as a general symptom there was a reaction against foreign plays and foreign performers. From Addison onwards there was acute professional jealousy of the popularity and financial success of everything imported, from Italian opera to French farce. Addison himself attacked imported theatre vigorously in the Spectator. John Dennis in 1706 condemned "the soft and effeminate measures," Thomas Betterton "the squeaky Italians and Cap'ring monsieurs." Pope, James Miller and Henry Carey all attacked "the eunuchs and foreign warblers!" As Miller in his Harlequin Horace of 1731 put it:

Since South Sea Schemes have so enriched the land  
That foreign footmen against their lords for boroughs stand,  
Since masquerades and operas made their entry  
And Heidegger and Handel rule our gentry. (3)

One of many attacks on the immigrant domination of some aspects of the stage was the episode in October 1738 when there was a riot by the audience in the Little Theatre Haymarket against a group of French players, in the course of which, the

1. Dudden, Fielding, I, 189-90; Cleary, Henry Fielding, 98.
2. Loftis, Politics of Drama, 82.
3. James Miller, Harlequin Horace (London, 1731), 32; Rogers, Literature and Popular Culture, 53.

gallery led the rest of the audience in a rendering of the song In Praise of English Roast Beef (1).

Thus most British writers tended to indulge in a purely professional xenophobia which could become confused with their views on foreign policy; foreign invasions of British theatres were linked with the political threat of losing liberty. Pope had summed up the feeling in his prologue to Addison's Cato:

"Be justly warm'd with your own Native Rage  
Such plays alone should please a British ear (2)

Thus the cumulative effect of anecdotal and textual references to audience response at this period is significant, but perhaps even more important in proving the influence of the political message in contemporary drama was the reaction of Walpole. First he had organised the suppression of performances like Gay's Polly and Fielding's Grub Street Opera. Then he was stung even further by the innuendoes of The Historical Register of 1736 and Henry Giffard's stage adaptation of The Golden Rump - Giffard's role may possibly have been that of agent provocateur but this is somewhat far-fetched. Walpole rushed the Licensing Act through parliament and closed down three London theatres: Lincoln's Inn Fields, Goodman's Fields and the Little Haymarket in June 1737 (3).

Turning to the longer term development of the patriotic theme in the theatre, the early decades of the eighteenth century were dominated by the Whig panegyric tradition of the Marlborough period. At least four of the plays of John Dennis (1657-1734) fall into this category, which laid the foundations for the opposition version of chauvinism in the later Walpole period. Thus in Dennis's Liberty Asserted (Drury Lane, 1704) we find:

1. Dudden, Fielding I, 210.
2. Mary Knapp, Prologues and Epilogues of Eighteenth Century (Yale, 1961), 222.
3. V.L.Liesenfeld, The Stage and the Licensing Act 1729-1739, (New York, 1981), XXIII.

The English always were a gallant nation  
The foes of force, the friends of liberty ...  
Every brave man's country is the universe  
Such are the unconquered English. (1)

In his Gibraltar or the Spanish Adventure (Drury Lane, 1705) he came even closer to what was to become the Bolingbroke line:

I sing the naval fight whose triumph fame  
More loudly than our cannon shall proclaim  
Which with heroic force burst Europe's chain  
And made Fair Britain Empress of the Main. (2)

Similarly in his Appius and Virginia (Drury Lane, 1709) he took up the theme again with:

So fair Britannia o'er the world is famed. (3)

Addison's Cato (Drury Lane, 1713) similarly used the classical metaphor to highlight noble British patriots. Though fundamentally Whig in inspiration, Cato struck a chord with both parties when first produced and more so with the opposition Whigs and Tories when it was revived in the 1730s. Addison had already cultivated a gentle xenophobia in his Spectator essays, with attacks on Italian opera and French comedy amongst other foreign imports, and this in itself gave a patriotic feel to the play, which was taken up by Pope in his prologue:

1. Nicoll, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 86.
2. Pierre Danchin, The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century, (Nancy, 1990), 259.
3. Ibid, 425.

Such plays alone should please a British ear  
As Cato's self had not disdained to hear. (1)

Addison's own:

What a pity it is we can die but once to save our country (2)

epitomised the armchair pride in Marlborough's military success which was to help nourish the drive for nationalistic expansion fanned by Bolingbroke twenty years later. Significantly Cato was performed regularly each year throughout the Walpole period, including four times in 1738, seven times in 1739 and five times in 1740 (3).

A third notable writer of panegyric drama in this period was Nicholas Rowe. Ironically, his plays in support of Marlborough's war effort were banned by Bolingbroke and Granville during their period of censorship of the theatre, although they were along lines of which Bolingbroke very much approved once he was in opposition. His Tamerlane (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1702) extolled the virtues of William III as a patriot king and was performed on the latter's birthday each year for half a century. Again significantly it had seven performances in 1738, three in 1739 and six in 1740. Its theme of:

The noblest, dearest glory of my sword (4)

struck the right heroic note for the period, while his Tragedy of Jane Shore (Drury Lane, 1714) was also a regular with its:

1. Knapp, Prologues, 222.
2. Loftis, op. cit., 44.
3. Nicoll, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 295.
4. Nicholas Rowe, Three Plays, ed. J.R. Sutherland (London, 1929), 62.



Will treat you with a downright English feast. (5)

Similarly Rowe's Tragedy of Lady Jane Grey (Drury Lane, 1714) had a strongly anti-catholic message and his prologue to Mrs Centlevre's The Cruel Gift (Drury Lane, 1716) had the emotive:

The Bravest Senate and the Greatest King

Who's ripening schemes shall distant nations rule (2)

Most prolific and commercially successful of all playwrights during the period was Colley Cibber (1677-1767) the actor manager of Drury Lane. He was rarely political and if anything pro-Walpole whenever it mattered, so he was rewarded with the poet laureateship and a violent attack in Pope's Dunciad. However even he had one play which verged on the patriotic theme, The Non Juror (Drury Lane, 1717) which attacked Jacobites and Catholics. As a shrewd business man he quite often staged plays by other people which had some patriotic content; indeed he was a frequent stager of Cato and commented on it: "Let us rank the noble spirit of patriotism which that play infused into the breast of a free people ... equally with both parties." (3)

Numerous other plays of the 1710-20 period had frequent chauvinist passages. Mrs Pix was prolific; for instance her The Conquest of Spain (Haymarket, 1705) and The Adventure in Madrid (Haymarket, 1706), although they did not attract large audiences, had some strong patriotic lines such as:

Our ancestors without ragous or dance

Fed on plain Beef and bravely conquered France. (4)

1. Knapp, Prologues, 226.
2. Mrs Centilever, Works (London, 1761), II, 318.
3. Loftis, Politics of Drama, 58-9.
4. Knapp, Prologues, 222.

which echoed the popular poetic connection between Britain's diet and its war record. Similarly George Farquhar's later comedies had moments of patriotic vigour. The Recruiting Officer (Drury Lane, 1706) contained a rendering of the Grenadier's March and Captain Fireball's classic British understatement:

The French found it a little too rough for their Delicatesse. (1)

The period 1719-39 saw three crises in relations with Spain and subsequently three periods of stage writing characterised both by contempt for the government's apparently soft policies towards Spain and idealisation of the patriotic virtues. From the 1719 crisis came the influential Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1719) which was in the great anti-Spanish tradition of the previous two centuries, and as mentioned drew audiences also in 1729 and 1739.

George Sewell's only other play The Tragedy of Richard I King of England (1720), of which there are no recorded performances, also had an archetypal patriotic plot. Meanwhile the 1719 crisis produced five other plays with significant chauvinist content. Thomas Southerne's Spartan Dame (Drury Lane) had a prologue by Elijah Fenton which echoed the patriotic theme with its now traditional dietary analogy:

Crecy was lost by kickshaws and soupe meagre. (2)

Similarly Edward Young's Busiris King of Egypt (Drury Lane) carried the message:

Britons, the love of freedom is your ancient glory. (3)

while the same strands could be found in Charles Beckingham's The Tragedy of King Henry IV of France (Lincoln's Inn Fields), John Dennis's The Invader of his Country (Drury Lane) and John Mottley's The Imperial Captives (Lincoln's Inn Fields). Thus

1. Ibid, 214.
2. Ibid, 215.
3. Ibid, 208.

at least six new plays in 1719 show an aggressive response to a foreign policy crisis involving Spain and contributed to the longer term build-up of war-prone attitudes.

The six years which followed showed a much thinner scattering of plays with patriotic references. Ambrose Philips (1685-1749), the original "namby pamby" of Henry Carey, wrote two of his only three plays in this period, both with some patriotic content. His The Briton (Drury Lane, 1722) referred to:

Britons ...

The love of Freedom is your ancient Glory (1)

and a year later his Humfrey Duke of Gloucester (Drury Lane, 1723) which was dedicated to Pulteney contained:

But sure destruction is the patriot's doom

When kings are only ministers of Rome. (2)

The Drury Lane Christmas production of the same year was Henry V and the Conquest of France (Drury Lane, 1723) by Aaron Hill who was to be associated with further patriotic output in the following decade. Between 1723-27 there was a gap in patriotic theatre output before Philip Frowde's Fall of Saguntum (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1727) heralded a return of the genre as a further crisis with Spain loomed in the Caribbean. John Gay's The Beggar's Opera (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1728) was not just a major milestone in political writing with its barely disguised attacks on Walpole, but it was effectively the introduction of a new art form, the ballad opera, which was to enjoy unique popularity over the next ten year period and to be a special feature of opposition theatre in the final years of Walpole. The Beggar's Opera did not have much to say about nationalism, war or foreign policy, but it was quintessentially nationalistic in creating an ethnic art form out of an imported fashion, plus at the same time using recognisably British music, some of it overtly political. The musical

1. Knapp, Prologues, 208.

2. Loftis, Politics of Drama, 89-90.

contribution must be examined under another heading, but it should be noted at this point that Pepusch who prepared the score, probably very much at Gay's direction, included 69 tunes of which 28 were old English and another twenty Irish or Scottish, a reworking of the stunningly successful anti-catholic Lilliburlero of 1688, and of Purcell's emotive, popularly patriotic piece Britons Strike Home. The opera was a massive commercial success for John Rich, helped by the Queensberrys who gave it a healthy start by booking twenty boxes and thus ensuring that the fashionable set soon came to see it. The Duke of Argyll was present on the first night and instantly recognised that it would prove popular; its political bite was proven by Walpole's decision to ban Gay's next offering Polly in 1730. The decade 1729-39 was to see some fifty ballad operas imitating Gay's format (1).

1729 was significantly both the year of the Admiral Hosier crisis in the Caribbean, Thomson's poem Britannia and a renewed outpouring of patriotic drama. Richard Barford's The Virgin Queen (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1728) had appeared at the tail end of the previous year; Samuel Madden's Themistocles or the Lover of his Country (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1729) ran successfully for nine nights, and it kept up the chauvinist tone:

But you, rough Britons with your curs'd bravery  
Have such a vile antipathy to slavery  
You'd rather die like fools, in Freedom's cause  
Than once survive your liberties and laws. (2)

The same year saw the first revival of Sewell's Sir Walter Raleigh (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1729) plus the equally anti-Spanish Corruption in Aragon or the Fate of Villainy (Goodman's Fields, 1729) by Thomas Walker. Nicholas Brady's The Rape (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1729), originally written in 1692, was reproduced with the Goths and Vandals written out and replaced by Spaniards and Portuguese. Its new epilogue

1. E.W. White, History of English Opera (London, 1983), 175-181; C.E. Pearce, Polly Peachum (New York, 1968), 40.
2. Knapp, Prologues, 216.

by Shadwell hit out at Walpole's Spanish policy and there was an implied attack on the Treaty of Seville, specifically showing concern over Gibraltar as a base necessary for the safety of British shipping. A few months later came James Thomson's Sophonisba (Drury Lane, 1730) appearing shortly after his poem Britannia and establishing his role as the leading combined poet and dramatist of the opposition. The play subsequently attracted some ridicule, but at the time had a strong message on the theme of the maritime empire of Carthage and a self-sacrificial ruler. The prologue set the appropriate nationalist tone:

For this a British Author bids again  
The heroine rise, to grace the British scene (1)

and the heroine projected commercial imperialism:

while Carthage  
Unblemished rises on a base of commerce  
Founds her far empire on the common good. (2)

The play won the Queen's approval, led to Thomson's meeting the Prince of Wales and made him one of the favoured sons of the Bolingbroke/Cobham circle.

Quite separate from this clique, so far as can be seen, was the new theatrical partnership begun at this time by Henry Fielding (1707-54) and the American James Ralph (1705-62) at the Little Haymarket. Ralph, in spite of a background as a Walpole hack writer, brought out his Fall of the Earl of Essex in 1730 which had patriotic overtones. Fielding's political allegiance was complicated; his aggressive Sailor's Song probably came from 1729 but his two plays of 1730, The Tragedy of Tom Thumb the Great and The Author's Farce (both Haymarket) showed no patriotic leanings (3) . It was not until the following year that he produced Welsh Opera (Haymarket, 1731) later revised as The Grub Street Opera and in its new form

1. Adams, Plays of James Thomson, *Sophonisba*, III, IX, 14.

2. Ibid, 49.

3. Dudden, Fielding, I, 89-91.

apparently banned. It contained what was to become one of the most popular patriotic songs of the period, The Roast Beef of Old England, continuing the familiar dietary metaphor of British imperialism:

Mighty roast beef shall command on the main. (1)

The tune, written by the bass singer and occasional composer Richard Leveredge, spread rapidly and was often heard on the clockwork barrel organs of the London streets (2).

Meanwhile the build-up continued with a play from the clergyman James Miller (1706-44) one of those gifted amateurs who also featured as an occasional patriotic poet. The prologue to his The Humours of Oxford (Drury Lane, 1730) showed his leanings:

T'is Britain's glory, she enjoys 'em all

Her native fire with French politeness graced ... (3)

Other performances with patriotic overtones that year included the anonymous ballad opera entitled Robin Hood and William Chetwood's The Generous Freemason (Haymarket, 1730).

The following year saw an increased level of new play productions with patriotic content. Particularly remarkable was George Lillo's The London Merchant or the History of George Barnwell (Drury Lane, 1731) which ran for 24 performances at Drury Lane, another eight at Goodman's Fields, and regularly during the following five seasons (4). It was dedicated to the reforming South Sea Company director, Sir John Eyles. It was important not just because of its patriotic tone but because of, in

1. R. Fiske, Theatre Music (Oxford, 1973), 27.
2. D. Jarrett, The Ingenious Mr Hogarth (London, 1976), 114-6.
3. Knapp, Prologues, 212.
4. Nicoll, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 342.

those days, the revolutionary portrayal of an ordinary merchant as a hero, "the famous, moving George Barnwell", as Egmont put it: "You may learn how honest merchants as such may sometimes contribute to the safety of their country as they do at all times to its happiness"(1). The play contained a gratuitous denunciation of Spain, but above all it stands like Robinson Crusoe and Gulliver as a step in the creation of the middle class mercantile hero who was the moral foundation of the new imperialism, whose injuries were to be personified in the sufferings of Jenkins (2). As a contemporary commented, it "was performed .... with great applause to a crowded audience, there being present most of the eminent merchants of the City of London ... they appear'd greatly pleased with play and performance". (3)

The second intensely patriotic tragedy of 1731 was The Fall of Mortimer (Haymarket, 1731) attributed to William Hatchett which ran for fourteen nights. One of "the most political plays, at the Little Haymarket", it pressed the anti-Walpole chauvinist theme very vigorously - indeed its cast suffered imprisonment (4). Its tone was topical:

Our darling liberty, our rights our laws  
 Subverted to support the minion's cause,  
 Commerce abroad, at home declin'd  
 Montacute aided by a patriot band  
 Those guardian angels of a sinking land (5)

1. Egmont, Diaries, I, 472.
2. George Lillo, London Merchant, ed. W.H. McBurney, (London, 1969), XVI; Kathleen Wilson "Empire of Virtue - The Imperial Project and Hanoverian Culture" in Lawrence Stone (ed.) An Imperial State at War, (London, 1994), 139.
3. J.L. Steffensen (ed.), The Dramatic Works of George Lillo, (Oxford, 1993), 127.
4. R.D Hume, Fielding and the London Theatre, (Oxford, 1988), 84-5.
5. Liesenfeld, Licensing Act, "Fall of Mortimer", A, 2.

which would go down well with the city aldermen; and:

See how the toad swells with his own applause ...  
That done to France in person I will go  
The flower de Leece shall to the Lyon bow

plus the ironically typical epilogue on commercial appeasement:

Then as to trade the losses we've sustained  
By glorious stipulation are regained. (1)

Thirdly of importance in this year came Eurydice (Drury Lane, 1731) which ran for thirteen nights and was the first play by David Mallet, a Scot and the friend of James Thomson. They later joined forces for the masque Alfred and its most famous aria Rule Britannia, the epitome of the chauvinist hysteria of the decade. Between them the two writers were to provide seven plays of genuine significance in the opposition campaign against Walpole. The two other reasonably successful patriotic plays of 1731, both produced by John Rich, were John Tracy's Periander (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1731) dwelling on "the guilt, corruption, slavery and ruin, of Walpole's Britain"(2) and George Jeffrey's Merope. Neither of the two playwrights had any further productions.

For the next four years the output of patriot inspired drama became more spasmodic again. Thomas Lediard's opera Britannia (Haymarket 1732) was an unusual and major theatrical event which will be examined in more detail later as will Walter Aston's ballad opera The Restoration of King Charles II which was more aggressive and was banned at the Haymarket in 1732. It advocated commercial imperialism again, designed to appeal to the London audience:

1. Ibid, 64.

2. Loftis, Politics of Drama, 109.



Britannia now erects her drooping head  
And usurpation shall oppress no more (1)

Fielding's The Old Debauchees (Drury Lane) was flagrantly anti-catholic and xenophobic, but did not specifically attack Walpole. Political theatre in the following year was dominated by the Excise Crisis with productions like The State Juggler or Sir Politick Riband, A New Excise Opera, The Comedy Excise, and Mark Freeman's The Downfall of Bribery. Excise had xenophobic overtones as a continental type of tax, but for the time being the emphasis was on that issue rather than foreign policy. The anonymous The Difference of Nations and the Dancing Europeans (Goodman's Fields, 1731) was more back in the usual mould as was William Havard's Scanderbeg (Goodman's Fields, 1733) which used the allegory of the Balkan hero king:

I ask not any to espouse my cause  
For I should blush at party made applause. (2)

Amongst other works in this period with modest patriotic content were Gay's Achilles (Covent Garden, 1733) Kelly's Timon in Love (Drury Lane, 1733) and William Duncombe's development of Voltaire's Brutus (Drury Lane, 1734) which ran for a week. Two lightweight pieces, Thomas Philips' masque Love and Glory (Drury Lane, 1733) and the anonymous Britannia or the Royal Lovers had minor satirical elements. Fielding's Don Quixote, (probably written in 1739 and dedicated to Chesterfield) "gloriously distinguished in the cause of liberty", was staged by Charles Fleetwood at Drury Lane (3), and once more dwelt on the dietary image:

Happy old England in those glorious days  
When good plain English food and sense could please. (4)

1. Liesenfeld, Licensing Act, "Restauration of King Charles II", 53.
2. Nicoll, English Eighteenth Century Drama, 17.
3. H. Fielding, Don Quixote (London, 1734), 3.
4. Knapp, Prologues, 215; Dudden, Fielding, I, 185.

It carried references to Gibraltar and the Spanish problem as well as reworking Leveredge's Roast Beef song:

Then Britons from all these dainties refrain  
Which come from effeminate Italy, France and Spain  
And mighty roast beef shall rule on the main.

Fielding's own Universal Gallant, the updated version of Dryden's Arthur with topical anti-Walpole material and Aaron Hill's Tragedy of Zara (York Buildings, 1735) maintained the pressure, but the heightening of anxiety about Spanish depredations in the Caribbean in 1736 was accompanied or fanned by a further upsurge in patriotic style drama. Aaron Hill's Alzira or the Spanish Insult Repented (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1736) ran for ten performances and was extremely belligerent with a cruel Spanish governor, "Don Carlos", as a main character:

That villain, Spaniard's avarice condemned me ...  
Gold the divinity of beggar Spain....  
Sworn the revengers of their bleeding country. (1)

George Lillo's The Christian Hero (Drury Lane, 1735) reworked the Scanderbeg theme with language which echoed Bolingbroke's Patriot King (2). In his Fatal Curiosity staged by Fielding, (Haymarket, 1736) he once more championed the injured merchant:

There's no more insolence that Spain can offer  
But to the shame of this pacific reign  
Poor England must submit to. (3)

1. British Drama, II, 1588.
2. Steffensen, Works of Lillo, 646.
3. G. Lillo, Fatal Curiosity, ed. W.H. McBurney, (London, 1967), 7.

His own Dutch ancestry perhaps gave him a particularly anti-Spanish outlook (1).

William Giffard's Merlin or the British Enchantress (Petty's Old Playhouse, Tottenham, 1736) had a patriotic prologue by Stirling and The Patriot: being a dramatic History of the Life and Death of William the Fair Prince of Orange by "A Lover of Liberty" may also have been performed at this time.

The trend in patriotic theatre was now about to peak. In April 1737 the Daily Gazetteer commented that George Lyttelton was actively recruiting dramatists to attack the government, so he may have been responsible for Fielding's more obviously political tone in 1737, and for Thomson, Mallet and Hill all expanding their output. Pope on behalf of Lyttelton or the Prince of Wales was involved in correspondence with the three dramatists on whose plays should be staged first (2). Meanwhile, ahead of all three of them, Havard reappeared with his King Charles I (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1736) which ran for nineteen nights, a reasonable commercial success with a strong political message:

From British scenes tonight we hope Applause  
And Britons sure will aid a British cause ... (3)

Britain the Queen of Isles  
Secur'd by nature laughs at foreign force  
Her ships her bulwark and the Sea her Dike (4)

The play had a particularly topical reference to the West Indies crisis with an innuendo against Walpole, who:

1. Steffensen, Works of Lillo, 656.
2. Daily Gazetteer, 14 Apr 1737; Cleary, Fielding, 107; Goldgar, Walpole and the Wits, 186.
3. Liesenfeld, Licensing Act, "King Charles I", III.
4. Ibid, 51.

... Buys popularity whose careless eye  
Sees our fair trade destroyed by corsair force  
And pirate violence. (1)

Robert Dodsley's The King and the Miller of Mansfield (Drury Lane, 1737) had a fairly innocuous text, but the author, an ex-butler turned writer, book-seller and publisher, was fast becoming a key member of the patriotic writing set. His play was interpreted as a cry for liberty, achieving a good run of several weeks. Less successful, but vigorously written and strongly against Walpole's foreign policy, was The Independent Patriot (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1737) by Francis Lynch. This play appeared to position itself for the new generation of patriots as opposed to "the nominal patriots" of the Pulteney group. It had the usual nostalgia:

our forefathers were rough but cursed valiant ... the scene is strangely  
changed ... to resent national wrongs is unfashionable.

The hero is worried by this attitude and replies:

Damn all ribands ... they have injured Old England more essentially  
than all her wars with France ... show the world by your conduct that  
we still have men amongst us who dare steadily assert the glorious  
cause of liberty midst the wiles of nominal patriots. (2)

Fielding had one more double success before the Licensing Act, which he had done much to provoke, brought the closure of his theatre, the Little Haymarket and the end of his career as a playwright. The Historical Register of 1736 (Haymarket, 1737) and its eventual afterpiece Eurydice Hiss'd were packed with anti-Walpole innuendo:

Lying, flattering, dissembling, promising, deceiving and undermining (3)

1. Ibid, 32.
2. F. Lynch, Independent Patriot (London 1737), 3.
3. Fielding, Historical Register, 48.

but did not particularly give any more credence to the patriotic opposition nor back the mood for war against Spain:

I think it [a war] the only way to make my country flourish, for as I was a sword cuttler it would make my shop flourish, so here's to war.(1)

Fielding was nevertheless close to Lyttelton and Chesterfield, who as the men behind the weekly paper Common Sense now contributed indirectly to the theatre when their scurrilous essay The Golden Rump was adapted as a two act farce and Henry Giffard perhaps allowed himself to be bribed with £1000 from Walpole not to stage it at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The precise relationship of these plays to the passing of the Licensing Act remains obscure, but it is clear at least that Walpole had been provoked too often. The Prince of Wales's enjoyment of the Historical Register would not have helped.

During the final two years build-up to the War of Jenkins' Ear the Licensing Act was a significant inhibition to creative activity amongst the patriotic playwrights. The only production in 1738 was Thomson's Agamemnon (Drury Lane, 1738) and its impact was seriously reduced by the fact that its main target Queen Caroline died shortly before it came out. Mallet followed on with his Mustapha (Drury Lane, 1739) which had a prologue by Thomson. Though the text appeared again relatively non-political it was packed with sufficient subtle innuendoes for the London audiences, now highly sensitive to hidden anti-Walpole messages, to pick them up. Appearing as it did at the height of the crisis over the Convention of Pardo, mere hints were enough to fire the audience:

The Prince has fought  
His battles with success and is sustained,  
Bring troops that know his worth, that idolise

1. Ibid, 57.

His forefathers. (2)

With Havard as Achmet and Miss Giffard as Emira even the play's cast had patriotic connections and its mystic imperialism struck a chord:

But yet the genius of imperial rule  
All incommunicable knows no equal. (2)

Pope who was acting as almost a literary consultant to Mallet, Brooke and several other patriotic playwrights, was at the first night (3).

Two major plays were banned when in the final days of rehearsal, a particularly damaging method of censorship from the commercial point of view: Henry Brooke's Gustavus Vasa and Thomson's Edward and Leonora. Both plays however enjoyed wide circulation as printed texts. The subscription list for Gustavus Vasa included substantial numbers of the opposition both Whig and Tory, many merchants and other key figures. Ostensibly devoted to Swedish history, the play contained a strong plea for British imperialism:

The clear sun who travels with thy arms  
Still smiles attendant on thy growing greatness,  
His evening eye shall see thee peaceful Lord  
Of all the north of utmost Scandinavia  
When thou may'st pour thy Conquests o'er the Earth  
Till farthest India glows beneath thy Empire  
And Lybia knows no regal name but yours. (4)

It had the ability to stir shame amongst the political classes:

1. David Mallet, Mustapha (London, 1739) 35.
2. Ibid, 43.
3. Malcolm Goldstein, Pope and the Augustan Stage, (Stanford, 1958), 58.
4. Liesenfeld, Licensing Act, "Gustavus Vasa", 15.

Sweden thou'rt no more,  
Queen of the North thy land of liberty  
Thy House of Heroes and thy Seat of Virtues  
Is now the Tomb where thy brave sons lie speechless  
And foreign Snakes engender (1)

and call for action:

I will  
Of private Passions all my soul divest  
And take my dearer Country to my Breast. (2)

Nobody could be deceived by the Scandinavian allegory and the language was so strong that the government's action is not surprising.

Thomson's Edward and Leonora was banned despite or because of its being dedicated to the Prince of Wales; but, like Gustavus Vasa, it sold well as a printed text, being published and well publicised by Andrew Miller at 1/6d with a run of 4,500 copies. It struck the same patriotic notes with the added value of a native British historical background. Its appeal to the Prince and Princess of Wales was barely disguised:

Oh save our country, Edward save the nation  
The chosen land, the last retreat of freedom  
Amidst a world enslaved ...

Let me preserve a life in which is wrapt  
The life of thousands dearer than my own ...  
Gloster the disgusted country calls upon thee. (3)

1. Ibid, 5.
2. Ibid, 81.
3. Adams, Plays of Thomson, Edward and Leonora, 28, 30.

The Prologue emphasised the author's point:

Fond of Britannia's fame and just to You  
He bids old English Honour live anew. (1)

Thus with two off-stage publications the theatrical prelude to the war of 1739 had run to the end of its course. Once war was declared the government's restraint on anti-Spanish propaganda was no longer valid, so there were a number of highly belligerent lightweight pieces: Edward Philip's Britons Strike Home (Drury Lane, 1739) which will be looked at in more detail under ballad opera but which carried remarkably detailed lyrics on the Caribbean situation, and Henry Carey's Nancy or True Blue (Covent Garden, 1739), another hysterically anti-Spanish ballad opera. Other ephemeral pieces of the period included George Downing's Tricks of Harlequin or the Spaniard Outwitted (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1739); The Tragedy of Philip and Queen Mary (Haymarket, 1739), an anonymous droll; Farewell or the Fortunes of War, an anonymous ballad opera; and Harlequin Happy or Jack Spaniard Hit (there were no known performances of either of the last two). One final production crowned the achievements of the patriotic dramatists, the cooperative effort of Mallet, Thomson and the composer Arne in the masque Alfred (Cliveden, 1740) which will also be looked at in more detail in the Chapter 4, but should at this stage be recognised with its best-known aria Rule Britannia as taking the surge of nautical imperialism of the 1730s writers to its absolute crescendo.

In assessing the influence of the patriotic plays in the 1719-39 period it would be useful to try to project some form of statistical estimate of audiences, but only the roughest of totals can be attempted. Drury Lane was estimated to have had a capacity of around 1,000 and assuming an average occupancy of 75% over ten nights a play might be seen by around 7,500 people. Clearly the figures for productions like the Beggar's Opera and Fielding's Pasquin were very much higher than that; perhaps even up to 50,000, but the average for the plays which we have considered was probably

1. Ibid, 6.



closer to 5,000 (1). These figures refer only to London performances, so that in some cases, provincial productions could be added. Certainly audiences were increasing steadily from the opening of Drury Lane in 1674: the Opera House, Haymarket in 1705; Lincoln's Inn Fields, the large theatre used by John Rich until he moved to the new Covent Garden Theatre, in 1732. The Little Haymarket opened in 1720 and Goodman's Fields in 1729, moving again to a new site in 1731. The increase in the number of theatres up to the triple closure forced by the Licensing Act in 1737 is undeniable (2). In addition there were a number of fringe performance venues which could be used by informal troupes. The Moorfields and Islington Booths are mentioned in 1737 (3). There was the Tottenham Court Fair where Chetwood laid on his drolls such as the Generous Freemason in which the message could be put across by gesture and music in a way which escaped the censor:

What they dare not to speak, they venture to dance. (4)

Merlin the British Enchanter which included a Spanish Giant Signior Farioso was played at Lee's Booth in September 1738 (5).

At one Haymarket masque an actor appeared dressed as a Spaniard called the Knight of the Ear, wearing a bloody star with an ear on it. Other actors dressed as sailors went around on their knees with bloody ears and mottos on their hats saying "Ear for Ear" and "No Search or No Trade"(6). Similarly The Craftsman noted:

1. Sambrook, Thomson, 91.
2. Nicoll, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 271-2.
3. Daily Gazetteer, 25 Jun 1737.
4. Percival, Walpole Ballads, XXIII.
5. A. H. Scouten, London Stage (Carbondale, 1961), 727.
6. F. Stephens, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum Division I (London, 1877), III, 250-1.

The English Jack Pudding bullied the Spaniard and threatened to treat him as he deserved. (1)

At Drury Lane there was even a performance of a Wooden Shoe Dance (2)

The ultimate resort was the use of puppet shows to ridicule the government's peace policy (3). Swift had mentioned xenophobic Punch and Judy Shows:

[Punch] reviles all people in his jargon  
And sells the King of Spain a bargain. (3)

The Gentleman's Magazine had an anonymous poem in late 1738:

As Punch assuming Spanish dress and pride  
Struts oe'r his little stage with awkward stride  
Fierce at the mimick heroe Porter flew  
As if by instinct England's foes he knew. (4)

The publication of plays in book form, even those which had been performed, was also an important means of spreading the message. J. Watts was the specialist printer of such plays - the vast majority came out under his imprint - and he also did cheap collections of plays. J. Roberts also both published and distributed quite a number of patriotic play texts.

Considering next the contribution of theatre management it is not always easy to detect any consistent pattern of political allegiance. Drury Lane, which began the period under the triumvirate of Barton Booth, a friend of the Bolingbroke/Granville

1. Percival, Walpole Ballads, XXV; The Craftsman, 25 Aug. 1739.
2. Scouten, London Stage, 705.
3. Swift, "A Dialogue Between Mad Mullinix and Timothy" quoted in R. Leach, The Punch and Judy Show (London, 1985), 25.
4. Gentleman's Magazine, Oct, 1738.

set, R. Wilkes and Colley Cibber, was generally expected to be pro-government, at least until 1733 when Cibber sold out to Highmore who in turn sold on to Charles Fleetwood. However Cibber did stage a number of plays which fall into the patriotic category, albeit not aggressively anti-Walpole. In the post-Cibber period the number only marginally increased, but these included the influential Mustapha and the revival of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1739. Lincoln's Inn Fields was managed by the entrepreneurial John Rich who introduced a number of innovations in order to attract custom, particularly when the new Haymarket Opera House under the powerful Heidegger-Handel team began in 1729 to increase its share of the total London market. Rich's response to the success of Italian opera was to lay on pantomimes and Harlequinades, paying higher salaries to obtain innovative performances. He was also responsible for introducing the major new fashion of ballad opera and the greatest commercial success of all the anti-Walpole stage productions in the shape of the Beggar's Opera in 1728. Certainly in the 1727-31 period Rich produced more plays in the patriotic category than any other theatre manager; but, once he had invested his profits in the new Covent Garden theatre, and after sustaining the loss on the abortive production there of Gay's Polly, he grew less adventurous. He was responsible however for three important patriotic productions at Covent Garden: Gay's Achilles, Carey's Dragon of Wantley and his Nancy. Covent Garden was also the designated theatre for Thomson's banned Edward and Leonora. Meanwhile Rich's former venue at Lincoln's Inn also continued to lay on a number of patriotic type performances until it was closed by the Licensing Act, including Havard's King Charles I and Lynch's Independent Patriot.

Between 1729-37 the two theatres with the most regular output of opposition drama were the Little Haymarket under the joint management of Fielding and Ralph, and Goodman's Fields which opened under Thomas Odell in 1729 and continued under Henry Giffard in 1730. Giffard however was rarely overtly political apart from Ralph's Essex and Havard's Scanderbeg, so his sponsorship of the aborted Golden Rump project is somewhat suspect. The general frustration of audiences with the lack of controversial native material after the Licensing Act was shown by the riot at the Haymarket when a French company was put on there in 1738 and the audience took

over to give a spontaneous rendering of the Fielding/Leveredge Roast Beef of Old England (1).

When the list of patriotic productions is analysed in terms of form, it is clear that they largely fall into five categories, all of almost equal importance. Firstly, there were the tragedies essentially on the classical or Shakespearean model with a plot based on a historical character - most of the work of Thomson, Mallet, Havard, Ambrose Philips and, with a slight variation, George Lillo falls into this category. The second type was the comic satire, with Fielding as the unquestionable leader and other contributors such as Dodsley, James Miller and some lesser writers. Thirdly came the ballad opera, the medium uniquely created in this period and uniquely successful in it. Gay was not only its pioneer but the greatest practitioner; Henry Carey was also a successful contributor as combined librettist and composer; while Miller and Thomas Philips also came into the reckoning. The fourth, slightly odd, category was the panegyric masque/opera; the Lediard and Lampe Britannia fell into this category, as did a number of performances associated with the Prince of Wales: Carey's Britannia and the Royal Lovers, the Thomas Philips/Arne Love and Glory of Britannia and of course the Thomson/Mallet/Arne masque Alfred of 1740. In addition there was Lillo's masque Britannia and Batavia, written for performance in 1734 but not published until 1740, with its further references to "haughty Spain" (2). Finally, there was a minor but possibly influential category, particularly at the lower social level: the droll or Harlequinade, ephemeral entertainments of which little record has survived but which nevertheless were often used to make a political point.

Turning to the recurrent themes and techniques of the period, the most obvious, as with Augustan poetry, was the heavy reliance on classical models. Walpole himself, referring to the patriot writing, remarked on "the chimerical schoolboy flights of classical learning"(3). Brutus, Agamemnon, Cato, Eurydice, Themistocles,

1. Dudden, Fielding, I, 210.
2. Steffensen, Works of Lillo, 469.
3. Cox, Walpole, I, 615.

Periander, Dido were all reworked to reinforce a patriotic point that classical heroes would go to any lengths to avoid national humiliation.

The second obvious theme was the adulation for more recent historical heroes and heroines: Edward I (Thomson), Alfred (Thomson and Mallet), Henry V (Philips), Queen Elizabeth (Barford), King Charles I (Havard), and Walter Raleigh (Sewell), were all promoted in order to make the current regime look pusillanimous.

Satire on the theatre itself was another regular strain, particularly the xenophobic dislike of Italian and French imported theatre or music, a paranoid hatred of the successful Italian castrati at the Haymarket Opera, linking theatrical chauvinism with worldwide diplomacy.

Fourthly there was the increased adulation of trade and industry, most evident in the work of the jeweller George Lillo, but appearing frequently elsewhere as the number of merchants attending the theatre increased. The loyalty of the London traders is well demonstrated by the number of them on the subscription list for Brooke's Gustavus Vasa, although many of the Common Council, listed as Jacobites, were notable for their absence. The ability of the arts to identify with this increasingly influential class was very important.

Fifthly there were a number of recurring metaphors, most popularly the one on diet, the roast beef/frog's legs and thin soup contrast also found in other art forms. There was also the recurrent use of patriotic symbols such as Britannia and the lion which again occurred in other art forms. This ability of actors and playwrights to communicate with their audiences through one or two apparently harmless phrases or gestures was critical in a period when outright criticism was made impossible by strict censorship.

With regard to the question of any orchestrated plan to use the theatre for propaganda purposes at this time, it is not easy to establish the truth. It has to be assumed that much of the inspiration for both writing and staging plays came from commercial motivation and that patriotic content was included because it was

perceived to be good box-office. The only specific evidence of political planning was the effort of Lyttelton to recruit dramatists on behalf of the Prince of Wales. Thomson and Mallet definitely fall into this group, with Pope and Cobham as catalysts. Hill was certainly at least on the edge of this set and so possibly was Brooke; also Fleetwood seems to have been of some assistance to them. The second major grouping was that centred round John Gay and Rich, subsidised by the Duchess of Queensberry and perhaps eventually centred on the meetings of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks at Covent Garden. This group included the artist and scenery painter Lambert, Hogarth, Whitehead plus occasionally Pope and Swift, so at least there is the suggestion that patriotic play-writing may have been a common topic of conversation. A third grouping centred round Fielding and Ralph at the Little Haymarket where Lillo was also a key creator. Pitt, Lyttelton, Chesterfield, Dodsley, Leveredge, Hatchett and James Watts the play publisher were also involved with this group. A fourth possible grouping were the musical fraternity who often worked with each other: Lampe and Lediard, Carey, Arne, Leveredge, and the librettists Miller, Fielding and Gay. Finally there is a kind of grouping discernible round the actor Havard who not only produced his own work but acted for a number of the others like Mallet, Hill, Stirling and Brooke.

The conclusion of this analysis of the considerable output of theatrical production with a patriotic theme from 1719 to 1739, is that given the commercial pressure on the theatre, it would not have persisted unless it had met with general audience approval; and all the evidence suggests that it did meet with approval (1). It is reasonable to suggest therefore that, combined with similar propaganda in the other arts, it helped to generate a gradual change in mental attitudes, a sharpening of national pride, an enthusiasm for empire, a sensitivity to real or imagined threats and injuries from other nations.

Johnson summed up the value of theatre in the 1730s in his A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage:

1. C.L. Barber The Idea of Honour in English Drama (Gothenbourg, 1951) 72.

"Those lines in which liberty, natural equality, wicked ministers, deluded kings, mean arts of negotiation, venal senates, mercenary troops, oppressive officers, servile and exorbitant taxes ... decline of trade, happiness and independence." (1)

1. Samuel Johnson, Political Writings, ed. D.J. Greene (Yale, 1977), 66.

## 4. Music and the Patriotic Theme

For several reasons music is one of the most difficult of the communications media to analyse in terms of its political influence in the 18th Century. To begin with music is by its very nature less obviously articulate. Secondly, many important scores of the period have been lost and the tunes forgotten: the whole of Lampe's Britannia is an example. Even when tunes have survived, the innuendo of their similarity to contemporary tunes with a particular political association is lost on modern audiences. Thirdly, there is a shortage of even anecdotal evidence of public reaction to musical performances. Egmont recorded visiting a Pepusch concert and the spontaneous outburst of "The Roast Beef of Old England" at the Haymarket theatre riot in 1738 (1). Similarly there is mention of the Half Moon Club Members singing Hosier's Ghost (2) and an excellent audience reaction to the first theatre performance of the updated God Save the King (3) in 1745/6. There was nothing in this period however that had quite the instant impact enjoyed by the song Lilliburlero when it first appeared in 1688 and was given credit for accelerating the revolution. Nevertheless the second quarter of the eighteenth century did produce what was probably the greatest concentration of successful long term patriotic music of any period of British history with the possible exception of 1914-18: Arne's Rule Britannia, the new anonymous arrangement of Bull's God Save the King, Handel's See The Conquering Hero Comes and the Leveredge/Fielding Roast Beef of Old England. The period witnessed a substantial resurgence in composition, a huge effort to make native English opera respectable and the rapid rise in the popularity of ballad opera. Also not to be ignored was the considerable increase in the sales of sheet music and songs for home performance. J. Watts was regularly printing around 3000 copies of popular scores, and some also appeared in papers like the Gentleman's Magazine. What must now be demonstrated is the link between much of this upsurge in musical composition and the political message being put out by the opposition to Robert Walpole.

1. See above p92.

2. Percival, Ballads, 144.

3. W.Chappell, Old English Popular Music, ed. H.E. Woolridge (New York, 1961), II, 195 and passim.



Generally music in this period can be considered at three levels: firstly, the serious composers like Handel, Lampe, Arne and perhaps Pepusch; secondly, the composers or arrangers who supplied the scores for some seventy ballad operas from 1728-39 - this includes all the above again except Handel, but with Carey, Leveredge and others in addition: thirdly, there were the largely anonymous writers or revivers of popular song and ballad scores, many of which have been lost.

George Friedrich Handel (1685-1759) had arrived in Britain well ahead of his Hanoverian patrons and devoted a forty year career to creating a musical infrastructure for their expanding empire. His Water Music, performed in the elaborate public relations exercise organised by the Swiss opera producer Heidegger, was a triumph for George I in 1714 (1). The heroic march from his Rinaldo was sufficiently popular for the Gay/Pepusch team to borrow it for Orpheus Caledonicus in 1725 and for the Beggar's Opera in 1728. His Zadok the Priest was an outstanding piece of ceremonial for the coronation of George II in 1727, his Atlanta for the Prince of Wales's wedding in 1734, Judas Maccabeus for the Hanoverian triumph over the Jacobites in 1746, his reworking of Arne's Britannia and his own Fireworks Music for the military triumph of 1749. All this combined to confirm Handel as the leading composer for great occasions of the emergent imperial state. Despite his at times unpopular connection with the Italian opera fashion, and despite the fact that there was no suggestion of his being a patriot in the sense of supporting the opposition to Walpole's peace policies, his musical support of the dynasty was without question on an imperial scale incompatible with meek submission to other powers. As Pope said of him "To stir, to rouse, to shake the soul he cares" (2). It is also clear that Handel had the capacity to produce what is colloquially referred to as a "stirring tune". Experiments have shown the physiological reaction to tunes like The Stars and Stripes Forever, Verdi's Anvil Chorus or the Aida March: there is an increase in cardiovascular activity, a physical or emotional excitement accompanied by an impulse to action in order to

1. W.C. Smith, Handel (London, 1949), 54.

2. Pope, Works III, 153.

release the resultant tension (3). Such tunes, often in slow march 3/4 time, often with a tendency to jump octaves, often with a lot of arpeggio and sostenuto, had the capacity to inspire martial ardour, a fact long understood by the organisers of military music. Purcell had had this ability: even if the Prince of Denmark March or Trumpet Voluntary was not his. Britons Strike Home composed by him for Dryden's Arthur was still the most popular nationalist British tune in the early 1730's. Handel, Arne and Carey all had this same ability in the decade when Walpole's peace policy was being undermined. They also understood the value of deliberate theme repetition as a technique to achieve quick popularity and recognition for tunes with a patriotic motivation. It can be concluded therefore that it was no mere accident that this period produced so many such tunes, and that they both reflected and enhanced the build up of confidence and aggression in the British middle and upper classes of the time.

Johan Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752), another German born composer, had produced at least two patriotic pieces in the Whig panegyric tradition with his Hail Queen of Islands (1713) and his Ocean's Glory (1719) (2). His association with the opposition patriots can be demonstrated by the fact that he was commissioned to write a cantata for Lord Cobham's wedding. He was associated with John Gay probably first on the Orpheus Caledonicus and then most importantly on the Beggar's Opera. Although only one of the 69 tunes in the opera was his own original composition, his score was a triumph and his role with Gay in creating what was virtually a new medium must not be underrated. In his Beggar's Opera he reworked 48 existing British tunes including Lilliburlero, Greensleeves, Valentine's Day, Chevvy Chase, Old Simon the King and London is a Fine Town. The inclusion of such tunes, many of them well established national folk tunes, turned the Beggar's Opera into an overtly nationalist whole. The inclusion of the ultra-patriotic and very popular Britons Strike Home from Purcell's Arthur was particularly significant even though it only lasted thirty seconds, because this tune more than any other had come to epitomise British chauvinism and continued to do so until it was somewhat superseded by Rule

1. Max Schwen and E. Gatewood, "The Mood Effect of Music" in The Effects of Music ed. Max Schwen (London, 1927), 146.
2. New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. S. Sadie (London, 1980), XIV, 357-9.

Britannia thirteen years leader. Its title was a common caption in patriotic prints and its inclusion marked Gay's work as not just a satire on Walpolian corruption but as a demand for a higher national profile. Another subtle musical touch in the opera was the inclusion of a tune associated popularly with the words Walpole or the Happy Clown, which even without words was capable of conveying a most specific message to a knowledgeable audience.

Thomas Augustus Arne (1710-78), who was reputedly at Eton at the same time as Pitt, Lyttelton and Fielding, is most prominent in our context as the composer for the Thomson/Mallet masque Alfred, particularly of Rule Britannia, the quintessence of Augustan artistic imperialism. Earlier direct associations with the anti-Spanish theme are harder to elicit, but he was closely associated with the move to anglicise the opera in 1732, following the xenophobic trends in London creative circles in attempting to foster native art at the expense of foreign imports. Seven new English operas appeared in that one year. Arne wrote the score for Addison's Rosamund in 1733, for Thomas Philip's Love and Glory in honour of the Prince of Wales's wedding and for Fielding's Tragedy of Tom Thumb the Great in 1737, the latter of which particularly drew him to the attention of the Prince who was of course to be his patron for Alfred three years later (1). Meanwhile, as resident composer to Drury Lane theatre, he wrote the hugely popular march for Aaron Hill's Zara which was encored at every performance and was for a while one of the key theme tunes of the patriotic opposition. On the fringe, he wrote the score for Harlequin Restored in 1734; and in 1738 his setting of Milton's Comus was a major success with extensive performance by amateur as well as professional groups. It was symbolic of the revival by James Thomson and others of the cult of Milton as the national poet of the age when Cromwell had first conquered Jamaica, and it paralleled Arne's subsequent scores for Shakespeare. The year 1739 saw both Arne's foundation of the Society of Musicians as a rallying point for talent and for the objective of setting up a national music school, plus his own none too successful collaboration with the Tory writer James Miller to score his Hospital of Fools. He also wrote the score for the King and Miller

1. W.H. Cummings, Dr Arne (London, 1912), 123; New Grove, I, 605-9; R. Fiske, English Theatre Music, 180.

of Mansfield, which was regarded as having a patriotic opposition message, albeit firmly muted. The libretto was written by the entrepreneurial Robert Dodsley, key supporter and publisher of the patriotic writers including Johnson, Whitehead and Pope. Even in the pre-war years therefore, Arne had demonstrated a capacity to assist patriotic productions and was contributing at least modestly to the development of national feeling.

Arne's greatest contribution to the nationalist ethos however did not come until after the war had started. His score for Alfred was the culmination of his patriotic output in the 1730s. As Wagner later put it "the first eight notes of Rule Britannia embodied the whole character of the British people". The Jacobites produced their own retaliatory version of the song; Handel reworked it for his Occasional Oratorio as did Beethoven in 1804. The masque itself included not just Alfred as the archetypal British hero, but also the spirits of Edward III, the Black Prince, Queen Elizabeth I and William III with their appeal to:

Great heirs of empire yet unborn  
Who shall this island late adorn. (1)

The Thomson/Mallet libretto exhorted:

Britons proceed, the subject deep command  
Awe with your navies every hostile land,  
In vain their threats, their armies all are vain  
They rule the balanced world who rule the main. (2)

The old dietary metaphor was used again in Mallet's wording of:

1. Plays of Thomson, Alfred, 214.
2. Ibid, 229.

For shall we sons of beef and freedom stoop  
Or lower our flag to slavery and soup ...  
What shall these parlez-vous make such a racket ... (1)

and the barrage of the rhetoric reached its climax:

Still more majestic shall thou rise  
More dreadful from each foreign stroke  
As the loud blast that tears the skies  
Serves but to root thy native oak. (2)

Arne's contribution therefore to the long term imperialist ethos was not inconsiderable. In the period after the war began he seems also to have been responsible for at least the rearrangement of the older anthem perhaps composed by John Bull which was relaunched in 1745 as God Save the King with some possible contribution from Henry Carey, but precise details are missing. The first performance made a major impression and was "greeted with huzzas" at Drury Lane. Burnley followed up with an arrangement for Covent Garden, while Carey, who according to one report sang God Save the King in 1740, may just possibly have developed both the words and music at that date from the earlier Vive le Roi: its style does have resemblances to some of his other works and it does fit his career pattern (3).

Meanwhile Arne followed up Alfred by providing the score for the xenophobic, anti-catholic, anti-Jacobite pantomime Harlequin Incendiary of 1746, an expression of honour to "George our King" and it may also be assumed that his later opera Caractacus, now lost, had a patriotic flavour.

1. Chappell, Old English Popular Music, II, 193.
2. Plays of Thomson, 227.
3. Chappell, Old English Popular Music, II, 194; P.A. Scholes, God Save the King (Oxford, 1942), 22; New Grove 1, 608.

Frederick Lampe (1703-51), a German immigrant bassoonist, became Arne's brother-in-law when they married two singing sisters called Young. He is significant in the patriotic context as the composer of the opera Britannia in 1729, of at least one anti-Spanish song and of the score for Carey's Dragon of Wantley. The libretto of Britannia, like the score, has not survived. It was written by the remarkable ex-soldier Thomas Lediard who had also been a stage designer for Handel, helping with the setting for the Water Music; he also merits consideration as a propagandist history writer on behalf of the opposition (1). While working for the Hanoverians in Hamburg he had devised new "transparent theatres" and his idea for magnificent symbolic sets was further developed for Britannia, albeit without much box-office success. George II was portrayed as a Roman emperor while Britannia herself, played by Arne's wife, appeared flanked by symbolic continents. This was nothing to do with opposition to Walpole's peace policies, but it was part of the overall build up of chauvinist attitudes, and both the composer and librettist were associated with propaganda activity for the opposition on later occasions. Lediard's style as a designer was also demonstrated in his setting for the opera Atlanta played at Covent Garden for the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1734: triumphal arches, huge pillars, the true image of classical imperialism.

Lampe's main direct association with the patriotic group was his score for the highly successful ballad opera The Dragon of Wantley of 1738, in which Henry Carey as librettist mounted a scathing attack on Italian opera, developing it into a general xenophobic theme:

But such is the good nature of the town

Tis now the mode to cry the English down. (2)

In fact Carey had referred to Lampe as "my learned friend" as far back as 1726 in his poem on the London composers. Lampe produced a number of song books; Forty

1. Sybil Rosenfield, A Short History of Scene Design in Great Britain (Cambridge, 1951), 85; Fiske, English Theatre Music, 137; White, History of English Opera, 180; New Grove, X, 419.
2. H. Carey, Dragon of Wantley (London, 1738), 32.

New English Ballads (1731), British Melody (1739) and Lyra Britannica (1745). Significantly the illustrations for his song books were produced by George Bickham, the talented engraver who produced several major anti-appeasement prints in the late 1730's (1). Lampe's service to the patriotic lyricists is demonstrated by the two- part drinking song published in 1739, The True Briton:

To Vernon the great fresh Bumper must be  
Who so bravely maintains our right on the sea.  
His conquering arms good supplies may obtain  
To humble the Spaniard and seize on New Spain.  
With happiness king and people be crowned. (2)

The lyrics are crude but the tune strong, completing the picture of Lampe like Arne as a useful contributor on the fringes of the opposition propaganda campaign of the 1730's.

Richard Leveredge (1671-1738) was best known in his time as a bass singer who worked with Rich and Gay at Lincoln's Inn Fields for a number of years (3). He did however write the tune and one version of the words in association with Fielding for The Roast Beef of Old England. First performed as an interval song in 1735, later incorporated in several of Fielding's ballad operas, the song soon became closely identified with xenophobic attitudes. It was sung spontaneously by at least one theatre audience and played on street barrel organs. It also was a prime example of the ever popular dietary metaphor which linked British food to British national success:

In those days if fleets did presume on the main  
They seldom or never returned back again  
As witness the vaunting Armada of Spain. (4)

1. See below pp 207.
2. F Lampe, The True Briton (London, 1739)
3. New Grove, X, 701.
4. Chappell, Old English Popular Music, II, 95; A. H. Scouten, London Stage (Carbondale, 1961), 735.

Leveredge's highly popular tune for Gay's song Black-eyed Susan was included also in the patriotic ballad opera Robin Hood of 1730 and it is not unlikely, given their connection, that Leveredge wrote the tune for Fielding's Sailor Song of 1729 (1). A collection of his songs was published in 1727.

The sixth reasonably successful composer with some patriotic connections in our period, although he was perhaps even better known as a poet and librettist, was the volatile Henry Carey (1690-1743) (2). He first achieved some prominence in the politico-artistic arena with the highly successful masque Britannia or the Happy Nuptials for the wedding of the Prince of Wales in 1734, which enjoyed 60 performances at Goodman's Fields and for which he probably did most of the lyrics and tunes. These included popular successes like The Prince of Orange's March which was reprinted in his Musical Century of 1737:

Brave grenadier rejoice  
With golden heart and voice  
For fair Britannia choice

and Britannia with its:

From port to port let cannons roar. (3)

His Union of Parties echoed the anti-Hispanic theme:

That trade and navigation  
Those bulwarks of the nation  
We should with life defend  
And not with tame subjection

1. Ibid, II, 641.

2. New Grove, III, 779.

3. H. Carey, The Musical Century (London 1737) 1, 11 and 21; Fiske, English Theatre Music, 173.



Be subject to inspection  
Or to proud Spaniards bend. (1)

Thereafter Carey displayed his versatility by writing first the score for James Miller's The Coffee House of 1738 and then the libretto for Lampe's score of the Dragon of Wantley. His most remarkable piece in the propaganda context was the intensely patriotic Nancy or True Blue of December 1739 with Lampe's wife in the title role. Composed after the declaration of war, it was an undisguised exhortation to greater naval aggression, an aid to recruitment and a justification of the press gangs:

Let the streamers wave over the main  
When Old England she calls me  
We merrily come  
She can't call a sailor in vain

and in triple time the jingoistic:

That proud race we'll entirely exterminate. (2)

Many of his tunes, like those of his contemporaries were probably derivative, but he employed the same type of heroic configuration as Purcell and Handel to achieve the long run on emotive words like glory and extract the maximum effect from words and music for phrases like:

Yes I must leave my Nancy  
To humble haughty Spain  
Honour calls we must obey  
Lo-ove to glo-o-ory must give way (3)

1. F.T. Wood, Carey (London, 1930), 88.
2. E.M. Gagey, Ballad Opera, (New York, 1937), 128; Scotten, London Stage, 806.
3. J. Nettle, Social History of Traditional Song (London, 1969), 141.

Though it started off as an interlude piece Nancy was expanded into a short opera which was technically innovative in that it was the first staged opera which had a realistic, contemporary theme and "Commodore Dreadnought" characters became a feature of popular nautical drama, a growing fashion for the rest of the century.

Through Garrick's Hearts of Oak to Dibdin in the Napoleonic period, nautical ballad operas developed after Carey's example were used to glorify the image of the Royal Navy. There are two other similar ballad operas, now lost, recorded for this period: the first The Sailor's Opera (1731 and 1737 versions) which probably included the Sailor's Song with lyrics by Fielding and a strong appeal for the "no search" campaign:

And while our ships we proudly steer  
Through all the conquered seas  
We'll show the world that Britons bear  
Their cargo where they please. (1)

The other was Farewell and Return or the Fortune of War (2). Carey's output of songs was substantial as shown by the two volumes of his The Musical Century. The list of subscribers to the 1731 edition included Pulteney, Pitt, Chesterfield, Lampe and Thomas Arne, plus at least eight families based in Lisbon and large numbers of da Costas and Mendes, suggesting Carey's popularity in city trading circles. Several West Indies families, including the Parrots of Barbados and Cooks of Jamaica, also subscribed. The painter Worsdale, whose portrait of Carey formed the frontispiece, took six copies and other theatrical or literary personalities who subscribed included Cibber, Rich, Miller and Giffard. His spirit is shown in The Honest Yorkshireman:

The man who best can danger dare  
Is most deserving of the fair  
The bold, the brave we women prize

1. Fielding, Miscellanies, 144; Cleary, Fielding, 180.
2. Gagey, Ballad Opera, 212.

The whining slave we all despise (twice) (1)

which reflects the type of emotive macho attitude psychologically so effective in many eras. Similarly the second collection of 1740 contained his Touch of the Times:

The statesmen rail at each other  
And tickle the mob with a story;  
They make a most horrible pothor  
Of national interest and glory (2)

and his Wish, a catch for three, this proper to be sung at all elections had:

Learn, learn ye Britons to unite  
Leave off the old exploded bite  
Rouze and revise your ancient glory  
Unite and drive the world before ye. (3)

Finally we find Carey's nautical theme again in The True Tarr, part of the deliberate on-going romanticisation of the Navy which was integral to the opposition's policy:

Blow high, blow low  
From fate or foe  
He scorns to tack about,  
But to his trust  
Is strictly just  
And nobly stems it out. (4)

1. Carey, Musical Century, I, 21.
2. Ibid, II, 6.
3. Ibid, I, 32.
4. Ibid, II, 8.

Thus, whether Carey had a hand in God Save the King or not, he must be regarded as a significant contributor to the popular development of nationalist attitudes in this period.

Parallel to Carey's work Nancy came the one-off ballad opera Britons Strike Home by Edward Philips (Drury Lane, 1739), composer unidentified. Produced at the end of 1739 before the news of Portobello had come back across the Atlantic, it was Philips' fifth ballad opera since he had written the Stage Mutineers for Covent Garden in 1733. It took the Purcell/Dryden aria, Britons Strike Home (previously also used in The Beggar's Opera) as its basic theme, and was perhaps most remarkable for its assumption of detailed knowledge of the West Indies crisis amongst its audience, even down to the appearance of a Guarda Costa on stage:

Briton to Guarda Costa: By what authority had you to board, search  
and plunder an English vessel ...?

Guarda Costa:...in these our American seas no English vessel should  
steer any course without meeting the same fate. (1)

The heroine Kitty sums up the new confident tone of 1739:

Britons now have changed their note  
Their native songs with them agree  
Which fire 'em to be brave and free....  
What breast feels not war's alarms,  
Nor can proud Spain insult us long  
Whilst Strike Home shall close this song. (2)

The spirit of revenge is prevalent:

1. Ballad Opera, Historical and Patriotic Subjects, II, ed. W.H. Rubsamen (New York, 1974), "Britons Strike Home", 13.
2. Ibid, 6-7.

Though our ships the Dons plundered at will  
And maim'd the true cocks of the nation  
We of plundering will give 'em their full  
And make 'em repent depredation (1)

as well as sentimental xenophobia:

None then with malice will our scenes arraign  
But they who hate Old England and love Spain (2)

or residual paranoia from the sense of built up frustration with Walpole's pacific policy:

The English have long been a joke to the Spaniards. (3)

Nautical jingoism as in Nancy caught the mood of the moment:

... a crew of Brave English sailors ... English tars ... What now tis Baso  
los Manos? What a strange effect an English broadside has on the  
temper and language of a Spaniard (4)

or reworking the cliché images:

Good news let all our merchants bear  
By each tide to London flowing  
The English sailors shall be found

1. Ibid, 10.

2. Ibid, 14.

3. Ibid, 12.

4. Ibid, 22.

True hearts of oak. (1)

Two other ballad operas stood out as advocating the patriotic anti-appeasement theme of the opposition; the anonymous Robin Hood of 1730 and Walter Aston's banned Restoration of Charles II in 1732. Robin Hood is known to have contained a spirited rendering of The March of the Scots Guards:

March on brave hearts be bold  
We'll set him free

and such evocative imagery as:

Thou, Pembroke sawst the English lion stride  
Whose fierceness did the Gallic troops divide. (2)

Aston equally exploited the popular contemporary images:

Britannia now erects her drooping head (3)

Particularly xenophobic and anti-catholic was the anonymous The Wanton Jesuit or Innocence Seduced of 1731/2. (4)

Overall the series of popular ballad operas by Gay and Fielding, the two most distinguished librettists, stopped short of the cruder chauvinism of Carey, Philips or Aston, but as already indicated with The Beggar's Opera, the ethnic content of the scores, the reworking of national favourites like Roast Beef, Lilliburlero, Packington's Pound, Britons Strike Home and others made sure that the general satirical tone was

1. Ibid, 27.
2. Ballad Opera, II, "Robin Hood", 7 & 15.
3. Ibid, "Restoration of Charles II", 53; H.G.Farmer, Rise and Development of Military Music, (London, 1913), 32.
4. Gagey, Ballad Opera, 165.

backed up by strong sentimental feeling for the self-image of the nation. The sources of many of the older tunes were Playford's The English Dancing Master and the edition of Scottish Melodies by Thomson and Stewart in 1725 (1). The regular revivals of The Beggar's Opera and the revised Arthur produced by Giffard in 1735 contributed.

In the field of popular songs and ballads many of the tunes were revivals. Bonnie Dundee for example was regularly revised: in 1712 as Over, Over Hanover Over and later in the anti-Walpole period as:

He the honour of England not valued a pin  
The merchant be damned, cries Bob of Lynn. (2)

Nautical songs were particularly popular, parallel to the growth of nautical ballad operas. Three examples were the anonymous Admiral Benbow commemorating the exploits of 1702:

Fight on my English lads; (3)

Vernon's call - a song for two voices by Mr Sam Cooke:

Hear, tis our leader Vernon calls; (4)

In particular George Barker's England's Glory in the Declaration of War appealed to the city traders with passages like:

Our ships shall soon be open'd wide  
By humbling Jack Spaniard's pride

1. New Grove, II, 74.
2. Percival, Walpole Ballads, 39.
3. Oxford Book of Sea Songs, (Oxford, 1986), 143.
4. Mss. Glasgow University Ewing Collection, XXIV, 64.

And our poor tradesmen full employ'd  
To their great satisfaction. (1)

and the very popular Admiral Hosier's Ghost with lyrics, probably by Glover, recorded as having being sung at The Half Moon Club and Vauxhall Gardens (2) to the tune of Cease rude Boreas (3):

There while Vernon sat all victorious  
From the Spaniard's late defeat  
And his crew with shouts victorious  
Drank success to England's fleet. (4)

A profusion of other such songs appeared in the 1739-40 period: Brave Vernon's Triumph, English Courage Displayed to the tune of Glorious Charles of Sweden, The Disappointed Sailor with its:

When before Cartagena town  
Where cannon balls flew up and down ...

or The Sailor's Lamentation with the same urge to attack Spain:

Come all you valiant sailors  
Oe'r the wind to proud Spain, let the wind blow high or low,

and Come loyal Britons all rejoice (5). From The English Sailor's Resolution to fight the Spaniards comes:

1. Firth, Naval Songs, 174.
2. W.H. and A.E. Wroth, The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1896), 33.
3. Chappell, Old English Popular Music, II, 166.
4. C.H. Firth, Naval Songs and Ballads (London, 1908) 72.
5. Oxford Book of Sea Songs, 91, 87, 93.



'Cause Captain Jenkins did them oppose  
They cut off his ears and slit his nose (1)

Little is known about the origin of most of these songs, but their style suggests fairly forcibly that they were more often written by shore-based lyricists than from the shanty school of genuine sailor composers. They can therefore be regarded as yet another component of the political pressurisation for Walpole first of all to start a war and then prosecute it more vigorously.

The other major area of political song writing was that of the satirical ballads, often illustrated broadsides with lyrics written by prominent politicians like Pulteney, Bolingbroke, Chesterfield or Lyttelton or sometimes by mainstream literary figures like Fielding, Swift, Arbuthnot, Prior or Glover. All were anonymous, so the attributions are based on rumour or style, and the tunes were mainly standard melodies. Two believed to be by Pulteney and certainly displaying his awareness of sensitive issues were True Blue of 1738 and The Convention of 1739. True Blue, perhaps written to be sung at the Liberty Club or the Half Moon Club for an opposition rally, was fairly general, more attacking Walpole than specifically concerned with the Caribbean question:

For our country and friends  
We'll damn private Ends  
And keep old British Virtue in View  
Stand clear of the Tribe  
Who address with a Bribe  
And be honest and ever True Blue...  
Here's a health to all those  
Who Slav'ry oppose  
And our Trade both defend and renew  
To each honest Voice

1. Firth, *Ibid*, 172.

That concurs in the Choice  
And support of an honest True Blue. (1)

The Convention displays a combination of political wit and poetic skill in that it successfully manages to achieve a versified parody of the Convention of Pardo itself, sticking remarkably closely to the original yet achieving superb satirical effect. Therefore Chesterfield and Lyttelton have also been suggested as authors. The first verse is a masterly introduction:

Ken ye Sirs for as much as some small Differences  
Have aris'n between us and Spain of late years;  
Because Don Philipppo on various pretences  
Hath plunder'd our merchants and cut off some Ears. (twice) (2)

It was sarcastic at the expense of the negotiators La Quadra and Keen:

By happy conceit this CONVENTION now varies  
From all former Treaties since ev'ryone knows  
All disputes were once left unto meet Commissaries  
But referr'd they shall now be to Great Plenipo's.

It stirred up the Georgian problem outrageously:

But sirs mark you well that e'er your distress'd  
Ye Georgians no more are to build, plant or sow  
For 'tis well understood tho' it be not expressed  
That Spain will yield nothing without status quo,

making also a cruel dig at the patience of the city traders:

1. Percival, Walpole Ballads, 107-8.
2. Ibid, 112.

Yet the Merchants of Britain no more shall complain  
Of searches or losses and limits and bounds  
Since we now shall be paid by Yo El Rey of Spain  
For damages Ninety Five Thousand Good Pounds. (1)

The ballad the Negotiators of May 1738 was also particularly biting and an insidious attack on Walpole's handling of the Caribbean situation:

Our Merchants and Tarrs a strange pother have made  
With losses sustained in their Ships and their Trade  
But now they may laugh and quite banish their Fears  
Nor mourn for lost, Liberty, Riches and Ears:  
    Since Blue String the Great  
    To better their fate  
    Once more has determin'd he will Negotiate  
And swears the proud Don whom he dares not to fight  
Shall submit to his Logick and do 'em all right. (2)

With thirteen verses of nine lines each, this ballad has room to explore almost every xenophobic trick in the opposition repertoire; the use of the "Irish don Diego" as negotiator, a scene where the British embassy is kept waiting while the Spaniards attend to their toilet, a spurious Spanish condemnation of the British merchants:

Merchants, ha, they were once sturdy beggars I think  
And were I in your place I would let them all sink. (3)

There was the usual pitying reference to Admiral Hosier, unflattering comments on the concentration of power on the two Walpole brothers, Walpole's dislike of the merchants:

1. Ibid, 113-4.
2. Ibid, 109.
3. Percival, op cit, 110.

I love them as little, nay, far less than you (1),

and ironical praise for the effectiveness of Walpole's negotiations:

He can quell every Foe

Without striking a blow

And conquer as far as his money will go. (2)

Similarly the ballad A Political Touch of the Times dating from just after the Convention poured scorn on it, deploring the change in attitudes from earlier days:

Then Spain dar'd not invade

our English merchants' trade. (3)

Particularly it criticised the lack of firm orders to Haddock to engage the enemy:

They might have stayed at home, their labour is in vain

They are all forbid to fight

And do their country right.

Again there is the sentimental recalling of the stronger policies of men like Cromwell:

Oh was old Noll but here

Jack Spaniard must stand clear,

He'd recompence their insolence

And make them quake for fear. (4)

1. Ibid, 110.

2. Ibid, 111.

3. Ibid, 119.

4. Ibid, 120.

A ballad called The New Song probably dating from July 1739 rejoiced at the fact that Haddock's orders were now understood to be less restrictive and expected:

He'll thump all the Spaniards that ever he meets. (1)

Again it dwells on the depredations and the humiliation they were seen to represent:

We're surely outwitted, or ne'er had submitted  
To'th plundering our ships with the loss of our Ears  
With cunning and Knavery, they'd bring us to slav'ry  
And make all our merchants dejected and poor. (2)

Significant in these political ballads of the late 1730s, which all employed well-known existing melodies, like Packington's Pound, were: the frequent repetition of irritating patriotic clichés; the constant dwelling on antithetical emotive topics like slavery and glory, symbols like Britannia, or symbolic phrases such as Old England and Jack Tar; the repetitious slur of bribery and cowardice against the government; and the use of gross exaggeration to drive home what was essentially a somewhat flimsy argument.

Specific political slogans, such as "No search" and the regular references to loss of ears, were wittily strung together with irony and innuendo. This contrast with the glories of previous rulers made the key group of anti-convention ballads remarkably potent pieces of propaganda. The effectiveness and popularity of the ballads is to some extent proven by the government's disgruntled reaction in its paper the Daily Courant which commented: "The opposition had ballad-sung the mob out of their senses." (3)

It is not easy to summarise the attitude-changing effects of nationalist or war-mongering musical output in the 1725-45 period. It certainly could not be argued

1. Ibid, 121.

2. Ibid, 121.

3. Daily Courant, 12 Mar. 1733.

that the composers and lyricists were formally briefed by any single political group to produce a structured musical campaign, but it is clear that Arne, Lampe and Carey all had close working relationships with the patriotic literary set and enjoyed some patronage from the Prince of Wales; all three doubtless saw benefits for themselves in producing scores which helped to inflame warlike attitudes. Even Handel, aloof as he may have been from the day-to-day political pressures, was regularly composing music which fitted a broad imperialist plan and bolstered the short-term chauvinism of the output of his lesser competitors. All four composers exploited their skill to elicit a physiological response by the use of emotive arpeggios and sostenutos. This skill was mirrored in the scores for the popular songs and ballads, even when the tunes were borrowed from older sources, and in the deliberate use of repetition.

At the same time there was an upsurge in lyric writing at all levels, following in particular the success of Gay and the increasing insistence on English language for opera. The techniques of verse satire were transferred to ballad writing; the ideas of the sea shanty and military band were adapted so that the armchair jack tars and grenadiers could relish the exciting emotions of distant battles. The joint techniques of composer and lyricist were exploited to achieve the prolonged emphasis on emotive words like sla-ver-y and glo-o-ry: Sam Cooke's Vernon's Call had a "cannon's thunder" spread over eleven notes.

The combination of a substantial increase in musical performances at the theatre - probably at least 100% with the growth in ballad opera between 1727-37 (1) with vastly increased print runs of scores and lyrics for self-performance by clubs and families, must have meant a considerable increase in the penetration of popular and semi-popular music. The fact that a reasonable proportion of the total music output, was devoted to patriotic, xenophobic, warlike attitudes, meant that music made a significant if unquantifiable if never properly measurable contribution to the overall campaign by the opposition and its teams of writers and artists to the fostering of increased nationalist feeling in Britain.

1. Nicoll, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 18-20.

## 5. The Press and the Rise of Xenophobia 1730-40

"Dripping water hollows a stone" wrote Fielding, borrowing the idea from Lucretius (1), and showing the awareness that existed in the early eighteenth century of the power of repetition to achieve attitudinal change. Newspapers and magazines played a particularly important part in this process. While statistics on circulation and readership in the period are by modern standards highly unreliable, it can certainly be argued that the press as a whole enjoyed a steady expansion during the Walpole era, despite the imposition of successively higher stamp duties designed to stop it (2). This can be shown to have accompanied a complementary increase in adult literacy, albeit figures here also are at best approximate. Saussure had made his well-known observation about the majority of artisans in England reading newspapers in coffee houses in 1720 (3).

Both the growth of the press and the increase in adult literacy tie in with the overall increase in printed material of all kinds: poetry, plays, pamphlets, popular history, the novel, serialisations, weeklies and country newspapers (4). Not only was there a general increase in printed material but the proportion of it devoted to opposition propaganda, and even more specifically to the cultivation of warlike attitudes in the 1730s, can be shown to have become steadily more significant.

Considering daily or near-daily newspapers first, it is evident that in this period the London Evening Post came closest to the role of an opposition national daily. Founded by a group including Richard Nutt, the Tory owner of a chain of bookshops, as a tri-weekly in 1727 to exploit the three main post nights out of London, it was originally non-political. Taken over by S. Neville in 1727, it grew more aggressive;

1. Quoted in A. Sullivan, British Literary Magazines (Westport, 1983), 35.
2. J. Black, The English Press in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1987), 12-13.
3. Cesare de Saussure, Lettres et Voyages 1725-9 (Lausanne, 1903), 167.
4. R.M. Wiles, Serial Publication in England before 1750, (Cambridge, 1957), 1-2, 259-60; G.A. Cranfield, The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-60 (Oxford, 1962), 20.

and in 1732 it began a sustained attack on the Excise Bill. The toast which it recommended for the post-Excise festivities in Liverpool was "Success to the British Colonies with a Dependence on Great Britain" (1) showing both its deliberate appeal to the Liverpool traders and its clear chauvinist trend (2). In 1735 it accused the government of weak handling of the French:

Underhand intrigues ... we think it ought to be remarked by all Britons.(3)

In 1737 the paper was taken over by its third publisher, John Mere, son of Hugh Mere, brother-in-law of Nutt and an Old Bailey printer, who continued the transformation into an overtly opposition newspaper. In February it reported the meeting of London merchants in the Ship Tavern and by March was using highly emotive language about members of parliament in tears over the Jenkins outrage (4). In July 1738, it published reports on the siege of Gibraltar; strongly condemning the government for lack of aggression:

Power gives cowards courage. Soon they will be obliged to change that note. (5)

Three weeks later it was again bending over backwards to please the aggrieved merchant community and the opposition politicians at the expense of the government:

The general cry is War, Revenge on the Spaniard, Restitution of past losses, Satisfaction for our National Honour. The country gentlemen and farmers who are all distressed with peaceable taxes pray for an

1. G.A. Cranfield, "The London Evening Post 1727-44" in Historical Journal, VI, I (1963), 20.
2. London Evening Post, 17 Apr. 1733.
3. Ibid, 30 Aug. 1735.
4. Ibid, 25 Feb. and 25 Mar. 1738.
5. Ibid, 27 Jul. 1738.



honourable and vigorous war. The Merchant who is always the  
greatest sufferer upon these occasions ... (1)

Passages such as this are noteworthy not just for their deliberate use of highly emotive language but also for the typographical highlighting of political points by the use of liberal italics and capital letters.

Despite the fact that he was twice arrested, in 1738 for attacking the King of Sweden and in 1739 because of the seditious quality of his paper, Mere continued to goad the government. In early 1739 the London Evening Post gave publicity to the petitions of Richard Copthorne and Robert Jenkins. Mere was just as persistent after the war started, leading the way in promoting Vernon as a great national hero. In 1740 the paper began to enhance its style still further by developing a new genre of journalistic verse which achieved great popularity and was copied by many of the provincial titles. Typical was the sarcastic epigram on Admiral Haddock:

To visit Barcelona's coast he burned  
He went, he saw, was frightened and returned. (2)

The anti-ministerial tone contributed in the final months of "Robinocracy" with the suggestion that the Spaniards were now:

Drinking the health of Don Roberto as much as His Catholic  
Majesty's (3)

thus branding the prime minister's lethargy as no better than treachery. The result of Mere's editorial policy was that in the late 1730s the London Evening Post was probably the most influential newspaper from the opposition standpoint, both in its own right with a circulation probably peaking at around 10,000 and because material

1. Ibid, 17 Aug, 1738.
2. Ibid, 30 Aug. 1739.
3. Pares, War and Trade, 60-64.

was lifted from it so regularly by the provincial newspapers. Surprisingly it was not often reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine, but this might be due to commercial rivalry between Mere and Cave or to the fact that Cave preferred snippets which had less exposure. A "Mere" features in the list of supporters for Gustavus Vasa; it is difficult to prove, but reasonable to assume, that this was the publisher of the London Evening Post, whose editorial policy for four years, despite his harassment by the government, was for unremitting incitement to war against Spain (1).

Of the other genuine newspapers the Daily Post Boy showed early signs of xenophobia. It adopted a strong anti-Dutch posture in 1735 which offended the government, and it accused the minister of accepting French bribes in October 1739 (2). The Daily Post Boy was an ultra-Tory publication which still railed against the execution of Charles I (3) and by August 1737 was certainly plugging the patriot line; for instance on the Georgian expedition:

so great, so glorious an undertaking ... undeniable proof that the Spaniards dread the abilities of Mr O-----pe ... certificate of patriotism ought to endear him to all Britons. (4)

The Daily Journal was the paper which first gave publicity to the Jenkins saga when it was genuine news, but failed to keep the story alive or to develop it in the way which publicists were to manage seven years later (5). The paper had a complex share ownership which seems to have overlapped that of the London Evening Post and appealed to the merchant class by introducing the first shipping reports, but its printer, Samuel Richardson, abandoned the opposition and the paper lost its way in 1737 (6).

1. See Appendix, p 238.
2. Daily Post Boy, 5 Oct. 1739.
3. Quoted in Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1737.
4. Ibid, Aug. 1737.
5. Daily Journal, 12 Jan., 14 Jan., 16 Jan. 1731.
6. M. Harris, London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole, (London, 1987), 70 & 174.

The Daily Advertiser, originally founded by Thomas Robe in 1727 as a ministerial spoiler to deflect advertising revenue away from the opposition press, was relaunched in February 1730 with the first four issues distributed free in coffee houses. The new publisher Matthew Jercour soon saw the potency of the Spanish problem for his readers:

Several merchants are arrived from Bristol and Liverpool to petition the parliament for relief against illegal capture and depredation of the Spaniards who were lately plundering and taking many of their ships and used their men very barbarously. (1)

Earlier The Flying Post in June 1727 had used the popular format of a fake letter from Paris to accuse the government of weakness over Gibraltar and plotting to return captured ships to Spain (2). The General Advertiser also displayed a patriotic front; in 1737 it asserted boldly that:

Carolina and Georgia are indisputably within the territories of the King of Great Britain. (3)

If the London Evening Post was the almost undisputed leader of the opposition quasi-daily newspapers both in terms of aggression and circulation, then the position amongst the essay papers or quasi-weeklies is less clear. Without question, The Craftsman pioneered new heights in satirical essay writing and political influence in the period 1726-37 with a circulation peaking at around 10,000 (4); but in the immediate pre-war years of 1737-9 some of its fire had begun to diminish and there was more competition around. Founded in 1726 by Bolingbroke and Pulteney, first

1. Daily Advertiser, 27 Feb. 1730; S. Morrison, The English Newspaper (Cambridge, 1932), 117.
2. The Flying Post, 15 Jun. 1727.
3. Quoted in Gentleman's Magazine, Dec. 1737.
4. M. Harris, "Print and Politics in the Age of Walpole", in J. Black (ed), Britain in the Age of Walpole (London, 1984), 196.

as a bi-weekly, then as a four page tri-weekly selling around 2000 copies per issue, it gave scope for acerbically witty comments by a group of highly talented writers: Bolingbroke himself, even though for a lot of the time he was still living abroad; Pulteney; Swift; Pope; Gay; and its long term editor, Amhurst, who although treated in his own day as something of a hack, must nevertheless have had very considerable journalistic talent to hold down the job for so long (1). The paper's circulation was built up by the number of Tory and to a lesser extent Whig magnates who were persuaded to order bulk copies for free distribution. Lords Bathurst, Gower, Lichfield and Sir John Barber took 315 copies each and Wyndham 40: the mailing list was so important to it that the government confiscated it in 1730. Bolingbroke's role as co-founder of The Craftsman, co-ordinator of the Brothers or Scriblerus Club as a source of high quality literary propaganda, and pioneer of the new ethos of patriotism and heroic imperialism was crucial. He spotted Walpole's reluctance to make war as the administration's weakest point and exploited it from 1727 onwards. Motivated by his own obsession to rectify his political dithering and misjudgements over the succession in 1714 and to destroy Walpole's career even if he could not resurrect his own, Bolingbroke had already made very successful use of the satirists against Marlborough in 1711-12. In 1726 he returned to this approach with The Craftsman, still as an opponent of land warfare and standing armies, but now more deliberately setting himself up as a proponent of naval warfare and imperial self-assertiveness across the seas. Thus he set down the guidelines for baiting the government with an image of corrupt, cowardly appeasement and nautical indolence which was the whole basis for goading it towards the War of Jenkins' Ear; a thirteen year build-up of popular hysteria to force the government into a war which it had virtually succeeded in avoiding by means of negotiation.

The bulk of The Craftsman's output was dedicated to the general undermining of Walpole's image by sarcasm, innuendo, satire, modestly researched campaigns and carefully extrapolated historical comparisons. From 1729 onward the theme of weak submission to foreign threats was constantly repeated, and was exploited to the full for the stirring up of resentment against Walpole. Paranoia was harnessed to force

1. Kramnick, Bolingbroke and his Circle, 15-24.

him into an unnecessary if tempting war:

The pride of Britain, the envy of her neighbours may be demolished by  
a race of pygmies. (1)

The Hague Letters began an onslaught on the government for the ineffective deployment of Admiral Hosier in the Caribbean, comparing it unfavourably with the better showing by Byng at Pizarro a decade earlier:

We have sufficient cause to remember our destroying the Spanish fleet  
on the coast of Sicily. (2)

The same themes were picked up in 1731, albeit here dressed up as Roman History:

Large fleets were ignominiously lost and destroyed in the age of Verres  
and corruption ... gave satisfaction to foreign nations (3)

and

The (Spanish) Admiral gave him several slaps on the Face, took away  
his sword and gave him a great deal of scurrilous language (4)

This example demonstrates The Craftsman's use of italics and capital letters to emphasise the most derogatory or emotive phrases in the text. Savage irony was used to win sympathy for the British shipowners, ignoring the fact that many of them were at best bending the rules to be trading in those areas of the Caribbean at all:

1. The Craftsman, 17 Jan. 1730.
2. Ibid, 27 Jan. 1731.
3. Ibid, 21 Jan. 1731.
4. Ibid, 26 Feb. 1732.

The Principal Merchants and Trade of England have now the honour to be ranked amongst the Dregs of the people and treated as a gang of Smugglers. (1)

A month later comes:

The Spaniards have taken an unusual liberty with our Merchantmen for several years past, but I thought they had never dared to treat His Majesty's ships of war with the same indignity. (2)

The following week's issue cheekily quoted the Whig and much respected historian Gilbert Burnet on Blake's treatment of Spaniards:

He would have the whole world know an Englishman is only punished by an Englishman. (3)

Thus there was a steady build-up of deliberately emotive criticism of the government's policy in the Caribbean.

In 1730-31 The Craftsman ran a serialisation of Bolingbroke's "Remarks on the History of England" in 24 episodes, an interesting technique both for getting wider circulation and more thorough readership of a long propaganda piece. Its emphasis was on the success of rulers like Queen Elizabeth against the Spaniards and the regular stories of kings advised by "evil counsellors" like Walpole. This theme was to be taken up four years later with the serialisation of Rapin's History of England, for instance in the criticism of Henry VII for his appeasement policies:

1. Ibid, 6 Apr. 1734.
2. Ibid, 6 Mar. 1732.
3. Ibid, 13 Mar. 1732, 47, quoting Gilbert Burnet, History of My Own Time (London, 1723-34), I, 81.

Had Henry VII attacked the Duke of Boulogne with Vigour as soon as the French King's design appeared, he might easily prevented it [the war]. (1)

Walpole was meanwhile condemned with one graphic metaphor after another:

a noxious caterpillar ... a great voracious land fish ... Dr King's Golden specific ... (2)

The 1730-31 period exploited a series of supposed weaknesses in Walpole's foreign policy, the exposure of Gibraltar, and the Treaty of Seville. On Dunkirk the paper produced a poem:

The blessed the mystic heav'n commissioned tide  
Which opens Dunkirk on Britannia's side ...  
Our plundered merchants feel their Gothick rage  
And Carlos is the Minion of the age  
Submission is the Briton's only right  
And armies grow an inoffensive sight. (3)

There was a slight diversion in 1732-3 while The Craftsman concentrated its venom on the Excise Bill, but by 1735 it was back to foreign policy. The Rapin serialization gave plenty of scope for comparisons:

We may likewise see the ridiculous policy of suffering ourselves to be answered with embassies and negotiations when essentials are concerned and the balance of power is visibly attacked ... (4)

1. Ibid, 16 Mar. 1729.
2. Ibid, 16 Feb. 1730.
3. Ibid, 7 Apr. 1730.
4. Ibid, 10 Jan. 1735.

and encouraged a paranoid attitude towards continental rivals with:

The whole tends only to make France Mistress of the commerce of the Mediterranean and the Levant and to aggrandise her by new conquests(1)

and

The slow progress of the English in cutting off the oppression of Rome. (2)

The attitudes of the fanatical Huguenot historian of Britain were perfect for the undermining of confidence in Walpole.

In 1736 the "Letter from the Hague" could worry at the vulnerability of Georgia:

The Spaniards look with an evil eye on the British fleet in the Tagus ... discovery of the Spaniards' designs upon Georgia ... (3)

In 1737 The Craftsman was past its peak in circulation and influence. Bolingbroke was living in France and other papers were imitating its ideas, but it still maintained a provocative and original style of attack on Walpole generally:

the office of Prime Minister is so odious even under an arbitrary government (4)

and on his supporters:

1. Ibid, 19 Nov. 1736.
2. Ibid, 6 Apr. 1730.
3. Ibid, 18 Dec. 1736.
4. Ibid, 14 Jan. 1737.



men of great overgrown fortunes ... not honest merchants and fair adventurers..but stock-jobbers and managers of great moneyed companies who live like drones. (1)

By August it was stirring up further concern about Georgia:

If H.M. should send no forces as a certain minister is said to have advised..the safety of several thousand British subjects there and thirty thousand slaves will depend upon their pleasure ... (2)

The paper had also defended the log-wood cutting colony set up without authorisation in Campeachy Bay:

With the same satisfaction that he (Walpole) gives up our Right to Campeachy he disposes of whole kingdoms (3)

backing up the statement with a footnote from Rich's Abridged History of Spain. The winter of 1737-8 saw it lifting its level of support for the London merchants (4). The tone of The Craftsman's editor Nicholas Amhurst, perhaps occasionally still assisted by Bolingbroke on his rare visits to Britain such as in 1737 and also possibly by Lyttelton who may have been a contributor at this time, grew steadily more aggressive. It saw the Caribbean as a means of unseating Walpole, so it began to demand war openly:

1. Ibid, 28 Jan. 1737.

2. Ibid, 28 Aug. 1737.

3. Ibid, 19 Apr. 1735.

4. Ibid, 5 Nov. 1737, 10 & 24 Dec. 1737, 28 Jan. 1738, 11 Feb. 1738.

Let us consider how we may distress them at sea and with our superior power to all the world in that element ... it might be a very easy matter to distress them in this way ... he who commands the sea is at great liberty. (1)

Assisting Amhurst was the well-connected minor poet Thomas Cooke, author of a number of fringe patriot poems and plays, brother-in-law of Beckingham and friend of Savage. The paper also dealt specifically with the problems of sea traffic, particularly the effects on marine insurance rates, a shrewd appeal to the city readership. In early June it was advising the government on which areas of Central America to invade (2). At the same time it readopted its successful allegorical style and earned by it, as was often the case throughout this period, a substantial extension of readership by a full reprinting of the piece in the Gentleman's Magazine:

Bravery, the characteristic of an Englishman ... the Bull Dog and the Game Cock, creatures superior to all for obstinate bravery and peculiar to the Growth of England ... displays the undaunted Temper of the People: the Lyon in his most formidable attitude. (3)

The attack persisted more conventionally in September with:

Why have we bourne with the Spaniards so long? Why do we not take vengeance to Them?

and

When the Honour and Trade are both infamously attacked. (4)

1. Ibid, 4 Mar. 1738.
2. Ibid, 3 Jun. 1738.
3. Ibid, 17 Jun. 1738.
4. Ibid, 9 and 16 Sep. 1738.

By the following month the paper was already beginning to attack the Convention of Pardo, long before there was any genuine information on its contents; it disputed whether Spain could afford to pay the suggested huge reparations for captured ships, and advocated seizing part of Cuba as a pledge.

The persistent aggression, innovative prose styles, and exciting typography of The Craftsman, backed up by good marketing at least for the first ten years, made it without question the most influential medium of the decade. Its hurtfulness to the government was proven by the harsh treatment of its staff; Franklin the printer had been arrested in 1738 and was helped neither by his editor Amhurst nor by his two ex-patrons Bolingbroke and Pulteney. For a further year the paper was printed by Mrs Haines, who then passed it on to Thomas Hinton, followed by William Rayner (1). There was even briefly a pirate Craftsman on the market, such was the continued power of the title.

The nearest rival to The Craftsman in the 1720s had been Mist's Weekly Journal, but it was usually much cruder, more overtly sensationalist, blatantly Tory and aimed at a lower educational if not also social scale. Crime and adultery were its favourite topics, but its political criticism was enough to result in the enforced exile of its first publisher Nathaniel Mist in 1728. The next year, renamed Fog's Weekly, edited by an Irish playwright Charles Mulloy, and printed by John Purser, it was accusing the rest of the press of being pro-Spanish:

Betwixt the Court of Spain and the pack of Grub Street. (2)

Two years later it joined The Craftsman in attacking the second Treaty of Vienna and in increasing tension over Gibraltar. Thereafter it resumed its attacks on government foreign policy until it gradually lost viability in early 1737 (3). It showed sensitivity

1. S. Varey Printers As Rivals: "The Craftsman", 1739-40 in Library, Series VI, II (1980) 120; Harris, London Newspapers, 91-116.
2. Fog's Weekly Journal, 29 Nov. 1729.
3. Black, English Press, 225-231.

to the plight of the poorer white Barbadian sugar planters whom it described as being "on the brink of ruin".

In January 1736 appeared the eight page "Dissertation on Ears" which must represent an amazing stirring up of the Jenkins' story, possibly written by Chesterfield or Lyttelton; it assumes a wide understanding of the background by its readers. It carries on the ear metaphor:

The pulling, boxing or cutting of the Ears are the highest insults that choleric Men of Honour can either give or receive ...  
... take the utmost care of your ears. (1)

The constant repetition of the theme of ears throughout such a witty essay may well have been the spark which led the Jenkins' incident more than any other to be the focus for the war fever and for the physical resurrection of the unfortunate Captain's ear in parliament in 1738, the year when the essay was reissued.

Significantly, as Fog's Weekly declined, its production team of Charles Mulloy and John Purser appear to have been hired by Chesterfield to run his new opposition weekly Common Sense or The Englishman's Journal in February 1737. In addition Chesterfield recruited George Lyttelton, who had lately been a mainstay of The Craftsman; so that Common Sense now took the lead in the attack on Walpole. Perhaps Chesterfield and his allies deliberately distanced themselves from the slightly less fashionable, jaded patriotism of Bolingbroke and Pulteney. Its title had been taken from Fielding's popular play Pasquin and Fielding himself wrote several times for the paper, perhaps a useful training for the launch of his own weekly which was to follow two years later. The tone of Common Sense was virulent enough for Purser, like Haines and Franklin, to be imprisoned. Chesterfield wrote twelve issues himself; Lyttelton provided his essay on Glover's Leonidas in 1737, quoting:

1. Fog's Weekly Journal, Jan. 1736.

Those who conquered in their country's cause  
The enraptur'd soul inspiring with the thirst  
Of glory won by virtue ...

and commenting on the

"... strength of thought ... never yet was a poem with so noble, so  
useful a design". (1)

Like The Craftsman it could produce a fine turn of emotive prose:

Animated by her virtues and betrayed by her divisions Britain has been  
at all times the Heroine and the Bubble of Europe. (2)

Even more immediately popular was "The Vision of the Golden Rump", another  
clever satirical essay featured over two issues of Common Sense in March 1737,  
which became one of the key images for the next two years:

a bladder full of aurum potabile. (3)

Circulation of the paper grew, displacing The Craftsman from its leading position as  
opposition essay paper; and as with The Craftsman penetration was assisted by re-  
publication in the Gentleman's Magazine. It is reasonable to suggest therefore that the  
major essays had a circulation of at least 20,000 and a readership of at least four to  
six times that figure.

Like The Craftsman, Common Sense also began to concentrate on the  
Caribbean problem. It adopted the popular style of using a story from the classics,  
an oration from Demosthenes in the following example:

1. Common Sense, Apr. 1737.
2. Ibid, Mar. 1737.
3. Ibid, Mar. 1737.

... if we neglect to stand ourselves in the best manner possible, besides the disgrace that must befall us ... it must have some terrible consequences ... Philip may fall upon us with his full force ... (1)

and again the Romans five months later:

... when the Romans had fallen from the standard of freedom which they once enjoyed and became slaves of the ambition of a single man ... (2)

It also appealed directly to the city fathers:

having always had the tenderest regard for the mercantile part of the nation and being desirous to remove the Dangers they are exposed to from the Spaniards, I propose that every West Indies trader should receive a note ... by which it is hoped that they will not submit to receive daily kicks in the A-se from the Spaniards. (3)

In February 1738 came an essay entitled "Letters of Marque" which contained the theme:

Every day brings an Account of some new outrage committed against yourselves, but Injuries and Affronts are become so habitual to you, you seem to have lost your sense of feeling ...

I have heard an heroic saying of a Minister in the Reign of Queen Anne That he hoped to see the Day that there should not be a shot fired in Europe without the Permission of Great Britain. (4)

1. Ibid, 26 Nov. 1739.
2. Ibid, 7 Jan. 1738.
3. Ibid, 12 Jan. 1736.
4. Ibid, 18 Feb. 1738.

Just like The Craftsman it worked away on the national paranoia. By April it was openly calling for war (1). In the essay on "National Reputation" of July 1738 it did this perfectly:

I conceive we were not treated with any great respect when we were ordered with the Air of Command to quit the Islands of St Lucia and St Vincent ... [it is] thought we were no more the same people who gained the victories of Hochstadt, Ramelies and Oudenarde ....  
... the merchant the sailor, the moneyed and landed here call aloud for war ... every soul is in that sentiment except the courtier and soldier ...  
The servile tool who by a barbarism in our language is styled a soldier tho he ow'd his preferment to the heroic service of wiping a minister's shoes ... such a war which may be Destruction to the Spaniards may comparatively speaking be to us only Sport and Diversion. (2)

The heavy sarcasm, the totally irresponsible goading of the military conscience and the crude exploitation of xenophobic paranoia, added to the now regularly clever use of italics, combined to make essays like this extremely effective propaganda. In September the paper did a more detailed analysis of the Caribbean issues, covering Campeachy, Tortuga and Georgia, but still kept on with the emotive goading:

new Discontentment at home and contempt from abroad ... (3)

still exploiting the repetitive pin-prick of paranoia. The sarcasm deepened to savage irony of The Craftsman calibre with the "Essay on the Convention" in February 1739:

I cannot forbear taking notice of the great honour his Catholic Majesty hath done this nation in the person of Mr Keene by styling him DON BENJAMINO....I conceive he hath made a Gentleman for which we are

1. Ibid, 22 Apr. 1738.

2. Ibid, 1 Jul. 1738.

3. Ibid, 15 Sep. 1738.

very much obliged to him ... The merchants will be the chief sufferers ... and what are Merchants? A parcel of sturdy beggars, a Body of People who are conquering the exorbitant power of a minister; and were once within an inch of demolishing one; and if he hath been no less industrious in his constant efforts to demolish them, who can wonder at it? (1)

This shows once more the very carefully targeted appeal of Common Sense, the probing subtlety of its writing and some nice typographical touches including the capitals for DON BENJAMINO.

The cumulative effect of the persistent onslaughts of The Craftsman and Common Sense on the machismo of the British over a period of several years, together with their repetition in the Gentleman's Magazine, provided sufficient fuel, particularly when taken alongside other media doing the same task, to bring about a personality change in the nation, to breed a sense of national humiliation and a thirst for revenge. Further capitalising on the success of these two papers came a third after the war had started: Henry Fielding's Champion. A deliberate attempt to cash-in on the war hysteria, the Champion was a tri-weekly published by J. Hugganson, written by Fielding and James Ralph, the American writer who had at one time supported Walpole, then changed sides to collaborate with Fielding at the Haymarket Theatre. The printers were James Graham and J. Skelly; the paper lasted for three years until Fielding changed sides yet again and Ralph found he was making no money.

Fielding seems to have been a regular contributor to both The Craftsman and Common Sense during 1738 and had adapted well from stage writing to political journalism (2). His *alter ego* in the Champion Captain Hercules Vinegar set the style and the appeal was once again to the urban middle class:

1. Ibid, 15 Feb. 1739.

2. M.C. and R.R. Battestin, Henry Fielding A Life (London, 1989), 246.



England's Strength and Support is in Trade. (1)

The attack on Walpole's handling of the war was bitter as had been the attack on his failure to declare it:

He rendered peace as chargeable and destructive as war and war as tame and insignificant as peace ... trafficked away our honour and sacrificed our traffic ... they mean to introduce popery and slaves(2).

Other weeklies of the period included the Grub Street Journal which was less overtly political but nevertheless acted as a kind of house journal for the patriotic writers. It had a circulation of around 2000 and was edited by the Jacobite Robert Russell. It featured Lawton Gilliver with writers such as Savage, Pope, James Miller, Robert Dodsley, Joseph Trapp and Swift.

On the literary fringe too there was the less successful Prompter edited by William Popple and Aaron Hill from 1734-6 with help from James Ralph in his pre-Fielding period. The paper maintained the xenophobic attitude to Italian opera. Hill, a patriotic playwright on his own account who had previously been involved with the mild Tory opposition journal Plain Dealer (3) and who had been employed by the Earl of Peterborough, was a great admirer of Bolingbroke. He acted as a significant promoter of young patriotic writers such as Thomson, Mallet and Savage, as well as promoting other playwrights including particularly the previous generation's patriot John Dennis. Significantly Edward Young wrote a promotional piece on Hill's own Henry V adaptation in the Plain Dealer in 1734. There was here too a connection with the printer, later novelist Samuel Richardson who had a share in Hill's Alzira and printed a number of opposition newspapers in the 1720's before accepting government printing contracts, including probably the Daily Gazetteer.

1. Champion, 17 Nov. 1739.

2. Ibid, 30 Aug. 1740.

3. W.M. Sale, Samuel Richardson, Master Printer (New York, 1950), 49.

Also of some influence was Applebee's Original Weekly Journal which in 1728 was using a Gulliver's Travels pastiche to put across an anti-Walpole message. Like Nathaniel Mist, Applebee was an extreme populist Tory. Much of his editorial material was sensational circulation building; but with somewhat more caution than Mist, he did plug away with lightweight anti-Walpole material (1).

Most of the provincial papers of this period were also weeklies and had expanded after a brief period of retrenchment following the 1725 Stamp Act. There were six new provincial titles in 1732 and a total of 31 by 1740 (2).

Most of them relied for their most pungent editorials, particularly with regard to foreign affairs, on excerpts lifted from the London press. Typical of the opposition provincial papers were Cesar Ward's York Courant, the Chester Courant, Henry Crossgrove's Norwich Gazette, Francis Howgrave's Stamford Mercury, The Worcester Journal, John White's Newcastle Journal, Farley's Exeter Journal and Bristol Postman. Most seem to have had a circulation of between 400 and 2000 copies per week (3).

The tone of the opposition provincials echoed that of the London weeklies. Up to 1729 the York Courant relied heavily on The Craftsman, lifting extracts from Bolingbroke's History of England with its evil counsellor passages; then from 1729-40 the paper switched to taking extracts from Common Sense and in 1740 from the Champion. It claimed to be:

engag'd in the Common Cause of Liberty and this Country. (4)

The York Courant was referred to as "weekly poison" by Jacques Sterne, father of the novelist and himself a pro-government editor. Copying the London press, it persistently attacked Walpole's appeasement policy:

1. Black, English Press, 123.
2. Cranfield, Provincial Press, 21.
3. Ibid, 126.
4. York Courant, 6 Feb. 1740.

It would require at least 3 or 4 more Volumes of the same Size to form a little Compendium of the Abuses, Insults and barbarous Treatment of our Merchants from their unnatural Countrymen as well as the Spaniards. (1)

The paper reprinted Viscount Gage's speech on the Convention in full and earlier had a complete list both of northern M.P.'s voting against the Convention and of places held by those who voted for it. (2)

Meanwhile both the Newcastle Journal and Farley's Bristol Postman were prosecuted for reprinting The Craftsman's "Hague Letters" and the "Persian Letter" from Fog's Weekly. The belligerent tone persisted through the decade and in the war period the new fashion was for provincials to pick up the sarcastic little verses which had become a feature of the London Evening Post. For example the Lancashire Journal used:

To you brave Lads encamped at Home  
The British Flag too well display  
Twill serve to scare the Crows away. (3)

This was followed up in November 1740 with a large picture of the hero Vernon. Similarly Henry Cross-grove, Tory editor of the Norwich Gazette, included:

O Britons while an ardent joy you feel  
At Vernon's image catch his Patriot zeal. (4)

1. Ibid, 20 Nov. 1739.
2. Cranfield, Provincial Press, 162.
3. Ibid, 133.
4. Norwich Gazette, 14-21 Nov. 1741.

In fact the provincial press generally developed the use of pictures with portraits of Vernon, plans of Dettingen and Cartagena (Newcastle Journal) and maps of Portobello, all showing the special interest developed by readers in the conduct of the war.

In addition to the genuine provincial press there were also a group of quasi-provincial newspapers actually emanating from London: for example the Shropshire Journal, The Warwick and Stratford Journal, and certain Lancashire and Derbyshire papers. One of the pioneers of this development was the entrepreneurial printer Robert Walker, who as early as 1728 was in trouble with the law for reprinting Mist's "Persian Letters" (1). Not only did he develop the sales of cheap local and London newspapers - the Universal Spy or London Weekly Magazine sold for only 1d in 1739 - but he achieved remarkable economies of scale by publishing long runs of popular reprints in serial form, many of them with hints of xenophobic or patriotic content. His version of Rapin's History of England in 1732 was one early example.

His Robinson Crusoe serial sold for ½d per episode, so by a combination of running easily extrapolated local newspapers on low overheads from a common publishing house, plus exploiting his resultant distribution set-up for selling popular part-works, he created commercial success for himself and a further outlet for patriotic propaganda. His publishing of J. Barker's History of the Inquisition, An Impartial Account of the many Barbarous Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Spain in 1739 was a clear example of his exploitation of the patriotic fashion and his contribution to it. Other part-works contributing substantially to the increase in availability of cheap non-fiction, much of it of an inflammatory nature, included T. Read's Lives of English Sovereigns, Lediard's remarkable Naval Transactions and Sea Fights of the English Nation in 1736, H. Care's History of Popery published by J. Oswald, The Reign of the Victorious Queen Elizabeth in 1738 inside the new ½d Post and John Watt's cheap pocket edition of popular plays at 2/6d. Most blatantly propagandist of all the Walker serials was Captain Charles (sic) Jenkins' England's Triumph or Spanish Cowardice Exposed: A Complete History of Many Victories Gained by the Royal Navy over the Insulting and Haughty Spaniards published in 1739 in 23 parts of 16 pages each and costing 1d per copy. Jenkins, said the preface,

1. Wiles, Serial Publication, 68.

"Had too sensibly felt the effects of Spanish tyranny" (1). This remarkable invasion of the book publishing business by newspaper printers exploiting their own distribution networks, their printing off-peak periods and the economies of longer run low-copywright or pirated works played a useful part in creating a new wider audience for populist history loaded with patriotic war-mongering bias.

The other relatively new and increasingly influential category of publishing in the 1730s was the monthly digest magazine. Edward Cave, its pioneer, had served his apprenticeship under the favourite printer of the Scriblerus Club and patriot Lord Mayor of London, John Barber, who also published Swift's Examiner and Defoe's Mercator (2). Subsequently Cave worked with Defoe on Mist's Weekly Journal where he moved up from being a typesetter to journalist and became a London 'stringer' for a number of country papers such as the Gloucester Journal and Northern Mercury. In 1731 he set up the Gentleman's Magazine with David Henry and Jacob Ilive. His printing works at St John's Gate became a meeting place for patriotic talent, including Richard Savage from 1735, Akenside from 1737 and Samuel Johnson from 1738, all three of whose poetry he included. He also worked with Robert Dodsley, for example printing Johnson's London for Dodsley as publisher. From 1732 the Gentleman's Magazine included parliamentary reporting which was to be a vital new feature of its editorial, with first Dr Bush, then William Guthrie and finally Samuel Johnson as debate reconstructors (3). While Cave's editorial policy was eclectic - he printed extracts from other periodicals, particularly the weekly essay papers, on both sides of the political divide - there was some early evidence of anti- government bias and a particular interest in imperial expansion (4). From the Excise crisis onwards there is a heavy preponderance of extracts from The Craftsman and later Common Sense, with only occasional weak responses lifted from the pro- government Gazetteer. From 1732 the magazine had taken a special interest in Georgia and deliberately catered for a transatlantic readership. In August 1732 Cave featured Jean Pierre Purry's

1. Wiles, Serial Publication, 230.
2. C. Lennart Carlson, The First Magazine, (Providence, 1938), 7-8.
3. Ibid, 84-96.
4. Ibid, 172.

Description of the Province of South Carolina and in 1736 referred to Georgia as "a charitable benefaction bestowed on our nation by God" (1).

The year before he had offered a medal with Oglethorpe's head on the reverse as a prize in a poetry competition with the motto "England may challenge the world"(2). The good press regularly given by the Gentleman's Magazine to Oglethorpe over a period of years argues some kind of relationship between Cave and the Georgia group, and this is borne out by the space also allocated to Oglethorpe's church associate in the colony, John Wesley, whose "Letters from Georgia" appeared in May 1737 and on other occasions. It should of course be borne in mind that the magazine circulated in the American colonies, perhaps quite extensively; and it looked for favourable readership across the Atlantic generally.

In the wake of the clamp-down on parliamentary reporting by Walpole in 1737 the Gentleman's Magazine contrived its ingenious substitute with debates from the Lilluputian parliament and unsubtle pseudonyms for the main political characters. The emphasis was on opposition performance, perhaps reflecting the preferences both of Cave and Samuel Johnson, who became the recycler of these debates, as well as the recognised bent of the majority of readers. The creativity of reporting even went to the lengths of inventing the visit of Captain Jenkins to the House of Commons three months after its supposed occurrence (3). The consequence was a steady rise in circulation which according to Johnson passed the 10,000 mark by 1740 (4). The attention drawn to parliamentary debate, the numerous war-mongering extracts from The Craftsman and Common Sense in the 1737-9 period and the inclusion of lists of marine depredations or other anti-Spanish news, all made the Gentleman's Magazine a most effective pro-war medium. It also included pro-war poetry such as Mark Akenside's The British Philippic and a section of Johnson's London as well as ballad

1. Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1736.

2. Ibid, Apr. 1735.

3. Woodfine, "The Anglo Spanish War", 196.

4. Carlson, First Magazine, 63.

lyrics and sometimes scores for popular songs. A poem on Jamaica in February 1738 contained:

In gentle winds the British streamers play  
Aloft the pride the terror of the sea (1)

while short summaries of foreign news regularly had items like:

The Spaniards are continuing to rape and plunder our ships in the West Indies ... the Gage of Bath, Dispatch, Royal Jane of London ... Our Merchants trading to America suffer ... violent and unjust proceedings.(2)

Even with this level of patriotic input, Cave was still attacked by Common Sense in February 1739 for being too soft on Walpole. Certainly Cave valued his liberty too much to publish Johnson's Marmor Norfolciense (3). More balanced politically was the London Magazine, founded by Charles Ackers in 1732 and sold through a consortium of booksellers including Wilford; but it too kept up disguised parliamentary debate reporting and used pieces from Fog's Weekly Journal, The Promoter, The Grub Street Journal and other weeklies.

In attempting to review the motivation, structure and effectiveness of the opposition anti-appeasement press campaign in the 1730's, four broad groups emerge. Firstly there were the politicians who successfully dabbled in propagandist newspapers: obviously outstanding amongst these was the Bolingbroke - Pulteney team on The Craftsman, later joined by Lyttelton who subsequently became part of the other successful team with Chesterfield on Common Sense. The writing skills of these four and also Polwarth were far from amateurish and their ability to help with

1. Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1738.

2. Ibid, Oct. 1737.

3. Clifford, Johnson, 206.

organising, patronage and finance as well as being in their own right brilliant satirical writers was a major factor in raising the quality of the opposition press.

The second group were the printers, who, because they could not escape physical identification with their publications, took the biggest risk of arrest and imprisonment. Outstanding was John Mere, third printer of the London Evening Post, son of Hugh Mere and son in law of the founder Richard Nutt; he was arrested at least twice and played a major role in turning his paper into a key organ of the opposition. Also significant were Franklin and Haines at The Craftsman and William Edward Rayner who also probably had a spell printing The Craftsman. He was arrested for reprinting Robin's Reign, produced the tri-weekly Rayner's Morning Advertiser 1736-42 and ballads such as The Pacific Fleet; later he also produced Vernon's Weekly Journal with a part-work bible. Nathaniel Mist was also a key risk-taking printer, as to a lesser extent was John Applebee. John Purser was the last printer of Fog's Weekly before moving to Common Sense. Also significant was the work of originally small printers like Walker who combined newspapers with major part-work and pamphlet production and of course the work of Edward Cave who avoided risk by appearing to print both sides' point of view in his magazine.

The third important grouping in the total scheme of the opposition press were the newspaper distributors, also both often book or pamphlet sellers, sometimes part-time publishers in their own right. These, like the printers, ran the risk of arrest and prosecution from the authorities as they could easily be caught red-handed. Anne Dodd, who sold pamphlets from 1726-43, was several times arrested for selling the London Evening Post in 1738. She was the first distributor of the Gentleman's Magazine, and herself published several pamphlets such as The Letter to the Proprietors of The South Sea Company in January 1739 and a General History of the West Indies in 1726 (1). Similarly John Brett was arrested for selling Common Sense and the London Evening Post as well as for being associated in pamphlet selling. Sarah Nutt was arrested for selling the London Evening Post in 1738; Elizabeth Sellar

1. H.R. Plomer, A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1688-1725 (Oxford, 1932), *passim*.



had been arrested for selling Mist's Weekly in 1728. Robert Amey sold the London Evening Post and in 1740 published The Reasons for an immediate War against France. Thus there was a key group of identifiable wholesaler/retailers, many of them women, who took real risks to ensure the distribution of opposition media. They were presumably in profit as a result, and they seem to have identified themselves to some extent with the cause to which they thus contributed (1).

The fourth important group were the professional journalists, some of them failed or struggling writers from other disciplines. Nicholas Amhurst, editor of The Craftsman, was looked down on somewhat by people like Pope as a failed poet, but he was a very able writer of political invective as he retained the confidence of Bolingbroke and the substantial readership of the paper. Into the same category comes Charles Mulloy, the failed playwright who worked on Fog's Weekly Journal and Common Sense, or James Ralph, also an occasional playwright, who helped Fielding on the Champion. These men formed a small class of professional partisan writers comparable to Gordon, Francis Arnall, Trenchard and James Pitt who performed a similar task for Walpole. Also amongst the journalists were a number of writers successful in other walks of life. These included major and minor literary figures: Defoe and Swift had both served as editors of political papers in the earlier period. Gay and Arbuthnot were believed to have helped on The Craftsman. Samuel Johnson was still very much a struggling beginner when he did his parliamentary reports for The Gentleman's Magazine. Henry Fielding squeezed his brief journalistic career between his two successful periods of literary endeavour, the first as a dramatist, the second as a novelist.

The relationship between these four groups is complex and difficult to trace. In many cases the motivation was clearly financial rather than idealistic - inflammatory material was good for sales in the 1730s. The web of interconnection of writing, printing, distribution and political patronage developed round certain key centres like Dawley, Fleet Street and St John's Gate, and involved coffee house

1. Booklists, Gentleman's Magazine, 1736-40 *passim*; Plomer, Dictionary, *passim*; Atherton, Political Prints, 33.

contacts or a more deliberate plan of introductions as arranged by go-betweens such as Lyttelton and Dodsley. Overall the journalistic effort behind making the literate Briton more belligerent in 1729-39 was very considerable. Not unreasonably The Daily Gazetteer commented bitterly in 1737:

There's scarce an alley in the city or suburbs but has a coffee house in it which may be called the School of Public Spirit where everyman over Daily and Weekly Journals ... learns the most heavy contempt of his own personal sordid interest to which he owes his bread only and devotes himself to the glorious cause, his country. (1)

This sums up quite neatly the quasi-romantic, quasi-altruistic chauvinism fostered by the Lyttelton-Thomson-Pitt-Akenside generation, which was more naive, and more credulous than the cynical anti-Walpole patriotism founded by the Gay-Swift-Bolingbroke-Pulteney generation. The media manipulators who goaded the population into the War of Jenkins' Ear were not concerned with the long-term consequences of teaching the British that they had the right to rule the waves. When Common Sense spoke glowingly of rebuilding parliament of "English Oak, of true Heart of Oak" the sentimental metaphor presaged years of struggle and warfare to try to make the reality as good as the image (2).

1. Daily Gazetteer, 4 Jul. 1737.
2. Common Sense, Dec. 1739.

## 6. Other Forms of Literature and the Generation of War Fever in the 1730s

While poetry and drama may have been the main literary media of the patriotic opposition, there are several other categories which had quite considerable significance and are worthy of examination: history and biography, which had a major upsurge in popularity; the novel, which was undergoing a relatively poor level of output in a variety of formats; tracts on trade and navigation, which were unusually popular; political tracts, which were at times of very high literary quality; and a few other fringe areas of publishing.

### (i) History and Biography

While there was nothing remarkably innovative about the style and technique of the historians who produced the chauvinist interpretation of history in the 1730s, there was without question a very substantial increase in the number of titles published and in the edition size of most publications (1). The main inspiration for the new imperialist interpretation of British history can be seen in Bolingbroke's Remarks on the History of England published over a period in The Craftsman 1730-1 (2), which was itself inspired by the vigorously anti-catholic work of the Huguenot historian, Paul de Rapin, Seigneur de Thoyras (1661-1725), with his Histoire d'Angleterre of 1724. Bolingbroke popularised the approach with its portrayal of a series of "evil counsellors" who gave bad advice to English kings: the Gavestons with Edward II, Wolsey with Henry VIII, Danby with Charles II and finally by implication Walpole with George II. It also developed the Tory interpretation of maritime history beginning with the revived cult of Alfred the Great as the founder of British sea-power, a theme which much inspired the poets like Thomson; there then came the subsequent emphasis on aggressive, conquering monarchs like Edward I, Edward III

1 Wiles, Serial Publications, 105.

2. Craftsman, 5 Sep. 1730, 22 May 1731.

and Henry V, culminating in Elizabeth with her defeat of the Armada. This had special relevance to the readers of the 1730s for whom Spain was once more being made to appear a threat. Cromwell too could again be seen as a hero because he had conquered Jamaica and, with admirals like Blake, had won victories at sea.

Once introduced by Bolingbroke, the fashion for Rapin's approach began to spread. His political influence was observed by Hervey who called him "The Craftsman's own political evangelist" in October 1734. As a Huguenot, Rapin had fought for William of Orange in Holland and later at the Boyne. He showed a typically Huguenot dislike for his native country and the other catholic powers of Europe, which was ideal for the purpose of those who wanted to make life difficult for Walpole. The Rev. Nicholas Tindal was paid 10/- a day by the publisher Knapton to produce a full English translation of Rapin's work in 1732. He was rewarded also with a gold medal from the Prince of Wales, to whom the translation was dedicated, and a naval chaplaincy with Admiral Wager's fleet at Gibraltar. Knapton planned a serialised edition of three thousand copies and expected to net £8000(1), such was the upsurge in readership for this new vogue in history flattering to the national ego. Tindal retained the emotive quality of the original as already perceived by Bolingbroke. Of Alfred he wrote:

The fleet kept the Rovers in awe and freed England from their ravages  
... one of the most glorious princes that ever wore the crown ... (2)

of Edward III:

Though his Valour was acknowledged ... admired by all the world ...  
it never made him proud ... one of the most glorious princes that ever  
swayed sceptre (3)

1. Wiles, Serial Publication, 5.
2. Rapin de Thoyras, History of England, transl. N.Tindal (London, 1732), I, 93.
3. Ibid, I, 445.

and of Henry V:

He never ceased to inspire his troops ... represented for them the Glory of their Ancestors who obtained the famous victories of Crecy and Poitiers ... demonstrated the necessity of conquering in order to free themselves from the threat and avoid still greater miseries... The people were never tired of praising a prince that had rendered the English so formidable and glorious. (1)

The combination of deliberately emotive language with the use of capitals to highlight important nouns made the history heady stuff; and, despite its bias, it gained credibility by quoting evidence from the recently published Foedera of Rymer, while lavish quality of printing and excellent maps gave added authority and credibility to the Tindal/Knapton edition. A second version of Rapin, written in 1735 by Thomas Lediard, the former soldier turned stage designer and librettist, was published by John Kelly, and then came a third with a continuation up to 1743, written by David Durand. With several other printings between 1734-9 the price came down to 2d or even 1/4d per serialised chapter, thus making the potential market extremely wide and introducing patriotic history, with all its implied criticism of Walpole's pacific policies, to a large audience (2).

A further variation on the theme were specialist naval histories. Typically xenophobic was The Naval History of England written by Lediard in 1734, just before his version of Rapin. This magnificently printed book, by the man who had a few years before written the libretto for Lampe's opera Britannia, was, significantly, dedicated to Admiral Wager:

1. Ibid, 512.

2. Wiles, Serial Publication, 299.

... join in the hearty and sincere wishes that the ROYAL NAVY OF GREAT BRITAIN may never want so BRAVE a commander nor the ADMIRALTY SO WORTHY A HEAD. (3)

Lediard plugged the standard commercial theme vigorously:

The honour, security and wealth of this kingdom depend upon the Protection and Encouragement of Trade and ... right management of naval strength thereof. (2)

The disproportionately large section of the text given over to the exploits of Oglethorpe and a symbolic picture of Georgia included in the elaborate frontispiece suggest possible connections between Lediard and the Georgia trustees as well as, perhaps, the budding lobby of naval officers. The people of Georgia are described as in tears when Oglethorpe left them and there is a further appendix on Georgia after the final chapter, suggesting special concern by the author to spread interest in the topic in 1734. The theme of Spanish depredations is also dealt with regularly and at some length:

This year was ushered in with further accounts of the depredations of the Spaniards ... who were so cruel as to turn their men adrift in small boats...

and

The great loss and damage of the subjects of their kingdom ... [and the] repeated advices of insults and depredations caused by the Spaniards in these parts to enumerate would be endless. (3)

1. Thomas Lediard, Naval History of England (London, 1734), 1.
2. Ibid, 3.
3. Ibid, 912.

There was even the inclusion of the ironic verses:

What need the British fleet to leave the shoar (sic)  
Or make in distant climes the thunder roar?  
She's armed, she's manned, prepared to plough the Main  
Sure that's enough to humble haughty Spain. (1)

Both in his general treatment of British naval history as a glorious crusade against other European races, particularly the Spaniards, and in these numerous specific references to the unsatisfactory performance in the West Indies from 1729-34, Lediard gives clear evidence that he was writing to please the impatient city and war-thirsty opposition politicians. It suggests perhaps also that he was in contact with underemployed ambitious naval officers like Vernon, Hawke and Anson. His work's circulation was substantially increased by the publication of a serialised version from the publishers Wilcox and Bayne. It was followed by a further variant, Naval Transactions and Sea Fights of the English Nation from 1693 to the Present Time, including Lediard material and published by J. Stanton in 1736. Then came The Most Remarkable Sea Fights and Expeditions of the English People produced by Walker with his Oxford magazine in 1737, as the material was recycled yet again. Slightly more serious were a couple of works on Byng's famous Passaro campaign: The Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily 1719-20 was written by Thomas Corbett, a Whig M.P. and Admiralty placeman, but the contrast of Byng's success and Hosier's failure was certainly doing Walpole no favours, and perhaps here again there was just a hint of subversive pressure from the navy professionals. Similarly Tonson's edition of Byng's Expedition to Sicily in October 1739 further illustrated the popularity of histories of successful naval engagements and by its timing alone indicates a deliberate contribution to the war debate. It could be related in turn to the magnificent publication of Pine's engravings of the House of Lords Armada tapestries.

1. Ibid, 9.

The trend in nautical glory-mongering reached its peak in 1739, with populist narrations of recent events in the Caribbean adding luridly to traditional history. John Cockburn's Distresses of English Mariners seems to have been a reissue of an earlier work which had apparently failed to sell as well as expected in 1735 (1). This was followed by England's Triumph or Spanish Cowardice exposed: A Complete History of the many Victories gained by the Royal Navy over the Insulting and Haughty Spaniards published weekly over 23 weeks at 1d per volume totalling 355 pages and purporting to be by Captain Charles Jenkins. It has to be assumed that the publisher Walker, the specialist in part-works of this kind, was either careless or deliberately misleading in the choice of his author's name (2). To this can be added a number of nautical atrocity booklets including The Case of Samuel Bonham by an owner of the Anne galley and Richard Copithorne's The English Cotejo (3).

Other populist British histories added to the level of output: Richard Baker's A Chronicle of the Kings of England (1730-32) is a typical example of many fairly innocuous but slightly biased rewritings which appeared over the period. But there was also the similarly targeted new approach to European and world history. In 1734 George Sale wrote A Universal History and Knapton reprinted the ever-popular anti-Hispanic History of the World by Sir Walter Raleigh. Even more specific were Francois Bruys' History of Popery in 1732-4, the reprint of Henry Care's History of Popery published by J. Roberts in 1734 at 3d per episode, and J. Baker's History of the Inquisition published by John Marshall in the same year. As usual, Walker took the fashion to its ultimate extreme with his serialised An Impartial Account of many Barbarous Cruelties Exercised by the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal and Italy (4). Yet a further extension of this theme was to prove how badly the Spaniards had treated the original inhabitants of South America and the Caribbean; this was dealt with by the British Sailor's Discovery or Spanish Pretensions Confuted published in 1739.

1. Wiles, Serial Publication, 321.

2. See above p159.

3. Woodfine, "Anglo Spanish War", 194. See also p 238.

4. Wiles, Serial Publication, 314.



This condemned the Spanish massacres of Incas at Cholula while claiming that British colonisation was by free consent.

Another angle on the mining of history for material to make the contemporary population more belligerent lay in the republication of relevant historical documents. A particularly good example of this was The Manifesto of the Lord Protector against Spain, edited most significantly by the poet Thomson and published by Andrew Miller in 1739. The revival of the cult of Cromwell as an aggressive leader and the conqueror of Jamaica, was also connected with renewed interest in Milton as a great British poet; it was Thomson who translated the new edition of Milton's Areopagitica for the same publisher a year earlier. More recent historical documents which were published included The Treaty of Navigation between Queen Anne and Philip of Spain published by J. Roberts. There was also a revived interest in British pre-history, a search for indigenous roots which was exemplified by Inigo Jones's Stonehenge, re-published in 1725.

More oblique but still often quite powerful was the use of classical history for examples of imperialist success or failure with obvious lessons for the present. This weapon was more easily used because of the heavy concentration on ancient historical writings in the schooling of eighteenth century gentlemen. The use of classical subjects like Leonidas and his Spartans, Cato and Sophonisba in contemporary drama, or of Greek or Roman models like the Philippics or Horatian epistles in patriotic poetry has already been noted, so the extension into history was not unnatural. Bolingbroke, being like many of his contemporaries an accomplished classicist, regularly sought examples from the Greeks and Romans. Common Sense in November 1739, probably under Chesterfield's guidance, had a typical example when it referred to the:

Behaviour of the Roman people under an ignominious convention which they naturally overturned and went back to war with the Samnites. (1)

1. Common Sense, 3 Nov. 1739.

The general admiration for Greek and Roman values, plus the example of the decline and fall of both civilizations when beset with corruption, provided the patriot writers with an invaluable source of morality tales which were readily understood and appreciated by the bulk of their audiences.

One final variation on the historical themes of the patriots was the publication of new biographies of relevant heroes from the past. Typical examples were the two short biographies written by Samuel Johnson for the Gentleman's Magazine in 1739-40: Drake and Blake. His Blake was particularly virulent, referring to:

an enemy whose insults, ravages and barbarities have long called out  
for vengeance (1)

contrasting the bold Blake with the current administration and its cautious approach to naval warfare. In Drake the comparison was more subtle and more developed:

By which the Spaniards should find how impudently they always act  
who injure and insult a brave man. (2)

Referring very topically to Drake's attack on Cartagena he described the English superiority of order and valour. In terms of the Johnson canon, these may be immature pot-boilers; but as support for the patriots' war fever they were incisive and well-rooted in popular mythology.

There were numerous other populist biographies developing the heroic stature of past leaders who had opposed Spain. The Reign of the Victorious Queen Elizabeth was advertised to appear in fifty episodes weekly in J. Stanton's New Half Penny Post from August 1738 and within four weeks of starting it was faced with a competitor in "whited brown paper, old batter'd letters and incorrectly printed." (3)

1. S. Johnson, Collected Works (New York, 1902), XIV,184.
2. Ibid XIV, 210.
3. Wiles, Serial Publication, 69.

Earlier The Life of Cromwell had been produced as a serial with Parker's Penny Post in 1731. T. Read's Lives of the English Sovereigns (1724) was followed by Vertue's beautifully printed Heads of the Kings and Queens of England published by Knapton in 1733/4. That old favourite Foxe's Book of Martyrs was revived and serialised in 1733 with its acceptable anti-catholic message, followed by Harry Lynder's A Book of Martyrs the best preservation against Popery published by Nutt in 1733.

A combination of the use of hack writers, or lifting from dead authors, plus often the re-use of existing typesetting and the economies of scale possible with low cost serial episodes, enabled publishers to feed the growing demand for easily read chauvinist historical and biographical material which in turn helped to nudge the British reading public further into perceiving itself as a nation with a destiny to rule others. This together with the special emphasis placed upon nautical success, played its part in inflating popular confidence and encouraging the demand for war in 1739.

## **(ii) The Novel**

In many respects the novel could be portrayed as playing a much less significant role in the stirring up of pro-war feelings in the 1730s than most other media. The reasons for this were probably straightforward. Whereas the years immediately after 1739 saw the emergence of major new talent in novel writing from Richardson and Fielding, there were no equivalent talents at work in the previous decade, and even the lesser talents like Mrs Manley and Mrs Haywood had ceased writing. Equally the huge and rising popularity of the theatre in the period up to the Licensing Act of 1737 meant that available talent like Fielding's was attracted to the writing of plays rather than novels. The novel as an art form was just about to emerge in 1739, whereas the hybrid fiction writing of the early eighteenth century had run out of steam by the 1720s.

Although the novel as such did not play as major or direct a part as other art forms in the propaganda of the 1730s, there were a number of slightly earlier works

which did have an important long term contribution. John Arbuthnot (1667-1735) the founder member of the Scriblerus Club alongside Bolingbroke, Swift, Pope and Gay, produced the eponymous hero of British xenophobia in his History of John Bull published in 1712. It invented a whole new symbolism of British chauvinism which was to become part of nationalist imagery:

Bull was an honest plain-dealing fellow, choleric and of very inconstant temper he dreaded not old Lewis. (1)

The posturing of John Bull echoed in many respects the contribution of the two great "Whig" essayists of the previous decade: Addison's characterisation of Sir Roger de Coverley in The Spectator pioneered the popular xenophobic attitude which Arbuthnot and others were to develop. Addison's Sir Andrew Freeport was perhaps even more significant as a character, with his right to rule the waves:

My friend Sir Andrew calls the vineyards of France our garden, the Spice Islands our back-yard, the Persians our silk weavers, the Chinese our potters. (2)

The other hugely significant prose work to come from the Scriblerus Club was Gulliver's Travels by Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), published by Lintot in 1726. If not a novel in the true sense it was an extremely successful work of satirical fiction which drew attention to traditional patriotic values. The Yahoo were:

over luxurious ... Lewd ... with no thought of country

as opposed to:

1. John Arbuthnot, Works, ed. G.A. Aitken (Oxford, 1892), 203.
2. J. Addison, Works, ed. R. Hurd (London, 1856), II, 295.

English yeomen of the old stamp, once so famous for their simplicity of manners, diet, justice in their dealings, true spirit of liberty, for their value and love of their country. (1)

While primarily an attack on the decadence and corruption of the Walpole regime Swift's Gulliver paralleled Gay's Beggar's Opera, which similarly mentioned patriotic values as a nostalgic contrast.

Swift had been a highly successful propagandist for Harley and Bolingbroke in the 1710-4 period with his Conduct of the Allies and other effective attacks on the Marlborough war policy. More recently he had mounted the successful Drapiers Letters campaign in Ireland where he had earned the reluctant respect and eventual friendship of Carteret, his victim in the Irish coinage controversy. Gulliver was of course a merchant by profession, making his fortune by sailing to different parts of the world. This positioning of the merchant as a major fictional hero, also typified by Lillo's work on the stage, was itself highly significant in terms of the hero/martyr role of the West Indies merchants in the 1730s and their image with the British middle class public. The hero merchant played an even greater role in the work of the other great prose writer of the period Daniel Defoe (1661-1731). He, like Swift, was a multi-talented writer who had periods of working as a professional propagandist on both sides of the political divide. His most significant work however was commercially inspired and commercially directed. The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, published in 1719, contained another hero who was readily identifiable to city readers, a meticulous businessman who always gave a receipt (2), whose faithful agent was a Lisbon merchant, one of a group who as the subscription lists of Gustavus Vasa and Carey's song books show was strongly patriotic. Moreover Crusoe was not only the embodiment of commercial

1. Jonathan Swift, Prose Works, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1908), VIII, 232-39. See also Downie, "Walpole, The Poet's Foe", 185.
2. Ian Watt, Rise of the Novel (London, 1974), 75.

individualism, but single handedly made himself the ruler of a small tropical island. He saw himself as a monarch with Man Friday as his natural subject (1).

With his career swinging from total loss through shipwreck, to commercial success when his Brazilian investments paid off, Crusoe typified the volatile fortunes of the eighteenth century Atlantic trader. The book achieved high sales and was regularly reissued throughout our period, including a cheap serial version by Walker at ½d in 1736, so it can be seen as making a real contribution to the atmosphere which made it easy to turn Captain Robert Jenkins into a real life hero. During the decade after Crusoe Defoe continued to develop the theme. His Colonel Jacques was an ex-convict who made good as a Virginia tobacco lord and even improved the lot of his slaves, perhaps an inspiration to Oglethorpe. His Captain Singleton of 1720 also underwent fearsome adventures, including injury by Portuguese and African captors before returning to England with great riches. In 1724 Defoe is presumed to have adopted the pseudonym Charles Johnson and to have been the author of the General History of Pyrates published first in serial form by Parker (2). This non-fiction work did not hide the cruelty and ruthlessness of the well-known historical pirates, but it nevertheless managed to put a favourable gloss on their behaviour with which a middle class city public were more likely to identify:

Bravery and stratagem in war ... which made actions worthy of record  
... had they all settled ... no Power in these Parts of the World could  
have been able to dispute with them. (3)

This showed the pirate as half imperialist, the image of the dashing buccaneer rather than the illicit trader; in fact, it is questionable if in Defoe's ethic there was any such person as an illicit trader (4). As in Elizabethan times, the distinction between privateer and imperialist was a subtle one:

1. Ibid, 226.
2. Wiles Serial Publication, 28-9.
3. Defoe, A General History of Pyrates, ed. M. Schonhorn (London, 1972), 6.
4. M. McKeown, Origin of the English Novel (Baltimore, 1943), 205.

I would try my fortune in the cruising trade, but would be sure not to prey on my own countrymen. (1)

This would strike a reasonable chord and, as usual, glossed over the basic hypocrisy with which British sea traders viewed illicit trading; they would complain vigorously about the maltreatment of their sailors by the guarda costas while condoning widespread brutality from their own officers. Defoe wrote:

about the same time a guarda del costa of Porto Rico commanded by one Matthew Luke an Italian took four English vessels and murdered all the crews. He was taken by the Lanceston man of war and brought to Jamaica and deservedly hanged. (2)

Particularly relevant in the 1730s were comments by Defoe in The King of Pirates:

I got into the Bay of Campeachy where we fell very honestly to cutting logwood ... The Spanish with three or four men of war fell upon the logwood cutters in the Bay of Campeachy. (3)

Not surprisingly Defoe is seen as a significant propagandist for aggressive imperialism (4). Also attributed to Defoe in the same genre were Robert Drury's Pleasant and Surprising Adventures, published in 1729 by W. Meadows; and The Two Year Voyage of Captain George Roberts produced as a serial in Parkers Penny Post in 1727. The latter was an adventure set in the West Indies and coinciding with the expedition of Admiral Hosier, when a prisoner transported to Barbados for bigamy comes close to making his fortune. Similar were a number of works such as The History of the Long Captivity and Adventures of Thomas Bellow in South Barbary of 1739 and William Chetwood's The Voyage and Dangerous Adventures of Captain

1. Defoe, Collected Works, XVI, 5.
2. Defoe, History of Pyrates, 44.
3. Defoe, Collected Works, XIV, 3-36.
4. Pat Rogers, Robinson Crusoe, (London, 1979).

Richard Falconer of 1720. (Chetwood was also a bookseller and author of one patriotic play). The cumulative effect of all these novels or semi-fictional accounts of swashbuckling adventures contributed to the uplifting of the image of the transatlantic merchant in a way wholly compatible with nautical histories of writers like Lediard and the nautical biographies like Johnson's Drake. The overall effect of this combined with an interest in navigational exploits thus made it easy to turn the illicit trader Jenkins into a hero martyr in 1738.

One other genre of fiction had at least fringe relevance in helping to create the attitudinal climate of the 1730's. Two popular lady novelists had employed the propaganda technique of thinly veiled political satire spiced with a sprinkling of mild eroticism. Mrs Manley de la Riviere (1663-1724 ) was the mistress of John Barber, the Scriblerus Club printer, anti-Walpole activist and city alderman. She had worked as a party journalist on Swift's Examiner and then on other Tory journals. Then in New Atlantis (1709) she produced the outstanding propaganda novel of the early eighteenth century with its devastating attack on Marlborough (Count Fortunatus):

It is only the love of riches that bespeaks his Praise (1)

Significantly New Atlantis was reissued in serial form in 1736 published by A. Dodd and printed by J. Watson as The Weekly Novelist, reviving its strong message of the misuse of standing armies and the evils of continental wars. Just as deadly was Mrs Manley's Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarasians in which she turned her attention on the Duchess of Marlborough:

soldiers turned userers in their tents and sailors in their cabbins (sic)  
the merchant was no more abroad for gain. (2)

Eliza Haywood (1693-1756) who was at one time the mistress of Richard Savage, spent some time as a stage manager for John Rich and turned to bookselling and

1. P. Koster (ed.) The Novels of Mary de la Riviere Manley (Gainsville, 1971), I, 587.
2. Ibid, I, 104.



fiction with a strong anti-government undertone in the mid 1720s. Her technique was very similar to Manley's, as is shown in her Memoirs of a Certain Island (1725) and Secret History of the Present Intrigue of the Court of Carmania (1727).

Thus while Defoe and his imitators concentrated on improving the image of the merchant and the sailor, the lady novelists continued to diminish the image of the soldier and courtier, and Swift's Gulliver did both. Though the novel paid no direct part in stirring up war feeling in the 1730s, it was nevertheless quite effective in redrawing the role models of the age in a way which made the war party's task much easier.

### **(iii) Tracts on Trade and Navigation**

The 1730s saw a marked upsurge in the number of books and pamphlets on trade and navigation. One of the most popular was Joshua Gee's Trade and Navigation of Britain Considered, originally published in 1723 and appearing in its fourth edition in 1738. Gee was an ardent preacher of mercantile imperialism:

Great Britain can never have too many colonies ... what a boundless wealth might be brought into this Kingdom by supplying our plantations with everything they need and all manufactured within ourselves ... people would be glad to be under the free government of Great Britain. (1)

Gee, who plugged the City platform consistently, also used the familiar historical parallel:

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth ... there seemed a surprising spirit for improving Trade, Manufacture and Navigation (2)

1. Joshua Gee, Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered (London, 1738), 14.
2. Ibid, 3.

and

... our success multiplied and the Royal Navy grew to a formidable size so that we were enabled to defend ourselves against the destructive enterprise of the King of Spain. (1)

Similarly the anonymous tract Britannia Major of 1732 talked of a "new scheme for enlarging the trade of the British Dominions in Europe and America". (2)

In the same mould was J. Barnett's The National Merchant published by J. Walthoe and T. Osborn in 1736 and dedicated to both Walpole and Bernard. Like Gee he advocated territorial acquisition outside Europe as the road to imperial greatness:

I always look on the British plantations with an inflexible pleasure. Providence has allotted these lands to us, our children, our children's children. Britons may truly say ... there is no end to the goodness of God. (3)

Barnett was virulently anti-French and echoed the concern about French commercial rivalry on the seas which underlay much of the patriots' desire to tear easy chunks out of the Spanish Empire. He wrote:

It is to be hoped the British nation will be so far from continuing an idle or indifferent spectator to the unreasonable and unjust encroachments of the French ... (4)

and he also drew attention to the topical issue of depredations:

1. Ibid, 119.
2. Britannia Major, Anon (London, 1732), 18.
3. J. Barnett, The National Merchant (London, 1736), 9.
4. Ibid, 99.

the inhuman butcheries committed by the Spaniards. (1)

Daniel Defoe had also been an early contributor to this genre of literature, and in his A Plan for English Commerce of 1728 he developed in treatise form the theme which he had already made popular in his fiction:

Nothing discourages the diligent seaman or the adventuresome merchant in the pursuit of trade ... pushing on discoveries, planting colonies, settling commerce even to all parts of the world. (2)

Thus he endorsed the merchant hero as a role model to which he devoted a decade or more of his output, developing the theme as worked on by the Scriblerus poet Parnell and Steel in his The Englishman at the beginning of the century (3).

More specific were a number of tracts written by or for members of the various West Indies lobbies. One of the most active was John Ashley, main writer for the Barbados sugar lobby who produced his Memoirs of Improving Imperial Trade and The Sugar Trade with the Incumbrances thereon in 1737. The Importance of Jamaica to Great Britain, included a eulogy of Cromwell and a demand for the capture of Cartagena. Interest in the Caribbean and publicity for the various pressure groups looking for satisfaction from parliament continued. The wider effect of this in popularising the general cause of the West Indies trade was hardly lessened by the differences between the individual groups. Other writers included depredation victim Captain Fayrer Hall who brought out The Importance of the British Plantations in America to the Kingdom following up with letters on the subject to the Daily Post (4) and A Letter from a Gentleman of Barbados published by Wilford. The energetic Nevis planter Robertson produced four pamphlets including A Description of the

1. Ibid, 98.

2. Defoe, A Plan for English Commerce (London, 1728), 34-5.

3. J. McVeagh, Tradefull Merchants, (London, 1981), 61-3.

4. Daily Post, 6 Mar. 1732.

Plight and Situation of the Present Sugar Planters of Barbados, again part of the Ashley relating to the Molasses Act.

Charles Leslie contributed The Importance of the Sugar Colonies to Great Britain in 1731, followed by A New and Exact Account of Jamaica in 1739. Yet another angle was explored in Nathaniel Unwin's Full Account of the British Humiliation in 1725. A Description of the intended settlement of the Islands of St Lucia & St Vincent was reprinted in 1727.

Parallel to these propagandist works for the planters' lobbies were a group of popular works more concerned with the navigation and travel lore of the transoceanic colonies. The Windward Passage of 1739, signed J.N. and published by Corbett, contained detailed maps and navigational instructions:

the Windward passage being of late become not only a subject of general discourse in most companies but even of public debate in the most august assemblies. (1)

The author dwelt also on Guarda Costa atrocities and the difficulties of the trade in Braziletto wood, deploring:

Britain's liberty of the seas to be from year to year infringed upon and our Trade torn from us piecemeal to the great dishonour of the British nation in general and to the utter ruin and impoverishment of such as happen to be the immediate adventurers. (2)

Also popular was Baron Lahoutan's New Voyage to North America, which had its second edition in 1738 and George Whitfield's Journal of a Voyage from London to Savannah which had special interest because of the role of Oglethorpe and Georgia as the second potential theatre for war in 1739. Also appearing at about the same

1. Anon, The Windward Passage, (London, 1739), 2.

2. Ibid, 13.

time was W. Keith's History of the British Plantations in America of 1738. Thus the overall quantity of publications on West Indies topics over the decade 1729-39 was very substantial, and the bulk of it contained anti-Hispanic comment.

One further section of publishing contributed also to the raising of the nautical image and also fuelled the idea of its potential for successful aggression: pamphlets about the Royal Navy itself and most specifically about the numbers and welfare of its crews. Particularly significant was The Sailor's Advocate written in 1728 by J.E. Oglethorpe, the future founder of Georgia, and published by R. Whitridge. Oglethorpe deplored the topical difficulties of Admiral Hosier's badly manned and unhealthy fleet, at that time cruising fruitlessly in the Caribbean, and he urged better pay and conditions as the means of improving the navy's performance:

The welfare of these nations undoubtedly depends upon being powerful  
at sea. (1)

The idealism which fuelled Oglethorpe's concern for the sailors' welfare was not far from that which was to make him conceive Georgia as a colony to benefit the destitute. Nor is it surprising that Admiral Vernon who was to evince a similar practical concern for sailors' health should share his expansionist views of empire and had a brother serving on the board of Oglethorpe's Georgia Company.

Adopting much the same approach was T. Robe's Ways and Means of Manning the Navy first published in 1726 and reprinted by Cooper in 1740. This showed evidence of the effectiveness of the new idea of adopting a range of uniforms for the navy:

So many brave and skilful men all appearing in the national livery  
cannot but affect the minds of every thinking British spectator. (2)

1. Bromley, Manning Pamphlets, 73.
2. Ibid, 89.

The increased professionalism of the naval officer cadre, the adoption of uniforms, and the number of able officers reduced to half-pay because of Walpole's pacific policy suggests the possibility of an emerging pressure group from the navy to press for war.

#### **(iv) Political Tracts**

There was nothing particularly novel about the publication of political tracts, but the 1730s did produce some of the very highest literary calibre and polemical quality. There were a group of senior displaced politicians who were gifted with majestic Augustan prose styles and applied them to the downfall of Walpole. Bolingbroke himself, Pulteney, Polwarth, Lyttelton and Chesterfield all had a remarkable power of language founded on at least a reasonable level of classical scholarship and a burning desire to counteract what they saw as the corruption of Walpole's regime.

Much of Bolingbroke's literary effort went into The Craftsman and probably his greatest political tract, The Idea of the Patriot King, was not published until after the commencement of the war with Spain, but his ability to communicate at all levels is well illustrated by his The Freeholders Political Catechism published by J. Roberts in 1733 for 4d per copy. It adopted an easily read question and answer technique:

Why dost thou not love armies in time of peace?  
How is a bastard House of Commons produced?  
What wouldn't thou do for thy country?  
I would die to produce its prosperity and rather my  
posterity were cut off than that they should be slaves.

He used once more the historical theme which he had developed in The Craftsman:

The Great King Alfred who declared that the English nation was free  
... and the glorious monarchs Edward I Edward III, Henry V and  
immortal Queen Elizabeth. (1)

1. Bolingbroke, Freeholders Political Catechism (London, 1733), 14-22.

Pulteney, Bolingbroke's colleague on The Craftsman, was prolific as a journalist, tract writer and probably composer of ballads. His The Politicks on both sides with regard to Foreign Affairs, published by The Craftsman team of Haines and Franklin in 1734, illustrated his telling use of irony:

By the treaty of Seville we are ty'd down in the strongest manner to secure Don Carlos in the possession of his Italian Dominions. (1)

and again:

Sir Charles Wager was again dispatched to the coasts of Spain with a large squadron of English ships in order to wait upon Don Carlos and the Spanish troops in his new dominions (2)

with the usual italics to emphasise the ironical points.

Pulteney also produced an Enquiry into the Conduct of Domestick Affairs printed in 1735 for W. Cheyne, A Seymour and G. Hamilton (Thomson's Edinburgh bookselling friend). His Humble Address to the Electors was published in Edinburgh for Cheyne also in 1735 and his earlier Observations on the Treaty of Seville published by J. Roberts in 1729 had pungent comments like:

beyond the reach of the most artful malice. (3)

One of the most potent pamphlet writers of the decade was Hugh Campbell, Lord Polwarth (1708-94), later Earl of Marchmont, the opposition speaker dreaded by Walpole. Polwarth was friendly both with Pope, for whom he was an executor, and, with Bolingbroke, in whose London house at Battersea he lived in the late 1730s. His Serious Exhortation to the Electors of Great Britain was published by Cooper and his

1. W. Pulteney, The Politicks on Both Sides (London, 1734), 65.
2. Ibid, 62.
3. W. Pulteney, Observations on the Treaty of Seville (London, 1729), 3.

State of the Rise and Progress of the Disputes with Spain by H. Goreham. His style had the flavour of a parliamentary speech:

... the right of Britain, nay the common right of mankind ... shameful insolence ... impertinent pretension ... the gallant eight [Hosier etc.] perished miserably and ignominiously ... the shameful dishonour of the British name (1)

the neat phrasing:

they went on searching, we continued to submit (2)

or the irony of:

our minister still continued to answer the nation with general and uncertain expressions ... the negligence of ministers, I say negligence for it is not possible that their inconceivable ignorance could proceed from anything but an utter contempt and confirmed neglect of our commercial interest. (3)

Polwarth's use of short sentences, repetition, oratorical style, his crescendos and his use of italics made for very effective belligerent tracts in the build up of war fever:

The subjects of Britain are left by the ministers of Britain doubly at the mercy of the cruel character, insolent temper and arbitrary will ... (4)

His sonorous phrasing carried heavy emotive overtones:

1. Campbell, State of the Rise and Progress of the Disputes with Spain, 25.
2. Ibid, 33.
3. Ibid, 33.
4. Ibid, 44.



The sacrifice of the South Sea Company was looked upon as a most ignominious price for a most disadvantageous treaty. (1)

Not all the tract writers were politicians. Benjamin Robbins (1707-57) was a civil engineer who wrote largely on technical and agricultural subjects; he took no interest in politics except for a brief period in 1738-40, when he proved to be a remarkably effective writer of polemical tracts. His Address to the Electors and other free subjects of Great Britain on the late succession with a particular account of our negotiations with Spain went to five editions from H. Goreham in 1739. With his polemical style and heavy use of italics, Robbins emphasised the proven success of previous propaganda against Walpole:

The destruction of the Excise scheme which was entirely owing to the publick spirit supported by the general voice of the people. (2)

Then a typical attack on the Spanish depredations:

Their indignities affected the public so strongly that at last on the petition of the merchants for relief ... the minister saw himself under the necessity of giving way to the current. (3)

and

we were told that Spain terrify'd with the apprehension of war had granted it all.

With an emotive little touch Robbins included in Gothic print the prayer:

1. Ibid, 47.
2. Benjamin Robbins, Address to the Electors of Great Britain (London, 1739), 2.
3. Ibid, 18.

God prosper the arms of Great Britain. (1)

The anonymously published Observations on the Present Convention of 1739 was similarly emotional in style:

Treating the poor sailors with barbarities ... after adding mockery to oppression ... mocking their mangled captives with the mummery of a Havannah trial ... On the side of Spain Inquisition and Arrogance, on our side Meekness and Condescension. (2)

A Letter to an M.P. from a Friend in the Country (also anonymous) continued the stirring up of war fever:

Our merchants passing to and from the colonies have been stopt, examin'd, plunder'd and abased by Spain ... because of all the injuries and the contempt this nation has fallen into. (3)

George Lyttelton's Consideration upon the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad in 1739 followed similar lines. Other titles such as Peace or no Peace in 1738, The Present Corruption of Britain 1738, The Merchant's Complaint against Spain and A Letter to the Proprietors of the South Sea Company all helped to create a very substantial flow of polemical literature during 1738-9 which relied on limited factual information and heavy use of rhetoric to make peace appear the cowardly option and emphasised Spanish injuries to British sailors as if injuring sailors was unusual.

One of the most creative of the political pamphlets of the late 1730s was Samuel Johnson's Marmor Norfolciense with its elegantly contrived introduction based

1. Ibid, 19.
2. Observations on the Present Convention (London, 1739), 28.
3. A letter to an M.P. from a Friend in the Country (London, 1739), 17.

on the discovery of an ancient carved inscription and its strident Augustan irony. It turned the usual complaint about standing armies into a neat metaphor:

Scarlet reptiles wandering o'er the meadows. (1)

and referring to the West Indies:

Submission and tameness will be certain ruin but spirit, vigilance and opposition will preserve us. (2)

He warned of the danger of increasing French power threatening Carolina and Georgia:

Can it be said that the Lyon does not murmur outrage ... In what place can the English be said to be trampled or tortured ... what nation is there that does not reverence the nod of the English King? ... if some of our pretty traders have been stopped, our possessions threatened, our flag insulted or our ears cropped, have we lain sluggish and inactive? ... did not Hosier visit the Bastimentos? (3)

The style of Marmor Norfolciense echoes many of the images of Johnson's own London and Pope's Imitation of Horace; these works constitute a very potent anti-Walpole sting, requiring a very brave reader to argue against War.

In 1739 itself the market was flooded with a great deal of relatively poor quality propaganda tracts, but they all contributed in a small way to the build up of an unstoppable demand for a war of revenge. The British Sailor's Desire or Spanish Depredations Confronted published by Cooper in November, A Proposal for Humbling Spain and The King of Spain's Reasons for not Paying the Measly Five Thousand

1. Johnson, Political Writings, 22.

2. Ibid, 37.

3. Ibid, 40.

from Roberts in December were just typical examples. There were also a number of publications of the text of the Convention, the relevant treaties and the King of Spain's Declaration of War.

In general, however, contemporaries were conscious of the skill and effort applied to tract writing. William Sherstone commented in a letter "on the quaint contrivances made use of to catch people's natural inquisitiveness in the pamphlets viz Are these things so?" (1)

1. Marjorie Williams (ed.) Letters of William Sherstone (Oxford, 1939), 20.

## **7. The Visual Arts and British Nationalist Imperialism 1720-40**

As with other art forms, the visual arts enjoyed a remarkable flowering of talent during the Walpole era. This can be linked to the increasing surplus wealth of potential patrons and to their desire to express their political frustration by contributing to the build up of the national self-image. Though, both in terms of quantitative exposure and articulacy of political message, the main visual arts are more difficult than the written or spoken word to link to the changing of attitudes orchestrated by the opposition to Walpole, it can be no coincidence that such an increase in the output of patriotic subjects was associated with a number of key anti-Walpole patrons. The growth in sculpture, portrait painting, marine painting, cartoon and engraving can be shown to have close links with an upsurge in the visual aspects of national consciousness and with groups of people for whom an improvement in national self-image meant increasing motivation to a war against Spain in the Caribbean. This movement coincided with a period of very active and sometimes even bitter competition between native born artists and immigrants. This very competition encouraged the native artists, like their theatrical and musical colleagues under the same pressure, to adopt a xenophobic posture which was reflected in their work generally and specifically in those aspects of it which had elements of the imperialist message. While it was the engraved cartoon which had by far the most obvious political impact there were many other aspects of the visual arts which displayed the signs of national self-assertion and created visual parallels to the patriotic theme in literature and on the stage.

### **(i) Sculpture**

Though sculpture was dominated by immigrant talent the sheer volume and quality of work represented a huge increase in demand for images of the expanding empire. Peter Scheemakers (1691-1781) came from Antwerp and only settled finally in London in 1735, when significantly he was patronised by Cobham for whom he did seven busts in the Temple of Friendship at Stowe, as well as a series of classical heroes such

as Lycurgus and Epaminondas (1). Sir John Barnard sat for him in 1737, and his output included the monument for Admiral Sir Charles Wager with a Spanish galleon, the monument for Admiral Morrice in 1740, and later statues of Admirals Balchen, Watson, Howe and Pocock, Generals Monk and Lord Clive, William III, Edward IV and a colossal George II, plus the Shakespeare monument for Westminster Abbey. His overall tally of British heroes both historical and contemporary was considerable and his connections with the patriots significant (2).

The highly talented J.M. Rysbrack (1693-1770) also came from Antwerp, brought over by Kent, and he sculpted the Westminster monuments with Gibbs for Gay, Prior, Newton, Milton, Ben Johnson, Kneller and most significantly Admiral Vernon with a figure of Britannia. His Lord Nottingham of 1733 was regarded as a landmark in English sculpture, and he did a relief for the East India Company in 1729 showing Britannia receiving the riches of the East. The Gentleman's Magazine recorded how large crowds went to see the new Gay monument in 1737, which had an epitaph by Pope and had been organised by the Queensberrys (3).

Rysbrack also produced a Marlborough and a Queen Anne for Blenheim Palace; a bronze equestrian William III for Bristol and Belfast; George I and George II for the Royal Exchange; George II for Greenwich. For Cobham he did King Alfred; the Black Prince; Cromwell and other British worthies as well as seven Saxon deities 1728-1730. Other commissions included Bolingbroke in 1737; Pope; the Duke of Argyll; and Walpole. Rysbrack was the only sculptor member of the St. Luke's artists club where, significantly, he mixed with Pope, Prior, Wootton, Thornhill and Hogarth.

Louis Roubiliac (1705-1762) from Lyons settled in Britain around 1738 and was probably introduced to Jonathan Tyers, the owner of Vauxhall Gardens, by

1. R. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851 (London, 1953), 341; Margaret Whinney, Sculpture in Britain 1530-1830 (London, 1964), 176.
2. Gunnis, Sculptors, 343; W.T. Whitley, Artists and their Friends (London, 1928), 76; M.I. Webb, Rysbrack (London, 1954), 25, 33.
3. Gentleman's Magazine, Sep. 1737; Gunnis op. cit. 333-8.

Hogarth who had engraved the entrance tickets. In time this resulted in the commission for the hugely influential and popular statue of Handel for the Gardens in May 1738. Its artistic novelty lay in the informality of the composer's posture: no wig, casual slippers and a general air of relaxation. Its popular significance was due to its strategic position as one of the main sights of the fashionable gardens if not of the whole city (1). Despite the fact that Handel too had been an immigrant artist, he was by this time accepted as a hero of the expanding British culture. Earlier Roubiliac had also worked for Cobham; he did the Queen for Stowe in 1730 and seven busts in 1733. He produced George II in 1732 and 1738 for Greenwich, Neptune and Britannia for Walpole's Houghton in 1736, Queen Anne for Blenheim in 1738, two separate busts of Bolingbroke in 1737, and a Pope commissioned by Bolingbroke to be given to the Prince of Wales. Other subjects, many of them patriot heroes, included Hogarth, Garrick, Prior, Swift, Chesterfield, Argyll, Marshall Wade, Admiral Warren, Vernon, Walpole and others.

Lawrence Delvaux (1695-1778) from Ghent was also employed by Cobham to produce one of the series for the Stowe Gardens and did the bronze British lion for Northumberland House as well as several monuments for Westminster Abbey (2). Henry Cheere (1703-81), Scheemaker's partner, did the monument for Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy for Westminster Abbey in 1732 and a number of key opposition politicians of the 1730s (3).

There is of course no direct link between this massive build-up in the number of marble and bronze effigies of British heroes and the opposition campaign for a war against Spain in the late 1730s, but the fact that it did occur so obviously in the same period as the literary build-up of patriotism, that so many naval heroes were thus honoured, that so many of the patriotic writers were included - many of them in the creation of Poet's Corner in Westminster Abbey - and the fact that Cobham was a patron on such a massive scale, with others such as Bolingbroke, Queensberry, Pope

1. Gunnis op. cit. 329-31; K.A. Esdaile, Roubiliac (London, 1960), 45, *passim*.

2. H.R. Forester, Stowe Catalogue (London, 1848), 15; Gunnis op. cit. 126.

3. Ibid, 97.

and Tyers found amongst the list of patrons, does suggest at least a loose relationship between expanding national iconography and heightened nationalist pride. What is more the establishment of new public gardens like Vauxhall or large private ones like Stowe, plus the architectural development of grand street-scapes, meant that sculpture enjoyed a larger audience.

## **(ii) Painting**

Portrait painting, perhaps for much the same reasons as sculpture, enjoyed a considerable expansion in the late 1730s: the availability of surplus income combined with a desire to heroicise the great figures of the nation. Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745) a friend of the members of the Scriblerus Club, did portraits of Pope, Prior, Steele, Vertue, as well as members of the royal family. He was very much a supporter of the idea of a native British art style which he expanded in his Theory of Painting, linking this with his support of British poets both ancient and modern. He contributed to the cult of Milton for whom he published Explanatory Notes in 1734 and he acted as one of the links between the poetic circle of Pope and the artists' club at Slaughters which included Hogarth, Lambert, and Samuel Scott as well as the Prince of Wales, whom he painted in 1736. Thomas Hudson (1701-79), Richardson's pupil, also became fashionable as a portrait painter. He lived near Pope at Twickenham and did portraits, amongst others, of his fellow painter Samuel Scott and groups of London aldermen.

Jervas (1675-1739) was also briefly popular and very much associated with Pope and the Scriblerus Club. The year 1738 saw a substantial expansion in the London portrait market with the arrival of three new painters: young Alan Ramsay (1713-84) returned from a period in Italy and two new immigrants arrived: Soldi who had thirty sitters in his first year and Van Loo who rapidly did Walpole and numerous other important sitters. All three were instantly successful commercially, to the point where the versatile Hogarth was goaded into a competitive spell, concentrating on portraits in order to assert the qualities of home bred talent. Other significant portrait painters immortalising the British elite included Philip Mercier (1689-1760), the



Prince of Wales's favourite painter until he fell from favour in 1736; Charles Philips (1708-47), one of those who succeeded him - he painted the Prince in 1737 and many others of his set including Pulteney in 1739; and Worsdale, the bastard son of Kneller and a member of the Hell Fire Club, who himself painted Carey and provided the frontispiece for his song book (1).

Again it cannot be argued that there was any plan, imperialist or otherwise, in the rise in popularity of portrait painting in the late 1730s; only that there was a general escalation in individual and corporate vanity which formed part of the background to a nation that was thrusting itself into a posture likely to be most intolerant of even minor foreign aggression, a level of national egotism that fitted in very conveniently with the prickly attitude towards Spain and France which was being fostered by the opponents of Walpole for their own ends.

Turning to the second major category of painting, history painting, this too was a battleground between the immigrant and native talents. The major triumph was that of Hogarth's father-in-law Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734), a supporter of Walpole but an artistic nationalist and a friend of Prior and several of the other literary xenophobes. Thornhill's great achievement was to be the first British artist appointed as the King's History Painter in 1718 and the first to be knighted. He produced the vast symbolic murals for the dome of St Paul's, Blenheim, the House of Commons and Hampton Court, not with any specific message but as part of the overall task of decorating shrines for the imperial ethos (2).

Hogarth himself (1696-1764) made an entry to history painting, much as he did to portraiture, as a protest against the apparent preference for imported talent; he volunteered to do the staircase of St Bartholomew's Hospital free, rather than let the commission go to an immigrant (3).

1. Whitley, Artists and their Friends, 1, 54; A. Davies, Dictionary of British Portraiture, (London, 1979), 1 passim; O. Millar, Royal Collections (London, 1986), 703; J. Kerslake, Early Georgian Portraits (London, 1952), 73.
2. Jarrett, Hogarth, 69.
3. R. Paulson, Hogarth (Yale, 1971), I, 378-9.

The third and for our subject perhaps the most significant category of painting to see a rise in British output taking over from immigrant talent was that of marine painting, previously dominated by the Dutch. Samuel Scott (1710-72) was a close friend of Thornhill, of Hogarth - who did figures and faces for his pictures - and of Fielding's colleague Ralph. Sometimes acclaimed as "the father of English watercolour" and "the English Canaletto", he lived in Twickenham; he never went to sea himself, but he pioneered a native style of marine painting, helping to displace the Dutch who had to date dominated the British market in this sector. In 1732 he was commissioned by the East India Company to do a series of pictures of their ports-of-call throughout the world, a task which he shared with George Lambert and which could be seen as a modest effort by the company to heighten awareness of its own imperial spread. Also with Lambert, he helped paint the scenery for Rich at Covent Garden, so there is a hint of a further link with the patriotic set. This in turn may have led to the commission, probably from Jonathan Tyers of Vauxhall Gardens, to produce a series of paintings glorifying the War of Jenkins' Ear: The Capture of Portobello, Wagers' Action off Cartagena, The Capture of Fort Chagre, The Bombardment of Bastia, The Action between the "Centurion" and the "Covadonga". In particular The Capture of Portobello was reproduced in a line engraving by W.H. Toms and published in March 1740, so that while Scott cannot be said to have contributed to the pre-war hysteria he certainly contributed to keeping it alive once the war had started (1).

The overall contribution to the heightening of the image both of the Royal Navy and the merchant companies by large, beautifully executed marine paintings was no more than a small part of the build-up of imperialist attitudes, but it was the multiplicity of parts that created the effect.

Peter Monamy (1670-1749) was the other half of "the first generation of British marine painters"(2) who also based his techniques on imitating Van de Velde, but unlike Scott made an effort to get to sea. He won commissions from the Painters

1. E.H.H. Archibald, Dictionary of Sea Painters (London, 1980), 195.

2. Ibid, 158.

Stainers Company in 1726 and did a number of historic sea battle pictures from the Restoration period: The "Mary Rose" Action of 1669, The Destruction of the "Soleil Royal" 1692, The Battle of Barfleur 1692 and others. He did some East India Company commissions for Vauxhall Gardens, which as has been seen were used at this time partially as a kind of corporate advertising medium by the London establishment. Tyers also used another ex-Drury Lane scene painter Francis Hayman who had done some illustrations for Pope. Monamy meanwhile also produced An English Flagship becalmed in 1725, before being commissioned like Scott to project the naval successes of 1739-41: these included The Capture of the "San Josef", and The Capture of the "Princessa" (1740). Like Scott he was associated with Hogarth who on certain occasions painted figures for him and received patronage from one Thomas Walker. Monamy was even commissioned to decorate with appropriate naval images the carriage of the ill-fated Admiral Byng and to do Portobello illustrations for the signs of many public houses which at this time adopted Vernon or Portobello as their new names (1).

A third painter younger than both Scott and Monamy also won commissions to record the naval war of 1739-40: Charles Brooking (1723-59). He had been employed doing decorative work at Greenwich from an early age and developed an intimate knowledge of naval warfare so that he could paint it. His works at this time included Vice Admiral of the Red and a Squadron at Sea (2). Also just beginning his career at this time was John Cleveley the Elder (1712-77), another skilled marine painter (3).

It would be rash to make any exaggerated claim as to the contribution of the increase in British marine painting to the aggressive mentalities of 1739, but equally it is certainly no coincidence that this period saw the first flowering of native paintings of naval battles, that these were commissioned by Tyers and the others

1. J. Locker, Naval Gallery at Greenwich Hospital (Greenwich, 1970), 22; D. Cordingley, Marine Painting in England 1700-99 (London, 1974), 77.
2. Archibald, op. cit., 83.
3. Ibid, 97.

associated with the patriotic literary set, that as with portrait and history painting there was a conscious move to encourage home-bred rather than imported talent, and that there did arise a heightened awareness of the visual imagery of the Royal Navy which tied in well with the opposition's policy of naval empire building instead of continental land-based entanglements. Alongside the idolisation of naval battles should also be set the expansion of portraiture of popular naval officers - and later sculpture - by James McArdell, Richard Houston, Edward Fisher and Richard Purcell, plus their reproduction in mezzotints by Faber.

Somewhat less dramatic but nevertheless relevant was the modest development in painting of land battles. This too had been dominated by immigrants, like the famous series of Marlborough's victories by Benoist, Laguerre and Dulosc. John Wootton (1678-1764) was a peacetime horse and landscape painter who developed his talents at Newmarket and other racecourses, with plenty of commissions of popular thorough-breds such as his "Victorious" for the patriot 5th Duke of Hamilton. He had earlier done a series of pictures illustrating Gay's Fables in 1727 and in due course adapted his talents to record British land victories. His Siege of Tournai, Siege of Lille and Dettingen are in the royal collection. His Culloden was engraved by Baron for popular publication. As with Scott and Monamy, many detailed figures or portraits were contributed by the ubiquitous Hogarth (1).

Also worthy of mention was the highly professional Joseph Van Aken (1699-1749) from Antwerp, the respected specialist drapery painter who worked for all the main portrait painters of the period and added to the grandiose appearance of their sitters by the brilliance of his robe painting; it was a detail again not unconnected with the requirement of a rich, successful and unassailable image for the British elite (2). Similarly on the fringes there was the omnipresent George Lambert (1710-65) scenery painter for John Rich at Covent Garden, colleague of Hogarth and Scott at Slaughters and member of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks. He too won

1. E. Waterhouse, Dictionary of 18th Century British Painters, (Woodbridge, 1981), 421.

2. Ibid, 377.

commissions from the East India Company to do landscapes of the sub-continent, as apparently did Francis Hayman, a fellow scenery painter at Drury Lane (1).

1. Ibid, 215.

### (iii) Engraving

The presence of William Hogarth (1697-1764), that ardent supporter of native British art, in two of the categories so far mentioned leads now to an evaluation of his dominating position in a third: the group of designers, etchers and engravers who were collectively responsible for the massive expansion in quantity and quality of printed illustrations in various forms at this time. As has already been seen, Hogarth was strongly motivated to uphold the reputation and livelihood of British artists against immigrant talent, not only in history painting and portraiture but also in architecture and theatre (1). He signed his letters to the press as "Britophil" and some of his pictures "William Anglus Hogarth". He defended his father-in-law, the doyen of British history painters, defended British dramatists like Ben Jonson, attacked the Italianate architecture of William Kent and the theatricals of the Swiss impresario Heidegger. It was this mainly artistic xenophobia rather than adherence to any party line which gave Hogarth his importance in our context. Also extremely significant was his pioneering contribution to the development of British based etching and engraving. Up to 1720 the market had been limited and had been dominated by imported prints. The South Sea Bubble provoked a spate of prints including Hogarth's first major commercial effort, a mixture of etching and engraving which by its success helped to create a whole new industry in London.

While best remembered for the brilliance of his moralistic prints, Hogarth, even in this early period, also produced others close to the patriotic theme. His Masquerades and Operas of 1723 was an attack on the Burlington/Kent/Heidegger set associated with Italian opera and architecture - it was sold by Overton and printed by Thomas Bowles. His Lottery of 1724 featured Britannia, and in 1728 he was commissioned by Nicholas Amhurst, shortly to become editor of The Craftsman, to do the plates for Pasquin which probably led to an introduction to Bolingbroke (2). His Lemuel Gulliver of 1726 had not only been a sign of appreciation of Swift and the members of the Scriblerus Club but the beginning of a physical characterisation

1. Paulson, Hogarth, I, 115.

2. Ibid, I, 170.

of John Bull, the literary creation of that other founding Brother John Arbuthnot (1).

These commissions were followed by Hudibras for Overton, Paradise Lost for Tonson and Don Quixote for the opposition leader Lord Carteret. In 1726 he appeared to align himself directly with the opposition with his Punishment Inflicted on Lemuel Gulliver and his Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn which was assumed to be the usual derogatory identification of Walpole with Cardinal Wolsey. Then in 1728 he sold a Beggar's Opera to Rich before going to do a large number of prints. The same material was adapted for fans, screens and snuff-boxes (2). He must also have known Oglethorpe, whom he painted with the Baimbridge Committee, and Handel, who was involved in fundraising for the Orphanage. Thus, though he in this period produced little in the direct mould of propaganda, he was closely connected with the groups who were involved in, and certainly contributing to, the general heightening of media awareness and visual articulacy.

During the 1730s and early 40s Hogarth seems to have kept himself aloof from party allegiance although, in 1734, he did become a founder member of Rich's Sublime Society of Beefsteaks; it was a period in which he was trying to establish himself as a serious painter and win royal patronage, so controversy was to be avoided. However the print Aeneas and the Storm in 1737 may have been his, with its Britannia "smiles on ye tumults" and its satire on George II who had recently snubbed him as a potential royal retainer. Similarly his Strolling Actresses of the same year is seen by Paulson as a friendly gesture towards Fielding who had just lost his livelihood with the Licensing Act. Hogarth may have painted the Prince of Wales in 1736 and may, like Fielding, have been drifting into that camp. The next year saw his exasperated response to the competitive threat to native portrait painting by Soldi and Van Loo (3). He did the promotional tickets for Tyers' Vauxhall Gardens and also for the famous masque Alfred at the Prince of Wales's country seat Clevedon, the quintessence of the patriot propaganda campaign created by Thomson, Mallet and

1. Ibid, I, 162.

2. Ibid I, 224; Jarrett, Hogarth, 74-6.

3. Paulson, Hogarth, I, 428.

Arne. This commission may have come to Hogarth because of his connection with the Scottish clique of Ramsay, Mallet, Thomson and Joseph Mitchell. However Hogarth's political xenophobia was not to take its most virulent form until the post-Walpole period with his Gate of Calais or the Roast Beef of Old England in 1747, crammed with emblematic attacks on the French, their thin soup and their catholicism. In assessing Hogarth's connections it is important to remember not only Slaughters, the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks and the fringe groupings of the coffee houses but also his deep commitment to freemasonry and the fact that many figures in the artistic and political opposition were members of lodges in London at this time (1).

A number of non-satirical engravers were also important in our context. John Pine (1690-1756) was a popular producer of historical pictures. His Revival of the Order of the Bath in 1725, based on a drawing by Joseph Highmore, was published in 1730, followed by his Magna Carta and most significantly in 1739 by his The Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords representing the several engagements between the English and the Spanish Fleet in the ever memorable year MDLXXXVIII with portraits, charts of the coast of England etc. with drawings by C. Lempriere from the original of H.C. Vroom. The tapestry was referred to in Chesterfield's Loom of History speech against the Convention, and the publication of such a magnificent volume showing naval prowess in this particular year was significant as part of the overall thrust for an improved image of naval power. Subscribers for the edition included Walpole, who could hardly refuse, as well as Carteret, Argyll, Newcastle, Bedford, Bolton, Gower, Baltimore, Parsons and many others from the patriotic set. Pine too was a friend of Hogarth's who included him as a model on his Calais Gate (2).

George Vertue (1684-1756) was also a major producer of historical prints, many with patriotic overtones (3). From 1730 he produced twelve portraits of British poets; he did the engravings for the popular and patriotic translation of Rapin's History

1. Jarrett, Hogarth, 118.
2. I. MacKenzie, British Prints (Woodbridge, 1987), 246.
3. Ibid, 326.



of England in 1736, the Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Blackfriars, plus Henry VII, Henry VIII and a series of the kings and queens of England in 1736.

Other serious engravers, some of whom may also have done design work, included the Van der Gucht family: Michael (1660-1725) who did a large print of the navy from a drawing by T. Barton, and Gerard (1696-1777) who recreated Thornhill's St Paul's Cupola for a wider public. W.H. Thoms did the engraving of Scott's Portobello while Le Pano did Darenberg's Dettingen. Yet another Van der Gucht, Michael's other son John was employed as one of the illustrative engravers on The Craftsman (1). Anonymous prints on the progress of Georgia, including features on Oglethorpe, were advertised in the Gentleman's Magazine according to Egmont (2). Van der Gucht also did numerous engravings for the published versions of patriotic plays brought out by John Watts.

Perhaps most effective as an engraver propagandist was Charles Mosley (d.1770) who did engraving work for Hogarth as well as producing his own satirical designs. On the serious side he is known to have done The Attack on Cartagena after Gravelot in 1741 and The Political Kalendar for the Year 1740 (3) with its detailed vignettes of military figures, but it was as a satirist that he triumphed. The art of satirical engraver was of all the visual arts the most direct and potent in the opposition's campaign of the late 1730s to push Walpole into a war he did not want. Mosley's The European Race Heat 1st published in October 1737 began a much imitated series which used the horse race metaphor to put across most of the opposition phobias of the decade. The Heat 1st (4) used virtually every available emblematic cliché to put across the anti-appeasement line. The negative emblems to probe British phobias included a devil before Gibraltar, piles of log-wood at Campeachy Bay, insolent Guarda Costas, Georgia being surrendered, Port Mahon in danger, the Pretender, La Quadra and so on: the positive emblems were "bulldogs of

1. H.M. Atherton, Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth (Oxford, 1974), 46-7.
2. Egmont, Diaries, II, 399.
3. Stephens, British Museum, III, 322.
4. Ibid, III, 229-232.

true English breed", "English lyons whelped in ye tower of London", St Paul's Cathedral rising in the sunset and the City of London in arms. The print in its various versions sold well; when it was readvertised in the London Evening Post in January 1740 there was mention that the plates had worn out and been replaced, indicating a run of over 3000 already (1). The October 1738 version included a monkey wearing a tiara - the Pope with a whip, plus the crosses of St George and St Andrew. As well as this outstandingly successful series Mosley is also known to have done the engraving for Admiral Hosier's Ghost (2) with Glover's popular ballad and Fee Fau Fum in which the giant boasted:

"Perhaps I dock't a single English Ear

And the Spaniard being fond of such a morsel .... (3)

Additionally in The Political Kalendar of 1740 he showed Walpole highly displeased by the news of Vernon's victory at Portobello as well as presiding over military and naval incompetence.

The second highly influential engraver/designer was George Bickham (d.1758), who was also a pioneer British cartoonist. His best known political print of the pre-1739 period was The Lyon in Love (4) of October 1738 in which Walpole was depicted stroking an emasculated British lion while it had its nails clipped by a Spaniard. Other features included an evil Cardinal Fleury, an idle Royal Navy, a banner with 'Britons Strike Home' and Jenkins showing his severed ear to the unheeding Prime Minister. The caption ran:

Call home your fleet cries artful Spain

And Britain shall no more complain

But should we be such fools what then?

1. London Evening Post, Jan. 1740.
2. Stephens, British Museum, III, 296-7.
3. Ibid, III, 316.
4. Ibid, III, 246; Atherton, Political Prints, 14-15.

We should be slaves, be drubbed again. (1)

Bickham is also credited with the print In Place (2) of 1738 which dealt with the failure of the merchants to gain Walpole's attention despite their litany of Spanish depredations in the West Indies. A dog is shown chewing up the merchants' petition, ships burn in the background as does another merchants' petition, and, a verse concludes:

But Britons boldly show imperious Spain  
What tis to rouse the Masters of the Main.

Bickham went on to a number of major opposition prints in the 1740s including The Late P-m-r M-n-r (3) plus An Explanation of the First, Second and Third Heats of the European Race (4).

One other major print apart from The Lyon in Love featured Jenkins: this was the anonymous Slavery (5) showing a Spaniard ploughing with four English sailors as his horses, another sailor being beaten up by Spaniards and Captain Jenkins on a promontory having his ear cut off.

Other particularly influential prints of the late 1730's included the famous Festival of the Golden Rump (6) inspired by the article in Common Sense in March 1737 and reprinted in the Gentleman's Magazine; it was also the inspiration for the abortive Gifford theatre production which coincided accidentally or deliberately with the introduction of the Licensing Act. Versions of The Golden Rump were fixed on

1. Atherton, Political Prints, Plate 22.
2. Stephens, British Museum, III, 248.
3. Ibid, III, 487.
4. Ibid, III, 310.
5. Ibid, III, 254; M. Duffy, The Englishman and the Foreigner (Cambridge, 1986), 136.
6. Stephens, British Museum, III, 223.

lampposts and walls throughout London, (1) a crude but lively image of corruption. By political pun it seems to have been connected also with the Rumpsteak Club, itself attributed to George II's regular turning of his back to a number of senior politicians. To the Author of the London Evening Post (2) of October 1737 revived the old story of Admiral Hosier, the martyr of the naval mismanagement of the previous Caribbean campaign in 1729, the topic soon afterwards also used by Glover. The Glory of Old England (3) dwelt on Queen Anne being so much more generous than Walpole in funding campaigns like Blenheim (4) while The British Hercules (5) pictured the Greek hero as a British tar with the caption "I wait" and a background of the unemployed Royal Navy ships waiting idly at Spithead. This could well have been inspired by some of the half-pay naval officers like Hawke and Anson or even Vernon who were desperate for a concerted naval attack on Spain. In The Present State of Little Britain (6) a Spaniard forces the Convention down the throat of a kneeling Briton; the slogan "Depredation (sic) Pusillanimity, Ruin". The Present State of a Certain Great Kingdom (7) was inspired by Nicholas Amhurst of The Craftsman and depicted bribery with a male figure of "trade" in deep depression. Similar was N. Parr's Hocus Pocus (8) which featured "Commerce is baited like a bull".

Prints which introduced a new poem or ballad and added visual satire were clearly successful in this period. The Voice of Liberty or a British Philippic of May 1738 included part of Akenside's poem which was published in full in the Gentleman's Magazine in August and used the classical Demosthenes/Cicero model of a tirade against appeasement and military complacency:

1. Cleary, Fielding, 111.
2. Stephens, British Museum, III, 227.
3. Ibid, III, 229.
4. Atherton, Political Prints, 119.
5. Stephens, British Museum, III, 229.
6. Ibid, III, 237.
7. Ibid, III, 238.
8. Ibid, III, 292.

Fire each British heart with British wrongs. (1)

Similarly the ballad The Evil Genius of England was produced with a woodcut which showed three British sailors pulling some Spaniards in a cart, with the caption:

Britain's disgrace or the merchants' distress. (2)

The theme of urging the navy into action was taken up again in The Gallick Cock and English Lyon:

Then let Britania's (sic) Fleets advance  
To curb the insolence of France;  
For vengeance arm and bravely dare  
In Thunder to proclaim the War (3)

and in Parr's Hocus Pocus (4) which attacked Admiral Haddock for dilatory tactics off the coast of Spain. Particularly outrageous, as war fever built up to a crescendo, was John Brett's The Naked Truth, a variation on the Golden Rump theme in which Cromwell was shown dropping his trousers for Spain:

Bids him and W----- kiss his A---. (5)

After the war had begun, the output of warmongering prints naturally continued: The English Lyon let loose or Vernon Triumphant:

1. Ibid, III, 253; Gentleman's Magazine, VIII, 427; Duffy, The Englishman, 134-5.
2. Stephens, British Museum, III, 288.
3. Ibid, III, 320.
4. Ibid, III, 292; Duffy The Englishman, 136.
5. Ibid, III, 286.

Behold I'm let loose, Spains hear me roar (1)

and The Evil Genius of England with a series of scenes emphasising Walpole's ineffective conduct of war, trampling on liberty and trade, bribery from France the "The Pacific Fleets" hanging back off Gibraltar and Minorca, with only one positive scene: the capture of Portobello by Vernon (2).

The quantity and quality of the satirical prints concentrating on the West Indies issue between 1737-40 were alike remarkable, and set alongside other art forms can be seen as playing a significant part in the manipulation of attitudes in favour of a more aggressive policy by the government. A number of visual symbols had been developed to help put across their ideas. These included the various stereotypes for Britain: the British lion, the Jack tar, Britannia, and the first bull dogs (3). There were also the villains: Cardinal Fleury, guarda costas and Walpole himself. There were certain often repeated visual clichés like the burning of the merchants' petitions, the Royal Navy sailing idly off Spithead or other locations, British sailors being used as cart horses or for ploughing. Then there were specific popular emblems like the well established wooden shoe symbolising continental subservience, the cap on a pole for liberty, the ubiquitous rump metaphor with its golden excreta and bags of gold generally as symbols of bribery. Finally there were a number of frequently used standard captions, the buzzwords of the day, like "Britons Strike Home!", "No Search!", "Depredations", "Logwood" and so on. The atmosphere of national pride and inviolability set up by the serious artists was thus driven home forcibly in the two years leading up to the war by the satirists and their tone fitted in well with the more extreme poetry, drama and ballad writing of the same period, all combining to make Walpole's position more embarrassing.

1. Stephens, British Museum, III, 299.

2. Ibid, III, 287.

3. Craftsman, 13 Sep. 1729; Atherton, Political Prints, 89-97, 102-3, 178-9.

Various other ephemeral media were used to develop the themes put forward by the engravers: fans, screens and snuff boxes. An advertisement in Old Common Sense for May 1739 announced:

This Day is Published most accurately delineated on a Fan Mount ...  
The Convention: or Spanish Cruelty expos'd and censur'd - the whole  
embellished in a beautiful manner sold at Pinchbeck's Fan-Warehouse  
in the Strand and at Mr Delassalles in Abbey Green at Bath. (1)

Hennerly, the fan painter at Gay's Head, also sold fans with satirical themes including the Excise Bill (2); and there was a fan depicting the popular theme of Walpole in the guise of Cardinal Wolsey (3).

So far as print publishers and promoters were concerned Hogarth recorded that there were twelve major printers in 1735 while Vertue mentions around fifty engravers in 1740. Of those mainly supporting the opposition, if only for commercial reasons, the most notable were W. Webb, Thomas Bowles, Edward Ryland, John Purser (a printer for Common Sense and the Gentleman's Magazine), John Hugganson (a printer of Fielding's Champion), Philip Overton, Ann Dodd (the major retailer of seditious prints as well as the London Evening Post), Elizabeth Haywood (also a novelist) of Covent Garden and John Tinney (4). The production of satirical prints thus had close commercial links with the publishing and distribution of newspapers, pamphlets and ballads. Some of these people suffered arrest for their work, so revenge may have added to their motivation; but in other respects it can only be assumed that their efforts were based on expectation of profit, perhaps occasionally helped by advance funding from a wealthy author or patron. Little unfortunately is known about the background of Mosley, Bickham and Parr, the known creative talents of the engraving business, but with Bickham at least there are signs of connection with patriot

1. Atherton, Political Prints, 64; Old Common Sense, 12 May 1739.
2. Atherton, Political Prints, 17.
3. Ibid, 156.
4. Ibid, 10-16.

propagandists in the other media and it can reasonably be assumed that while there was no concerned plot there was at least some level of discussion and interaction between the opposition and the visual satirists.

#### **(iv) Medals**

One other engraving medium lent itself to the propagation of the patriotic message - the medal. Here again there was a noticeable build-up of material on the pro-war theme in the late 1730s. John Roche (fl. 1735-9), a medal and token engraver as well as button maker, published his Convention of Pardo medal in early 1739 with a number of typical slogans: "No Search", "All's Undone" and "Don Benjamin made the Convention" (1). He had also done a Jonathan Swift medal in 1738, which suggests the possibility of some patriot connections. J.S. Tanner (1706-75), another medal engraver, did the Royal Family in 1732 and James Oglethorpe The Christian Hero in 1737. Christopher Pinchbeck (1670-1742) did one of the many medals for Vernon's Capture of Portobello and there were a total of eighty different medal engravings on this topic which appeared in a flood during 1740, followed by a Fort Chagre Taken and Cartagena Taken in 1741. The overall quantity and influence of such productions was not necessarily great but it was yet another contribution towards the visual aggrandisement of imperial heroes and nationalist themes. Some of the base metal medals may have been in quantities of up to 500, the silver half that and the gold even fewer.

1. C. Eimer, British Commemorative Medals (London, 1987), 81.



## **(v) Ceramics**

The output of ceramics with a pro-war theme escalated very rapidly in 1740: Kathleen Wilson refers to " a revolution on the pottery industry " fuelled by the demand for Vernon memorabilia. The output of plates showing the capture of Portobello and Fort Chagre expanded rapidly in factories such as those of Joseph Flower in Bristol, and Vernon plates were produced in Liverpool, Stafford, Brighton and London (1). There were mugs showing the capture of Portobello made in salt glazed stoneware with ships applied in moulded relief, a technique recently developed by Thomas Wedgwood who had died in 1737 (2).

## **(vi) Architecture & Gardens**

There are two final visual art forms which had fringe, perhaps more than fringe, relevance to the promotion of the patriotic theme - architecture and landscape gardening. Christopher Wren had rebuilt London as the centre of an Empire, with St Paul's as its epicentre. The role of many subsequent architects was ambivalent - certainly the Italianate style exemplified by Kent, the architect of Houghton, and his patron Burlington was seen for xenophobic reasons as the antithesis of patriotism and it was attacked in the London Magazine as "a ridiculous imitation of the French" - although its classical quality fitted the Roman imperial image which the patriots admired. Nevertheless Kent developed strong patriotic connections including designing the Temple of British Worthies for Cobham and illustrations for Thomson's Seasons. In the same way the grandiose new piles of Vanburgh's Blenheim and Castle Howard were identified with the discredited continental war policy of the Queen Anne period, though they too certainly had the style and grandeur appropriate only to a nation which must be inviolate to attack from lesser countries. What is perhaps most

1. Kathleen Wilson, "Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in mid Hanoverian England: The Case of Admiral Vernon", Past and Present, LXXI (November, 1988), 74.
2. R. Edwards and L.G.G. Ramsay, eds., The Early Georgian Period (London, 1950) Plate 50.

relevant is the combination of architecture, statuary and garden design which created a new ambience for the patriotic soul. The commencement of both the Mansion House and Westminster Bridge in 1739 and the restoration and partial rebuilding of Westminster Abbey by Nicholas Hawksmoor, begun in 1735, were examples, particularly as Poets' Corner with its new statues of national writers became an excellent example of the cult of the patriot ethos. It contained six Roubiliacs, ten Scheemakers and sixteen Rysbracks. Similarly Hawksmoor's St George's Bloomsbury (finished in 1730 and modelled on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus with a statue of George I, a lion and a unicorn) was one of a number of shrines of nationalism. The fashion for triumphal arches developed by architects like James Gibbs (1682-1754) and the decoration of country mansions with plaster Britannias, cannons, flags, fasces and other motifs of empire spread. Colen Campbell's Vitruvius Britannicus III of 1725 set the tone for the new British ethnic architectural style and significantly Gibbs worked for both Pope at Twickenham and Bolingbroke at Dawley. The 1730s were the most prolific period of William Adam whose interiors included decorative plasterwork full of militaristic embellishments (1), such as the Duke of Hamilton's Chatelherault, completed in 1739, or the House of Dunn with its imperialistic plasterwork by Joseph Enza. The stuccatori or plasterworkers such as Bagutti and Altari, both employed by Gibbs, added to the imperialist grandiosity of many stately homes at this time and montages of plaster weapons, Britannias and symbols of authority were a common theme. The plaster ceiling medallion on Townshend's new Raynham Hall, Norfolk, designed by Kent and Mansfield in 1730, was an example (2). Similarly Kent's redecoration work at Stowe in 1731 included a grandiose ceiling painting of "Cobham receiving a sword from Mars" while another had Britannia holding the glorious histories of the reigns of Edwards I and III. Even the Palladian Bridge was said to have political paintings (3).

1. John Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle (London, 1962), 53.
2. Geoffrey Beard, Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain (London, 1975), 54-5; John Fowler and John Cornforth, English Decoration in the 18th Century (London, 1974), 201.
3. Ronald Paulson, Emblem and Expression (London, 1975), 20.

The new fashion in landscape gardening also contributed subtly to the chauvinist stance. Charles Bridgeman (d.1738), royal gardener 1728-38, was the pioneering figure. He worked for Bolingbroke at Dawley, the Duchess of Queensberry at Ambresbury, and Cobham at Stowe and was a member of the St Luke's artists' club where he could meet Pope, Prior, Wootton, Mercier, Thornhill, Gibbs and others. In fact Prior, Pope, Swift and Gay were all very interested in the new gardening fashion. With Cobham, Peterborough and Pope, it became an obsession; and, linked as it was with the building of temples or follies idealising the British past and present, it became part of the patriotic subculture.

Peterborough's garden at Bevis Mount, where Pope wrote some of the Imitations, illustrates the trend towards horticultural glorification of the patriotic past. It contained a Saxon fort which was displayed and accentuated as a symbol of resistance to foreign invasion, an emblem of patriotism. Similarly Robert Digby, who had helped Pope, used Sir Walter Raleigh's old castle as part of the gothic landscaping of his country seat, recognising its function as a patriotic symbol. Bolingbroke exemplified the other fashionable theme of 1730's gardening by introducing at Dawley a model farm, using the cleaned up artefacts of traditional British yeomanry as a form of patriotic decoration (1).

Capability Brown, Bridgeman's successor as the leading landscape gardener, did not move south from Northumberland until 1739 so he really belongs to the succeeding decades, and he took over at Stowe in 1741. Interestingly Batty Langley published his book New Principles in Gardening in 1728, advancing the whole idea of English gardens and attacking foreign horticultural trends, just as James Thomson had condemned the unnaturalness of French gardens and just as supporters of other art forms attacked their foreign counterparts.

Gilbert West (1703-56), Cobham's nephew, in 1732 wrote a poem in praise of his uncle's garden, emphasising its nationalist character:

1. Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures (Hamden, 1984), 197.

Around thy Building, Gibbs, a sacred Band  
Of Princes, Patriots, Bards and Sages stand ...  
Or bold in arms for Liberty they stood  
And greatly perished for their country's good ...  
Foe to the Tyranny of Spain and Rome. (1)

Also of great importance were the new entertainment gardens in London, particularly Vauxhall under the management of Jonathan Tyers who took advice from Hogarth, commissioned Roubiliac, Samuel Scott and Lambert to create decorative features with a strong imperialist message. The East India Company and later Portobello series of paintings were particularly significant and Tyers must be seen as an important purveyor of nationalist art to a wider audience than had previously been possible. Also Robert Caxton in 1737 opened a smaller public garden called New Georgia with a log cabin and a maze to convey some notion about the distant colony, a useful reminder to the London public of Oglethorpe's transatlantic endeavours (2).

Stowe was the ultimate example of patriotic horticulture with Kent's Temple of British Worthies and numerous statues of British heroes or figures of patriotic virtues. Even the inscriptions beneath the statues carried an often sarcastic message for the opposition; for instance Sir Walter Raleigh's read:

To rouse the spirit of his master  
For the honour of his country  
Against the ambition of Spain (3)

Stowe was used as the seedbed for the patriotic writers entertained by the Cobhams. West's poem and Rigaud's specially commissioned drawings further publicised Stowe in 1739 as did George Bickham's guide in 1753. George Lyttelton too went in for

1. J.D. Hunt and P. Willis (eds.) The Genius of the Place (London, 1975), 217-18.
2. Wroth, London Pleasure Gardens, 43.
3. George Clarke, "Grecian Taste and Gothic Virtue" in Apollo, June, 1973, 566-70.

follies at Hagley and Lady Suffolk at Richmond, while for Alexander Pope his garden was certainly a symbol of independence where only patriots were allowed to tread (1). Pope significantly had designed a Gothic folly known as Alfred's Hall at Cirencester Park, while the Prince of Wales had Rysbrack's Alfred erected in his London garden. Another prominent opposition Whig, Jeremy Sambroke, used Bridgeman to design Gubbins which was known as "the miniature Stowe" (2). The fondness of Pope, Cobham, Lyttelton, Sambroke and others for follies both classical and gothic seemed to reflect a frustrated desire for genuine empire building and nationalist display.

One interesting sidelight on the connection of architecture with patriotic literature is thrown by the Morris partnership. Roger Morris had worked with the Countess of Suffolk on Marble Hill, where Pope laid out the garden. With the Earl of Pembroke, he built the Palladian Bridge for Cobham at Stowe and worked later also for Lyttelton at Hagley where the garden had a shrine to Thomson. His cousin Robert Morris (1701-54) not only did architectural work for Lady Suffolk and the Duke of Argyll but also wrote a number of patriotic pamphlets. Earlier he had read a lecture on architecture to the Society of Improvement of Art and Science in 1734, another venture with hints of patriotism.

The relationship between the general upsurge in the visual arts, in particular those elements of it with a patriotic message of some kind, is impossible to relate too precisely to the changes in attitude with regard to foreign expansion and war. However, taken alongside the similar outpouring of other art forms, the total picture shows a remarkable consistency and a considerable build up of the anti-Walpole, anti-appeasement, imperialist theme. The reason for this can be attributed both to the thrust of the opposition patrons like Bolingbroke, Cobham and Lyttelton and to the pull of the market place. There was no doubt that populist drum-banging sold well in all the media. It was one of the unusual features of the opposition propaganda campaign that, by trying to enthuse the country in favour of a war which its

1. G. and S. Jellicoe, Oxford Companion to Gardens (Oxford, 1986), 74-7.

2. Peter Willis, Charles Bridgeman and the English Landscape Garden (London, 1974), 86.

government did not want, they produced material so intrinsically popular that the audience was willing to pay for the privilege of being brain-washed.

The extent to which there was any overall nexus of patronage or clique of patriotic artists conscious of their propaganda role is hard to estimate, as is the degree of common organisation between the visual arts and literature. Certainly there were a number of identifiable groupings: the Covent Garden set including Old Slaughter's Coffee House - Gravelot, Hogarth, Roubiliac, Hayman, Scott, Lambert, Rich, Fielding, with tentacles into a number of other sets and connected also in the Vauxhall Gardens enterprise (1). The groups associated with some of the newspaper publishers, the connection between the engravers and the ballad writers and poets, the nexus masterminded by Cobham and Lyttelton certainly all contributed to the common strand. At the very least it can be stated without question that the visual arts provided very useful back-up to the literary propaganda campaign to force Walpole to be more warlike.

1. Joseph Burke, English Art 1714-1800 (Oxford, 1976), 167-173.

## 8. Conclusion

Having now examined in turn each of the main media of propaganda used in the 1730s by the opposition to Walpole, it is now necessary to return to the questions posed at the beginning of the first chapter: was Burke's view that the government was forced into a war which it did not want in 1739 by an opposition propaganda campaign true or false, and, if true, who was responsible and how was it organised?

On the first question we have seen that while Walpole himself undoubtedly worked extremely hard to achieve a negotiated peace which would have saved many lives and much money, some of his colleagues, particularly Newcastle, made various moves which undermined his policy. The succession of orders and counterorders to Admiral Haddock in the Mediterranean in particular meant that despite Walpole's success at the negotiating table the two countries were for nearly a year on the verge of war. Not all that much public pressure was required therefore to push the machine beyond the point of no recall, creating a climate in which Admiral Haddock could not be withdrawn from the Mediterranean and the normally unpopular South Sea Company could get away with refusing to pay its debts to the Spanish Government.

We have seen overwhelming evidence of the massive volume of nationalist and imperialist propaganda in all the media which created a public mood sufficient for Newcastle to feel comfortable only if he acceded to it and for Walpole's position to be untenable unless he did likewise. This campaign undoubtedly climaxed in the spring of 1738 with the Jenkins debate in March and some of the best known poems and plays on the patriotic theme appearing between March and May, but the political outcome of the mood which this created can be seen mainly in the period February to June 1739 when the steps towards war were taken.

This campaign, whose real motivation was the toppling of Walpole rather than the ideology it appeared to advocate, was nevertheless responsible for a perceptible shift in the mass personality of the British upper and middle classes who thus acquired

a new level of corporate vanity. This focused on the prowess of British sea power, helped justify the massive permanent costs of the Royal Navy and encouraged the populace to be thirsty for further colonial expansion and world domination at sea in a way which was to last for five or six generations (1). A basic conclusion therefore is that the opposition propaganda campaign was responsible for finally pushing the government into the War of Jenkins' Ear, and contributed in a significant way to the longer term personality shift which encouraged many further imperialist wars over the next two centuries.

Our second question was who was responsible? Undoubtedly Bolingbroke was the original prime motivator both for the attack on Walpole and for the concept of transoceanic empire as a policy which at the same time would undermine Walpole and capture the imagination of the public. As publisher of The Craftsman he laid down the essential guidelines of the patriotic theme: the biting satire against the government, the contrast between corrupt placemen and self-sacrificing imperial patriots, the role models of Ancient Greece and Rome, and the romanticisation of English medieval and Tudor history. He had also been the original patron and organiser of the Scriblerus group of poets, who with Harley had perceived the power of satire. During one of his rare appearances in Britain in the 1730s it was he who made the far reaching suggestion to Pope that he should try an imitation of Horace, the idea which was to set a whole new fashion in political poetry. Beneath him were a whole range of literary and political aides such as James Hammond, a minor poet himself, and William Hawley, an "aide-de-camp" of the Prince of Wales who incidentally chaired James Thomson's induction to the freemasons (2). Bolingbroke however was out of the country at his French home for much of the crucial 1730s period and his role in organising the propaganda campaign is hard to define precisely. Yet his inspiration is found in many areas apart from The Craftsman and its spin-off ballads and prints. There is a telling comment in one of Marchmont's letters to Stair: "The Duchess of Marlborough showed me a drawing which points out his (Walpole's) deserved exit. You know where it came from. I have for some time seen Lord Bolingbroke

1. c.f. Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (Yale, 1992), 52.

2. Sambrook, Thomson, 167.



frequently .... We owe him a great deal, it would be too long to mention particulars."(1)

Of the varied group who assisted Bolingbroke, most were Whig politicians who fell out with Walpole during or just after the Excise Crisis, in particular Lyttelton, Chesterfield and Cobham, all of whose main objective was to get rid of Walpole. As spearhead for the Prince of Wales coterie and talent spotter for the new breed of political propagandists, Lyttelton seems to have played a major role, particularly as he wrote himself and was co-publisher of Common Sense. Cobham's role is harder to define, but certainly he can be seen as a hugely wealthy host who could provide at Stowe a purpose-built communal atmosphere for the young talents both literary, artistic and political to apply themselves to creative development. Chesterfield, like Lyttelton, had literary talent himself, was an accomplished patriotic orator, as in his famous "Looms of History" speech. He was co-founder of Common Sense and a patron of Fielding. Two other major political figures played a less overt role: Carteret had his literary connections with Swift and some of the other Brothers, while Pulteney supported Bolingbroke in the foundation of The Craftsman, contributed numerous editorials, wrote several major pamphlets and is credited with some of the most successful political ballads.

Beyond these there was a network of aristocratic patrons, including Jacobites, Tories, and English and Scots Whigs. Particularly active were the Queensberrys, champions of Gay; the Countess of Hertford for Thomson; the Countess of Suffolk and the Duchess of Marlborough as general patrons. The redoubtable Oglethorpe who supported Savage and worked with Cave was one of the few patrons whose motivation was genuine, evangelical imperialism, rather than just dislike of Walpole; he made direct use of propaganda to support his own ideals, as opposed simply to trying to topple an administration. Apart from the aristocratic patrons, there was a whole new nexus of lower ranking friends and intermediaries who encouraged the writers morally, and in a smaller way financially. Nathaniel Wood for instance was a good friend to Thomson and Glover who also subscribed to Gustavus Vasa. Solomon Mendes, a

1. Rose, Marchmont Papers, II, 114.

Jewish merchant, was a regular supporter of Thomson and Savage; he was interested in Oglethorpe's anti-slavery ideals for Georgia and a subscriber to both Gustavus Vasa and Carey's Song Book.

The existence of significant financial rewards either through patronage or commercial sales presented a real temptation to many professional writers who otherwise faced serious poverty if not starvation. This was clearly true for the young Samuel Johnson, for Whitehead, Ralph and Carey. In terms of career advancement it was true of Fielding, Thomson, Mallet, Pope and many others. Genuine belief in the rightness of the cause was irrelevant.

Once the pump of patriotism's artistic output had been primed by cash patronage, entrepreneurial talent began to act like a multiplier effect to add to the quantity of plays, poems, tracts, ballads and engravings which were produced. Dodsely was certainly a key figure, so far as is known without any political motives, who talent-spotted Whitehead, Johnson and others. Cave was also important as a populariser and supporter of new poets including Johnson, Glover, Savage and Akenside, again primarily for commercial reasons. At a still more popular level the new breed of part-work publishers like Walker made money out of mass-producing cheap editions of pirate stories, histories and anti-Spanish material which contributed much to the increase in overall penetration. Other entrepreneurs such as Cooper, Roberts and Watt played a similar role. In some cases the actual writers were simply desperate to make a living. As Fielding said of his colleague Ralph in 1740 "he does not seem to have eaten since the last frost"(1). Also important were the theatrical entrepreneurs like Fielding and Rich who put on both new and revived patriotic plays or ballad operas, again primarily for commercial reasons. Equally Jonathan Tyers stands out as a populariser of the visual arts, with his patronage of Roubiliac, Hogarth, Scott and Lambert. All these entrepreneurs contributed to expanding the market for patriotic art and then sourcing the supply.

1. Pat Rogers, Grub Street (London, 1973), 217.

A third type of quasi-patron can also be discerned in this period who contributed to the encouragement of output - those writers and artists who made an effort to assist, subsidise or organise their own fellows. Fielding again falls into this category with his patronage of Lillo, as does Dodsley who was a writer himself as well as a publisher. Pope played his part in encouraging the younger generation of writers, and Aaron Hill with his background in colony-planning was perhaps more important as a catalyst for other writers like Thomson, Miller and Savage than as a writer himself. Hogarth probably played an important role in introducing other artists to commissions, particularly in the Vauxhall Gardens context. On the edge of this category too were those writers or artists who ranged between different media: Lediard was stage designer, librettist and naval historian; Carey worked as both lyricist and composer with a variety of other poets and composers encouraging a cross-fertilisation of ideas; the multi-talented Fielding appears as librettist, playwright, poet, journalist and later novelist. Several of the patriotic playwrights like Havard were also actors or stage managers: Mrs Haywood was novelist, journalist, bookseller and stage manager.

This leads into an even less formal nexus of relationships based either on localities like Twickenham where Pope, Thomson, Bolingbroke, Scott, Whitehead, Savage, Lady Suffolk, Argyll and Morris were all fairly close neighbours; coffee rendezvous like Garraways for the city; drinking or eating clubs like the Beefsteak or the Rumpsteak; country house parties like the Stowe arrangement; or professional contact points like the St Luke's artists' group, the Vauxhall connection, the actor-theatre manager clique and so on. Thus while the patriotic propaganda campaign can in no way be described as a consistently organised political plot, it did have the elements of deliberate planning; and commercial motivation was kept alive by prodding from a number of senior political figures when Bolingbroke chose to opt out.

One particular meeting place for a remarkable number of the patriotic set was the masonic lodge: freemasonry was expanding rapidly at the time with almost as many lodges as there were coffee houses. Three of the "Brothers" were masons - Pope, Swift and Arbuthnot - and probably a fourth, Gay, since his patron the Duke of Queensberry was a very prominent mason. It is not unreasonable to speculate that

Bolingbroke may also have dabbled and that the term 'Brothers' was no mere coincidence. This leads in turn to another group of masons round Aaron Hill which was to include Mallet, Thomson and Savage (1). Most remarkable of all was the masonic enthusiasm of Oglethorpe who founded a new lodge in Georgia which received financial support from the masons back in Britain, perhaps helped by Hill's double enthusiasm for both Georgia and freemasonry. These probably included his friend Hogarth who was in a lodge with a number of Beefsteak colleagues including Sir William Saunderson and a Brother Lediard who was most likely the librettist/historian. One of the significant Grand Masters of the period was Lord Inchiquin, a close friend of the Prince of Wales, who probably recruited him to masonry, and was significantly a subscriber to Gustavus Vasa. Freemasonry was at this time a unique opportunity for the mixing of ranks, an outlet for frustrated idealists and possibly an inspiration for shared ideals of a new world empire.

Our evidence for the connection between a large volume of propaganda material and a change of attitudes is mainly circumstantial. The sheer quantity of material implies commercial success which in turn implies penetration. This, linked with various items of anecdotal evidence such as Egmont's visits to the theatre, the comments of Arbuthnott, Horace Walpole and others, the paranoid reaction of the government in muzzling the theatre, persecuting news vendors and printers, and the Dodsley/Whitehead case, all suggest forcibly that the propaganda was biting. The hysterical and highly unusual behaviour of the 'Heroines' perhaps more than any other incident demonstrates the depth of feeling engendered by the emotive rantings of the patriotic writers.

It was not all that far removed from the kind of enthusiasm created by the Wesley brothers in exactly the same year when they first started mass evangelism in Bristol. Even the secession from parliament of March 1739 was conceived as a publicity stunt which could have been revolutionary in its effects.

1. Sambrook, Thomson, 167-8.

The other common trait of all the arts was innate xenophobia. Not only did they carry a patriotic message but they asserted their own ethnic independence. The cry was for British opera, British plays, British portrait painting, British history painting, British marine painting, British landscaping - only in sculpture and some music were immigrants allowed to shine, and extraordinarily the most anglophile of all histories had been written by a Huguenot, Rapin. Otherwise artistic xenophobia was preached by Pope, Hogarth, Carey, Miller, Arne and many others. The adrenalin of the native practitioners was nourished by their own artistic nationalism and this formed a useful harmony with their favourite political message.

In considering the impact of the patriotic campaign a number of other factors are important, firstly its quantitative penetration. The relatively high level of discretionary income available in this quite prosperous period to the middle and upper classes meant that they could afford to buy more literature, theatre tickets, engravings, musical scores, medals and so on, while at the same time they had sufficient leisure time to pursue these ideas.

This marginally increasing appetite for media material was met by an increased supply. New, larger theatres like Covent Garden had been opened; more magazines appeared in larger quantities; more variety of newspapers both London and provincial were published; cheap editions of all sorts of literature were produced including the part works produced by publishers like Walker at extremely low prices. There was a big expansion in the British engraving industry, more publishing of play texts by men like Watts, more publishing of sheet music by Walsh, even more commemorative medals. In almost every mass medium there was an increase in output and public exposure through the exhibitions in the Vauxhall Gardens, at Stowe, the refurbished Westminster Abbey and other building or landscape complexes.

There were also the qualitative features of the campaign. There is no doubt that, though essentially illogical, exaggerated and based on distortions, the war programme struck the right chord with at least the literate populace. In 1738 it was twenty five years since the ending of the last major war, traditionally time enough for a people to be regaining its belligerence. The propaganda campaign in widely

different media achieved the right common tone in terms of audience sensibilities - classes educated primarily on Latin and Greek texts responded well to the classical parallels produced by the poets and playwrights; Pitt was a devoted admirer of the nobleness and magnificence of classical ideals. People just beginning to find a new interest in their own national history responded well to the new Tory interpretation of imperial destiny, a message used in all the art forms.

The use of satirical irony worked well with an audience whose sense of humour was somewhat cynical, the reaction to twenty years of boring stability under Walpole and a royal dynasty which was blatantly uninterested. Apart from escape into satire, with its insider jokes, there was also the first hint of a romantic movement, with Thomson and Savage embellishing the imperial myth with an aura of scenic exclusivity, a new affection for nature with a nationalist bias. It was a period during which emotion seemed to be looking for a focus: the upper and middle classes had achieved material success yet lacked political opportunity or religious excitement. They had accepted an alien dynasty, so imperial grandeur seemed to be a natural consolation and the Caribbean atrocities a natural focus for hatred. The steady build-up of anti-Spanish hysteria and intolerance for Walpole shows many symptoms of irrational behaviour arising from prolonged frustration.

It was also a period in which advantage could be taken of easily read visual symbols: the wooden shoe for peasant poverty, the warming pan for Jacobitism, the Sweet William, the White Cockade, Britannia, John Bull, the lion, the bulldog. The writers of The Craftsman enjoyed appealing to a "genuine race of true English bulldogs excelling in fight, victorious over their enemies, undaunted." (1)

There were a plethora of cliché metaphors: the frequently used thin (continental) soup/English roast beef contrast, the golden rump and golden excreta, or biting simile like Chesterfield's in Fog's Weekly Journal (2):

1. Craftsman, 13 Sep. 1729.
2. Fog's Weekly Journal, Feb. 1737.

"A wax army moved by clockwork would be as harmless."

There was also a series of cliché slogans which obtained endless repetition; no search, the Pacific Fleet, the pet hates of standing armies and Hanover.

The anti-Walpole, anti-Spain campaign can also be seen coming in phases; the original pre-Walpole effort to switch interest from land to sea empire orchestrated by Bolingbroke between 1710-13, followed by brief peaks for the war effort of 1719 and again for the scares of 1728-30 with the final successful effort in 1738/9. Thus there was long term build-up and repetition without too much boredom.

The phrases used in Thomas Saunderson's speech on the Convention echoed the emotive language of stage and poetry:

cowardly tameness ... mean submission

... triumphant haughtiness ... stubborn pride

comparable with Pitt's:

stipulation of national infamy ... (1)

Against this kind of background it takes great bravery to argue for peace. Walpole had worked hard to avoid a war which he regarded as potentially costly in every sense. His solution had been the Convention. But as Hare put it: "The Patriots were resolved to damn it before they knew a word of it and to inflame the people against it which they have done with great success" (2). This success, as has been demonstrated, constituted one of the most skilful yet irresponsible deployments of propaganda techniques in British history. It placed a significant level of pressure on the government, so that it felt obliged to organise a costly and ultimately unsuccessful act of aggression. It also set the pattern for the elder Pitt's imperialist propaganda and

1. Ayling, Pitt, 65; Parliamentary History, X, 962-1325.

2. H.M.C. Report XIV Buckinghamshire et al (London, 1895), Appendix IX, 249.

the development of an enhanced corporate mythology which had dangerous consequences for the next two centuries.



## **Appendices**

# Appendix I

## Patronage Connections

### ARISTOCRATIC PATRONS

<u>VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE</u>	<u>LORD COBHAM</u>	<u>MRS HOWARD</u>	<u>COUNTESS HERTFORD</u>	<u>EARL OF CHESTERFIELD</u>	<u>DUKE OF BEDFORD</u>	<u>EARL OF ESSEX</u>
Pope	Pope	Pope	Thomson	Fielding	General	Dodsley
Swift	Thomson	Morris	Savage	Mulloy		
Amhurst	Brooke	Gay	Shenstone	J. Purser	<u>LYTTLETON</u>	<u>LORD CORNBURY</u>
Hogarth	Savage	Arbuthnot	Dyer		Thomson	
T. Cooke	Pepusch	Swift	Mallet		Mallet	General
Bridgeman	Bridgeman		Lillo		Brooke	
Van der Gucht	Roubiliac	<u>DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY</u>	<u>PRINCE OF WALES</u>	<u>DUKE OF ARGYLL</u>	Mulloy	<u>OGLETHORPE</u>
Haines	Sheemaker					
Franklin	Delvaux					
Cooper		Gay		Pope	<u>DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH</u>	Thomson
Goreham		Rysbrack	J. Hammond	Morris		Hogarth
Roubiliac		Gibbs	Lyttleton		Mallet	Savage
		Bridgeman	Thomson	<u>EARL OF MIDDLESEX</u>	Pitt	Johnson
			Mallet		Rysbrack	
<u>EARL OF PETERBOROUGH</u>	<u>DUKE OF MONTROSE</u>	<u>DUKE OF BEAUFORT</u>	Mercier	J. Spence	Roubiliac	<u>DUKE OF HAMILTON</u>
			Ralph	Pope		
Hill	Hill	Morgan	Richardson		<u>DODINGTON</u>	Wootton
Pope	Mallet		C. Philips			Adam
Lambert		<u>DUKE OF BOLTON</u>	Erskine			
			Lillo		Thomson	
				<u>MRS SANDYS</u>	Mallet	
		Gay			Aikman	
		Whitehead		Thomson	Young	
		Thomson			Tickell	
		Hogarth			Savage	
					Glover	

### ENTREPRENEURIAL PATRONS

<u>CAVE</u>	<u>DODSLEY</u>	<u>TYERS</u>	<u>WATTS</u>	<u>WALKER</u>	<u>MILLAR</u>	<u>RICH</u>	<u>FIELDING</u>
Akenside	Johnson	Scott	Croxall	Lediard	Thomson	Gay	Lillo
Johnson	Pope	Hayman	Lynch		Fielding	Madden	Ralph
Savage	Whitehead	Lambert	Havard		Strahan	Carey	Leveredge
Oglethorpe	Purser	Hogarth	Brady	<u>GIFFARD</u>		Frowde	Aston
Tanner	Glover	Roubiliac	Gay			Beckingham	Hatchett
Thomson			Miller	Havard	<u>FLEETWOOD</u>	Tracy	Heywood
	<u>CIBBER</u>		Fielding	Miller		Jeffrey	<u>HIGHMORE</u>
			Ralph	Lynch	Fielding	Thomson	Fielding
			E. Philips	Ralph	Hill	Pepusch	
			Barford	Carey	T. Philips	Lampe	
			Van der Gucht		Whitehead	E. Hayword	
					Thomson	Hogarth	
					Mallet		

### CATALYTIC PATRONS

<u>AARON HILL</u>	<u>R. RUSSELL</u>	<u>J. ROBERTS</u>	<u>TONSON</u>	<u>POPE</u>	<u>LAMBERT</u>	<u>KNAPTON</u>
Thomson	John Martyn	Chetwood	Hogarth	Dennis	Hogarth	Tindal
Pope	Savage		Pope	Scheemaker	Pope	Pope
Savage	Pope			Wootton		Vertue
Arne	Miller			Mallet		
Mallet	Dodsley			Savage		
Dyer	Wesley			Hill		
	Trapp			Brooke		
				Thomson		

# Appendix II

## Club Connections <sup>1</sup>

<u>BUTTONS CLUB</u>	<u>SCRIBLERUS CLUB</u>	<u>SUBLIME SOCIETY OF BEEFSTEAKS</u>	<u>PATRIOTS CLUB</u>
1710 -	1724 - 1727 (Mother Whyburn)	1735 - (Covent Garden) (Motto: Beef & Liberty)	1734
Addison Steele Philips Carey Tickell Pope Charles Johnson Rowe Jervas Young	Pope Swift Gay Prior Parnell Mrs Manley Barber Orrery Arbuthnot Wyndham Bolingbroke	John Rich Hogarth Lambert Peterborough Whitehead Hill Lediard Thornhill	Henry Smart Hugh Watson John Warde
			<u>GROTESQUE CLUB</u> (Smyrna Coffee House)  Thomson Mallet Arbuthnot Prior Johnson
<u>WHITES</u>	<u>HANOVER</u>	<u>HAMILTONS</u>	<u>ST LUKE'S ARTISTS</u>
Chesterfield Doddington Cibber Pope Gay Swift	Addison Pulteney Steele Ambrose Philips	(King's Arms)  Baron Wooton Vertue	(Old Slaughters)  Rysbrack Bridgeman Wootton Pope Prior Mercier Gibbs Thornhill Richardson Vertue Hogarth
			<u>COMMITTEE OF GALLANTRY SOCIETY/DILETTANTE</u>  Wharton Dashwood Sandwich Chesterfield Pope Earl of Middlesex Ferrers Villiers Prince Frederick Knapton
<u>SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING 1736</u>	<u>PLANTERS CLUB</u>	<u>CLARE MARKET ACTORS CLUB</u>	<u>MASONIC LODGES</u>
Duke of Richmond Hertford Thomson Whitehead Egmont Stanhope Millar	Jamaica Coffee House  Beckford Sharp Knight Perrin S. Merrit Hyam	Rich Havard Giffard Hogarth	Prince Frederick Thomson Savage Pope Quin Hill Solomon Mendez Hawley

R.J. Allen, The Clubs of Augustan London (Connections 1967); Ayton Ellis, The Penny Universities (London, 1956); W. Whitley, Artists and their Friends (London, 1978); G.G. Williams, Guide to Literary London (London, 1973), *passim*.

## Appendix III

### List of Printers/Publishers with Opposition Connections 1730 - 40

Applebee, John	<u>Weekly, General Remonstrance</u> 1740, printer of broadsides.
Barber, John	Scriblerus printer, Lord Mayor of London, friend of Mrs Manley, Pope.
Bowyer, William	publisher of Whitehead, Gay's <u>Polly</u> for Queensberry.
Burton, William	printer of <u>Fog's, Mists</u> .
Chaney, J.	<u>Voice of Liberty</u> 1738 for Akenside.
Cogan, Francis	printer of Swift's <u>Intelligencer</u> 1730.
Charleton, R.	printer for tobacco planters and Micajah Perry
Dormer, J.P.	printer of pamphlets <u>Collection of State Flowers</u> 1733, <u>Norfolk Gazeteer</u> .
Franklin, Richard	printer of <u>Craftsman</u> , assistant to Bolingbroke, Pulteney, Amhurst, Hayes - worked with J. Watts.
Gardner, Thomas	printed <u>His Catholic Majesty's Manifesto</u> 1739.
Goreham, Henry	printer of <u>Craftsman</u> , Marchmont's <u>A state of the Rise and Progress of Disputes with Spain</u> , Benjamin Robbins' <u>Address to the Electors</u> .
Graham, J.	printer of <u>Champion</u> .
Haines, Henry	printer of <u>Craftsman</u> and tracts for Pulteney and Bolingbroke incl. <u>Politics on Both Sides</u> .
Hinton, J.	printer of false <u>Craftsman</u> , <u>Universal Spy</u> , 1732.
Hugganson, J.	publisher of <u>Champion</u>
Hughes, John	printer for Dodsley, Etonian, anti-Walpole printer.
Kelly, John	publisher of Lediard, writer on <u>Mist's</u> .
Knell, Robert	printer of <u>Mist's</u> , <u>Fog's</u> .
Lloyd, W.	<u>The Merchant's Complaint against Spain</u>
Meres (Meer) John	<u>London Evening Post</u> , <u>Daily Post</u> , Old Bailey printer.
Meres (Meer) Hugh	<u>London Evening Post</u> , <u>Daily Post</u> , Old Bailey printer.
Peele, J.	publisher of <u>The Importance of British Plantations</u> etc for Jamaican lobby.
Phillips, R.	Broadsides, ballads.
Purser, John	printer at <u>Daily Journal</u> , <u>Fog's</u> , <u>Common Sense</u> , printer for Dodsley worked at Reads.
Read, Thomas	pamphlets

Rayner, William	<u>Robin's Reign</u> , <u>Rayner's Morning Advertiser</u> , <u>The Pacific Fleet</u> , <u>Vernon's Weekly</u> .
Richardson, Samuel	<u>Fog's?</u> , printer of Daily Gazeteer.
Standen, John	printer of Rayner's <u>Craftsman</u> - pamphlets with Gaylord.
Stanton	publisher of <u>Naval Transactions</u> , <u>New Halfpenny Post</u> , <u>Reign of Victorious Queen Elizabeth</u> .
Strahan, William	James Thomson's printer
Say, Edward	Carey's printer
Walker, Robert	newspapers, part works, <u>Captain Jenkins</u>
Watts, J.	printer of opposition plays and pamphlets; Succeeded Tonson.
Wright, J.	printer for Bickham

## Appendix IV

### List of Pamphlet Sellers, Booksellers and Publishers with Opposition Connections

Amey, Robert	seller of <u>London Evening Post</u> , publisher of <u>Reason for Immediate War against France</u> , <u>The King of Spain's Declaration of War</u> etc.
Astley, Thomas	printer of <u>London Magazine</u> .
Bowles, John	print seller for Hogarth etc.
Bowyer, William	publisher of Whitehead, Gay, friend of Cave.
Brett, John	seller of <u>London Evening Post</u> , pamphlets, <u>Common Sense</u> , publisher <u>Marmor Norfolciense</u> .
Brotherton	seller of prints.
Carpenter, Henry	satirical pamphlet publisher.
Cooper, Thomas	publisher of <u>A word to the good people of England</u> , <u>Ways and Means to man the Navy</u> , Glover's <u>Leonidas</u> , <u>Spanish Depredations Confronted</u> , <u>Daily Courant</u> , printer for John Ashley, Pope's 1738, Polwarth's <u>Serious Exhortations</u> .
Corbett, Charles	seller of plays, tracts 1732 Temple Bar, <u>The Windward Passage</u> , Johnson's <u>Compleat Vindication</u> , Prior, Lampe etc.
Dodd, Anne	pamphlet seller, <u>London Evening Post</u> , <u>Gentleman's Magazine</u> , publisher of <u>Letter to the Proprietors of the South Sea Company</u> Akenhead's <u>Philippic</u> .
Dodsley, Robert	publisher of Pope's 1738, Johnson's <u>London</u> , Whitehead's <u>Manners</u> , <u>The Negotiators</u> , <u>Some Reflections on the Administration of the Government</u> , <u>The King and the Miller</u> etc.
France, W.	bookseller, publisher of tracts, <u>Short History of Standing Armies in England</u>
Gilliver, Lawton	publisher of Pope, <u>Harlequin Horace</u> , writer of <u>Universal Spectator</u> , <u>His Catholic Majesty's Manifesto</u> etc.
Gardner, T.	publisher of <u>A Brief Account of Spain</u> .
Jackson, J.	pamphlet publisher 1728-61
Jeffries	<u>Gentleman's Magazine</u> publisher
James, Elizabeth	pamphlet seller 1736-62

Jollyffe, John	pamphlet seller, St.James St, publisher of <u>Appeal to the Nation</u> , <u>Objectives of the Present War</u> etc.
King, R.	publisher of Madden's <u>Themistocles</u>
Knapton, J.	publisher of Pope's <u>Fourth Epistle of Horace</u> , Rapin's <u>History of England</u> , Raleigh's <u>History of the World</u> etc.
Lintot, Henry	retired 1735, published <u>Robinson Crusoe</u> , Gay, Pope, Rowe, Fenton
Millan, John	publisher of Thomson, supporter of <u>Gustavus Vasa</u> , publisher of <u>Wanton Jesuit</u> etc.
Millar, Andrew	publisher of Thomson's <u>Edward and Leonora</u> , <u>Sophonisba</u> , <u>Agamemnon</u> , Milton's <u>Areopagitica</u> , <u>Manifesto</u> with Thomson's <u>Britannia</u> , Mallet's <u>Mustapha</u> , Fielding's <u>Grub Street Opera</u> etc.
Montague, Richard	pamphlet seller
Moore, A.	pamphlet seller
Motte, Benjamin	publisher of Swift's <u>Gulliver</u> , etc.
Morgan, J.	publisher 1737 <u>The Contrast to a Man of Honour</u>
Nutt, Sarah	distributor <u>London Evening Post</u>
Roberts, J.	publisher <u>Universal Spectator</u> , <u>The Convention between the Crowns of England and Spain</u> , <u>Treaty of Navigation between Queen Anne and Philip V of Spain</u> , <u>The King of Spain's Reason for not paying the £95,000</u> , <u>Reasons for a Place Bill</u> , Lillo's <u>London Merchant</u> , Chetwood's <u>Generous Freemasonry</u> , <u>Robin Hood</u> etc.
Payne, Thomas	opposition bookseller.
Sellar, Elizabeth	sold <u>Mist'Weekly</u> .
Symon, E.	publisher of <u>A general Law Treatise of Naval Trade &amp; Commerce</u>
Thomson, R.	bookseller, publisher of <u>The Negotiators</u> .
Webb, W	ballad printer, publisher of <u>Vernon's Glory</u> , <u>Hosier's Ghost</u> , <u>Consideration of the late Secret Expedition</u> , <u>Conduct of Argyll</u> , major printseller for Hogarth etc.
Whitridge	publisher of Oglethorpe's <u>Sailor's Advocate</u> .
Wilford, John	ex <u>Fog's</u> , <u>London Journal</u> , <u>London Magazine</u> , <u>Necessity of forming a perpetual Alliance against the exorbitant power of the Bourbons</u> , <u>Reasons for a War against Spain</u> , with <u>Queen Elizabeth's heroic Speech against Spain 1738</u> , Fayer Hall's <u>A Letter from a Gentleman of Barbados</u> .
Wilcox	publisher of Lediard's <u>Naval History</u> .

## Appendix V

### Record of Actual Ship Damage Caused by Spain in the Caribbean 1728-1737

based on list published in Gentleman's Magazine April 1738

Year	Month	Ship	Captain	From - To	Value if known
1728	May	Dolphin	J. Morris	Barbados - London	£6,584
	June	Anne	J. Spackman*	Guinea - Jamaica	£10,500
	August	Beaver	Smith	New York - Curacao	
1729	January	Pheasant	W. Wilson	Montserrat - S. Carolina	
	May	Ferret	R. Barry	Bristol - Jamaica	£5,000
	May	Robert	R. Story King*	Guinea - Jamaica - Liverpool	
	August	Exeter	Coverley	Jamaica - Boston	
		Midford	Ball	Jamaica - Boston	
1730	May	Success	W. Knott	Jamaica - New Providence	
	May	Hannah Hope	Annis	Philadelphia - Jamaica	
		Scipio			
		Birch	J. Turner		
		Francis		Jamaica - Bristol	
	May	Katherine		Jamaica - Briston	
1731	October	Mary Snow	Benson*	Liverpool - Jamaica	
	April	Rebecca	R. Jenkins*	Jamaica - London	
	April	Biddy	Roberts	St Christopher - Jamaica	£5,900
	June	Woodball	M. Kent	Jamaica - London	£6,000
	September	Prince William	W. Joy	Virginia - Jamaica	
	November	St Michael	J. Thomson	Jamaica - Liverpool	
	November	Bermuda Schooner			
	November	Endeavour	B. Arnold		
	November	Salisbury	W. Harris	Jamaica - S. Carolina	
		Recovery	Whattle		
		Bacchus	Stevens		
1732	September	Hannah			
		Lydia	E. Sutherland	New England - Jamaica	
1733		Endeavour	J. Posley	Barbados -	
		Industry	R. Crawden	Barbados -	
1734	April	Thomas	W. Keeling	Curacao - Virginia	
	February	Endeavour	J. Smith	St Eustace - St Martins	
	February	Bermuda Sloop			
	February	Anquilla Sloop	Adams	Santa Cruz - Anquilla	
	February	Antigua Sloop		Santa Cruz -	
	February	St Christ Sloop	J. Warner	Santa Cruz	
		- owned by Sir Charles Payne			
	February	3 other ships attacked but escaped		Santa Cruz	
	March	Friends Adventure	A. Maison	Barbados - Spanish Town	£1,800
1735	March	Two Sisters	H. Gardner	Salem - Barbados	
		Hopewell	J. Wells		
		Three Brothers			
			Salt Fleet		
1736	March	Katherine			
		Prince William	H. Kinselagh	St Christopher - London	



1737	May	St James	J. Curtis	Bristol - Jamaica	
	May	George	H. Warner	Jamaica - Bristol	
	May	Neptune	W. Playter	Jamaica - London	
	May	Prince William	J. Reynolds	Jamaica - London	
	July	New England Brigantine	Basil	Jamaica - Rhode Island	
	August	Loyal Charles	B. Way	Jamaica - London	£12,000
		Dispatch	Delamotte	Jamaica - London	£6,000
	August	Caesar	H. Donaldson	escaped	
	August	Sea Horse	W. Griffith	Jamaica - Bristol	
	December	Industry	Hart	Jamaica - London	

\* The four captains mentioned as appearing in parliament with their protests in 1737/1738.

The Gentleman's Magazine comments that "in the above instances whether the ship was taken or plundered the Master and Crew were used with the utmost barbarity." It also comments that this list of 51 ships may not have been complete, but it was the list known to the London merchants. Of the 51 incidents mentioned only seventeen related to ships based in Britain: nine from London, five from Bristol and three from Liverpool, but eight of these seventeen incidents occurred in 1737, so the British based merchants were noticing an increased level of interference. Of the remainder of the ships about thirteen were based in the American colonies, so less relevant to British demands for tougher action against the Spaniards. About the same number were small inter-island traders.

The location of capture where given does rather suggest that most of the ships were where they should not have been.

Many of the British owned vessels were slavers, including that of the notorious Liverpool slaver Robert Story King. It will also be noted that several names appear more than once; it is possible that they were two ships of the same name, but perhaps more likely that certain ships, albeit in these cases under different captains, made repeated illegitimate or semi-legitimate trips and thus were arrested two or three times. This would reduce the overall number of ships actually arrested over the ten year period to about forty, still a severe irritation, but probably not a genuine reason for war, when they were consciously involved in a dangerous, semi-legal trade; and the sufferings this caused to their crews were as nothing compared to the sufferings caused to both crew and human cargo over the same period by disease, overcrowding and maltreatment by officers.

This list excludes Richard Copthorne whose ship was captured in 1727; he both presented a petition for redress to the Commons in 1739 and wrote his pamphlet The English Cotejo or the Cruelty, Depredations and Illicit Trade charged upon the English and a Spanish Libel lately published which was advertised in the London Evening Post (20 Feb. 1739) and The Craftsman (24 Feb. 1739).

## Appendix VI

### Classified Extract from "List of Subscribers" to Gustavus Vasa

**(B) = Butler's List of Jacobites**

#### M.P.s, Peers and Other Prominent Figures

Lord Andover (Howard), Norfolk Tory (B)

Solomon Ashley, Royal Africa Co., pro Walpole except on Convention

Thomas Ashby, Tory

William Archer, Tory

Charles Annesley, Tory

Duke of Bedford, Tory/Jacobite (B)

Duke of Beaufort, Jacobite - founder of Loyal Brotherhood (six copies) (B)

Duke of Bridgewater - brother-in-law of Bedford (B)

Lord Bolingbroke, ex Tory leader

Lord Bathurst, ex Tory M.P.

Lord Barrymore, Tory Jacobite M.P.

Lord Barrington, later Whig M.P. - friend of Thomson, Southampton (B)

Lord Bellew

Sir Jacob Bouverie, Turkey Merchant, pro Georgia

Henry Bathurst, opposition Whig M.P.

Sir Edmund Bacon, Tory M.P.

Sir Walter Bagot, Tory Jacobite M.P. (B)

Sir John Bland, Tory M.P.

Mr Barrington, opposition Whig M.P. from 1740?

John Bateman, London alderman

Peter Bathurst, opposition Whig M.P. (B)

John Barnard, London Tory M.P., alderman (B)

Edmund Bramston, Tory M.P., Essex connection

Thomas Bloodworth, Tory aide to Prince of Wales

Walter Blackett, Tory Jacobite, Newcastle M.P. (B)

Daniel Boone, opposition Whig M.P., friend of Prince of Wales  
 Henry Brace, opposition Whig M.P.  
 John Browne, Tory M.P., director East India Co. (B)  
 Mr Berkeley, George opposition Whig M.P. - (of Marblehill) Yorkshire (B)  
 John Butler, Whig M.P. from 1742  
 William Bowles, Whig M.P. director of South Sea Co, did not vote on Convention  
 William Belch(er), later Whig M.P.  
 John Baker, brother of William, Georgia Co. and East India Co.  
 John Basset, Tory M.P. from 1740  
 Lord Chesterfield, opposition Whig peer  
 Lord Cornbury, opposition peer  
 Lord Cobham, opposition Whig peer  
 Lord Coventry, opposition Whig peer (B)  
 Sir William Courtney, Tory M.P.  
 Sir John Hinde Cotton, Tory M.P. (B)  
 Kellon Courtney, opposition Whig M.P. Falmouth connection  
 John Charleton, R.N. opposition Whig M.P.  
 Thomas Carew, Tory M.P./Jacobite (B)  
 John Hippesley Cox, Tory M.P.  
 Henry Courtney, Tory M.P. from 1741  
 Arthur Champernowne, failed Devon Whig  
 John Crewe, Tory M.P.  
 John Crawley, Tory M.P. (B)  
 John Cox, Tory M.P.  
 Sir John Chichester, Tory Jacobite M.P.  
 Charles Cholmondeley, Tory M.P. (B) friend of Barrimore  
 Lord Darnley  
 Sir J. Dashwood, Tory M.P. from 1740 - Oxford (B)  
 James Douglas, Whig M.P. from 1741, friend of Prince of Wales and Pulteney  
 Sir Edward Dering, Tory M.P. (B)  
 Henry Drax, Whig opposition M.P. friend of Prince of Wales  
 James Dawkins, Tory M.P., Jamaican, friend of Duchess of Marlborough (B)  
 Peter Delme, Whip opposition M.P., Norwich merchant, Southampton (B)  
 Mr Devreux, Tory M.P.

Earl of Exeter, Hertford - Tory (B)  
 Mr Elton (Abraham?), Bristol M.P.  
 Richard Elliot, Cornwall M.P. for Prince of Wales  
 James Erskine, opposition M.P., aide to Prince of Wales  
 George Evans?  
 Lord Falkland  
 John Finch, opposition Whig M.P.  
 William Finch, opposition Whig M.P., dismissed by Walpole  
 Sir Cordel Firebrace, Tory M.P. - Suffolk (B)  
 Mr Forster (William?), Whig opposition M.P., abstained 1739  
 George Fox, Tory M.P. (B)  
 Nicholas Fenwick, Newcastle Tory M.P., merchant  
 Marquis of Graham, pupil of Mallet, son of Duke of Montrose  
 Lord G. Graham, later opposition Whig M.P. and naval officer  
 Lord Gower, opposition Tory/Jacobite peer, patron of Pope, Johnson etc.  
 Sir Robert Godschall, Tory London M.P., alderman, merchant  
 Bap. Leveson Gower, Tory M.P. - ? (B)  
 Hon (William?) Leveson Gower, Tory M.P.  
 Richard Grenville, Whig opposition M.P.  
 James Grenville, Whig opposition M.P. - Wilts (B)  
 Richard Glover, member of Common Council of London and spokesman for merchants  
 Charles Gore, Tory M.P. - Hertford (B)  
 Edward Gibson, alderman, London M.P. - father of historian (B)  
 Joseph Gascoyne, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Thomas Gore, Tory M.P. - Gower connection (B)  
 William Gore, Tory M.P. London merchant  
 Samuel Greathead, later Whig M.P., West Indian - St Kitts merchant  
 Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Tory Jacobite peer  
 Hon Mr Hill, ? opposition Whig M.P. from 1741  
 Thomas Hill, banker, later Tory M.P.  
 Nicholas Hyet, failed Tory M.P.  
 Samuel Harwood, ex Tory M.P.  
 James Herbert, Tory M.P. friend of Prince of Wales  
 George Heathcote, opposition Whig M.P. alderman, West Indian, director of

South Sea Co (B)

John Hervey, son of Tory M.P.

Mr Harpur, Tory M.P.

Michael Hervey, Tory M.P. - Somerset (B)

Lord Inchiquin, Whig opposition M.P., friend of Prince of Wales, Egmont connection

Sir William Irby, opposition Whig M.P., friend of Prince of Wales

Robert Jackson, director of South Sea Co

Sir Jon Lister Kaye, Tory M.P.

Edward Kynaston, Tory M.P. - Welsh connection (B)

Corbet Kynaston, Tory M.P.

Lord Limerick, ex Whig opposition M.P.

Hon G. Lyttleton, opposition Whig M.P., aide to the P. of W., patron of Thomson, Mallet (B)

Hon Thomas Leslie, Whig opposition M.P.

Charles Long, son of West Indies planter

William Levinz, Tory M.P. Notts. (B)

Thomas Lister, later Tory M.P.

Edward Lisle, Tory M.P.

R Lockwood, Tory M.P., Turkey merchant, director Royal Africe Co, relation of Vernon

Edward Lambert, son of Tory M.P.

Mr Lascelles (?) member of Barbados family?

William Lutwyche, son of Tory M.P.

Duke of Montrose, patron of Mallet

Earl of Middlesex, member of Dilettante Club

Earl of Marchmont, ex opposition Whig M.P.

Lord Sherrard Manners, opposition Whig M.P.

Lord Montrath, ex Whig opposition M.P.

Sir Humphry Monoux, Tory M.P.

Sir John Morgan, Tory M.P.

Sir Wm Morice, Tory M.P. - Devon (B)

Sir J. Molesworth, Tory M.P.

T. Master, Tory M.P. - Gloucs. (B)

Solomon Mendes, merchant, friend of Thomson etc.

John Murray of Broughton, Whig opposition M.P.

John Michel, Tory M.P. - Lincs. (B)

John Mordaunt, ex Whig opposition M.P.  
 Edward Montague, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Legh Master, Tory M.P. - Lancs. (B)  
 Solomon Merritt, West Indies merchant  
 John Morton, Tory M.P.  
 Hon Rob Nugent, opposition Whig M.P., Irish R.C., friend of Pope - Chesterfield (B)  
 Rt Hon Lord C. Noel, Tory peer  
 James Noel, Rutland Tory M.P.  
 Thomas Noel, ex Whig M.P.  
 Sir H. Northcote, Tory M.P. - Devon (B)  
 George Newland, Tory Jacobite M.P.  
 Earl of Oxford - Tory M.P. - Hereford (B)  
 Robert Ord, Whig opposition M.P., Falmouth group  
 William Ockenden, later M.P.  
 Lord Percival, M.P. 1741  
 Lord Polwarth, major opposition figure, ex Whig opposition M.P. and pamphlet writer  
 Sir John Peachy, Tory M.P. - Sussex (B)  
 Henry Pye, Tory M.P. (B)  
 George Pitt - Tory M.P., Dorset (B)  
 William Pitt, Whig opposition M.P. (B)  
 Walter Plumer, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Penniston Powney, Tory M.P. (B)  
 John Pollen, Whig M.P., pro-Walpole  
 Edward Popham, Tory M.P. - Wilts. (B)  
 Duke of Queensborough  
 Lord Rockingham, opposition Whig M.P. (B)  
 Mathew Ridley, Newcastle merchant, later M.P.  
 John Robins, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Earl of Shaftesbury, Georgia trustee - Roman Catholic (B)  
 Earl of Stanhope - opposition Whig (B)  
 Lord Jack Sackville, opposition Whig M.P.  
 Lord Strange - James Stanley opposition Whig (B)  
 Sir Henry Slingsby, Tory M.P. - Yorkshire (B)  
 Sir Thomas Saunderson, Whig opposition M.P., major speaker on Convention, husband of  
 "Heroine"

Sir Hugh Smithson, Tory M.P. from 1740 - ? (B)  
 Sir William Stapleton, Tory M.P. involved in Molasses Act  
 W. Stanhope, later Whig opposition M.P.  
 Edward Stevenson, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Paulet St John, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Samuel Sandys, Whig opposition M.P., husband of patroness of Thomson  
 Edward Smith, Tory M.P. - Essex (B)  
 Richard Shuttleworth, Tory M.P. - strong Jacobite, friend of Barrymore (B)  
 Mr Sambrooke, Turkey merchant Whig opposition M.P.  
 Francis Seymour - Hertford/Somerset family (B)  
 Edward Seymour, later Tory M.P. - Hertford/Somerset family (B)  
 William Stewart, Whig opposition M.P. Argyll connection  
 Thomas Sergison, Tory M.P.  
 Sidney Stafford Smyth, later Whig M.P. relation of Newcastle  
 Sir Edmund Thomas, opposition Whig M.P. 1741, friend of Prince of Wales  
 Robert Trefusis, Whig opposition M.P.  
 Sir Edward Turner, Tory M.P. from 1741, Wilts. (B)  
 William Vaughan, Tory M.P.  
 Henry Vane, opposition Whig M.P.  
 Lord Windsor, Tory M.P. up to 1738 (B)  
 Sir William Wyndham, Tory leader in Commons  
 Sir George Warburton, Tory M.P.  
 Watkins Williams Wynn, Tory M.P., Welsh Jacobite (B)  
 Richard West, son of Whig M.P.  
 Henry Wilmot, brother of London alderman  
 James Winstanley, son of Tory M.P.  
 John Warde, ex Tory M.P.  
 Thomas Webster, ex Whig M.P.

## Other writers, publishers etc subscribing to *Gustavus Vasa*

Nicholas Amhurst, editor of Craftsman

George Baillie, friend of Thomson

Edward Cave, publisher of Gentleman's Magazine

William Duncome, journalist

Richard Glover, author of London etc.

Charles Johnson, playwright

Samuel Johnson, author of London etc.

Mr Millan, bookseller, 24 copies

Mr Morris, architect (Argyll connection?)

Mr Millar, bookseller

John Mere, publisher London Evening Post?

Charles Mulloy, editor of Common Sense

Benjamin Robbins, author of oppositionposition pamphlets

Jonathan Swift, author

Paul Whitehead, author of Manners etc.

Nathaniel Wood, friend of Thomson

Mr Watts ? publisher of plays

## Prominent Female Subscribers

Duchesses of Bedford, Buckingham, Beaufort, Bridgewater, Cleveland, Hamilton, Montrose

Duchess of Ancaster, "heroine"

Duchess of Queensborough, "heroine"

Lady Baltimore, wife of Whig M.P., friend of Prince of Wales

Lady Viscountess Binning, ex employer of Thomson, sister-in-law of P. of W.'s mistress

Lady Charlotte Edwin, "heroine"

Lady Anne Finch, mother-in-law of Mansfield, Betty Finch subscribed to Carey's songs

Lady Archibald Hamilton, "heroine", mistress of Prince of Wales, wife of Whig opposition M.P.

Mrs Sandys, patron of Thomson

Lady Huntingdon, patroness of Whitfield in Georgia, "Heroine"

Lady Caroline Pierrepont, Twickenham group

Countess of Suffolk, ex mistress George II, patron of Pope, Gay etc.

Mrs Vernon and several other Vernons



# Appendix VII

## Correlation of Rumpsteak Club membership<sup>1</sup> and subscriptions to Gustavus Vasa (GV) and Butler's List of Jacobites (B)

Duke of Bedford	GV	B
Duke of Bolton		
Duke of Marlborough		
Duke of Queensberry	GV	
Duke of Montrose	GV	
Marquis of Tweeddale		
Earl of Suffolk		B
Earl of Denbigh		B
Earl of Berkshire		B
Earl of Winchelsea	GV ( Wife )	
Earl of Chesterfield	GV	B
Earl of Thanet		B
Earl of Cardigan		
Earl of Warrington		
Earl of Coventry	GV	B
Earl of Buchan		
Earl of Marchmont	GV	
Earl of Stair		
Earl of Macclesfield		
Earl of Graham	GV	
Earl of Beaumont		
Viscount Cobham	GV	
Viscount Falmouth		
Viscount Falkland	GV	
Lord Clinton		
Lord Griffin		
Lord Haversham		

<sup>1</sup> Rose, Marchmont, II 50.

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British Museum, Add. Mss., 12431-116. Beckford Correspondence.

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