The End of the Line

Literature and Party Politics at the Accession of Queen Anne

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This thesis provides the first full-length account of the political and cultural significance of the accession of Queen Anne. It offers a critical reassessment of the politics of the royal image across a spectrum of texts, events, and artefacts—from panegyrics, newspapers, sermons, royal progresses, and processions to medals, coins, and playing cards. Recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of party politics to the literature and culture of the early eighteenth century. This thesis nuances that assumption by arguing: (1) that the principal focus of partisan texts was competing representations of monarchy; and (2) that the explosion of partisanship at the start of the eighteenth century was triggered by unrest about the royal succession.

Anne was the last protestant Stuart. She had no surviving children. This thesis explores how authors such as Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison, Alexander Pope, and a great many lesser known and anonymous writers and propagandists conceptualized the end of the Stuart dynasty. Anne's accession forced writers to conjecture on the future succession. There were two rival claimants to the throne after Anne's death: the protestant Electress Sophia of Hanover and Anne's Catholic half-brother, James Francis Edward. Sophia's claim was statutory, James's hereditary. Factions emerged in support of both claimants. Almost all topical writing took a stance on the issue. Many sided with the government, supporting Hanover. Yet some writers favoured the illegal but hereditary claim of James Francis Edward; they had to express support in covert ways. This succession crisis triggered not only printed polemic, but also swathes of clandestine manuscript literature circulating in the Jacobite underground. The government took a hard line on Jacobite writers and printers; this thesis documents both their persecution and the techniques they used to evade the law. The thesis concludes by suggesting that this oppositional literary culture only disintegrated after the defeat of the Jacobite rebellion, and the consequent settlement of the Hanoverian succession, in late 1716. After this point, royal succession ceased to be a major source of political discontent.

Car. I Rex.
Ann. Reg.
Hen. Sachev!
GREAT BRITAIN

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Conventions

Unless otherwise specified, all dates are given in old style, but the new year is taken to begin on 1 January rather than 25 March. Quotations represent sources exactly except in three respects: the long 's' is not preserved; italic and roman type have been reversed in quotations which in the originals are set principally in italic; and a handful of misprints have been silently corrected. Where texts are published anonymously but the authorship is deduced from external sources, the author is given in square brackets in the first citation. Likewise, where authorship is uncertain, it is bracketed and question marked.

My primary material comes from a variety of sources. Where good modern scholarly editions exist, I have used them: for example, the Pickering and Chatto Defoe; the Twickenham Pope; the Cambridge Swift; the Yale *Poems on Affairs of State*. Otherwise, I have used original editions. I have supplemented my use of the print archives with electronic resources, including *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (ECCO), the Burney Collection of Newspapers, in addition to the online research collections of the British Museum, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. I have not used electronic editions in isolation. Every text and object discussed in this thesis has been examined physically.

Because I have systematically paid attention to the immediate and developing political and commercial contexts of literature, a parallel chronology of publication dates and political events has been included as an appendix. It gives prices and release dates for most of the texts discussed herein, where they can be deduced. My intention is to augment the analytical bulk of this thesis with some of the raw data on which it draws. Readers are directed to this appendix for supplementary information.

The End of the Line

Literature and Party Politics at the Accession of Queen Anne

Introduction

This is a study of literature and party politics at the start of the eighteenth century. It reconsiders the relationship between emergent partisan divisions and the authority of the Stuart monarchy. My arguments are twofold. From the perspective of literary history, I want to suggest that partisan texts remained structured around competing representations of monarchy. If we ignore portrayals of royal authority in those texts, we are in danger of getting early eighteenth-century literary culture seriously wrong. And from the perspective of political history, this thesis argues that the explosion of partisanship at the start of the eighteenth century was triggered by unrest about the royal succession. My aim is to bring these two perspectives together. How one thought about the succession defined one's political allegiance. Crucially, though, positions on the succession did not always map easily onto orthodox partisan labels. In order to understand the political restlessness of the early eighteenth century, we need to grapple with the complexities of literary and non-literary texts that voiced by degrees sycophancy, discontent, confusion, and unease.

More specifically, this thesis examines those topics through a sustained focus on the accession of Queen Anne in 1702. It provides the first full-length account of the political and cultural significance of that moment. Anne was the last Stuart monarch, but her accession has not been remembered as a great turning point in history. We are repeatedly told that it was a non-event, of little real significance. Mary Beth Norton

describes it as 'unexceptionable'.[1] Anne's right of 'succession had never been in question', writes Carolyn A. Edie: 'In 1702, legitimacy was not the issue it had been in 1661, 1685, or 1689'.[2] Eveline Cruickshanks agrees, suggesting that Anne's claim was 'as undisputed as that of Charles II, George III and, as such, more stable than that of James II, William III, George I and George II'.[3] 'Anne's accession afforded the nation a welcome end to its agonising over William's right to the throne and the vexed issue of allegiance to a king in possession', states Howard Nenner, and 'whether acceptance of the queen was owing to the Tory preference for her right of birth or the Whig commitment to her parliamentary title was of little consequence'.[4]

The evidence suggests otherwise. A substantial body of texts in print and manuscript—hitherto neglected, misunderstood, or undiscovered poems, polemics, sermons, histories, newspapers, entertainments, and correspondence—prove that the precise nature of Anne's right to the throne was a hotly contested topic. The authors of these texts are usually anonymous or lesser known figures, such as John Tutchin, John Oldmixon, William Pittis, Abel Roper, Henry Sacheverell, and Charles Leslie. Those writers were not a coherent group. Indeed, mostly they were enemies who made a career out of sniping at one another in the press. Yet their voices are some of the loudest and most important of the early eighteenth century. Among the better known authors active in these debates were Daniel Defoe, Anne Finch, Joseph Addison, Nahum Tate, and

[1] Mary Beth Norton, *Separated By Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), p. 100.

[2] Carolyn A. Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals and Civic Ceremony in Stuart Coronations', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53 (1990), 311-36 (pp. 326-8).

[3] Eveline Cruickshanks, 'Religion and Royal Succession: The Rage of Party', in *Britain in the First Age of Party 1680-1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. Clyve Jones (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), pp. 19-43 (p. 31).

[4] Howard Nenner, *The Right to Be King: The Succession to the Crown of England, 1603-1714* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), p. 233.

even the young Alexander Pope. Their cryptic references to the succession make for an interesting literary puzzle, as do their relations with the lesser known writers. Likewise, there are many artefacts, images, and events that demonstrate public interest in the dynastic problem triggered by Anne's accession, but which have nonetheless been ignored by text-focused literary scholars and historians. If we want to understand evolving attitudes towards monarchy in the early eighteenth century, and the long-term consequences of the Glorious Revolution, then we will need to take these authors, texts, and objects seriously.

Although the broader dynastic problems of Anne's reign have never been explored *per se*, the engagement of specific authors or political figures with the succession crisis has been well documented. In his masterful study *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts* (2005), Pat Rogers traced Alexander Pope's poetic responses to political events during the final years of Anne's reign.[5] In a similar vein, Abigail Williams has found anxieties over the succession in the 'pastoral wars' between Pope and Ambrose Philips.[6] Paulina Kewes has shown how Nicholas Rowe drew on the language of the ongoing succession crisis to bolster the commercial prospects of his tragedy *Jane Shore* (1714).[7] And recently James Anderson Winn, in his comprehensive biography of Queen Anne, has explored other cultural expressions of anxiety about the succession: in literature, music, and court entertainments.[8] But so far the discussion has centred on the

[5] Pat Rogers, *Pope and the Destiny of the Stuarts: History, Politics, and Mythology in the Age of Queen Anne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[6] Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1681-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 153-55.

[7] Paulina Kewes, '"The State is Out of Tune": Nicholas Rowe's *Jane Shore* and the Succession Crisis of 1713-14', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64 (2001), 283-308; Brett Wilson suggests a more explicitly political reading in '*Jane Shore* and the Jacobites: Nicholas Rowe, the Pretender, and the National She-Tragedy', *English Literary History*, 72 (2005), 823-43.

[8] James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); see too

queen's last days. Nobody has examined how contemporaries conceptualized and contested Anne's legitimacy as queen. And yet the later succession crisis was a consequence of those earlier debates about the principles supporting Anne's accession and the future settlement of the crown. To understand that later crisis, we need to return to the earlier period.

Anne's right to the throne was far from clear-cut. As Nenner hinted, Anne's claim came not primarily from her Stuart lineage, but was ratified by the 1689 Bill of Rights and 1701 Act of Settlement.[9] In other words, Anne's claimed the throne by statute, not common law. But the revolution settlement was hardly stable. And there were still many who viewed Anne's claim as hereditary—she was, after all, the legitimate daughter of the deposed James II. Parliament also gave some credence to Anne's heredity; the Bill of Rights stipulated that the throne would pass to Anne before any child of William's by a second marriage, if Mary was to die before him. But ultimately Anne's hereditary claim was weaker than that of her Catholic half-brother, James Francis Edward Stuart, whose supporters, the Jacobites, posed a very real threat to the security of the British throne. After the death of Anne's last surviving child, William, Duke of Gloucester, in 1700, Anne stood as the end of the protestant Stuart line.[10] Thus the Act of Settlement also stipulated that, upon Anne's death without an heir of her body, the throne should pass to her cousin, Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and thereafter remain in the House of Brunswick. Sophia's mother was Elizabeth of Bohemia, the daughter of James VI and I.

the essays in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Cedric D. Reverand II (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015) and *Queen Anne and British Culture*, ed. Claudine van Hensbergen and Stephen Bernard: a special issue of *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2014), 139-257.

9 For the wording of which, see *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. John Raithby, 11 vols (London, 1810-28), VII, 747-50. This Act was repealed only very recently: see Neil Parpworth, 'The Succession to the Crown Act 2013: Modernising the Monarchy', *The Modern Law Review*, 76 (2013), 1070-93.

10 See, for instance, *The Royal Family Described: or, The Character of King James I, King Charles I, King Charles II, King James II, With the Pedegree of Queen Anne* (London, 1702), p. 4.

James Francis Edward and over fifty other claimants were excluded from the succession because of their Catholicism.

How one thought about Anne's right to the throne implied a stance on the future succession too. If Anne was queen by statute then after her death the crown might pass easily to the Hanoverians, as decreed by parliament. But, if she inherited her throne on account of her bloodline, then James Francis Edward was by default the only legitimate claimant. Whereas Whigs were committed to Anne's parliamentary title, Tories preferred to suggest she claimed the throne by birthright. This was an awkward compromise, as Daniel Defoe pointed out at the time: 'If her Majesty Reigns by Right of Blood, then the Pretender must be spurious; if the Pretender be Legitimate, then you make the Queen have no Claim by Line, and consequently her Majesty must have some *better Right* than a Succession by Birth, or have no Right at all, and be an Usurper: This *better Right*, is that of *Parliamentary Limitation*'.[11] The radical Whig publicist John Tutchin was more succinct; by emphasizing Anne's birthright, he claimed, Tories were attempting to 'Un-Queen' her.[12] Despite the twisted logic of the Tory position, it remained part of mainstream political discourse.

Debates about royal succession at the start of the eighteenth century were the culmination of over a century of dynastic instability. Questions about succession have long been recognized as having been a central part of Elizabethan politics and culture.[13]

[11] *Defoe's Review, 1704-1713*, ed. John McVeagh, 9 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003-11), IX, 74.

[12] *The Observator*, 28 (29 July 1702).

[13] See Paulina Kewes, *This Great Matter of Succession: Politics, History, and Elizabethan Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming); *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, ed. Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes; Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011); *The Struggle for the Succession in Late Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations*, ed. Jean-Christophe Mayer (University Paul-Valery: Montpellier, 2004).

The Stuart dynasty was no more stable than the Tudor dynasty. Prince Henry's death in 1612 left James I's younger son Charles as his heir. Prince Charles was sickly, and it was by no means clear that he would survive to inherit the throne. After the Restoration, Charles II fathered multiple bastards, but no legitimate children by his wife, Catherine of Braganza. So, upon his death in 1685, the throne passed to his Catholic brother, James, against whom attempts had earlier been made to exclude from the line of succession. James's two daughters, Mary and Anne, were raised protestant. But James's only legitimate son, born to his second wife Mary of Modena on 10 June 1688, was christened a Catholic. Hence the revolution of 1688 was in many ways simply another coup to exclude the Catholic heir from the line of succession.[14] William and Mary's failure to produce an heir and Anne's tragic history of miscarriages and dead children meant that, in 1701, parliament finally established law of succession.[15] As the recent work of the Stuart Successions Project has established, questions about the legitimacy of particular successions belonged to longer-term debates about the principles of dynastic rule.[16] Hence earlier tracts about the Elizabethan succession problem were reprinted at key moments throughout the century. Robert Parson's tract *A Conference About the Next Succession* (1594), which argued for parliamentary election of sovereigns, was reprinted at the height of the Exclusion Crisis in 1681 and again after the revolution in

[14] In his controversial recent reappraisal of the Glorious Revolution, Steve Pincus virtually ignores the birth of James Francis Edward: see his *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); for an alternative approach, see John McTague, 'Anti-Catholicism, Incorrigibility and Credulity in the Warming-Pan Scandal of 1688-9', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36 (2013), 433-48.

[15] On seventeenth-century dynastic instability, see Nenner, *Right to Be King*.

[16] The Stuart Succession Project database of succession literature is <http://stuarts.ex.ac.uk/database/>. See too the essays collected in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming); and an anthology of succession literature edited by Andrew McRae and John West, forthcoming from Manchester University Press.

1689. Sir Thomas Craig's *The Right of Succession to the Kingdom of England* (1602), a treatise in favour of hereditary succession, was similarly reprinted in 1703, implicitly to support the claim of James Francis Edward. The arguments of these earlier polemics remained relevant.[17] Although the Act of Settlement established parliamentary succession in law, it was not a panacea. The succession remained unstable because of the Jacobite threat.

There has been a great deal of important scholarship on Jacobitism in the last three decades.[18] Jacobite historiography remains contentious. The traditional 'Whig' interpretation of eighteenth-century history sidelined Jacobitism as a minor phenomenon incapable of translating into effective political action. Revisionist historians such as Eveline Cruickshanks overturned this view in the 1970s, arguing that the Tory party was rife with Jacobites—indeed, that the Tory party was essentially a 'Jacobite party'. But this view has not been universally accepted. Cruickshank's critics, most notably Clyve Jones, have suggested that Cruickshanks and her followers have systematically overstated the influence of Jacobitism in the period.[19] The central

[17] Paulina Kewes, 'Elizabethan Succession Polemic in the Stuart Age', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

[18] See Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979); *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982); Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); idem., *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995); Daniel Szechi, *Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-14* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984); idem., *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).

[19] Clyve Jones, 'Evidence, Interpretation and Definitions in Jacobite Historiography: A Reply to Eveline Cruickshanks', *English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), 77-90; idem., 'Jacobitism and the Historian: The Case of William, First Earl Cowper', *Albion*, 22 (1991), 681-96; idem., '1720-23 and All That: A Reply to Eveline Cruickshanks', *Albion*, 26 (1994), 41-53; Andrew Hanham, '"So Few Facts": Jacobites, Tories and

problem of Jacobite historiography has been taxonomic: how, exactly, does one define a Jacobite? It is easy enough to categorize the men who defected to Saint-Germain, or who fought at Culloden, or who plotted behind the scenes. But what about the men and women on the fringe of the movement, or those who remained at home, but secretly harboured sympathies for the cause of the exiled Stuarts? This is as much a problem for literary as for historical studies. Several of the eighteenth-century's major writers have been suspected of Jacobitism in recent years.[20] And while this has produced some fruitful work on authors such as Alexander Pope and John Dryden, both of whom had religious and political reasons for supporting the Stuarts, other writers have proved more resistant to such categorization: Jonathan Swift, for instance, or Samuel Johnson.[21]

This thesis is not an exercise in 'Jacobite-hunting'. Yet I do want to suggest that our understanding of Jacobitism as both a political and a literary movement needs revision. Sustained and focused attention in recent decades has elevated (or perhaps reduced) Jacobitism to a discrete political counterculture. On the one hand,

the Pretender', *Parliamentary History*, 19 (2000), 233-57; Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

20 For a summary of the debate, see Brean Hammond, 'Ye Jacobites By Name?', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 33 (2009), 37-43.

21 For arguments supporting Swift's Jacobitism, see Ian Higgins, *Swift's Politics: A Study in Disaffection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For arguments against, see J. A. Downie, 'Swift and Jacobitism', *English Literary History*, 64 (1997), 887-901. For arguments supporting Johnson's Jacobitism, see J. C. D. Clark, *Samuel Johnson: Literature, Religion and English Cultural Politics From the Restoration to Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *The Politics of Samuel Johnson*, ed. J. C. D. Clark and Howard Erskine-Hill (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Poetry of Opposition and Revolution: Dryden to Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). For arguments against, see Donald Greene, *The Politics of Samuel Johnson*, 2nd edn (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990); Howard Weinbrot, *Aspects of Samuel Johnson: Essays on His Arts, Mind, Afterlife, and Politics* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005). For the debate as a whole, see issues 7 and 8 of *Age of Johnson* (1996-97).

concentrating on Scottish Jacobitism has resulted in a skewed understanding of it as a nationalist movement that had little to do with the British succession crisis.[22] On the other, English and Scottish Jacobitism has been represented as a cultural 'phenomenon dominated by nostalgia, sentimentalism and a taste for masonic-like ritual and secrecy'.[23] My contention is that, in the early eighteenth century at least, Jacobitism was one stance among many in the debate about royal succession. Moreover, it was a stance that spoke in multiple, often contradictory, voices. My analysis of political culture at Anne's accession suggests that Jacobitism was both more widespread and more potent at the start of the eighteenth century than either literary scholars or historians have generally assumed. It was also a more confused programme than many have realised. The movement may have been doomed to failure, but in the wake of James II's death in 1701, the future accession of James Francis Edward was a real possibility.

In his 2003 Stenton Lecture, John Morrill provided what remains the most careful and penetrating analysis of dynastic instability in the Tudor and Stuart regimes. Situating the Tudors and Stuarts in a much larger European context, Morrill argued that archipelagic Britain had a unique problem: England, Scotland, and Ireland had radically different political and religious settlements, and thus often supported different claimants to the throne for different reasons. Jacobitism endured in Presbyterian Scotland, but also endured in Catholic Ireland. And yet Scottish and Irish Jacobitism were similar only in very superficial ways. Morrill attends to the big picture. Although he does not examine Anne's accession—which does not feature as 'problematic'—Morrill does raise an important point about the revolution settlement: 'no-one in 1689

[22] For an excellent analysis of an individual Scottish Jacobite, see Daniel Szechi, *George Lockhart of Carnwath, 1689-1727: A Study in Jacobitism* (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press, 2002). On the movement from English to Scottish Jacobitism, see Daniel Szechi, 'Jacobite Politics in the Age of Anne', *Parliamentary History*, 28 (2009), 41-58.

[23] Hanham, 'So Few Facts', p. 255.

could possibly have foreseen that their long-term dynastic security lay in the offer of the crown to a German duke, descended from the daughter of the daughter of James VI and I. No-one in 1689 could foresee that for all of her seventeen pregnancies, Anne would ascend the throne a prematurely aged, childless victim of multiple miscarriages, stillbirths and childhood tragedies'.[24] In other words, the long-term consequences of the revolution were unpredictable and, until the Act of Settlement, unaccounted for. So even though Morrill does not admit it, Anne came to the throne in the midst of a worsening political crisis. Morrill's broader arguments about ongoing European dynastic instability do not need to be revised. But his arguments about the last Stuart succession do. For Anne and her contemporaries, a great deal was at stake. The future settlement of the crown and security of the revolution settlement seemed profoundly unstable. Anxiety about Britain's future gave way to cultural expressions of the same discontent Morrill shows emerged in the early sixteenth century.

METHOD

With a few important exceptions, literary scholars have largely abandoned the first decade of the eighteenth century.[25] Reasons for this critical neglect are numerous. Firstly, and most pressingly, there are no canonical giants between the death of Dryden

[24] John Morrill, *'Uneasy Lies the Head That Wears a Crown': Dynastic Crises in Tudor and Stewart Britain, 1504-1746* (Reading: University of Reading, 2005), p. 14.

[25] On this gap, see J. Paul Hunter, 'Missing Years: On Casualties in English Literary History, Prior to Pope', *Common Knowledge*, 14 (2008), 434-44. Important exceptions include J. A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*; and, more recently, Ashley Marshall's *The Practice of Satire in England, 1658-1770* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013). Although Marshall's scope is broader than just the early eighteenth century, she does look at significant neglected texts from the period.

in 1700 and the emergence of Pope after 1709. Certainly, there are flashes of brilliance: Jonathan Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* (1704), for instance, or Addison's *The Campaign* (1704). But those texts have tended to be analysed in much broader contexts. Secondly, early eighteenth-century literature is intensely political, and filled with confusing references to now obscure events and people. Its analysis requires a great deal of contextual knowledge. Thirdly, much of the literature written in this decade is in unfashionable genres such as panegyric and sermon. Fourthly, most of the literature exists only in original print runs or else in manuscript; there are few modern scholarly editions. While early printed texts are increasingly available online via sources such as *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, manuscripts are still difficult to access for most.[26] Recent critical movements in literary studies such as new historicism and cultural materialism have found little of note in the literature of this period, perhaps for the reasons outlined above, perhaps simply because the literature is too obviously topical and political. Given my commitment to combining contextual interpretation of texts with careful archival scholarship, though, I want to outline at this stage some of the methodological issues at stake in addressing this material.

Although literary scholars remain mostly uninterested in the early eighteenth century, the same is not true of historians. Moreover, historians of the period have long recognised the importance of attending to the rhetorical structuring of the polemical literature that flourished under Anne—the same texts that have been ignored by literary scholars. Geoffrey Holmes opened his seminal study of party politics under Anne with an appeal for his fellow historians to 'study the vocabulary which contemporaries used to describe the political attitudes and questions of their own age' on the basis that 'in the language of early eighteenth-century politics are to be found some of the most valuable

[26] See *Textual Studies and the Enlarged Eighteenth Century: Precision as Profusion*, ed. Kevin L. Cope, Robert D. Leitz (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012).

clues to its character'.[27] The 'linguistic turn' of the 1970s, theorized most famously by John Pocock and Quentin Skinner, marked a shift from the study of political ideas to the language in which such ideas were expressed.[28] And although Pocock and Skinner focused mainly on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and on major works of political theory, their method has proved especially useful for historians of early eighteenth-century politics. In his important book *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (2005), for instance, Mark Knights observes that 'political struggle often occurred over and through a linguistic one'.[29] Language was the principal means by which allegiance was constructed, and the most useful tool of political conflict. By redirecting attention away from the major thinkers discussed by Pocock and Skinner and towards the ephemeral political print that was rooted in everyday political practice,

[27] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, rev. edn (London: Hambledon, 1987), p. 13.

[28] The classic Skinner essay is 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory*, 8 (1969), 3-53. See too Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); idem., *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); idem., *Forensic Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); idem., *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). For reflection, see David Womersley. 'Literature and the History of Political Thought', *The Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 511-20; idem., 'Against the Teleology of Technique', in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 2006), pp. 91-104; *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Cambridge: Polity, 1988); Robert D. Hume, 'Pocock's Contextual Historicism', in *The Political Imagination in History: Essays Concerning J. G. A. Pocock*, ed. D. N. DeLuna (Baltimore: Owlworks, 2006), pp. 27-55; Mark Knights, 'History and Literature in the Age of Swift and Defoe', *History Compass*, 3 (2005), 1-20; George Southcombe, 'Reading Early Modern Literature Historically', *Literature Compass*, 7 (2010), 954-64.

[29] Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 44.

Knights has illustrated how such an approach can enable us to see the party warfare of the early eighteenth century as a struggle over abstract political ideas and concepts.

Such an approach may assist our understanding of literary texts too, besides works of political theory or polemic. Much of the poetry produced at the start of the eighteenth century—especially that surrounding Anne's accession—is highly topical, and therefore often yields a delicate commentary on contemporary affairs. Genres such as satire and libel offer candid examples of literary resistance to authority. Genres conventionally associated with praise, however, such as panegyric and elegy, are often less straightforward. Rhetorical strategies could undercut praise, and ambivalence and innuendo evade censure. Authors could encode meaning in idioms recognizable to their allies, but which would pass unnoticed by political innocents. Often the meanings of literary texts, unlike the polemical works discussed by historians, are latent rather than inherent. Literary works required readers to apply the messages of the texts to contemporary affairs. Topical applications were theorized by John M. Wallace and Alan Roper more than a generation ago.[30] Determining the authorial intention of such applications is difficult. But we know that critics were reading in this way during the midst of the early eighteenth-century succession crisis, and evaluating the probability of authorial intent. Take, for example, *The Generous Conquerour*, a play by the Jacobite poet and historian Bevil Higgons. *The Generous Conquerour* was performed in December 1701, just three months after James II had died in exile. The play caused outrage. Although its plot ostensibly concerned a love triangle, the play adopted the

[30] Alan Roper, 'Drawing Parallels and Making Applications in Restoration Literature', in *Politics as Reflected in Literature*, ed. Richard Ashcroft and Alan Roper (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1989), 29-65; John M. Wallace, 'Dryden and History: A Problem in Allegorical Reading', *English Literary History*, 36 (1969), 265-90 and '"Examples Are Best Precepts": Readers and Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Poetry', *Critical Inquiry*, 1 (1974), 273-90. See too Robert D. Hume, 'The Politics of Opera in Late Seventeenth-Century London', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 10 (1998), 15-43.

contentious language of divine right theorists such as Robert Filmer. An anonymous pamphlet was soon printed denouncing the play's Jacobite tendencies. The author of *A Comparison Between the Two Stages* (1702) was not 'perswaded the Author cou'd pursue such a Story without having in his eye the Affairs of his own Country' and that Higgons 'cou'd not write any thing of this kind without being sensible of that application which wou'd be made of it; and it does not appear done by Chance but Choice'.[31] As this example demonstrates, any analysis of political language also needs to account for politicized readers too.[32] By attending to newspapers, literary ripostes, and marginalia, we can start to reconstruct responses of contemporary readers. When we do, we will find that literary works were no less controversial than polemical pamphlets, sermons, and speeches.

[31] *A Comparison Between the Two Stages, with an Examen of The Generous Conqueror* (London, 1702), pp. 127-28. Authorship of the pamphlet has often been ascribed to Charles Gildon, but this seems unlikely: see Starling B. Wells, 'An Eighteenth-Century Attribution', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 38 (1939), 233-46.

[32] For scholarship on historical reader response, see Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Thomas Keymer, *Richardson's Clarissa and the Eighteenth-Century Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); Steven N. Zwicker, 'Reading the Margins' in *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics From the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 101-15; Mary Hammond, 'Book History in the Reading Experience', in *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Mary Hammond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 237-54; Uriel Heyd, *Reading Newspapers: Press and Public in Eighteenth-Century Britain and America* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012); Elizabeth Salter, *Popular Reading in English c. 1400-1600* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Stephen B. Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

At the outset of this introduction I explained that I want to contextualize the literature alongside the events, objects, and other artefacts that comprised 'political culture'. The Skinnerian emphasis on language and ideas has understandably been criticised for paying too little attention to non-textual expressions of politics. Hence, in a phrase deliberately reminiscent of Skinner's 'linguistic turn', the late Kevin Sharpe proposed a 'cultural turn' to the study of early modern history.[33] In a typically brilliant methodological essay introducing his *Remapping Early Modern England* (2000), Sharpe asserted that 'Language is only one of the systems through which societies construct meaning'.[34] Citing the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz, Sharpe proposed that we ought to attend to the full spectrum of elite and popular ritual, display, and artefacts as evidence of political engagement.[35] This provided the methodological framework for his trilogy of books examining images of power under the Tudor, Stuart, and Cromwellian regimes.[36]

Although the focus of this thesis is *literature* and party politics—as my title makes clear—I have adopted where necessary Sharpe's approach of attending to any and all relevant material, textual or otherwise. I draw freely on recent scholarship on early

[33] See Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); idem., *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 1-28; idem., 'Celebrating a Cultural Turn: Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 1 (1997), 344-68; idem., *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 3-57.

[34] Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, p. 17.

[35] The classic Geertz essay is 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30.

[36] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*; idem., *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); idem., *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

modern and eighteenth-century material culture.[37] And, likewise, I have paid attention to the advances in book history and the history of print and pamphleteering.[38] By focusing closely on a specific historical moment, I have been able to explore the overlap between literary and non-literary texts, between language, objects, and events.[39]

[37] Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Noel Woolf, *The Medallic Record of the Jacobite Movement* (London: Spink, 1988). See too Angela McShane, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2009), 871-86.

[38] See Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); idem., *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Downie, *Harley and the Press*; Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics From the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987);

[39] For examples of such work, see Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Scott, *Sidney and the Restoration Crisis*; Lois G. Schwoerer, *The Ingenious Mr Henry Care, Restoration Publicist* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); *Faction Displayed: Reconsidering the Impeachment of Dr Henry Sacheverell*, ed. Mark Knights (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); *1614: Year of Crisis: Studies in Jacobean History and Literature*, ed. Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). Microhistories with a literary focus include Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matter: English Drama and Politics in 1623-24* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England: Reading 1621* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); James Shapiro, *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005); Anna Bayman, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering in Early Modern London* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014); Jessica Munns, *Restoration Politics and Drama: The Plays of Thomas Otway, 1675-1683* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995). See Kevin Sharpe and Steven

Applying these historical methods of research to literary studies is not always easy or straightforward. But it does provide us with unparalleled contextualization, and the new readings that such contextualization offers. My focus on neglected manuscript and print sources aligns my approach with that of the 'revisionist' school of historiography.[40] Unlike the revisionists, though, I wish to suggest that culture was a legitimate mode of political action.

The only meaningful way to grapple with the literature is to situate it within the broader political and cultural context; to read panegyrics alongside medals, sermons alongside election tracts, elegies alongside histories and broadsides; to read it, in Sharpe's words, 'as contemporaries read it, alongside contestatory pamphlets, discourses and cartoons'.[41] We need to combine archival empiricism with close contextual analysis. In short, my approach to Anne's accession is holistic. Time and further research will test the conclusions of this thesis, such as they are, but I hope that it will demonstrate the value of such an approach for literary studies more generally.

CHAPTERS

The structure of this thesis is broadly chronological. Hence chapter 1 begins with William's death and the liminal period between *de facto* succession and the formalized ritual of coronation. The aim is to trace how the dynastic implications of William's death and Anne's accession were conceptualized across a range of media during this

N. Zwicker, 'Introduction: Refiguring Revolutions', in *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics From the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 1-21 (pp. 2-3).

40 My general methodological approach draws heavily on Robert D. Hume, *Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archaeo-Historicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), an approach Hume readily acknowledges has similarities with 'the "revisionist" school of British historians' (p. 107).

41 Sharpe, *Reading Authority*, p. 24.

interim. What such an analysis demonstrates is that the traditional partisan categories of Whig, Tory, and Jacobite were not monolithic.[42] Whigs were torn about who could replace William as a military leader, or whether Anne would continue with preparations for war with France. Jacobitism, in particular, splintered after Anne's accession into groups that considered Anne as either a pawn of Hanover, a potential agent for James Francis Edward's restoration, or simply as an usurper to be deposed by force. The manuscript circulation of libels on the succession created likeminded networks within the Jacobite underground.

That analysis of both public and secret responses to Anne's accession lays the groundwork for the second chapter, which concentrates on Anne's coronation and its cultural impact. The coronation was designed to portray Anne as a constitutional monarch who would support the protestant succession. To examine how that image resonated beyond Westminster, we will contemplate the impact of the coronation on the book trade and the market for royal ephemera. Texts and material objects coloured the queen's popular reception. They could ask what sort of ruler Anne would be. Building on chapter 1, this chapter will explore how political unease about the succession translated into panegyric. Poets needed to praise the queen on her coronation. But their poems could also be instructive to the new regime, or simply meditate on the statutory or hereditary aspects of Anne's claim to the throne. Although the coronation firmly rejected the hereditary stance, some poets continued to suggest that Anne acceded because of her bloodline.

[42] For arguments about the structure of political parties in the period, see Sir Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London: Macmillan, 1929); Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1967); John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society* (London: Longman, 1993).

Chapter 3 moves from the coronation to Anne's first royal progress in August and September, when she visited Oxford, Bath, and Bristol. Each responded differently to the queen. Thus one objective of chapter 3 is to examine what the royal progress can tell us about Anne's reception in the provinces. Another is to unpick the partisan messages embedded into entertainments and verse addresses performed to the queen. Some of Anne's hosts used the occasion to advise the new government on foreign and domestic policy. But counsel could move in multiple directions at once, and was sometimes aimed at other local participants. Guiding the queen was important, but so too was garnering patronage from prominent politicians. Reflecting on the principles of royal succession was an easy way of advertising partisan credentials to potential patrons.

The fourth chapter moves forward to examine portrayals of Anne as a military leader produced after news of victories abroad reached London. Renewed war with France and Spain was ostensibly about the Spanish succession. But writers reconfigured it as a war for the British succession too. By examining a range of official, popular, and diplomatic responses to those early triumphs, this chapter reveals how the war and the succession crisis were discussed in a partisan context.

Having asked in previous chapters how the circumstances of Anne's accession affected representations of the queen, chapter 5 turns to the impact of those representations on the general elections. Religion was a touchstone for the propaganda of both parties. Religion and politics were inseparable in the period.[43] One objective of

[43] See J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics During the Ancien Regime*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Nigel Yates, *Eighteenth-Century Britain: Religion and Politics 1714-1815* (Harlow: Longman, 2007); Robert D. Cornwall, *Visible and Apostolic: The Constitution of the Church in High Church Anglican and Nonjuror Thought* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993); William Gibson, *Religion, Politics and Dissent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Geoffrey Holmes, *Politics, Religion and Society in England, 1679-1742* (London: Hambledon, 1986).

this chapter is to examine how visions of Anne's Anglican piety filtered into the popular imagination via speeches, proclamations, prayer books, and sermons. Another is to explore how those texts influenced partisan polemic. Confessional identities were mapped onto political agendas. Whigs accused Tories of being papists and Jacobites. Tories accused Whigs of latitudinarian apathy and republicanism. Anne's popularity with Tories stemmed from her staunch Anglicanism; but her popularity with Whigs resulted from her commitment to toleration for all protestants. This polarized rhetoric, I argue, persisted beyond the elections. The final part of the chapter will revisit ongoing debates about Daniel Defoe's famous pamphlet *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters* (1702). Far from being a satirical jibe, I argue, *The Shortest-Way* was a clandestine polemic. Moreover, when Defoe was prosecuted for seditious libel, it was not because of his explosive comments about the dissenters, but rather because he had written what the authorities perceived as a Jacobite tract.

The polemical significance attached to these portrayals of monarchy has not been fully appreciated by either literary or historical scholars working on the early eighteenth century. The interpretation of images of rule has, of course, been a central part of recent work on the seventeenth century, perhaps because more seems at stake in the revolutions of that period than in the party conflict of Anne's reign. What I wish to suggest is that those earlier ideological battles were still raging at the start of the eighteenth century. Britain during Anne's reign was essentially a late Stuart confessional state. The futures of the British crown and the Stuart dynasty were in the balance. This thesis will explore how debates about sovereign legitimacy that had survived the civil wars and Glorious Revolution culminated at the accession of the last Stuart monarch. The cultural dialogue between monarchy and party politics documented here will, I hope, enhance our understanding of early eighteenth-century literary and political culture as a whole.

1
Succession

The story of Anne's accession begins with William III's death on 8 March 1702. The king's death generated anxiety in the polity. What sort of ruler would Anne be? Would she follow in William's footsteps, or reverse his policies? Negotiations were underway for renewed war with France: would Anne show the same commitment as William to thwarting the ambitions of Louis XIV? Nobody knew the answers to these questions in the immediate aftermath of the succession. Lack of reliable information created a vacuum which was filled by a mixture of news and partisan fictions. Within days of William's death there was an outpouring of texts in verse and prose, in which authors began to speculate about the queen's priorities and ask questions of the new regime: how would Anne lead the country in a time of war? Would she defend the protestant succession against the machinations of her Catholic half-brother, or the Church of England from the clutches of foreign popery?

Equally pressing were questions of Anne's royal legitimacy. Although the Act of Settlement had made it very clear who should succeed William by law, many had reservations about Anne's claim. The texts responding to her succession voice three basic problems, each of which may be broadly associated with a particular political stance. Firstly, William's most ardent supporters were not entirely happy with the prospect of a daughter of James II on the throne. It looked just too similar to hereditary

succession, even though everyone knew her principal claim was via statute.[1] Secondly, others constructed tenuous arguments that Anne's legitimacy actually came by her bloodline. This was an awkward fudge, as many authors knew. If Anne claimed the throne solely by blood, then there was an even better claimant in exile: her half-brother, James Francis Edward. This formed the basis of the third stance on the succession: Anne was a usurper and James was king. These were the stances respectively of Whig, Tory, and Jacobite. But, as we shall discover, many writers did not subscribe to any particular orthodoxy. As more writers started disagreeing with their allies on the succession question, partisan dogma began to fracture and eventually disintegrate. Whigs argued with Whigs, and Tories with Tories. Jacobitism, in particular, was no monolith. There was no coherent or consistent Jacobite line on Anne. Across all parties and splinter-groups, reflecting on conflicting legal and hereditary aspects of Anne's succession prompted contemplation of future rival claimants to the British throne.

The central purpose of this chapter is to introduce and explore the full spectrum of positions on the succession across a range of texts. Anne's accession was a multimedia event: the printed books, images, songs, and manuscript material reflecting on it number in the hundreds. Thus this chapter will begin with a detailed reconstruction of the cultural context, examining how news of and commentary on the succession were produced, printed, distributed, sold, and consumed. Elegies for the dead king were part of that context. Elegy was one of the most distinguished poetic genres of the early

[1] For studies of Williamite literature and propaganda in the 1680s and 1690s, see Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Steven Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 173-99; Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument: An Essay and Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 83 (1980), 573-664; Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 93-134; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 341-506; *Poems on the Reign of William III*, ed. Earl Miner (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1974).

modern period—a genre governed by the rules and conventions of ritual mourning.[2] Royal elegy redefined those conventions with reference to politics and power.[3] And yet, by shifting the focus to the body politic, royal elegy could become a more dynamic genre than some have assumed. Besides elegies, numerous libels, satires, and mock-elegies on William circulated in manuscript in oppositional networks. In order to grasp the significance of Jacobite responses to Anne's accession, we will also need to look back to responses to the death of James II less than a year earlier. Understanding how Jacobite elegies and libels were distributed and eventually made public will, in the final part of this chapter, transform our understanding of the most sophisticated and commercially successful poem on William's death: Daniel Defoe's *The Mock Mourners* (1702). Contrary to interpretations of *The Mock Mourners* as a straightforward and rather bland elegy on William, a contextual reading of the poem reveals that Defoe was alert to the complexities of the current political situation. *The Mock Mourners* is a calculated example of *laudando praecipere* designed to encourage Anne to emulate her predecessor and fight for the protestant succession.

[2] See Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Dennis Kay, *Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); John W. Draper, *The Funeral Elegy and the Rise of English Romanticism*, 2nd edn (New York: New York University Press, 1967); G. W. Pigman, *Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[3] There has been much recent work on elegies for Oliver Cromwell that have emphasized the intersection of grief and political commentary, but little on royal elegy after the Restoration: see Ashley Marshall, '"I Saw Him Dead": Marvell's Elegy for Cromwell', *Studies in Philology*, 103 (2006), 499-521; William M. Russell, 'Love, Chaos, and Marvell's Elegy for Cromwell', *English Literary Renaissance*, 40 (2010), 272-97; Thomas Page Anderson, *Performing Early Modern Trauma from Shakespeare to Milton* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 169-99; David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 386-87.

William's death in print

The production of texts about the succession began within hours of William's death. The court was central to this process. A proclamation was drafted, printed, and publicly broadcast at major landmarks in Whitehall, Westminster, and the City, where 'all the Streets, Windows and Balconies [were] crowded with vast numbers of Spectators' wanting to hear the news.[4] By the evening, messengers were dispatched to the shires, Scotland, and Holland, carrying with them copies of Anne's proclamation. News of the succession spread quickly. The historian Ralph Thoresby was in Yorkshire when he learned of the king's death on 11 March. He noted in his diary that his wife was 'overwhelmed with grief' by the news.[5]

The circulation of news of William's death was also facilitated by unofficial printed texts. These were not always reliable, as one contemporary complained: 'the Death of the King wod fly fast enuf without the help of my pen. Here is nues plenty, bot whot one tells me, the next companey contreydicks, so I know not which to writ'.[6] By the morning on 9 March, the enterprising journalist and publisher Abel Roper had printed a 'particular relation' of William's death, giving an emotive—but factually distorted—account of the king's last days.[7] The newspapers followed suit in distorting the facts. The journalism reveals a concern for royal mythmaking, for the 'good death' of the king.[8] Much writing on William's death tells a story of royal spiritual and political

4 *The Post Boy*, 1063 (10 March 1702).

5 *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, ed. Joseph Hunter, 2 vols (London, 1830), I, 353.

6 Elizabeth Adams, 21 March 1702, in *Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century From the Manuscripts at Claydon House*, ed. Margaret, Lady Verney, 2 vols (London: Benn, 1930), I, 107.

7 [Abel Roper], *A Particular Relation of the Sickness and Death of His Late Majesty K. William the Third* (London, 1702).

8 The 'good death' was especially important in earlier periods: see Michael Evans, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2003); Alastair Bellany, 'The Murder of James

virtue—piety, religious orthodoxy, and dedication to the state. Hence a reporter for *The Flying Post* related how, before his death, William 'met his new Parliament, made *a Most Gracious* SPEECH *to them*, which may not be improperly call'd, His *Last* WILL *and* TESTAMENT *in Favour of this Nation*, and having with their Assistance brought Things to the Brink of Action, in order to set Europe once more at Liberty': 'With His expiring Breath He expressed His Concern for the Welfare of his Subjects, and with His dying Hand He sign'd Commissions to pass the Acts for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, in order to extinguish the Hopes of those who would subject us to the Government of France and the Idolatry of Rome.'[9] According to this reportage, William's final moments had been devoted to securing the protestant succession after Anne. *The English Post* repeated how 'At the signing of this his last Commission, we hear His Majesty declared his constant Affection to his People, by expressing himself, *That he would still do all that was in his power for the Good of poor* ENGLAND or to that effect'.[10] Here rumour becomes historical fact.

Besides newspapers, the marketplace became saturated with broadside chronologies of William's life and reign, and also by more discursive histories and biographies of the late king. Many of these were cheap, duodecimo volumes costing a shilling or less.[11] Some were more substantial. For instance, the three-volume illustrated *The History of King William the Third* (1702) by the Huguenot historian, journalist, and

I', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae, forthcoming.

9 *The Flying Post*, 1067 (10 March 1702).

10 *The English Post*, 220 (9 March 1702).

11 *An Exact History of All the Glorious Actions of William III, Late King of England* ([London?], 1702); J[ohn] S[hirley?], *A Complete History of the Life, Glorious Actions and Reign of the High and Mighty Prince William* (London, 1702); *The Glorious Life and Heroick Actions of the Most Potent Prince William III* (London, 1702). This last item was printed by John Howe, on whom see Richmond P. Bond, 'The Pirate and *The Tatler*', *The Library*, VI, 18 (1963), 257-74.

FIGURE 1. Detail from *An Exact History of All the Glorious Actions of William III, Late King of England* ([London?], 1702). Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, EB7 A100 702e2. © 2015 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

occasional government propagandist Abel Boyer.[12] The set cost twelve shillings, and the final volume was not released until October. This elaborate edition, then, was written for an elite readership of Whig gentlemen.[13] Boyer's goal was to preserve William's fame for posterity. And, for Boyer, as for the reporter for *The Flying Post*, William deserved renown primarily for his commitment to the protestant succession: 'Now if his Enemies should ask to what purpose the Nation has spent near 60 Millions Sterling to maintain him on the Throne? The Answer is ready, to purchase an *English Protestant* Queen; and a Settlement of the Succession in the *Protestant* Line: A Purchase which no True-*English* Man, will ever account too dear'.[14] Given the ongoing process of regime change, Boyer's emphasis on this particular piece of legislation was especially apposite.

Sermons too provided partisan and religious commentary on the succession, especially sermons on William's death. Like Boyer, the preachers all focus on the security of the protestant succession in Anne. Some of the most ardently Whig sermons mention Electress Sophia, but most do not. Just over twenty sermons on William's death and funeral were printed, several of which went into multiple editions.[15] The sermons were preached across a wide geographical area: from Exeter to Norwich to York. But the

[12] On Boyer's career as a propagandist, see Arne Bialuschewski, '*A True Account of the Design and Advantages of the South-Sea Trade*: Profits, Propaganda, and the Peace Preliminaries of 1711', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), 273-85.

[13] Twelve shillings was hugely expensive. On the value of money and the impact of price on potential readerships, see Robert D. Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69 (2006), 487-533; idem., 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power—and Some Problems in Cultural Economics', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2014), 373-416; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); David Wallace Spielman, 'The Value of Money in *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Roxana*', *Modern Language Review*, 107 (2012), 65-87.

[14] Abel Boyer, *The History of King William the Third*, 3 vols (London, 1702-03), III, 518-19.

[15] These are catalogued in the Stuart Successions Project database: <http://stuarts.exeter.ac.uk/database/>

majority were printed in London. Most were preached within a week of the succession or around his funeral on 12 April. The turnaround on sermons was quick. The first sermon on William's death to be advertised in print appeared on 26 March costing sixpence, the average price for sermons in this period.[16] Ten more were printed within the fortnight.

Purely in terms of volume, though, poetic elegies dominated the literary marketplace in the aftermath of William's death: at least forty-six survive.[17] The first poetic elegy we can date with any certainty is an anonymous fourteen-page folio entitled *An Ode on the Death of King William III*. According to the meticulous bibliophile, diarist, and civil servant, Narcissus Luttrell, this poem was issued on 13 March with a list price of sixpence.[18] Marshall Smith's elegy, *A Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Glorious Memory of King William III*, had been advertised in the pages of *The Flying Post* the previous day, under the header 'Tomorrow will be publish'd'.[19] But newspaper advertisements from this period are not always reliable, and Luttrell dated his copy to 14 March, a day after it was apparently scheduled for release.[20] Authors and publishers knew the importance of timing the release of topical verse, particularly on occasions such as royal deaths. Back in 1692, following the death of Queen Mary, the poet and diplomat George Stepney wrote to Jacob Tonson, the premier publisher of the Whig

[16] Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), pp. 87-97.

[17] See David F. Foxon, *English Verse, 1701-1750: A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems With Notes on Contemporary Collections Editions*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), II, 300.

[18] Luttrell's copy is held in the Newberry Library in Chicago: Case 6A 159, no. 39. See *The Luttrell File: Narcissus Luttrell's Dates on Contemporary Pamphlets, 1679-1730*, ed. Stephen Parks (New Haven: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1999), p. 118.

[19] *The Flying Post*, 1068 (12 March 1702).

[20] On the reliability of newspaper advertisements, see Ashley Marshall and Robert D. Hume, 'The Joys, Possibilities, and Perils of the British Library's Digital Burney Newspapers Collection', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 104 (2010), 5-52.

literary canon, on timing the release of his elegy: 'I wish for yr. sake they may come out before the Funerall, else yr. Market may be spoil'd'.[21] We can confidently assume that writers and publishers were similarly calculating when timing the release of royal elegies in 1702. Where poems were produced later in the year, after William's funeral, they must have been aimed at a different market to ones sold within days of his death, and written with a different purpose in mind.

Besides these first attempts at sustained poetic elegy, other, shorter pieces had probably appeared even earlier, and were printed as broadsides—a cheap, single-sheet format costing only a penny or two that was both quick to produce and readily available to buy from street vendors.[22] We have at least fifteen extant broadside elegies produced after William's death, representing a full third of the surviving printed elegies on this occasion. The comparatively high number, and the low survival rate of such items, suggests the original percentage may have been even higher. There was a substantial market for cheap Williamite elegies. Broadside elegies would have been read—or heard—by considerably more people than encountered an elegy costing sixpence or more.

The market for cheap print was both highly lucrative and highly competitive. Consequently, the extant broadside elegies tell us lots about the market conditions under which such poems were produced. Broadsides had to be visually arresting. They were decorated with thick black borders—known as mourning borders—and frequently with large stock woodcuts, which were used for most broadsides.[23] In a market

[21] George Stepney to Jacob Tonson, 24 February 1695, in *The Literary Correspondences of the Tonsons*, ed. Stephen Bernard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 111.

[22] For a comprehensive overview of the broadside market, see Angela McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011); see too Leslie Shepard, *The History of Street Literature* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973).

[23] See *Elogie on the Ever to Be Lamented Death of William the Third* ([London, 1702]); *Upon the Happy*

saturated with popular print, woodcuts enhanced the visual appeal of a broadside, even when they were recycled from earlier texts. Published to coincide with the royal funeral, the most stunning example is *The Mournful Poem*, a large broadside with the text printed in white ink on an entirely black page.[24] The title pages of most folio and quarto elegies made a visual statement too. They are often emblazoned with mourning borders and some texts on the occasion were clad by booksellers in makeshift bindings of black paper to make them stand out.[25] *The Solemnity of the Muses* (1702), by the author of the broadside elegy *Batavia in Tears* (1702), was touted with a 'curious copper-plate' of the king, providing some paratextual interest on the title page, as well as something to advertise in the newspapers.[26] Other prints were available for purchase. William's 'Effigies, with the last speech he made to his Parliament' were sold for sixpence by the Whig bookseller Abigail Baldwin, on 'a large sheet Ruled with red lines'.[27] A more convoluted print of the speech was later sold for two shillings by Samuel Cope, adorned with 'a Pedestal, with a Globe of the World, Crown, Sword and Scepter on it, with great variety of Trophies of Arms about it'.[28] And a printed 'Mausoleum or magnificent monumental Structure' honouring William was advertised by subscription only, at the exorbitant price of 7s 6d.[29] These expensive items were aimed at an exalted market of

and Glorious Reign and Memory of King William the III ([London, 1702]).

24 *The Mournful Poem, on the Royal Funeral of King William the Third, Late of Great Britain* (London, 1702).

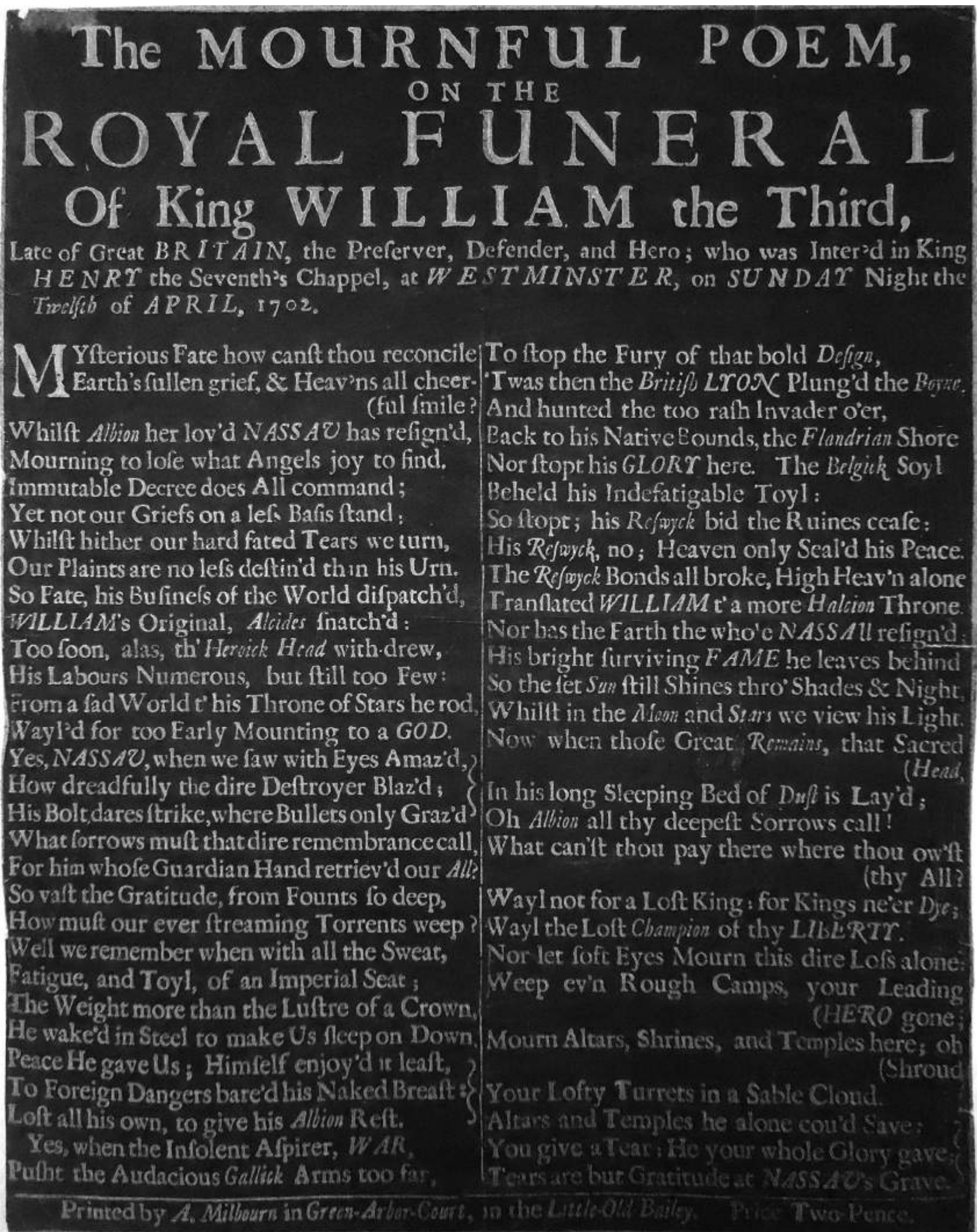
25 See, for instance, the Harvard copy of Richard Allen, *The Death of a Good King, a Great and Publick Loss* (London, 1702): Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, BR 1960.33*.

26 *The Post Man*, 957 (18 April 1702). See *The Solemnity of the Muses, at the Funeral of King William III* (London, 1702), and *Batavia in Tears: or, An Elegy From the Dutch* (London, 1702), both printed by Benjamin Harris. *Batavia in Tears* appeared with a woodcut probably imported from Holland.

27 *The Post Man*, 947 (26 March 1702).

28 *The Post Boy*, 1088 (7 May 1702).

29 *The Post Boy*, 1150 (26 September 1702). I have not been able to discover the print.



The MOURNFUL POEM, ON THE ROYAL FUNERAL Of King WILLIAM the Third,

Late of Great *BRITAIN*, the Preſerver, Defender, and Hero; who was Inter'd in King *HENRY* the Seventh's Chappel, at *WESTMINSTER*, on *SUNDAY* Night the *Twelfth* of *APRIL*, 1702.

MYſterious Fate how canſt thou reconcile
Earth's ſullen grief, & Heav'ns all cheer- (ful ſmile?
Whilſt *Albion* her lov'd *NASSAU* has reſign'd,
Mourning to loſe what Angels joy to find.
Immutable Decree does All command;
Yet not our Griefs on a leſs Baſis ſtand;
Whilſt hither our hard fated Tears we turn,
Our Plaints are no leſs deſtin'd than his Urn.
So Fate, his Buſineſs of the World diſpatch'd,
WILLIAM's Original, *Alcides* ſnatch'd:
Too ſoon, alas, th' *Heroick Head* with-drew,
His Labours Numerous, but ſtill too Few:
From a ſad World t' his Throne of Stars he rod,
Wayl'd for too Early Mounting to a *GOD*.
Yes, *NASSAU*, when we ſaw with Eyes Amaz'd,
How dreadfully the dire Deſtroyer Blaz'd;
His Bolt dares ſtrike, where Bullets only Graz'd.
What ſorrows muſt that dire remembrance call,
For him whoſe Guardian Hand retriev'd our *All*?
So vaſt the Gratitude, from Founts ſo deep,
How muſt our ever ſtreaming Torrents weep?
Well we remember when with all the Sweat,
Fatigue, and Toyl, of an Imperial Seat;
The Weight more than the Luſtre of a Crown,
He wake'd in Steel to make Us ſleep on Down.
Peace He gave Us; Himſelf enjoy'd it leaſt,
To Foreign Dangers bare'd his Naked Breaſt:
Loſt all his own, to give his *Albion* Reſt.
Yes, when the Inſolent Aſpirer, *WAR*,
Puſht the Audacious *Gallick* Arms too far,
To ſtop the Fury of that bold *Deſign*,
'Twas then the *Britiſh LYON* Plung'd the *Boyne*,
And hunted the too raſh Invader o'er,
Back to his Native Bounds, the *Flandrian* Shore
Nor ſtopt his *GLORY* here. The *Belgick* Soyl
Beheld his Indefatigable Toyl:
So ſtopt; his *Reſwyck* bid the Ruines ceaſe:
His *Reſwyck*, no; Heaven only Seal'd his Peace.
The *Reſwyck* Bonds all broke, High Heav'n alone
Tranſlated *WILLIAM* t' a more *Halcion* Throne.
Nor has the Earth the who'e *NASSAU* reſign'd,
His bright ſurviving *FAME* he leaves behind
So the ſet *Sun* ſtill Shines thro' Shades & Night,
Whilſt in the *Moon* and *Stars* we view his Light.
Now when thoſe Great *Remains*, that Sacred (*Head*,
In his long Sleeping Bed of *Duſt* is Lay'd;
Oh *Albion* all thy deepeſt Sorrows call!
What can'ſt thou pay there where thou ow'ſt (thy All?
Wayl not for a Loſt King: for Kings ne'er *Dye*;
Wayl the Loſt *Champion* of thy *LIBERTY*.
Nor let ſoft Eyes Mourn this dire Loſs alone:
Weep ev'n Rough Camps, your Leading (*HERO* gone;
Mourn Altars, Shrines, and Temples here; oh (Shroud
Your Lofty Turrets in a Sable Cloud.
Altars and Temples he alone cou'd Save:
You give a Tear; He your whole Glory gave;
Tears are but Gratitude at *NASSAU*'s Grave.

Printed by *A. Milbourn* in *Green-Arbor-Court*, in the *Little-Old Bailey*. Price Two-Pence.

FIGURE 2. *The Mournful Poem, on the Royal Funeral of King William the Third, Late of Great Britain* (London, 1702). London, British Library, 82.l.8(65). © The British Library.

rich Williamite connoisseurs. Printsellers competed to issue the most elaborate and expensive designs.

Literary patronage coexisted with this commercial print culture.[30] Authors did not stand to make a fortune from the sale of their books, and publishers kept most of the profits. Thus patronage could provide some form of financial relief in the form of cash handouts and salaried government posts or diplomatic appointments. Up-and-coming poets such as John Hughes and Francis Manning used William's death as a chance to dedicate their poems to the Whig oligarchs who had dominated politics in previous decades: respectively, Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset, and Charles Montagu, first Earl of Halifax, himself a prominent Whig poet and celebrated patron.[31] They were sensible dedicatees for young poets on the make. Likewise, Erasmus Lewis inscribed his poem *The Weeping Muse* (1702) to William's Dutch favourite, Arnold van Keppel, the first Earl of Albemarle.[32] And John Dennis, a more experienced Whig author and critic, addressed his elegy to William Cavendish, the first Duke of Devonshire and another major player in the Whig Junto.[33] In this he was unsuccessful. Dennis later claimed that he gained nothing from the poem except 'a little more Reputation'.[34]

[30] See Dustin Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 204-41; idem., 'Patronage and Whig Literary Culture in the Early Eighteenth Century', in *'Cultures of Whiggism': New Essays on English Literature and Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. David Womersley (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 149-72.

[31] John Hughes, *The House of Nassau: A Pindarick Ode* (London, 1702); Francis Manning, *The Shrine: A Poem Sacred to the Memory of King William III* (London, 1702). Hughes later secured diplomatic appointments by writing Whig panegyrics: see Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, p. 220.

[32] Erasmus Lewis, *The Weeping Muse: A Poem Sacred to the Memory of His Late Majesty* (London, 1702).

[33] John Dennis, *The Monument: A Poem Sacred to the Immortal Memory of the Best and Greatest of Kings, William the Third* (London, 1702).

[34] John Dennis, *Liberty Asserted: A Tragedy* (London, 1704), sig. A1^{v}.

Both the queen and her advisors are conspicuously absent from any dedications. Williamite authors appear to have been aware of Anne's animosity towards the dead king, which had been no secret when William was alive. They realized that she would be an unlikely patron. On 19 May 1703, for instance, Anne refused to pay the hefty sum of £350 for Godfrey Kneller's large portrait of William on horseback, commissioned in the previous reign.[35] Perhaps Anne's reluctance to pay up for memorials to her predecessor is why writers such as Congreve, Prior, Halifax, and Rowe remained conspicuously silent, as did the Poet Laureate, Nahum Tate. Their reticence did not go unnoticed. One poet asked, 'Where is the Tuneful Tribe that sang so well / The British Hero's Acts before he fell?'[36] Moments of royal succession provided authors with the opportunity for personal advancement by praising the new monarch. Guessing the shifting mood of the court and direction of royal patronage, these experienced writers realized their careers would not be furthered by eulogy of the previous regime.

Although the writers, printers, and publishers of Williamite elegy were playing a political game, as we shall now see, they also stood to gain financially. In order to shape the public response to William's death, elegies first had to sell. If we neglect the economic and commercial contexts of Williamite elegy, then its political impact becomes virtually impossible to ascertain.

THE POLITICS OF WILLIAMITE ELEGY

[35] Winn, *Queen Anne*, p. 329.

[36] Joseph Stennett, *A Poem to the Memory of His Late Majesty William the Third* (London, 1702), p. 1. Manning explained in the preface to *The Shrine*, 'since Abler Hands have neglected to perform what they ought, I was willing at least to do the best I could' (sig. A2^{v}). Likewise, Oldmixon, in *A Funeral-Idyll*, spoke of his unfulfilled hope that 'those Authors who prais'd him so often And so justly, when he was on the Throne, will not forget a Prince who was Dear to his Friends, as Dreadful Foes' (p. 4).

A great deal has been written about elegy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly about royal elegies such as those for Prince Henry in 1612. Almost nothing, by contrast, has been written about the genre in the early part of the eighteenth century.[37] This is surely because elegies of this period—and especially ones on William—are markedly different from previous ones. Indeed, elegies on William are closer to the political poetry of the 1690s than the lyric intricacies of, to take one famous example, Milton's *Lycidas* (1637). William fought on the battlefield and was thus often depicted as a warrior in his lifetime.[38] Elegies were no different. Why did poets continue to focus on William's military achievements in poems about his death?

Before answering that question, we should ask what the apotheosis of William as a warrior king looked like in elegy. Francis Manning's poem, *The Shrine* (1702), provides a good example. Like many of his contemporaries, Manning borrowed from classical epic, showing the king in *aristeia*—a superhuman killing spree of the sort seen in *The Iliad*, when, for instance, Diomedes returns to the front line after an injury, or when the enraged Achilles routs the Trojan army single-handed. Drawing on Homer, Francis Manning depicted William charging into the 'dismal Scene of Vengeance, Rage and Blood' with predictable results:

> Repuls'd the furious Combat they Renew'd,
> But still Nassau Impenetrable Stood.
> Again their shatter'd Squadrons must Retire;
> And now our Hero with redoubl'd Fire,
> And Ranks unbroken, drove upon the Foe,
> In vain they would resist the fatal Blow;
> With noble Rage the Warrior forc'd his Way,

[37] An exception is Donald Mell's disappointing *A Poetics of Augustan Elegy: Studies of Poems by Dryden, Pope, Prior, Swift, Gray, and Johnson* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1974).

[38] See Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 93-134; Stephen B. Baxter, 'William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Lois G. Schwoerer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 95-106.

> Dispers'd their weak'ned Troops, and won the Day.[39]

The lone warrior king wins the battle. His victory follows an earlier speech in which William, channelling the spirit of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, rallies his 'wearied' troops: 'Once more the Fortune of the Combat try, / And learn by Me, to Conquer, or to Die'.[40] We find a similar aspiration to *aristeia* in Richard Daniel's elegy, *The Dream* (1702), a poetic dream vision of William in the midst of a siege. Having scaled the battlements and penetrated the town single-handed, he moves to open the gates to his army:

> Whole Heaps of Slain are round the Hero Spread,
> And Thousand deadly shafts fly whistling round his Head;
> Huge pond'rous Stones the Sweating Warriors weild,
> And hurl the Rocky Quarry on his Shield.[41]

William is fighting for ancient British 'Liberties and Laws' and the protestant succession, not for personal glory.[42] As Joseph Stennett put it, 'Plung'd into Storms of Fire and Seas of Blood, / Not for Proud Triumph, but for Publick Good'.[43] Episodes of *aristeia* were part of an ongoing effort by Williamite poets to adapt for modernity a classical heroic model in which physical bravery and martial prowess were paramount. Some ambitious poets, such as John Dennis and John Oldmixon, supplemented *aristeia* with Miltonic blank verse, recalling the War in Heaven.[44] For Dennis and Oldmixon, the Miltonic epic

[39] Manning, *The Shrine*, pp. 10-11.

[40] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[41] Richard Daniel, *The Dream: A Poem Occasion'd by the Death of His Late Majesty, William III* (London, 1702), p. 10.

[42] Manning, *The Shrine*, p. 7.

[43] Stennett, *A Poem to the Memory of His Late Majesty*, p. 6.

[44] John Dennis, *The Monument: A Poem Sacred to the Immortal Memory of the Best and Greatest of Kings, William the Third* (London, 1702); Oldmixon, *A Funeral-Idyll*. See Nicholas von Maltzhan, 'The War in

tradition—a tradition associated with Whig literary culture and poetic 'Liberty'—lent their portrayals of the king an additional political valence.

The liberal use of this martial idiom begs a tricky question: who could replace William on the battlefield? These poets were quick to emphasize the personal dimension of William's heroism. An unavoidable implication of their eulogy was that, without another such hero, England would no longer be able to withstand the spread of Catholic despotism. Some writers expressed their concerns outright. Erasmus Lewis asked:

> Who shall Command our Squadrons on the Field?
> In Person lead Confederate Armies forth,
> To sway the Ballance of the stagg'ring *North*?[45]

Rather than considering symbolic leadership of the queen, Lewis refers to commanding 'In Person', 'on the Field'. Likewise, he does not mention the British forces, but the 'Confederate Armies' of the protestant Grand Alliance, suggesting Britain would need to look overseas for military leadership. Stennett asked similar questions of the queen in his poem on William, using Jupiter as a mouthpiece: 'Who now shall Head your Armies in the Field? / Who wave his Sword, and who shall bear his Shield?'[46] The pronouns separate *de jure* leadership from the physical arms. The anonymous author of *The Mournful Congress* (1702)—given only as 'a Sincere Lover of his Prince and Country' on the title page—put it thus: 'Since *WILLIAM*'s gone, that did our Battles fight, / Who shall our *Counsels*, who our *Arms* unite?'[47] Anne seems an unlikely military heroine, and these questions remain pointedly unanswered.

Heaven and the Miltonic Sublime', in *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration*, ed. Alan Houston and Steven Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 229-53; Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 177-78.

[45] Lewis, *The Weeping Muse*, p. 4.

[46] Stennett, *A Poem to the Memory of His Late Majesty*, p. 8.

[47] *The Mournful Congress: A Poem on the Death of the Illustrious King William III of Glorious Memory*

Besides matters of foreign policy, the characteristics of royal succession were another topic of major concern. Williamite elegists discussed succession in an idiom of election. The Williamite position on succession was perhaps best summed up by the anonymous author of *The Poet's Address to His Majesty King William* (1702) just a few weeks before William's death:

> Right of Succession, that important Choice,
> He leaves to th' Senate the great Popular Voice.
> He tells us nothing was before his Eyes
> But the securing of our Liberties:
> To fix the Government on Right and Laws,
> And chiefly to maintain Religion's Cause,
> The Protestant bright Altars to secure
> From every shock of an Invasive Power.[48]

This reflection on the Act of Settlement presents royal succession as an election—a 'Choice' made by the 'Senate', a body representative of the 'Popular Voice'. This sort of rhetoric was nothing new. The language of suffrage had accompanied debates over the Elizabethan succession crisis in the late sixteenth century, and had been rejected by James VI and I in 1603, who sought to establish his title by descent.[49] Contrariwise, Whig supporters of the Duke of Monmouth's claim during the Exclusion Crisis of the early 1680s based their arguments on popular election. And, in their attempts to legitimate William's coup in 1688, Whig theorists turned to a right on election, based on

(London, 1702), p. 7.

48 *The Poet's Address to His Majesty King William: Occasion'd by the Insolence of the French King in Proclaiming the Sham Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1702), p. 5.

49 On the languages of election during the Elizabethan succession crisis of the 1590s, see the essays collected in *Doubtful and Dangerous*, ed. Doran and Kewes; Kewes, *This Great Matter of Succession*. On James I's rejection of the language of election, see Rei Kanemura, 'Kingship by Descent or Kingship by Election? The Contested Title of James VI and I', *Journal of British Studies*, 52 (2013), 317-42.

parliament's invitation to William to invade.[50] In both cases, the rhetoric of elective monarchy was a strategy designed to secure a protestant succession. Williamite elegists in 1702 recycled this idiom. Francis Manning wrote how William 'gain'd his Lawful Rights' by 'just Succession', by which he meant a right of succession based on personal virtue: 'deserving Crowns to Crowns He Rose'.[51]

What did poets hope to gain in recycling this sort of rhetoric? Portraying William as a monarch elected by the people helped poets suggest, in turn, that Anne's mandate was popular, not divine: an important caveat to what some viewed as a restored *jure divino* Stuart monarchy. Second, and perhaps more subtly, Whig writers used this rhetoric to justify the Hanoverian succession. After the death of Gloucester, the prospect of Anne bearing an heir seemed virtually nil, despite Tory hopes to the contrary. Marshall Smith, in his hurried Pindaric elegy, had already backhanded the queen as a woman 'Matur'd by rip'ning Time'.[52] Repeated references to elective succession and the power of the public voice put pressure on the new regime to conform to the statutes laid down in the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. William's death triggered debate about the future succession of the British throne.

JACOBITE ELEGY

But what if William's death was not a moment of succession in the first place? Louis XIV had recognized the claim of James Francis Edward Stuart as 'James III' of England upon the death of his father in September 1701. For many Jacobites, this was the real

[50] See Howard Nenner, 'Pretense and Pragmatism: The Response to Uncertainty in the Succession Crisis of 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. Schwoerer, pp. 83-93.

[51] Manning, *The Shrine*, pp. 2-4.

[52] Marshall Smith, *A Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Glorious Memory of King William III* (London, 1702), p. 12.

moment of succession. Anne, like William, was just a usurper. Many Jacobites thought her claim was illegitimate. Many, but not all. Some loyal adherents of the Stuart cause viewed Anne's accession as an opportunity to work towards a future restoration. Surely she would be sympathetic to her half-brother, or so they thought. Whereas hard-line Jacobites saw Anne as a pawn of Hanover, other, more flexible Jacobites considered Anne as a potential agent of James Francis Edward. We need to contextualize and unpick the diverse and competing voices of oppositional writers in 1702. To do so, we must first look back to literary responses to the death of James II.

Writing and distributing Jacobite texts was dangerous business.[53] Although the state licensing of print had officially lapsed in 1695 libel laws and treason statutes were powerful legal instruments of censorship.[54] Besides plotting, the actual act of writing literature in support of the exiled Stuart claim was legally treason, as was 'printing treasonable Positions'.[55] The legal risks posed to printers and publishers forced many Jacobites to circulate their writings solely in manuscript, which was still illegal. Penalties that could be imposed potentially included death, otherwise imprisonment and the seizure of lands and properties. Although cautious Jacobite supporters suffered little under Anne, the threat to outspoken writers and printers was real. Even treasonable speech was an offense. In 1704 James Taylor, a lowly tanner, was tried and fined for speaking 'seditious words' and sentenced to two days in the pillory, a harsh punishment which he was lucky to escape unscathed.[56] Perhaps the most extreme case came under

[53] The following discussion draws upon Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 18-40; Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 5-11.

[54] See Ian Higgons, 'Censorship, Libel and Self-Censorship', in *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, ed. Paddy Bullard and James McLaverty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 179-98.

[55] William Hawkins, *A Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown*, 2 vols (London, 1716-21), I, 38.

[56] See David Cressy, *Dangerous Talk: Scandalous, Seditious, and Treasonable Speech in Pre-Modern*

George I when, in 1720, a teenage printer called John Matthews was hanged for his part in producing Jacobite pamphlets.[57]

The risks associated with writing and circulating Jacobite poems in this moment are well attested by the precautionary measures taken by the nonjuror Thomas Smith in a letter of 16 April 1702 to the aging naval administrator and diarist Samuel Pepys, who had been arrested twice in 1689 and 1690 under suspicion of Jacobitism.[58] Guessing his friend would be amused by the pieces, Smith enclosed a satirical 'epitaph upon the late high and mighty Dutch hero, and also some few heroic lines upon Sorrell', supposedly the name of the horse that threw William back in February, ultimately leading to his death. Smith ended his letter by warning Pepys to throw the poems into the fire after reading.[59] He was taking no chances, and presumably Pepys took his warning seriously—the letter survives, but the enclosed poems do not. Veterans of the Restoration court, Smith and Pepys understood the inherent dangers of writing and sharing incendiary verse. They had every reason to think the authorities would take a dim view of sedition in the aftermath of the succession.

And yet, despite their pugnacious nature, contemporary reports suggest that elegies on James II were widespread in England. The radical Whig journalist and poetaster John Tutchin noted the 'many Commendatory Elegies in favour of the Late K.

England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 230-43.

57 See James Sutherland, *Background for Queen Anne* (London: Methuen, 1939), pp. 182-200. For a similar case involving the Jacobite printer Nathaniel Mist, see Pat Rogers, 'Nathaniel Mist, Daniel Defoe, and the Perils of Publishing', *The Library*, VII, 10 (2009), 298-313.

58 Clare Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Viking, 2002), pp. 352-60. Kate Loveman does not examine Pepys's engagement with Jacobite literary culture in her *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, and Sociability, 1660-1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

59 Thomas Smith to Samuel Pepys, 16 April 1702, in *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679-1703*, ed. J. R. Tanner, 2 vols (London: G. Bell, 1926), II, 262. Smith's copy of the poem is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Smith 23, p. 121.

James'.[60] He complained that the authorities were taking 'no notice' of the spread of these Jacobite poems.[61] André Bonet, the London emissary of the king of Prussia, wrote to his master in shock that Jacobite literature could circulate so freely in the capital. He suspected somebody was bribing the Tories in power.[62] For the most part these elegies were printed as broadsides, and paint James as a victim of misfortune and 'Uncertain Fate', undone by 'Evil Councel' and 'Mislead by Friends'.[63] Essentially, they portray the exiled king as a victim, drawing parallels with his martyred father, but refuse to explicitly support a Jacobite coup, which would have been treasonous.

So the authors of printed elegies on James had to be careful, writing anonymously or pseudonymously. Frequently there are no clues of authorship. However, we do know that one longer Pindaric elegy attributed in print to 'a Lady' was actually by the committed Jacobite poet Anne Finch, later Countess of Winchilsea. Finch considered James's death the end of realistic hopes for a Jacobite restoration. Her elegy on James suggests that she did not believe the exiled James Francis Edward was a true successor to his father's throne. For instance, she begins the poem with an extended complaint on the state of the nation's response to James's death:

> If the Possession of Imperial Sway
> Thou hadst by Death, unhappy Prince, resign'd,
> And to a Mournful Successor made way,
> Whilst all was Uncontested, all Combin'd:

60 [John Tutchin], *The British Muse: or, Tyranny Expos'd. A Satyr Occasioned By All the Fulsome and Lying Poems and Elegies that Have Been Written on the Occasion of the Death of the Late King James* (London, 1701), sig. A1^{v}.

61 [John Tutchin], *The Mouse Grown a Rat: or, The Story of the City and Country Mouse Newly Transpos'd in a Discourse Betwixt Bays, Johnson, and Smith* (London, 1702), p. 32.

62 London, British Library, MS 30000E, fol. 352^{v}.

63 *An Elegy on the Death of the Late King James, Who Departed This Life at His Pallace of St Germains in France, on Wednesday the 3d of September 1701* (London, 1701).

> How had the Streets? How had the Pallace rung,
> In Praise of thy acknowledg'd Worth?[64]

The conditional 'If' suggests that James has not actually 'made way' for a 'Successor' at all. Rather, the Jacobite claimant to the throne 'never shall Return', and his 'Thoughts of Returning-Glory move no more'.[65] Such sentiments were typical of Finch's stubborn Jacobitism, which, as Gillian Wright points out, was 'nostalgic, pessimistic and non-revolutionary'.[66] Finch acknowledged succession could not just be theoretical—and James Francis Edward was no *de facto* king. But the poem may also have been subject to censorship prior to publication. The final stanza voices a hope that England may one day achieve 'Lasting Peace' through the rule of 'Happier Kings'.[67] Finch's manuscript is more overtly Jacobite, and reads 'Rightfull Kings'. The change may have been an attempt by the printer and bookseller to avoid charges of sedition.[68]

The most accomplished and controversial elegy of James was *The Generous Muse* (1701). This poem was published anonymously too, but has been plausibly attributed to the High Church controversialist William Pittis.[69] An undergraduate and

64 [Anne Finch], *On the Death of King James* (London, 1701), p. 1.

65 Ibid., pp. 2, 7.

66 Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry*, p. 184. On Finch's Jacobitism, see Claire Pickard, 'Literary Jacobitism: The Writing of James Barker, Mary Caesar and Anne Finch' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2006); Nicolle Jordan, '"Where Power is Absolute": Royalist Politics and the Improved Landscape in a Poem by Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea', *The Eighteenth Century*, 46 (2005), 255-75; Wes Hamrick, 'Trees in Anne Finch's Jacobite Poems of Retreat', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 53 (2013), 541-63; Barbara McGovern, *Anne Finch and Her Poetry: A Critical Biography* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992).

67 Finch, *On the Death of King James*, p. 8; Washington, DC, Folger Library, MS N.b.3, p. 304.

68 See Carole Barash, *English Women's Poetry, 1649-1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 263.

69 The attribution comes from Pittis's near contemporary at Oxford, the antiquarian, nonjuror, and

former fellow at Oxford, Pittis had moved to London in 1695 and set himself up with the group of wits who made their headquarters at the 'Rose Tavern without Temple Gate'. He soon rose to prominence as a literary *enfant terrible*, a protégé of Dryden and Tate, former and current Poets Laureate, and later as the editor-in-chief of the Tory news organs, *Hericlitus Ridens* and *The Whipping Post*.[70] Uniquely among elegists of James II, Pittis '*Humbly Dedicated*' *The Generous Muse* to Anne—not yet queen—in the hope that, 'having wept the Father's last Decays', she might grant Pittis permission to 'sing the living Daughter's Praise.'[71]

Part opportunistic salvo, part expression of Jacobite expectations, *The Generous Muse* depicts Anne as a potential agent for the exiled Stuarts. Pittis's description of Anne's tears, for example, is politically ambiguous, as Winn has observed:

> Your Tears,
> Which at a Father's Tomb You justly shed,
> And having *Wept* him living, *Mourn* him dead.[72]

unrepentant Jacobite, Richard Rawlinson: see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. J. 4°. 1, fol. 248; see too Foxon, *English Verse*, I, 300. On Rawlinson, see Georgian Rawlinson Tashjian, David R. Tashjian, and Brian J. Enright, *Richard Rawlinson: A Tercentenary Memorial* (Kalamazoo: New Issue Press, 1990); Brian J. Enright, '"I Collect and I Preserve": Richard Rawlinson, 1690-1755, and Eighteenth-Century Book Collecting', *The Book Collector*, 39 (1990), 27-54; W. Y. Fletcher, 'The Rawlinsons and Their Collections', *The Library*, I, 5 (1901), 67-86.

70 On Pittis, see Theodore F. M. Newton, 'William Pittis and Queen Anne Journalism', *Modern Philology*, 33 (1936), 169-86 and 279-302; John McTague, '"There is No Such Man as Isaack Bickerstaff": Partridge, Pittis, and Jonathan Swift', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 35 (2011), 83-101.

71 [William Pittis], *The Generous Muse: A Funeral Poem, in Memory of His Late Majesty K. James the II* (London, 1702), sig. B2r. Barash wrongly asserts that 'elegies on James's death were often dedicated to his daughter Anne': see *English Women's Poetry*, p. 264.

72 Pittis, *The Generous Muse*, sig. B2r.

Filial grief was acceptable. But 'having Wept him living' suggested Anne's ongoing loyalty to her father, and regret for her part in the Glorious Revolution. Pittis returns to Anne's tears later in the poem. His language implies Anne's closet Jacobitism:

> Amidst the rest, and with superior Grace,
> ANNA bedews with Tears her Royal Face,
> And almost weeps the Period of her Race.
> Scarce has the Year its Annual Circle run,
> In which the childless Parent mourn'd her Son,
> But a fresh Cause provokes Her dutious Sighs,
> And forces Streams to trickle from her Eyes.
> Oft would She, when alive, lament his Fate,
> And grieve in secret for his falling State,
> Ask Heav'n to have his Suff'rings in its view,
> Just to her *Father*, and her *Country* too.[73]

Winn observes echoes of Dryden's *Aeneis* here, arguing that the allusion emphasizes the 'stark disparities' between Anne, who effectively stood at the end of the legitimate Stuart dynasty, and Aeneas, the *pater patriae* of Rome.[74] When resituated in the succession debates of which it was a part, though, the poem's Jacobite dimension is both more nuanced and clearer than this reading suggests.

Mentioning Gloucester's death and describing Anne as a 'childless Parent' brought the question of succession to the fore. The Act of Settlement had been passed just a few months earlier, and debates over the succession were still very much alive. Numerous polemical tracts were printed in favour of Hanover.[75] Equally many espoused

[73] Pittis, *The Generous Muse*, p. 9.

[74] Winn, *Queen Anne*, p. 275.

[75] See [Daniel Defoe], *The Succession to the Crown of England Consider'd* (London, 1701); John Toland, *Anglia Libera: or, The Limitation and Succession of the Crown of England Explain'd and Asserted* (London, 1701); *Animadversions on the Succession to the Crown of England, Consider'd* (London, 1701); *Officers Good Members: or, The Late Act of Succession Consider'd in a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1701).

the Jacobite cause, albeit necessarily in covert terms. Pittis himself had encouraged an active Jacobite stance in a topical verse fable, *à la* Dryden and L'Estrange:

> Kings should be Kings, whatever Priest's their Guide,
> And if the Fates decree that you must fall,
> And Childless yield to Death's Imperious Call;
> Oh! may these Realms the Next in Blood obey,
> And let a *Lybian* Prince o're *Lybia* sway;
> No Foreign Lion mount the Regal Throne,
> To give us Statutes modell'd from his own.
> Yonder there lies in the *Namæan* Wood,
> A Graceful Cub, and sprung from Royal Blood,
> Immediate in Descent, as some can prove,
> Not Cousin by a third or fourth remove.[76]

He was more subtle in his elegy on James. Instead of discussing the potential succession of James Francis Edward, which might have proved dangerous, he used the recently passed Act of Settlement to consider Anne's pending accession to the throne:

> *Albion* weeps to see her Grieve,
> Vouchsafe to be reminded of the Throne,
> Senates decree shall one day be her own,
> And that our Hopes are fix'd on her alone.[77]

By recalling the parliamentary 'decree' on which Anne's claim rested, Pittis effectively forestalled accusations that he was an active Jacobite conspirator. After all, he looks forward to the legal protestant succession, not that of the Pretender. But the reference to 'our Hopes' leaves unclear whose hopes Pittis is thinking of. If his hopes are 'fix'd on her alone', alluding to Anne's Stuart blood, then Pittis could not be talking about the House

[76] [William Pittis], *Chaucer's Whims: Being Some Select Fables and Tales in Verse, Very Applicable to the Present Times* (London, 1701), p. 2.

[77] Pittis, *The Generous Muse*, p. 9.

of Brunswick, despite his references to the Act of Settlement.[78] The sentence is deliberately unclear.

Howard Erskine-Hill has demonstrated the slipperiness of Jacobite writers in avoiding public political commitment via a 'twofold vision'—that is, by producing texts that might be selectively but plausibly interpreted in multiple ways by readers of different political persuasions.[79] Annabel Patterson described the same phenomenon in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, calling it 'functional ambiguity'.[80] Whatever we label it, Pittis's allusion to the protestant succession enabled him to use deliberately evasive phrases elsewhere—phrases that, when read by his allies, had an unmistakable political colouring, but might pass unnoticed by political innocents. Moreover, he could plausibly deny any such meaning if challenged by the authorities, as he was for other poems in 1704 and 1710. These elegies confirm that Jacobitism at the start of the eighteenth century was no monolith. If Finch's elegy is charged with an 'emotional Jacobitism'—that ultimately passive nostalgia for the Stuart past—Pittis makes the opposite point, arguing in veiled terms that Anne might yet prove an agent of her half-brother's restoration.[81]

[78] Pittis, *The Generous Muse*, p. 9.

[79] Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause', *Modern Language Studies*, 9 (1979), 15-28, reprinted and revised as 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: Was There a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?', in *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp. 49-69; idem, *Poetry of Opposition and Revolution: Dryden to Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); idem., 'Twofold Vision in Eighteenth-Century Writing', *English Literary History*, 64 (1997), 903-24. See too Niall MacKenzie, 'Double-Edged Writing in the Eighteenth Century', in *Literary Milieux: Essays in Text and Context Presented to Howard Erskine-Hill*, ed. David Womersley and Richard A. McCabe (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 140-68.

[80] Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 8.

[81] For this phrase, see Douglas Brooks-Davies, *Pope's Dunciad and the Queen of Night: A Study in*

Pittis's follow-up elegy on William, *The Loyalist* (1702), articulated similar Jacobite aspirations and was once again dedicated to Anne. Like the double-edged language of *The Generous Muse*, Pittis's choice of title was deliberately ambiguous. At first glance *The Loyalist*, a reference to the poet's political allegiance, frames him as a straightforward supporter of William and the revolution settlement. But 'loyalism' was hotly contested ground. Many Jacobite activists considered themselves loyalists to the exiled Stuarts, not the current regime. For instance, in 1704 the young Catholic polemicist Nicholas French defended the late Jacobite Earl of Strafford, a fierce opponent of William in the Lords, as a 'true Loyalist'.[82] And John, Baron Somers, a cornerstone of the Whig Junto, deplored the 'Loyalist' party who opposed William's military reforms during the standing army controversy of 1697-99.[83] Reflecting on the word's polemical inflections a year after Anne's accession, Daniel Defoe had good reason to think loyalism was 'a sensless Phrase, / An Empty Nothing which our interest sways'.[84] Aware of his title's political valence, but unwilling to make his position unequivocal, Pittis drew on a term associated with, while not exclusive to, Jacobitism.

The main part of the elegy is likewise saturated with the language of hereditary succession, emphasized with repeated references to Stuart blood. Thus in his dedicatory epistle to the queen, Pittis writes:

Emotional Jacobitism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985). For a critique, see Erskine-Hill, *Opposition and Revolution*, pp. 10-11.

[82] Nicholas French, *Iniquity Display'd: or, The Settlement of the Kingdom of Ireland, Commonly Call'd the Act of Settlement* (London, 1704), p. 62.

[83] John, Baron Somers, *Jura Populi Anglicani: or, The Subject's Right of Petitioning Set Forth* (London, 1701), p. viii. See Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Literature of the Standing Army Controversy, 1697-1699', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 28 (1965), 187-212.

[84] Daniel Defoe, *Satire, Fantasy, and Writings on the Supernatural*, ed. P. N. Furbank, W. R. Owens, and others, 8 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2003-15), I, 291 (ll. 317-18).

> Be pleas'd to let the *Muse*'s Joy be known,
> And greet Your late Accession to the Throne,
> As She with Loyal Vows, and Truth unfeign'd,
> Kneels to the *Daughter*, where the *Father* reign'd,
> And thanks the Deity by *Both* Ador'd,
> For *Stuart*'s Blood to *Stuart*'s Rights restor'd.[85]

Referring to the queen as a '*Muse*'—and a few lines later as an '*English* Muse', a pointed reflection on William's foreignness—Pittis signals that his allegiance stems not from Anne's statutory right to the throne, but from his previous allegiance to 'the *Father*', James II. Her claim is underpinned by 'Stuart's Blood', and her accession, like her uncle's—and potentially her half-brother's—is a Stuart restoration. Turning his attention to William, Pittis laments the dead king's Stuart ancestry:

> Since *Stuarts* Blood provokes thy noblest Streins,
> Which more than half Adorn'd the Hero's Veins;
> And *Stuarts* Blood does not so Plenteous flow,
> But the least Drop that falls demands our Woe,
> And calls for swelling Tears, since it does Ebb so low.[86]

References to 'not so Plenteous' Stuart blood once again draw attention to the looming succession crisis and the only other Stuart claimant—James Francis Edward. As in *The Generous Muse*, Pittis's solution to the crisis is implied.

Pittis's Jacobitism becomes more overt towards the end of the poem, finishing with a fairly unambiguous couplet: 'Not suffer Barbarous Aliens to Succeed, / Or bring again the Bonds from which we're freed.' Although Louis XIV might be read as a 'Barbarous Alien' who must be stopped, the lines more readily yield an interpretation in which the 'Barbarous Aliens' allude to the House of Brunswick. In this context, the

85 Pittis, *The Loyalist*, sig. A2r.

86 Ibid., p. 2.

reference to ‘Bonds from which we’re freed’—otherwise a staple Whig motif—becomes a direct swipe at William and his administration.[87] Generally speaking, the poem does rely on the reader’s political sympathies to discern the ‘right’ significances of the words. Pittis had transformed at elegy on William III into an elegy on James II.

JACOBITE LIBELS

Another genre Jacobite writers deployed in response to William’s death was mock-elegy. The genre had never previously been applied to a monarch. Admittedly, there were mock-elegies on Cromwell, but neither his supporters nor his detractors ever considered him a true king. Satirical elegies reached an apogee during the Popish Plot, and commented on the death of Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Viscount Strafford, and Shaftesbury.[88] As a culmination of this trend in seventeenth-century proto-Tory political discourse, Jacobite uses of the genre associated William more with Cromwellian despotism and the Whig sedition of the 1670s and 1680s than with true, Stuart kingship.

The authors of Jacobite mock-elegies did not hide behind ambiguous praise. They were more inclined to recognize James Francis Edward as the legitimate king of Britain, and Anne as an usurper. Because their poems were politically blunt, the modes of publication their authors employed had to be appropriately surreptitious. Usually this meant manuscript publication. There were various modes of manuscript publication. Sometimes an author would employ a scriptorium to produce multiple, neat copies of a

[87] Pittis, *The Loyalist*, p. 12.

[88] See Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645-1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 19-20; Barbara J. Shapiro, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), p. 141; Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 291.

work. This was probably how the sneering mock-elegy, *The Mourners* (1702), was produced. Numerous manuscript witnesses testify to the verses having been 'found in the streets'.[89] The Whig propagandist John Tutchin later warned the readers of his periodical, *The Observator*, against electing any High Church candidate who may have 'scatter'd the Libel called the *Mourners*, about the Streets of *London*'.[90]

Most of the time, though, manuscript publication was amateur. An author would share their work with friends who would then share it with their friends and so on. Poems could be copied into a later manuscript book of verse, or else compiled in a small collection of relevant pieces. One pocket-sized manuscript collection of Jacobite satires of the succession, now held in the British Library, was probably compiled in this way. The content must have been incendiary. An opening address to the reader instructs them to speak the enclosed poems 'with a presbyterian drone'. Some of the poems are elegy *ad absurdum*: 'Weep Weep all weep ye confederats / Weep birds and trees, o weep ye dogs and cats', or 'Because K. W. is a glorious saint / O now firs, weep, weep, weep, weep and be sorrie / For our Dutch Saviour is now on to glory'.[91] The reader's 'droning' cant would have injected comedy into the lines. Others, much like *The Mourners*, were aimed squarely at William's supporters: 'They still cry out, whigs ye want your Willie / And this makes them skip like a kid and jump like a phyllie'; and still others at the king himself: 'Willie Nassau from the Hague / The Isle of Britains scourge and plague'.[92] The most sophisticated—or least crude—of the poems is 'Cromwell did laugh', an infernal dialogue between the shades of Cromwell and William, drawing on the Lucianic dialogues of the dead tradition recently popularized in the vernacular by William King

[89] One transcription notes a date of May 1702: London, British Library, Ms Add. 40600, fol. 11^r.

[90] *The Observator*, 25 (18 July 1702).

[91] London, British Library, MS Add. 24984, fol. 18^v.

[92] MS Add. 24984, fol. 23^r.

and Thomas Browne, via Fontenelle.[93] Confessing that he has been 'far outdone' in tyranny, Cromwell yields 'the hotter place' in hell to William.[94] In the final lines, Cromwell's shade turns to the matter of succession, interrogating William about the security of the throne:

> But who is your successor said he
> George quoth the other then, Then [we shall] see
> Lyke to my own Richard he shall bee.[95]

The reference to Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark, is odd, insofar as the new queen is not mentioned at all. But the sly reference to Richard Cromwell is revealing. An incompetent ruler upon succeeding his father in 1658 Richard was effectively deposed by parliament and the New Model Army, clearing the path for the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. The poem suggests that Anne and George will leave the way similarly clear for James Francis Edward. Without a more appropriate analogue for Richard Cromwell, but set on drawing the parallel anyway, the poet presumably turned to Prince George instead of the queen, whose Stuart blood would have undermined the argument. Unlike Pittis, though, this anonymous poetaster considered Anne an usurper rather than a potential Jacobite agent. Clearly not all Jacobites were satisfied with her.

Miscellanies and commonplace books were an ideal vehicle for disseminating clandestine literature of this sort among recusant communities. Although usually

93 [William King], *Dialogues of the Dead: Relating to the Present Controversy Concerning the Epistles of Phalaris* (London, 1699); [Thomas Browne], *Dialogues of the Living and the Dead: In Imitation of Lucian and the French* (London, 1701). See Howard Weinbrot, *Menippean Satire Reconsidered: From Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 62-85.

94 MS Add. 24984, fol. 23^{v}.

95 Ibid.; a poem dated 'Ap: 1703' in another manuscript directly compared William with Satan, and the Glorious Revolution with the fall: 'W[illiam] in league with Belzeebub combin'd / And fully perfected what hell design'd': London, British Library, MS Add. 40060, fol. 27^{r}.

compiled by politically committed individuals, manuscript miscellanies were intended for circulation too. Miscellanies could be used to distribute seditious materials.[96] Scribal publication offered writers some level of control over their readership—albeit not as much as some would have liked—ensuring that their texts did not fall into the wrong hands. With the exception of *On the Death of King James*, which was probably printed without her permission, all of Anne Finch's Jacobite poems remained in two widely circulated manuscript collections, until the publication of *Miscellany Poems* in 1713, by which time the political landscape had shifted significantly.[97] Gillian Wright has persuasively demonstrated that the readership of these miscellanies was a coterie of Jacobite sympathizers.[98] And although Finch's husband, Heneage, privately admitted that 'all the Town know her to be the Author of it', she still 'did not allow it to be printed with her Name in the Title page' and prudently toned down the politics of her verse for the print edition and omitted poems such as her elegy on James II.[99]

Some libels were copied out in multiple miscellanies, providing evidence for the literary community in which the poems were circulating. The most popular Jacobite poem on William's death was a 'panegyric' on his horse, Sorrel, which was originally written in Latin and circulated widely in English translations. It survives in at least fifteen manuscripts, including variant translations, and is dated 'Mar: 1701/02' in one

[96] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 5-9. On the continued circulation of texts in manuscript well into the eighteenth century, see Stephen Karian, *Jonathan Swift in Print and Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 44-99; David Allen, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[97] Northampton, Northamptonshire Records Office, MS F.H. 283; Washington, DC, Folger Library MS N.b.3. See Gillian Wright, 'The Birds and the Poet: Fable, Self-Representation and the Early Editing of Anne's Finch's Poetry', *The Review of English Studies*, 64 (2013), 246-66 (p. 249).

[98] Wright, *Producing Women's Poetry*, p. 166.

[99] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Th. c. 25, fol. 99^{r}.

copy, suggesting that, like many elegies on William, it was written soon after his death.[100] This is presumably the poem sent in April to Pepys by Thomas Smith: a copy survives in Smith's papers.[101] If so, then Smith must have copied the poem from a circulating miscellany or from a letter he received from yet another correspondent. He sent it to Pepys, and potentially to others in his network, perhaps in the hope that they would do the same. The piece also gave rise to several imitations, including Thomas Browne's 'An Epitaph Upon a Stumbling Horse' (1702?), later printed in one of Tonson's *Miscellanies*, as well as the various ripostes discussed later in this chapter.[102] The poem's central conceit is an apotheosis of the 'Illustrious Steed', Sorrel, which takes its place among the stars. Part of the poem's appeal probably came from the fact that, on the surface, at least, it was relatively innocuous. Prosecuting readers who actively distributed this piece would have proved difficult. Seditious libel laws required specific names, which are deliberately absent, and the piece could hardly be described as treasonous. Instead of composing a blunt Jacobite libel, the author borrowed from the

[100] London, British Library MS Add. 40060, fol. 10v. Other manuscript copies include Chicago, IL, Chicago University Library, MR PR1195. M73, p. 130. London, British Library, MSS Add. 6229, fols 29-30; Add. 72478, fol. 37; Add. 21094, fol. 130. Chelmsford, Essex Records Office, MS D/DW.z4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MR Rawl. C.986, fol. 15v. New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn Box 37, no. 16.

[101] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Smith 23, p. 121.

[102] *Poems on Affairs of State, From the Reign of James the First to This Present Year 1703* (London, 1703), pp. 195-96; *The Second Part of Miscellany Poems*, 4th edn (London, 1716), pp. 182-83 (not the third edition of 1703, as given by Ellis in *POAS*, VI, 365); *The Remains of Mr. Tho. Brown* (London, 1720), pp. 61-63. Despite the ubiquity of the story in modern accounts of William's death, there is no evidence to suggest William's horse tripped on a mole hill: according to William's own testimony, 'it happened on smooth level ground': William Cobbet, *The Parliamentary History of England*, 36 vols (London, 1806-20), V, 1341. The mole story is not found in any contemporary accounts of William's death. It first appears in John Oldmixon, *The History of England During the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and George I* (London, 1735), p. 262. Oldmixon quotes a French source, perhaps indicating that the Jacobite toast originated at Saint-Germain.

commonplaces of Williamite verse, artfully redirecting them at the horse that supposedly brought about his death:

> Where e'er thou art, be now for ever blest,
> And spend the Remnant of thy Days in rest;
> No servile Use thy Sacred Limbs profane,
> No weight thy Back, no Curb thy Mouth restrain;
> No more be thou, no more Mankind a Slave,
> But both enjoy that Liberty you gave.[103]

Only the title, 'Upon Sorrel', and the pointed references to slavery and 'Liberty'—removed from their usual Williamite contexts—indicate the poem's target. Whereas Whig encomiasts spoke of the Glorious Revolution as liberation, here Sorrel's actions have rescued 'Mankind' from Dutch subjugation. Readers who preferred their satires with more bite added to the poem. One transcription, for instance, appended a line referencing vengeance for the Glencoe massacre of 1692 when the Jacobite MacDonald clan was murdered by a party of Williamite loyalists.[104] Likewise, Smith prefixed a harsh epitaph to his copy of the 'panegyric', savaging William as 'Religion, loyalty and truth's perverter'.[105] The juxtaposition of malice for the king and reverence for the horse that supposedly killed him emphasizes the bathos of the mock-epitaph. Another anonymous transcriber appended a brief address to the author of the original Latin epigram: 'And while you make [Sorrel's] fame surmount the Skys / Your own do's more than in proportion rise'.[106] These lines suggest that, although the transcribed poem remained

[103] *POAS*, VI, 366. Ellis hesitantly attributes the poem to Smith. I am more sceptical.

[104] This version formed the copy text for the printed version of the poem in the 1703 *Poems on Affairs of State*, p. 323. See too Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. C.986, fol. 15v.

[105] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Smith 23, p. 121.

[106] London, British Library, MS Add. 21094, fol. 130r.

anonymous, the author's identity was becoming common knowledge—a potentially dangerous situation.

Alexander Pope was only thirteen when Anne acceded to the throne, but was already starting to make a name for himself as a precocious wit. As a recusant he was inducted into the Jacobite literary community, including the circles of Sir William Trumbull and George Granville. Pope attributed *The Mourners* to Granville's cousin, and his personal friend, Bevil Higgons, suggesting he had some access to the poem in manuscript.[107] He began an epic poem after James II's death in 1701 on the salient topic of royal exile, and, in 1702, produced a short satire on the succession. Pope's poem *To the Author of a Poem, Intitled Successio* was occasioned by Elkanah Settle's *Eusebia Triumphans* (1702), a fulsome panegyric celebrating the Act of Settlement and the prospect of a Hanoverian succession. Settle would later become Pope's object of ridicule in *The Dunciad*s (1728; 1729; 1743); his riposte to *Eusebia Triumphans* anticipates the later satire in its description of Settle, if not in the savagery of its attack:

> Sure *Bavius* copy'd *Mævius* to the full,
> And *Chærilus* taught *Codrus* to be dull;
> Therefore, dear Friend, at my Advice give o'er
> This needless Labour, and contend no more,
> To prove a dull *Succession* to be true,
> Since 'tis enough we find it so in You.[108]

Critical consensus holds that the poem is primarily significant as one of Pope's earliest extant satires and, because of its focus on 'dullness', as a precursor to *The Dunciad* . Pope's political message is subtle—too subtle, perhaps, for a thirteen year old. The poem

[107] London, British Library, C.28.e.15, pp. 483-84. W. J. Cameron has discussed Pope's attributions in this volume: 'Pope's Attributions on "State Affairs" Poems', *Notes and Queries*, 203 (1958), 291-94.

[108] *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt and others, 11 vols (London: Methuen, 1939-69), VI, 16.

circulated only in manuscript until 1712 when it appeared in Lintot's *Miscellanious Poems and Translations*.[109] I suspect Pope revised the lines then. Although the butt of Pope's satire is principally Settle's bad verse—the predominant Scriblerian theme— the principal message of these lines is political rather than poetical. Settle's bad verse is the butt of Pope's satire, as it was in the 1720s, but his main target is Settle's aim: 'To prove a dull *Succession* to be true'. The Act of Settlement, not Settle, is the chief manifestation of dullness. While he says nothing about Anne or the Stuarts, his snide glance to Hanover speaks volumes. In this poem we have, then, an early glimpse of Pope's politics. Of course, Pope's poem is very different to the Jacobite libels circulating in manuscript. But the verses belong to the same cultural moment and show the young poet wrestling with political debates that would continue to occupy him.

An intriguing miscellany compiled by 'B. Cumberlege' early in 1703 was a more formal example intended for circulation among political allies. Frustratingly little can be discovered about Cumberlege. From his poetry we can guess he was, like Pope, a Catholic.[110] He penned his two-hundred page miscellany in imitation of a printed book, complete with illustrated title page, contents, page numbers, and running heads.

[109] Manuscript copies include New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn c.531; Leeds Brotherton Library, MS Lt20, pp. 99-100. See John M. Aden, *Pope's Once and Future Kings: Satire and Politics in the Early Career* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), pp. 57-58; on echoes of Dorset in the poem, see Arthur E. Case, 'The Model for Pope's Verses *To the Author of a Poem Intitled Successio*', Modern Language Notes, 43 (1928), 321-22.

[110] Devotional poems such as 'Lauda Syon Salvatovem' and 'The Blessed Virgins Expostulation' are suggestive of Cumblerlege's Catholicism. He may have been related to the 'J. Cumberlege' who wrote the equally Catholic poem, 'Megalesia Sacra: A Sacred Poem Upon the Assumption of the Great Mother of God', recorded in another Jacobite miscellany in Rawlinson's possession: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet. 115, fol. 55. On the intersection of the recusant and Jacobite communities, see Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009).

Throughout the collection, he uses an elaborate imitation-print hand, reminiscent of the famous holograph manuscript of Pope's *Pastorals*, which the young poet was composing around the same time and was circulating among both recusants and prominent literati, including Congreve and Wycherly, a year later, in 1704. In Cumberlege's miscellany, the more accomplished texts, such as Pittis's *The Generous Muse* and Dryden's panegyric on the birth of James Francis Edward, *Britannia Rediviva* (1688), are afforded individual title pages in coloured ink imitating the print editions, as is the compiler's most ambitious poem, and the final one in the collection, *An Elogium Upon a Monastick Life*.[111] As Maynard Mack writes of the *Pastorals* manuscript, imitation print was 'a suitable dress in which to circulate the new work among a growing circle of writers'.[112] The same goes for Cumberlege. By compiling his own verse with royalist panegyrics by Cowley and Tate, and Jacobite poems by Dryden and Pittis, he hoped to represent himself to potential readers as part of an established line of Stuart apologists. Such self-importance betrays youthful inexperience. Cowley's editors remark that Cumberlege's careful lettering suggests the volume was 'apparently prepared in expectation of publication'.[113] But his imitation print also implies that the usual routes of print publication were not available. Harold Love has reminded us of the ongoing significance of scribal publication well into the eighteenth century, particularly for Jacobites, whose

[111] Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, MS Eng. 584, pp. 1, 21, 183.

[112] *The Last and Greatest Art: Some Unpublished Poetical Manuscripts of Alexander Pope*, ed. Maynard Mack (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), p. 19; Pope's manuscript is reproduced and transcribed on pp. 22-69. See Love, *Scribal Publication*, p. 37; Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 61-83. On the earliest manuscript evidence of Pope's *Pastorals*, see Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Alexander Pope at Fifteen: A New Manuscript', *The Review of English Studies*, 17 (1966), 268-77.

[113] *The Collected Works of Abraham Cowley*, ed. Thomas O. Calhoun and others, 6 vols (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989-), II, 173.

access to print was restricted.[114] Other comparable Jacobite miscellanies exist with imitation print title pages.[115] Under the circumstances, imitation print was a neat way of increasing the prestige of the manuscript miscellany.

Cumberlege's original poetry in the volume reveals his stance on the succession—a different stance to Finch or Pittis. For Cumberlege, James Francis Edward's sovereignty was never in doubt. In 'A Chrostick upon y[e] Young Kings Birth-day' for instance, he simultaneously bemoans the death of James II and rejoices at the accession of James III:

> I—llustrious James Albions great Monarch's son,
> A—ccursed He, that rob'dst him of his throne.
> C—anst thou forbear to weep now he is gon,
> O—Albion! O ungratefull Albion!
> B—ut now wee'l cease our tears, this happy day,
> U—sherd in James the third, to bear y[e] sway,
> S—ince Heaven design'd his Father should not stay.[116]

Despite not writing this poem until James Francis Edward's birthday in June, Cumberlege ignored Anne completely. Of course, no sensible printer would have touched these poems. They were meant for Cumberlege and his closest allies and patrons. Manuscript was the only means by which Cumberlege could disseminate his panegyrics of the king over the water.

[114] Harold Love, *English Clandestine Satire, 1660-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 145, 287. On manuscript circulation and oral culture when print publication was not an option, see Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p. 61.

[115] See, for instance, London, British Library, MS Add. 29981.

[116] MS Eng. 584, p. 118.

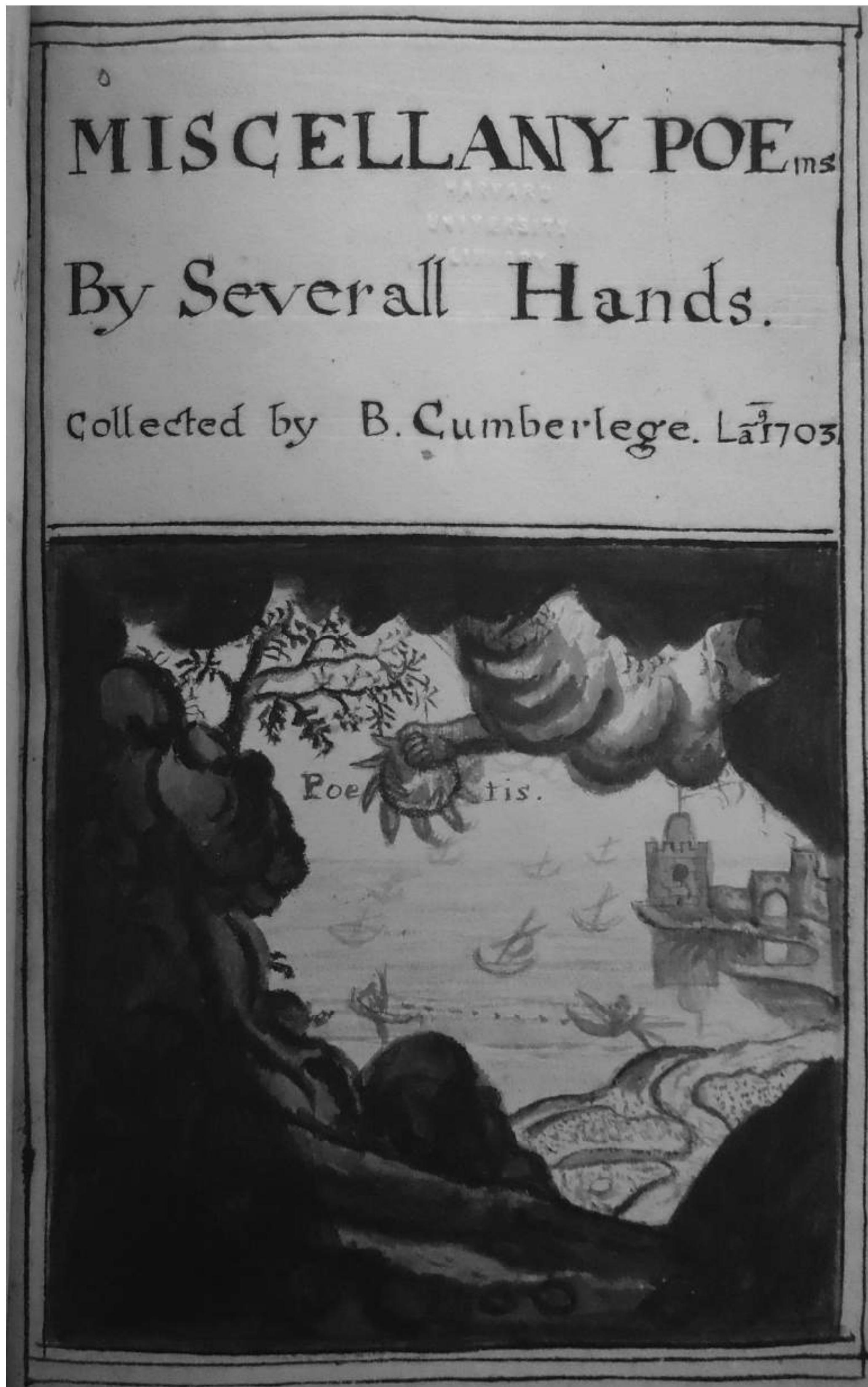


FIGURE 3. Illustrated title page with imitation print: B. Cumberlege, *Miscellany Poems by Severall Hands* (1703). Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, MS Eng. 584. © 2015 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

The circulation of clandestine satires on William's death and the succession, whether via manuscript miscellanies or epistolary correspondence, was part of an attempt by Jacobite writers to cultivate networks of like-minded readers.[117] Murray Pittock asserts that the 'accession of Anne defused Jacobite xenophobia.'[118] Not so. We have seen diverse strands of Jacobitism in the poems written and transcribed by Finch and Pittis, Cumberlege and Smith. Whereas writers such as Pittis were encouraged by the accession of a Stuart queen, Cumberlege did not even mention Anne's claim, and Finch was despondent at what she saw as the end of Jacobitism. And yet, despite their multiple and pronounced political differences, all these writers drew on and contributed to ongoing debates about royal succession—debates that were far from over.

WILLIAMITE ELEGY REINSTATED

Jacobite elegies and mock-elegies drew widespread censure in the press. One anonymous poet attacked those who 'Vilify and Reflect upon [William's] Person or Conduct' as 'a Living Scandal to themselves, the Blemishes of Humane Nature, and cast a Publick Reproach on the Present Queen and Government; who have unanimously declar'd their Deep Sorrow for the Loss of so Great and so Good a KING.'[119] Likewise, Oldmixon denounced 'The Libels which Hackney-Writers may publish on him', and Bernard de Mandeville, the Dutch political philosopher who later achieved fame with

[117] For recent takes on networking in the period, see Paul Trolander, *Literary Sociability in Early Modern England: The Epistolary Records* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014); Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); idem., 'Dealing with Newsmongers: News, Trust, and Letters in the British World, ca. 1670-1730', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), 215-33.

[118] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, p. 49.

[119] *The Mournful Congress*, sig. A2^{v}.

The Fable of the Bees (1705), attacked William's 'Assassins' who 'daily practice Murder on his Fame' in his satirical poem *The Pamphleteers* (1703).[120]

The most active anti-Jacobite campaigner was John Tutchin. The primary contributor to and editor of the radical Whig newspaper, *The Observator*, Tutchin had already written a riposte to *The Generous Muse* in his *The British Muse* (1701). He later complained about the lack of official response to Pittis's poem in *The Mouse Grown a Rat* (1702).[121] Tutchin thought a decent case could be made against Pittis for seditious libel. The editorship of *The Observator* gave Tutchin immense influence. His periodical was issued twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Each issue had a circulation of a thousand. Such numbers made it the fourth largest paper in the country, surpassed only by *The London Gazette*, *The Post Boy*, and *The Post Man*.[122] Unlike those papers, though, Tutchin offered readers a unique blend of political commentary and satire rather than straightforward reportage.[123] His was a paper that pursued *succès de scandale*, a strategy that would land him in front of parliament on charges of seditious libel in 1704.[124]

Somehow Tutchin became aware of the satires circulating in Jacobite networks. Sensible of the outrage they might provoke when exposed to a broader audience, he decided to publish them in *The Observator*. His underlying assumption was that this would elicit 'a just Resentment of so Vile a Composition of Lines'.[125] He printed the

[120] Oldmixon, *A Funeral-Idyll*, p. 4; [Bernard de Mandeville], *The Pamphleteers: A Satyr* (London, 1703), p. 3.

[121] Tutchin, *The Mouse Grown a Rat*, p. 32.

[122] James R. Sutherland, 'The Circulation of Newspapers and Literary Periodicals, 1700-30', *The Library*, IV, 15 (1934), 110-24 (p. 111); Henry L. Snyder, 'The Circulation of Newspapers in the Reign of Queen Anne', *The Library*, V, 23 (1968), 206-35; Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, p. 384.

[123] *The Post Man* and *The Post Boy* had not yet become party organs.

[124] See Lee Sonsteng Horsley, 'The Trial of John Tutchin, Author of *The Observator*', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 3 (1973), 124-40.

[125] *The Observator*, 5 (29 April 1702).

'panegyric' on Sorrel on 22 April—both the Latin verse and a translation—and appended a 'Counterpart' of his own to the squib:

> Insulting Ass! Who basely could'st revile
> The Guardian Angel of our Wretched Isle;
> Who now retiring from the Scenes of Wars,
> Is known and number'd midst the shining Stars.[126]

As he explains, 'For Asses', that is, Jacobites, 'to Drink a Health to a Horse is reasonable enough, because the Horse is of a Species Superiour to themselves'.[127] Redirecting the praise back at William—'known and number'd midst the shining Stars'—Tutchin levels the blame for William's death at the feet of Tories and Jacobites, whom he accuses of having nurtured the 'stumbling Beast': a coded reference to Sorrel's previous owner, the Jacobite conspirator Sir John Fenwick.[128] Later in the year Tutchin recycled the strategy for *The Mourners*, printing it along with a riposte urging 'Grumbletonians' to 'Mourn not your Kings misfortune, but your own'.[129] By printing these Jacobite poems for his paper's Whig readership and adding poetic 'counterparts', Tutchin was redirecting public odium away from William and back towards the Jacobites, and, in the process, exacerbated the partisan squabbling from which his paper's sales undoubtedly benefitted. The Whig-leaning editors of the series of printed miscellanies, *Poems on Affairs of State*, followed Tutchin's example when selecting texts for inclusion in their 1703 volume.[130] Indeed, Tutchin may have been involved in compiling its contents.[131]

[126] *The Observator*, 4 (22 April 1702).

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] *The Observator*, 18 (20 June 1702).

[130] For a bibliographical study of the 1703 volume, establishing the hierarchy of various editions, see W. J. Cameron, 'The Princeton Copies of *Poems on Affairs of State*, Vol. II, 1703', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 24 (1963), 121-27.

The Mourners appeared alongside Tutchin's 'Counterpart', as did the panegyric on Sorrel, and both poems were flanked by a satire on Sorrel's former owner, Sir John Fenwick. The final poem in the volume was a eulogy of William.[132]

The 1703 volume of *Poems on Affairs of State* also contains the most commercially successful poetic response to William's death: Daniel Defoe's *The Mock Mourners* (1702). A committed Whig who fought in Monmouth's rebellion, Defoe had been catapulted into the limelight by *The True-Born Englishman* (1701), a reply to Tutchin's jingoistic assault on immigrants in *The Foreigners* (1700).[133] Despite their common political allegiance, Defoe's poem sparked an animosity and professional rivalry that lasted the length of their careers. *The Mock Mourners* was Defoe's second bestseller. Published on 12 May, the poem ran through nine 'corrected' editions in 1702 alone, albeit four of those were reimpressions rather than new editions.[134] The poem has not received much critical attention, perhaps because of its curious fusion of genres: 'Satyr by Way of Elegy'. Paula Backscheider mentions the poem only in passing as an 'elegy for William', and Ashley Marshall has classified its satiric elements as 'less scathing than didactic'.[135] Frank Ellis probably comes closest to the mark, describing the

[131] See Frank Ellis in *POAS*, VII, xxvii. See too John McTague, 'Censorship, Reissues, and the Popularity of Political Miscellanies', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 39 (2015), forthcoming; Abigail Williams, 'The Diverting Muse: Miscellanies and Miscellany Culture in Queen Anne's Reign', in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverand, pp. 119-34.

[132] *Poems on affairs of State to This Present Year 1703*, pp. 320-22, 408, 468.

[133] See Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: His Life* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 75-76; Maximillian E. Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 148-57; Ashley Marshall, 'Daniel Defoe as Satirist', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70 (2007), 553-76; Daniel Statt, 'Daniel Defoe and Immigration', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 24 (1991), 293-313.

[134] See P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *A Critical Bibliography of Daniel Defoe* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1998), p. 33.

[135] Backscheider, *Defoe*, p. 75; Marshall, 'Defoe as Satirist', p. 557.

poem as 'a kind of moral balance sheet', satirizing the Jacobites and praising the deceased king in a single gesture.[136] Restoring *The Mock Mourners* to its proper contexts, though, we find that Defoe was alert to the complexities of the current political situation. *The Mock Mourners* was designed to teach the new queen by praise, and encourage her to emulate William and secure the protestant succession.

Recalling arguments from *The True-Born Englishman*, Defoe begins *The Mock Mourners* by remarking on the peculiar ingratitude of the English; they are 'Upbraided by their own Ingratitude', a truly 'unthankful Nation'.[137] Defoe targets first those who feign grief: 'Let it not be said, / You Hate him Living and you Mourn him Dead'; secondly, the military servicemen who 'sent their King abroad, and stay'd at Home; / Wisely declin'd the hazards of the War'; thirdly, and most of all, the 'Ignominious Croud' of Jacobites who 'Rejoice at the Disasters of his Crown; / *And Drink the Horse's Health that threw him down*', a snide reference to the drinking songs and panegyrics of Sorrel being circulated by the likes of Pepys and Smith.[138] By counterbalancing these criticisms with wholehearted encomium of William, Defoe made the king's antagonists look petty.

The Mock Mourners was also a sustained meditation on the future settlement of the throne. Defoe had already spoken out in support of a protestant succession in a pamphlet called *The Succession to the Crown of England, Consider'd* (1701), and later voiced concerns for its peaceful implementation, most famously—and audaciously—in *An Answer to a Question That No Body Thinks Of, Viz. But What if the Queen Should Die?* (1713). The precise circumstances of Anne's succession were pertinent for Defoe's argument about the future succession. For Defoe, it was a fact that Anne succeeded by statute alone. As a constitutional monarch, Defoe argues, Anne should be William's

[136] *POAS*, VI, 372.

[137] Defoe, *Satire*, I, 137 (l. 14), 140 (l. 138).

[138] Ibid., I, 144 (ll. 266-67), 142 (ll. 188-89), 151 (ll. 533, 539-40); cf. ll. 176-79.

political executor, continuing with policies mandated before his death: for instance, 'In *William*'s Steps sedately she proceeds, / William's *a Patern to immortal Deeds*'.[139] Defoe used Biblical allusion to strengthen the parallel:

> Anne like Elisha when just William went,
> Receiv'd the Mantle of his Government:
> And by Divine Concession does inherit,
> A Double Portion of his Ruling Spirit.[140]

Defoe here recalls the famous passage in which Elijah ascends to heaven on a whirlwind, after imparting 'a double portion of [his] spirit' to Elisha, evoked in the 'Double Portion' of William's 'Ruling Spirit' inherited by Anne. Elijah's ascension was typologically significant. Dissenting preachers used Elijah as an example of the dutiful mourning citizen. Richard Allen, for instance, lectured that 'We have just Reason to lament [William], in the same Terms, in which Elisha laments the Loss of Elijah'; and John Hammond, the rector of Catsfield, Sussex, likewise uses the example of Elisha's response to Elijah's assumption to teach the lessons of grief for a prince.[141] A graduate of Newington Green's excellent dissenting academy, Defoe was well versed in scripture.[142] He was the only writer to draw a direct parallel between Elisha and Anne. Defoe's typology suggested that Anne should emulate her predecessor in matters of policy, and

[139] Defoe, *Satire*, I, 152 (ll. 561-62).

[140] Ibid., I, 140 (ll. 108-11).

[141] Richard Allen, *The Death of a Good King, a Great and Public Loss: Exemplified in a Sermon Preached March 29th 1702 Upon the Much Lamented Death of Our Late Sovereign William III* (London, 1702), p. 20; John Hammond, *A Sermon Preached on the Fifteenth Day of March, 170½: On the Occasion of the Death of Our Late Sovereign King William the Third* (London, 1702), p. 3.

[142] See Lew Girdler, 'Defoe's Education at Newington Green Academy', *Studies in Philology*, 50 (1953), 573-91; Novak, *Master of Fictions*, pp. 32-50; Katharine R. P. Clark, 'Defoe, Dissent, and Early Whig Ideology', *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 595-614.

that her efforts will be divinely assisted.

Anne's second appearance augments the poem's argument. Defoe shifts the scene to Anne's coronation, where he shows the queen weeping for William's memory:

> See how Authority comes weeping on,
> And view the Queen lamenting on his Throne.
> With just Regret she takes the Sword of State,
> Not by her Choice directed, but his Fate;
> Accepts the sad Necessity with Tears,
> And mournfully for Government prepares.[143]

Portraying the queen weeping at her own coronation sets Defoe's poem apart from the more usual poetic responses to Anne's coronation, to which we will turn in the next chapter. As the scene of the coronation continues, Anne is presented with the sword of state. Defoe asks a seemingly rhetorical question: 'How can it in a Hand like hers miscarry?'[144] While the line primarily expresses a firm hope that Anne will protect the state from harm, Defoe's calculated use of the term 'miscarry', with all its connotations, alludes to Anne's tragic history of failed pregnancies.[145] It also recalls a passage from earlier in the poem, spoken by Britannia, reflecting on her failure to produce an heir:

> Vote me not Childless then in Christendom,
> I yet have Sons in my suspended Womb;
> And 'till just Fate such due Provision makes,
> A Daughter my Protection undertakes.[146]

These lines allude directly to the Act of Settlement. Repeated references to the 'Childless'

[143] Defoe, *Satire*, I, 148 (ll. 416-21).

[144] Ibid., I, 149 (l. 449).

[145] See H. E. Emson, 'For Want of an Heir: The Obstetrical History of Queen Anne', *The British Medical Journal*, 304 (1992), 1365-66.

[146] Defoe, *Satire*, I, 147 (ll. 397-400).

Britannia must have resonated with the accession of a childless queen. Defoe's use of the word 'Vote', like the references to succession by election in other elegies on William, also alluded to the Act. One year earlier, in *The Succession to the Crown of England, Consider'd*, Defoe had asked 'Whether the Power of Making and Declaring Kings and Successions, be Vested in the Body of the People Collectively or Representatively', but never questioned that the voice of 'the People' must hold sway on this matter.[147] His unique phrase, 'suspended Womb', likewise refers to the House of Brunswick; while Anne may not have a living heir of her body, 'Sons' of Britannia are yet to be found in Hanover. The womb's 'suspension' alludes to the excluded Catholic claimants, including James Francis Edward. The exclusion of Catholics is also latent in Britannia's reference to 'Christendom', which omitted by implication any popish nations. Until the 'Fate' of the British throne comes to pass with the accession of a 'Son'—Georg Ludwig of Hanover—Anne, is entrusted with the nation's 'Protection'.

Defoe's interpretation of Anne's status as a defender of the protestant succession—of Britannia's 'Fate'—was not without precedent. As we have seen, responses to Anne's accession were as concerned with the future settlement of the throne as with the current political situation. For Williamite authors this meant simultaneous nostalgic reflection on the revolution settlement and anticipation of the Hanoverian succession: Anne was a stopgap. Jacobites thought of Anne as a temporary placeholder too. But, for them, she might clear the way for the restoration of 'James III'. In *The Mock Mourners* Defoe deviated from both parties by praising the queen as a steward of the succession, a monarch with an active part to play in the settlement of the throne. Defoe's hope, it seems, was that Anne would learn from his praise.

[147] Daniel Defoe, *The Succession to the Crown of England, Consider'd* (London, 1701), p. 6.

In life William had been one of Britain's most divisive monarchs. In death his legacy proved equally contentious. Literary responses to William's death and Anne's accession had more bite than has been assumed. Their political significance, I have argued, lies not only or even primarily in what they have to say about the moment, but rather in their ruminations on the future settlement of the crown. Elegies in particular were designed to emphasize continuity of government, and thus encourage continuity of policy and conformity to the revolution settlement. But the language of Williamite elegy could also be appropriated, subverted, and redirected by William's enemies. By rethinking the relationship between print and the manuscript circulation of clandestine libels, we have observed how writing could encourage or even constitute an oppositional politics. Jacobite authors and readers risked imprisonment or even death for writing against the regime. Succession remained profoundly unstable in this liminal period between royal death and coronation. Some authors tried to stabilize it, others to sabotage it. The libels were a product of that instability. As the coronation formalized the process of succession, though, oppositional writers needed to find new ways of voicing discontent. As I will argue in the following chapter, the coronation actually provided them with an opportunity to launch a poetic assault on the new regime's legitimacy.

2
Coronation

On 23 April 1702 Anne was crowned queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland at Westminster Abbey. Coronation was the most important ceremony in any monarch's life. It formalized the process of succession within a set of ancient ritual conventions centred on a royal oath, the crowning, and the presentation of the regalia, and other features such as a sermon and the distribution of medals.[1] How were those customs modified to accommodate the last Stuart monarch? This chapter aims to provide an holistic account of Anne's coronation: of the preparations, the ceremony, and the broader cultural event it initiated, including the outpouring of poetry, music, and images. Thus one objective of this chapter is to examine how the coronation established Anne's iconography. Another is to explore how that iconography was appropriated by partisan authors and disrupted in their coronation panegyrics.

Much previous scholarship has concentrated on Tudor and early Stuart coronations.[2] Later Stuart coronations, including Anne's, have received considerably

1 See Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005); Percy Ernst Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937).

2 Some recent studies include: Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Sybil M. Jack, '"A Pattern for a King's Inaugration": The Coronation of James I in England', *Parergon*, 21 (2004), 67-91; Dale Hoak, 'A Tudor

less attention.[3] Where Anne's coronation has been examined, it has generally been considered a public-relations failure. Toni Bowers, for instance, opines that Anne's coronation iconography had 'surprisingly destructive implications for the new queen's claims to authority and legitimacy'.[4] And in an influential essay of 1990 Carolyn A. Edie dismissed the importance of Anne's coronation, arguing that she 'had no need to declare her authority'.[5] This conclusion is not supported by the evidence. By looking at the last Stuart coronation alongside earlier ones we witness how arguments for the legitimacy of Stuart rule shifted from hereditary right to law—arguments that were broadly mapped onto emergent party-political divisions.

The chapter will thus begin by tracing public access to the coronation, and move on to consider how the ceremony was adjusted to portray Anne as a constitutional monarch. The coronation sermon and medals were of particular importance because both had a continued existence beyond the ceremony. By looking at the distribution of medals and printed coronation sermons abroad, I want to suggest that the coronation served an important diplomatic function. Moving from the coronation to the cultural

Deborah? The Coronation of Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the Problem of Female Rule', in *John Foxe and His World*, ed. Christopher Highly and John N. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 73-88; Richard C. McCoy, '"The Wonderful Spectacle": The Civic Progress and Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Jànos M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 217-27; Tracey Sowerby, 'Anne Boleyn's Coronation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 386-98.

3 For discussions of Anne's coronation, see Winn, *Queen Anne*, pp. 286-93; Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion* (London: HarperPress, 2012), pp. 187-8; Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge, 1980), p. 154; Toni Bowers, *The Politics of Motherhood: British Writing and Culture, 1680-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 51-72.

4 Bowers, *Politics of Motherhood*, p. 54.

5 Carolyn A. Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals and Civic Ceremony in Stuart Coronations', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53 (1990), 311-36 (326-8).

event it precipitated, this chapter will then examine a full range of prints, music, ballads, trinkets, festivals, and, of course, poetry. Much literature on the occasion was formal verse panegyric, a genre with a distinguished pedigree. How did writers on all sides grapple with the generic conventions of coronation panegyric to navigate the problematic accession of a childless Stuart queen? The answer, I suggest, is not simple. Panegyrics are marked by profound unease about the new queen's authority. The final section will explore how one anonymous poem, *The Golden Age* (1702), addressed this with an ambiguous vision of future Stuart rule. This poem, more than any other, demonstrates the subversive potential of coronation panegyric to dispute the legitimacy of royal succession.

EXPENDITURE AND PUBLIC ACCESS

On 29 March, three weeks after her accession, Anne issued a proclamation appointing an organizing committee. She had already settled on 23 April, St George's Day, as the date for the coronation. Like Charles II in 1661 and James II in 1685, who were also crowned on that date, Anne chose to exploit the day's patriotism for her coronation.[6] However, it allowed less than a month to complete the necessary arrangements. Frenetic activity ensued. Heading up the committee and in overall charge of the event was Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle and Earl Marshall. He issued a string of orders: to Sir Christopher Wren, Master of the King's Works, for erecting scaffolds and galleries across Westminster; to Ralph, Earl of Montagu and Master of the Great Wardrobe, for new robes, coats, gloves, and hats; to John Blow, Composer to the Chapel Royal, for the

[6] Before the proclamation was issued, rumours circulated that the coronation would be on 29 May, Royal Oak Day, the holiday celebrating the Stuart restoration. This would have been an even more pointed statement. Royal Oak Day had become a key date on the Jacobite calendar under William. Anne sensibly shunned this date. For the rumours, see *Verney Letters*, I, 107.

music; to Isaac Newton, Master of the Mint, for coronation medals; and to innumerable others to print admission tickets and programmes, co-ordinate guards, organize the ceremonial feast, and so on.[7] Newton complained to Sidney Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer, that the time allotted for making medals was 'very short'.[8] Others likely lodged similar grievances.

Even without the elaborate pageantry that had accompanied some earlier Tudor and Stuart coronations, Anne's coronation proved hugely expensive. Roy Strong calculates that £4677 was expended on the basic infrastructure in Westminster Abbey alone, nearly four times James II's outlay in 1685, with a further £8288 spent on the wardrobe for the occasion.[9] The overall expenditure was actually much higher than Strong allows. An additional £10,000 was paid to the goldsmith Charles Shales 'for plate, jewels &c. to be provided for the service of the Queen's Coronation', and the same amount was allotted each to Sir Benjamin Bathurst for the coronation banquet and to Newton for the medals.[10] Bathurst overspent wildly and required at extra £4000.[11] By contrast, the medals came in well under budget, at a total cost of just £2485 18*s* 3½*d*,

7 London, National Archives, Work 24/2/1; *Calendar of Treasury Books: Preserved in the Public Records Office*, ed. William A. Shaw, 32 vols (London: HMSO, 1904-57), XVII, 219.

8 *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, ed. H. W. Turnbull, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959-77), IV, 384.

9 Strong, *Coronation*, 350. The basic estimate was £10,000: but this was probably just for the trappings of the Abbey: *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, ed. Joseph Redington, 6 vols (London: Longman, 1868-89), III, 16. To afford this, money had to be siphoned into the Wardrobe fund from the Civil List: see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, XVII, 23. On the expenditure at earlier coronations and the economic implications for London, see Ian Archer, 'City and Court Connected: The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71 (2008), 157-79.

10 *Calendar of Treasury Books*, XVII, 188 (between 180-90); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Anne*, ed. R. P. Mahaffy, 2 vols (London: H.M.S.O, 1916), I, 30.

11 *Calendar of Treasury Books*, XVII, 46.

although Newton did make the medals thicker than in previous years, to 'take the impression better'.[12] A new crown was made especially for the ceremony, although here some costs were cut: the jewels for the crown, worth an estimated £79,000, were hired for the occasion from the prominent goldsmith Sir Francis Child for a fee of £100.[13] Using Robert D. Hume's multipliers, the present-day value of the coronation budget would be somewhere between £8 million and £12 million.[14] Little wonder that one contemporary described Anne's coronation as 'more magnificent than any in England till that time'.[15]

Public access to the ceremony was a priority. Much of the expenditure went on seating for spectators. Since the coronation of Charles I seating for public spectators had been installed in Westminster Abbey, Westminster Hall, and along the processional route between the two.[16] As Samuel Pepys recalled of the coronation of Charles II in 1661: 'I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies and went round the abby to Westminster-hall, all the way within rayless, and 10000 people, with the ground coverd with blue cloth—and Scaffolds all the way'.[17] In 1685 more seating was crammed into the upper galleries of the Abbey which had been left unoccupied in

[12] See London, National Archives, Mint 19/3, fol. 336^{r} for a full breakdown of the costs. It seems doubtful that Newton ever received his £10,000: he was still petitioning Godolphin for remuneration in December. On the medal thickness, see London, National Archives, Mint 19/3, fol. 319^{r}.

[13] Tessa Rose, *The Coronation Ceremony of the Kings and Queens of England and the Crown Jewels* (London: HMSO, 1992), p. 29; London, British Library, MS Add. 61407, fol. 23^{r}. Anne would later complain that the fee was 'very extravagant': see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, XVIII, 5.

[14] See Hume, 'Economics of Culture'.

[15] Nicholas Menin, *The Form, Order, and Ceremonies of Coronations* (London, 1727), p. 221.

[16] On public access to the coronation of Charles I, see David Cressy, *Charles I and the People of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 72; Strong, *Coronation*, p. 329.

[17] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: G. Bell, 1970-83), II, 83-5.

1661. By 1689 the visibility of the monarchs to spectators actually began to shape the choreography of the ceremony; after taking the oath the new king and queen moved to the east side of the Abbey so 'that they might be more Conspicuous to the Members of the House of Commons'.[18] Coronation organizers in 1702 wanted Westminster to be a more public arena than ever before. Carlisle emphasised this in his warrant to Wren: 'Care must be taken to make Galleries and Seats for as many as possible on each side of the Quire & Great Theatre (and elsewhere Convenient)'. He also gave Wren permission to 'make use of the Crown Arches over the Upper Galleries between the great Pillars of the Musick Gallery as you did the last Coronation'.[19] We know that the scaffolds were completed by 15 April, when Wren was summoned by the Lords to inform them of his progress.[20] The travelling diarist Celia Fiennes was in the crowd, and recorded 'prodigious numbers in scaffolds built in the Abbey and all the Streetes on each side to Westminster Hall'.[21] The expanding public dimension of the coronation is reflected in the escalating expenditure. Anne spent double what William and Mary had spent on seating in 1689, which was in turn over double what James had spent in 1685.

Who would have been in the crowd on the day? Entrance to the Abbey was strictly ticketed. The political elite were, of course, required to attend. Peers were delegated eight *gratis* tickets each, and bishops four.[22] Otherwise anyone could purchase tickets for five shillings apiece.[23] This was hardly cheap. Even the most expensive seats at a patent theatre were less costly, at four shillings, which was still a substantial sum.

[18] *An Account of the Ceremonial at the Coronation of Their Most Excellent Majesties King William and Queen Mary* (London, 1689), p. 3.

[19] London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS Muniments 51140.

[20] *Journal of the House of Lords*, 64 vols (London, 1767-1830), XVII, 98.

[21] Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. Christopher Morris (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p. 302.

[22] *Journal of the House of Lords*, XVII, 97.

[23] Strong, *Coronation*, p. 386. The arrangements for the purchase of tickets in 1702 is unclear.

Cheaper seats were available, though, in the scaffolds built along the wall that parted the churchyard from the sanctuary, and also in the adjoining area.[24] These seats also provided a view of the procession from the Hall to the Abbey, but came with risks; as one newspaper reported, 'There were a vast number of Scaffolds erected for the Conveniency of Spectators, some of which were so slightly built, that we hear they fell, and severall People hurt thereby'.[25] One advertisement in the lead up to the event touted a safer option: 'places of the Leads of the Gatehouse at the West end of the Abby, and several Rooms for entire Companies to be let'. It added, 'There is no danger of Scaffolding, and you have accommodation of eating and drinking'.[26] The classifieds indicate that the solemn ritual of coronation was now being marketed as a consumer event. On the day, many who did not want to pay for tickets occupied nearby roofs and windows to get a view of the procession for free.

Recurring health problems meant that Anne could not walk the processional route from the Hall to the Abbey. Samuel Aubrey, London's premier coach maker, was paid £250 to design and build a sedan-chair for the queen. Again, public visibility was made Aubrey's priority. He designed the chair with a low back so that Anne could be seen by the audience gathered in Wren's scaffolds.[27] Fiennes was struck by Anne's coronation robes 'of Gold tissue, very Rich Embroydery of jewelry about it, her peticoate the same of Gold tissue with gold and silver lace, between Rowes of Diamonds'. She

[24] London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS Muniments 51136.

[25] *English Post*, 240 (24 April 1702). There is other evidence to suggest Wren botched the job: one official document describes 'great disorders' caused by the procession, probably because there was not enough room between scaffolds (London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS Muniments 51157). This may have been the cause of the queen losing 'ten small Diamonds singly set in silver' worth ten guineas from her robes in the procession: see *The Post Boy*, 1083 (25 April 1702).

[26] *The Post Man*, 955 (14 April 1702). On publicans renting rooms, see Robert O. Bucholz, '"Nothing but Ceremony": Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual', *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), 297.

[27] *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, III, 20.

recalls the queen giving 'obligeing lookes and bows to all that saluted her and were spectatours'.[28]

The subsequent banquet at Westminster Hall was likewise open to spectators. The feast itself cost an exorbitant £14,000, of which £10,000 was paid on 17 April and the further £4000 in June, when the Treasury had greater cash flow.[29] Eccles composed a suite of music for the banquet that reflected the 'different musical idioms' of the queen's kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.[30] Before the second course, as convention demanded, a royal champion, Charles Dymoke, rode into the Hall fully armed to defend Anne's claim against any challenger.[31] He was rewarded for his service with a 'gold bowl' from which Anne drank during the feast.[32] The seating plan in the Hall was strictly hierarchical. Peers dined at two long tables and 'Persons of Quality' were given honorary seats.[33] But, due to constraints on space, MPs were forced to eat in the adjoining exchequer chamber.[34] Anne dined in a position of especial importance at an elevated table 'under a fine Canopy'. After the opening formalities, she invited her consort, Prince George, to dine with her—significantly taking the seat to her left outside the royal

[28] *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p. 302.

[29] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: Anne*, I, 30; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, XVII, 191 and 46.

[30] On Eccles's suite, see Matthias Range, *Music and Ceremonial at British Coronations: From James I to Elizabeth II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 120; Peter Holman's booklet notes to *Sound the Trumpet: Henry Purcell and His Followers*, CDH55258 (Hyperion, 2008), originally released as CDA66817 in 1996. John Church's anthem for the procession survives in the British Library, MS Harl. 7341, p. 547.

[31] Wren had to erect a room for Dymoke to arm himself in New Palace Yard: see Gloucestershire County Archives, D2002/8/1.

[32] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1857), V, 166.

[33] *London Gazette*, 38-4 (27 April 1702).

[34] Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, V, 166.

canopy. Again, Fiennes is our best eyewitness. She was alert to differences between this coronation banquet and those that preceded it: 'When King James was Crown'd he sate soe: at his left hand sate his Queen under another cannopy, but King William and Queen Mary being both principals sate under one large cannopy on one large throne'.[35] Anne was a stickler for ceremonial decorum. When William and Mary were proclaimed on 13 February 1689, she had refused to sit until her stool was moved outside the royal canopy, as protocol demanded.[36] Now, as queen regnant, Anne held sole authority and was thus careful to ensure that her consort sat in his proper place. This move emphasized to observers that she reigned alone.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY

Unlike her predecessors, Anne used her coronation to downplay her Stuart lineage. Instead she was portrayed as a constitutional Protestant monarch. This was a prudent move. In the immediate aftermath of William's death, Tories and some Jacobites had eagerly claimed that Anne's accession signalled a return to divine right Stuart monarchy. To avoid such partisan associations, Anne needed to emphasize that her legitimacy was founded in the revolution settlement, that her Stuart blood was of secondary importance. On the other hand, Whigs suggested that Anne should prioritize Dutch and German interests in the struggle against Louis XIV. While Anne and her government were indeed eager to continue war with France, they did not want to appear pawns of the Whigs. How would the coronation navigate these partisan stances?

[35] *Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p. 303.

[36] Winn, *Queen Anne*, p. 138. This anecdote was recorded by John Anstis and relayed by Agnes Strickland in *Lives of the Queen of England*, 8 vols (Bell, 1885), VII, 198. The original manuscript has not been traced.

Responsibility for arranging the actual coronation liturgy fell largely to Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury. He did not have much to do. The Act of Settlement demanded that Anne's coronation should precisely follow the model established by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, for the coronation of William and Mary in 1689.[37] Compton had radically overhauled the coronation liturgy in 1689 after William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, modified the ceremony to accommodate a Catholic monarch in 1685. The resulting formula underscored certain religious and political principles within the framework of the traditional ceremony; the Protestantism of the new regime was emphasized, the ritual modified to accommodate dual monarchs, and the sermon gestured to Charles II and the earlier Stuarts as a means of reinforcing the new regime and mollifying its Tory opponents.[38]

The coronation oath was the crux of the ceremony. Following extensive debate in parliament and the press, the oath was revised by a select committee in 1689.[39] The 1689 Act for Establishing the Coronation Oath was designed 'to the end therefore that one uniform oath may be in all times to come taken by the Kings and Queens of this Realm, and to them respectively administered at the times of their and every of their coronation.'[40] In 1701 the Act of Settlement clarified that this legislation was intended to

[37] The details of Anne's coronation survive in four manuscripts, all of which appear to be rehearsal documents prepared according to order for the officials presiding over the ceremony, and are probably the 'four Manuscript Books' ordered by warrant: London, National Archives, LC 2/15, N.34. See Benjamin Klein, 'A Coronation Manuscript Bound by Robert Steele, 1702', *The Book Collector*, 53 (2004), 567-71. The manuscripts are Williamsburg, VA, Earl Gregg Swem Library, MS 2008.11; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 1078; British Library, MSS Add. 6336, fols 16-28, and Harl. 6118.

[38] See Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Lois G. Schwoerer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 107-30

[39] Ibid., pp. 120-23.

[40] *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. John Raithby, 11 vols (London, 1810-28), VI, 56-7.

prohibit Catholics from claiming the British throne.[41] Like her immediate predecessors, then, Anne promised to govern 'according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on', that she would execute 'law and justice in mercy', and 'maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion'.[42]

One of the most salient debates in 1689 pertained to the nature of this contract: was the coronation oath between God and the sovereign, or between the sovereign and the people? Supporters of James II maintained that the king was above the polity, and thus not bound by its laws. Whigs, on the other hand, argued from a variety of positions that sovereign power derived from the people, and that the coronation oath was a binding covenant between the king and the polity. Daniel Whitby typified one strand of Whig argument, stating that 'kings of England were kings by virtue of an Original Compact, made between them and the people […] by oaths that they took at their Coronation'. A king such as James II, who breaks that oath, 'is no such King as our Constitution knows'.[43] The new oath reflected the need for a formal contract between the sovereign and the polity, subject to parliamentary statute. Requiring her to defend church and state, Anne's oath similarly reinforced the constitutional basis of her claim and thus distanced her from her deposed Catholic father.

Anne was the first monarch to take the Test at her coronation—that is, a declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints designed to prevent Catholics from taking public office. This was a significant addendum. The wording came from the Test Acts of 1673 and 1678, the latter of which served as a confessional test in the wake of the Popish Plot. Again, the Test was another component of Compton's reforms, stipulated in the 1689 Bill of Rights, although one not included in

41 *Statutes of the Realm.*, VII, 637.

42 Add. MS 6336, fol. 19^{r}.

43 Daniel Whitby, *An Historical Account of Some Things Relating to the Nature of the English Government* (London, 1690), pp. 43-4, 46.

William and Mary's coronation. Before taking the oath, Anne declared that she 'believe[d] that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread or wine into the body and blood of Christ, at, or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever', before announcing that 'the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.'[44] This was a public declaration of religious allegiance and an important statement against her Catholic half-brother and his supporters, the Jacobites. It functioned as both an announcement of the new queen's role as the defender of the English church from popery, and as a public commitment to the security of the Protestant succession. By taking the Test before the audience crammed into Wren's scaffolds, Anne ensured her reputation as a true-blue Protestant.

The coronation sermon allowed more freedom for expression than either the oath or Test. Nonetheless, it reinforced their message, suggesting that Anne was keen to emphasize the constitutional dimension to her claim. However, Anne could not afford to isolate the prominent Tories in her ministry. The sermon would need bipartisan appeal. Anne selected her trusted confidante, John Sharp, Archbishop of York, to preach. His text was Isaiah 49.23: 'Kings shall be thy Nursing Fathers, and their Queens thy Nursing Mothers'. It was also the verse chosen for a new anthem by Jeremiah Clarke, accompanying the enthronement and crowning.[45] This was a stock text for royal sermons, and therefore a deliberately uncontentious choice for the coronation. Elizabeth's preachers had frequently utilized it, as had preachers to Anne's Stuart forebears.[46] Sharp's exegesis of the passage is conventionally typological: the prophecy of

[44] Add. MS 6336, fol. 19^{r}.

[45] Range, *Music and Ceremonial*, pp. 111-14.

[46] See Helen Hackett, 'The Rhetoric of (In)fertility: Shifting Responses to Elizabeth I's Childlessness', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne

Isaiah's 'Nursing Mother' is realized in 'Her *Present Majesty* upon the *Throne* of Her *Ancestors*'.[47]

The sermon suggests that Anne will support the Protestant succession. With the exception of a few lines on the royal martyr, Sharp ignored the Stuart dynasty entirely. He understood that discussion of Anne's ancestors could undermine arguments that she succeeded by the constitution. Instead, he focused on four historical British figures: King Lucius, Emperor Constantine, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth. The importance of those figures is religious. Lucius was, in Sharp's words, 'the first *Christian King* in *Europe*', and Constantine the first Christian emperor of Rome, and of supposedly British descent.[48] Henry VIII established the Church of England, and Protestantism flourished under Elizabeth: 'It was an *English King* that first threw off the *Foreign Yoak*; and it was an *English King* also, that first begun the *Reformation* of *Religion*. But the Honour of perfecting that great Work was reserved for a *Queen*'.[49] By likening Anne to those figures, Sharp was suggesting that the church would once again flourish under Anne. Equally importantly, by recalling these figures from British history, Sharp appealed to Tory nationalists who celebrated Anne as a 'native' queen after the reign of a Dutchman.

Thus Sharp's portrayal of Anne as a 'Nursing Mother' was not simply to surmount her lack of issue, but rather to emphasize her commitment to the church: Christian princes should 'think themselves obliged above all things to take care of the *Church* of God; remembring that it is chiefly with respect to *That* that they have the Charge of being *Nursing-Fathers* and *Nursing-Mothers*. As such therefore, they would

(Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 149-71.

[47] John Sharp, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Coronation of Queen Anne* (London, 1702), pp. 2-3.

[48] Ibid., p. 14. See Felicity Heal, 'What Can King Lucius Do For You? The Reformation and the Early British Church', *English Historical Review*, 120 (2005), 593-614.

[49] Sharp, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Coronation*, p. 15.

make it their business to maintain and defend the true *Religion*'.[50] Like the addition of the Test to the coronation liturgy, this emphasized Anne's role as a 'mother' to the Church of England, whose chief duty was the defence of the Protestant nation. Making the Church of England stand in for a bodily heir, Sharp tacitly suggested that Anne's first priority should be to enforce the Act of Settlement and thus secure the Protestant succession after her. Like Lucius, Constantine, and Henry VIII, Sharp proposed, Anne would establish an enduring Protestant state. By situating Anne in a framework that emphasized both patriotism and Protestantism, Sharp was working in an idiom that traversed conventional markers of partisanship: evoking simultaneously Tory traditionalism and Whig religious and constitutional reform.

As such, the sermon had a clear message: Anne's right to the throne came not by patrilineal descent, but rather by her piety, personal virtue, and fidelity to the Church of England: features required of a monarch after the revolution and emphasized in the wording of the 1689 oath. Although the symbolism of the coronation medals is more convoluted than Sharp's argument, they purvey a complimentary message. This cannot have been accidental. The obverse bust of the queen was based on a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, William's preferred court painter, done in early April.[51] The reverse was co-designed by the engraver John Croker and the current Master of the Mint, Isaac Newton, and represents Anne as Pallas Athene, goddess of wisdom and war; she stands ready to hurl a thunderbolt at a many-headed monster with four arms and snaky legs, identified in Newton's notes and reports in the newspapers as a 'gyant'.[52] Newton was

[50] Sharp, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Coronation*, p. 6.

[51] The portrait is number 46 in J. Douglas Stewart's *catalogue raisonné* of Kneller's works: *Sir Godfrey Kneller and the English Baroque Portrait* (Oxford, 1983), p. 91. See *The Post Man*, 951 (4 April 1702).

[52] Recent scholars have erred in identifying the monster as a 'hydra'. The misinterpretation stems from Abel Boyer, writing two decades later in *A History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne, Illustrated with All the Medals Struck in This Reign* (London, 1722), p. 718. See Joseph Hone, 'Isaac Newton and the

FIGURE 4. Isaac Newton and John Croker, medal for the coronation of Queen Anne (1702). London, British Museum, item G3.EM.39. © Trustees of the British Museum.

probably thinking of the Gigantomachia: that is, the war between the classical pantheon and the Titans, a motif that had previously featured on a medal for the accession of Charles II, engraved by George Bower.[53] The legend reads 'VICEM. GERIT. ILLA. TONANTIS.', meaning, she is the vicegerent of the Thunderer.

The design drew freely on the iconography of William and Mary's coronation medal, which showed William as Jupiter, hurling a thunderbolt at Phaeton, who has lost control of the reins of power and thus stands in for James II, protégé of Louis XIV, whose iconography was that of the sun-king. In order to cast Anne as William's constitutional successor, Newton consciously echoed the symbolism of that earlier medal, portraying Anne as Pallas Athene, the favourite daughter of Jupiter. [54] The

Medals for Queen Anne', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, forthcoming; Richard S. Westfall, *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 621-3; Sir John Craig, *Newton at the Mint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946).

[53] For Newton's take on the Gigantomachia, see Jed Z. Buchwald and Mordechai Feingold, *Newton and the Origin of Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 379.

[54] Athene had also featured in William's medallic iconography: see Sir Mark Jones, 'The Medal as an Instrument of Propaganda in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Europe', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 142 (1982), 117-26 (p. 119).

mythic genealogy links the two medals and thus the two rulers. There are other symbolic connections between the medals, too. In an elaborate exposition of the design, likely presented to Anne for her approval, Newton explained that the motto 'relates to the last Coronation medal', and that the 'Thunderer' of the motto is William, 'for Thunder signifys War, & that King was a Warriour all his life-time'.[55] According to Newton, the defeated 'gyant' is likewise emblematic of 'any Enemy with which Her Maj^{ty} hath or may have War': in this case, the double Catholic threat posed by Louis XIV and James Francis Edward, the two faces of the monster.[56] The distilled message of the medal, Newton explains, 'signifys that her Majesty continues the Scene of the last Reign'.[57] Anne will fight both Louis and James for the Protestant succession of Britain.

However, whereas Sharp successfully balanced Whig and Tory rhetoric in his sermon, Newton's medal design proved too overtly partisan. The message that Anne would simply continue with William's policies pleased Whigs and, as we shall see in due course, foreign ambassadors. Opportunistic Whig panegyrists such as John Hughes and John Dennis, for instance, used the medal to fashion Anne as William *redivivus*: Hughes writing that Anne '*shall supply the Thunderers Place*' and go to war against 'the Giants impious Race'.[58] Tory writers pointedly omitted to mention the medal in any of their many succession panegyrics, suggesting that Whig interpretations its symbolism had

[55] London, National Archives, Mint 19/3, fol. 289^{r}. cf. Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London, 1722), p. 226.

[56] Mint 19/3, fol. 289^{r}. Here I disagree with Winn, who argues that 'the monster on this medal, with its vulgar faces and crude weapons, makes no sense as an image of Louis XIV, who presided over the most elegant court and most centralized government in Europe': *Queen Anne*, p. 291. Newton's explanation reveals why the monster makes *symbolic* sense as an image of Louis.

[57] Mint 19/3, fol. 289^{r}.

[58] John Hughes, *The House of Nassau: A Pindarick Ode* (London, 1702), p. 12; see John Dennis, *The Monument: A Poem Sacred to the Immortal Memory of the Best and Greatest of Kings, William the Third* (London, 1702), pp. 9-10; *Essays Serious and Comical* (London, 1707), p. 239.

become entrenched.[59] Indeed, our only record of the Tory response comes from Oxford, where the Vice Chancellor—a Tory high flyer named Roger Mander—prohibited a student from reading 'a copy of Verses upon the Inscription on the Medal, at Her Majesties Coronation, *VICEM GERIT ILLA TONANTIS*.'[60] For Mander, and those who shared his political outlook, the medal was an objectionable piece of Whig propaganda. Tories viewed Anne's accession was an opportunity for real political change, away from the Whig dominance of William's reign. Whether Newton was aware of the partisan resonance of the design is unclear. But the Master of Mint was a committed Whig and occasional MP. It should not surprise us if he attempted to smuggle a partisan message into the design. The entire coronation ritual had been intended to portray Anne as a constitutional monarch and supporter of the Protestant succession. Newton conveyed this message, but in a way that isolated the Tory masses.

DIPLOMACY

Such messages were not only aimed at Anne's subjects, though. The coronation was attended by a range of foreign envoys and visiting and resident diplomats. Under William, negotiations for a renewed state of war with France had gone smoothly. Dutch and German ambassadors now required guarantees of the new regime's commitment both to the war with France and the future Protestant succession in Britain. Medals were one means of expressing such assurances. The partisan message of Newton's coronation medals, though irksome to Tories, would certainly have assuaged doubts about the new

[59] On Anne's Tory succession panegyrics, see Joseph Hone, 'Politicising Praise: Panegyric and the Accession of Queen Anne', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2014), 147-57 (pp. 148-51).

[60] [Richard West?], *The True Character of a Church-Man, Shewing the False Pretence to That Name. Together With the Character of a Low Church-Man Drawn in Answer to It, With Remarks* (London, 1702), p. 40.

FIGURE 5. Isaac Newton and John Croker, Palladium medal, originally for the coronation of Queen Anne and later recast for the Act of Union (1707). London, British Museum, item G3.EM.93. © Trustees of the British Museum.

queen's commitment to the war. Besides the 1200 silver medals for the crowd and the 818 gold medals for parliament, Mint records also mention another '40 Medals of Gold (most of them double ones) for foreign Ministers & Persons of quality'.[61] No example of Anne's coronation medal at this 'double' size is extant, but, as I have argued elsewhere, a puzzling and undated medal from Anne's reign, known as the Palladium, is probably a later recast version of this alternative coronation medal described in Newton's records.[62] Once again, it represents the queen as Pallas, this time with the motto 'NOVÆ PALLADIVM TROIÆ.', alluding to the statue of Athene on which the safety of Troy was said to depend in *The Iliad*.

Certainly, the Palladium would have made an excellent diplomatic gift.[63] Not only was it exquisitely wrought—an inherently valuable object—but also conveyed

[61] Mint 19/3, fol. 336^{r}. Due to lack of funds, the 518 gold medals for the House of Commons were only 'made afterwards' (fol. 332^{r}). Robert Harley, Speaker of the Commons, took delivery of those medals in June.

[62] Hone, 'Isaac Newton and the Medals for Queen Anne'.

[63] On the giving of medals to diplomats, see Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 175; Larry Kreitzer, 'Paying for Gold with

another important political message. In her first speech to parliament on 11 March, and perhaps under the guidance of her High Tory uncle, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, Anne proclaimed 'I know mine own Heart to be entirely English', a deliberate echo of Elizabeth's famous speech at Tilbury.[64] The motto 'entirely English' soon became a Tory rallying cry, and reappeared adorned with oak leaves—an established emblem of the Stuarts—on her accession medal. Anne's speech was read by many as a reflection on her Dutch predecessor, whose foreignness had not endeared him to the English. Dutch and German ambassadors were understandably worried by the likely direction of the new queen's foreign policy following this isolationist rhetoric: would Britain continue to support the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV? As the well-informed English diplomat Sir Robert Southwall observed, only 'her pressing to support our allyances abroad will commute for what the Dutch may take amiss in that emphasis which Her Majesty layd on her English heart'.[65] The Palladium medal was, I suggest, designed to win back their trust. According to eighteenth-century numismatists and historians such as Paul Rapin de Thoyras and Johann Hieronymus Lochner, the medal showed 'the great importance of the queen to the alliance of the time'.[66] The 'new Troy' of the motto was the alliance of Britain, Holland, and the Holy Roman Empire. Anne is a Palladium keeping those nations safe from the popish encroachments of France. Unlike the other coronation medals, then, these forty pieces were designed for foreign envoys and their masters. Iconographic objects such as these ensured that the coronation was not just a public

Chocolate: Thomas Simon and a Gift for the Swedish Ambassador in 1656', *The Medal*, 64 (2014), 10-5.

64 *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, 5 vols (London, 1742), III, 197-8.

65 Sir Robert Southwell to William King, 14 March 1702, in *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1871), p. 242.

66 Johann Hieronymus Lochner, *Samlung Merkwürdiger Medaillen* (Nurenburg, 1744), cited and translated in David Pickup, 'John Croker and the Alchorne Manuscript', *The Medal*, 20 (1992), 23. For de Thoyras's comments, see *The Metallick History of the Reigns of William III and Queen Mary, Queen Anne and King George I* (London, 1747), p. 1.

display of royal power, but also conveyed a shrewd diplomatic message: Britain would stand by her Protestant allies in the coming war against Louis XIV.

Sharp's coronation sermon was no less important as a piece of diplomacy. Within the week the sermon was printed and issued for sale by Walter Kettilby and William Rogers, two of London's foremost publishers of divinity. It circulated widely in print. The historian Ralph Thoresby recorded in his diary that he had a copy in Yorkshire by 5 June.[67] Besides the standard quarto edition, Kettilby and Rogers also produced a limited run in folio. These folios were given to Sharp for him to send abroad. The most important figure to whom Sharp intended to send a copy was Electress Sophia. When the freethinker John Toland visited Sharp in late April, the Archbishop innocently accepted Toland's opportunistic gesture to act as his courier. Sharp recorded their encounter in his diary: 'He told me, upon that, he did not mean to stay here, for he was going very suddenly to the Princess Sophia of Hanover […] and that he now meant to buy one of my coronation sermons, and present it to her. I told him, he should not need to buy one, for I would send her one; and that when my sermon came out, I would send one for my Lady Clayton, and therewith one for the princess.'[68] Upon learning of Toland's reputation as a radical, though, Sharp had second thoughts about employing him as an official messenger: 'I very well saw what prejudice it might do me. And thereupon resolved to get this sermon into my hands again'.[69] Unfortunately Toland sailed for Hanover before Sharp could intercept him. Correspondence between Gottfriend Leibniz and the Hanoverian Prime Minister, Franz Ernst von Platen, confirms that Toland delivered Sharp's sermon by 29 July 1702.[70] Although Sophia did

[67] *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, ed. Joseph Hunter, 2 vols (London, 1830), I, 365.

[68] Thomas Sharp, *The Life of John Sharp, D.D., Lord Archbishop of York*, ed. Thomas Newcome, 2 vols (London: Rivington, 1825), I, 274-5.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Gottfried Leibniz to Franz Ernst von Platen, 29 July 1702, in *Die Werke von Leibniz*, ed. Onno Klopp

not particularly like Toland, she wrote to Sharp personally expressing her gratitude for the sermon and her satisfaction with its message.[71] Sharp could have predicted how his coronation sermon would be received by the next in line to the British throne. He understood that it would need to serve a diplomatic purpose. His emphasis on Anne's duty to maintain and enforce the Act of Settlement was surely calculated, among other things, to please Anne's statutory successor.

CORONATION IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Anne returned from the banquet at Westminster Hall to St James's Palace at 8.30 in the evening. The cultural event surrounding the coronation, though, was far from over. London's booksellers and merchants were provided with a lucrative commercial opportunity. The event took place in the context of a highly topical consumer culture.[72] We must now turn to the broader impact of the coronation on that consumer culture, and examine how the ritual reverberated in the public imagination.

Commemorative wares were produced *en masse*, including: delftware, which ranged in quality, knock-off coronation medals (known as jetons), and even intricate timepieces, such as those produced by the clock maker Samuel Aldworth.[73] On the day itself, ballad-sellers and peddlers of other ephemera penetrated the hordes of spectators

(Hanover: Klindworth Verlag, 1864-84), VIII, 357; see Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 119.

[71] Sharp, *Life of John Sharp*, I, 276.

[72] See C. H. L. George, 'Topical Portrait Print Advertising in London Newspapers and *The Term Catalogues*, 1660-1714' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Durham, 2005).

[73] For the ceramics, see Anthony Ray, *English Delftware Pottery in the Robert Hall Warren Collection* (London: Faber, 1968), p. 116. One of Aldworth's commemorative watches is in London, Victoria and Albert Museum, item M:82:1 2-1921.

FIGURE 6. Coronation jeton for Queen Anne (1702). London, British Museum, item M. 7994. © Trustees of the British Museum.

at Westminster, selling occasional prints. Even those who could not afford the printed matter on offer would have heard the coronation ballads which popularized the image of the new queen.[74] Westminster was an area closely associated with the sale of political print, and the entrepreneurial booksellers of the district capitalized on the boost in market demand for coronation memorabilia. Westminster Hall itself was usually filled with bookstalls, and, while temporarily evicted for the coronation banquet preparations, these stalls lingered in the area, catering to the inflated demand.[75]

Some publications were illicit. One such text, a cheap octavo pretending to the official coronation sermon, poses an interesting puzzle. It was issued by the well-known pirate printer James Read a few days *before* Sharp's sermon appeared at Kettilby's shop.[76]

[74] On the singing and selling of ballads, see Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Hambledon, 2004), p 242.

[75] On the Westminster book trade, see James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 157, 186; Henry R. Plomer, 'Westminster Hall and Its Booksellers', *The Library*, II, 6 (1905), 380-90.

[76] Henry R. Plomer describes Read as 'a jobbing printer of broadsides': see *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland From 1668-1725*, ed. Arundell Esdaile (Oxford: The Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. 249. While Read was in Newgate, his workshop

Moreover, the text bore no relation to the coronation sermon, despite the title page describing it as *A Sermon Preached on Saint George's Day in Westminster Abbey; on the Coronation of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne*. Whereas Sharp had mixed features of both Tory and Whig rhetoric, this fake sermon was fervid and politically explosive. The anonymous firebrand who wrote the piece described protestant dissenters and Whigs as 'Schismaticks, Hereticks, or Rebels', who, given the chance, will 'revolt from their King or Queen with as little reluctation as they turned from God'.[77] The text was clearly an attempt by a High Church propagandist to convince members of the public that, this being a supposedly 'official' sermon, Anne had sanctioned its message. The authorities were sensitive to corruptions of official coronation materials, and moved quickly to suppress this illicit publication. Read was arrested and sent to Newgate on 28 April. So were an anonymous associate and the hawkers who sold the text on the streets.[78]

The coronation also provided booksellers with an opportunity for the resale of old stock, and the reuse of occasional woodblocks. Unsold copies of Francis Sandford's elaborate illustrated folio *The History of the Coronation of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch, James II* (1687) were reissued in the fortnight before Anne's coronation, with one advertisement touting copies 'bound up, with a Print of the

continued to print other coronation literature, including Richard Burridge's Whig panegyric to the queen, *A Congratulatory Poem on the Coronation of Queen Anne* (London, 1702), published on 9 May at sixpence. Read also produced the comical coronation broadside *Great Britain's Joy*, discussed below.

[77] *A Sermon Preached on Saint George's Day in Westminster Abbey: on the Coronation of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Ann* (London, 1702), pp. 9, 7.

[78] *The Daily Courant*, 9 (29 April 1702). Read was prosecuted by the King's Bench again in 1707; see Donald Thomas, 'Press Prosecutions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Evidence of King's Bench Indictments', *The Library*, v, 32 (1977), 315-32 (p. 320); Janet Ing Freeman, 'Jack Harris and "Honest Ranger": The Publication and Prosecution of *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies*, 1760-95', *The Library*, vii, 13 (2012), 423-56 (p. 446).

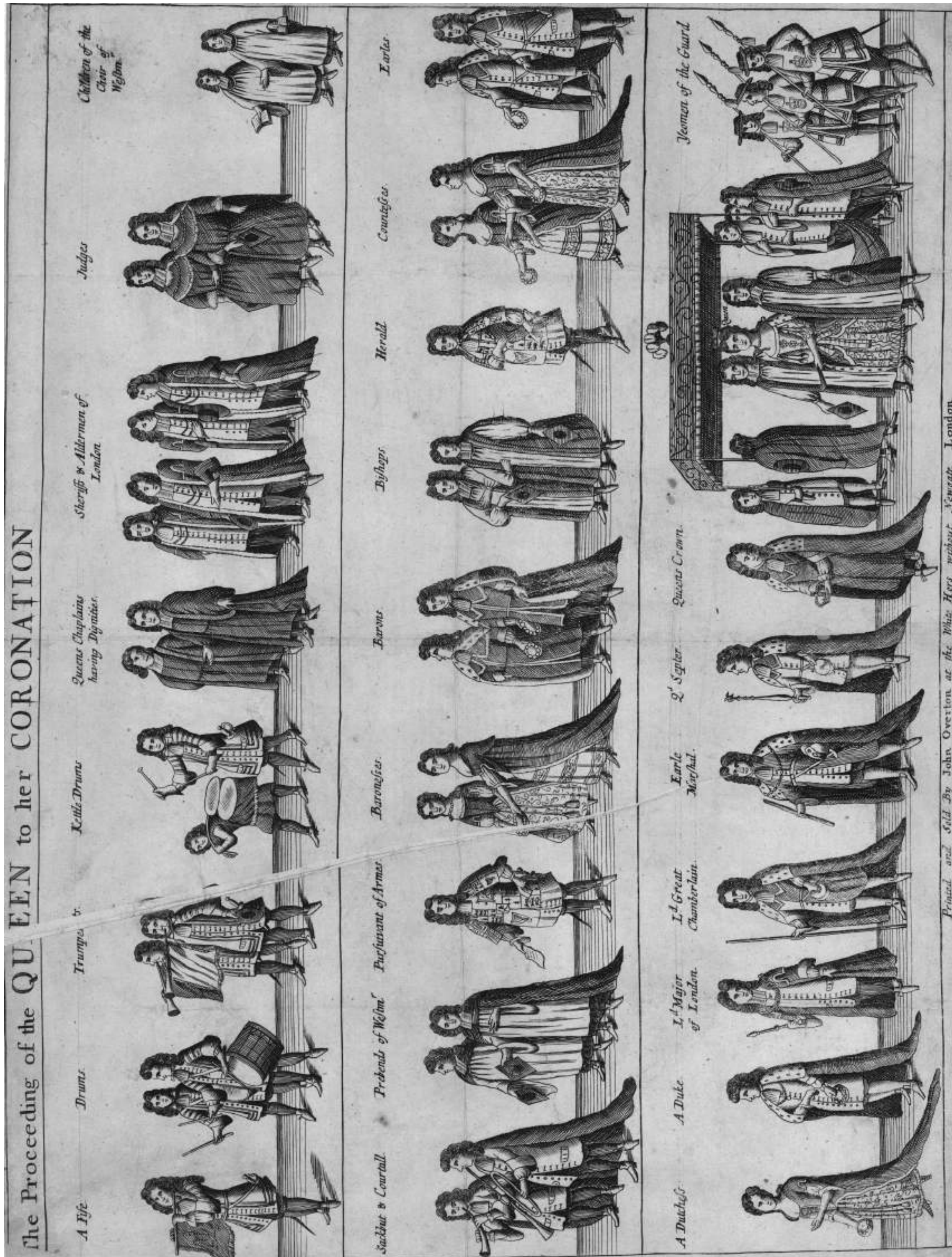


FIGURE 7. *The Proceeding of the Queen to Her Coronation* (1702). London, British Museum, item Y,1. 139. © Trustees of the British Museum.

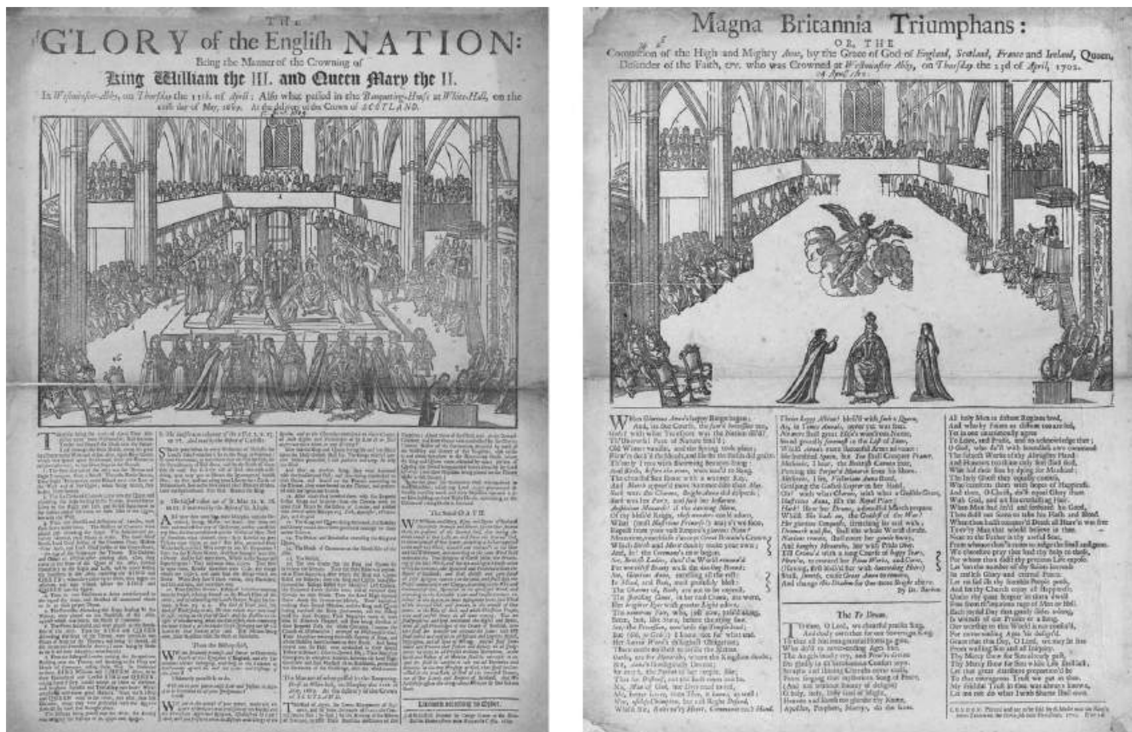
Coronation of King William and Queen Mary, which will chiefly be followed at the Coronation of her Present Majesty Queen Anne.'[79] A single volume survives with a rare print of the 1689 procession bound in, done in a style that quite deliberately apes the elaborate Sandford depiction.[80] Though no bound volume is extant with the print of 'her Present Majesty', we have a broadside of the procession, imitating the Sandford style, from the workshop of John Overton. The crudeness of the work and the poor quality of the paper indicates that it was produced for a less discriminating audience. That Anne is shown walked under the canopy rather than carried on her sedan is odd, insofar as it fails to records what actually took place. Such incongruity suggests that the image may have been produced before the coronation for hawking on the day. It is almost certain that this print was sold individually to spectators as a souvenir rather than as a documentary record of the event.

In a similar case of tactical recycling, the printer of the broadside *Magna Britannia Triumphans* (1702) crudely adjusted a woodblock depicting the coronation of William and Mary, which had previously been used to illustrate *The Glory of the English Nation* (1689). The figure of Mary II from the original block was reused as Anne. We see something similar on the broadside poem *Great Britain's Joy for Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Ann's Being Unanimously Proclaim'd* (1702), which doctored a woodblock of William and Mary to show just Anne. The case for this recycling was a combination of haste and frugality. Woodblocks were expensive objects, particularly occasional blocks with a limited capacity for reuse.[81] Published the day after the coronation, there would also have been a rush to get *Magna Britannia Triumphans* off the press. The crudely recut woodblock was in all likelihood the best that could be

79 *The Post Boy*, 1078 (14 April 1702).

80 Boston, Athanaeum, 7LE//Sa5.

81 On the recycling of woodcuts, see Alexandra Franklin, 'The Art of Illustration in Bodleian Broadside Ballads Before 1820', *Bodleian Library Record*, 17 (2002), 327-52 (pp. 328-31).


THE GLORY of the English NATION:

Being the Manner of the Crowning of

King William the III. and Queen Mary the II.

Magna Britannia Triumphans:

OR, THE

Coronation of the High and Mighty *Anne*, by the Grace of God of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. who was Crowned at *Westminster Abby*, on *Thursday* the 23d of *April*, 1702.

FIGURE 8. Comparison of *The Glory of the English Nation* (1689) and *Magna Britannia Triumphans* (1702). Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, items p EB65 A100 B675b, vol. 3, no. B66, and vol. 5, no. C21. © 2015 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

fashioned in the time available. Woodblocks were produced especially for the occasion too. Over half of the broadside *England's Triumph* (1702) is taken up with a woodcut showing Anne enthroned and surrounded by the Lords, who offer homage in their coronation robes.[82]

If the popular print catered to the lower end of society, the musical concerts marking the coronation were aimed at an elite audience. New music had been prepared for Anne's coronation by leading composers such as John Blow, John Church, and Jeremiah Clarke. Concerts were staged at which the music could be heard once more. This was the first time that a public dissemination of the coronation music took place. Matthias Range suggests that the coronation music therefore became known to 'a wider

[82] On portrayals of Mary in a similar fashion, see Angela McShane, 'Revealing Mary', *History Today*, 54.3 (2004), 41-46.

ENGLAND'S TRIUMPH,
OR AN
OCCASIONAL POEM
ON THE
Happy Coronation of ANNE Queen of England, &c.
3. June. 1702.

BRave Subjects of *England* rejoice and be glad;
Come chear up your Spirits and be no more ſad,
But, like noble Hero's and generous Souls,
Drink off your Canary in full flowing Bowls,
That no Diſaffection in us may be ſeen,
Here's a Bumper to Anne *our moſt ſovereign Queen*.

Tho' we loſt a good Prince and a Hero of Fame,
Great William, our nation's Defender, by name;
Yet, by Heaven's Decree, for the good of this Land,
May the Powers protect our gracious Queen *Anne*!
With loud Acclamations, let Bumpers go round,
The Flower of England *is happily Crown'd*.

Let *England's* brave Loyaliſts ceaſe for to mourn,
Whilſt Bells they are ringing and Bon-fires burn;
What Proſpect of Joy in this nation is ſeen
At the happy Coronation of our gracious Queen.
May the Shepherds rejoice and the Vallies reſound,
Since the Phenix *of* England *is happily crown'd*.

May all *Engliſh* Hearts in true Concord agree,
And like loyal Subjects rejoice now with me,
Let this Acclamation our Enemies ſcare,
To affront Old England *once more if they dare*;
Our Cannons ſhall rattle, our Trumpets ſhall ſound.
To their Sorrow we'll tell them Queen Anne *ſhe is crown'd*.

Couragious brave Sailors that ſail on the Sea,
Whoſe hearts are ſo generous, noble and free,
May *Neptune* ſtill guard you and *Mars* be your guide,
And *Bacchus* ſupply with a full ſwelling Tide
Of Punch and Canary, whilſt Eccho's reſound,
The Phenix *of* England *is happily crown'd*.

Like an Admiral now let each *Sailor* appear,
And with Courage and Conduct our Enemies ſcare;
As Drake once confounded the *Spaniard* 'tis known,
Now the Second *Elizabeth* ſits on the Throne,
No Courage is wanting our Foes to confound,
Since the Phenix *of* England *is happily crown'd*.

What Subject of *England* can refuſe to rejoice,
With loud Acclamation and general Voice,
Since thoſe heavenly Smiles in this nation are ſeen
By lawful Acceſſion of a *Proteſtant Queen*,
Whoſe Foes may the heavenly Powers confound,
Since the Phenix of England *is happily crown'd*.

Let all *Engliſh* Subjects in Concord agree
To baniſh Rebellion and Diſloyalty,
With true heart and hand let's ſtand by each other,
That every Subject may act like a Brother.
Since Foreign Confed'rates themſelves thus have bound,
May our Foes be acquainted Queen Anne *ſhe is crown'd*.

With a true *Engliſh* heart full of Love and good Will,
A full Bumper of Claret I'll merrily fill,
For to drink the Queen's Health now in full flowing (Bowl),
Like *Engliſh* Hero's and generous Souls,
With a loud Huzza let the Bumper go round,
Since the Flower of Europe *is happily crown'd*.

FINIS.

FIGURE 9. *England's Triumph, or an Occasional Poem on the Happy Coronation of Anne Queen of England, &c.* (1702). Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, item p EB7 A100 702e. © 2015 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

public' than the congregation at Westminster.[83] But the economic facts of these concerts call that assumption into question. John Abell's suite of coronation music, for instance, was performed at Chelsea College in three concerts 'In Honour of the Queens Coronation'; they were held on 25 April, 25 May, and 16 June. Tickets cost five shillings, the same price as tickets for the coronation ceremony itself.[84] These recitals lasted 'three full hours' and were performed with 'several Quiers on each side of the Hall: a Manner never yet perform'd in England'.[85] The final concert in the series promised to be the best yet, executed in 'a manner far excelling all former Consorts'.[86] Abell's shows were clearly ornate, staged for a discerning elite audience. Tickets to a performance of his coronation song at Stationers' Hall on 1 May—a less elaborate affair—also cost five shillings, which made tickets unobtainable for the vast majority of the population.[87] By way of emphasis, the advertisement for Abell's first concert was addressed only 'To all the Nobility and Gentry', stressing that these performances were solely for the elite, who should have attended the coronation anyway.[88]

Although Anne admired Abell as a musician, he was a Catholic and had served James II in exile from 1689 through 1697.[89] Thus his coronation music was excluded from the ceremony. But John Blow's anthem and Te Deum were performed in concert too. So was John Eccles's suite for the banquet, which was performed again the following

[83] Range, *Music and Ceremonial*, pp. 118-19.

[84] *The Post Man*, 960 (25 April 1702).

[85] *The Post Boy*, 1094 (21 May 1702); *The Daily Courant*, 28 (21 May 1702).

[86] *The Daily Courant*, 46 (11 Jun 1702).

[87] *The Post Boy*, 1085 (30 April 1702).

[88] *The Post Man*, 960 (25 April 1702).

[89] On his return, Abell was firmly anti-Jacobite: see Edward T. Corp, 'The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689-1712', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 120 (1995), 216-31 (p. 220).

week at Hampstead Wells.[90] The audience here would have been less well-to-do than at Abell's Chelsea concerts. The tickets were half the price at two shillings and sixpence, although, as Pepys noted back in 1661, this was still pricey.[91] Altogether cheaper was the sheet music, which retailed for a shilling in early June and was reprinted in the fourth edition of John Walsh's popular musical miscellany, *Harmonia Anglicana*, which was sold 'at most Musick Shops in Town'.[92] The audience at Blow's concerts, organized by the famous London impresario Cavendish Weedon, would have been mixed: tickets cost five shillings, but cheap seats were also available for half the price. Blow's audience would also have heard coronation panegyrics by Nahum Tate delivered between the various compositions.[93]

In the weeks leading up to and after the coronation, London was saturated in material centred on the queen: from popular broadsides and prints to elite concerts. Beyond London, too, the coronation was celebrated. Provincial festivities were often elaborate. For instance, at Portsmouth the corporation celebrated by adorning the ships at Spithead with flags and firing cannon. At night they 'made a very Glorious Show',

90 *The Daily Courant*, 28 (21 May 1702); see too Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 305-06.

91 Pepys, *Diary*, II, 18.

92 *The Post Boy*, 1101 (6 June 1702) and 1102 (9 June 1702). See William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695-1720* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948); Alexander McGrattan, 'The Trumpet in Restoration Theatre Studies', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 14 (2002), 133-64 (p. 140); Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicology Society*, 63 (2010), 243-90.

93 *The Post Boy*, 1088 (7 May 1702). The programme for this concert was printed as *The Orations, Anthems and Poems, Spoken and Sung at the Performance of Divine Musick at Stationers Hall, for the Month of May 1702* (London, 1702). Blow's anthem is printed on p. 15, and the Te Deum is on pp. 21-22. For more about Weedon's concert series, see Alexander H. Shapiro, '"Drama of an Infinitely Superior Nature": Handel's Early English Oratorios and the Religious Sublime', *Music and Letters*, 74 (1993), 215-45 (pp. 220-21).

decorated with 'Candles as thick as possibly they cou'd be hung, and some firing several Sky-Rockets'.[94] At Lincoln the locals 'Dined publickly in the Streets having erected Tents for that purpose' while 'the Conduits [flowed] with Wine for several hours'.[95] At Westbury in Wiltshire there was a pageant of '100 Maids, all in White, with Swords drawn in their hands, with about 50 Young Men with Musquets', after which the two was treated 'in a most plentiful manner; with Beer, Cyder and Wine'.[96] In Buckinghamshire there were '3 rich Garlands made by the Maidens of the Town, after a noble manner, each of them having a fine Crown adorn'd with Gold and Silver Plate and Rings, and things suitable of great value, as it appear'd, that 3 Garlands were upwards worth 500 l. each'.[97] This last example was probably exaggerated, but such arrangements were not unheard of. As George A. Tressider has shown, these pageants were often funded by the local elite.[98] In some cases the money can be traced back to a single prominent politician who hoped to ingratiate himself with the public before the general elections. The drinking at Westbury, for example, was all 'at the Lord Abingdon's Charge'.[99] Meanwhile, in Wigan the local MP, Sir Roger Bradshaigh, put on a 'handsome Entertainment' for the city's dignitaries, despite his own trouble finances.[100] He hoped to secure their support for the coming elections.

Thus far we have focussed on the cultural landscape at this moment, on the commercial forces that drove booksellers, printsellers, and impresarios to respond the coronation, and to do so quickly. We must not forget that these were pressures that

94 *The London Gazette*, 3805 (30 April 1702).

95 Ibid.

96 *The Post Boy*, 1085 (30 April 1702).

97 *The Post Boy*, 1086 (2 May 1702).

98 George A. Tressider, 'Coronation Day Celebrations in English Towns, 1685-1821: Elite Hegemony and Local Relations on a Ceremonial Occasion', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15 (1992), 1-16.

99 *The Post Boy*, 1085 (30 April 1702).

100 *The Post Boy*, 1084 (28 April 1702).

writers—particularly 'professional' writers—also felt keenly, and which doubtless functioned as an incentive to write coronation verse. Yet there were other pressures, too, that motivated writers of all sorts in this period: mainly politics. The rest of this chapter will concentrate on the subversive potential of coronation panegyric for political expression.

POLITICS AND CORONATION PANEGYRIC

Panegyric was a genre with an exalted past. Its roots were classical, in the works of Isocrates, Claudian, and Pliny the Younger. The earliest English panegyrics were composed at the court of Henry VIII. But it was under the Stuarts that panegyric became a dominant literary mode. Basic assumptions about the genre, built on the influential work of James D. Garrison, hold that panegyric provided a 'ceremonial confirmation' of authority.[101] But panegyric was not always as compliant as Garrison's reading suggests. As Andrew McRae argues in an important recent essay, panegyric was a 'more dynamic and malleable genre than has previously been assumed'. Instead of Garrison's model of political compliance, McRae suggests, 'panegyrics might be considered as reflections upon the nature and constraints of political subjectivity.[102] By the early eighteenth century, following the Glorious Revolution and the rise of parties, panegyric had become a genre associated more with allegiance and expressions of political discontent than with straightforward praise.[103]

[101] James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 115.

[102] Andrew McRae, 'Welcoming the King: The Achievements and Limitations of Stuart Succession Panegyric', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

[103] On the 'decline' of panegyric at the start of the eighteenth century, see Garrison, *Tradition of Panegyric*, p. 34; Jon Thomas Rowland, *Faint Praise and Civil Leer: The 'Decline' of Eighteenth-Century Panegyric*

The English Muse, an anonymous panegyric issued by the Tory publisher John Nutt on 9 April, exactly a fortnight before the coronation, exemplifies this.[104] The poem was part of the poetic tussle initiated by Pittis's elegy of James II, *The Generous Muse*, and continued with his double-edged poem on William's death, *The Loyalist*. As we saw in the previous chapter, Pittis's Jacobite elegies drew widespread censure in the press, particularly from Tutchin in his satire *The British Muse*. As its title suggests, *The English Muse* was partly a riposte to Tutchin. We do not know who wrote the poem, but there are a few candidates for authorship. Pittis had his fair share of admirers and imitators, not least his fellow wits based at the Rose tavern, among whom were the prominent Tory poets Thomas Browne, Thomas D'Urfey, and Ned Ward.[105] Given shared stylistic features between the pieces and some of Pittis's fables, Pittis himself may have had a

(Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994). On the royal address as a form of prose panegyric, see Mark Knights, 'The Loyal Address: Prose Panegyric, 1658-1715', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae.

[104] On Nutt's political allegiance, see Michael Treadwell, 'London Trade-Publishers 1675-1750', *The Library*, VI, 4 (1982), 99-134 (p. 108); John Horden, '"In the Savoy": John Nutt and His Family', *Publishing History*, 24 (1988), 5-26 (p. 10); John D. Gordon III, 'John Nutt: Trade Publisher and Printer "In the Savoy"', *The Library*, VII, 15 (2014), 243-60.

[105] The late nineteenth-century book collector John Henry Wrenn attributed each of his two copies of the poem to different authors—Bernard Mandeville and Nahum Tate—probably at the advice of his book dealer Thomas J. Wise, whom David Foxon proved a book thief and forger: see Foxon, *Thomas J. Wise and the Pre-Restoration Drama: A Study in Theft and Sophistication* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1959). Given Wise's bad reputation, and the lack of ascription in either of Wrenn's copies, neither attribution seems likely. Mandeville had recently defended William from his detractors in *The Pamphleteers*; and, as Poet Laureate, Tate would hardly have written a poem attacking his old master. See *A Catalogue of the Library of the Late John Henry Wrenn*, ed. Harold B. Wrenn and Thomas J. Wise, 5 vols (Austin: University of Texas, 1920), III, 109 and IV, 7. I am grateful to Margaret Tenney at the Harry Ransom Center for information.

hand in it.[106]

Central to *The English Muse* is the principle of *laudando praecipere*—it teaches by praise. The poem warns 'Blest Queen! Beware of those, / Who to thy Royal Ancestors were Foes', alluding both to the heirs of Civil War parliamentarians and to the more recent revolution. The sentiment is summed up in an aphorism: ''Tis *Mercy* to Forgive, but *Wisdom* not to *Trust*'.[107] Moreover, it guides Anne to favour those who stayed loyal to her father in 1688: 'To whom they bore a dutiful Regard, / All his Misfortunes shar'd'.[108] While not the unabashed Jacobitism of *The Generous Muse*, such counsel still came close to the mark. Small wonder Tutchin savaged the author of *The English Muse* as a 'little Pindarick Poetaster' who builds Anne '*Pyramids* of *Praise*, and Tri*umphal Arches* on the *Reputation* of so great a King, her Royal Predecessor'.[109]

The poetic focus on Anne's Englishness, encouraged by her accession speech, drew on longstanding debates over political constructions of national identity—debates that had been exacerbated in previous years by Tutchin's nasty poem *The Foreigners* and the many responses to it. Reviving those recent and vicious arguments, the author of *The English Muse* associated Anne's 'entirely English' heart with Tory patriotism. The author of *The Church of England's Joy*, also published by Nutt on the coronation day, likewise described Anne as an '𝔈𝔫𝔤𝔩𝔦𝔰𝔥 𝔔𝔲𝔢𝔢𝔫'.[110] The black letter type here was a visual joke—as the printer Joseph Moxon noted, black letter was known in the trade as 'English' type.[111] Poetic allusions to Anne's Englishness brought to mind previous

[106] Compare, for instance, Pittis, *The Loyalist*, sig. A2^{r} and p. 11 with *The English Muse: or, A Congratulatory Poem Upon Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne of England* (London, 1702), p. 4.

[107] *The English Muse*, p. 8.

[108] Ibid., p. 9.

[109] *The Observator*, 5 (29 April 1702).

[110] *The Church of England's Joy on the Happy Accession of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, to the Throne* (London, 1702), p. 4.

[111] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, ed. Herbert Davies and Harry Carter*

English queens, particularly Anne's preferred analogue, Elizabeth. By fashioning Anne as Elizabeth *rediviva*, the author of *The Church of England's Joy* used the parallel to 'foretell a Downy Peace', the prophetic term here aligning English history with the auspicious future of Anne's reign.[112] Thomas Coney expressed the motif neatly in his coronation panegyric: 'circling Time bring back again / That Age'.[113]

For these Tory poets, Anne's accession signalled not just a return to an idealized Elizabethan politics, but also a renaissance of Elizabethan panegyric verse. *The Church of England's Joy* presented the coronation of another English queen regnant, a new Gloriana, as a signal to a fresh wave of 'worthy Bards' whose Englishness—and implied political affiliation—would guarantee their metrical skill. The author invoked '*Spencer*'s mighty *Genius*' to discourse on theories of Tory poetry for modern times:

> The chief design of Poets is to show
> The Heav'nly Raptures to the World below.
> No Treason, Plots, nor black Conspiracies,
> Did ever yet from Poetry arise:
> For he that listens to Poetick Songs,
> Learns thense the duty which to Crown belongs.[114]

In a similar move, the unknown figure behind *Albina* (1702) summoned the ghost of Abraham Cowley, whose reputation as a royalist poet stood high, to celebrate the 'Race of God-like British Kings', alluding to Anne's Stuart lineage and therefore perhaps also hinting at a younger Stuart claimant abroad.[115]

(London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 131.

[112] *The Church of England's Joy*, p. 4.

[113] Thomas Coney, *A Pindarique Ode Upon Her Majesty's Happy Accession to the Crown* (London, 1702), p. 10.

[114] *The Church of England's Joy*, p. 6.

[115] *Albina, the Second Part: or, The Coronation* (London, 1702), p. 8. On Cowley's eighteenth-century reputation, see Arthur H. Nethercot, 'The Reputation of Abraham Cowley (1660-1800)', *PMLA*, 38

JACOBITE PANEGYRIC

Other poets were more pointed in their references to Anne's heritage. Closet Jacobites writing panegyrics on Anne's coronation had to be careful, particularly when those panegyrics were not published anonymously. Whereas the Jacobite sympathies behind elegies on James and mock-elegies on William had been obvious, praise of James Francis Edward via his newly crowned half-sister had to be coded. It was important that fellow Jacobites should understand the message, but that hostile or politically neutral readers would see only panegyric on the new queen. Jacobite poets used literary and historical allusions—allusions that they expected to be recognized by their political allies—to disguise the true object of their praise.

Henry Wentworth's poem, *The Coronation: or, England's Patroness* (1702) is a case in point.[116] Wentworth dedicated his panegyric to Mary Finch, the widow of William Savile, late Marquess of Halifax. A daughter of the Tory statesman Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, and a cousin of Heneage Finch, whose wife was the Jacobite poet Anne Finch, Mary came from a prominent family of Stuart loyalists. After her husband's death, she negotiated marriages for her daughters to Sackville Tufton, the son of an exiled Jacobite, and Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, who mixed in Jacobite circles and whose sympathies probably lay with the exiled Stuarts.[117] Almost

(1923), 588-641; Howard Weinbrot, *Britannia's Issue: The Rise of English Literature From Dryden to Ossian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 334-58; Dustin Griffin, *Patriotism and Poetry in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 63-67.

[116] Foxon speculates that 'Henry Wentworth' might be a *nom de plume* for Henry Waring: see *English Verse*, I, 869.

[117] On Burlington's Jacobitism, see Jane Clark, '"Lord Burlington in Here"', in *Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, ed. T. C. Barnard and Jane Clark (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 251-310; *Lord Burlington: The Man and His Politics: Questions of Loyalty*, ed. Edward Corp (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1998).

nothing can be discovered about Henry Wentworth, but Mary Finch later married Thomas Watson-Wentworth, whose cousin, Thomas Wentworth, was a prominent Jacobite conspirator and later became the Duke of Strafford in the Jacobite peerage. Given the pronounced overlap between the two families, Henry Wentworth may have been a relative. And, accounting for the importance of family allegiances in the period, Wentworth's personal connections and those of his dedicatee suggest where his political loyalties might have lain.

Those loyalties are borne out in the poem, albeit only ever implicitly. Wentworth fashioned Anne as a prophesied ruler. She is a 'Star of such Portent', outshining the 'not so bright' William; her 'Soul was form'd' to fit the 'vast Design' of God's 'prosp'rous Plot'.[118] Waring's astral language associated Anne with Astraea—which literally translates as 'star-maiden'—recalling earlier Stuart panegyrics on Charles I and Charles II, such as Dryden's *Astraea Redux* (1660), and also the iconography that surrounded James Francis Edward and, of course, Elizabeth.[119] The astral language of prophecy culminates in a final set of allusions:

> Great Star ascend; dazzle the World's dark sight
> With deeds of Goodness, and a Heavenly Light:
> From Your Blest Brows Dart forth an Awful Flame
> May strike a sacred Reverence to your Name.[120]

Wentworth deftly juggled several historical and literary analogues in this passage. The 'Great Star' invokes the diurnal star that supposedly marked the birth and restoration of Charles II, as described by Cowley in his *Ode Upon the Blessed Restoration and Returne*

[118] Henry Wentworth, *The Coronation: or, England's Patroness: Being a Small Poem Dedicated to Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne* ([London], 1702), pp. 12, 15, 20.

[119] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, pp. 14-16; Hannah Smith, '"Last of All the Heavenly Birth": Queen Anne and Sacral Queenship', *Parliamentary History*, 29 (2009), 37-49.

[120] Wentworth, *The Coronation*, p. 31.

and by Dryden in *Astraea Redux*. Reproducing this image aligned Anne's rule with that of her uncle, fashioning her accession as a second Stuart restoration. Another immediate parallel was Pentecostal, the flaming brow motif being a key feature of Pentecostal iconography. Biblically, the flaming brow was a sign of sacred anointment, signifying the special authority of the prophet; historically, it had been appropriated to indicate royal power.[121] Equally, though, the flame dancing on the brow of Anna-Astraea recalls a prophetic motif from *The Aeneid*. Flames dart on the heads of Aeneas (VIII, 620) and Augustus (VIII, 680-81), but the most striking parallel is with the young Iulus Ascanius: Wentworth consciously echoed Virgil's 'lapping' flame (I, 682-83) in his own 'Dart[ing]' flame, while the 'dazzl[ing]' star finds another analogue in the portentous meteorite that cleaves through the night sky in *The Aeneid* (II, 694-700). In Wentworth's panegyric, however, the warm, gentle glow of the 'lapping' flame is rendered sublime.

Dryden is important here. His translation of *The Aeneid*, published in 1697, while not a sustained Jacobite allegory, manipulated Virgil's language to bring the Latin poem into dialogue with recent political events.[122] After Dryden, Virgil effectively became a model for Jacobite poets seeking to express their politics in a deniable fashion. Thus Wentworth was probably aware that Dryden had already used this passage for Jacobite allegory in his translation: Anchises interprets the flame and star as omens that

[121] John N. King, 'The Royal Image, 1535-1703', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 104-32 (p. 108).

[122] See Steven N. Zwicker, *Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry: The Arts of Disguise* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 177-205; see too David Bywaters, *Dryden in Revolutionary England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Brooks-Davies, *Queen of Night*, pp. 46-66; Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, pp. 101-06; Thomas H. Fujimura, 'Dryden's Virgil: Translation as Autobiography', *Studies in Philology*, 80 (1983), 36-50; Steven N. Zwicker and David Bywaters, 'Politics and Translation: The English Tacitus of 1698', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52 (1989), 319-46; Kirk Combe, 'Clandestine Protest Against William III in Dryden's Translations of Juvenal and Persius', *Modern Philology*, 87 (1989), 36-50.

Aeneas 'can yet restore the ruin'd town'.[123] However, the parallel constructed by Wentworth between Anne and Ascanius is by no means perfect. In *The Aeneid* this image is used to emphasize Aeneas's status as *pater patriae*. His son, Ascanius, embodies hope for the dynasty. While the presence of a flame on Anne's head suggests a nod to James II as *pater patriae*, given Anne's failure to produce a living heir, she makes a poor Ascanius. Rather, latent in these Virgilian allusions are nods to another potential Stuart progenitor—the son of a latter day Aeneas, James Francis Edward.

Can we be certain that Wentworth's crypto-Jacobite references were intentional? His allusions to earlier Stuart successions and to Virgil rely on the reader, firstly, to recognize them, and, secondly, to make a final imaginative leap. But, as Alan Roper and John M. Wallace have shown, it is important for us to distinguish between a text's overt message and its potentially sensitive political application.[124] Certainly, Waring entangles his political message deeply enough in imagery and allusion to create what Wallace might call an 'interesting puzzle'.[125] The unstable border between Tory and Jacobite rhetoric resists a straightforward exegesis. That slipperiness could, however, be creatively exploited by poets and playwrights such as Bevil Higgons to express illicit Jacobite sentiments. By ingraining Jacobitism into intertextual references and sustained rhetorical strategies, poets entrusted their readers to identify certain prescribed motifs without having to demand such an interpretation in the poem. Not only did this enable

[123] *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. H. T. Swedenberg and others, 20 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956-2000), v, 409 (l. 955).

[124] Alan Roper, 'Drawing Parallels and Making Applications in Restoration Literature', in *Politics as Reflected in Literature*, ed. Richard Ashcroft and Alan Roper (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1989), 29-65; John M. Wallace, 'Dryden and History: A Problem in Allegorical Reading', *English Literary History*, 36 (1969), 265-90 and '"Examples Are Best Precepts": Readers and Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Poetry', *Critical Inquiry*, 1 (1974), 273-90.

[125] Wallace, 'Examples Are Best Precepts', p. 275.

them to deny treasonable sympathies, but created a legitimate language within which Anne could be understood as the harbinger of a Jacobite restoration.

POLITICS IN *THE GOLDEN AGE*

Equally cryptic was another anonymous imitation of Virgil entitled *The Golden Age*. Although the poem did not appear until after Anne's coronation—it was probably written in October or November 1702—its author deployed motifs familiar from coronation panegyrics such as Wentworth's. The poem's textual history is complex. Presumably it circulated widely in manuscript before being published in two quarto editions dated to 1703. These were surreptitious publications; neither title page gives any information on either the printer or bookseller. They diverge in two key respects. Firstly, one edition contains lines of plain Jacobitism that are simply omitted from the other. Secondly, the edition that omits the Jacobite verses contains over a hundred extra lines reflecting on the reign of Elizabeth. For convenience I will label the text with the Jacobite lines edition 1 (ESTC T139780), and the text without the lines edition 2 (ESTC T139781). The precise relationship between the texts is difficult to surmise. From the typography, they appear to be the work of the same printer. My guess is that edition 1 represents the poem in its original state: this is the version that appears in manuscript miscellanies and was reprinted in *Poems on Affairs of State* in 1703. I suspect that the printer got cold feet after the first run, and replaced it with a less contentious reworked poem. Whether the added Elizabethan lines are by the same poet is immaterial. But this later edition is useful insofar as it alerts us to the salient lines in the original.

Hitherto ignored by literary scholars, *The Golden Age* nonetheless warrants a position at the centre of literary culture in this moment. It appears in dozens of manuscript miscellanies. Yet while contemporary references to this unauthorized text abound, they do not get us very far in identifying the author. William Walsh refuted the

poem in his 'mightily talk'd of' satire *The Golden Age Restor'd* (1703); but he does not name names.[126] The Jacobite exile Sackville Tufton quoted lines from the poem by way of casting aspersions on Halifax.[127] He may have known the author—he certainly knew the poem intimately. William Pittis did too. While imprisoned for seditious libel in 1705, Pittis addressed the authorities with an epistle listing his credentials as 'one of the first that vindicated [Anne] and her Ministry when Queen, from the Aspersions cast upon them in a Libel call'd *The Golden Age*'.[128] This was odd coming from a Jacobite loyalist, especially because we have no record of Pittis denouncing *The Golden Age* either in his periodical *Heraclitus Ridens* or elsewhere. Was this some elaborate double bluff, an attempt to publicly distance him from the poem? If so, then perhaps Pittis knew more than he was letting on. *The Golden Age* may well have been written by a member of his circle—the same group that produced poems such as *The English Muse* and *The Loyalist* in previous months.

Although Pittis describes *The Golden Age* as a 'Libel', the poem is essentially a prophetic eulogy, closely modelled on Virgil's fourth 'Pollio' *Eclogue*. The fourth book of *Eclogues* was an established model for Stuart prophecy by the start of the eighteenth century. Douglas Brooks-Davies even goes so far as to label it 'a Jacobite text'.[129] Earl Miner has demonstrated that Dryden's translation, published in 1684, was intended to

[126] [John Oldmixon], *The Life and Posthumous Works of Arthur Maynwarin*g (London, 1715), p. 21. Other satires include the anonymous *The Golden Age Revers'd* (1703)

[127] Sackville Tufton, *The History of Faction: Alias Hypocrisy, Alias Moderation* (London, 1705), p. 85.

[128] [William Pittis], *A Hymn to Confinement* (London, 1705), sig. A2^{v}. It is also possible that Pittis meant Walsh's *The Golden Age Restor'd*, although there is no evidence for this.

[129] Douglas Brooks-Davies, '"Thoughts of Gods": Messianic Alchemy in *Windsor-Forest*', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 18 (1988), 125-42 (p. 129). See too Isabel Rivers, *The Poetry of Conservatism 1600-1745: A Study of Poets and Public Affairs from Jonson to Pope* (Cambridge: Rivers Press, 1973), p. 178

celebrate the birth of Anne's first—sadly stillborn—child.[130] By 1712, in his *Messiah*, Alexander Pope was imitating the fourth *Eclogue* to evince James Francis Edward as a Jacobite saviour: 'Then Palaces shall rise; the joyful Son / Shall finish what his short-liv'd Sire begun'.[131] Although Virgil was Pope's principal model, he was using Dryden as a source for this Stuart praise. His lines in *Messiah* rework Dryden's celebration of James Francis Edward's birth in *Britannia Rediviva* (1688), where Dryden prophesied that the auspicious prince will 'finish what thy Godlike Sire begins'.[132] 'Godlike' has become 'short-liv'd' in Pope's poem—a pointed reference to James's abortive three-year reign. So whereas *The Aeneid* had been a hotly contested text, with rival supporters of James II and William III producing favourable comparisons with Aeneas for both monarchs, Virgil's prophecy of the wondrous boy in *Eclogues* remained very closely associated with the security of explicitly Stuart successions. *The Golden Age* belongs in this poetic tradition. Like Pope, its author extensively plunders Dryden, especially his translation of the *Eclogues*: 'The Merchant shall in Safety Plough the Main; / The lab'ring Hind shall cleave the Country Soil', for instance, recalls Dryden's 'The Merchant still shall plough the deep for gain' and 'The labouring Hind his Oxen shall disjoyn'.[133]

The Golden Age begins with an invocation to Virgil's 'Sicilian Muse' to sing on recent political history. The opening verses are worth quoting at some length:

> Now Banish'd Justice takes its Rightful Place,
> And *Saturn*'s Days return with *Stuart*'s Race.

[130] Earl Miner, 'Dryden's Messianic Eclogue', *The Review of English Studies*, 11 (1960), 299-302. Anne had married Prince George in July 1683; their child was stillborn on 30 April 1684. Thus the occasion Dryden intended to celebrate turned to tragedy. The poem ended up being published with a translation of the ninth *Eclogue* in Jacob Tonson's *Miscellany Poems* (London, 1684).

[131] Pope, *Works*, I, 118 (ll. 62-63).

[132] Dryden, *Works*, III, 211 (l. 40).

[133] *POAS*, VI, 461 (ll. 96-97).

With its own Lustre now the Church appears,
As one Year makes Amends for fourteen Years,
And Joys succeed our Sighs and Hopes succeed our Fears.
  O Goddess, *Genius* of this Favourite Isle,
On thy own Work, this Revolution, smile,
Salute the Pleasures that come Rolling on,
And Greet the Wonders Heav'n and Thou hast done,
Worthy the Glorious Change inspire our Strains,
Now thy own *Anna* Rules, in Her own Kingdom Reigns.
And thou, O *Dashwood*, by peculiar Care
Reserv'd 'till now to full *Augusta*'s Chair,
Behold the Mighty Months Progressive Shine!
See 'em begin their Golden Race in Thine!
Under thy Consulship, Lo! Vice gives way
And Whigs for ever cease to come again in Play.
The Life of Gods the Monarch shall partake,
Belov'd by Gods and Men for Virtues Sake,
As She from Heroes sprung, brave Acts prefers,
And Heroes Copy out their Fame from Hers,
As Kingdoms Rights She with her own maintains,
And where her Injur'd Father Govern'd, Reigns.
  Hail, Sacred Queen! Thy very Enemies own
Thy Lawful Claim, and Recognize thy Throne.[134]

Understandably, the snide glance at William's fourteen-year reign was deleted from the second edition, as were the lines on Anne inheriting the throne of 'her Injur'd Father'. These introductory verses focus the poem on the supposed revival of the nation after Anne's accession: the 'return' of '*Saturn*'s Days'; the 'Glorious Change' she has wrought since her predecessor's death. The recent election of the Tory candidate, Sir Samuel Dashwood, as Lord Mayor of London is symptomatic of that change. He stands in for Consul Pollio in Virgil's original. Even without the excised lines about James II, there is a strong focus on Anne's Stuart lineage. Given the lines, though, this appears to be a straightforward poem praising Anne, written from the perspective of a Stuart loyalist—

[134] *POAS*, VI, 453-55 (ll. 7-31).

similar in outlook, then, to works we have already encountered by Pittis and others. So far, so obvious.

Or is it? The final couplet quoted above hints at the tensions inherent to Jacobite praise of Anne: 'Thy very Enemies own / Thy Lawful Claim, and Recognize thy Throne'. Whereas the poet elsewhere emphasizes the hereditary dimension of Anne's right to the throne as both a Stuart prince and harbinger of a Golden Age, here he acknowledges the other side of the debate: the 'Lawful Claim' recognized by a list of Whig peers complicit in the Glorious Revolution: Halifax, Somers, Wharton, Stamford, and other 'Dissembling Statesmen'. Not only are these two interpretations of Anne's legitimacy at odds, but the poet also appears to admit the paradox intrinsic to his own position as both a Stuart loyalist and a supporter of Anne.

We can glean a bit more about the poem's politics by looking at its source in Dryden's translation of *Eclogues*. The anonymous poet claims that Anne takes her 'Rightful Place' on the throne, but, as a celebration of hereditary succession, the spectre of James Francis Edward haunts the work. We have already noted the various Jacobite dimensions of Virgil's *Eclogues* for eighteenth-century readers and translators. But many of the potentially Jacobite passages of Dryden's rendering are altered in *The Golden Age*. Take, for instance, Dryden's 'The Son shall lead the life of Gods', a line reminiscent of later prophetic passages in *Britannia Rediviva*.[135] In *The Golden Age* this is reworked as 'The Life of Gods the Monarch shall partake'.[136] Is the shift from 'Son' to 'Monarch' an awkward attempt to apply the model to the female Anne? Or is it, perhaps, a deliberate evasion of recognizably Jacobite sentiments latent in the figure of a Stuart 'son'? Likewise in the final stanza: Dryden's 'Begin, auspicious Boy, to cast about, / Thy Infant Eyes, and with a smile, thy Mother single out' becomes 'Begin Great

[135] Dryden, *Works*, II, 166 (l. 18).

[136] *POAS*, VI, 461 (ll. 96-97).

Queen, the *Stuart*'s Steps to tread, / And let thy *Living* Worth Exceed the *Dead*'.[137] The shift from 'auspicious Boy' to 'Great Queen' is even more conspicuous.

What are we to make of these changes and interpolations? Readers familiar with Dryden and Virgil could hardly have overlooked the divergences between the poems. Knowledge of the *Eclogues* tradition would have prompted readers to question why the 'auspicious Boy' had been replaced by a queen. Frank Ellis is, as ever, perceptive: 'Since he was so ingenious, one wonders why the anonymous poet was not sufficiently imaginative and daring to find the antitype of the enigmatic, unborn child in an unborn child of Anne rather than in Anne herself. The answer must be that the anonymous poet was a Jacobite. He was looking forward not to the accession of a child of Anne but to the accession of Anne's half-brother'.[138] This makes sense. But there is another possibility that I think better accounts for the tensions between the Jacobite potential of Dryden's *Eclogue* and its hesitant rendering in *The Golden Age*: the poet was grappling with the complexities of allegiance to an exiled Stuart claimant while another, older Stuart is the reigning monarch. Logically, either Anne was an usurper or James Francis Edward a pretender. Cary, Lady Gardiner, gestured to the splintering of the Jacobite position in a letter to Sir John Verney, 'Severall great Jacobits declare they will spend ther lives for the Queene now King James is dead, bot thos as belives the pritended Princ of Wals to bee the Son of King will not come in'.[139] In practise, though, the distinction was less simple than Lady Gardiner allowed—as we have already seen in the previous chapter. For many Jacobite sympathizers, the choice was not between usurper and pretender, but *de facto* and *de jure* monarch. Produced by an author wrestling with fealty to a *de facto* Stuart queen, *The Golden Age* is a poem embodying the constitutional stresses and strains of Anne's accession rather than a straightforward promotion of any party line. The poet

[137] Dryden, *Works*, II, 167 (l. 73); *POAS*, VI, 461 (ll. 96-97).

[138] *POAS*, VI, 450.

[139] Cary, Lady Gardiner, to Sir John Verney, 19 March 1702, in *Verney Letters*, I, 106.

engages with Jacobite objections to Anne's legitimacy as a monarch, and subtly recognizes James Francis Edward's claim to the throne, but no more than that. Whatever hope was to be found in Anne's accession was gone by 1705, when, in a sequel purportedly 'By the Author of the *Golden Age*', the same author lamented 'The Prospect of those Happy days is fled, / Succeeded by a *Lumpish Age* of *Lead*'.[140] More so than any other poem produced in the wake of Anne's coronation, this Virgilian imitation presents a subtle interrogation of Anne's monarchical legitimacy, and hints at an alternative Stuart ruler abroad.

The Golden Age is particularly significant within the context of Anne's accession because it shows that—for all the coordination and careful planning—the coronation did little to assuage doubts about the new queen's legitimacy. Despite attempts to project Anne as a constitutional monarch who inherited the throne by parliamentary statute, alternative interpretations of Anne's succession still circulated widely in literary texts. The authorities were alive to material that subverted the coronation's symbolism, moving quickly to suppress—and, in James Read's case, prosecute—the printers and retailers of such material. But we have also seen poetic responses to the coronation proving too elusive for the government to pin down.

The coronation was not reserved to members of the elite with tickets to Westminster. It was open to all who wrote, read, or heard about the event through a variety of media: literary, visual, musical, material. Texts and prints had the power to construct, as well as interpret and misconstrue, this ritual. By resituating the coronation in its broader cultural and political contexts, this chapter has illustrated the intersection

[140] *The Leaden-Age: A Poem* (London, 1705), p. 1.

of court ritual and the early eighteenth-century public sphere. As I will argue further in the following chapter, royal ceremonial also offered writers a space in which to counsel the queen on affairs of state—to open lines of dialogue between subjects and monarch. Although the legitimacy of succession was the major issue at stake at the coronation, in the next chapter we shall see that it soon became entangled with other matters of policy and international diplomacy.

3
Progress

On 26 August Anne set out on her first royal progress. Her itinerary took her to Oxford, where the university was Anne's principal host, and Bath and Bristol. Prince George was unwell and so, ostensibly, the visit to Bath was for him to 'take the waters' and recover. But there were political reasons, too, for going to Oxford and the West Country. As recent commentary on Anne's progress has established, the queen and her ministers wanted to garner popular support beyond the capital.[1] Her claim was still not entirely stable. Grand displays of popular support for the new queen would help the regime tighten its grip on the polity. By framing the tour as a 'royal progress', Anne deliberately harked back to the progresses of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, reinforcing the parallels constructed by the coronation.[2] And yet the royal progress also furnished Anne's hosts

[1] Nigel Aston, 'Queen Anne and Oxford: The Royal Visit of 1702 and Its Aftermath', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2014), 171-84; Robert O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 206-08; idem., '"Nothing But Ceremony": Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual', *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), 288-323; Winn, *Queen Anne*, pp. 249-56; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 630-33; Barash, *English Women's Poetry*, p. 229.

[2] See the essays in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of

with a rare opportunity to entertain the court, vie for royal patronage, and counsel the queen on affairs of state.

How did Oxford, Bath, and Bristol seize this opportunity and respond to the demands of a royal visit? Elaborate pageantry and literary entertainments were central to these exchanges between the court and their hosts. Texts and performances could be used to offer delicate commentary and advice. After the focus in previous chapters on impromptu responses to royal events, this chapter represents a shift to thinking about how political discourse was framed in a more formalized setting—that is, how subjects conceived and adjusted their discussions of succession and other important topics when standing before the queen and her closest advisors. My aim in this chapter is to provide a contextual reading of the responses to the royal progress at Oxford, Bath, and Bristol—a reading that is alive both to the local conditions and the ideological affinities among those involved. Guiding the queen on matters of foreign policy was important, but so too was garnering patronage from the politicians, courtiers, and diplomats who accompanied Anne. Some of the younger, more ambitious speakers wrestled with the same issues that dominated responses to the coronation. Occasionally their messages were blunt, but more frequently allusive. Addressing the queen in person raised the stakes of their literary exercises.

Anne had declared war against France and Spain on 4 May, just eleven days after her coronation. Consequently, war would be a dominant theme of the progress. Britain and her allies were fighting for the succession of Spain.[3] The peace treaty signed at

Massachusetts Press, 1999); William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Paulina Kewes, "Plesures in Lernying" and the Politics of Counsel in Early Elizabethan England: Royal Visits to Cambridge and Oxford', *English Literary Renaissance*, forthcoming. On the progresses of James I and Charles I, see Sharpe, *Image Wars*, pp. 104-07, 239-47.

3 For the background, see John B. Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession: A Study of the English View and Conduct of Grand Strategy, 1702-1712* (London: Garland, 1987); *The Treatises of the*

Ryswick in 1697 had stipulated that, upon the death of Charles II of Spain, the Spanish throne should pass to the House of Habsburg. But, when Charles died, he left the throne to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV. This fundamentally shifted the European balance of power in France's favour. Thus the Grand Alliance of Britain, Holland, and Austria declared war on Louis in an attempt to curb the growth of French popery in Europe. But for Britain the conflict had an additional significance. Like Anjou, James Francis Edward's claim was supported by the French king. Any realistic prospects for a Jacobite restoration depended on French support and thus on victory over the Grand Alliance. So the British succession did not suddenly become a tangential issue. If anything, it became even more central. The War of the Spanish Succession was reconfigured as a War for the British Succession too. British forces were abroad for the duration of Anne's progress. The conflict was still in its early stages and news of victories had yet to cross the Channel. Hence, while foreign policy was a central topic on Anne's progress, it could not be separated from domestic matters such as the succession.

OXFORD

Following the restoration, Oxford had become a Tory stronghold central to the regime of Charles II.[4] The accession of William and Mary marked a reversal in the university's fortunes, as royal patronage dried up and university men were ejected from government office. Oxford became a major centre of opposition to the Whig government of the day.[5]

War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary, ed. Linda Frey and Marsha Frey (Westport: Greenwood, 1995); Laurence Huey, Jr., *The Hugenots, the Protestant Interest, and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-1714* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

4 R. A. Beddard, 'Tory Oxford', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston and others, 8 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984-), IV, 863-905.

5 G. V. Bennett, 'Against the Tide: Oxford Under William III', in *The History of the University of Oxford*,

Many Oxford dons thought Anne's accession signalled a return to the university's former glory. Oxford's academics and students celebrated her accession with two collections of enthusiastic verse addresses in English and Latin, anticipating a renewed era of auspicious relations between the university and the court.[6] Other undergraduates celebrated in less subtle ways. In April some brazen Jacobite students marked William's funeral with an irreverent party on the river: 'two Boats full of Musick, where they rejoyc'd after an Inhumane manner upon so sad an occasion; Roaring, Revelling and Singing'.[7] Tutchin was not alone in alleging that Oxford was a major centre of Jacobite sedition: 'Our *Jacobites* in Town keep Time with the Musick at *Oxford*, and on every occasion spit their Venom at the Memory of King *William*. When they are in the midst of their Cups, the obliging Health is to *Sorrel* and the *Queen*'.[8] Given Oxford's reputation, a great deal was at stake in the university's reception of the new queen.

Anne's reception at Oxford was meticulously planned but poorly executed. Anne was met and escorted to the city by the lord-lieutenant, the second earl of Abingdon, the high sheriff, and some of the more prominent local gentry.[9] At the city gates the queen was met by the university procession. Things went wrong once the royal party entered the city. An ecstatic throng comprising 'Great Numbers of Persons of all Sexes, Ages, Degrees and Qualities Crowding from all Parts of that Famous *University* and parts *Adjacent*' scuffled against the royal procession near St Peter's Church by the East Gate,

ed. Aston and others, v, 31-60.

6 *Comitia Philologica in Honorem Optimae Principis Annae D. G. Anglicae, Scotiae, Franciae & Hiberniae Reginae, Habita in Universittate Oxoniensi* (Oxford, 1702); *Pietas Universitatis Oxoniensis in Obitum Augustissimi Regis Gulielmi III. et Gratulatio in Expotatissimam Serenissimae Annae Reginae Inaugurationem* (Oxford, 1702). See Henry Power, 'University Verse Collections and the Stuart Successions', in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. Kewes and McRae, forthcoming.

7 *The Observator*, 4 (22 April 1702).

8 Ibid.

9 Aston, 'Queen Anne and Oxford', p. 173.

and again in the High Street, resulting in what one university official described as 'a publick & notorious disturbance in the presence of the Queen's most excellent majesty'.[10] University officials had actually prepared for such an eventuality. Senior students were temporarily granted proctorial powers to discipline irresponsible undergraduates, and Convocation issued an order that 'no Scholar (during her Majesties stay) presume to appear about the Court, Street, Inns or any public houses whatsoever'.[11] Clearly this directive did not have much effect. Order was restored by the time the royal couple were at Christ Church, where they were regaled with 'fine musick and Inglish versis', as one observer reported.[12] The next morning Anne was received in Convocation where she gave a speech expressing her 'Particular regard to this great Body that is so considerable in it self and so useful both to Church and State'.[13] Honorary degrees were bestowed on members of her entourage (including the young Tory dynamo Henry St. John, future Viscount Bolingbroke). Festivities continued in the Sheldonian, with verse recitals by three undergraduates (now lost), followed by a banquet, and the ritual exchange of gifts on the guests' departure: for the queen, a Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, and a pair of gloves; for Prince George, a book on the antiquaries of Oxford, prints of the colleges, and a matching pair of gloves.[14]

The 'Inglish versis' complementing Anne were calculated political statements. Patronage was an important motivation—lots of prospective patrons accompanied Anne on her progress. Yet many undergraduates already had patrons or else family obligations to fulfil. They could do so with a poem to the queen. One witty and well

[10] *The Queen's Famous Progress: or, Her Majesty's Royal Journey to the Bath and Happy Return* (London, 1702), p. 4; Oxford, University Archives, SP/D/9.

[11] Oxford, University Archives, WPy/28/8/37; see too NEP/H/4/17-18 and SP/D/8.

[12] Elizabeth Verney to Sir John Verney, 25 August 1702, in *Verney Letters*, I, 113.

[13] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 4.

[14] Oldmixon, *History of England*, pp. 292-93; *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 4; Boyer, *Annals*, I, 77. On gift-giving, see Heal, *The Power of Gifts*.

informed bystander discerned the influence of prominent university men behind the orations. 'The two young Kids of *Christ Church* are highly commended for their Tutors Complements', he quipped about a pair of undergraduates who had spoken before the queen in the evening; they said 'what those that had the Care of 'em bid 'em, and he that does that of their Birth and Estates, fulfils his Fathers, or Guardians designs to a Syllable.'[15] The two poets in question were the young Christ Church wits Simon Harcourt, son of the new Solicitor General, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Heneage Finch, son of the university's MP, also called Heneage Finch.[16] Both sons promoted their fathers' shared Tory politics in their speeches to the queen.

Harcourt was the first to speak. His opening verses hint at the tensions Oxford's poets faced in expressing loyalty to both the Stuart queen and the revolution settlement:

> Where e're you come Joy shines in ev'ry Place,
> Such winning Goodness, such an easy Grace,
> Through all your Realms diffusive Kindness pours,
> That ev'ry *ENGLISH* Heart's entirely yours.
> The Muses Sons with eager transport view,
> Their long desponding Hopes reviv'd in You,
> The Muses Sons to Monarchy ever true.
> These happy Walls by Royal Bounty plac'd,
> Often with Royal Presence have been Grac'd.
> Here Kings to ease the Cares attend a Crown,
> Preferr'd the Muses Lawrels to their Own.
> And here You once enjoy'd a safe Retreat,
> From Noise and Envy free to this lov'd Seat,
> To be a Guest, You then did condescend,
> Which now, its happy Guardian, You defend.[17]

[15] *Letters From the Living to the Living: Relating to the Present Transactions Both Publick and Private* (London, 1703 [i.e. 1702]), p. 80.

[16] See *The House of Commons, 1690-1715*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks, David Hayton, and Stuart Handley, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), III, 1031-39 and IV, 200-19.

[17] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, pp. 2-3.

In the first part of this recital Harcourt praises the queen as a patroness of arts: the 'long desponding Hopes' of Oxford's poets (a product of William's philistinism) have been 'reviv'd' by Anne's accession. These are, though, distinctly Tory arts. The reference to 'ev'ry *ENGLISH* Heart' alluded to Anne's first speech to parliament, popular among Tories. Likewise, the university wits are 'to Monarchy ever true', a gesture towards Oxford's history as a royalist bastion during the 1640s and, significantly, the 1670s and early 1680s: when the university opposed attempts by Shaftesbury and his followers to exclude James from the lines of succession because of his Catholicism.[18] Focusing on Christ Church, Harcourt observes how the 'happy Walls' of the college have welcomed and defended previous Stuart monarchs in previous decades, including Anne's father in 1683 and 1687 and Charles II in 1681. Like those previous Stuart kings, the university and college promise to defend the new sovereign.

Yet this eulogy of previous Stuart monarchs is interrupted in the second stanza. Harking back to 1688, when Anne defected from her father's court at Whitehall, Harcourt recalls her subsequent reception at Oxford: 'here You once enjoy'd a safe Retreat, / From Noise and Envy free to this lov'd Seat, / To be a Guest'. As Winn notes, there is no overt censure of the revolution here.[19] Nor should we expect any. Harcourt may have been a known Jacobite, but would have been mad to voice disapproval in front of the queen. And yet Harcourt's language is rightly cautious. He mentions the 'Noise and Envy' of William's coup, and in the opening lines voices disapproval of 'haughty Monarchs': a deliberately unspecific reference that could recall Louis XIV, James II, or, for Oxford's Tories, William III. The ways this line could be interpreted changed with the audience. Referencing Anne's defection to Oxford in 1688 therefore acted as a foil to his more obvious praise of earlier Stuarts, including, implicitly, James II.

[18] See Robin Eagles, 'Unnatural Allies? The Oxfordshire Élite from the Exclusion Crisis to the Overthrow of James II', *Parliamentary History*, 26 (2007), 346-65; Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, pp. 97-98.

[19] Winn, *Queen Anne*, p. 252.

Accommodating Anne within the idiom of Stuart praise without veering into Jacobitism proved a challenge. Even amid this most effusive first panegyric, then, Harcourt managed to slip in the sensitive issue of the revolution and ponder the constitutional basis of Anne's claim. He struck an uneasy balance between praise of Anne's forebears on the one hand, and acknowledgement of the revolution settlement on the other.

Finch's poem turned to the war. Debate raged about how to proceed with the war. Opinion was split along party lines. Eager to continue in the vein of William, Whigs set out an ambitious strategy reliant on protracted land campaigns. Mindful of the spiralling costs and inflated taxes that had been required to fund these campaigns in the 1690s, Tories instead advocated a naval 'blue-water' strategy, perceived as a cheaper option that could defend Britain's interests in Europe and across the Atlantic.[20] Foremost among the navy's advocates was Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, whose preface to his father the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, published posthumously in three volumes at Oxford between 1702 and 1704, was addressed to the queen. In it Rochester urged Anne to 'maintain the Soveraignty of our Seas, so naturally, so anciently and so justly the true defence of this Kingdom'.[21] Characteristically for a Tory poet, Finch emphasized the importance of the navy too. He conjured scenes of maritime victory over the French in his verse: 'Now moulding Fleets in Gallick Harbours ly, / Whilst British Ships their double World defy'.[22] The Britishness of the warships relates to the materials out of which they are built:

[20] See Jeremy Black, *Debating Foreign Policy in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 83-98; idem., *Parliament and Foreign Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 13-39; idem., 'Foreign Policy and the Tory World in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2014), 285-97.

[21] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1702-04), I, viii (see too pp. viii-x). See Howard D. Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), pp. 34-35.

[22] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 3.

> So spreading Oaks from lovely WINDSOR born,
> Shall shelter BRITAIN which they now adorn
> With swelling *Sails* o're distant *Seas* they'l go,
> And guard that Goddess, by whose Care they grow.[23]

Pope would later polish the conceit in *Windsor-Forest* (1713), aware of its history as a trope of Tory counsel: 'Thy trees, fair *Windsor*! now shall leave their Woods, / And half thy Forests rush into my Floods'.[24] Pope's ships, like Finch's, are crafted from the oaks of Windsor, the leaves of which had adorned Anne's accession medal and emphasized its dynastic resonances.

Oaks had long been the trees most associated with naval strength. Prior to the civil war, for instance, in *To the King on His Navy* (1636), Edmund Waller referred to warships as 'towers of oak'.[25] Going back even further, the Elizabethan heraldist John Bossewell wrote 'The Oke in the old tyme was accompted chefest *inter fœlices arbore*'.[26] Hence Anne's care for the forest stood as an emblem of her personal support for the navy. But Finch and his audience would have been all too aware that the primary contemporary meaning of oak symbolism was political: designed to recall the deliverance of Charles II after the battle of Worcester in 1651, when he hid in the branches of the large oak tree in Boscobel Park. Oak motifs were consistently deployed by Jacobite poets—including Heneage Finch's cousin, Anne Finch—as an emblem of the exiled Stuart line.[27] In *Upon an Improbable Undertaking* (1699?), for instance, Anne

[23] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 3.

[24] Pope, *Works*, I, 189 (ll. 385-86).

[25] *The Poems of Edmund Waller*, ed. George Thorn-Drury, 2 vols (London, 1905), I, 16 (l. 25).

[26] John Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie* (London, 1572), sig. 75^{r}.

[27] See Wes Hamrick, 'Trees in Anne Finch's Jacobite Poems of Retreat', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 53 (2013), 541-63; Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, '"Revirescit": The Exilic Origins of the Stuart Oak Motif', in *The Stuart Court in Rome: The Legacy of Exile*, ed. Edward Corp (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 25-48; Rogers, *Destiny of the Stuarts*, pp. 147-48.

Finch sketches James II as an oak uprooted by a storm representing the destructive force of the revolution:

> A tree the fairest in the wood
> That long in Majesty had stood
> A gracefull prospect to the plains
> And shelter to the flocks and Swains
> Up by the roots a tempest tore
> And to a neighbouring meadow bore
> The Country sorrow for the Oak
> And meaner trees bewail'd the stroak[28]

Anne Finch's 1703 poem *Upon the Hurricane* reiterated this representation of forces that threaten the Stuart oak as a storm. So even though Heneage Finch was praising the reigning Stuart sovereign with oak imagery, this symbolism was hotly contested political ground. This was surely deliberate. Likewise, when Anne stopped at Marlborough on her way back to London in October, a schoolboy in 'Shepherds Dress' presented her with a branch, referencing the story of the Boscobel oak in his recital:

> What fitter offering can we make,
> For us to give, or you to take,
> Than Royal Oak, that sacred Tree
> To Jove and your great Family?[29]

No maritime connotations here: only a link between Anne and her Stuart forebears via an established poetic idiom.

What, then, is this potentially contentious symbolism doing in Finch's address to the queen? To answer this question we need to think about his potential audiences and

[28] Anne Finch, *The Wellesley Manuscript Poems: A Critical Edition*, ed. Barbara McGovern and Charles H. Hinnant (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), p. 45.

[29] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 7.

the various contexts within which the poem was recited and printed. When it was spoken *viva voce* before the queen and her entourage, the piece's *tone* was undoubtedly more important than subtle allegory—and Heneage Finch's address is tonally very different to Anne Finch's pessimistic Jacobite verses. It is a triumphant poem for a new reign; the 'spreading' oaks suggest an expanding naval empire centred on Windsor, whence Anne had departed early that morning. Describing warships as 'oaks' connected Anne's Stuart lineage with a strong navy; for Finch, as for Rochester, the accession of a Stuart queen should trigger renewed investment in the navy. And counsel of this sort was not aimed solely at the queen, but sought the attention of those around her too—that is, as 'counsel to councillors'.[30] Under such circumstances, Finch's cry for a renewed naval effort was aimed squarely at policy makers and advisors, not necessarily just at a queen whose position as a strategist was secondary to that of her generals. Both Harcourt and Finch were primarily concerned to use their royal address to advertise true-blue credentials to the Tory grandees that accompanied the queen to Christ Church, and the prominent university men who were their patrons.

Yet Finch may also have guessed that his address would take on a life of its own after the progress—and it is here that the allegorical tensions of the oak motif would come under scrutiny. The piece circulated first in manuscript and was then printed in *The Queen's Famous Progress* and again in *Poems on Affairs of State*.[31] Readers familiar with the descriptions of storms blowing oaks across the Channel—commonplace in the Jacobite verse of Anne Finch and others—may have found something similar in Heneage Finch's description of winds blowing the oak-ships 'o're distant *Seas*'. This

[30] Kewes, '"Plesures in Lernyng" and the Politics of Counsel'.

[31] I have been able to discover only one scribal copy of Finch's poem: New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS fc.24, fol. 57. Other poems from the progress, not printed in the pamphlet or the 1703 miscellany, were circulated in manuscript with correspondence: see Henry Guy to Robert Harley, 5 September 1702, in *Portland Manuscripts*, IV, 46.

particular idiom had become a staple of oppositional Jacobite discourse, and, in adapting that discourse to a constitutional Stuart ruler, poets struggled to purge the oak symbol of its Jacobite connotations. Hence the oak was an inherently unstable—and therein deniable—motif of Stuart loyalism. Was a poet merely celebrating Anne's Stuart lineage? Or were there potentially seditious undertones? Finch's half-hearted attempts to adapt this idiom of Stuart praise to a constitutional monarch have to be viewed with suspicion.

BATH

Having left Oxford, the royal party arrived at Bath on the evening of 28 August. Anne had spent the previous night at Cirencester, where she was 'receiv'd very Graciously' by the Tory squires of Gloucester: John 'Jack' Howe, Thomas Masters (whom she knighted), and Richard Haynes.[32] Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, encouraged Haynes to lobby the queen on behalf of the Tories. We do not know precisely what covert deals were done, but Beaufort's letter instructed Haynes to 'shew the Queen how the Church Party in this County are desireus to see her & give her Maj^{tie} Assurance of theire Loyalty'. He ended with the postscript, 'Pray please to bring as many friends wth you as you can'.[33] Anne's coach was escorted into Bath the next day by a cavalcade of horsemen, attended by an elaborate parade of 'Citizens cloathed like *Granadiers*, and after them about 200 Virgins in two Companies richly attir'd, many of them Apparell'd like Amazons with *Bows* and *Arrows*, and some with Guilt Scepters and Ensigns of the Regalia in the Hands'.[34] The pageant was partially recycled. Celia Fiennes recalled an

[32] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 5.

[33] Bristol, City Records Office, MS 09701/3.

[34] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 5. See Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 630-33; Winn, *Queen Anne*, pp. 249-56; Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 208; Barash, *English Women's Poetry*, p. 229.

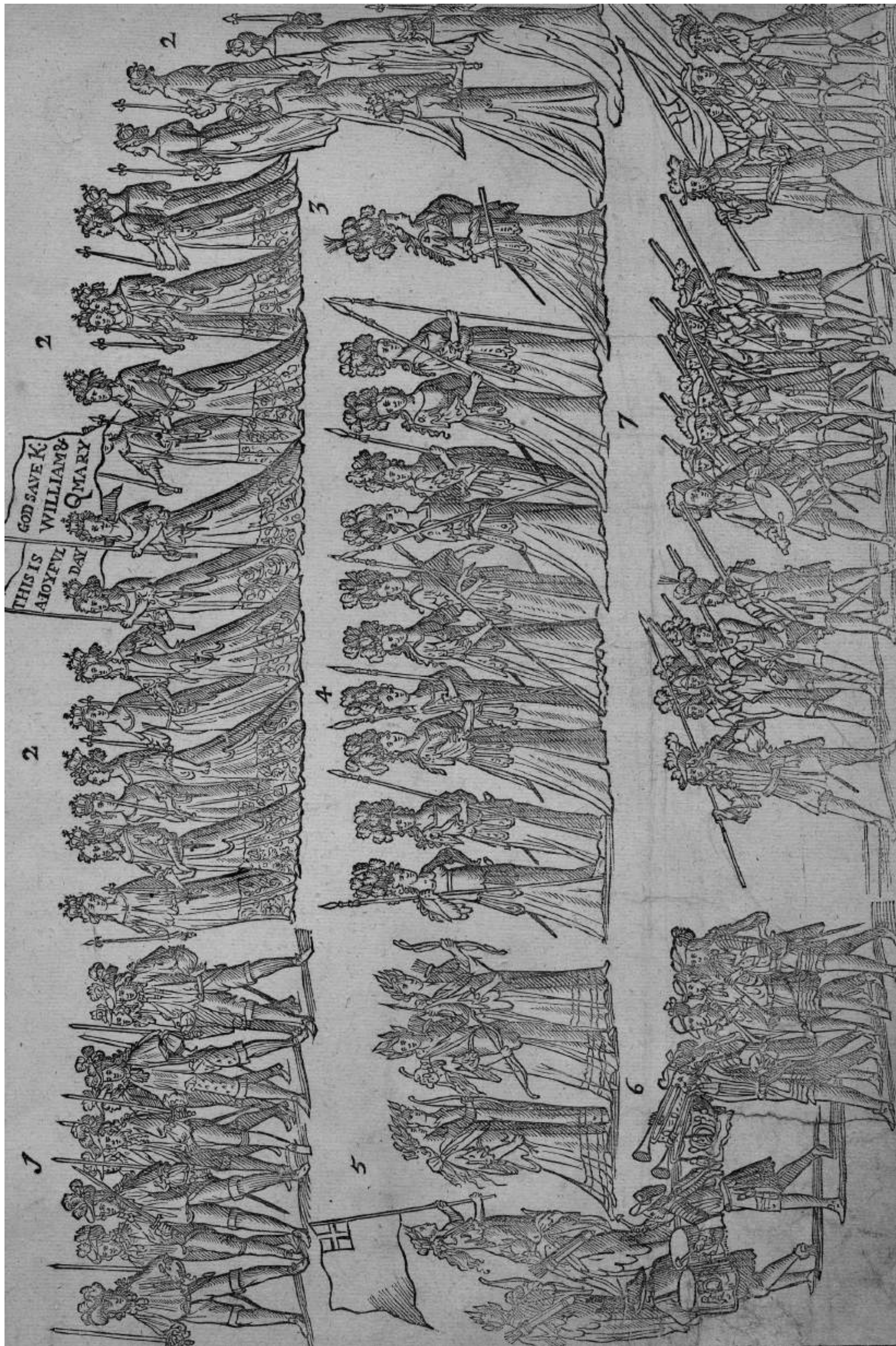


FIGURE 10. Woodcut from *The Loyalty and Glory of the City of Bath* (1689). Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, item p EB65 A100 B675b, vol. 3, no. B63. © 2015 President and Fellows of Harvard College.

identical tableau at Bath celebrating Anne's coronation, and another similar show had marked the coronation of 1689.[35] On this occasion, its military iconography was designed not only to reflect the new queen's international priorities. Dressing the young women of Bath as Amazons openly associated female rule with military prowess: a brilliant opening gambit.

Newspapers and letters reveal that a 'great court' comprising 'most of the nobility' and foreign diplomats and ministers followed Anne to Bath.[36] The small city became so crowded that food prices doubled and beds cost upwards of a guinea per night. Furthermore, the volume of official correspondence flowing into and out of the city put the post office under considerable strain.[37] A major draw for locals was Anne's revival of the royal touch. One pamphleteer recorded 'a great many coming thither upon that Account, who being viewed by Her Majesty's Physitian, such as was found afflicted with that Distemper received *Tickets* according to the usual Custome, and was admitted, and touched by Her Majesty'.[38] Touching for scrofula or 'the king's evil' was an ancient ritual, one that Anne's Stuart and Tudor forebears had savoured. Charles II touched over a hundred thousand people in his reign and James II nearly five thousand in his first year on the throne. He and his Jacobite heirs continued in exile. William had

[35] *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, pp. 21-22; cf. *News From Bath: Being a True and Perfect Relation of the Great and Splendid Procession on the 11th Day of April* (London, 1689). See John Egline, *The Imaginary Autocrat: Beau Nash and the Invention of Bath* (London: Profile, 2005), pp. 28-30.

[36] Luttrell, *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, v, 210; *The Post Man*, 1006 (25 August 1702); *The English Post*, 309 (2 October 1702); London, British Library, MS Add. 17677YY, fol. 175.

[37] Richard Warner, *The History of Bath* (Bath: Cruttwell, 1801), p. 209; John Wroughton, *Stuart Bath: Life in the Forgotten City, 1603-1714* (Bath: Lansdowne Press, 2004), p. 130; see Elizabeth Verney to Sir John Verney, 25 August 1702, in *Verney Letters*, I, 116.

[38] *The Queen's Famous Progress*, p. 7.

refused to continue the practice, believing in popish nonsense. By reviving the ancient practice, Anne pointedly reinforced her Stuart lineage.[39]

Staging lavish and amusing royal entertainments also proved expensive for the city. We do not know how much the welcome pageant of Amazons and grenadiers cost the Corporation; but council minutes for 22 August mention a 'piece of plate about the value of £40' to be presented 'to Her Majesty when she comes to Bath', which was probably the 'fine Silver Cup double Gilt' described in the newspapers.[40] Chamberlain's records account for £1 1*s* for 'the Morrice Dancers when the Queen came to Town', £1 14*s* 6*d* for '46 Doz. Billotts to make a Bonfire for taking Landau when the Queen was in Town', and £2 2s for 'lighting the Lamps while the Queen was here'.[41] These receipts surely account for just a fraction of the total cost to the city. Otherwise, the court paid some expenses. Treasury records show that Anne's favourite tenor, Richard Elford, was paid a retainer of £31 10s for his rent and other expenses at Bath, despite already being on the court payroll as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.[42] Another £100 was later released from the Civil List to reimburse the organ builder Bernard Smith, who restored

[39] On the royal touch, see Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015); Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge, 1973), pp. 212-19; Edward Gregg, 'The Exiled Stuarts: Martyrs for the Faith?', in *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Michael Schiach (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 187-213 (p. 205).

[40] Bath, City Records Office, Council Book (1684-1711), p. 337; *The Post Boy*, 1142 (8 September 1702).

[41] Bath, City Records Office, Chamberlain's Records, scrolls 145 and 146

[42] *Calendar of Treasury Books*, xxiii, 260. On Elford, see Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 100; Winn, *Queen Anne*, pp. 258-59, 323-24; idem., 'Style and Politics in the Philips-Handel Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday, 1713', *Music and Letters*, 89 (2008), 547-61 (p. 557).

the instrument in Bath Abbey for the queen's visit.[43] Professional companies of actors were limited to London, so we must assume that some performers accompanied the royal party. There are no records of payments for actors, but Lincoln's Inn Fields apparently did not have a summer season in 1702: so some actors may have been free to come to Bath. When Anne returned to Bath in 1703, the Drury Lane company were part of her entourage, though there are no Treasury receipts recording payment. The company's manager, Colley Cibber, later recalled performances for the queen in a makeshift theatre of John Crowne's *Sir Courtly Nice*—originally written to order in 1685 for the aging Charles II—as well as Cibber's new comedy, probably conceived for performance in Bath, *The Rival Queens*, a parody of Nathaniel Lee's 1677 heroic tragedy of the same name.[44]

Material traces of royal entertainments at Bath are sparse. But we do have one surviving skit from Anne's time at Bath: Richard Roach's *The Innocent Lampoon*—a witty dialogue between 'A Beau, a Devote, and a Court Lady'. Roach was an Anglican priest and fellow of St John's, Oxford. Although his entertainment has not featured in previous discussions of Anne's progress, it gestures to some of the issues raised by Anne's accession. The piece was printed anonymously in November and we only know about Roach's authorship from an annotated and corrected copy in his papers, which was probably the author's proofs.[45] Roach describes the piece in his manuscript notes not as a specially prepared play, but rather as a show 'converted for Entertainment of Queen Anne & her Honourable Attendants at the Bath'.[46] Hence the bulk of it has little

[43] *Calendar of Treasury Books*, xxv, 263.

[44] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, Comedian, and Late Patentee of the Theatre-Royal. With an Historical View of the Stage During His Own Time* (London, 1740), p. 175; Helene Koon, *Colley Cibber: A Biography* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986), pp. 46-47.

[45] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. D 832, fols 285-98. This copy is not catalogued in the ESTC.

[46] MS Rawl. D 832, fol. 285^{v}.

to do with the queen, instead satirising the moral laxity of Bath's high society. But, in conversion for royal entertainment, Roach added an address to the queen that opens with a loaded reflection on the succession:

> And to improve the Helpful Mineral Steam,
> May th'Angel stir the Salutary Stream;
> Impregn with Power Distemper to Controul;
> Ferments undue, Natures Wild Fires, to Cool:
> And the *Queen's Bath* become *Bethesda*'s Pool.
> Here, *Madam*, may Blest *George* Implunge with you,
> Drench in Elixir, steep in Heav'nly Dew,
> And Life's Invigorated Powers Renew.
> In whom the *Danish* Royal Blood Combines,
> In Perfect Union, with the *British* Line.[47]

The address was specifically about the queen's time in Bath's healing springs. But erotic imagery dominates the passage, which, together with Roach's pointed use of words such as 'Love-Play' and 'Impregn', was one means of voicing hope that she might yet bear a child. Roach's reflections were especially acute as, according to all the newspapers and court publicity, the visit to Bath was for Prince George, not Anne, to 'take the waters'. By making Anne's health, and not George's, the central issue of his address, Roach was drawing attention to the prospect, or lack thereof, of a royal baby. This becomes trenchant in Roach's description of Anne's future heir as 'A Prince of *Wales* of Uncontested Birth', an allusion to the disputed legitimacy of James Francis Edward.[48] In

[47] *The Innocent Lampoon: or, The Devote Turn'd Lover. Dedicated and Presented to the Queen, for Entertainment of Her Majesty and Her Honourable Attendance at the Bath* (London, 1702), sig A2^{v}-A3^{r}.

[48] See John McTague, 'Anti-Catholicism, Incorrigibility and Credulity in the Warming-Pan Scandal of 1688-9', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 36 (2013), 433-48; Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family, and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); Corrinne Harol, 'Misconceiving the Heir: Mind and Matter in the Warming Pan Propaganda', in *Vital Matters: Eighteenth-Century Views of Conception, Life, and Death*, ed. Helen Deutsch and Mary

a clear plea for the queen to continue trying for an heir, he expresses the nation's hopes for a royal child in the final couplet. Anne's correspondence does, in fact, reveal that she was still trying for a child. If Bath's healing waters could aid her pregnancy, so much the better. But the lines were still addressing a sensitive issue in fairly blunt terms.

Roach's career and network are worth considering here. He was a celebrated occultist and disciple of the prolific protestant mystic Jane Lead, who practised a mode of spiritualism frequently associated with the Jacobites.[49] As neither a young poet on the make nor an aspiring politician, Roach was an odd choice to write an entertainment for the queen. Although he mixed with prominent Jacobites and nonjurors at Oxford, among them Richard Rawlinson, Francis Lee, and William Law, Roach was probably no active Jacobite himself. In later years he wrote panegyrics to the Hanoverian monarchy.[50] And yet, at this early stage in Anne's reign, he certainly exhibits a preference for Stuart rule and a native 'English' king to succeed Anne. Whatever Roach's underlying political sympathies may have been, his aim here was simply to hint at the pressing problem by choosing a suggestive topic for his opening address.

Whereas Anne's hosts at Oxford had needed to make an impact over the course of a single overnight visit, the authorities at Bristol faced no such time constraints. Anne's reception seems to have been less partisan. Given the paucity of evidence, we might speculate about the contents of other entertainments put on for the queen. While Roach's *The Innocent Lampoon* was not exactly apolitical, it certainly was not partisan.

Terrall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 130-46.

[49] On Roach, see Paul Kleber Monod, *Solomon's Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 146-47, 208-09; Brian J. Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and its Development in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 152-56; Sarah Apetrei, *Women, Feminism and Religion in Early Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 198-207. On Lead, see Julie Hirst, *Jane Leade: Biography of a Seventeenth-Century Mystic* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

[50] MS Rawl. D 832, fols 239-40, 246, 263-64.

We have no reason to suspect that other entertainments were more pointed. Rather, it seems the Corporation invested in the queen's entertainment and cultivated links with the court. This was especially important as they had snubbed Anne when she visited Bath in 1692, on Queen Mary's orders.[51] The progress was therefore as much an opportunity for the city to prove its newfound loyalty to Anne, as for the queen to garner popular support for her regime. Tendentious political commentary would have aided neither objective.

BRISTOL

Anne went to Bristol from Bath on Thursday 3 September. It was a flying visit, and she returned to Bath that evening. The whole arrangement was short notice. On 29 September John Hawkins, the Mayor of Bristol, called a meeting of the corporation to consider the compliments they could make to the queen while she was in the local area. The original proposal suggested that 'some members of this house attend to our Matie with a Congratulation of her Maties safe coming into the Neighbourhood and to assure her Matie of the Duty and Loyalty of her Maties City of Bristol'.[52] There was a coda: 'It is also ordered that if an Invitation to her Matie to this City be thought more to be advisable and proper at the time, thou ambassador Chosen should have authority to make the Invitation also'.[53] Hawkins was chosen as the city's representative. He waited on the queen at Bath on 1 September. Using the authority granted to him by the Corporation, Hawkins invited Anne to Bristol—an invitation she accepted. It is unclear why Hawkins decided to invite the queen to Bristol. The visit was expensive, costing the

51 Winn, *Queen Anne*, p. 156.

52 Bristol, City Records Office, M/BCC/CCP/1/8, fol. 241^{v}.

53 Ibid.

city £857 6*s* 10*d*.[54] But Hawkins did secure a knighthood on Anne's arrival. Perhaps, then, the whole visit was contrived by Hawkins for his own preferment.

What happened on the day?[55] As part of the official welcome, Anne was greeted, first, by Bristol's elite, and then by approximately two-hundred troops on horse and foot. At the city gate, Hawkins delivered a 'very Loyal' speech to the queen, before formally presenting her the keys to the city gates and the Corporation sword, which Anne, acknowledging the gesture, promptly returned. The royal party now processed down the 'spacious' Old Market street, which was lined with guards and 'a great many Scaffolds' for spectators, who also occupied windows and rooftops, as they had at the coronation. Buildings along the route were draped with 'Tapestry and Scarlet Cloath', in the words of one journalist, while the 'Towers and Steeples hung with Flags'.[56] Musicians accompanied the parade, as they had at Oxford, though we do not know what they played. The procession then reached 'a Triumphal Arch' decorated 'with Greens and Flowers, with a Flag on the top of it' *en route* to Sir Thomas Day's house, where the queen conferred Hawkins's knighthood and later dined. As the queen ate, a hundred cannons were fired across the city, and the ships in the harbour 'fired their Guns incessantly'. After a short address by an anonymous poet who styled himself 'Philander', Anne returned to Bath in the evening.[57]

A few features immediately stand out. The poem was unremarkable, but the 'Triumphal Arch' is worth scrutiny. Such arches had been a staple feature of early modern civic processions, the principal models for which, as Anthony Miller and others

[54] Bristol, City Records Office, F/Au/1/71, p. 63.

[55] Quotations in this paragraph are from Boyer, *Annals*, I, 99-100 unless stated otherwise; Boyer took his account almost verbatim from *The London Gazette*, 3842 (7 September 1702).

[56] *The Post Boy*, 1142 (8 September 1702).

[57] *Phoenix Moriendo Revixit: or, Britain's Great Mourning for the Late King William's Death, Turned into Rejoycing by the Happy Succession of Queen Ann on the Throne* (Bristol, 1702), p. 8.

has shown, were the triumphs of ancient Rome.[58] Early Stuart triumphal parades through London had often involved arches, usually adorned with ornate allegorical sculpture. But those arches were on the whole reserved for celebrations of military victories—and there was nothing to celebrate this early in September 1702. Why, then, did Bristol build an arch for Anne's visit? The answer must be speculative, yet it seems probable that the Corporation were pre-empting news of victories to come and celebrating Bristol's function as an important naval port; the cannonfire from ships served a similar purpose. Another clue is the description of the arch, laden 'with Greens and Flowers'. Like the oak symbolism of Finch's address, the nature imagery may have amplified any potentially pro-Stuart resonances. Anne's welcome at Bristol was, then, calculated to promote the city as a strategic centre of naval operations. The military symbolism of the visit signalled support for the new government's bellicose foreign policy. If not fresh counsel, Bristol certainly reinforced the advice offered by others.

RECEPTION

How was Anne's first royal progress received beyond Oxford, Bath, and Bristol? From descriptions of the crowds at each city, we know that the queen's visit was well received. But there is other evidence, too, to suggest that the progress resonated beyond the West Country. Firstly, there are the newspapers and pamphlets reporting on the queen's visits. Newspapers were widely distributed beyond London; readers across the country would have known about Anne's time in Bath. Our principal source of information, *The Queen's Famous Progress*, is an interesting document. A single copy of the octavo pamphlet survives in the British Library, printed on flimsy paper in heavily worn type.[59]

[58] Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs in Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

[59] Shelfmark: 1076.l.22(1).

FIGURE 11. Playing cards depicting Anne's progress and the royal touch (1704). London, British Museum, item 1896,0501.921. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The printer was Jeremiah Wilkins, a prolific tradesman known for chapbooks and broadsides, with a particular specialism in sensational stories of murder, ghosts, and arson—popular topics at the time among lower class readers.[60] Wilkins must have thought there was a sufficient popular interest in the queen's progress to make printing this chapbook account worthwhile. Ballads such as *The Royal Progress: or, The Universal Joy of Her Majesty's Subjects at Oxford and Other Placed in Her Passage to the Town of Bath* and *The History of the Famous May-Pole at Ewelm in Oxfordshire* (both 1702) likewise indicate strong provincial support for the queen, nurtured by the royal progress. Two years later, in 1704, the engraver Robert Spofforth included scenes from the progress as designs for a pack of topical playing cards, including portrayals of the

[60] He printed, among other recent texts: *The Mournful Widow: or, A Fuller and True Relation of the Apparition in Baldwins Garden, Being an Account of the Walking-Spirit of Mr. Thomas Cooke* (London, 1690); *The Repenting Maids Sorrowful Lamentation For the Loss of Her True Love that Shot Himself in Soho* (London, 1698); *A Further and More True Account of the Apprehending and Taking of Gerard Dremelius the Drawer, for the Murther of Oliver Norris Esquire* (London, 1700).

royal touch and the entries into Oxford and Bristol.[61] Spofforth, like Wilkins, recognized the enduring appeal of the progress.

In the words of one contemporary, Anne's first progress found a 'harty welcom from all her Subjects'.[62] Inspiring such a reaction had been the queen's ultimate aim. Oxford and the West Country were among the most enduringly Tory parts of the country; Anne could depend on a loyal reception after the absence of pageantry under William. But Anne's revival of the royal progress had a specific political function in addition to its propaganda value. Anne's opening speech to parliament in October provides a clue. Requesting finances to support the military campaign for the coming year, Anne built an argument on public responses to her recent appearances: 'I have met with so many Expressions of Joy, and Satisfaction in all the Countreys, thro' which I have lately had Occasion to pass, that I cannot but look upon them as true Measures of the Duty and Affection of the rest of my Subjects.'[63] Popular expressions of zeal for the queen were repackaged, in Robert Bucholz's words, as a 'virtual mandate' for government policies.[64] It is entirely possible that the government had planned the progress in order to use it later. Demonstrations of popular support were used to justify government foreign policy and spending.

Anne's first progress provided a variety of agents with opportunities for political expression. It was designed to nurture popular support for the new regime. Oxford and

[61] On the date of these cards, see Joseph Hone, 'A New Portrait of Defoe in the Pillory', *Notes and Queries*, forthcoming.

[62] Cary, Lady Gardiner, to Sir John Verney, 10 September 1702, in *Verney Letters*, I, 116.

[63] Boyer, *Annals*, I, 121; see Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 523.

[64] Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 210.

the West Country were a hotbed of Tory loyalism. In the wake of the elections (which will be the subject of chapter 5), the progress enabled the queen to consolidate the popular royalism sparked by the accession and cultivated by Tory propagandists. As Anne's speech to parliament makes clear, expressions of popular support strengthened her legitimacy as a ruler. For the hosts, the progress was a chance to develop rapport with the court, signal their loyalty to the new regime, and address the queen with advice on matters of policy. Some hosts used their addresses to voice concerns about pressing dynastic issues. In those cases the conventional model of subjects addressing the sovereign breaks down; rather, these were citizens speaking to citizens, prominent local figures addressing the ministers, courtiers, and diplomats who accompanied the queen on progress. Some of those panegyrics and plays were written to be read by a wider audience. Poems and entertainments by Harcourt, Finch, and Roach were all printed and sold. There was a commercial motive here, but these young poets also wanted to launch literary and political careers. Hence the texts had to work on multiple levels. Sometimes, as in Roach's case, that meant reworking existing material to heighten its resonance with an address to the queen; on other occasions, though, as with Finch, relatively innocuous symbolism might be injected with political meaning by readers with a vested interest. Such messages were, by necessity, subtextual and therefore contingent on readers to make an imaginative leap. In that respect, these poetic addresses, though unwavering in their loyalty to the reigning monarch, have more in common with the uneasy coronation panegyrics discussed in the previous chapter than we might at first assume.

4
War

News of military victories abroad began to reach London early in October, just as Anne returned to London after her sojourn in Bath. On 1 November the most eye-catching news of all broke: the British flotilla, captained by Sir George Rooke and James Butler, Duke of Ormond, had sunk the Spanish treasure fleet at Vigo and claimed to have seized much of the silver it carried. The war was going well. In the previous chapter I asserted that the War of the Spanish Succession was reconfigured as a War of the British Succession.[1] This chapter will scrutinize the overlap between the issues of war and succession in more depth. Because Louis XIV supported James Francis Edward's claim to the British throne as well as Anjou's claim to the Spanish throne, the protestant succession was entirely contingent on victory over France. Literary responses to the early triumphs of Marlborough and Ormond betray a profound concern for the future settlement of the crown. Whereas Anne's legitimacy had hitherto been a means of discussing the future succession, the war now became a lens through which to view both Anne's constitutional authority and the legitimacy of any potential successor.

[1] See Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 243-76; Hattendorf, *England in the War of the Spanish Succession*; *The Treatises of the War of the Spanish Succession*, ed. Frey and Frey; Huey, *War of the Spanish Succession*.

Portrayals of Anne as a military leader were not without problems, not least because William had taken such an active role in military affairs.[2] He made all the preparations for war with France and Spain before his death, and, in many respects, Anne was simply executing his policies. In part, the problem was Anne's gender. Things had been slightly different under Elizabeth. She succeeded her brother, Edward, and sister, Mary. By the time Elizabeth took the throne in 1558, no British monarch had taken to the battlefield for several decades. Anne and her encomiasts had to negotiate her predecessor's celebrated brilliance as a strategist and commander. They also needed to acknowledge Prince George's token position as generalissimo of the British forces, the role of the generals who actually won battles, and Anne's own frail physical condition. Balancing those objectives was no easy task. Besides, a close reading of the texts indicates that these poets and pamphleteers were also exploring the constitutional and diplomatic issues driving debates about the war. Such concerns were often tied up with matters of policy and legislation—matters on which those of different political allegiances took opposing stances. Thus, despite the nominal focus on military affairs, the poems, pamphlets, sermons, and other texts responding to the war return time and again to the Jacobite threat and the protestant succession.

MONARCHY AND MILITARY DISPLAY

Previous chapters have demonstrated ministerial vigilance over Anne's image. This extended to swift and effective control of the press, as we saw with the arrest of James Read and his associates for printing and distributing illicit coronation texts, and general oversight of the progress entertainments. The martial iconography of the pageants and poems at Oxford, Bath, and Bristol was designed to reflect the new government's

[2] See Claydon, *Godly Revolution*; Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 93-134; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 341-506.

priorities in the war against France. Because, like Elizabeth, Anne could not join her forces abroad, she instead needed to establish her reputation as a military leader at home. Within two days of news breaking about the Vigo operation, Anne issued a proclamation demanding a 'general thanksgiving' to be 'religiously observed by all our Loving Subjects, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and upon pain of suffering such Punishments, as We may justly Inflict on all such as shall contemn or neglect the Performance of so Religious and necessary a duty'.[3] Previous royal thanksgivings had been private services held in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall. Anne relocated the main ceremony to St Paul's, still under construction by Christopher Wren, and made it public. The move brought the Chapel Royal choir and musicians before a large metropolitan audience in a way that had hitherto only attended coronations.[4] Contemporary sources describe an 'extraordinary' musical performance accompanied by cannonfire.[5] Transferring the ceremony to St Paul's was of symbolic importance too. Historically, the only public thanksgiving to have been held in the old St Paul's was Elizabeth's service of 1588 celebrating victory over the Spanish Armada.[6] Returning to the site of the Armada thanksgiving supplied parallels between Ormond's triumph at Vigo and the defeat of the Spanish over a century earlier. Both were conceived as victories over popery. This symbolic dimension was not lost on the public. In an issue of

[3] *By the Queen: A Proclamation for a Publick Thanksgiving* (London, 1702).

[4] Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 34 (see pp. 34-41). See too Donald Burrows, 'Orchestras in the New Cathedral', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, ed. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns, and Andrew Saint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 399-402 (p. 400).

[5] Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal*, p. 36; *The Flying Post*, 1174 (14 November 1702); *The London Gazette*, 3862 (16 November 1702).

[6] On the Armada thanksgiving, see Miller, *Roman Triumphs*, pp. 66-82. Essex's thanksgiving for taking Cadiz in 1596 was not a state event: see Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 621-42 (pp. 635-36).

The Observator published on the day of the thanksgiving, John Tutchin remembered no 'such thing in History, but in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was performed on the like Occasion. As Her Gracious Majesty in this Respect has imitated that Princess of Immortal Memory, I make no Question but her Reign will be full as Glorious'.[7]

Transferring the royal ceremony to St Paul's also necessitated a triumphal procession through London, attended by several bands and 'the Militia of *Westminster*' carrying captured ensigns. The procession was loosely modelled on the triumphs of ancient Rome—or, more accurately, on early modern adaptations of Roman triumphs.[8] Bristol had already constructed a victory arch for Anne's arrival. Such edifices were a staple feature of Roman triumphs and their early modern adaptations. Of course, a cheaper option for the city was to adapt an existing structure for purpose. Thus the Corporation decorated Ludgate, where the royal procession entered the city *en route* to St Paul's, with a 'Pyramidical Illumination' and a Latin inscription:

ANNA
Brittanniae Magnae Regina,
Et Conjux vere Illustris,
GEORGIUS
Daniae Princeps;
Nec non Inclyti Heroes,
Tyranni Gallici Debellatores,
Jacobus Dux Ormond,
Joannes Comes Marlborough,
Georgius Rook Miles, Classis,
Triumphantis Prefectus,
Vivant & Floreant.

And, below that, the following verse in English:

[7] *The Observator*, 59 (14 November 1702).

[8] On which, see Miller, *Roman Triumphs*.

As threatning Spain did to Eliza bow,
So France and Spain shall do to ANNA now:
France that protects false Claims t' anothers Throne,
Shall find enough to do to keep her own.[9]

Instead of reflecting on the Roman past, the vernacular tag suggested that Anne's military glories will exceed Elizabeth's. Not only that. In describing Louis's protection of 'false Claims t' anothers Throne', *prima facie* a reference to the contested succession of Spain, the Corporation also advertised concern for the British throne. After all, Louis had recently proclaimed James Francis Edward as 'James III'. He endorsed the Jacobite claim. By reconfiguring the War of the Spanish Succession as a contest for the British succession too, the city declared its allegiance to the queen and the protestant succession laid down in statute.

Private citizens also expressed their support. Broadsides and slipsheets were issued with occasional verse on the thanksgiving, such as *Her Majesties Welcome to St Paul's* (1702). Spectators draped banners and tapestries from windows and balconies lining the processional route.[10] A reporter for *The Post Boy* was particularly struck by one 'curious' painting 'which hang'd out of a Window of the German doctor's House near St. Clement's Church in the Strand'. It depicted 'BRITANNIA sitting in a Triumphant Chariot, being Crown'd by two Angels with Laurels, and glorifi'd by Fame, treading under her feet Envy, Spite, &c. and driving before her a COCK, holding in his Claws the Arms of Spain. A flying Angel driving the Chariot, which was drawn by a Lyon and an Unicorn, both striping and pulling off the Cock's Feathers. Over BRITANNIA her self was this Inscription, VIVAT REGINA ANNA, and over the Lyon and

[9] *The Flying Post*, 1174 (14 November 1702).

[10] *The London Gazette*, 3862 (16 November 1702).

Unicorn that, FLOREAT MAGNA BRITANNIA'.[11] The allegory here of the British lion and unicorn mauling *le coq gaulois*, though indeed 'curious', barely requires explication.

What of Anne's agency in these events? The queen was directly involved with the planning of the thanksgiving. We know from ministerial correspondence that she examined the prayers to be used during the service before they were printed.[12] She may also have given a hint to Sir Jonathan Trelawney, the Bishop of Exeter, whose sermon was an exegesis of Joshua 23.8-9: 'But cleave unto the Lord your God, as you have done unto this day. For the Lord hath driven out from before you great nations and strong; but as for you, no man hath been able to stand before you unto this day'.[13] Intricacies of liturgy were close to Anne's heart. Unsurprisingly, she wanted to have an input into how the ceremony was conceived and what religious—and thus political—message it imparted.

Anne's agency is also directly implied in the transformation of the coming year's coinage into a vessel for royal propaganda. The spoils captured by Ormond and Rooke from the treasure fleet at Vigo were sent directly to the Mint to be coined and put into circulation. Anne ordered Isaac Newton, the Master of the Mint, to inscribe below her image the word 'VIGO' in small but clear capitals on these coins, so as 'to continue to posterity the remembrance of that glorious action'.[14] These coins were a reminder of Ormond and Rooke's victory. They associated the queen's image with military strength

[11] *The Post Boy*, 1171 (14 November 1702).

[12] Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, to Robert Harley, 3 November 1702, in *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 10 vols (London: H.M.S.O, 1891-1931), IV, 49.

[13] Jonathan Trelawney, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the Queen, and Both Houses of Parliament: At the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's Nov. 12. 1702* (London, 1702), pp. 13-16. Bucholz errs, stating that the sermon was preached on Joshua 22.8-9: *The Augustan Court*, p. 165.

[14] *The Correspondence of Isaac Newton*, ed. H. W. Turnbull and others, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959-77), IV, 404.

FIGURE 12. John Croker and Isaac Newton, five guinea coin made from gold captured at Vigo (1703). London, British Museum, item 1935,0401.8203. © Trustees of the British Museum.

and reified numismatically the spoils of war that were otherwise displayed in the thanksgiving procession. Newton actually produced more coins with the 'VIGO' motto than could possibly have come from the captured silver, which, as Henry Kamen has proved, was not the vast hoard the public imagined it to be.[15] His probable aims were therefore, firstly, to suggest the fleet had captured more silver than it actually had, and, secondly, to memorialize the victory and with it Anne's image as a military leader. In later months, Newton issued medals depicting the fleet at Vigo Bay to similar ends.

Interpreted alongside the progress pageantry, the thanksgiving, proclamations, and coins and medals constitute nothing less than a sustained multimedia campaign designed to represent the queen as a military leader. Unlike William, Anne could not establish such a persona on the battlefield. Her revival of popular traditions such as the state thanksgiving was thus born out of necessity. However, this self-fashioning was problematic: precisely because Anne was *not* an established military commander like William. Although the official material discussed above was successful in projecting an

[15] Henry Kamen, 'The Destruction of the Spanish Silver Fleet at Vigo in 1702', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 39 (1966), 165-73.

image of Anne as a military leader, not everybody was convinced: either of Anne as a military leader, or about what, exactly, the British forces were fighting for. And thus we turn to the popular press.

THE VIGO PRESS CAMPAIGN

The progress of Marlborough's forces was recounted regularly in the newspapers. European news networks ensured a steady flow of information about the sieges and battles that occurred on the continent. Interested readers were catered to with publications such as *A Journal of the Several Sieges of Keiserswaert, Landau and Venlo*, which retailed for a shilling, or *A Geographical and Historical Description of Landau*, for which Narcissus Luttrell paid sixpence.[16] Pamphlets elaborated on the historical, political, and military backgrounds of the battles. News about naval victories was slower to reach England and less reliable. More than a week after the allied navy had given up on taking Cadiz and turned sail for home, the London newspapers were still reporting 'some Advices, that Cadiz is surrendred; which we wish may be confirm'd'.[17] While this situation meant that 'truth' about the naval operations was hard to come by, it enabled politically motivated writers to invent or twist the facts with ease. Thus, when news arrived in London on 1 November that the navy had found and sunk the Spanish treasure fleet at Vigo Bay, Tory journalists, pamphleteers, and poets initiated a full-blown press campaign exaggerating and inflating the victory in the public imagination.

Cheap print was central to this campaign. Broadsides and pamphlets were issued with maps and quantities of plunder won.[18] Ballads and sea shanties were printed. They

16 *The Luttrell File*, p. 70.

17 *The Flying Post*, 1154 (29 September 1702).

18 For instance, *The Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Fleet and the States General at Vigo* (London, 1702) and *A Relation of the Great and Glorious Success of the Fleet and Forces of Her Majesty and the States*

spoke of Ormond and Rooke's heroism in the battle. Some of the longer pamphlets mostly comprised factual reportage, such as *A Full and Impartial History of the Expedition to Spain* (1702), *An Impartial Account of All the Material Transactions of the Grand Fleet* (1703), and *An Exact Survey of the Duke of Ormond's Campaign in Spain* (1703). Advertisements for more refined prints and maps of Vigo also started appearing in the newspapers within days of the news reaching London.[19] Later in the year, one advertisement even touted a set of playing cards 'lately brought from Vigo'. Their topicality demanded a premium price. They cost a shilling.[20]

Other texts were more actively partisan. Thomas Heskith finished his *Discourse Concerning Plunder* (1703) by reflecting that Vigo 'will undoubtedly retrieve our ancient Honour'.[21] This was an allusion to a recent and provocative parliamentary debate. In their opening address to the queen in October, Anne's new Tory parliament had congratulated her on victories which 'signally RETRIEVED the ancient Honour and Glory of the *English* Nation'. Seasoned political journalist Abel Boyer recalled the ensuing furore: 'the Word RETRIEVED occasioned a great Debate in the House of Commons, several Members', evidently Whigs, 'alleging that it implied a Reflection on the late King's Memory, and therefore insisted to have the word MAINTAIN'D put instead of it'.[22] The Whig petition was unsuccessful. The speech remained unchanged. We know that the idiom of retrieval was understood as an allusion to this debate by contemporaries. One reader of a Bodleian copy of *Poems on Affairs of State* glossed the word 'retriev'd' in

General at Vigo (London, 1702).

19 *The Post Man*, 1045 (3 November 1702); *The Daily Courant*, 175 (7 November 1702).

20 *The Post Man*, 1068 (31 December 1702).

21 Thomas Heskith, *Laphyrologia: or, A Discourse Concerning Plunder* (London, 1703), p. 50.

22 Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne: Illustrated with All the Medals Struck in this Reign* (London, 1722), p. 35.

Walsh's *The Golden Age Restor'd* with 'vote of ye. house of commons'.[23] Like the word 'English', drawn from Anne's first speech to Parliament, it became a 'keyword' of Toryism.[24] The word suggested that military victory was contingent on restored Stuart rule. This association was exploited by the anonymous author of *The Retrievement* (1702), a panegyric on 'the Glorious Progress of Her Majesties Forces by Sea and Land'. Those unaware of the title's resonance would have been left in little doubt on the poem's politics after descriptions of Louis 'Dreading [Anne] more, than e'er he did Nassau', a blatant affront to William and the Whig advocates of the Nine Years' War.[25]

There were also more comprehensive, longer, and hence more expensive works supporting the navy, such as Clarendon's *History* and, later, Joseph Gander's grand illustrated volume, *The Glory of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne in the Royal Navy, and Her Absolute Sovereignty as Empress of the Sea, Asserted and Vindicated* (1703). Gander's aim was to trumpet the navy as 'The Palladium of England'—perhaps an allusion to the diplomatic medals distributed at the coronation. 'Our Ships are our Walls, and our Naval Forces are the Bulwarks that Defend us', he wrote in a prefatory address to parliament, recalling the 'Wooden Walls' and 'Towers of Oak' of Waller's Caroline panegyrics: 'We never had as great a Strength at Sea than under Her Present Majesty's Auspicious Reign.'[26] He supported his message with panegyrics to Anne and George, who was nominally Lord High Admiral, and an elaborate frontispiece by Michael van

[23] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Harding C 54, p. 423.

[24] On 'keywords' see Mark Knights and others, '*Commonwealth*: The Social, Cultural and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword', *The Historical Journal*, 54 (2011), 659-87; idem., 'Towards a Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts', *History of Political Thought*, 31 (2010), 427-48.

[25] *The Retrievement: or, A Poem Distinguishing Between the Late and the Present Administration, Being an Offering for the Glorious Progress of Her Majesties Forces by Sea and Land* (London, 1703 [i.e. 1702]), p. 9.

[26] Joseph Gander, *The Glory of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne in the Royal Navy, and Her Absolute Sovereignty as Empress of the Sea, Asserted and Vindicated* (London, 1703), sig. B1^{v}.

FIGURE 13. Michael van der Guht, frontispiece to Joseph Gander, *The Glory of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne in the Royal Navy and Her Absolute Sovereignty as Empress of the Sea, Asserted and Vindicated* (London, 1703). © Bodleian Library.

der Guht depicting the queen in miniature above her fleet at anchor. Just beneath the frontispiece is a verse neatly capturing Gander's argument:

> What Nobler Prospect can with Ey's be seen!
> Than such a Powerfull Fleet, and such a Queen!
> Each Others Rights they mutually Maintain
> She makes them Conquer! and They make Her Reign!

Praising the queen and the navy in the same breath, and making their glory 'mutual', helped Gander encourage the ongoing prominence of the fleet in future operations.

Poems too coloured interpretations of recent naval operations, just as they had of the coronation. Some poems masqueraded as factual reportage—they could function as news. Indeed, in the early eighteenth century 'panegyric' was associated as much with partisan historiography as the poetry of praise.[27] Panegyrics such as Charles Tooke's *To the Right Honourable George Rooke* (1702) or the anonymous poems *On the Late Glorious Success of the Duke of Ormond at Vigo* (1702) and *Astraea Triumphans* (1703) all skewed recent history. So did the anonymous *Anna in Anno Mirabili* (1702), for which Luttrell paid tuppence in December. Its price aligned it with the other cheap print reflecting on Vigo. The title puns on the queen's name—a joke reinforced by a palindromic motif on the title page. As the title suggests, the poem took as its model Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis* (1667). A celebration of naval triumphs, among other things, *Annus Mirabilis* provided an appropriate framework for poets celebrating Vigo. There were other reasons for imitating Dryden in praise of Ormond. In earlier years Ormond had been Dryden's close friend and patron. The ageing poet dedicated his *Fables* (1700)

[27] See, for instance, Gilbert Burnet, *The Memoires of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton and Castleherald* (London, 1677), sig. A1^{v}; James Welwood, *Memoires of the Most Material Transactions in England, for the Last Hundred Years, Preceding the Revolution in 1688* (London, 1700), sig. A7^{v}.

to the duke, whose family, he remarked, 'have accordingly made me their peculiar Care'.[28] Like Dryden, Ormond was a Tory and a Jacobite. We should bear this in mind when reading the imitation.

As Dryden explained in the subtitle and preface to his poem, *Annus Mirabilis* was an 'Historical' poem as much as a panegyric. His concern was to preserve for posterity a royalist interpretation of recent events. So he transformed praise into 'history'.[29] *Anna in Anno Mirabili* is likewise a 'Rehearsal' of state affairs. The poem is far more than the straightforward historical reportage it pretends to be. *Anna in Anno Mirabili* maintains a naval focus throughout—suggestive of its author's Tory sympathies. Vigo is inflated to mythic proportions. Ormond is fashioned as a modern Jason with a Golden Fleece of Spanish treasure. Structurally, the main part of the poem ends with Admiral John Benbow at the edge of the world, sending news of colonial triumphs to reach London in the new year. Both Benbow and Ormond act at the behest of their queen. Marlborough, on the other hand, is cast in a bathetic light:

> But stay, a Cloud appears, all Looks do mourn,
> The Gen'ral's Captive made in his Return:
> Sad Chance! Shall *Guelder* then, in One bad Hour,
> The Glories of a whole Campaign devour?
> Fear not, he Midnight wears, is Beetle-brow'd,
> And hides his Lustre in a suddain Cloud:
> He's now not Legible as General,
> They have him, but they see him not at all:
> So he escapes, gets clear by Silver Aid,
> Returns, and Friends revives, before dismay'd.[30]

[28] Dryden, *Works*, VII, 17. See Jane Ohlmeyer and Steven Zwicker, 'John Dryden, the House of Ormond, and the Politics of Anglo-Irish Patronage', *The Historical Journal*, 49 (2006), 677-706.

[29] For the broader phenomenon of 'historical' political verse in the Restoration, see Noelle Gallagher, '"Partial to Some One Side": The Advice-to-a-Painter Poem as Historical Writing', *English Literary History*, 78 (2011), 79-101.

[30] *Anna in Anno Mirabili: or, The Wonderful Year of 1702: A Rehearsal* (London, 1702), p. 6.

Embarrassingly, Marlborough and his party were captured by French soldiers while heading to The Hague on their return to England. He escaped imprisonment thanks only to the quick thinking of a young attendant, who had the guile to switch passports. It was very nearly a disaster. Hence the general's supporters on all sides actively suppressed the story.[31] The episode failed even to appear in contemporary Whig accounts of Marlborough's exploits and still evades the attention of most modern biographers. The Tory narrative of *Anna in Anno Mirabili*, on the other hand, devotes more words to this episode than to any of Marlborough's victories. He is shown 'Beetle-brow'd', bribing his captors with 'Silver aid', something the poet apparently made up. His craftiness recalls Odysseus over the brave Achilles, the more common comparison made by Whig commentators. For this poet, Marlborough's wily persona is at odds with the noble deeds of Ormond, Benbow, and Rooke.

What was the overall impact of these diverse texts on contemporary opinions of Vigo and the overall perception of the war? There is no easy way of gauging this precisely. Yet we can infer the success of the press campaign from contemporary commentary. In early January 1703, the playwright Thomas Baker tellingly described characters who 'talk of Venlo and Vigo, like your Coffee-House Fellows' in his comedy *Tunbridge-Walks*.[32] A fortnight earlier the anonymous author of *Letters From the Living to the Living*, possibly Thomas Browne, grumbled that '*White-Friers* Ballad-Singers bawl nothing at *Shoe-Lane End*, and the *Porter's Block* in *Smithfield*, but *England's Happiness, or, A new copy of Verses upon the Taking of the Plate-Fleet, Set to an excellent New* Vigo *Tune*'. '*Vigo*', he continues, 'is become the Universal Talk of every Drunken Society, nay, the very Subject of every Gossips Tittle tattle.'[33] Tutchin complained that 'The Action at

[31] For a full account of this episode, see William Coxe, *Memoires of the Duke of Marlborough, With His Original Correspondence*, rev. John Wade, 3 vols (London: Bohn, 1847), I, 98-99.

[32] Thomas Baker, *Tunbridge-Walks: or, The Yeoman of Kent* (London, 1703), p. 31.

[33] *Letters From the Living to the Living*, p. 210.

Vigo deserves rather to be mentioned in our Annals as a happy *Præludium* to the Reign of our Gracious Soveraign Lady, and not to be blackened by the vile Respresentations of Mercenary Scriblers'.[34] Likewise, Colley Cibber mentioned that 'Children prattle Vigo, and the Boom', in the epilogue to *She Wou'd, and She Wou'd Not* (first performed in November 1702). This reference to the boom that protected the mouth of Vigo Bay was an operational detail that pamphlets and broadsides had made common knowledge. He also wrote, in an epistle to Ormond prefixed to that play, that 'the only Reason to suppose the Ancient Heroes greater than the Modern is, That they had better Poets to Record 'em'. Despite his jibe at the quality of Vigo panegyrics, Cibber could not deny that they effectively popularized the victory. 'Our Late happy News from Vigo had so General an Influence upon the Minds of the People, that it's no wonder this Play had a favourable Reception, when the Chearfulness, and Good humour of the Town Inclin'd 'em to Encourage every thing'.[35] Ever the profit-conscious theatre manager, Cibber interpreted the victory and the cultural phenomenon it precipitated purely in terms of the 'favourable Reception' and commercial success it bestowed on his play.

A more sophisticated response to Vigo was forthcoming: Nahum Tate's *Portrait-Royal* (1703). Published shortly before the anniversary of Anne's accession, this substantial work by the Poet Laureate was occasioned by John Closterman's portrait of the queen for the Guildhall. In this poem Tate deftly fused Anne's persona as a nominal military leader with aspects of the nursing motherhood projected at her coronation. The poem is constructed around a simple conceit. Tate adopted the voice of the Muse of Poetry, outdone by Closterman's skill as an artist. 'As for the Muse's Addressing to Majesty, by Picture', he writes in his notes on the poem, 'Veneration first directed me to it; and I find Mr. Waller's judicious Modesty a President for't'.[36] The precise Waller

34 *The Observator*, 75 (9 January 1703).

35 Colley Cibber, *She Wou'd, and She Wou'd Not: or, The King Imposter* (London, [1702]), sig. A2^{r}.

36 Nahum Tate, *Portrait-Royal: A Poem Upon Her Majesty's Picture Set Up in Guildhall By Order of the*

poem Tate had in mind here was his *To the Queen* (1625), a panegyric centred on Henrietta Maria's portrait. He must also have been thinking of Waller's later *Instructions to a Painter* (1665) on the navy's victory over the Dutch at Lowestroft. This was a poem that had centred on Anne's father, and was still circulating widely in printed verse miscellanies. Tate was no stranger to the *ut pictura poesis* device. He had already composed some verses on Godfrey Kneller's portrait of William and Mary in 1692. Dryden clearly thought highly of his protégé's poem. In 1694 he alluded to it in his own verse epistle *To Sir Godfrey Kneller*.[37]

Tate's poem is not as accomplished as his master's. But his deft allusions to the succession crisis in the midst of military language are worth pausing over. For instance, when describing the regalia, Tate vests it with maternal significance:

> The giddy Globe Rouls to her Side for Rest:
> There, like a Cradled Infant, Safe from Harm,
> And Rock'd Asleep on her Protecting Arm.[38]

Here royal power—embodied in the physical trappings of monarchy—takes the place of a child. Such language would have reminded contemporary readers that Anne had no heir—as if they needed reminding. By recycling this language in a poem that was effectively a war panegyric, Tate implies that this was a war for the British succession too. The description of Anne nurturing the regalia morphs into a scene of growing military strength:

> O Pow'r, Contemplate here thy own Display!

Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1703), p. 24.

37 See David Hopkins, 'Nahum Tate's *On Their Majesties Pictures* as a Source for Dryden's *To Sir Godfrey Kneller*', *Notes and Queries*, 40 (1993), 322-23.

38 Tate, *Portrait-Royal*, p. 8.

> Your Sceptre, Ball and Crown, those Charms that make
> War's Hurricanes, and keep the World Awake:
> Behold 'em, NOW, Pacifick and Serene,
> With Prideless Pomp, possess'd by Britain's Queen![39]

Anne wields 'War's Hurricanes' against her enemies. She is 'Pacifick and Serene' in the eye of the storm. Yet Tate's language of storm is not reserved exclusively to Anne. Ormond is later described 'Thund'ring on the Shore', a reference to Vigo.[40] By making the Tory general part of the storm controlled by the queen, and completely ignoring Marlborough, Tate was siding with the navy. But he refused to signal his position on the succession, instead simply hinting at the issue.

The story of Tate's poem does not end here. The stormy language of *Portrait-Royal* was later recycled by Joseph Addison in his celebrated panegyric on Marlborough's victory at Blenheim, *The Campaign* (1704). Addison's poem was ushered into print by Godolphin, probably after the minister encountered the work in manuscript.[41] The young poet was rewarded for his panegyric with a salaried government post. *The Campaign* recalls Tate's poem in the famous passage where Marlborough appears like an angel commanding the allied forces at Blenheim:

> So when an Angel by divine command,
> With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
> Such as of late o'er pale *Britannia* past,
> Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;

39 Tate, *Portrait-Royal*, p. 8.

40 Ibid., p. 18.

41 See *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison*, ed. Thomas Tickell, 4 vols (London, 1721), I, x-xi. Eustace Budgell, writing nearly thirty years later, gave a more elaborate account of the poem's genesis in which Godolphin consults Halifax: see *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Earl of Orrery* (London, 1732), pp. 150-53. For a judicious evaluation of the evidence, see Robert D. Horn, 'Addison's *Campaign* and Macaulay', *PMLA*, 63 (1948), 886-902.

> And, pleas'd th' Almighty's order to perform,
> Rides in the whirl-wind, and directs the storm.[42]

In 1709 Steele used the passage as the key example of the Whig sublime. He disingenuously described the conceit as 'wholly new', occluding Tate's influence.[43] But echoes of *Portrait-Royal* are clearly there. Like Tate's Anne—'Pacifick and Serene'—Marlborough is 'Calm and serene', 'unmov'd, / Amidst confusion'. He 'directs the storm', recalling the 'Hurricanes' regulated by Anne in *Portrait-Royal*. Significantly, though, Addison's appropriation of the motif vests military authority exclusively in Marlborough. The queen doesn't even feature. Limiting the poetic authority of the queen and heightening the sublime power of the general purveyed a distinctly Whig message.[44] Whereas Tory poets and pamphleteers made Anne's accession and status as symbolic head of the armed forces the precondition of success, within two years Addison had transformed the language of praise to endorse Marlborough's position as the actual military leader.

ADDISON'S VIGO EPIGRAMS

Vigo was important to Britain's allies too. The Imperial Court at Vienna was the strategic headquarters of the allied forces. Britain's chief envoy was George Stepney. A career diplomat and keen amateur poet, Stepney had risen up the ranks after winning

[42] *The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison*, ed. A. C. Guthkelch, 3 vols (London: Bell, 1914), I, 165.

[43] Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, *The Tatler*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), I, 310.

[44] See Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 192-93. For potential alternative sources for the image, see Luis René Gámez, 'The "Angel" Image in Addison's *The Campaign*', *Notes and Queries*, 33 (1986), 486-89. On Addison's politics, see Lawrence E. Klein, 'Joseph Addison's Whiggism', in *'Cultures of Whiggism'*, ed. Womersley, pp. 108-26.

the patronage of prominent statesmen such as Charles Sackville, the Earl of Dorset, and later Marlborough. He counted Halifax, Matthew Prior, and Jacob Tonson among his closest friends. Among other accomplishments, he was a leading Kit-Cat man.[45] Stepney's diplomatic papers from his time at Vienna testify that the Imperial Court deemed the Vigo raid worth celebrating. Festivities were planned for 30 November, when Stepney attended a special dinner with the Prince of Liechenstein and subsequently an opera performed specifically in celebration of the victory.[46]

Our second man at the Imperial Court was Addison. Unlike Stepney, Addison was not in Vienna on diplomatic business. Having left Oxford, and armed with a stipend secured by Halifax, he had commenced a Grand Tour of Europe in 1700. After some time in France and Italy, Addison made his way to Vienna. Stepney put up the young poet in the Imperial Palace when he arrived in October 1702, a matter of weeks before news of the Vigo operation reached Vienna. When the time came in November, Addison accompanied his host to the dinner and opera that marked the battle.[47] Addison also wrote a set of Latin verses on the occasion, probably for presentation as a diplomatic gesture at the court. Estelle Haan recently rediscovered a copy among a cache of diplomatic dispatches sent by Stepney's deputy Charles Whitworth to Sir Charles Hedges, the Secretary of State.[48] Addison was a talented Latinist. In 1689 he had welcomed King William with a pastoral called *Tityrus et Mopsus*, and later, in 1697,

[45] See Susan Spens, *George Stepney, 1663-1707: Diplomat and Poet* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1997); H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., 'George Stepney, My Lord Dorset's Boy', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10 (1946), 1-33; David Hopkins, 'Charles Montague, George Stepney, and Dryden's *Metamorphoses*', *The Review of English Studies*, 51 (2000), 83-89.

[46] London, National Archives, State Papers 80/19 (letter from Stepney to Sir Charles Hedges, 2 December 1702).

[47] Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 76-78.

[48] See Estelle Haan, *Virgilius Redividus: Studies in Joseph Addison's Latin Poetry* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2005), pp. 125-38, 171-76.

celebrated the Treaty of Ryswick with *Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europae Reddita*; in 1699 he contributed eight Latin poems to the university collection *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta*; in 1693 he published translations of Ovid and Virgil in the fourth volume of the miscellany *Examen Poeticum*, edited by Dryden and published by Tonson; not long after, Tonson commissioned a full translation of Ovid from Addison, although this project never came to fruition. For his verses on Vigo, Addison played with variations on a Virgilian theme—a common feature of his Latin verse. The piece consisted of five epigrams. He prefaced them with a quotation from book one of *The Aeneid* and the directive 'Application: the affair of Vigo'.

> conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni
> aut metus acer erat; naves, quae forte paratae,
> corripiunt onerantque auro. portantur avari
> Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.[49]

To be precise, the lines are 361-64, and their broader Virgilian context is important. They narrate Dido's escape from her tyrant brother Pygmalion—possibly alluding to James Francis Edward—stealing his ships and his gold. The application of these lines to Vigo and a contemporary *dux femina facti* works on an obvious allegorical level. More subtly, though, Addison is playing on the Punic name for Dido, 'Elisa', and the convenient name Virgil gave Dido's sister, Anna. In the sixteenth century, poets frequently drew the comparison between Elizabeth and Dido by recalling Virgil's name for the Carthaginian queen: as in William Gager's university tragedy, *Dido* (1583), or, less obviously, Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* (c. 1586).[50] Recalling these two royal

[49] London, British Library, MS Add. 37349, fol. 57^{r}.

[50] See Deanne Williams, 'Dido, Queen of England', *English Literary History*, 73 (2006), 31-59. In the introduction to her online edition of Addison's Latin poetry http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/addison/introduction.html Dana Sutton gets confused by this quotation from Virgil, arguing that it is

sisters from Virgil, Addison gestured to the widespread parallels drawn between Anne and Elizabeth, and hence Vigo and the Spanish Armada.

The first epigram derives directly from the Virgil passage, showing Anne as a reincarnated Dido, victorious against a new Pygmalion: either Anjou or, more pointedly, James Francis Edward. The second epigram shifts the emphasis solely to France and brings in an odd reference to Dido's pyre in book four of *The Aeneid*; but here the pyre refers to the burning ships at Vigo. Epigram three depicts Louis as Phaeton, burning in the midst of his grandson's fleet. Epigram four turns the motif of fire on its head, portraying Anne as a phoenix rising from ashes. The fifth and final epigram brings the idiom of fire and ash back to the original passage from Virgil. Whereas Dido's sister, Anna, constructed the pyre in *The Aeneid*, here 'nunc regina novos praeparat Anna rogos'—that is, Queen Anne prepares new funeral pyres.[51] Haan has analysed the epigrams in depth, relating them to their Virgilian contexts and Addison's career as a Latinist.[52] And yet the epigrams beg political questions too. Why was a committed Whig such as Addison celebrating the triumphs of the British navy? Surely his praise, like that of his Whig contemporaries, should be focused on Marlborough and the allied armies? To resolve this conundrum we have to go beyond the classical tradition and think about what Addison was studying at the time, about his intellectual interests and environment at the Imperial Court. Besides news of Vigo, what could have stimulated these poems? And why turn to this passage from Virgil, a poet, as we have seen, usually associated with Jacobitism by Addison's contemporaries?

'highly unlikely' Addison chose the lines: 'the effect of applying these Vergilian lines to the Vigo situation is implicitly to equate Queen Anne with Dido. So juxtaposing this Application with the cycle would have the effect of sabotaging one of the things Addison is attempting to do'—that is, fashion Anne as Dido/Elizabeth's sister, Anna. I suggest there are two readings at play here: that the obvious comparison if of Anne with Dido, and the reading Sutton proposes is subtext.

51 MS Add. 37349, fol. 58^{r}.

52 Haan, *Virgilius Redividus*, pp. 125-38.

During his sojourn in Vienna, Addison completed much of the work for his celebrated *Dialogues Upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals* (published posthumously in 1726). Drawing on the success of John Evelyn's recent *Numismata* (1697), Addison's *Dialogues* are on the one hand an extraordinary feat of numismatic scholarship, and, on the other, a philosophical inquiry into the utility of philology and antiquarianism. Addison aimed to open up numismatics to the amateur enthusiast as much as the serious scholar. At the heart of his inquiry was the nature of medals as symbolic objects from a previous age, and how those symbols might be deciphered and applied to modern times.[53] Thus he quipped that one 'may often find as much thought on the reverse of a Medal as in a Canto of *Spenser*'.[54] Once decoded, the messages and symbolism of medals, like those of poems, could be recycled in new and interesting ways. We know from correspondence that, while in Vienna, Addison solicited Stepney's help in procuring scholarly books, and submitted the entire manuscript of the *Dialogues* for his approval.[55] But possibly Stepney assisted in other ways too. I suspect he may have helped Addison secure access to medals held by the Holy Roman Emperor and his diplomatic *attachés*—a collection that surely included Anne's coronation medals, the medals of William III, and probably lots of examples from Louis XIV's *petit académie*. The Imperial Court may have had examples of the lost Palladium medal too, designed by Newton for foreign envoys and their masters. Given Addison's longstanding interest in the subject, his ongoing work on the *Dialogues*, and his access via Stepney to the

[53] On Addison and Evelyn, see Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 338-42; Barbara M. Benedict, 'The Moral in the Material: Numismatics and Identity in Evelyn, Addison, and Pope', in *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. Reverend, pp. 65-84; Hone, 'Newtons and the Medals for Queen Anne'.

[54] Joseph Addison, *Dialogues Upon the Usefulness of Ancient Medals: Especially in Relation to the Latin and Greek Poets* (London, 1726), p. 15.

[55] *The Letters of Joseph Addison*, ed. Walter James Graham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 35-36.

Imperial Court's impressive collection, it seems very likely that he would have been aware of Anne's coronation medal and Louis's sustained medallic image as *le roi soleil*.[56]

This makes sense, because Addison's Vigo epigrams manifestly draw on the iconography of recent medals. The most obvious parallel is with French medals depicting Louis as the sun king. In a line of French prefaced to the third epigram, Addison actually uses a numismatic term, describing the sun as 'la dévise du Roy': a reference that could only pertain to Louis's medals.[57] The similar description of Louis as Phaeton falling to earth also recalls William and Mary's coronation medal of 1689, where Phaeton had stood in both for the French king and for James II. Likewise, the picture of 'Angliacae fulmina passa deae' appears to recall the device on Anne's coronation medal, which depicts the queen as a goddess casting thunderbolts.[58]

If these are references to medals—and the evidence is compelling—then we need to ask to what ends Addison was referencing them. Two of the medals he denotes are coronation medals. So his subject is implicitly royal succession. Add to this the subject of the epigrams. They are about death and rebirth, and feature the recurring emblems of the funeral pyre and the phoenix. There is also one explicit reference to the succession in the first epigram. The French have lost their fleet to a British queen, when Addison instructs them to 'nunc et ritu Salico muliebria temne / imperia'.[59] Salic Law was the French condition by which a woman could not inherit the throne, and nor could heirs by the female line. This was not strictly an issue with the Spanish succession: the claims of both Anjou and Habsburg came from marriages to the sisters of Charles II of Spain.

[56] See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Sir Mark Jones, *Medals of the Sun King* (London: British Museum, 1979).

[57] MS Add. 37349, fol. 58.

[58] Ibid., fol. 57. Haan translates as 'you who have suffered the lightening-bolts of an English goddess': *Virgilius Redividus*, p. 173. All translations are Haan's.

[59] MS Add. 37349, fol. 57: 'Go now and in Salic custom spurn the dominion of a woman'.

But the legitimacy of female succession was highly relevant in England. Not only had Anne succeeded William, but the protestant succession was vested in Electress Sophia of Hanover, who was descended from the female Stuart line via Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia. Addison's attack on Salic Law was thus intended to legitimize Electress Sophia as much as Anne. This was a sensible move. Vienna was filled with Sophia's allies. Stepney himself had been responsible for communicating the Act of Settlement to Sophia in March 1701.[60] Once we decode his ingenious applications of the Virgil passage and clever allusions to recent medals, Addison's position is clear. War had brought the issue of succession to the fore. For him, this victory was a blow to the Jacobites and a triumph for the protestant succession in Britain.

TUTCHIN, DEFOE, AND WHIG SATIRE

Whig poets at home also celebrated Anne's early military victories, particularly those of the army. They faced problems in doing so. William had been the protagonist of Whig panegyric in the 1690s, a hero akin to Achilles and Hercules, Mars and Jupiter, Edward III and Henry V.[61] Halifax perfected the bellicose idiom of Williamite verse in his *Epistle to Dorset* (1690), an idiom that continued to resonate in Williamite elegy. The *Epistle* was viewed by many Whig poets, including Addison, as the epitome of literary achievement.[62] But obviously the active nature of this Whig idiom was inappropriate for celebrating the leadership of a queen who also promoted herself as a nurturing mother. So how did Whig poets navigate the new queen's gender and poor health?

[60] New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn 2, box 2, folder 32a.

[61] See Stephen B. Baxter, 'William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. Schwoerer, pp. 95-106; Arthur S. Williams, 'Panegyric Decorum in the Reigns of William III and Anne', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 (1981), 56-67 (p. 56).

[62] Addison, *Works*, I, 34-35.

We have already seen how Tory poets responding to Vigo adhered to earlier models of naval panegyric by seventeenth-century royalists such as Dryden and Waller. Abigail Williams has demonstrated that, in the absence of a warrior king to replace William, Whig poets instead turned to Marlborough, who, despite his wishes to remain above party conflict, became central to Whig celebrations of military victory.[63] Reasoning for this strategy was twofold. Firstly, enhancing Marlborough's status also emphasized the role of the army, and thus the Whigs' preferred war policy. Secondly, concentrating power military in a general quelled Tory suggestions that Anne's accession signalled a return to *jure divino* Stuart rule. Writers such as Joseph Harris, in *Anglia Triumphans* (1703), and Joseph Shute, in his *Pindarick Ode Upon Marlborough* (1703), typify the Whig response to Marlborough's early prowess. Such panegyrics are the subject of Williams's monograph. And yet, despite Williams opening up Whig literary culture for further study, nothing has been written about the many Whig satires on the war, especially on the botched Cadiz expedition and the Vigo raid. The remainder of this chapter will examine those satires and their portrayals of Anne and the succession.

Contrary to Frank Ellis's assertion that Ormond and the navy were 'the subject of some feeble panegyric, but of no real satire', both were a particular target for Whig pens.[64] Indeed, the very pieces Ellis cites as 'feeble panegyric' are actually satires against Ormond, his failure at Cadiz and exaggerated success at Vigo. Moreover, the supposedly anonymous texts derided by Ellis can confidently be attributed to Tutchin: they appeared first in *The Observator* as a single continuous verse, before being reprinted as two separate poems in *Poems on Affairs of State*, a volume that Tutchin may have been

[63] Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 135-72; Robert D. Horn, *Marlborough: A Survey: Panegyrics, Satires and Biographical Writings, 1688-1788* (Kent: Dawson, 1975), p. 30.

[64] *POAS*, VI, 472.

involved in compiling.[65] There was a long tradition of Whig satire against the navy and naval panegyric. For its origins we have to return to the 1660s, to Waller's *Instructions to a Painter* and the various replies it engendered. Waller's overblown naval panegyric initiated a spate of satirical advice-to-a-painter poems rebutting his praise. Foremost among the authors of those satires was Andrew Marvell.[66] Aimed squarely against Clarendon and his ministry, Marvell's poems dismantled their favoured naval strategy. Circulating among Marvell's network and those close to the Buckingham cabal, these vicious anti-naval satires were an key part of the press campaign that ultimately contributed to Clarendon's downfall in November 1667.[67] The *Second Advice* was especially nasty about naval incompetence. When the poems were first printed together in 1667, the title made clear their collective focus as anti-naval satires: *Directions to a Painter for Describing Our Naval Business*. By the early eighteenth century, the poems still circulated in manuscript and *Poems on Affairs of State*. In print they were falsely attributed to the arch-royalist John Denham, a sly in-joke. Whigs appropriated the satires as their own, providing them with a model for anti-naval polemic.

[65] See *The Observator*, 59 (14 November 1702).

[66] On the contested authorship of the *Second Advice* and *Third Advice*, see George de Forest Lord, 'Two New Poems by Marvell?', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 62 (1958), 551-70; Annabel Patterson, 'The Second and Third Advices-to-a-Painter', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 71 (1977), 473-86; John Burrows, 'Andrew Marvell and the Painter Satires: A Computational Approach to Their Authorship', *Modern Language Review*, 100 (2005), 281-97. More generally, see Mary Tom Osborne, *Advice-to-a-Painter Poems 1633-1856: An Annotated Finding List* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1949); Rowland, *Faint Praise and Civil Leer*; A. B. Chambers, *Andrew Marvell and Edmund Waller: Seventeenth-Century Praise and Restoration Satire* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

[67] See Niall Allsopp, 'Sir Robert Howard, Thomas Hobbes, and the Fall of Clarendon', *The Seventeenth-Century*, 30 (2015), 75-93.

Marvell's mock-panegyric style influenced Tutchin's Vigo satires, even though Tutchin did not adopt their central *ut pictura poesis* conceit. In the following passage, for instance, Tutchin aims, like Marvell, to expose elaborate but hollow royalist praise, and ridicule naval panegyrists:

> Th' affrighted Fishes to the Ocean swim,
> And say, Great *Ormond*, we're afraid of him.
> See on the shore the yielding *Spaniards* fly,
> And see on board their Ships the *Frenchmen* die.
> […]
> See *Neptune* yonder the vast Ocean's God,
> At sight of *Ormond* hides his Head in Mud.
> The *Tritons*, flouncing thro the Oase, repair
> To Rocky Caverns from the fate of War,
> And all Sea-Monsters bellow from afar.
> From *Vigo*'s Post to th' Ocean all make way,
> For here, alas! they dare no longer stay:
> By burning Ships the Water's made so hot,
> Its surface bubbles like a boiling Pot.
> Half-roasted *Frenchmen*, some o'er Gratings broil'd,
> Do mix with *Spaniards* in the Sea parboil'd.
> For *Anjou*'s Dinner here's a pretty Dish;
> I vow h'has made a Kettle fine of Fish.[68]

Although lacking the wit and sophistication of Marvell, Tutchin was attempting something similar to the advice-to-a-painter series: to transform naval praise into anti-establishment satire. Tutchin presents Vigo in terms that stretch Tory triumphalism to breaking point, and, in the passage concerning 'parboil'd' Spaniards, go well beyond the limits of literary propriety. The repeated directive, 'See', recalls Marvell's instructions for the painter to 'draw' or 'shew' the scene. And while Tutchin's poetry verges on doggerel, he does successfully conjure a visual scene. Likewise, the magnification of small details—the boiling water, the frightened fish—is another hallmark of Marvell's satirical

[68] *Poems on Affairs of State to This Present Year 1703*, pp. 415-16.

technique. The most 'Marvellian' aspect of Tutchin's satire, though, lies in its purpose. The advice-to-a-painter poems had been a dual attack: firstly, on Waller and other sycophantic royalist poets (including Denham); secondly, on a host of political figures, including the Duke of York, Clarendon, and their advisors. Tutchin likewise aimed at both the Tory poets and Ormond, whose absurd image as the scourge of Poseidon discredits his stature as a naval commander. In purpose, style, and substance, Tutchin's satire is quintessentially 'Marvellian'.[69]

Defoe's approach to the victory was very different. The mixed qualities of Defoe's satire on the occasion, *The Spanish Descent* (1702), have been acknowledged by his critics. Whereas Paula Backscheider describes the poem as 'a panegyric on the victory at Vigo', Furbank and Owens, on the other hand, call it a topical satire on Rooke and the Cadiz failure.[70] Neither account is entirely satisfactory. First and foremost, Defoe's poem is an historical rehearsal like *Anna in Anno Mirabili*. It begins with an extended reflection on the press campaign and public clamour surrounding Vigo and the Tory duumvirs Ormond and Rooke:[71]

> Long had this nation been amused in vain
> With posts from Portugal, and news from Spain,

[69] On Marvell's influence on early Whig satire, see Nicholas von Maltzhan, 'Marvell's Ghost', in *Marvell and Liberty*, ed. Warren L. Chernick and Martin Dzelzainis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 50-74; Joseph Hone, 'Politics and Defoe's Poetic Satires', forthcoming.

[70] Paula Backscheider, 'The Verse Essay, John Locke, and Defoe's *Jure Divino*', *English Literary History*, 55 (1988), 99, 124 (p. 103); Furbank and Owens, *Political Biography*, p. 39. See too Frank H. Ellis, 'Defoe's "Resignacôn" and the Limitations of "Mathematical Plainness"', *The Review of English Studies*, 36 (1985), 338-54 (p. 349); Maximillian E. Novak, 'Daniel Defoe and Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal*: An attempt at Re-Attribution', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 45 (2012), 585-608 (p. 600).

[71] On Defoe's sustained press campaign against Sir George Rooke, see Backscheider, *Defoe*, pp. 174-78; Andreas Mueller, *A Critical Study of Daniel Defoe's Verse: Recovering the Neglected Corpus of His Poetic Work* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), pp. 83-84.

With Ormond's conquests, and the fleet's success,
And favours from the Moors at Maccaness.
The learned mob bought compasses and scales,
And every barber knew the Bay of Cales,
Showed us the army here, and there the fleet,
Here the troops land, and there the foes retreat,
There at St. Maries how the Spaniard runs,
And listen close as if they heard the guns.[72]

Describing the 'fancies' and 'banter' of the 'mob', Defoe presents a corrective, noting that 'amongst all the wisdom of the town, / The vast designs of Fate remain unknown'.[73] Here lies the premise of the poem. Victory at Vigo, he suggests, was a providential response to Anne's accession.

Of course, Defoe's description of the botched attempt to take Cadiz is not without bite. He deplores the soldiers' actions, how they 'Quit the *Andalusian* Shores, / Drenched with the *Spanish* Wine, and *Spanish* Whores' and 'Swive the Nuns'.[74] It was a theme Defoe elaborated on in *A Hymn to the Pillory* (1703), where he presents the Spanish as victims of English misconduct: 'The ravish'd Nuns, the plunder'd Town, / The English Honour how mispent', the choice turn of phrase here bringing to mind the partisan configuration of 'Englishness' he had attacked in *The True-Born Englishman*.[75] For Defoe, this narrative of rape and plunder had been occluded by the Tory press campaign, which had focused solely on Vigo and the treasure captured there. Instead, Defoe counts the human cost—a cost, he suggests, that no amount of treasure can recompense—and satirizes publicists who ignore the misconduct at Cadiz.

Even though the fleet was not dispatched until after Anne's accession, the Cadiz expedition had been planned in the previous reign. Whereas this enabled Tory writers to

72 Defoe, *Satire*, I, 195 (ll. 1-10).

73 Ibid., I, 197 (ll. 64-65).

74 Ibid., I, 198 and 195 (ll. 123-24, 11)

75 Ibid., I, 198 (ll. 131-32).

apportion blame for its failure to William and his ministry, it presented Defoe with a problem. How to explain the catastrophe without discrediting William's government? He addressed this question with a well-placed Biblical allusion:

> Actions may miss of their deserv'd Applause,
> When Heaven approves the Men, and not the cause;
> And well contriv'd Designs miscarry when
> Heaven may approve the Cause but not the Men;
> Here then's the Ground of our Expence of Blood,
> The Sword of Gideon's, but not the Sword of God.[76]

As we have already seen in *The Mock Mourners*, Defoe was well versed in scripture. The reference in the final line is to Judges 7.15-23, when the Israelites rout the Midianites to the chant 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon'. The implication of the allusion is that the sword of God remained sheathed at Cadiz. And this Biblical allusion should also remind us of Gideon's story more generally, in which, on the eve of battle, God informed Gideon that his army was too large—with so many men, the Israelites would claim victory over the Midianites as their own doing instead of acknowledging that God had saved them. In the Biblical narrative, Gideon sends most of his forces home and wins the battle with just three-hundred men.[77] Rooke and Ormond, on the other hand, command a huge force. They should have won. Defeat, then, can only be blamed on divine censure of the soldiers' conduct. So Defoe makes William's Cadiz expedition, his 'Posthume Project', the *sine que non* of victory at Vigo.[78] Tutchin likewise argued that 'King William's design upon Cadiz was the occasion of Queen Anne's destroying the

76 Defoe, *Satire*, I, 98 (ll. 99-104).

77 Defoe had earlier constructed a polemical argument with reference to Gideon; see [Daniel Defoe], *An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment* (London, 1701), p. 8. Given the huge volumes of sermons that reference Gideon's story, the reference would have been intelligible to most readers.

78 Defoe, *Satire*, I, 198 (l. 112).

ships at Vigo'.[79] This was a neat way of celebrating the battle without having to condone the Tories' preferred blue-water strategy. Instead, Anne inherited God's love from William, and thus reaps the benefits of his statecraft and piety. Because she adheres to revolution principles and reigns, like William, as a constitutional monarch, providence smiles on her and on England.

Defoe's depiction of Anne as a constitutional monarch continues through his final lines, set at the thanksgiving at St Paul's in November. Using the thanksgiving to formulate a partisan interpretation of rule was a clever move on Defoe's part. It gave his representation the appearance of authenticity, tying in Anne's own publicity efforts with his poetic depiction of the queen:

> See now the Royal Chariot comes amain,
> With all the willing Nation in her Train,
> With humble Glory, and with solemn Grace,
> Queen in her Eyes, and Christian in her Face.
> *With Her*, Her represented Subjects join;
> And when She Prays, th' whole nation says *Amen*.
> With Her, in Stalls the Illustrious Nobles sat,
> The Cherubims and Seraphims of state:
> *ANNE* like a Comet in the Center shone,
> And they like Stars that circumfere the Sun.
> She Great in them, and they as Great in Her;
> Sure Heaven will such Illustrious Praises hear.
> The crouding Millions Hearty Blessings pour:
> *Saint* Paul *ne'er saw but one such Day before*.[80]

In his description of the 'Cherubims and Seraphims' that surround Anne, Defoe self-consciously channels the baroque energies of Cowley and his contemporaries. Yet his portrayal of the queen is charged in other ways. For instance, Tory eulogists often fashioned Anne as a comet or rising star, but never invoked the countless other stars

[79] *The Observator*, 58 (11 November 1702).

[80] Defoe, *Satire*, I, 205 (ll. 382-89).

that surrounded her in the night sky. By contrast, those other stars are central to Defoe's praise: 'they like Stars that circumfere the Sun'. His implied message is that Anne is a part of the polity, neither above nor separate from it. Her political strength is built on that of parliament and the people, and parliament's, in turn, is founded on revolution principles—consider the language of reciprocity in lines such as '*With Her*, Her represented Subjects join', with its curious, arrhythmic repetition of the pronoun, or 'She Great in them, and they as Great in Her'. Likewise, the entire 'Nation' is in her train.

Reciprocity between monarch and people was a staple motif of Whig thought, most memorably voiced by John Locke in his *Second Treatise of Government* (1689). Defoe had recycled Lockeian social contract theory earlier that year in *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*.[81] His celebration of Anne as a constitutional monarch supported by the 'Illustrious Praises' of the political elite and the 'Hearty Blessings' of the 'willing nation' (an important adjective) is self-evidently Lockeian. Not only does the scene endorse Anne's position as a military leader, but uses popular acclamations to legitimate her succession and secure her authority as a monarch. Anne defends the rights of her people, but only because they will it. Finally, by recalling the '*one such Day*' of Elizabeth's thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada in 1588, Defoe linked the queen with her illustrious forerunner on the British throne, whose glory, like Anne's, was supposedly vested in the capabilities of her ministers and generals.[82] 'Like her', argues Defoe, 'she Graces and Protects the Throne.'[83] Like Elizabeth, Anne shelters the throne

[81] On Defoe and traditions of popular sovereignty in the period, see Marc Mierowsky, 'The Voice of the People: Representing the Public, 1678-1707' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, forthcoming).

[82] On this representation, see John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 213.

[83] Defoe, *Satire*, I, 205 (ll. 370-73).

from both the Catholic absolutism of France and Spain and also the conflict of domestic political factions.

In *The Mock Mourners* Defoe wrestled with the future settlement of the succession. *The Spanish Descent* presents a partial shift in focus, but only a partial one. Defoe used the Vigo operation to contemplate what sort of sovereign Anne would be. He did so by thinking about the nature of her legitimacy—a matter of public approval rather than absolute rule, social contract rather than *jure divino*. Whereas Tutchin used the Vigo operation to emulate the advice-to-a-painter poems of an earlier era in Whig literary history, Defoe viewed it as a chance to discourse on political theory. There is a moral truth in the poem—the same moral truth Defoe would espouse in his great verse satire, *Jure Divino* (1706). Defoe argues that military victories are contingent on British constitutional monarchy. Anne's accession was a precondition of victory, but only insofar as she ruled according to Williamite principles. Her Stuart blood was irrelevant.

As this final example demonstrates once again, the War of the Spanish Succession became a lens through which to consider Anne's authority as sovereign. For Defoe, the nature of the victory at Vigo Bay affirmed that Anne, like William, ruled according to revolution principles. By contrast, Tory writers emphasized Anne's accession as a turning point in the nation's fortunes—a 'retrieval' of military power not seen since William took control. Such interpretations necessarily incorporated a position on the succession. Two lines of thought are immediately apparent. Addison, for instance, configured the Vigo victory within a war for the protestant succession of Britain. His references to Salic Law, coronation medals, and the Pygmalion episode from Virgil pointed towards Anne as a guardian of Electress Sophia's claim to the throne. But other poems were less assured. In *Portrait-Royal* we have seen Tate wrestling with the

difficulty of matching female rule with military leadership. His cumbersome use of nuptial language to describe military power betrays uncertainty and doubt about the succession. Like many others, Tate's response to the succession crisis was confusion. The third position on the succession—Jacobitism—dared not speak its name in military panegyric or satire. Given the focus on Jacobitism in previous chapters, this might seem odd. But we must remember that the War of the Spanish Succession was fundamentally a war against Jacobitism too. Most Jacobites would have sided with the French. It was easier to keep quiet.

Of course, to appreciate the political valence of much of this poetry we need to situate it in the broader context of pamphlets, broadsides, thanksgiving parades, and other material precipitated by the war. If recent literary criticism has downplayed the dynastic and diplomatic issues addressed in these poems, it is because they have been treated in a tradition of war poetry rather than the product of particular circumstances.[84] Once returned to their historical moment, the texts examined in this chapter, I argue, reveal that the War of the Spanish Succession was being reconstrued as a war for the British succession. Only once we appreciate this fully can we begin to understand the significances of particular royal representations in literary texts. The reason Defoe and Addison advocated Anne's legitimacy as a populist military figurehead was because these arguments could also be used to endorse the Hanoverian succession.

[84] See, for instance, John Richardson, 'Modern Warfare in Early-Eighteenth-Century Poetry', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 45 (2005), 557-77; idem., 'War, the Poetry of War, and Pope's Early Career', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 102 (2003), 486-505.

5
Elections

Anne dissolved William's last parliament on 2 July, and announced the general elections in the same speech. Electoral propaganda started being produced within days of the announcement. How was the queen portrayed in that material? What purposes did those images serve?

Previous chapters traced responses to the succession crisis across a range of texts, events, and artefacts. This chapter now turns to the *impact* of those materials. It is concerned with overtly polemical writings, principally electioneering tracts and sermons. These genres have mostly been ignored or dismissed by literary scholars.[1] And yet sermons were, in James Caudle's words 'key (often *the* key) to what everyday people thought about politics and power'.[2] An aim of this chapter is to analyse the rhetorical strategies of sermons and polemic, in addition to the means by which they were printed, distributed, sold, and read. Working out the relationship between official and popular portrayals of the queen's religion in those texts is crucial. This chapter begins with a

1 A recent exception is Howard D. Weinbrot, *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture, 1660-1780* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

2 James Caudle, 'Preaching in Parliament: Patronage, Publicity and Politics in Britain, 1701-60', in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 235-63 (p. 235).

thorough examination of how Anne promoted her commitment to the Church of England via proclamations, speeches, and prayer. This commitment to the established church proved particularly useful to the Tory party, but was not partisan in itself. Rather, I suggest, Tory propagandists consistently appropriated and misconstrued Anne's speeches and proclamations to make them carry a particular partisan colouring. Whig publicists, by contrast, sought to unmask those appropriations and expose their logical inconsistencies.

Commentary on the succession remains latent in much of this material. Though resolutely Anglican, sermons and pamphlets by firebrands such as Henry Sacheverell and Charles Leslie are often implicitly Jacobite. Interpreting those sermons as Jacobite tracts was a useful tactic for their Whig critics. It helped discredit mainstream Tories as fringe Jacobites. In the final section of this chapter, I argue that that—or something quite like it—was what Daniel Defoe attempted with his notorious pamphlet, *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters* (1702). Resituated in its immediate context, *The Shortest-Way* emerges as no satire, but rather a clandestine polemic. Defoe deliberately distorted Tory portrayals of the queen. He inflated the anti-Hanoverian rhetoric of Sacheverell and Leslie. Moreover, he did so with a particular political aim. Returning to contemporary responses to *The Shortest-Way*, we find that Defoe's snide portrayal of the queen and the Hanoverian succession caused far more outrage than anything he writes about the dissenters. And that was the point. By disguising himself as a Tory high flyer and misrepresenting the queen's commitment to the protestant succession, Defoe suggested—albeit with a High Church voice—that Anne should secure her half-brother's restoration. That was why the authorities prosecuted him with such vigour.

PROMOTING ROYAL PIETY

As a princess, Anne had been famous for her Anglican piety. It had been the chief

reason she abandoned her Catholic father in 1688. In turn, it contributed to her disdain for William, who was, after all, a Calvinist. On her accession, Anne immediately cultivated an image as a defender of the faith. Her royal duties included giving speeches to parliament, which were in turn printed for public consumption. Anne used those speeches to promote her reputation for piety. Royal proclamations and prayer books provided the queen with other modes of textual representation. Although government ministers and eminent men of the cloth usually authored these texts, they were advertised as 'By the Queen', and, according to the title pages, were printed 'By Her Majesties Special Command'.

Royal proclamations and speeches were issued for sale. Narcissus Luttrell noted prices of a penny, sometimes two, on his copies of Anne's proclamations.[3] Printed as broadsides, these texts were accessible to all but the very poorest of Anne's subjects, who would nonetheless have heard proclamations and prayers as they were read aloud in churches and other public spaces across the country. Soon after her accession, Charles Leslie noted that Anne's speeches were 'Printed, and Cry'd by the *Hawkers* about the Streets'.[4] Edward Collier, a Dutch *tromp de l'oeil* artist working in London, painted still-lifes of Anne's speeches collected together with newspapers and pamphlets of the day.[5] Such evidence suggests that royal speeches were considered topical pieces of political print.

[3] Later, in 1712 and 1714, collected editions of Anne's speeches to parliament were published in octavo and sold at sixpence: *A Collection of All Her Majesty's Speeches, Messages, &c. From Her Happy Accession to the Throne, to the Twenty First of June 1712* (London, 1712); *A Collection of All Queen Anne's Speeches, Messages, &c. From Her Accession to the Throne, to Her Demise with a Chronological Table of the Most Remarkable Actions of Her Life* (London, 1714).

[4] [Charles Leslie], *The New Association of Those Called Moderate-Church-Men, with the Modern-Whigs and Fanaticks, to Undermine and Blow Up the Present Church and Government* (London, 1702), p. 11.

[5] See Dror Wahrman, *Mr Collier's Letter Racks: A Tale of Art and Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

FIGURE 14. Edward Collier, *Tromp de l'Oeil with Writing Materials* (1702). London, Victoria and Albert Museum, item P.23-1951. © Victoria and Albert Museum.

Speeches were the most immediate mode of self-presentation available to Anne. Various accounts testify to her impressive skills as a parliamentary orator. The aging diplomat Sir Robert Southwell, who had lived through the civil wars and restoration, remarked that 'never any woman spoke more audibly or with better grace'.[6] And Defoe, who only had access to Anne's speeches in print, acknowledged their impact beyond parliament: 'The Speeches you Majesty is pleas'd to make in Parliament, are look'd upon as Words spoken to all the Kingdom, and the Influences are accordingly Universal'.[7] We have already seen how quickly Anne's declaration of an 'entirely English' heart in her accession speech informed the discourse of Tory panegyric. Other speeches were similarly important.

The early speeches to which Defoe refers usually centred on the war effort, but many also declared her religious policies. Most forceful was her speech to parliament on 25 May, in which she announced

> I shall be very careful to preserve and maintain the Act of Toleration, and to set the minds of all my People at quiet; my own Principles must always keep me entirely firm to the Interests and Religion of the Church of England, and will incline me to countenance those who have the truest Zeal to support it.[8]

The speech deliberately gestured to both parties. The Act of Toleration enabled protestant nonconformists to sidestep the Corporation and Test Acts—originally

6 Sir Robert Southwell to William King, 14 March 1702, in *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1874), p. 242.

7 Daniel Defoe, *A Challenge of Peace: Address'd to the Whole Nation* (London, 1703), sig. A2^{r}.

8 *History and Proceedings of the House of Commons*, III, 202-03; the speech was printed the next day as *Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Monday the Twenty Fifth Day of May 1702* (London, 1702).

designed to exclude Catholics from public office, but all effective against dissenters—by conforming occasionally: that is, taking Anglican communion each year.[9] Because their support base largely comprised latitudinarians and dissenters, the Whig party relied on occasional conformity for political influence. Of course, the Toleration was not as important as some Whigs made out. As Michael J. Braddick notes, 'toleration is a misleading term'.[10] It only suspended the existing penalties for some dissenters; it did not remove them altogether and certainly did not encourage or license dissent. But it was an important line in the sand. And thus many Whig publicists found promising material in Anne's commitment to uphold it. On the other hand, Tories were spurred on by Anne's support for the established church and those with the 'truest Zeal' to defend it.[11] For Tories, the queen's High Church convictions were clear.

Anne did not write these speeches on her own. They were collaborative documents. Anne retained a final say, but this speech, and others, was masterminded by her chief minister Sidney, Earl of Godolphin. Godolphin circulated his drafts among cabinet colleagues and took their feedback into account. With whom he chose to share drafts was based on the desired tone and substance of the speech. Aspects of Anne's accession address, for instance, came from her Tory uncle Lord Rochester, including the reference to her 'entirely English' heart. A draft also exists with annotations in the hand of Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, who we have already encountered as the father of Mary Finch and the uncle of young Heneage Finch, who entertained Anne with his poetry at Oxford. While it may have antagonized Dutch ambassadors, their emphasis on

9 For a general history of occasional conformity in the period, see Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism*, pp. 49-90.

10 Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 331; see Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman, 1689-1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 85.

11 Anne reasserted her policy early the next year: *Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Saturday the Twenty Seventh of February, 1702* (London, 1702 [i.e. 1703]), pp. 3-4.

'Englishness' tallied with the patriotic mood of the moment. More often than not, Godolphin worked with Harley, whose knowledge of parliament was unsurpassed.[12] Their correspondence sheds light on the collaborative process. While accompanying the queen to Bath in September, Godolphin sent a 'rough draft' of a royal speech to Harley, hoping for his 'thoughts and amendments upon it before it be exposed to any body else'. Godolphin underlined 'doubtful' expressions in the draft and encouraged Harley to make remarks and minor corrections 'with all freedom'.[13] Writing to Harley again at the end of the month, Godolphin expressed his gratitude of the 'hints' he received, suggesting that Harley was subtle but perceptive with his comments.[14] Sometimes Harley also sought an outside opinion before returning his corrections to Godolphin, turning at various moments to the High Church cleric Francis Atterbury and, later, the rising satirist and clergyman Jonathan Swift.[15] These speeches were designed to represent Anne as a religious and political moderate. Nonetheless, they possessed an underlying confessional agenda which was essentially Tory. Godolphin and Harley used royal speeches and contrary promises of High Church zeal and protestant toleration to pacify troublemakers of all sides.

Royal proclamations were another vehicle for public relations, which had long

[12] On Harley's central position in the Godolphin ministry, see Angus McInnes, 'The Appointment of Harley in 1704', *The Historical Journal*, 11 (1968), 255-71.

[13] Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, to Robert Harley, 16 September 1702, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 10 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891-1931), IV, 47.

[14] Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, to Robert Harley, 27 September 1702, *Portland Manuscripts*, IV, 48.

[15] G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 67; J. A. Downie and David Woolley, 'Swift, Oxford, and the Composition of Queen Anne's Speeches, 1710-1714', *British Library Journal*, 8 (1982), 121-46. On Godolphin's speech writing, see Shin Matsuzono, 'The House of Lords and the Godolphin Ministry 1702-1710' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1990).

been a cornerstone of the state propaganda machine. The official voice of government, proclamations were constitutional documents, read aloud at court and across the country.[16] Their physical appearance emphasized the queen's authority, with a large royal arms at the top of the page and the equally large first words 'By the Queen'.[17] During Anne's reign they were printed in *The London Gazette* before being reproduced in large numbers and distributed in London and the provinces, where they were cried in local streets and squares. Extra copies were sent to magistrates and clergymen, who read them from the pulpit and posted them in public place. Proclamations were also sold and could be found among the newspapers in taverns and coffeehouses. State machinery facilitated the speedy dissemination of Anne's wishes. Government agents were ready to promote royal policies in every constituency.

Anne's earliest proclamations promoted her religious policies, and, in so doing, advertised her piety. Within a month of her accession, Anne issued an extended proclamation for restraining the publication of 'Heretical, Blasphemous, Irreligious' pamphlets.[18] A month later, Anne's declaration of war against France and Spain invoked 'the Help of Almighty God' for the coming struggle.[19] Within the fortnight she issued further orders for a general fast in terms that emphasized her individual virtue and piety:

> We have, out of Our own Religious Disposition, Resolved, and do hereby Command, that a General and Publick Fast be Observed, throughout this Kingdom, in such manner as is herein after Directed and Prescribed, That so

[16] See Rudolph W. Heinze, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714*, ed. Robert Steele, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910); Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, pp. 82-83.

[17] Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 516.

[18] *By the Queen: A Proclamation for Restraining the Spreading of False News, and Printing and Publishing of Irreligious and Seditious Papers and Libels* (London, 1702).

[19] *Her Majesties Declaration of War Against France and Spain* (London, 1702).

> both We and Our People may Humble Our Selves before Almighty God, in order to obtain Pardon for Our Sins, and may in a most Devout and Solemn manner send up Our Prayers and Supplications to the Divine Majesty, for Imploring His Blessing and Assistance in the Arms of Us and Our Allies.[20]

Importantly, the fast was scheduled for 10 June: James Francis Edward's birthday, a preferred date for Jacobite celebration.[21] Anne's personal piety—her 'own Religious Disposition'—has demanded the fast and thus, once news of them arrived in London, earned victories over the French. Thus the dissenting minister John James Caesar credited military victories to Anne: 'for to Your self, next to the Supreme Director of all, they only owe their birth'.[22] Benjamin Woodroffe, addressing the queen in a dedicatory epistle, described it as '*Victory indeed!* such as God himself will accept in return for all the *other Victories* He hath given, or hath still in store for YOU'.[23] Belief in providence remained a fundamental part of religious life in the period.[24] Anne and her ministers wanted her subjects to believe that the fast had earned the victory and therefore that providence favoured her cause. Sermons and panegyric addresses suggest that people believed her. Other proclamations for fasts, thanksgivings, moral reform, and tax breaks for poor clergymen were issued to similar ends. Religious policy was deemed to bring national prosperity.

[20] *By the Queen: A Proclamation for a General Fast* (London, 1702).

[21] See Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), pp. 213-17.

[22] John James Caesar, *The Victorious Deborah: A Thanksgiving-Sermon for the Most Glorious Success of the Arms of Her Majesty* (London, 1702), sig. A2^{r}.

[23] Benjamin Woodroffe, *A Sermon Preached Before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's Church, Decem. 3. 1702, Being the Day of Thanksgiving* (London, 1702), sig. A2^{v}.

[24] See Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Blair Worden, 'Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England', *Past and Present*, 109 (1985), 55-99; Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, pp. 31-52.

Official prayers were considered equally effectual. As a later Pindaric ode to Anne put it: 'Her Prayers obtain Our Victories'.[25] Occasional prayer books were printed for thanksgivings and other royal events. Otherwise, through repetition in church and print, *The Book of Common Prayer* was a ubiquitous representation of monarchy. It was reprinted in several formats with new material and illustrations soon after Anne's accession, including an engraved frontispiece portrait of Anne wearing the George. Revising the old prayers to accommodate the new monarch, the communion service petitioned God to 'dispose and govern the heart of *ANNE* thy servant, our Queen and Governour, that in all her thoughts, words, and works, she may ever seek thy honour and glory'.[26] Royal speeches and proclamations would have left the public in little doubt that Anne was doing so.

The editors of *The Book of Common Prayer* reinforced Anne's protestant image by adding to the litany a prayer for 'The Princess Sophia, and all the Royal Family'.[27] Writing support for the Hanoverian succession into the ritual fabric of Anglican communion, *The Book of Common Prayer* became an anti-Jacobite document. Whereas the symbolic resonance of the queen taking the Test at her coronation was limited to those who were there or heard about it via newspapers and gossip, this prayer ensured that every Anglican congregation would know about Anne's support for the protestant succession. We do not know who was responsible for this addendum.[28] In 1689 Tenison

[25] Penelope Aubin, *The Extasy: A Pindarick Ode to Her Majesty the Queen* (London, 1708), p. 13. On the public reception of Anne's printed 'forms' of prayer see Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 542.

[26] *The Book of Common Prayer*, sig. B4^{r}.

[27] Ibid., sig. A3^{r}.

[28] Work still needs to be done on *The Book of Common Prayer* in this period. On earlier periods, see Alan Jacobs, *The Book of Common Prayer: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Daniel Swift, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers: The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Judith D. Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

had chaired a committee to prepare a new Anglican liturgy that would draw nonconformists back to the established church. His proposals for major reform were vetoed by convocation.[29] No official committee was tasked with revisions after Anne's accession, and minor alterations seem to have been incorporated without much deliberation, or, at least, much documentation. We cannot assume that Anne and her ministers were directly involved in drafting the changes. There is, though, later evidence of Anne's drafting prayers for public use. Prayers were clearly something that the queen took seriously as a means of communicating her wishes to the nation. It seems likely that she would have taken an interest in this addition to the liturgy.

The publication of court sermons was another, albeit a much less direct, tool for representing royal piety. Sermons were generally preached in the Chapel Royal at James's, where the queen attended communion with members of her court and the royal household. Anne probably picked some of the preachers herself. Otherwise, the Dean of the Chapel Royal, Henry Compton, or Archbishop Sharp were responsible for selecting clergymen appropriate for the honour.[30] Before the end of the year, Anne appointed Sharp her Lord Almoner, placing him in charge of appointing preachers for special occasions.[31] Although Compton and Sharp chose who was to speak, the preachers picked the text themselves.[32]

[29] See Charles Hefling, 'The "Liturgy of Comprehension"', in *The Oxford Guide to The Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, ed. Charles Hefling and Cynthia Shattuck (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 61-63; Timothy J. Fawcett, *The Liturgy of Comprehension, 1689: An Abortive Attempt to Revise The Book of Common Prayer* (Southend-on-Sea: Alcuin Club, 1973).

[30] Most were chosen from the ranks of Chaplains to the Chapel Royal: see *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, ed. John Christopher Sainty and others, 12 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1972), XI, 251-78.

[31] See Jennifer Farooq, 'Preaching for the Queen: Queen Anne and English Sermon Culture, 1702-1714', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2014), 159-69; Pasi Ihalainen, 'The Sermon, Court, and Parliament, 1689-1789', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901*, ed. Keith A. Francis

Over a hundred individual court sermons were published in Anne's reign, two-thirds of which went into multiple editions, often in different formats. They were popular, if not bestsellers.[33] Whereas James Caudle has argued for a decline in the importance of court sermons after Anne's accession, suggesting that parliament became the venue of choice for ambitious preachers, the sheer number of printed court sermons suggests that this is not the complete picture.[34] Under William and Mary, printed court sermons had become a key part of the royal propaganda machine. Mary's court was especially prolific in terms of sermon output.[35] Anne's programme of systematic sermon publication was likely influenced by that of her sister. As Jennifer Farooq has shown, Anne personally picked out her favourite sermons and ordered the preachers to see them through the press. Although Farooq focuses mainly on later sermons, we know this began early from the prefaces. In 1703, for instance, Edward Pelling noted that 'Your Majesty was pleased to command me to Print'.[36] The title pages of royal sermons all conform to a set of typographical conventions, suggesting prescription of some sort from the court. Besides the mention of Anne's '**Special Command**' in official looking black letter, the two biggest words on the page are consistently 'SERMON' and 'QUEEN' in large spaced capitals.[37] On the title pages of court sermons the monarch receives higher

and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 230-44 (pp. 237-39).

32 Sometimes this backfired. In 1712 Henry Hesketh was banned from preaching at the Chapel Royal after he gave a 'very high flying sermon, far exceeding that of Dr. Sacheverel': Luttrell, *Brief Relation of State Affairs*, VI, 602.

33 The ESTC lists 229 individual editions of court sermons printed during Anne's reign.

34 Caudle, 'Preaching in Parliament'. On court sermons in the earlier period, see Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

35 Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, pp. 96-97.

36 Edward Pelling, *A Sermon Preached Before the Queen at Windsor, Oct. 24. 1703* (London, 1703), sig. A2^{r}.

37 On the use of black letter type on title pages, see James McLaverty, 'Swift and the Art of Political

billing than either the preacher or the text. She is consistently positioned as the principal authority behind these texts.

The sermons are ostensibly unremarkable. Anne is mentioned very rarely and the turmoil of contemporary politics features even less. Indeed, her early court sermons appear virtually apolitical. But in this respect they mirror the court sermons of William and Mary, in which, as Tony Claydon argues, the conspicuous absence of overt politics was designed to advertise the court as a 'centre of Christian instruction and edification'.[38] Printed court sermons show Anne at the heart of a devout protestant community, aloof from the intrigues of party. Besides speeches, proclamations, and prayers, these sermons portrayed Anne as a devout Anglican. This early and sustained programme of court publication was the context within which writers celebrated how 'Religion's made her sole, her darling Aim'.[39]

LITERATURE AND ELECTIONS

Elections always provoked an outpouring of party propaganda. 1702 was no exception. The 1701 elections had not returned a clear majority. The Whig and Tories were neck and neck in the House of Commons, so both had everything to play for when Anne dissolved parliament in July. Election campaigns were already underway. Pre-empting the announcement, Tory squires in Derbyshire started planning their campaign for the county within a fortnight of William's death.[40] Campaigns were run on a variety of

Publication: Hints and Title Pages, 1711-1714', in *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*, ed. Claude Rawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 116-40 (p. 123).

[38] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, p. 97.

[39] *The Church of England's Joy*, p. 3.

[40] See the various letters documenting their electioneering in *The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K. G.,*

strategies. Money and largesse were powerful tools of coercion.[41] The funding of provincial coronation celebrations by local politicians demonstrates that. Family allegiances and friendship were also prominent factors. One Tory polemicist reflected that many voters had 'a father, a patron, a landlord, a brother, a kinsman, or benefactor, who desires or perhaps commands me to vote'.[42] Campaigners could also play dirty and leak stories to the press. The Tory candidate for Bury St. Edmunds, Sir Robert Davers, spread rumours about his opponent, John Hervey, to 'blast [his] reputation'.[43] The underhand tactics were successful: Davers kept Hervey out of office.

But the electorate could also be ideologically swayed by texts. Election literature had developed as a genre over the previous two decades.[44] It could be found in sermons, pamphlets, and periodicals, and was usually tailored to specific groups such as dissenters or latitudinarians or High Church Tories. The rhetorical sophistication of these tracts—they are highly persuasive documents—was matched by their strategies of publication and dissemination. Election pamphlets are often highly specific in the constituencies they address. Readers were encouraged to buy polemics in bulk and distribute them in their local constituencies. As one later Whig tract instructed its readers: 'give this book at every house in some one part of a country, city or shire-town in Great Britain, before

Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 3 vols (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888-89), III, 3-4.

41 Frank O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons, and Parties: The Unreformed Electorate or Hanoverian England, 1734-1832* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

42 *A Dialogue: or, New Friendly Debate* (London, 1705), p. 19.

43 *The Letter-Books of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol*, ed. Sydenham Henry Augustus Hervey, 3 vols (Wells: Ernest Jackson, 1894), I, 172.

44 See Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, pp. 166-74; W. A. Speck, *Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-15* (London: Macmillan, 1970); M. E. Ransome, 'The Press and the General Election of 1710', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 6 (1939), 209-21.

new Members of Parliament are chosen'.[45] It mattered that the right pamphlets should be read by the right people in the right places. Matters of readership, location, timing, and circulation must be taken into account in an analysis of these texts' political impact.

Election literature did not need to be new, but had to be relevant. When the polls opened on 16 July, the bookseller William Rogers reissued a 1695 pamphlet by the dead statesman George Savile entitled *Some Cautions Offer'd to the Consideration of Those Who Are to Chuse Members to Serve in the Ensuing Parliament*.[46] Savile's subtle arguments opportunist MPs on either side stood the test of time. Likewise, the fourth edition of *Poems on Affairs of State* was first advertised on 18 July.[47] Perhaps this collection of Whig satire from the Restoration was intended to have an effect. Certainly, Whigs continued to produce texts about William and his legacy. Volume two of Boyer's *History* came out on 15 August and Robert Fleming's *A Practical Discourse Occasion'd by the Death of King William* was published on 9 July. Fleming's pamphlet was consistently advertised in the newspapers during the elections. Advertisements rebranded these texts as electioneering tracts.

Like pamphlets, sermons could persuade voters directly, but they were also designed *ad captandum vulgus*. Whereas access to printed election advice was limited only to those who could afford such items—or read them in the first place—sermons reached a far broader audience.[48] Most parishioners would have heard between one and three sermons a week and city-dwelling protestant dissenters could have heard even more.[49] Despite significant increases in the size of the electorate by the turn of the

45 [Charles Povey], *An Inquiry into the Miscarriages of the Last Four Years Reign* (London, 1714), p. 3.

46 *The Post Boy*, 1119 (16 July 1702).

47 *The Post Man*, 992 (18 July 1702).

48 On the accessibility of political print, see Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, pp. 245-46.

49 Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, pp. 22-34.

century, it was still only a small proportion of the overall population.[50] Swing voters were particularly sensitive to public activism. Polls were public and those without the right to vote put considerable pressure on those who did to cast their ballot the 'right' way. Successful campaigns were therefore usually run on emotive slogans that captured the public imagination, not complex constitutional debate that appealed only to a certain type of voter. For instance, the successful Tory campaign of 1702 was based on the motto, 'no moderation'.[51] Just like the language of 'Englishness' and 'retrieval', 'moderation' became a loaded term, a byword for what Tories viewed as Whig apathy in religion and politics.[52]

Electoral advice sermons were often printed to ensure that the message reached a broader audience. Both pulpit and print were essential cogs in the party propaganda machines. The texts discussed below had a very real effect on the polls.

COORDINATION OF TORY PROPAGANDA

Directly connecting leading Tories to printed election tracts in 1702 is tricky.[53] What evidence we do have points to Oxford as a major centre for the production and

[50] See Geoffrey Holmes, *The Electorate and the National Will in the First Age of Party* (Lancaster: University of Lancaster Press, 1976); W. A. Speck, 'The Electorate in the First Age of Party', in *Britain in the First Age of Party: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. Clyve Jones (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), pp. 45-62.

[51] See Bennett, 'The Era of Party Zeal', p. 62. This slogan actually originated in the election campaign of the previous year: see J. F., *A Letter From the Grecian Coffee-House, in Answer to the Taunton-Dean Letter* (London, 1701), p. 5.

[52] See Pasi Ihalainen, *The Discourse on Political Pluralism in Early Eighteenth-Century England: A Conceptual Study with Special Reference to Terminology of Religious Origin* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1999), pp. 268-75.

[53] James O. Richards, *Party Propaganda Under Queen Anne: The General Elections of 1702-1713* (Athens,

distribution of Tory propaganda. A network of High Church writers operated out of the university, centred on Christ Church, where the eminent High Church cleric Roger Altham was Regius Professor of Greek and Henry Aldrich was Dean. Aldrich had links to the ministry through figures such as Rochester and Atterbury, who had both spent time at the college in previous years. We have already seen how these men encouraged Anne's espousal of High Church principles in her speeches. They were behind the printing of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* at the university press in the weeks leading up to the elections, and therefore instrumental in transforming the *History* into an 'election tract'.[54] Fellows at other colleges were also involved in writing Tory texts, including the young high flyer Henry Sacheverell at Magdalen and Jeremiah Milles at Balliol.[55] In his diary, Milles recalled attending Altham's sermons, as well as reading Clarendon and 'a pamphlet of Mr Sacheverel's'.[56] He also recorded meeting with Sacheverell and other High Church activists from the university and surrounding area on 10 July, one week before polling day in Oxford.[57] Given the timing of their get-together, it seems likely that electioneering strategies were discussed.

Oxford was a safe Tory seat. So, rather than preaching to the converted, Oxford Tories turned their attention to surrounding contested boroughs. Records are scanty, but we know Sacheverell was involved in the electoral campaign of Sir John Pakington,

GA: University of Georgia Press, 1972), pp. 29-53.

54 Mark Knights, 'The Tory Interpretation of History in the Rage of Parties', in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 2006), pp. 347-66 (p. 357).

55 On Sacheverell, see Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London: Methuen, 1973); *The State Trial of Doctor Henry Sacheverell*, ed. Brian Cowan (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); *Faction Displayed: Reconsidering the Impeachment of Dr Henry Sacheverell*, ed. Mark Knights (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

56 Oxford, Balliol College Library, MS 461, pp. 39-40.

57 Ibid.

the Tory member for Worcestershire and one of Rochester's allies.[58] Pakington was up against spirited opposition from the Whig candidate for the county, the Kit-Cat poet William Walsh, who was supported by William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester. Lloyd had commissioned Richard West, a minor hack, to write against Pakington's candidacy. The product was *The True Character of a Church-Man*, a half-sheet that smeared High Church politicians such as Pakington as 'seditious, factious, violent Spirits'.[59] Lloyd bolstered the press campaign with bribes and letters imploring local squires to get out the Whig vote.[60] In response to West, and probably under orders from Pakington, Sacheverell wrote a riposte: *The Character of a Low-Church-Man*. Although written and printed in Oxford, Sacheverell's pamphlet was 'dispers'd very Industriously, especially in *Worcester-shire*', where it was 'Humbly Offer'd to All the Electors of the Ensuing PARLIAMENT'.[61] Tutchin became aware of the pamphlet by early September, when he wrote against it in *The Observator.*: 'These Books are the Fire-balls with which they design to Fire the Church, as their Brethren did the City of *London* in 66'.[62] Presumably *The Character of a Low-Church-Man* also circulated broadly in London—otherwise Tutchin would not have seen it as a threat.

Besides printed election advice pamphlets, Oxford propagandists also influenced sermons in neighbouring boroughs. For instance, the Oxford educated clergyman Charles Palmer preached along similar lines to Sacheverell in the small market town of

58 On Pakington's campaign, see *The House of Commons, 1690-1715*, v, 66-67.

59 [Richard West], *The True Character of a Church-Man, Shewing the False Pretences to That Name* ([London?, 1702]).

60 Some of these letters are printed as evidence in the parliamentary proceedings against Lloyd: see *The Evidence Given at the Bar of the House of Commons, Upon the Complaint of Sir John Pakington, Against William Lord Bishop of Worcester* (London, 1702).

61 *The True Character of a Church-Man, Shewing the False Pretence to that Name. Together with the Character of a Low-Church-Man Drawn in Answer to It. With Remarks* (London, 1702), p. *2.

62 *The Observator*, 39 (5 September 1702).

Towcester, not far from Northampton. Before long Palmer's sermon was published in Oxford by Henry Clements, Sacheverell's bookseller, suggesting his ongoing connections to the university.[63] Sermons were not always delivered by local clergymen such as Palmer, though. Politicians could bring in visiting preachers to support their campaign. In Somerset, for instance, Matthew Hole was summoned to Bridgewater on election day to speak on behalf of the Tory mayoral candidate there, Thomas Beare, who went on to win the office.[64] Hole had already proved himself with a fiery sermon on Anne's coronation which had been printed locally and probably brought him to Beare's attention as an appropriate mouthpiece. Even the most senior Tories lent their services. On 29 September, for instance, Roger Altham was dispatched to London from Christ Church to preach on behalf of Samuel Dashwood, the Tory candidate for the Lord Mayorship. The Oxford don used his sermon to brand nonconformists as a 'Publick Enemy', a 'Common Disturber of all Peace and Order'; they ought to be Corrected by the Roughness of Authority'.[65] Dashwood was elected unanimously immediately after Altham's sermon.

HIGH CHURCH RHETORIC

If the panegyrics discussed in the previous chapter were designed to convince the public that the Tories had an effective war policy and a legitimate rival to Marlborough in the Duke of Ormond, sermons and polemics reflecting on the domestic threat posed by

[63] On the Clements family's place in the national book trade, see Ian Gadd, 'The University and the Oxford Book Trade', in *The History of Oxford University Press*, ed. Ian Gadd and others, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), I, 546-68 (pp. 556-58).

[64] Matthew Hole, *The Danger of Divisions, Together With the Benefit of Unanimity: in a Sermon Preach'd at Bridgwater* (London, 1702).

[65] Roger Altham, *The Just and Pious Magistrate. A Sermon Preach'd at St Lawrence's Church, September the 29th 1702, Being the Day of Election for the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor* (London, 1702), p. 11.

protestant dissent were the other side of the coin. Accusations of republicanism and presbytery were at the heart of the Tory press campaign. Images of Anne as the symbolic mother of the Church of England were the medium through which High Church polemicists voiced this message. For the premier example of Tory electioneering rhetoric we need go no further than Sacheverell's first Oxford sermon, *The Political Union*. A canny strategist, Sacheverell preached it early in the electoral process—on 31 May—ensuring that the printed edition had time to circulate beyond the university.[66] The Tory Vice Chancellor, Sir Roger Mander, authorised the printing of *The Political Union*.[67] We know the sermon was well read in London. Defoe referred to it simply as 'The sermon preach'd at Oxford', assuming familiarity among his metropolitan readers.[68] If we trust Defoe, its influence at the polls was substantial.

Sacheverell's title alluded to the union of monarchy and episcopacy. His objective was to illustrate the mutual dependence of church and state and advocate the creed of monarchical divine right. Those who dissent from the Church of England must, Sacheverell argues, also object to the rule of monarchs; hence, he states, '*Presbytery* and Republicanism go hand in hand, They are but the Same Disorderly, *Levelling Principle*, in the Two Different Branches of Our State, Equally Implacable Enemies of *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*'.[69] Of course, this logic was neither new nor unique to Sacheverell. Over a century earlier Archbishop Whitgift had attacked dissenters in similar terms, albeit without using the word 'Republicanism'.[70] After the restoration of the Stuart monarchy

[66] It was published two days later: see F. F. Madan, *A Critical Bibliography of Dr. Henry Sacheverell*, ed. W. A. Speck (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1978), p. 1.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Daniel Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, ed. P. N. Furbank, W. R. Owens, and others, 8 vols (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2000), III, 114.

[69] Henry Sacheverell, *The Political Union: A Discourse Shewing the Dependence of Government on Religion in General; and English Monarchy on the Church of England in Particular* (Oxford, 1702), p. 50.

[70] See Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism, c. 1530-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University

in 1660, dissenters were frequently and publicly charged with continuing the work of Cromwell in secret. That said, if Sacheverell was not alone in tracing a history of dissent that linked nonconformity with regicide, he certainly helped perpetuate the myth.

In tone and substance, Sacheverell surpassed his predecessors—even Low Church Anglicans and latitudinarians are 'Treacherous *False Friends*, who endeavour to Degrade and Sink' the church and state, a theme on which he would expand, with devastating results, in 1709.[71] Language associated with warfare was key to Sacheverell's mobilization of his audience against Whigs and nonconformists. References to war brought to mind Marlborough's campaigns, suggesting that dissenters were insidious foes of the state who posed a threat similar to—or perhaps even greater than—foreign Catholic enemies. Further links are forged between protestant dissent and Catholicism. Sacheverell described nonconformists as 'Crafty, Faithless, and Insidious Persons'—they have 'Pernicious Designs' resembling '*Machiavel*' and the 'Sly and Insidious Viper', presumably Satan himself.[72] These were all terms most frequently associated with Catholic plotting in this era. Similar language had featured in the Popish Plot propaganda of the late 1670s and also the texts precipitated by the various attempts by Jacobites to assassinate William in the 1690s.[73] Anti-popery was common to all political camps.[74] Sacheverell effectively redirected its idiom against the dissenters.

Press, 2001), p. 134.

71 Sacheverell, *The Political Union*, sig. A2v.

72 Ibid., sig. A2v, pp. 61, 2, 34, 52.

73 On the language of the Popish Plot, see Peter Hinds, *'The Horrid Popish Plot': Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). On the Jacobite plots, see Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 54-57.

74 See Peter Lake, 'Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice', in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 72-106; Scott Sowerby, 'Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England', *Journal of British Studies*, 51

The martial language of Sacheverell's jeremiad was drawn almost exclusively from siege terminology. Dissenters plan to 'Undermine and Destroy' the beleaguered church with their '*Engine*'.[75] This was a technical term for a siege weapon, but other appropriate meanings resonant at the time included an instrument of torture or execution.[76] Such fervid language suggested that the church was not only in danger, but on the verge of destruction, and that action was needed to prevent this. Instead of hanging out the white flag of surrender, Sacheverell enjoined his congregation to 'Hang out the *Bloody Flag*, and Banner of *Defiance*'.[77] At the same time, he drew on current portrayals of Anne as a warrior queen, relating those representations to her militant Anglicanism: 'there is now a Person on the Throne, who so justly Weighs the Interest of Church and State, as to Remove so False an *Engine*, that Visibly Overturns Both'.[78] Sacheverell urged his followers, as the queen's loyal subjects, to join her on the battlefield.

Standing in for the church, Anne is otherwise portrayed as vulnerable and in need of protection. Whereas the queen is described only in gender neutral terms—she is 'Our Sovereign' or the 'Person on the Throne'—the church is personified and made female in the last ten pages of the sermon. Speaking of the church, Sacheverell described 'Its Eternal Honour', 'Its Piety', and 'Its Schismatical, and Domestic Enemies' on one

(2012), 26-49; Kendra Packham, 'Anti-Popery and "Pro-Catholic" Representations and Texts in Seventeenth- and Earlier Eighteenth-Century England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2010).

75 Sacheverell, *The Political Union*, p. 48. See also pp. 24, 34, 42, 54, 61. This siege terminology has only been noticed recently by Howard Weinbrot: see *Literature, Religion, and the Evolution of Culture*, p. 69. Weinbrot does not unpick the full significance of this technical terminology.

76 See Nicholas Brady, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Parish-Church of St Andre's Wardrobe, Sept. 16th, 1703. Before the Incorporated Society of Apothecaries of London* (London, 1703), p. 5.

77 Sacheverell, *The Political Union*, p. 59.

78 Ibid., p. 62.

page, but gives 'Her Fears', 'Her *Injur'd* Arms', and 'Her Sacred Inclosures' on the next.[79] His abundant feminine pronouns are deliberately slippery. Sacheverell exploited a lack of pronominal specificity to evince the political union of church and monarchy, with each standing in for the other. Moreover, the shift to a gendered pronoun occurs at precisely the moment Sacheverell amplifies his siege rhetoric. He hopes to prevent 'Her' from 'Prostituting Her Purity, and Debauching *Her* Religion'.[80] For Sacheverell, any threat to the church was also a threat to the queen and *vice versa*.

The substance of Anne's claim to the throne was also central to the rhetoric of Tory electioneering literature. In another sermon, preached just a few weeks before the polls opened, Sacheverell attacked Whigs who prioritize Anne's parliamentary right to the throne, and also a defence of the principles of *jure divino* monarchy and hereditary succession that he thought underwrote Anne's claim. His salvo against Whigs who 'Question the Right and Title' of the queen was implicitly a critique of revolution principles.[81] It would have been dangerous for Sacheverell openly to denounce the revolution so soon after Anne's accession. Besides, Sacheverell did not want to alienate potential Tory voters by appearing a Jacobite. Via some deft rhetorical manoeuvres, he managed to suggest that Anne came to the throne by 'Long Succession of HER *Royal* Ancestors' without openly declaring his opposition to the Act of Settlement, although this is heavily implied.[82] While his rhetoric remained fiery, Sacheverell's actual message was for the most part toned down.

79 Sacheverell, *The Political Union*, pp. 51-52.

80 Ibid., p. 60.

81 Henry Sacheverell, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the University of Oxford on the Tenth Day of June 1702. Being the Fast Appointed for Imploring a Blessing on Her Majesty and Allies Engag'd in the Present War Against France and Spain* (Oxford, 1702), pp. 11-12. Madan, *Critical Bibliography of Sacheverell*, p. 2. Cowan ignores this sermon in his chronology of Sacheverell controversies, stating that he preached his second sermon at St Mary's on 9 March 1703: see *The State Trial of Doctor Henry Sacheverell*, p. 35.

82 Sacheverell, *Sermon Preach'd at Oxford on the Tenth Day of June 1702*, p. 13.

Other publicists associated with the Oxford network were equally prolific, if less rhetorically sophisticated, in their references to the queen. They echo and construct polemical arguments around Anne's speeches and proclamations. Hence, in the provocatively titled *The New Association of Those Called Moderate-Church-Men with the Modern Whigs and Fanaticks, to Undermine and Blow Up the Present Church and Government* (1702), Charles Leslie, a nonjuring associate of Clarendon and Rochester, quoted from Anne's 'first *Speech* to the *Parliament*' when she 'Declar'd Her self to be sincerely in Her *Principles* of the *Church of England*, wherein She had been *Educated*'.[83] Likewise the anonymous author of *The Establishment of the Church, The Preservation of the State* (1702) argued 'According to what our most gracious Sovereign was pleas'd to express in her first kind and excellent Speech to the Parliament'.[84] And James Drake, another Tory hack, similarly evoked Anne's speeches by describing 'her sincere Affection and Zeal for our Church' in a pamphlet 'Humbly offer'd to all Electors'. His tract recalled Leslie and Sacheverell by depicting the 'Men of Moderation' as heirs of Cromwell: they 'ruin'd our Religion, Laws and Liberties', destroying rather than upholding those three central tenets of Whiggism.[85] Palmer's sermon even provided marginal glosses directing the reader to printed editions of Anne's speeches.[86]

If Anne's speeches, proclamations, prayers, and sermons possessed an underlying Tory agenda, these High Church tracts provided markers of partisanship that made the queen's private Tory sympathies part and parcel of her public image.

[83] Leslie, *The New Association*, p. 11. The title alluded to the Exclusion Crisis and the so-called 'Protestant Association' of Whigs who swore to resist James's succession.

[84] *The Establishment of the Church, The Preservation of the State: Shewing the Reasonableness of a Bill Against Occasional Conformity* (London, 1702), p. 7.

[85] [James Drake], *Some Necessary Considerations Relating to All Future Elections of Members to Serve in Parliament, Humbly Offer'd to All Electors* (London, 1702), pp. 4-5.

[86] Charles Palmer, *A Sermon Preach'd at Towcester, on the Fast-Day, June 10th 1702* (Oxford, 1702).

Representing the queen as a Tory was a clever electioneering strategy. These Tory publicists exploited Anne's popularity and manipulated her public image for their own political gain. Again, we have to be careful to link causality. But we can be cautiously confident that Tory appropriations of Anne's persona helped them win at the polls. Certainly, there is evidence to suggest that people thought so at the time. One broadside celebrating the Tory landslide attributed the victory to the restoration of Stuart rule:

> Faction dethron'd, and Schismaticks subdued,
> And Anarchy with its Republick Brood;
> As Stuarts Injur'd Race Ascends the Throne,
> And shews a Queen by Natures Laws our own,
> […]
> A Queen like this, and of the Stuarts Name,
> Our Hearts does call for, and our Voices claim,
> And Albion's Sons by late Elections shew
> How much they Pay, tho' not how much they Owe;
> As Real Merit is to [be] Prefer'd
> And change of Members proves that Towns have Err'd.[87]

References to 'Stuarts Injur'd Race' and 'Natures Laws' have fairly blatant Jacobite resonances. Such rampant triumphalism needs to be taken with a pinch of salt, but indicates that the Tory party viewed Anne's accession as a contributing factor to their victory.

THE WHIG CAMPAIGN

The Whig defeat was due to a combination of poor campaign management and political blunders. As we have already seen from provincial correspondence, Tory squires were coordinating their efforts before the end of March. There is no evidence to suggest that

[87] *The Restauration: or, A Change for the Better* (London, 1702). Not in Foxon's *English Verse.*

Whig candidates were similarly prepared.[88] Some Whig grandees also failed to control the votes of their subordinates. For instance, despite his best efforts, Bishop Burnet did not manage to prevent his protégé Thomas Naish from voting for the Tories.[89] Rather than directing their attention at the masses, Whig election advice sermons were preached before Whig congregations at Societies for the Reformation of Manners. No attempt was made to capture the middle ground.[90]

The Whig press campaign was facilitated in part by Whig booksellers and publishers, such as Abigail Baldwin and Benjamin Bragg. They recognized the market demand for political writing and used their resources to reprint Tory polemics with running animadversions. The rapidity with which these printed ripostes could be prepared, marketed, and sold made them a particularly effective vessel for propaganda. Precisely how involved Baldwin and Bragg were in producing these specific texts is impossible to calculate. We do know, however, that Baldwin had a long history of producing and distributing Whig propaganda.[91] She was one of London's premier trade

[88] Richards, *Party Propaganda*, p. 32.

[89] *The Diary of Thomas Naish*, ed. Doreen Slatter (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1965), pp. 48-49.

[90] William Harrison, *A Sermon Preach'd in the Chapel at Coleford, in the Parish of Newland, in the County of Gloucester, Before the Society for the Reformation of Manners* (London, 1702); William Harris, *A Sermon Preached to the societies for the Reformation of Manners, in the Cities of London and Westminster. June 29 1702* (London, 1702).

[91] On Baldwin, see Leona Rostenberg, 'Richard and Anne Baldwin, Whig Patriot Publishers', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 47 (1953), 1-42; see too Treadwell, 'London Trade-Publishers'. John Dunton knew the Baldwins well and applauded Richard Baldwin's Whig politics: '*He was a true Lover of King* William; and after he came on the Livery, always *Voted on the Right-side*': *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Late Citizen of London: Written by Himself in Solitude* (London, 1705), pp. 342-43. Mark Knights rightly emphasizes 'the dangers in analysing the press unreservedly in terms of "Whig" and "Tory"', while also acknowledging that some publishers 'were heavily committed to a political, or religious, cause': *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006),

publishers, managing a business similar to John Nutt's Tory operation at the Savoy. She took a more active interest in political publication than most. Baldwin reissued Sacheverell's *The Character of a Low-Church-Man* with animadversions on each paragraph which draw attention to what are presented as being Sacheverell's political lies. According to the commentary, Whigs 'have been *mis-represented*, and the Country *poyson'd* with wrong Notions about them'.[92] It is 'an Easie and a Common thing' for Tory publicists like Sacheverell 'to call any Design *Treacherous* and *Pernicious* at all adventures, and to invent *Falsities* without number, where Truth is plainly against them'.[93] Again, as with earlier polemic, this Whig riposte relied on manipulating discourses of truth and falsehood. Like the Jacobite claimant, Tory propagandists are labelled '*Pretenders*'.[94]

The pertinence of debates over the succession to polemical argumentation is demonstrated particularly well in the Whig press campaign that responded to the nonjuror David Fitzgerald's screed, *The Exorbitant Grants of William the III Examin'd and Question'd: Shewing the Nature of Grants in Successive and Elective Monarchies* (1703). Fitzgerald was prosecuted for libel in July.[95] He was already known to the authorities. On 5 June 1701 a warrant had been issued 'to apprehend Mr. David

pp. 160-61. Adrian Johns acknowledges that there 'were two main trade publishers' premises, one Whig and the other Tory', but errs in identifying Nutt and Morphew as the Whig publishers and Baldwin as a Tory agent: *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 150.

92 *The True Character of a Church-Man, Shewing the False Pretence to that Name. Together with the Character of a Low Church-Man Drawn in Answer to It. With Remarks* (London, 1702), p. 10.

93 Ibid., p. 33.

94 Ibid., p. 63.

95 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Queen Anne: Preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. R. P. Mahaffy, 4 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1916-), II, 39.

Fitzgerald, for making and dispersing seditious books'.[96] Early in May 1702 he was prosecuted for writing 'a Pamphlet against the Succession' and sentenced to 'appear near the Courts in Westminster-hall, with a Paper pinn'd to his Hat, specifying his Crime', which, according to John Oldmixon, 'was thought to be a very moderate punishment'.[97] His new polemic thus became a target for Whig pens. Tutchin was quick off the mark, exposing the latent Jacobitism of Fitzgerald's tract with the same argument that he had levelled against the author of *The English Muse* the previous April: 'In speaking against King *William*, he Speaks against Her present Majesty, who was included in the same Act of Settlement with King *William*, and is come to the Executive Power by the same Authority as King *William* did'.[98] This was, as we have seen, the default response for Whigs who sought to defend Anne's right as William's constitutional successor.

Just three days after Tutchin's retorts in *The Observator*, a new edition of *The Exorbitant Grants* was published by Benjamin Bragg, with 'REFLECTIONS on each PARAGRAPH' advertised in capitals on the title page.[99] It exposed Fitzgerald's 'Lies and false Reasoning' as well as his 'abundant Rhetorick, which is a meer Flash'. Tutchin may well have been behind the edition: the style is strikingly similar and Bragg was his preferred publisher for prose polemic at this time. Other counter-polemics followed. James Owen, a Welsh Presbyterian minister and prolific pamphleteer, lamented that dissenters were being 'traduced by a Set of Pamphleteers as Hypocrites and dangerous Enemies of the Church'.[100] In an epistle to the queen, Defoe wrote that Whigs and

96 London, National Archives, SP 44/349, p. 143.

97 Oldmixon, *History of England*, p. 270.

98 *The Observator*, 84 (10 February 1703).

99 *The Exorbitant Grants of William the III, Examin'd and Question'd, with Reflections on Each Paragraph* (London, 1703), sig. A1r.

100 [James Owen], *Moderation a Virtue: or, The Occasional Conformist Justify'd from the Imputation of*

dissenters had been ‘Misrepresented to Your Majesty as Enemies to Your Person and Government’.[101] ‘Railing Pamphlets’ and ‘Railing Sermons’ are ‘buffooning our Brethren as a Party to be suppress’d, and dressing them up in a Bare’s Skin for all the Dogs in the Street to bait them’.[102] Like Bragg, Abigail Baldwin also quickly published a Whig response, attacking Tory publicists as ‘*Popish* and *Jacobite* Pamphleteers’.[103] As with the *Reflections*, these animadversions used the supposedly elective nature of Anne’s succession to denounce what Whigs saw as the twisted logic of Tory propaganda.

Like the High Church preachers they sought to discredit, Whig polemicists made extensive use of Anne’s speeches. But whereas Tories such as Altham stressed Anne’s Anglican zeal, Whig publicists emphasized her commitment to uphold the Act of Toleration. Technically, as we have seen, the Toleration was only a suspension of the existing penalties. But such legal realities were overlooked by Whig publicists. In his riposte to Sacheverell, *The Danger of Priestcraft* (1702), John Dennis turned to Anne’s dissolution speech for inspiration: ‘I am not at all alarm’d about keeping up the Toleration. The Queen has given her Word for maintaining it, which I have no reason to mistrust, because I never knew that she broke it’.[104] He also redefined the trope of Englishness—a cornerstone of the Tory election campaign—with new political resonance. Thus he transformed Sacheverell’s description of dissenters as enemies at the gate: ‘the People of *England* are now in the utmost Danger, both from a formidable Enemy abroad, and from a restless Party at home’.[105] A swipe at the Tory patriotism that

Hypocrisy (London, 1703), p. 5.

101 Defoe, *Challenge of Peace*, sig. A3^{v}.

102 Ibid., p. 3.

103 *Animadversions Upon a Seditious Libel, Intitled, The Exorbitant Grants of William III, Examin'd and Question'd* (London, 1703), p. 4.

104 [John Dennis], *The Danger of Priestcraft to Religion and Government, With Some Politick Reasons for Toleration* (London, 1702), p. 19.

105 Ibid., p. 4.

accompanied Anne's coronation, Dennis instead 'esteems one who was born a *Dutchman*, or perhaps a *German*, but is become an *Englishman*, before one who was born indeed an *Englishman*, but is become an Errant *Frenchman*'.[106] For him, the Whig supporters of William III—and of the future Hanoverian succession—are the only true Englishmen. Leslie went on to attack the publication strategy that saw *The Danger of Priestcraft* 'very Industriously *Spread* about the *Town*': 'the *Price Three Pence* is put upon a *New Edition* of it, in a *small Character*, that it may run *Cheap* among the *Common People*'.[107] This, wrote Leslie, was a '*Method* of late much made use of for *Propagating* what is thought'. Dennis's use of cheap print to disseminate partisan depictions of the queen was thus recognized by his opponents as an electioneering strategy.

Defoe similarly relied on Anne's speeches, quoting them more extensively than any other Whig writer. In his 1702 and 1703 polemical tracts alone, he directly mentioned Anne's promise to maintain the Act of Toleration on at least fifteen separate occasions, deliberately inflating the queen's commitment to the policy. Hence, in *An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity* (1702), 'Her Majesty has promised Her Protection, and this Act of Parliament is the Toleration to Tender Consciences, for which Her Majesty openly declar'd Her Self, even to the Hazard of Her Royal Person'.[108] The 'Assurance of her Royal Word' is 'Sacred' and provides a binding covenant.[109] Defoe justified his interpretation of Anne's dissolution speech with further references to the public image that she cultivated. Her role as 'the general Mother' makes her 'the Refuge of all Her Subjects', including the dissenters.[110] He also used Anne's adopted motto to

[106] Dennis, *Danger of Priestcraft*, p. 4.

[107] Leslie, *The New Association*, p. 2.

[108] Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, III, 84.

[109] Defoe, *Challenge of Peace*, p. 12.

[110] Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, III, 90.

make her promise irrefutable: 'The QUEEN gave her word to maintain it! *be not slow of Heart to believe*. She has taken up the famous Motto of *Q. Elizabeth*, *Semper eadem*, and can you so much as doubt she will deface it'.[111] For Defoe and his allies, Anne's iconography positioned her as an undoubted friend of the dissenters.

COUNTER POLEMIC AND *THE SHORTEST-WAY WITH THE DISSENTERS*

Defoe's best known pamphlet of the period, *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church*, was published at the height of this controversy. In this anonymous pamphlet Defoe assumed the voice of a High Church zealot akin to Sacheverell or Leslie, using this guise to propose a final solution to the occasional conformity problem by slaughtering the dissenters: 'Now *let us Crucifie the Thieves*'.[112] His suggestion has long been viewed as satirical. But at the time Defoe's readers failed to get the joke—the pamphlet landed him in the pillory under charges of seditious libel. Only later did Defoe issue an *apologia* passing it off as 'an Irony'.[113]

Taking Defoe at his word, many critics have understood *The Shortest-Way* as an ironic satire prefiguring Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729) by nearly three decades. Such interpretations have necessarily deemed Defoe's pamphlet a failure. Thus Paula Backscheider writes that Defoe 'blundered in every possible way'; the pamphlet was 'an unmitigated disaster for Defoe', opines John Richetti, 'a satirical hoax that misfired'.[114]

111 [Daniel Defoe], *A Dialogue Between a Dissenter and the Observator, Concerning The Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (London, 1703), p. 19. On the attribution to Defoe, see J. A. Downie and Pat Rogers, 'Defoe in the Pamphlets: Some Additions and Corrections', *Philological Quarterly*, 59 (1980), 38-43; see too Furbank and Owens, *Political Biography*, pp. 39-40.

112 Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, III, 109.

113 Ibid., III, 114.

114 Paula Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), p. 48; John Richetti, *The Life of Daniel Defoe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 21.

But what if *The Shortest-Way* accomplished exactly what Defoe wanted it to, at first anyway? This is a possibility that Ashley Marshall has entertained in her provocative argument that *The Shortest-Way* was a counterfeit and not an ironic hoax—an 'intentional fake' designed to spur dissenters and moderates alike into action. As Marshall sees it, the pamphlet is actually 'a piece of religio-political polemic written by someone who wanted to produce a real-world effect'.[115] I share Marshall's sense that *The Shortest-Way* was a calculated forgery. She takes her argument simultaneously too far and not quite far enough, though, suggesting that Defoe wrote a 'monitory' satire.[116] My contention is that *The Shortest-Way* was not intended as a satire first and foremost. It was not supposed to educate, castigate, warn, or, for that matter, amuse. Rather, Defoe was writing as an *agent provocateur*, his pamphlet a clandestine polemic designed to alarm moderates away from Tory policy. Defoe's attack on the High Church party focussed on their appropriation and misrepresentation of Anne as a partisan icon, and on their implicit Jacobitism. As Defoe later put it in a letter to Harley explaining his part in the controversy, *The Shortest-Way* was a response to the 'use' that Sacheverell and his colleagues 'Made of her first Speech'.[117]

First, though, some context. On 4 November, at the behest of Nottingham, William Bromley, another of the Oxford Tories, introduced a bill to prevent the 'inexcusable immorality' of occasional conformity. The bill raised issues of how far

[115] Ashley Marshall, 'The Generic Context of Defoe's *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters* and the Problem of Irony', *The Review of English Studies*, 61 (2010), 234-58 (p. 257). See too Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 134.

[116] See Marshall, *The Practice of Satire*, pp. 151, 161-65. I find Marshall's taxonomy rather unspecific here; while some satires were undoubtedly 'monitory' in the sense she provides, a great many of the texts she labels as such are simply polemics unravelling opposition rhetoric.

[117] Daniel Defoe to Robert Harley, August-September 1704?, in *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. George Harris Healey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 52.

dissent and religious conformity should be licensed in a kingdom with a state church. But the bill was obviously partisan too. The Whigs benefited from occasional conformity and therefore Tories were anxious to limit its benefits. The bill passed easily through the Tory Commons in November but was blocked by the Lords in January, and by dextrous management from Harley and Godolphin, who viewed the bill as dangerously partisan. Defoe was engaged in a sustained campaign against proponents of the occasional conformity bill, from Anne's accession until the 'tack' of December 1704, when Tories attempted to attach the bill onto land tax measures crucial for financing Marlborough's campaigns, making it impossible for the Lords to amend.[118] Their strategy failed, resulting in a rout at the polls the following year.

Before moving on to Defoe's exposure of High Church propaganda, we have to reconsider the publication circumstances of *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*. It probably appeared on 1 December, although no precise date is available. We know that Harley was trying to discover Defoe's identity by 14 December.[119] This was ideal timing for maximum political impact, coming after the occasional conformity bill had been passed by the Commons and just one day before it was sent to the Lords. Others in the book trade also recognized the importance of this moment. If Defoe scored political points from publishing, the Tory publisher John Nutt profited financially. On 5 December he hiked the price of Joshua Barnes's *The Good Old Way*, a barely coded Tory commentary on the bill, from a shilling and sixpence to two shillings.[120] Immediate topicality had a market value.

[118] Clyve Jones '"Too Wild to Succeed": The Occasional Conformity Bills and the Attempts by the House of Lords to Outlaw the Tack in the Reign of Anne', *Parliamentary History*, 30 (2011), 414-27; Yannick Deschamps, 'Daniel Defoe's Contribution to the Dispute Over Occasional Conformity: An Insight into Dissent and "Moderation" in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 46 (2013), 349-61. For a general overview of the crisis, see Holmes, *Politics, Religion and Society*, pp. 195-99.

[119] Backscheider, *Defoe*, p. 100.

[120] *The Post Boy*, 1172 (17 November 1702) and 1180 (5 December 1702).

Unlike Barnes's topical tract, *The Shortest-Way* was not advertised. Both that and the lack of a paper trail leading to Defoe is characteristic of a pamphlet that the author and printer knew would be inflammatory. The imprint of *The Shortest-Way* gives minimal publication information and was designed to shield the identities of those involved in its production—a sensible, albeit ultimately unsuccessful, precaution to avoid prosecution. This was common practice in publishing political tracts, especially Jacobite ones, but practically unheard of for 'satire', which would normally just be published anonymously. The greatest precaution a satirist might usually take would be the use of a trade publisher.

Defoe thought he had taken every step necessary to protect his identity. He had Edward Bellamy, an experienced Whig press agent, deliver the manuscript anonymously on his behalf to George Croome, a printer at Bridewell.[121] Defoe saw Bellamy as a safe pair of hands. No extra parties, such as a bookseller or publisher, were involved in the clandestine production process and none but Bellamy knew of Defoe's role. The whole operation was run on a strictly need to know basis: not a conventional approach for publishing literary satire. Bellamy even had the disgraced radical John Toland working as his agent in the Netherlands, distributing the pamphlet abroad.[122] Should the authorities trace it back to Croome, they would still not be able to discover Defoe's authorship. Of course, in the end, Nottingham suspected that Bellamy might be involved. It was not long before Bellamy was seized for questioning and cracked under interrogation. Defoe was outed just days into the new year.

[121] Paula R. Backscheider, 'No Defense: Defoe in 1703', *PMLA*, 103 (1988), 274-84 (p. 276); on Bellamy, see J. R. Moore, *Daniel Defoe: Citizen of the Modern World*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 113-14.

[122] J. D. Alsop, 'Defoe, Toland, and *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters*', *The Review of English Studies*, 43 (1992), 245-47; on Toland and Sacheverell, see Ted Scheinman, 'UNC Wilson MS 547 – "Blind Zeal or Party Enthusiasm": A Freethought Response to Henry Sacheverell and the Stresses of 1710', *Studies in Philology*, 111 (2014), 375-410.

The historical circumstances of its publication strongly suggest that *The Shortest-Way* was neither ironic nor 'monitory' satire. The cloak-and-dagger operation implies that the pamphlet's efficacy relied on Defoe's identity remaining a secret. That secrecy was essential because the pamphlet was designed to elicit attack from all quarters. Here we might remember Defoe's castigation of Tory polemicists who dress up Whigs 'in a Bare's Skin for all the Dogs in the Street to bait them'.[123] This is what he now had in mind for the High Church brigade. Defoe knew that libels against the new queen were going to be explosive. If *The Shortest-Way* was taken as the work of an unknown High Church fanatic, then the backlash would be directed against the entire party rather than any single extremist individual. If everything went according to plan, many moderates who had previously sided with the Tories would switch allegiance and oppose the occasional conformity bill, which Defoe portrayed as the first step on the road to genocide.

Although we now think of Defoe's proposal for the extermination of the dissenters as the most shocking feature of *The Shortest-Way*, readers at the time considered his libellous portrayal of the queen more scandalous. After all, Altham had previously proposed handling dissenters with 'Roughness'.[124] Leslie expressed a desire to '*Persecute* them, and Reward them as they have Served us'—that is, repaying violence with violence, a motif also present in Sacheverell's '*Bloody Flag*'.[125] When read in this context, Defoe's '*let us Crucifie the Thieves*' was not exceptional. His portrayal of Anne, however, goes beyond the polemics of Leslie, Sacheverell, and Altham. Those writers had used Anne's speeches to refashion her according to the High Church agenda. Defoe, on the other hand, actually calls the queen's integrity into question:

[123] Defoe, *Challenge of Peace*, p. 3.

[124] Altham, *The Just and Pious Magistrate*, p. 11.

[125] Leslie, *The New Association*, p. 12; Sacheverell, *The Political Union*, p. 59.

> WHAT her Majesty will do we cannot help, but what, as the Head of the Church, she ought to do, is another Case: Her Majesty has promised to Protect and Defend the Church of *England*, and if she cannot effectually do that without the Destruction of the Dissenters, she must of course dispence with one Promise to comply with another. But to answer *this Cavil more effectually*: Her Majesty did never promise to maintain the Tolleration, to the Destruction of the Church; but it is upon supposition that it may be compatible with the well being and safety of the Church, which she had declar'd she would take especial Care of: Now if these two Interests clash, 'tis plain her Majesties Intentions are to Uphold, Protect, Defend, and Establish the Church, and this we conceive is impossible.[126]

This was direct libel against the queen. Not only does the speaker suggest that Anne will go back on her public promise to the dissenters, but he does so with an insolent tone—the 'ought' and 'must'—that infers disrespect toward her office. Defoe's High Church persona also reflected on the succession, and the necessity of Anne taking a proactive role in the settlement of the state. 'The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the Right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again', Defoe's persona argues. And to complete his impression he deploys that recent keyword of Toryism discussed in the previous chapter, 'retrieve'. 'The Succession of the Crown has but a dark Prospect', he continues, 'another *Dutch* Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impossible.'[127] Not only will Anne violate her public promise to the dissenters, but, suggests Defoe's persona, she must also undo the Act of Settlement. This blatant Jacobitism was bound to prove controversial to dissenters, moderates, and most Tories alike.

The strategy worked. Within the fortnight Tutchin had issued a salvo against *The Shortest-Way* that targeted the impudence of its royal representations. Seething that 'our Gracious Soveraign Lady escape[s] his Censure less than the Parliament', Tutchin concluded that 'This is certainly the most Impudent Fellow in the World, to Prescribe

[126] Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, III, 103.

[127] Ibid., III, 108.

Rules of Destruction, of any of Her Subjects, to Her Majesty'.[128] Defoe himself was also quick to attack *The Shortest-Way*—albeit in his usual authorial persona—in *Reflections Upon a Late Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlet*.[129] This was another pamphlet of counter-polemical animadversions: a technique familiar from responses to Fitzgerald's *Exorbitant Grants* and Sacheverell's *Character of a Low-Church-Man* in previous months. Defoe placed *The Shortest-Way* among the High Church polemics. He states that its arguments and aims are also 'to be found in the Pamphlets and Sermons, which have been printed against the Dissenters since K. *William*'s Death'. It is only the title, says Defoe, that is 'a little more bold' and its expressions 'a little more plain' than those which came before.[130] In light of this, the arguments that Defoe deploys against *The Shortest-Way* are much the same as those he levelled against other High Church tracts: by denying 'the Revolution Principles upon which her Majesty's Right and Title is founded' they make the queen an 'Usurper'.[131] Had Defoe's authorship not been discovered, all would have gone according to plan. All but the most ferocious Jacobites were appalled by *The Shortest-Way*, and Defoe managed to influence this opprobrium with his own animadversions on the pamphlet.

Defoe's portrayal of the queen provided the authorities with sufficient grounds for prosecution. Harley recognized *The Shortest-Way* as a dangerous and seditious text.

[128] *The Observator*, 71 (26 December 1702).

[129] Frank Bastian, *Defoe's Early Life* (Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1981), p. 281; Novak, *Defoe*, p. 176. Furbank and Owens are less certain and do not include it in their *Critical Bibliography*. However, Bastian's and Novak's arguments, based on internal and external evidence, seem convincing. We know that it was published by the end of December, as Defoe was exposed as the author of *The Shortest-W*ay on 2 January 1703.

[130] [Daniel Defoe], *Reflections Upon a Late Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlet Entitl'd The Shhortest-Way with the Dissenters; or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. To Which the Said Pamphlet is Prefix'd Entire by Itself* (London, 1703 [i.e. 1702?]), pp. iii-iv.

[131] Defoe, *Reflections Upon a Late Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlet*, p. 20.

Godolphin quickly wrote to Nottingham to explain that Harley 'had a mind to speak to you about a book lately Come out, called, a short way with the Dissenters. He seemed to think it absolutely necessary to the service to the government that your Lordship should endeavour to discover who was the author of it'.[132] Why did Harley think it 'absolutely necessary' to discover the author? And why did the government believe that *The Shortest-Way* was more dangerous than texts such as Sacheverell's *The Political Union* or Leslie's *The New Association*? With Harley working behind the scenes, a marked-up copy of *The Shortest-Way* was eventually brought before parliament on 25 February 1703: 'Which Book was delivered in at the Clerk's Table; where several Paragraph therein were read, in *Folio* 11, 18, and 26' whereon it was resolved that *The Shortest-Way*, 'being full of false and scandalous Reflections upon this Parliament, and tending to promote Sedition, be burnt'.[133]

Why were passages on pages 11, 18, and 26 marked to be read before the House of Commons? That Harley selected them seems likely. None of those pages explicitly mentions the dissenters. But there is a unifying theme. Page 11 concerns the proposed union with Scotland; the final paragraph contains the provocative passage, 'The Crowns of these Kingdoms have not so far disowned the Right of Succession, but they may retrieve it again, and if *Scotland* thinks to come off from a Successive to an Elective State of Government, *England* has not promised not to assist the Right Heir'.[134] Page 18 discussed the 'viperous Brood that have so long suck'd the Blood of their Mother', an allusion to occasional conformity.[135] Page 26 is perhaps the most controversial. It is partially quoted above, but bears quoting in full here:

[132] London, British Library, MS Add. 29589, fol. 400.

[133] *Journal of the House of Commons* (London, 1813), XIV, 207.

[134] Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, III, 103.

[135] Ibid., III, 107.

> The Succession of the Crown has but a dark Prospect, another Dutch Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impossible: Be the House of our future Princes never so well inclin'd, they will be Foreigners; and many Years will be spent in suiting the Genius of Strangers to the Crown, and to the Interests of the Nation; and how many Ages it may be before the English throne be fill'd with so much Zeal and Candour, so much Tenderness, and hearty Affection the the Church, as we see it now cover'd with, who can imagine.[136]

Defoe's now famous phrase 'Now *let us Crucifie the Thieves*' was not cited as evidence against the pamphlet. It looks like parliament did not care what Defoe said about the dissenters. Rather, reading these sections out of context transformed *The Shortest-Way* from a High Church rant into a Jacobite libel—and one that implicated the queen and government to boot. For parliament, Defoe looked like a Jacobite.

When Defoe was discovered and exposed as the author, he attempted to pass off his comments about the dissenters as well-intentioned irony. This was not too difficult. He rebranded *The Shortest-Way* as a satire. But his portrayals of the queen and the Hanoverian succession were less easy to explain and continued to cause outrage. This Defoe had not foreseen. Although the supposed nature and intent of his pamphlet had changed, its content had not. Thus, referencing Anne's dissolution speech from May, the author of *The Fox With His Fire-Brand Unkennell'd and Insnar'd* (1703) protested that 'the Ridiculing and Buffooning of Her Gracious Promise, *to continue them in their tolerated Liberty*, is another of his Ungrateful and Malicious Banters'. It is, he continues, 'a Spightful and Seditious *Sarcasm*, to insult that Excellent Queen for Her Grace and good Nature'.[137] The author of *The Reformer Reform'd: or, The Shortest-Way with Daniel D'Fooe* (1703) similarly observed that Defoe is 'so Audacious in his Book, as to tax Her

[136] Defoe, *Political and Economic Writings*, III, 108

[137] *The Fox With His Fire-Brand Unkennell'd and Insnar'd: or, A Short Answer to Mr Daniel Foe's Shortest Way with the Dissenters* (London, 1703), p. 20.

Majesty's Conduct', quoting the same passage from *The Shortest-Way*.[138] Yet another commentator attacked Defoe's 'Dissident Mistrust of Her Sincerity, which all the Ironies his *Clavis Rhetorica* can furnish him with can never Wipe out'.[139] Irony was no defence.

The *apologia* did not work because Defoe's portrayals of the queen and Hanover proved so contentious, which was, of course, the point in the first place. Put simply, his scandalous portrayal of the royal family still outweighed his supposedly ironical intent. As a result, Defoe's enemies continued to attack *The Shortest-Way* as, in Leslie's words, 'a New *Engine* of the *Faction*', recalling the siege rhetoric espoused by Sacheverell and firmly locating the pamphlet in the wars of party.[140] The High Church brigade saw *The Shortest-Way* for what it really was. Satire or no, the pamphlet was designed 'to Allarm all the *Faction*', that is, the Whigs, 'to the uttermost'.[141] Contemporary readers, before and after the revelation of Defoe's authorship, understood that *The Shortest-Way* used polemical representations of the queen to provoke a real-world effect. In this respect, at least, Defoe's pamphlet worked. The occasional conformity bill was blocked by the Lords.[142] Of course, this was not because of Defoe. Godolphin and Harley were working behind the scenes to ensure that the bill tanked. Their efforts were decisive. But, even so, the bill probably would not have passed amidst the furore over *The Shortest-Way*. The unfortunate unmasking of Defoe has coloured our perception not only of the text but of the episode from which it emerged and the crisis it precipitated. Returning to the time and to politically charged representations of Anne as a Church of England queen reveals

[138] *The Reformer Reform'd: or, The Shortest Way with Daniel D'Fooe* (London, 1703), p. 5.

[139] *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church, with its Author's Brief Explication Consider'd, His Name Expos'd, His Practices Detested, and His Hellish Designs Set in a True Light* (London, 1703), p. 15 (see too pp. 7-9).

[140] [Charles Leslie], *The New Association, Part II. With Farther Improvements* (London, 1703), p. 6.

[141] Ibid.

[142] On which, see Jones, '"Too Wild to Succeed"'.

a very different picture. Perhaps more so than any of his contemporaries, Defoe was alert to the possibilities of royal representations to discuss affairs of state. In poems such as *The Mock-Mourners* and *The Spanish Descent* he used images of Anne to reflect on the nature of royal succession after the revolution—hereditary or elective? In *The Shortest-Way* he exploited the political currency of those representations to intervene in current affairs. A flaw in the plan resulted in his being pilloried for convincingly imitating a Jacobite preacher.

Royal representations were no mere rhetorical device. This chapter has shown that they had a discernible impact on politics in the period. Portrayals of Anne's religion were based on official court publicity material, which pervaded the early eighteenth century public sphere. Royal sermons and speeches were printed and could be found in most coffeehouses. Royal prayers were central to religious life in the period. And royal proclamations dictated government policy from the pulpit and in public places, as well as in print. The resonance of these court publications was far greater than has previously been assumed. Partisan writers amplified different aspects of Anne's religious persona. On the one hand, Tories portrayed the queen as one of the High Church party; on the other, Whigs depicted her as a religious and political moderate inclined to defend protestant dissent. Although both representations had a basis in Anne's words, both, I have argued, involved polemical distortions. Defoe exploited this to devastating effect in *The Shortest-Way*. To make sense of the early polemical writings of Defoe, Sacheverell, and others, one has to remain alert to their shifting contexts, and also to recognize the significances of their politically charged depictions of the queen.

Propaganda texts often occupied an unspoken position on the succession. Sacheverell's advocacy of divine right monarch, hereditary succession, and passive

obedience was implicitly Jacobite. Here Defoe was particularly ingenious, bringing the underlying Jacobitism of High Church propaganda to the surface. Defoe's success in the matter is well demonstrated by the government reaction: the passages against Hanover were deemed most offensive. Just as James Read, William Fuller, and David Fitzgerald had been impeached for their libels on the succession in previous months, so now Defoe faced the pillory for writing what was perceived as a Jacobite tract. But if potentially seditious portrayals of monarchy could break careers, they could make them too. By the time Defoe was released from Newgate in November 1703, he was employed by Harley as a spy and government propagandist. His competence as a polemicist and provocateur recommended him to the minister as a potential agent. If he knew how to use libellous royal representations to manipulate public opinion, then surely he could propagate officially sanctioned ones to similar effect.

Conclusion

Political debate at the outset of the eighteenth century centred on competing images of monarchy. They were a ubiquitous part of public life. At a coffeehouse, a Londoner could pick up a newspaper and read about the goings on of the court, the whereabouts and policies of the queen, and progress of the war. At a bookshop they might purchase a royal proclamation or a court sermon, some topical playing cards, a panegyric, or, if rich enough, a commemorative medal from the Mint. On special state occasions, they could encounter a triumphal procession on the streets of London, or hear or see the fireworks, music, and cannonfire that accompanied the queen's birthday, thanksgivings, or anniversaries. Beyond the capital, too, one might glimpse the queen when she was on a progress. Otherwise, royal events were celebrated with gusto across the nation. The monarch and her court remained a central focus of public political culture.

The central contention of this thesis has been that the 'age of party' and its literature were products of discontent about the settlement of the succession—discontent, I have argued, that was sparked by the accession of a childless Stuart queen. The fragility of the political settlement during Anne's reign was a by-product. There were Tory landslides in 1702 and 1710, but they did not last. The same is true of the Whig victory in 1708. Matters of royal succession, religion, and international diplomacy were at stake, about which the polity fundamentally disagreed. Debates about the legitimacy

of Stuart rule had survived the civil wars and the Glorious Revolution. Those debates culminated at the accession of the last Stuart monarch, Anne, and contributed to the fracturing of partisan orthodoxies. Neither Whigs nor Tories had an established 'party line' on Anne. Rather, intraparty divisions emerged and emphasized different aspects of her heredity and constitutional authority. This rendered her image an inherently unstable battleground for public debate about the future of the British crown.

In the months before Anne's death, succession re-emerged as the major subject of discussion. In parliament, Harley and his allies busied themselves paying off clan chiefs in a pre-emptive (albeit unsuccessful) strike against the Jacobites.[1] Meanwhile, supporters of the Stuart claim such as Francis Atterbury and Harley's deputy Henry St John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, were plotting behind the scenes with James Francis Edward. In literature, the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713 prompted poets to contemplate the future of the nation. Like the literary responses to Anne's accession, panegyrics on the peace occupied a spectrum of positions on the succession. Whig poets such as Thomas Tickell acknowledged the peace as a victory over 'Rival Kings' with a false claim to the British throne, albeit a peace negotiated by apathetic Tories.[2] And yet Stuart loyalists such as Bevil Higgons, who had attacked William in *The Mourners*, now imagined a future in which '*Banquo*'s Race', that is, the Stuarts, will 'possess the *British* Throne'.[3] More subtle was Jonathan Swift's witty protégé William Diaper, who turned his peace poem *Dryades* (1712) into a pensive reflection on the prospect of a Stuart reign. An aspiring member of the Tory Society of Brothers, Diaper made understated references to 'rightful Kings' and bygone days 'When pious Kings enjoy'd the Shepherd's Ease, / And Monarchs sate beneath the shadowing trees',

1 See *Journal of the House of Lords*, XIX, 652-53.

2 Thomas Tickell, *A Poem on the Prospect of Peace* (London, 1713 [i.e. 1712]), p. 7.

3 Bevil Higgons, *A Poem on the Peace* (London, 1713), p. 14.

perhaps a coded reference to Charles and the Boscobel oak.[4] Using Swift as his courier, Bolingbroke gave Diaper an unspecified 'Sum on mony' for *Dryades*, perhaps because he was pleased with these subtle lines against Hanover.[5]

The ambivalence of the moment was best captured by Alexander Pope in *Windsor-Forest*. Like his more established friends Higgons and Diaper, Pope included covert messages in support of the Stuarts and snide references to William III. Hence whereas in William's reign the forest was a 'dreary Desart and a gloomy Waste', now 'Peace and Plenty tell, a STUART reigns' at Windsor. Under foreign kings, Pope suggests, Windsor will turn once more to 'empty Wilds and Woods'.[6] Pope was careful to omit more explicit lines against Hanover before the poem was printed, most pointedly 'Oh may no more a foreign Master's Rage / With Wrongs yet Legal, curse a future Age!'[7] So while Pope hinted at personal Jacobite sympathies in *Windsor-Forest*, he was sufficiently cautious to make contingency plans in the event of a Hanoverian succession. Pope was a realist, and understood that there was little likelihood of a Stuart succession. Certainly, he was no active Jacobite agent. By using ambiguity and symbolism, Pope was able to avoid public commitment to the Jacobite cause and therefore dodge potential censure.[8]

4 William Diaper, *Dryades: or, The Nymphs Prophecy* (London, 1713 [i.e. 1712]), pp. 11, 13.

5 *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Ian Gadd and others, 17 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008-), IX, 471 (see too p. 407). Not much is known about Diaper: see Dirk F. Passmann and Hermann J. Real, 'From "Mossy Caves" to "Rowling Waves": William Diaper's *Nereides: or, Sea-Eclogues*', in *The Perennial Satirist: Essays in Honour of Bernfried Nugel*, ed. Hermann J. Real and Peter E. Firchow (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), pp. 29-48.

6 Pope, *Works*, I, 152-52 (ll. 42, 44, 48).

7 Robert M. Schmitz, *Pope's Windsor-Forest 1712: A Study of the Washington University Holograph* (St. Louis: Washington University, 1952), p. 23.

8 I have discussed this at greater length in 'Pope and the Politics of Panegyric', *The Review of English Studies*, 66 (2015), 106-23.

Topicality gave literature about succession considerable market value. Although *Windsor-Forest* was more or less a flop when it came out, Nicholas Rowe's tragedy *Jane Shore*, which opened at Drury Lane on 2 February 1714, was an immediate box office hit.[9] Rowe's play was subject to censorship prior to production. The main excised lines came from an exchange between the Duke of Gloucester and Lord Hastings, where the duke proposes that they 'Alter' the 'Order of Succession'.[10] An ardent Whig, we might expect Rowe to have come out in support of Hanover. His earlier plays had all made his Whig politics abundantly clear, as had his translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (excerpts from which were published in Tonson's *Miscellanies* in 1704 and 1709). But, as Paulina Kewes points out, the dynastic implications of the scene deleted from *Jane Shore* are far from clear cut.[11] On the one hand, the passage indirectly vindicates the legitimacy of James Francis Edward and his claim to the throne. And yet, on the other, Rowe's derisory glances to the Tory negotiation of the peace treaty signed at Utrecht would have played well to a Whig audience. Kewes has argued that Rowe was aware of the public appetite for debate about succession, that *Jane Shore* 'embodies such debate but does not resolve it'.[12] This is surely correct. Moreover, Rowe's recognition of the topic's commercial potential testifies to its predominance in the public imagination.

Things were not much more stable immediately after Anne's death in August 1714. George's accession was greeted with enthusiasm by the Whigs. Panegyrics on the new king, as Abigail Williams notes, numbered in the fifties—double the number of

[9] See Judith Milhous, 'The First Production of *Jane Shore*', *Theatre Journal*, 38 (1986), 309-21.

[10] *The Exceptionable Passages Left Out in the Acting and Printing of the Tragedy of Jane Shore* (London, [1714?]), p. 1.

[11] See Paulina Kewes, '"The State is Out of Tune": Nicholas Rowe's *Jane Shore* and the Succession Crisis of 1713-14', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64 (2001), 283-308.

[12] Ibid., p. 308.

those greeting Anne's accession.[13] Such poetic fervour resulted partly from attempts to secure patronage from the new regime, partly from attempts to bolster it. Unlike Anne's, the new government failed to engage in a sustained cultural programme vindicating George's right to the throne. The new king's ministers did not contact Newton at the Mint for medals until just a few weeks before the coronation. The Master of the Mint had to enlist help from his friend Sir Samuel Garth to meet the deadline.[14] Court sermons, speeches, proclamations, and prayer books so prominent under Anne were published less frequently and in smaller numbers.[15] George went on a brief progress to Newmarket in 1717, but nothing on the scale of Anne's first trip to Bath.[16] Although, as Hannah Smith has shown, George's government used culture to bolster its credentials, that did not happen straight away. The pressing reality of the Jacobite threat meant that agitprop was less of a priority than strengthening military defences.

Whereas Anne's coronation had united the nation in celebration, George's rushed coronation in October 1714 prompted some Jacobite peers to boycott the ceremony and sparked rioting across the West Country.[17] According to contemporary reports, coronation day festivities at Chippenham were 'interrupted by a *Jacobite* Mob, who, arm'd with Guns, Pistols, and Clubs, marching with Beat of Drum, assaulted and abused the Justices'; in Axminster rioters proclaimed 'the *Pretender* King of England, and drink his Health by the Name of *James* III'; an eyewitness at Birmingham reported that the mob drowned out Hanoverian loyalist songs with chants of 'Sacheverell for

[13] Williams, *Whig Literary Culture*, p. 180.

[14] London, National Archives, Mint 19/3, fols 310-11.

[15] Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London*, pp. 62-63.

[16] See Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 117.

[17] See Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, pp. 173-79; John Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 72-76; Nicholas Rogers, 'Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London', *Past and Present*, 79 (1978), 70-100.

ever, and down with the Whigs. If any one in the Street cry'd God bless King George, he was in Danger of his Life'.[18] The High Church preacher and Tory propagandist was now on a tour of the West Country, where he encouraged the rioters. Some of the rioters even entertained the prospect of open rebellion. According to state papers, the mob at Taunton allegedly intended to 'take up Arms against the King'.[19] One Birmingham troublemaker called John Hargrave even urged his companions to 'pull down this King and Sett up a King of our own'.[20] There could be little doubt precisely whom Hargrave meant.

The Jacobites launched their first coordinated strike against George in September 1715. It had been some months in the making. Back in March, James Francis Edward had appealed to the Vatican for financial and military backing.[21] By August, Bolingbroke was writing to James with messages that time was of the essence: 'Things are hastening to the point, that either you, Sir, at the head of the Tories, must save the Church and Constitution of England or both must be irretrievably lost for ever'.[22] Although the rebellion collapsed in February 1716, popular support for the Stuarts was widespread in Scotland, and, as the coronation day riots demonstrate, in England too. Support for the rebellion in England was clandestine and cultural rather than military. Poems advocating James Francis Edward's claim and the invasion were not uncommon.

[18] *An Account of the Riots, Tumults, and Other Treasonable Practices Since His Majesties Accession to the Throne* (London, 1715), pp. 6, 12-13.

[19] London, National Archives, SP 35/74/2.

[20] London, National Archives, SP 35/74/4.

[21] Lawrence Bartlam Smith, *Spain and Britain, 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue* (London: Garland, 1987), pp. 24, 269; John Baynes, *The Jacobites Rising of 1715* (London: Cassell, 1970), p. 19. See too Jonathan Oates, *The Last Battle on English Soil, Preston 1715* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

[22] Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, to James Francis Edward Stuart, 19 August 1715, in Lord Mahon, *History of England From the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle*, 3 vols, 2nd edn (London, 1839), I, appendix, p. xvii.

They circulated in manuscript among the same communities of authors, transcribers, and readers that had enjoyed the libels on William's death some thirteen years earlier.

Samuel Johnson's future mentor, Richard Savage, belonged to those underground networks of Jacobite writers in 1715. Savage was a master of clandestine publication. His early libels on the Hanoverian succession and general elections of 1715 were passed around opposition coteries, as were poems in support of the rebellion, several of which were also printed as slipsheets and in turn pasted into verse miscellanies by discerning Jacobite collectors.[23] Savage even passed off his 'Littany for the Year', a poem imploring the people to 'restore / The Rightfull Heir', as an old piece by that arch-royalist Samuel Butler. The poem appeared late in 1715 in a new edition of Butler's *Posthumous Works*, disguised as '*A short* LITANY *for the Year* 1649'.[24] The topicality of this verse, published at the height of the rebellion, must have been unmistakable. The only poem published bearing Savage's name at this stage in his career was *To His Most Sacred Majesty*, a deliberately ambiguous panegyric to James Francis Edward. The hopeful tone of the poem suggests that it was written before the rebellion collapsed:

> Then may Your Loyal Subjects hearty Prayer
> Ascend, and reach to the Almighty's Ear:
> May always You, in what You wish, abound,
> Your Expeditions with Success be Crown'd.
> May the Almighty pour on You his Bliss,
> And in the Temple we anoint You His.[25]

23 See London, British Library, HS.74/1983(2); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Rawl. Poet. 207, fols 113-14; Rawl. Poet. 203, fol. 90^{v}; see also Rawl. Poet. 155, p. 98; Eng. Poet. e. 87, p. 105.

24 Samuel Butler, *Posthumous Works in Prose and Verse*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (London, 1715), II, 43-44. Precisely how Savage snuck his poem into the volume is unclear.

25 Richard Savage, *To His Most Sacred Majesty* ([London?], [1715]). See too Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Poet. 203, fol. 64^{v}; London, British Library, MS Add. 29981, fol. 97; New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn c. 570/1, fol. 116^{r}.

By refusing to mention James by name, Savage retained a veneer of plausible deniability—a strategy that we have seen other Jacobite and crypto-Jacobite writers such as William Pittis employ in their poems on Anne's accession. An example closer in time to Savage can be found in the unspecified 'STUART' monarch of *Windsor-Forest*. And yet, by anticipating James's coronation and sacred anointment in 'the Temple', Savage was fairly blatantly hinting at an alternative succession.

It was not long before Savage had his first run-in with the authorities. Early in November, as the Jacobite forces marched into northern England, Savage was arrested for 'having a treasonable Pamphlet in his possession', but soon released after informing on a Jacobite printer.[26] Nonetheless, Savage's loyalties were now known to the authorities. A government spymaster called Robert Girling was put on Savage's case—his job, to assemble the evidence for the prosecution. In a covering letter to the Secretary of State, Girling explained that he had come to know Savage's handwriting 'p^{r}ticularly well', a menacing insight into the extent of his surveillance.[27] He included five Jacobite squibs by Savage as evidence, having obtained the manuscripts from Robert Tooke, a prolific but mercenary bookseller against whom Jacob Tonson later filed for attempted piracy of Steele's *The Conscious Lovers* (1722).[28] Only a timely parliamentary amnesty covering crimes committed in the 'late un-natural Rebellion' saved Savage from the pillory or worse. Indeed, the conditions of that amnesty ensured that previously active Jacobite writers would keep quiet or lower their tone for fear of repercussions.

We are in a very different world after 1716. Admittedly, there were still Jacobite plots and schemes, most prominently the one masterminded by the High Church

[26] *The Weekly Packet*, 175 (12 November 1715).

[27] London, National Archives, SP 35/7/78.

[28] See Shirley Strum Kenny, 'Eighteenth-Century Editions of Steele's *Conscious Lovers*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 21 (1968), 253-61.

bishop Francis Atterbury in 1721.[29] Likewise, James Francis Edward continued to correspond secretly with leading Tories. But these were surreptitious operations, not massive cultural events like the coronation day riots or the rebellion of 1715. Jacobitism in the Tory party seemingly faded out in the 1720s and 1730s, although Whig leaders perpetuated the myth of a Jacobite party for their own political ends.[30] Jacobite sympathizers such as Savage had learnt their lesson, and chose to refrain from making their politics public again. As Daniel Szechi argues, the Hanoverian regime tightened its grip on the polity in the aftermath of the failed Jacobite rebellion.[31] By 1745, Jacobitism had become a movement associated more with Scottish nationalism than the succession to the British throne, a 'confused grab-bag' ideology 'incapable of translating into a programme of political action'.[32] Besides, the Hanoverian bloodline was strong. George I had a daughter and a son, Sophia Dorothea and the future George II, who himself had three daughters and a son, Prince Frederick, by 1714. Hence debates about royal succession, and the political and cultural unrest that they provoked, were by and large done. The Jacobites were defeated. The throne was now secured *de facto* as well as *de jure* for the House of Brunswick. Subsequently, the tectonic shift to Whig hegemony under George I owed as much to the settlement of the protestant succession as to political manoeuvres or statutes such as the Septennial Act, which provided the legislative machinery by which the Whigs clung to power. I do not want to suggest that

[29] See Eveline Cruickshanks and Howard Erskine-Hill, *The Atterbury Plot* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[30] Hanham, 'So Few Facts'.

[31] Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 199-259. See too Ashley Marshall, '"*Fuimus Torys*": Swift and Regime Change, 1714-1718', *Studies in Philology*, 112 (2015), 537-74.

[32] Brean S. Hammond, review of Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 27 (1997), 252-53 (p. 253).

the major subject of political discontent for over half a century was now suddenly no longer at issue, but arguments that succession and competing images of monarchy remained at the centre of political culture after 1716 are tenuous.

What happened next? Although the succession was no longer at the forefront of the public imagination, the language of those earlier debates did not vanish overnight. Rather, the oppositional political culture associated with Jacobitism found new targets. Pope provides an excellent case study, having begun his career under Anne, risen to prominence under George I, and consolidated his status under George II. Take, for example, *The Rape of the Lock*. When Pope completed the expanded version in March 1714, the poem had pronounced political valence. We should not be surprised by this. Although at first glance *Windsor-Forest* and *The Rape of the Lock* appear exercises in two very different genres—topical panegyric and mock-heroic—both were composed either back-to-back or simultaneously in the early months of 1712; both were subsequently revised for publication in 1713 and 1714; and both, when read allegorically, display concern over the succession.[33] Sensing the mood of the new court, and aware that the pro-Stuart politics of *The Rape of the Lock* could yet backfire, Pope issued a proviso to allegorical interpretations in *A Key to the Lock* (1715). The *Key* was written under the pseudonym Esdra Barnivelt. While his identification of Belinda as a guise of 'her late MAJESTY' had legs, his interpretation of the lock as the Barrier Treaty was patently ridiculous.[34] The absurdity of the symbolic reading put forward in the *Key* seems designed to draw attention away from traces of Jacobite allegory in the poem via *reductio ad absurdum*. Clearly Pope thought the days for musing on the succession were

[33] See Erskine-Hill, *Poetry or Opposition*, p. 87; Douglas Brooks-Davies, *The Mercurian Monarch: Magical Politics From Spenser to Pope* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), pp. 180-94; Hone, 'Pope and the Politics of Panegyric', pp. 114-15. Of course, such topical applications of the text are necessarily reliant on the underlying sympathies of individual contemporary readers.

[34] *The Prose Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Norman Ault, 2 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1936-86), I, 185.

over. It is safe to assume that his turn to Homer in 1715 resulted as much from these changing political circumstances as from any professional aspirations. Certainly, Pope thought it prudent to delay publishing the second volume of *The Iliad* until 'the Martial Spirit of the Rebells is quite quelld'.[35] Pope's Whig opponents, led by Thomas Tickell and John Oldmixon, had accused him of imbuing the first volume of his translation with Jacobite language.[36] This was only mudslinging, but still troublesome enough for Pope to postpone his arrangements for publication. In 1717, at the advice of Atterbury, Pope burnt the holograph manuscript of his juvenile Jacobite epic *Alcander, Prince of Rhodes* (1701-03). By this stage, his hopes for a Stuart succession were surely done.[37]

The emergence of Robert Walpole in 1722 as a Whig autocrat changed things yet again. Just as Anne's accession had splintered traditional party allegiances, so Walpole's rise split the Whigs into 'Court Whigs' and the 'Patriot' opposition: a group aligned broadly with Hanover but who rejected Walpole as their leader and mistrusted George II and his favourites. Instead, the Patriot opposition looked to the heir apparent, Prince Frederick. In previous decades this focus on the next in line would have proved antagonistic at best, treasonous at worst. But the Patriots were not looking for a change of dynasty, only of ruler. Nonetheless, they borrowed from an earlier oppositional idiom. Christine Gerrard has amply demonstrated the considerable overlap between Jacobite literature and Whig oppositional writing.[38] The oppositional rhetoric of the

[35] John Gay, Charles Jervas, John Arbuthnot, and Alexander Pope to Thomas Parnell, February 1716, in *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherbern, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), I, 332.

[36] See, for instance, John Oldmixon, *The Catholick Poet: or, Protestant Barnaby's Sorrowful Lamentation* (London, 1716).

[37] I have discussed this episode in 'Pope's Lost Epic: *Alcander, Prince of Rhodes* and the Politics of Exile', *Philological Quarterly*, forthcoming.

[38] Christine Gerrard, *The Patriot Opposition to Walpole: Politics, Poetry, and National Myth, 1725-1742* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); see too Bertrand Goldgar, *Walpole and the Wits: The Relationship of*

1720s and 1730s grew out of an earlier Jacobite counterculture. Former Stuart loyalists including Pope became involved with the movement, despite its political origins in Whiggism. Even seemingly unreconstructed Jacobites of the old school such as Savage and Bolingbroke turned to Prince Frederick, allying themselves with Whig opposition writers such as Aaron Hill, Richard Glover, James Thompson, and George Lyttelton.[39]

Nowhere is this cultural transfer from Jacobitism to Patriotism clearer than in Bolingbroke's treatise on monarchy, *The Idea of a Patriot King*. Written in 1738 for Prince Frederick and his closest disciples, *Patriot King* circulated in manuscript and a tiny but elaborate print run of around ten copies, commissioned by Bolingbroke via Pope.[40] Akin in some respects to Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), *Patriot King* was a humanist mirror for a prince.[41] Bolingbroke provided a utopian portrait of princely conduct: a ruler who will purge corruption from his court, reject self-interest, 'espouse no party',

Politics to Literature, 1722-1742 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976).

[39] See Brean Hammond, *Pope and Bolingbroke: A Study of Friendship and Influence* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984); Isaac Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968); Gerrard, *Patriot Opposition*, pp. 185-238; Clark, *English Society*, pp. 179-85; Quentin Skinner, 'The Principles and Practice of Opposition: The Case of Bolingbroke Versus Walpole', in *Historiographical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb*, ed. Neil McKendrick (London: Europa, 1974), pp. 93-128; Gabriel Glickman, 'Parliament, the Tories and Frederick, Prince of Wales', *Parliamentary History*, 30 (2011), 120-41.

[40] Giles Barber, 'Bolingbroke, Pope and *The Patriot King*', *The Library*, v, 19 (1964), 67-89; Fannie E. Ratchford, 'Pope and *The Patriot King*', *Texas Studies in English*, 6 (1926), 157-77; Frank T. Smallwood, 'Bolingbroke vs. Alexander Pope: The Publication of *The Patriot King*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 65 (1971), 225-41. James McLaverty suggests Pope's edition was printed in 1741: *Pope's Printer, John Wright: A Preliminary Study* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1977), p. 27.

[41] Gerrard, *Patriot Opposition*, pp. 198-203; David Armitage, 'A Patriot for Whom? The Afterlives of Bolingbroke's Patriot King', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997), 397-418 (pp. 401-03); Jeffrey Hart, *Viscount Bolingbroke: Tory Humanist* (London: Routledge, 1965), pp. 83-116.

and bring 'wealth by the returns of industry'.[42] This was no practical manual for political conduct. Rather, Bolingbroke's agenda for a personal monarchy was intended to provide an ideology at once progressive and nostalgic, and therein to unify the Whig and Tory elements of the opposition. In previous decades this appeal for a messianic monarch to deliver the country would no doubt have been redolent of Jacobitism. We might remember the Jacobite adaptations of Virgil's fourth *Eclogue* after Anne's accession. Indeed, several scholars have suggested that Bolingbroke's lack of specificity regarding the identity of the Patriot king may have been designed to accommodate a Stuart prince.[43] But the most likely scenario remains that Bolingbroke used this rhetoric to convert remaining Jacobites to the Patriot opposition.

The political situation changed profoundly after 1716, and the cultural landscape shifted with it, from an age when discussing an alternative succession was treason to an era when it was an affirmation of Whiggism and loyalty to Hanover. As Jonathan Clark puts it, George III was 'the heir of Whig doctrines of kingship which were generically similar to Jacobite ones'.[44] Similar, but fundamentally different. The language of Jacobitism and succession crises had been absorbed into mainstream oppositional politics. The dynastic problem was over. Never again would the future of the British throne appear so uncertain, nor English culture so contingent on royal succession.

42 Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *Political Writings*, ed. David Armitage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 257, 294.

43 Simon Varey, 'Hanover, Stuart, and *The Patriot King*', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 6 (1983), 163-72; Gerrard *Patriot Opposition*, p. 187; Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Alexander Pope: The Political Poet in His Time', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 15 (1981), 123-48 (p. 139).

44 Clark, *English Society*, p. 182.

Appendix

The following table lists significant political events alongside release dates and prices—or as near as they can be ascertained—for many of the works discussed in this thesis, as well as for several apparently lost publications and other texts and prints not discussed herein. It is a deliberately capacious, but by no means exhaustive, documentation of the literary landscape from William's death on 8 March 1702 to the end of the year. I have not included publications that are irrelevant to the subject of this thesis. The table shows that contexts had an almost immediate effect on literary output and the sorts of texts being advertised in the newspapers. Likewise, it shows that while many polemical works were printed 'cheaply' (4d or under), equally many were printed in elite editions.

Where the date and price comes from *The Luttrell File*—reflecting what Luttrell paid but not necessarily the list price—I have marked the entry with an asterisk (*). Where the date and price come from a newspaper advertisement, I have used a dagger (†), and where they are given internally, I have used a double dagger (‡). Other sources are individually noted. Where the price is not given in any of these sources, I have provided an educated guess in square brackets. While I would hazard these prices are mostly accurate, they are necessarily conjecture and should be viewed as such. Likewise, newspaper advertisements are not always a reliable source. They are often the best we have, but headers such as 'This day is published' or 'Tomorrow will be published' can be deliberately misleading and have to be treated with scepticism. Where two conflicting sources give different dates or prices, I have gone by the more reliable source, usually Luttrell. Titles are necessarily abbreviated.

Date	Event	Publication
8 March	William III dies	
9 March		Abel Roper, *A Particular Relation of the Sickness and Death of His Majesty* (1d)*
11 March	Anne's accession speech to Parliament	
13 March		*An Ode on the Death of King William III* [6d]*
		Marshall Smith, *A Pindarique Poem Sacred to the Glorious Memory of King William III* (4d; advertisement gives 6d)*
14 March		*The Mournful Congress: A Poem on the Death of William III* (6d)*
16 March		R. B., *England's Monarchs: Being a Compendious Account of the Most Remarkable Transactions from King William the Conqueror to the Death of our Late Gracious Monarch King William the Third* (1s)†
17 March		*An Elegy on the Death of our Late Gracious Sovereign King William* (3d)†
19 March		Francis Hext, *A Pindarique Ode Sacred to the Memory of William III* [4d]*
		An Elegy from the Mercers on the Death of the Late King William III (1d)*
23 March		*The Glorious Life and Heroick Actions of the Most Potent Prince William the Third* (1s bound)†
		A Congratulatory Poem on the Happy Accession of Queen Anne [1d]*
26 March	Anne issues her first royal proclamation against vice and libellous publications	William Tucker, *A Sermon Preached on the Much-Lamented Death of our Late Gracious Sovereign* [6d]†
27 March		*His Majesty King William III Effigies With the Last Speech He Made to His Parliament* (6d)†
28 March		Edward Clarke, *A Sermon Preach'd at St Maries, Nottingham, Upon Occasion of the Death of King William* [6d]†
31 March		*Batavia in Tears: or, An Elegy From the Dutch* (1d)*
2 April	Wren begins work on preparing scaffolds in Westminster for the coronation	John Oldmixon, *A Funeral-Idyll* (6d)*
		Britannia's Loss: A Poem on the Death of England's Caesar (6d)†
		The Triumphs of William III: Containing an Account of the Most Remarkable Sieges, Sea-Fights, Treaties, and Famous Achievements (4s)†
4 April		*The New Quevedo: or, A Vision of Charon's Passengers* (1s)†
7 April		John Shirley, *A Complete History of the Life, Glorious Actions and Reign of the High and Mighty Prince William* (1s bound)†

Date	Event	Publication
9 April		Elkanah Lewis, *The Weeping Muse* [4d]†
		Albina: or, A Poem on William III (6d)*
		The English Muse: or, A Congratulatory Poem Upon Her Majesty [6d]*
12 April	William's funeral	*The Mournful Poem, on the Royal Funeral of King William the Third* (2d)‡
14 April	Prince George appointed Generalissimo of the English forces	*The True Picture of an Ancient Tory* (6d)†
		Francis Sandford, *The History of the Coronation of James II* (1687) 'in a large folio bound up with a Print of the Coronation of King William and Queen Mary, which will chiefly be followed at the Coronation of her present Majesty'.†
15 April	Wren informs Parliament of his progress building scaffolds in Westminster	
21 April	Carlisle releases details of the coronation procession	*The Life of James 2d, Late King of England* (5s)†
		The Solemnity of the Muses at the Funeral of King William III (6d)*
22 April		Samuel Phillips, *England's Glory: A Congratulatory Poem on the Coronation* [6d]*
23 April	Anne's coronation	*The Church of England's Joy on the Happy Accession of Her Most Sacred Majesty of Queen Anne* [6d; Luttrell gives 22 April]‡
24 April		Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of King William III*, vol. 1 [4s]†
		[Dr Barbon?], *Magna Britannia Triumphans* (2d)*
		England's Triumph in the Joyful Coronation (1d)*
		A Pindarique Ode Dedicated to the Lasting Memory of King William III (6d)*
25 April	John Abell's coronation suite performed at Chelsea College	
28 April	James Read and his associates are arrested for printing a pirated coronation sermon	*Albina, the Second Part: or, The Coronation. A Poem* (6d)*
30 April		John Sharp, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Coronation of Queen Anne* [6d]†
1 May	John Abell's coronation song performed at Stationers' Hall	Ann Dyke, *The Female Muse: A Poem on the Coronation of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne* [3d]*
		Thomas Coney, *A Pindarique Ode Upon Her Majesty's Happy Accession to the Crown* [4d]†
2 May		*The Last Speech of King William the Third on a Copper-Plate, with a Triumphal Arch Over It on Which is Raised a Pedesta and the King Upon It* (2s)†

Date	Event	Publication
2 May		[William Pittis], *The Loyalist: A Funeral Poem in Memory of William III* [6d]†
4 May	Anne declares war against France and Spain	
5 May	'Fitzgerald having writ a Paper against the Succession appeared according to Sentence, near the Courts of Justice in Westminster Hall, with a Paper pinned to his Hat signifying his Crime'†	*A Table of the Regal Succession from the Union of the Houses of Lancaster and York to the Settlement of the Protestant Line by Act of Parliament 1701* (6d)†
7 May		*Albion's Glory: A Pindarique Ode on the Royal Train that Attended the Happy Coronation of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne* [4d]*
8 May		Second edition of Louis de Maurier, *The Lives of All the Princes of Orange* (5s)†
		Henry Park, *The Mourning Curat: A Poem Occasion'd by the Death of our Late Renowned Soveraign Wlliam III* (3d)*
9 May		Richard Burridge, *A Congratulatory Poem on the Coronation* (6d)*
12 May	William's will published in *The Post Boy*	Daniel Defoe, *The Mock Mourners: A Satyr by Way of Elegy* (6d)*
14 May		Francis Hext, *Funeral Oration Sacred to the Immortal Memory of Our Late Most Serene Prince William III* [6d]†
		Joseph Stennett, *A Poem to the Memory of William III* (6d; advertised on 12 May)*
15 May	Royal proclamation for a general fast	
18 May		Samuel Phillips, *The German Caesar: A Panegyrick on Prince Eugene* [4d]†
19 May		Godfrey Kneller, engraved by Michael van der Gucht, *The True Effigies of Her Most Sacred Majesty Queen Anne* (6d, framed for 1s 6d)†
21 May	Prince George is appointed to the post of Lord High Admiral	Richard Daniel, *The Dream: A Poem Occasion'd by the Death of William* (10d; newspaper advertisement gives 1s)*
25 May	Anne delivers final speech to Parliament espousing High Church 'zeal'	
28 May		John James Caesar, *The Glorious Memory of a Faithful Prince in a Sermon Preached Upon the Most Lamented Death of King William III* [6d]†
		Luke Beaulieu, *A Sermon on the Coronation Day Preach'd in Gloucester* [6d]†
31 May	Sacheverell preaches at St Mary's, Oxford	

Date	Event	Publication
1 June	Concert of coronation music performed at Hampstead-Wells	John Hughes, *The House of Nassau: A Pindarick Ode* [6d]*
2 June	George visits the fleet at Portsmouth	Henry Sacheverell, *The Political Union* [1s][1]
		Third edition of Joseph Stennett, *A Poem to the Memory of His Late Majesty William III* (6d)†
		Second edition of Richard Daniel, *The Dream: A Poem Occasion'd by the Death of William* (1s)†
3 June		*England's Triumph: or, An Occasional Poem on the Happy Coronation of Anne, Queen of England, &c.* (1d)*
6 June		*Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament with Her Majesty's Effigies Curiously Engrav'd on Copper* (6d)†
		A New Set of Ayres in Four Parts for the Coronation of Queen Anne, Compos'd By Mr John Eccles (1s)†
10 June	Appointed a fast day by Anne	
13 June		*King James the Second His Last Dying Words and Expressions, Printed with His Effigies Curiously Engraven by Mr White* (6d; 2s framed; 3s 'in Gold Letters')†
18 June		John Dennis, *The Monument: A Poem Sacred to the Memory of William III* (1s)*
23 June		*The Life of K. James II. Containing an Account of His Enterprizes and Illustrated with Medals* [4s]†
25 June		Henry Sacheverell, *A Sermon Preach'd Before the University of Oxford on the Tenth Day of June* [10d][2]
30 June		Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of King William III*, vol. 2 ('in the Press, and will suddenly be published')†
2 July	Anne dissolves Parliament	
4 July		*A Letter from a Member of the Parliament of Scotland to His Electors, the Gentlemen of the Shire of ———* [4d]†
		[Robert Price], *Gloria Cambriae: or, The Speech of a Learned Gentleman Against a Dutch Prince of Wales* [6d]*
6 July	Dissolution of Parliament and the general elections announced in the *Gazette*	Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, vol. 1 (7s)†

Date	Event	Publication
7 July		[James Drake], *Some Necessary Considerations Relating to All Future Elections of Members to Serve in Parliament* [6d]†
9 July		Robert Fleming, *A Practical Discourse Occasioned by the Death of King William, to Which is Added a Poetical Essay on His Memory* [6d]†
		A True List of the Royal Navy of England in this Year 1702 (3d)†
10 July		Francis Manning, *The Shrine: A Poem Sacred to the Memory of King William* (6d)*
16 July	Polls open	Fourth edition of John Piggott, *The Natural Frailty of Princes Consider'd in a Sermon on the Sad Occasion of the Death of William the Third* [6d]†
		Some Cautions Offer'd to the Consideration of Those Who Are to Chuse Members to Serve in the Ensuing Parliament [reissue of 1695 pamphlet by George Savile?]†
17 July	Polling day in Oxford	
18 July		*The Observator Observ'd: or, A Scourge for an Ingrateful Rebel* [6d]†
		Fourth edition of *Poems on Affairs of State from the Time of O Cromwel to This* (6s)†
20 July	Polling day in London	
23 July		*Suffragium: or, The Humours of the Electors in Chusing Members for Parliament: A Poem* [4d]*
25 July		*An Answer to a Pamphlet Call'd: The New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*: 'by way of Preface' to the 2nd edition of [James Drake], *Some Necessary Considerations Relating to All Future Elections of Member to Serve in Parliament* [6d]†
27 July	Concert of coronation music performed at Hampstead-Wells	Humphrey Mackworth[?], *The Principles of a Member of the Black List* [5s]†
		The History of the Famous May-Pole at Ewelm [2d]*
29 July		[Henry Sacheverell], *The Character of a Low-Church-Man: Humbly Offer'd to All the Electors of the Ensuing Parliament* [6d]†
30 July		George Smith, *Pliny's Panegyrick Upon the Emperor Trajan Rendered into English: Dedicated to Princess Sophia of Hanover* [4s]†
3 August		*The Queen's Most Gracious Speech to Parliament on 25 May 1702: Adorned with the Coronation Medal and Illsutrated with the Royal Arms* (2s 6d)†
		The Proposal to the Lord Mayor for Erecting His Late Majesty's Statue [?]†
4 August		*A Hue and Cry After the Observator* (1d)*
8 August		[John Dennis], *The Danger of Priestcraft to Religion and Government* (6d)†

Date	Event	Publication
15 August	Fleet lands north of Cadiz: Ormond leads the landing party	Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of King William III*, vol. 2 [4s]†
20 August	The polls close: Tory landslide victory	
25 August		*A Dialogue Between the Author of The Observator and William Fuller* (2d)†
26 August	Royal progress sets out from Windsor to Bath: it reaches Oxford	
27 August		*The Dangers of Europe from the Growing Power of France* [3s]†
28 August	Royal progress reaches Bath	
3 September	Anne visits Bristol on progress	
7 September		Peter Shelley, *England's Joy and Duty at Her Majesty's Accession, Set Forth in a Sermon on March 15, But Since Review'd and With Some Small Additions* [6d]†
10 September		*A New and Exact Draft of the City and Harbour of Cadiz* [?]†
11 September		[James Tyrrell], *Bibliotheca Politica: Dialogue the Fourteenth* [3s]†
14 September	Allied forces take the fortress of Venlo [25 September NS]	
19 September	Ormond and Rooke abandon the Cadiz operation and make for England	*The Duke of Ormond's Declaration to the Spaniards* [?]†
21 September		*The Duke of Ormond's Declaration to the Spaniards, Corrected* [?]†
24 September		Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of King William III*, vol. 3 ('in the Press, and will suddenly be published')†
26 September	Call for subscribers for a 'magnificent monumental Structure of compesite Architecture in Perspective, adorn'd with various Figures' to the memory of William III: 'will not be Sold to any but Subscribers under 7s 6d'.†	[William Pittis], *The London Aesop: or, Jest and Earnest on the Present Times* [2d]†
29 September	Samuel Dashwood (Tory) is elected new Lord Mayor of London	Guy Miège, *The New State of England Under Our Present Sovereign Queen Anne: in Three Parts* [5s]†
1 October		*A Defence of the Right of the House of Austria to the Crown of Spain* [?]†
4 October		*A Geographical and Historical Description of Landau* (6d)*

Date	Event	Publication
6 October		*Europa Libera: or, A Probable Expedient to Restore and Recover the Publick Peace of Europe. Humbly Submitted to the Consideration of the Queen and Parliament* [?s]†
8 October	Royal progress leaves Bath and stays for one night at Marlborough	
9 October	Royal progress reaches St James's Palace	
10 October		*A Journal of the Several Sieges of Keiserswaert, Landau and Venlo* (1s)†
		A Georgraphical Description of Landau, with a Diary of the Siege, and a Description of the Island, City, and Port of Cadiz (6d)†
15 October		Abel Boyer, *The History of the Life and Reign of King William III*, 3 vols (12s)†
17 October		*The Life of William the Third, Late King of England, with Many Original Papers, Most of Which Never Before Printed* (6s)†
18 October	Allied forces under Marlborough take the town of Liege [29 October NS]	
20 October	Parliament summoned and elect Harley to the speakership	
23 October	Battle of Vigo Bay: major allied victory	*The Prince of Wales: A Poem* (4d)*
26 October	Debate in the Commons about the use of the word 'retrieved'	[Richard West], *The True Character of a Church-Man, Shewing the False Pretences to that Name: Together with The Character of a Low Church-Man* (1d)†
29 October	Lord Mayor's Day: Anne attends the show for Dashwood, with pageantry by Settle	[Samuel Stoddon?], *Dissenters No Schismaticks* [1s 6d]†
31 October		Second edition of *Europa Libera: With a Postscript Upon the News of Cadiz* [1s]†
1 November	News of Vigo reaches London	
3 November	Royal proclamation for a public day of thanksgiving	*A New Map of the Cost of Spain and Portugal in Which is Very Exactly Described the Town and Bay of Vigo* [1s]†
4 November	William Bromley introduces to the House of Commons the first bill for outlawing occasional conformity	Benjamin Hoadly, *The Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England, Represented to the Dissenting Ministers* [1s 6d]†
5 November		*England's Worthy: or, The Female's Glory, Being the Effigies of Queen Anne* [?]†
7 November		*A New Draught of the Harbours of Vigo, Bayonna and Redondella* [?]†
10 November		Phillip Stubbs, *For God or for Baal: or, No Neutrality in Religion. A Sermon Against Occasional Conformity* [6d]†

Date	Event	Publication
12 November	Public thanksgiving for military victories: Anne attends public ceremony at St Paul's	*The Case of Toleration Recogniz'd* [6d]†
		Second edition[?] of [John Tutchin], *The British Muse: or, Tyranny Expos'd: A Satyr Occasioned By All the Elegies on the Late King James* [6d]*
16 November		*A Sensible Caution to the Members of Parliament, Containing a Modest Vindication of Occasional Conformity* (6d)†
17 November		[Richard Roach], *The Innocent Lampoon: or, The Devote Turn'd Lover. Dedicated and Present to the Queen at Bath* [4d]†
		[Joshua Barnes], *The Good Old Way: or, Three Brief Discourses Tending to the Promotion of Religion and the Glory of the Queen* (1s 6d)†
19 November		*The Establishment of the Church, the Preservation of the State: Shewing the Reasonableness of the Bill Against Occasional Conformity* (4d)†
		A Poem on the Late Glorious Success of the Duke of Ormond at Vigo (4d)*
21 November		Joseph Harris, *Luzara: A Poem on Prince Eugenius of Savoy* (6d)*
23 November		Ned Ward, *Bribery and Simony: or, A Satyr Against the Corrupt Use of Money* (6d)*
24 November		Roger Altham, *The Just and Pious Magistrate: A Sermon Preach'd at St Lawrence's Church on the Day of the Elections for the Lord Mayor* [6d]†
25 November	Occasional Conformity Bill gets passed by the Commons despite 'great opposition'	
27 November		*The Retrievement: or, A Poem Distinguishing Between the Late and the Present Administration*[6d]*
		[Charles Leslie], *The New Association of Those Called Moderate Church-Men with the Modern Whigs and Fanaticks* [6d]†
1 December		[Daniel Defoe], *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters: or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church* [6d][3]
2 December	Occasional Conformity Bill brought up to the Lords	
3 December	Anne makes Marlborough a duke	*Contra Torrentem Brachia: or, A Vindication of Our Present English Liberty in Going Either to Church or to Meetings, and of Going to Both on Occasion* [3d]†
4 December		*The Interest of England Consider'd, in Respect to Protestants Dissenting From the Established Church, with Some Thoughts on Occasional Conformity* [6d]†

Date	Event	Publication
5 December		[Barnes], *The Good Old Way* (price raised to 2s)†
		Second edition of [Leslie], *The New Association* [6d]†
9 December		*Advice to the Whiggs: or, A Challenge to the Jacobites* (1d)*
10 December		*The Sense and Opinion of Several Lords in the Year 1689 About Occasional Conformity, with the Opinion of Convocation in 1700, and of His Late Majesty* [1d]†
		Separation and Sedition Inseperable, Whilst Dissenters and Common-Wealths-Men are Permitted to Control All Public Administrations of Church and State [6d]†
12 December		*An Impartial Account of All the Material Transactions of the Grand Fleet and Land Forces From Their First Setting Out From Spithead* (6d)†
		Second edition of *The Dutch Way of Toleration: Most Proper for Our English Dissenters* [6d]†
14 December	Harley writes to Nottingham concerning *The Shortest-Way*	
15 December		*Anna in Anno Mirabili: or, The Wonderful Year of 1702* (2d)*
16 December		[Edmund Gibson], *The Parallel Contu'd, Between a Presbyterian Assembly and the New Model of an English Provincial Synod* [?d]†
24 December		Playing cards 'Representing the late King James's Reign and Expedition of the Prince of Orange […] taking in the whole History of the late Revolution in England' [possibly London, British Museum, item 1896,0501.920.1-51]†
		John James Caesar, *The Victorious Deborah: A Thanksgiving Sermon* [6d]†
29 December	Nottingham issues an arrest warrant for Edward Bellamy, Defoe's press agent	
30 December	Royal proclamation 'concerning colours to be worn on ships'	W. H., *Thura Britannica: A Congratulatory Poem to Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne and the Whole Realm* (6d)*
31 December		Playing cards 'lately brought from Vigo' (1s)†

[1] Madan, *Critical Bibliography of Sacheverell*, p. 1.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

[3] This is the conventional date attached to Defoe's pamphlet. On the problems of this date, see Jody Greene, *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660-1730* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 238-39.

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