# London School of Economics and Political Science

*The Whig Idea of Europe, 1685-1705*

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**Declaration**

I declare that all the presented here is my own, other than where I have indicated that it is the work of others. All my work is original to this thesis, but some findings have been used for publication elsewhere: I have clearly indicated where this is the case.

The word count is 93,392.

# Abstract

This thesis analyses the Whig idea of Europe in the later 17th century, which claimed that Europe's confessional divide should be the central fact of English foreign and domestic policy. This idea contextualised events like the Nine Years' War (1688-1697) in a timeless Manichean divide between Catholicism and Protestantism. Those studied here argued that the Tories and the anti-Standing Army Whigs contributed to the triumph of enemies like Louis XIV, by furthering narratives that were distractions from the central European divide. Instead of focusing on canonical Whig politicians, this thesis analyses the idea of Europe by reconstructing the print networks of those who communicated it. It does so by tracing factors like citations, advertisements, and court patronage. The thesis demonstrates how a heterodox coalition of magnates, MPs, poets, clergy, pamphleteers, and others, were drawn together by an idea that became a standard rhetorical device throughout the long eighteenth century.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# Acknowledgements

# Introduction

This thesis examines how a group of Whigs deployed ideas of Europe in order to formulate and communicate political ideas in the period 1685-1705. This introduction will justify my focus on the Whigs' idea of Europe as a lodestar for understanding how political ideas were formed and communicated in the late seventeenth century. It does so in three sections. The first reviews the existing literature on questions pertinent to the thesis, the second spells out my method and source-selection rationale, and the third summarises my findings and conclusions.

**Literature Review**

My thesis title – *The Whig Idea of Europe, 1685-1705* – invites three specific questions: Who were the Whigs? How did they communicate? What was their idea of Europe? These three questions are tied to three far broader historiographical questions, which my thesis fits into:

1. How did political groups align in the reign of William III?
2. How did political ideas manifest themselves?
3. How did English people think of Europe, circa 1685-1705?

This literature review considers these three historiographies and my thesis' place within them. By discussing these questions, I am hoping to orient the reader in some of the most pressing historiographical themes that arise in the discussion of my thesis question, as well as highlight the works that have influenced this thesis.

*How did political groups align in the reign of William III?*

It is now uncontentious to state that two political parties – the Whigs and the Tories – were the prime movers in the politics of the 1690s. This was not always the case: current historiography superseded two debunked historical interpretations. These are worth briefly discussing because the current

historiographical consensus is largely built on a rejection of them. The two are best titled the 'connexions' interpretation, and the Court and Country interpretation. The first came from Robert Walcott's adaptation of Lewis Namier's claim that patronage-based 'connexions' were the best explanations of House of Commons voting behaviour. Namier made his argument in the context of the 1760s, and Walcott made his in relation to the 1690s.[1] Using novel genealogical and biographical data, alongside House of Commons voting lists, Walcott tied Members of Parliament to magnates and borough-mongers by family- or patronage-based ties. Parties were rhetorical tools to mask parliamentary management behind these interests. Under this interpretation, the study of any 'Whig idea', whether of Europe or of the state, is a category error, because the parties were smoke and mirrors for patronage. Any intellectual or ideological output were productions of individuals leading connexions to justify their actions ex post facto.

The second, Court and Country interpretation, used a combination of voting lists and contemporary print propaganda to argue that the major dividing line in the politics of the 1690s was between William III and his collaborators building a state suitable to the Court's goals, against a coalition of those who resisted this change and asserted ideas of ancient liberty. Dennis Rubini is the sole historian of parliament to make this argument without major qualification, although a number of articles have stressed a 'Country' consciousness in some parliamentary institutions, actors, and writers.[2] If this interpretation is correct, a study of a Williamite political party's ideas and output needs contextualising within the strength of the Court and Country ideologies.

The current historiographical consensus has been built over five decades. This consensus now rejects entirely the connexions interpretation, and has relegated the Court and Country interpretation as a minor influence in proportion to the two parties. Decades later, it is hard to overstate the influence of three totemic works, that together form the conceptual framework for understanding the centrality of the Tory/Whig bifurcation in later Stuart politics.[3] These works' arguments have been extended and

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[1] Robert Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), building on Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1961)

[2] For the main proposition of a Court/Country thesis, see Dennis Rubini, *Court and Country 1688-1702* (London: Rupert Harris-Davis, 1967). For works exploring aspects of 'Country' ideology on political actors in parliament, see Alan J Downie, 'The Commission of Public Accounts and the Formation of the Country Party', *English Historical Review* 91, no 358 (1976): 33–51. For works on the influence of Country pressure groups and ideas on politicians, see David Hayton, 'Moral Reform and Country Politics in the Late Seventeenth-Century House of Commons', *Past and Present* 128 (1990): 48–91, Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999). For an analysis of the Court/Country imagery, see Charles-Edward Levillain, 'William III's Military and Political Career in Neo-Roman Context, 1672-1702', *The Historical Journal* 48, no 2 (2005): 321–50

[3] These three books are: Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 2nd ed. (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), Peter G M Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England. A Study in the Development of Public Credit,*

superseded by later scholarship, and are consequently rarely cited in this thesis. However, it is worth noting briefly how these three works created the paradigm in which students operate: Geoffrey Holmes analysed the set-piece debates of Anne's reign as flashpoints of ideological conflict between the two parties, as well as establishing how the parties met, lobbied, and organised in Anne's parliaments. J H Plumb condensed the various political issues circa 1675-1725 as a clash of consolidating modernity against those who resisted it. P G M Dickson went into the granular detail of what this modernity was, tracking the growth of the fiscal-military state to service William III's needs in the Nine Years' War.[4]

Plumb and Holmes both argued that the Tory-Whig bifurcation was cemented by Anne's reign, and that the party system of William III was one of flux. The Whig-Tory divide split on three axes. Firstly, while the Tories sought religious homogeneity under the Church of England, the Whigs were more relaxed about English (Trinitarian, non-Roman Catholic) Dissent, either 'comprehended' within a Church or tolerated outside of it. Secondly, while the Whigs were keen prosecutors of anti-Ludovician wars, the Tories favoured navalism and were ambivalent on continental European affairs. Thirdly, while the Whigs welcomed the constitutional changes that strengthened the executive and invited more intrusion and taxation into England, the Tories became more suspicious of these changes.

These simple divides mask factors that confuse modern scholars. If parties were the major divider in parliamentary politics, to what extent did party splits matter (this thesis follows many in seeing the Standing Army debates as an intra-Whig divide, for example)? How did the parties organise themselves (where did they meet, how were they whipped)? How did the Tories move from the party of the royal prerogative to a rabble-rousing anti-Court organisation? And, vice-versa, how did the Whigs – whose luminaries were executed for opposing Restoration Court designs – become a party organised around extending royal power over the legislature, culminating in the Septennial Act and Walpolean control under George I?

Such confusion has had three consequences. Firstly, there is a lamentable lack of narrative analysis of Williamite and Annean parliamentary politics: the best recent work was Julian Hoppit's contribution to the *New Oxford History of England,* which has such a wide remit that it necessarily does not go into

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*1688-1745* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), John Harold Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England* (London: Macmillan, 1967). David Hayton acknowledges this influence in David Hayton, *The House of Commons 1690-1715*, 5 vols vol 1, The History of Parliament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 28

[4] Dickson's work has been built on by John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London: Unwin Hynam, 1989)

detail on what animated the parties.[5] In thirty years, there have been no biographies of any of the parliamentary actors, in spite of some (like Robert Harley) leaving copious correspondence. The most detail is given in David Hayton's introduction to the *History of Parliament* series, which seeks to answer the above questions using the biographical data of Members of Parliament and voting lists.[6]

Secondly, scholars are divided on the extent to which parties existed as literal entities, and are therefore rightly cautious in writing statements like 'The Whig Party did X'. Whereas modern political parties have registered members, brands, finances, recognised leaders, and so on, such markers are less clear in William's reign. Older historians were not preoccupied with this issue: Macaulay discusses parties without examining what the term meant, perhaps because his contemporary party structure was still analogous to the informal networks that had lineage to William's reign.[7] Neither do Keith Feiling or G M Trevelyan, other classic historians of the period, go into depth as to how the parties operated.[8] Although it is clear people met and organised around agreed party political principles, it is also clear that these people were far from the well-whipped party organisers we see today.

Thirdly, history and historiography tend to blur. Rather than self-consciously creating his own conceptual framework, Geoffrey Holmes claimed he was attempting to re-assert how Annean contemporaries viewed politics.[9] To Holmes, what contemporaries said about parties was as close as historians would get to what the parties were: contemporary commentaries therefore provided functional definitions. This method did not adequately account for the fact that most surviving sources were Whiggish. Consequently, Holmes' reproduction of these sources conflate what was objectively true with what one partisan side thought about the other.[10] The historian/politicians Gilbert Burnet, John Oldmixon, Abel Boyer, and others – as well as the huge number of narrative writers paid to flatter the Court, often in Whiggish terms – produced a narrative that framed the ostracization of the Tory party and politics as necessary.

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[5] Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). For instance, see 45

[6] David Hayton, *History of Parliament*, 438-466

[7] Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England From the Accession of James the Second*, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1864).

[8] Keith Feiling, *A History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924). George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England Under Queen Anne*, 3 vols (London: Longmans, 1930).

[9] Holmes, *British Politics*, 13-14

[10] Holmes' descriptions of the Tories are markedly similar to Burnet's. For one example, see Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 67, explaining Tory foreign policy thinking as emotionalist expressions of country bumpkin anxiety.

I address these complications that arise from the perspectives and biases of the available sources in my Method section. However, it is worth noting here that these complications do not undermine the fundamentally appropriate way of viewing the party divides in the period, on foreign policy, ecclesiology, and the constitution. Holmes' and other classical works that have analysed the bifurcation of the party politics of William and Anne's reign will shape (and will continue to shape) studies of the period for decades to come.

*How did political ideas manifest themselves?*

The Whigs communicated their idea of Europe through media that took a variety of forms. Our understanding of the nature and characteristics of these mediums – written, verbal, pictorial – is essential to the meaning of these communications. I interpret the sources in this thesis as attempts to claim to represent a particular social good. This claim was often dressed to serve the ends of partisans or vested interests, and the opposition to those interests was presented as alien or malign to this social good. My understanding of these texts differs with the historiographical tradition of seeing the growth of a rational-enlightened-secular public sphere in the sources produced in this period.

If the media of the 1690s is primarily one of rational critique, where books and pamphlets are produced to interact with recipients' reason to persuade them of the logic and coherence of an idea, then the historian's role is to read them as honest communications of the writers' truth. Jürgen Habermas' theorisation on the public sphere is perhaps the most confident enunciation of the idea of an enlightened London, overcoming prejudices and religiosity through the new institutions that rationally discussed the policies and personalities of their governors.[11] To Habermas, the institution of the coffee-house coincided with, and was supported by, other capitalistic devices: the Bank of England, the ending of pre-publication censorship, and cabinet government. In all, by the turn of the century, England had new spaces to accommodate a new class of people whose wealth derived from spheres of activity outside of government control.[12] To Habermas, their media – verbal in coffeehouses, in print to wider audiences – should be treated as rational attempts to persuade their audience with logic and evidence.

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[11] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Berger (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991), 48
[12] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 58

The validity of Habermas' narrative has been challenged by works showing the links between the ministerial class and their 'independent' criticisers. J A Downie charted the sophisticated links between Tory Prime Minister Robert Harley and London's major press organs, often finding associations even in journals historically critical of Toryism. Downie's study culminates in the claim that Harley controlled five press organs in 1713.[13] Mark Knights moved Downie's micro-focus to a macro-context, studying more generally the complexity of the relationships between those in power, those criticising those in power, and those they represent, arguing that England became a 'representative society', particularly in the reign of Anne.[14] Knights' study makes two key arguments. First, that there were often multiple claimants to representation in the English body politic, as shown in the number of different entities issuing nation-wide, published petitions: 'grand juries, the commission of the peace, the militia, boroughs and corporations (including livery companies and trading bodies), convocation, dioceses, and parish vestries.'[15] Whether Whig, Tory, or Jacobite, these petitions always sought a public audience, as well as the recipient. They always claimed to represent the whole, beginning with the symbolic declaration of loyalty to the national power (the current king or queen). Knights' second key argument builds on the implications of so many claimants to representation, which Knights links to the degradation of truth, brought by the weaponizing of language for partisan ends. To Knights, 'the party struggle was necessarily about the meaning of words.'[16] Both parties used objectivity rhetoric in their publications. With an ever-increasing pressure on truth in a cacophony of party invective, late-Stuart politics seeped into culture. Knights comprehensively shows the growth in prized mannerisms and linguistic modes, and the importance of being 'rational' rather than 'enthusiastic', which came to society.

Recent scholarship on publication history has also emphasised the interwovenness between media, patronage, and political ideas. Publishers in Williamite England are increasingly recognised as political actors,[17] serving partisan audiences,[18] convening partisan authors, and accepting the potential for legal liability if pursued by political opponents.[19] The stakes for communicating ideas and tropes that

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[13] Alan J Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 29-30

[14] Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[15] Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 109-110

[16] Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation,* 210

[17] An old and blunt view is given in Leiona Rostenberg, 'Richard and Anne Baldwin, Whig Patriot Publishers', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 47, no 1 (1953): 1-42; for a recent article, see Joseph Hone, 'John Darby and the Whig Canon', *Historical Journal*, 64, no 5 (2021): 1257-1280

[18] Paul Davis, 'Popery and Publishing in the Restoration Crisis: A Whig Gentry Family's Credit Account with their London Bookseller, 1680-1683', *The Library*, 15, no. 3 (2014): 261-291

[19] Michael Treadwell, *The Stationers and the Printing Acts at the End of the Seventeenth Century,* in The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, eds. John Barnard et al (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 7 vols (2008-

favoured partisan ideas was high, given the unprecedentedly high circulation for printed media.[20] And the ever-present threat of prosecution, and the significant consequences (prison, loss of livelihood, death) that could result, meant publishers were bound by, and to, their political patrons.[21]

When the Whigs communicated to represent, they sought to claim a monopoly of the trappings of legitimacy that came with representing 'the people', 'the commonwealth', 'the nation'. As Ernest Kantorowicz has argued, the claim of the ruler to represent these vague entities was a late medieval idea and communications strategy, which crowded out the idea of a loyal opposition: how could a member of the body politic loyally oppose its head?[22] Anything opposing the government was a faction set against the whole. Representation through arguments – textual, material, imagery – is seen as a characteristic increasingly central to the long eighteenth century, thanks not least to Tim Blanning.[23] The trickiness of the 1690s is that methods of claiming this mantle of representation were changing dramatically. The Civil War meant that the Restoration court was conscious that its legitimacy had to be represented, rather than taken as given (as perhaps before): Tony Claydon has demonstrated William III's awareness that his Court's legitimacy required explicit representation due to his lack of direct hereditary succession.[24]

In line with Blanning and Claydon, this thesis treats much of the output it reads as claims of representation, rather than straight-forward rational-critical attempts to provide evidence to justify an unbiased conclusion. Interpreting these pieces as claims to represent a particular social good or group has methodological implications that are discussed in the next section.

*How did English People Think of Europe?*

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2002), vol 4 (2002), 755-776; Michael Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', *The Library* 4, no. 2 (1982): 99-134;

[20] Natasha Glaisyer, '"The Most Universal Intelligencers": The Circulation of the London Gazette in the 1690s', *Media History* 23, no 2 (2017): 256-280

[21] N M Dawson, 'The Death Throes of the Licensing Act and the 'Funeral Pomp' of Queen Mary II', *Journal of Legal History* 26, no. 2 (2005): 119-142

[22] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* 2nd ed (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016)

[23] Tim Blanning, *Culture of Power and Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

[24] Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Traditional histories of the later seventeenth century attributed the period's political divides to the two parties' different constitutional views of the roles of the king and parliament. However, the insularity of the national narrative of English history, with Europe reported as having very little affect over English history, has been robustly challenged in the last three decades, with the impetus coming from the tricentenary of the Glorious Revolution. A few historians have appreciated the connections of England and Europe. Hoppit's comprehensive introduction to the period stressed the interactions – commercial, diplomatic, military – that English politicians and merchants had with the Continent.[25] Stephen Conway's study related the multifaceted nature of Continental-British-Irish interactions, from the importing of Dutch ideas of economy and constitution following the Glorious Revolution, to both Hanoverian and Jacobite foreign policy angles in the proceeding decades.[26]

Studies linking England to Europe can be grouped in two categories: high political and cultural studies. Bringing together the two strains of literature, it will be shown that contemporaries drew no separation between 'foreign', 'domestic', 'religious', or 'constitutional' politics; some drew no difference between 'Dutch' and 'English'. Instead of Europe being positioned as an entity that secularly influenced a particular element of English development, interactions with the Continent – both intellectual and physical – ought to be more understood as a guide and proxy that enmeshed with constitutional, religious, and social ideas. Indeed, the idea of Europe is a core explanatory factor in the unity of different political parties in William III's reign.

Firstly, high political analyses focus on English foreign-policy, political economy, and constitutional changes, and emphasise the centrality of Europe in the development of English modernity and state growth. William Mulligan and Brendan Simms did this in their *Introduction* by applying Ranke's view that political leaders regarded foreign concerns as paramount over domestic ones in decision-making to English politics.[27] His and Mulligan's essay collection provides particularly bracing arguments in relation to 1694-1714, not least the argument that the Anglo-Scottish Union was predominantly justified in European terms (commitment to the 'Common Cause' and the containment of France),[28] and that the

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[25] Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty?*

[26] Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Similarities, Connections, Identities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[27] William Mulligan and Brendan Simms, 'Introduction', in *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000: How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain* eds. William Mulligan and Brendan Simms (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1–15, 1-4

[28] Andrew C Thompson, 'The Development of the Executive and Foreign Policy, 1714-1760', in *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000. How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 65–78

growth in the Walpolean executive organically developed due to tension with continental powers.[29] Two essays are particularly important to my thesis, which in sum combine to re-write domestic debate and constitutional development as factors inexorably enmeshed with foreign policy.

First, Gabriel Glickman argues that every major Restoration parliamentary crisis was rooted in foreign affairs, from the impeachment of Clarendon in 1667, the attempted exclusion of James (then Duke of York), and finally the Glorious Revolution itself.[30] Glickman also argues that, irrespective of 'Court' or 'Country' ideology, or Stuart or Republican leanings and propaganda, whoever was in charge pursued the same pro-imperial foreign policy, attacking whichever European continental power sought to undermine these ambitions.[31] The disagreement between the court from the body politic came from different diagnoses of which European power was the greatest threat to these ambitions.[32]

The second essay, by David Onnekink, uses the standing army debates of the 1690s to make the same argument for the centrality of foreign policy in parliamentary argument. The Williamite executive was foreign policy-centric, the House of Commons 'did not sufficiently understand international relations'.[33] Onnekink builds on an earlier analysis of the Dutch context for the standing army controversies; arguments that William of Orange was a would-be Caesar dogged him in both the Houses of Parliament and the States General.[34] Through his personality, riding roughshod over constitutional niceties, Onnekink asserts that William III brought 'the primacy of foreign policy' to the English polity in new ways.[35]

Both Onnekink and Glickman establish the link between European affairs, public discourse, and the constitutional changes of England from the Tudor-style early centralisation to the 18th century constitution emphasising trade and parliament. The natural point of asserting this connection comes from England's Dutch tie, through its personal union with the Netherlands through its Stadtholder-

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[29] Allan A Macinnes, 'Anglo-Scottish Union and the War of the Spanish Succession', in *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000. How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain* eds. William Mulligan and Brendan Simms (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 49–64

[30] Gabriel Glickman, 'Conflicting Visions: Foreign Affairs in Domestic Debate', in *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000. How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain* eds. William Mulligan and Brendan Simms (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 15–32, 16

[31] Glickman, 'Conflicting Visions', 19

[32] Glickman, 'Conflicting Visions', 24, 26-27

[33] David Onnekink, 'Primacy Contested: Foreign and Domestic Policy in the Reign of William III', in *The Primacy of Foreign Policy in British History, 1660-2000. How Strategic Concerns Shaped Modern Britain* eds. William Mulligan and Brendan Simms (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 32–48, 42

[34] Levillain, 'William III's Military and Political Career in Neo-Roman Context, 1672-1702'

[35] Onnekink, 'Primacy Contested', 37

King. There is ample evidence to demonstrate William of Orange saw no contradiction between being the rulers of two polities, indeed his letter to the States-General on becoming King of England suggests he regarded the two roles as deeply complimentary.[36]

The Dutch-ness of the Glorious Revolution has led some to provokingly describe it as a Dutch invasion, or a dynastic coup d'état.[37] Dale Hoak writes that British state-building 'was itself a consequence of William III's conquest of England', in the context of Louis XIV's expansion and the apparent need to utilise full state resources to stop him.[38] Consequently, to Hoak, the 'Dutch phase' of the revolution, culminating in the 'heavily armed occupation of London', is the most important; the 'English phase' of the revolution was as mere response to Dutch-dictated reality.[39] A series of essays edited by Hoak and Mordechai Feingold contributes to making his point. For example, D W Jones charts the revolutionary jolt towards Dutch styles of finance to accomplish the 'Common Cause' war aims in William's reign.[40] On imperial policy, Jonathan Israel argues that it fell to 'the Williamite propaganda of the day to insist that the French were England's real and natural foes, and that the Dutch were England's natural allies', attempting to bury deep 17th century Anglo-Dutch rivalry;[41] members of England's body politic continued to press the Dutch-ness and badness of William's invasion through his life.[42]

The Dutch modernity of William's cause, and its effects on English state formation, comes most forcefully from Steve Pincus' *1688: The First Modern Revolution.* Though the politics had to wait for William, Pincus argues England had economically 'gone Dutch' by the Restoration.[43] The multipolarity of the English economy furnished the state with sophisticated discourse from specialist thinkers, driven by imperial expansion, creating a circular, self-sustaining force akin to the Dutch modernisation of earlier decades.[44] Speedily following the revolution, political economists imported wholly, self-

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[36] Abel Boyer, *The History of William the Third in Three Parts*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1702). 3

[37] Dale Hoak, 'The Anglo-Dutch Revolution of 1688-89', in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* eds. David Hoak and Mordechai Feingold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 1–28, 1

[38] Hoak, 'Anglo-Dutch Revolution', 13

[39] Hoak, 'Anglo-Dutch Revolution', 16

[40] D W Jones, 'Defending the Revolution: The Economics, Logistics, and Finance of England's War Effort, 1688-1712', in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* eds. David Hoak and Mordechai Feingold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 59–74

[41] Jonathan Israel, 'England, the Dutch, and the Struggle for Mastery of World Trade in the Age of the Glorious Revolution (1682-1702)', in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89* eds David Hoak and Mordechai Feingold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 75–86, 77

[42] Israel, 'England, the Dutch', 83

[43] Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 50-51

[44] Pincus, *Modern Revolution*, 70-86

consciously, Dutch political economy.[45] Freedom of economics ran concurrently with a liberalised, Dutch-style episcopal policy, and a pro pan-Protestant Church.[46]

As has been shown, there is an enthusiastic school of thought placing Europe – a particularly pro-Dutch, anti-French Europe – at the centre of English high-politics. Concurrently, there is a similarly vibrant historiography on the European dimension of English culture and identity, which stems from new attention on the Grand Tour, particularly following the publication of Jeremy Black's *The British Abroad.* With a renewed archival emphasis, the book is devoted to recording the details of the Tour, with chapters concerning how many people went on the Grand Tour, where they went, how they went, and where they stayed.[47]

Linda Colley used the Grand Tour in her analysis of the European component of English identity, arguing that Britishness and a British belief in empire was drawn from a close proximity to Europe. For one, Europe provided the scene for the British bogey-man of Catholic Universal Monarchy, both in the historical context of the 17th century counter-reformation, and in the contemporary context of the French endorsement of the Pretender.[48] The ability to travel allowed a layered analysis of the connectedness of popery and poverty, associating in turn Protestantism with prosperity.[49] This stark contrast mobilised public opinion behind the English state, raising the stakes between national freedom and Catholic slavery.[50]

The strongest culminative analysis of the Grand Tour and the European dimension of English identity comes from Tony Claydon. Claydon establishes the intimacy of an idea of Europe on the English body politic, demonstrating instances of the use of European tropes in parliamentary debate. These tropes were used in such a way to be commonly understood irrespective of partisan affiliation. For instance, Claydon cites the circulation of a mocking table of contents of William Bromley's Grand Tour guide, containing in-jokes on Europe that exposed Bromley's superficial commentary on various parts of the European continent.[51] This intimacy of Europe was broad based, as evidenced by English willingness 'to be guided round Italy by a Roman Catholic priest', from Richard Lassels' *Voyage*, the first grand tour

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[45] Pincus, *Modern Revolution*, 366, 372, 383

[46] Pincus, *Modern Revolution*, 402, 423

[47] Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011)

[48] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 21-25

[49] Colley, *Britons,* 35

[50] Colley, *Britons,* 55

[51] Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-4

guide.[52] By 1760, thirty guides were published, many running a number of additions, but all taking influences from one another, the repetition demonstrating of common European experience.[53] It was from this intimate understanding of Europe that partisan views on the English identity were formed. The Europe of the Whigs was used to reposition the Tories as unpatriotic and crypto-Jacobite, just as Tory concepts of Europe galvanised their supporters to condemn the Whigs as a party intending to impose Dutch Republicanism on an unsuspecting body politic.[54]

The 'Dutch-ness' of Whig identity is best analysed by Lisa Jardine, who follows Colley in viewing this Dutch-ness as 'British'. *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory*, argues that in every cultural sphere, Dutch ideas became dominant.[55] Part of Jardine's argument, the literal movement of Dutch people into English positions of power, has been reflected in diaspora studies more broadly, and how European communities took their culture and ideas into the English body politic. This idea is comprehensively explored in a series of essays edited by Randolf Vigne and Charles Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens.* For instance, William O'Reilly's in-depth study of the 1709 Naturalisation Act demonstrates a synthesis of mercantilist thinking and pan-Protestant beliefs in both the Naturalisation Act and the settling of refugees from the Palatinate.[56] The diffusion of pan-Protestant thinking is traced back to Henry Compton, who, according to Sugiko Nishikawa, remained in the minority in being apparently uninterested in the conformity of persecuted French Protestants on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, merely seeking their solice from persecution.[57]

The influx of foreign Protestant refugees into England contributed to the 'Europeanisation of England' in one crucial respect: the expanded powers of the English press to cover foreign news, with Dutch-based correspondents sending dispatches to a wide variety of English journals to inform the public on the progression of the War of the Spanish Succession. In one article Jeremy Black identified a 'Holland-London news axis',[58] a theme he elaborates on substantially in *The English Press,* where he argues that

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[52] Claydon, *Making of England,* 15

[53] Claydon, *Making of England,* 17-21

[54] Claydon, *Making of England,* 254-258

[55] Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: Harper Collins, 2008)

[56] William O'Reilly, 'The Naturalization Act of 1709 and the Settlement of Germans in Britain, Ireland and the Colonies', in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland & Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 492–502, 493

[57] Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Henry Compton, Bishop of London (1676-1713) and Foreign Protestants', in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* eds. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (London: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland & Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 359–65.

[58] Jeremy Black, 'The European Idea and Britain 1688-1815', *History of European Ideas* 17, no. 4 (1993): 439–460, 443

the lack of government subsidy generated an incentive for press organs to reliably generate foreign news for news-hungry readers.[59] Defoe's *Review* had as its original full title as *A Weekly Review of the Affairs of France.*

In sum, both through greater understandings of the importance of European event to English politics, and through the analysis deep social nexus tying the English to their Continental neighbours, historians have cemented a European dimension to narratives of English political development.

**Method**

*What was the Whig idea of Europe circa 1685-1705?* One method defines 'Europe' and 'Whiggery' according to previous historical expertise. Archives associated with these definitions can then be searched (military and geography books for Europe; books written by Whigs for Whiggery). Where the two source bases cross over, common themes can be identified that, together, equate to a cohesive Whig idea of Europe. Then, these themes can be applied to a number of political controversies to assess the extent of the creation's application. One can conclude by inserting my analysis of the European dimension of Whig ideas into the general political and intellectual history of the 1690s.

This approach is to label something or someone a 'Whig', and then apply that label in political history ('The Whigs eagerly awaited the arrival of William III'; 'The Whigs split over the junto ministry'). It takes three sub-questions – *Who were the Whigs? What was their idea of Europe? How was their idea used?* – and turns them into a priori assumptions hashed out and settled in historiographical debate. Such a method has the main boon of providing a logical apparatus, which is then necessary for the tackling bigger questions. However, this thesis is not seeking to answer larger questions that require this historiographical shorthand. Instead, its main purpose is to re-create an organic political community that organised in ways that I can usefully call 'Whig' because that term most accurately reflects the group's existence.

My three sub-questions make up my thesis question. In asking these more fundamental and abstract questions, I have selected sources that are rarely (if ever) cited, and are not often connected with the Whigs, partly because some of them come from non-political databases, and partly because they have

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[59] Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), 20-21

been recently digitised. If a standard source-selection rationale would list the authors' ties to the Whigs, then read them, I have sought to gather sources while assuming nothing about who the Whigs were, re-creating the connections between the authors, publishers, and advertisers as authentically as possible. I have done this by trying to tie texts together by theme and in-text citation. The major theme, of course, was 'Europe', and as my research expanded I delineated the sub-themes that make up the structure of this thesis.

This begs the question of how I defined Europe and what texts this definition led me to. My objective was to try to reconstruct contemporaries' own ideas of Europe, and that involved making two searches. The first search was for written materials with 'Europe' in the title, as broadly defined as possible. This search produced an eclectic range of books and pamphlets, from poetry to geography. In reading of these texts, I noted the explicit definitions provided by the authors, as well what was left implicit, to come to an understanding of what these authors' idea of Europe was and what was contested. I could also infer what the authors expected the readers to know already, and what they were seeking to know by reading their work. This search allowed me to evaluate the demand for information on Europe (which I discuss in Chapter 3), as well as to come to an idea of the extent to which a coherent English idea of Europe was formed.

Secondly, I searched the titles on some of Europe's constituent parts, particularly France and the Low Countries (which had various names in English print), as well as Russia and Spain. These pieces, spanning a similar range of genre and intent, gave a picture of the authors' views of what was specifically important about various countries within Europe. This material supplemented the searches of texts concerned with Europe through the authors' use of explanatory contrasts (French people are X, Spanish people are Y), and geopolitical assessments of the states. This second search provided materials used in other chapters in this thesis, because so many of them contributed to the Whig theme of France's nefariousness and influence on foreign states.

Generally, this omnivorous approach to finding out how many English writers thought of Europe had the disadvantage of consuming a great amount of time to analyse texts that were later discarded because of their irrelevance to my search of a Whig concept of Europe. However, this search provided the general contours of English ideas of Europe, which I use sometimes as reference points in relevant chapters. Furthermore, these searches introduced me to the many controversies and debates that consumed the Williamite political system, providing the ground for further investigation to trace these debates.

In tracing these debates, I began to follow the line of argument that eventually led to the bulk of this thesis' study. I only later specifically labelled this line of argument 'Whig', for reasons discussed below. At first, the most important factor for my research was that amidst all of these different genres and ideas that were connected to Europe, a powerful, common thread emerged, that was self-consciously attempting to establish an orthodoxy. This line of argument used the same publishers; the same written style; the same rhetorical symbols. They used the same words to describe the same enemies, and repeated the same myths and narratives to support the point of view they put forward in their works. From the 1680s, this pattern formed and coalesced into a coherent idea of Europe that was reiterated through 1690s and 1700s. My method for tracing this idea involved searching databases and edited collections for pieces that concerned the themes that they repeated, noting their arguments and their citations. The contemporary habit of explicitly noting who agrees with you and who does not ('*In response to Animadversions against the Standing Army*'... et cetera), meant that this was often a straightforward way of collecting sources. Critics were more than happy to label the works they took aim at, often quoting whole passages in their own work. Tracing these back to the ur-pamphlet was a quick way of building the spine of a debate. I grouped pamphlets together partly by their publisher, and partly by the citations given by authors in the body of their pamphlets. Some printers can be tied to specific interests. For others, their publication record makes it evident that they advanced political causes, either through straightforwardly printing clusters of material with an agenda (in favour of tolerating Dissenters, or ridiculing James II, for example), through advertising them prominently at the back page of similar works (the ancestor of Amazon's famous 'If you liked that, you'll love this' section), or through advertising them in their newspapers.

I will take an example from the next chapter on the Whig idea of history. I had come across English-language histories of Europe in my general title search I discussed above. These texts existed on a large spectrum of contemporary political salience, with botanical histories on one end of the spectrum to the 'secret histories' of the Restoration monarchs on the other. Of those particularly contemporary pieces, it quickly became apparent that some of these texts were self-styled revisionist histories, with a political intent to contradict the apparent 'lies' and propaganda of what they perceived as a powerful and damaging alternative historical narrative. This was apparent in their introductions and dedications, which often took aim at the alternative (sometimes straw-man) viewpoint, while valorising their patron who sponsored their point of view. Collecting these texts together through who they cited as their friends and enemies formed a natural bloc of historical ideas. Given the unabashed directness of the

authors, the paper trail was relatively easy to collect, and before long a list of core texts identifying with this revisionist idea of Europe could be stacked against their apparent enemies.

Once the core authors and texts were identified for and against, I expanded my search in a few ways. My intention in expanding the source base was to as accurately represent the views of the authors as possible. I found the published output of each person – friend and foe of those in the debate – and in turn found their arguments and in-text citations. Back-page and newspaper advertisements (with newspaper publishers promoting their book-publishing networks) supplemented the texts in the debate. As the thesis expanded, I found citations from other debates that attached other ideas and authors to the history debate. These were in turn signposted from other sources that did not explicitly intervene in the debate, but either observed and commented tangentially on them. Finally, my later search of the edited collections of printed works produced after the Revolution further supplemented my re-creation of the debate.

In the chapter, I sought to re-create, as authentically as possible, the nature of the Whig history of Europe. Given the number of texts that my search produced, this involved a degree of editorial judgement, which I set to as many objective metrics as possible. These metrics centred on the extent to which the text was discussed by friend and foe alike: how often was it cited, advertised, discussed (insofar as I could ascertain from the diaries of the period), re-printed, and re-issued? For the specific example of this chapter, it was clear using these metrics that five or so texts were particularly important (Gilbert Burnet's *History*, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Abel Boyer's *Biography*, as three examples), which formed the building blocks for the smaller historical pamphlets that coalesced in the same worldview. The chapter is therefore structured to showcase these major works, alongside the others that they influenced, establishing how I believe those influences occurred. Overall, the chapter has sought to be an accurate representation of the ecosystem that advanced the idea of history as put by the protagonists.

Even with these traditionally discussed sources forming the bedrock of my chapter discussion, my source-selection rationale makes for some iconoclastic analysis throughout the thesis. Because, in tying together different sources either through their citations or arguments, political groupings are significantly different to what is normally taken to shape the 1690s. To take some examples, sermons delivered by those traditionally assumed to be against the Whig project contain surprising similarities with the supposed ideological opponents. Huguenots played a more prominent part than often realised. The coalition against 'the Tories' was broad and sometimes contradictory. However, the intention in bringing these sources together in this way is to shed some light on who the Whigs were,

what their idea of Europe was, and how it was used. Through presenting these scarcely-used sources alongside the traditionally-cited ones, I have endeavoured to establish the explicit connection between them, so that by the end of the chapters the reader should see why, for example, Burnet's *History* is discussed alongside preachers, poems, and anonymous pamphleteers.

If my method effectively and authentically reconstructs an idea of Europe, it does not necessarily show how this idea of Europe is 'Whig'. This term is problematic because many political labels and slurs were thrown around in the 1690s and few people labelled themselves positively by their party. I have used the term because it is the label that most accurately reflects the group of people I am discussing. I am not using the term in a concrete, political, parliamentary, sense. Indeed, I am not making any claims about the concrete realities of any of the political groupings of William's reign, as I discuss more thoroughly in my final two chapters. Instead, 'Whig' spells out the idea of Europe that manifested itself in the line of argument this thesis forms, which had two components. Firstly, these writers were a coalition who defined themselves against whoever their opponents were (the French; Catholics; Dissenters; Tories; Republicans), who cited one another, advertised one another's works in journals, used similar lexis and addressed the same issues. Some called themselves 'Whigs', and far more attacked 'Tories'. Some eschewed party affiliation, for different reasons that I discuss where relevant in the thesis. However, whatever their own self-identification, they belonged to a network that produced a worldview that was decidedly aligned with what their contemporaries viewed as Whiggery. Secondly, they prized supporting William III, either by working for the Court in a military or civil capacity, or by propagandising on the Court's behalf. There were different reasons to be attached to William III, some of them contradictory. However, these writers embraced these different symbols and arguments associated with William III's court, irrespective of the type of source (pamphlet or sermon; book or newspaper). I have sought to draw out an idea of Europe that fits as closely as possible to the sources' own ideas. In so doing, and in examining the controversies that pushed the actors together, it can be shown that 'Europe' was used as a unifying idea against the Whigs' opponents. As a geographical entity, a foreign policy, and a confessional imagined map, Europe operated as an ideological underpinning. Europe was at the centre of the Whigs' group formation, both intellectually (discussed in the first half of the thesis) and in political action (discussed in the second half).

**Themes & Findings**

The thesis begins by establishing the broad intellectual emergence on the Whig idea of Europe. Each chapter becomes narrower in scope, intending to show how the broad themes analysed in earlier chapters took on concrete political forms. There is a soft divide between the intellectual formation and political manifestation of the idea of Europe: Understandings of and interactions with the Huguenots had political implications, just as defences of the Standing Army intersected with intellectual understandings of the changing state. However, this divide is necessary and useful, because it conveys the formation, and application, of the Whig idea of Europe. The first half deals with how this idea was formed intellectually, and the second half on how it was applied politically.

*Intellectual Formation*

Three major themes contributed to the emergence of a Whig idea of Europe: the understanding of English history, the arrival of the Huguenots, and periodicals covering European events. For the chapter on English history, I've attempted to mirror the contemporary, more porous idea of works of history, encompassing academic works at one end of the spectrum, to polemical pamphlets and sermons on an imagined past, on the other. These sources together give a wide-ranging idea of what English history was to a certain group of English writers, who cited and advertised one another's works. This historical narrative justified the aggressive pursuit of Louis XIV as a tyrannical usurper of Protestant liberties and had three components. The first was the doctrinal and episcopal connection of the Church of England and the 'primitive Christians'; this coherence legitimated the contemporary Church and positioned the fight of the primitive Christians against the 'usurpations of Rome' as analogous with the contemporary conflict between William III and Louis XIV. The second was the accounts of martyrdom that provided an emotional connection from the first Christians to the 1690s, creating a story of one side nefariously hurting the other, encouraging union to resist this oppression. The third was the stress on human agency, and connectivity, over contemporary non-human forces: Protestants had the greater knowledge and morality to overcome structural forces against them. Taken together, this historical narrative demonstrated to the Whigs that the English and their coalition could and should overcome the Ludovician terror, using their superior faculties to partake in the endless conflict that began with the first Christians.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes seemed to confirm the lessons of this imagined past. In seeking to understand how the Huguenots were received in England, I have sought the broadest source-base possible, combining as many English texts commenting on the Huguenot arrival, with the most cited, most re-issued, works of Huguenots. I show that the influx of Huguenot refugees into England

supported the Whigs' argument for greater pan-Protestant engagement with the European continent. Huguenots profited from an intellectual-religious cohesion that was sympathetic to William's regime, and many prominent Huguenots were patronised by William's court. These Huguenots and others wrote pamphlets that advertised Catholic barbarity, deepening pre-existing anti-Catholic sentiments and imbibing those sentiments with other anti-French concerns, such as Louis XIV's supposed immorality and his striving for universal monarchy. These domestic interventions contributed to the Whigs' argument that Louis XIV was a threat to England and had to be opposed. Further, key Huguenot authors reinterpreted the Glorious Revolution as one synchronising the country with its Protestant co-religionists. In so doing, the Huguenots supported William III's commitment to the Nine Years' War and increased the quantitative and qualitative arguments to carry out an expensive religious-ideological foreign policy.

If the history works constructed a past, and the reception of the Huguenots interpreted a contemporary event, the third theme was an on-going process of refracting and interpreting a dynamic present in a way deferential to the Whig idea of Europe. The periodicals of William III's reign are a source-base that shows how Court officials sought to interpret European events in a narrative arc that suited the monarch. After all, throughout William III's reign, the Court exercised significant powers over the press, and the Whigs used these powers to promote their idea of Europe. Three examples illustrate elements of this press policy: the earliest Williamite media coverage justified William III's coronation in pan-European terms by tying European affairs to English ones, polarising the continent between the nefarious Ludovician powers and the benign Williamite ones. The second example, the Siege of Namur, used a battle victory to rally morale, demonstrating the ties between the growing corpus of English newspapers and the official narrative given through pamphlets and sermons celebrating the victory as a justifier of William III's reign and the struggles of the English in the Nine Years' War. The third example, the election of Pope Innocent XIII, reinforced the moral narrative of a corrupt papacy controlled by the French, revealing the spiritual corruption of Catholicism, and the temporal powers of France. Taken together, these three examples demonstrated a press policy that painted Europe in the light of Whigs' perspectives of a Continent divided, enforcing the moral need of England to side with the good against the existential threat posed by France.

The eclectic range of voices and thoughts brought together in this first half of my thesis have not been assembled in the same piece of work before. Anonymous pamphleteers and news reporters are given as much weight as Gilbert Burnet and Daniel Defoe. Millenarian Huguenots share a platform with

rationalist historians. And yet, the paradoxical coalition of ideas added up to something that contemporaries would have understood as authentic and cohesive.

*Political Application*

One proof that this idea existed in contemporaries' minds was its political manifestations. Throughout the 1690s, such ideas were directly invoked by the Whigs, against their perceived opponents. The 1690s' political chronology is largely mapped out, thanks to existing scholarship, so I have taken the two most contentious of William III's reign – the start and the end – to discern the influence of the idea of Europe on the Whigs' political arguments. In the first, I've studied the depictions of the Tories. Again, I have taken an inclusive approach, reading every depiction of the 'Tories' from 1688 to 1692. I'll show that depictions of the Tories intersected with broader political and religious discourses that demanded unquestioning loyalty to the regime. This regime, using themes that were part of the Whig idea of Europe, claimed to monopolise the legitimate representation of English goodness. Those against the regime were illegitimate, and their representations were foreign, confessionally and literally (i.e. in the pay of the French). Plots and conspiracies, manipulating the baser natures of Englishmen, were presented as an ever-present threat to the body politic. The 'Tories' supposedly took advantage of this state because of their infatuation with French-style, French-led, absolutism. These depictions, emphasising the European dimension of the domestic struggle between the Whigs and their Tory opponents, could be either intellectual or popular, indicating the political purpose of these arguments.

The Standing Army debates provided the second episode in William's reign of public political division between Whigs and their opponents. This debate was qualitatively different to the first, with a more organised opposition, and more historiographical understanding. Therefore, my source-selection rationale is more finessed, taking the canonical anti-Standing Army pieces and placing them alongside the pro-government pieces. The end of the Nine Years' War meant that opponents of the Whigs could challenge the continuation of their wartime measures into peacetime. This second episode demonstrates the complex ways in which Whig ideas of Europe had changed in how they were communicated to the political nation. Earlier themes had become more entrenched, and the idea that European affairs required English intervention was presented as common sense. By the beginning of Anne's reign, the textbook establishment Whig arguments that are familiar to eighteenth century

historians were in place: their opponents were either Jacobite sympathisers or deniers of European geo-political realities.

# Chapter One

## A Common Church, a Common Past: European Connections in Whig Historical Accounts

The 1690s saw an outpouring of historical writing, from long historical narrations, to short political pamphlets that validated a particular view of the English past. This chapter analyses a partisan historical view that emerged and flourished in the 1680s and 1690s, which complemented the new regime of William III, and lobbied for the vigorous prosecution of the Nine Years' War. This historical account was one component of the intellectual spine of the Whig idea of Europe. As will be shown in subsequent chapters, the Whigs' responses to their contemporary political events were framed in the partisan historical narrative analysed here. This narrative argued that European history vindicated the Glorious Revolution and taught the English to remain vigilant against the ever-present historical forces that attempted to bring the regime to an end. To provide the context to my argument on what this historical narrative was, this introduction will briefly lay out the unique importance of works purporting to be history books to the political thinking of the 1690s. The rest of the chapter will lay out the themes that composed the Whig historical narrative.

Three factors influenced how politicians of the 1690s interacted with their history. The first was the ease in which mythical and analytical history blended, where myths were given a major role in the production of history. Although myths and legends had coexisted in historical thought to a greater or lesser degree since before the 19th century,[1] some have argued that history entered a unique 'Restoration and early eighteenth century phase' that was defined by scholarly adjustment to 'the permanent presence of ideological division', with each ideology having its own historical truth.[2] For example, the argument that England's common law legal system had grown organically through empirical, balanced case-by-case judgements, and that the monarch had not interjected in this legal tradition since the Anglo-Saxons,[3] was a necessary myth to provide guidance in the parliamentary debates that masked the novelty of the new laws that fundamentally reshaped the English polity. Such a myth extended to

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[1] Peter G Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1994)

[2] Daniel Woolf, 'Historical Writing in Britain from the Late Middle Ages to the Eve of Enlightenment', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing,* 5 vols, vol 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 437–498

[3] Ashley Walsh, 'The Saxon Republic and Ancient Constitution in the Standing Army Controversy, 1697-1699', *The Historical Journal* 62, no 3 (2019): 1–22

the politics of the Church, with different Anglican factions finding historical solace that their way of governing the Church was the way that had occurred for centuries.[4] Historical writing of the 1690s often contributed to, or manipulated, these narratives, rather than engage in purely academic historical objectives.

The second way in which contemporaries interacted with history was the belief that the past drew lessons that were pressingly useful for the contemporaneous present: the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were full of collective trauma, giving immediacy to the stories being told. This has been the subject of analysis in Jonathan Scott's *England's Troubles,* which argues persuasively that the second half of the seventeenth century was 'peculiarly in the grip of the first'.[5] To Scott, it was this historical memory that explained the intensity of contemporaries' fears of revolutions, court putsches, foreign invasions; many of which had occurred within living memory.[6]

The third way politics and history interacted was the view that human affairs remained in an unchangingly steady state, where estates had perpetually conflicting interests and similar finite resources, and therefore what came before could easily come again. The blending of the contemporary and the historical was in part to do with Scott's observation that time was understood in a non-linear way,[7] as well as the understanding of the forces of change as a totalising, cyclical force, rather than as pressures bringing forth 'modernity.' Christopher Clark and Tony Claydon have written recently on the perseverance of early modern understandings of time, which both argue was beginning to break down in the later seventeenth century.[8] For example, although heterodox in many ways, John Toland probably communicated his contemporaries' views on time when writing his own theory in *The Destiny of Rome*, quoting an unnamed prince: '*Is there any thing whereof it may be said, see, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us.*'[9]

These three factors culminated in creating what Daniel Woolf helpfully calls a 'historical culture', which is 'a convenient shorthand for the perceptual and cognitive web of relations between past, present, and

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[4] William H F Mitchell, 'The Primitive Church Revived: The Apostolic Age in the Propaganda of William III', *Church History and Religious Culture* 101, no 1 (2021): 61-79

[5] Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4-5

[6] Scott, *England's Troubles*, 7

[7] Scott, *England's Troubles*, 7

[8] Christopher Clark, *Time and Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019); Tony Claydon, *The Revolution in Time: Chronology, Modernity, and 1688-89 in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020)

[9] John Toland, *The Destiny of Rome* (London: J Roberts, 1718), 5

future'.[10] Williamite-era historical culture was particularly porous, as Peter Burke argues, with heightened historical awareness (triggered by rising literacy) resulting in the political sphere weaponizing history, charging political opponents with either being inauthentic in their historical representation or simply biased.[11]

The Whig historical narrative was nested in this historical culture. The narrative supplemented the political call to join Continental Protestants in the struggle against Louis. These dozens of history books promoted pan-Protestant unity, published either in the hostile climate of James II or in the hospitable climate of William III. They did this through repetitive historical tropes: Protestants shared a common endeavour to 'recover' the primitive Christian age, perverted by the Catholic church; in their intellectual conflicts and their desire for liberty, Protestants were more likely to divide than Catholics and are therefore more open to weakness; Protestants were more powerful than Catholics when they come together; Catholic rulership led to horrible consequences for Protestants.

Central to the Whigs' conceptualisation of history was the placement of England in Europe, tied through a common endeavour that was interwoven with other Protestant peoples. The most eloquent mythmaker of this vision was Gilbert Burnet, whose view of two entities fighting in a ceaseless conflict bolstered those who wanted to fight for the good against the bad.[12] Burnet articulated an understanding of English history that enjoyed support from others tied to the revolutionary regime: indeed, with his influence, it became official government historiography.[13] Tony Claydon argues that the bishop's placement of England in Europe rested on a type of latitudinarianism, as well as apocalyptic history. The latitudinarianism held that it was politic to ally with other Protestant states in their fight against the incomparably horrible threat, the Catholic church. It was apocalyptic because the signs were that judgement could be upon humanity, and only through proving worthy to God as active Christians in the crusade against the anti-Christ could England as a nation and English people as believers be accepted into heaven. When blended, the urgency of integrating with England's natural, historical Protestant partners, against the perennial enemy, is made obvious.[14]

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[10] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9

[11] Peter Burke, 'History, Myth, and Fiction: Doubts and Debates', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol 3, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 261–81

[12] Alexandra Walsham, 'History, Memory, and the English Reformation', *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 4 (2012): 899–938, 934

[13] Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

[14] Tony Claydon, 'Latitudinarianism and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715', *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 3 (2008): 577–597

Seeking to demonstrate the importance of historical construction in Whig pan-Protestant argument, I have used two source bases. The first are the books about English and Western European history published from 1685 to 1705 that give as wide a remit as possible in demonstrating how history was used by writers across political divides. It was within this source-base that I could reconstruct the specific historical narrative that concerns this chapter. Defining a work of history is a subjective exercise, and I have drawn as wide a net as possible to include any work that was concerned with the past. Consequently, this chapter includes discussions of plays, poems, sermons, pamphlets, and pictures. This method constructs a deep well of historical tropes and analogies to contextualise the Whig understanding of history. I re-created the Whigs' networks by tracing their intertextual, and publisher-network, connections. The Whig histories discussed here cited, borrowed tropes, and advertised through, one another. Through my research into the broader context of the history book market of the 1680s and 1690s I am able to trace as fully as possible this connected stream of publications, by reading them and following the influences they declared in their introductions and dedications. As the study grew, I also noticed undeclared connections, like the use of similar sources and phrases. This chapter draws together this nexus of texts as a sub-set within the history print market of the 1690s. Throughout the chapter I have made the connections explicit.

I have delineated and prioritised those that belonged to the Whig worldview, only drawing on those outside that worldview when they were contrasted against them. In choosing which text to prioritise, I have followed contemporaries' estimations of which texts were the most influential. In this chapter more than others, this was straightforward, with some works providing a canon that others evidently fed off of. For example, the number of re-publications and citations, plus the references to it in contemporary diaries, makes Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* the clear martyrology of the period, to the extent to which other works on Protestant martyrs often felt the need to justify themselves against Foxe's dominant text. Burnet's *History* provided an analogous role for histories of the Reformation. Therefore, the two texts are discussed in detail in their relevant sections, with other texts that leaned on them explicitly, or implicitly, following. Overall, the Whig historical narrative of Europe is presented as clearly as the contemporaries saw it.

Many of these sources were not 'Whig' in the sense that they can be formally affiliated with a Whig personality. Indeed, some of the texts discussed here were written or printed before the Glorious Revolution. However, they are included here because, as I will show here and in subsequent chapters, Whig writers drew deeply upon them in their explicitly political works. As one example, many of the

martyrologies (including the archetypical martyrology, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*) did not distinguish between Anglican and other non-Catholic Christians in their account of the history of rebellion against Catholics, thereby supporting the demarcated divide between Protestants and Catholics that was advocated by the Whigs.

The chapter's source base is supplemented by the religious history texts published from 1685 to 1700. These include strictly religious works like sermons that focus on the supposedly pristine period of 'primitive Christianity', to academic books studying the archaeological and classical evidence of how original Christians lived and worshipped, as well as the martyrdom genre that illustrated the suffering of Protestants throughout history. Again, defining works of 'religious history' is also a subjective exercise, particularly as contemporaries did not appear to have clear distinctions between Church and secular history. The selection process for inclusion in this chapter is the extent to which authors and texts fitted within the Whig nexus that I laid out above: if they were produced by the authors of the politics-centred histories; if they used the tropes of those histories; if they made the political arguments that suited those histories. My prioritisation of those works in that nexus depended on their apparent circulation and salience, measured through their number of editions, if they were advertised in newspapers, or if they were printed 'by royal command' (like the royal sermons were). This source base is integral to the chapter because it provides the religious and intellectual context to the specific political histories. Furthermore, it gives a holistic appreciation of what Christianity and Protestantism meant to English writers from across political divides, and how religion intersected with attachment to the nation and to the regime.

This chapter is a distilled analysis of hundreds of works, hence the lengthy justification of my method of choosing the comparatively small slice of sources that appear here. Both the main source bases I draw on demonstrate the overlap of historical understanding and religious belief. They also reveal the importance of pan-Protestant connections in the analysis of the authors. Together they can accurately represent how the historical culture that the Whigs were enmeshed in. They show how the Whigs formed a historical narrative that pitted the Protestant movement, imbibed with goodness and truth, against the forces of Catholicism. In reconstructing this historical narrative, this chapter is divided into three sections.

This first part introduces the foundational myth of pan-Protestant unity. This historical narrative presented the Catholic Church as the usurper of true Christianity. Whigs were part of a wider pan-ecclesiological coalition sponsored by the new Court who wrote on the earliest Christians and their

supposed resistance to proto-Papist control, first against Pagans, and then against the usurpations of the Church of Rome. These stories, often involving non-Europeans, ignored national divisions and instead provided a divide between the philosophies of the absolutists that coalesced in Rome and those disparate dissidents. Although it is true that different Anglican factions presented different views of what these 'original' Christians were – a High Church narrative emphasising their episcopal, constant nature; a latitudinarian narrative emphasising the looseness of the primitive Church structures – they had common themes that were welded into the Whig narrative. They drew parallels with the Reformations as a way of breaking away from the illegal usurpations of Rome and returning to true Christianity.

The second part analyses the narrative that glued Protestants together from the Catholic Church's usurpation to the 17th century, with historical stress on persecution of both 'primitive' Christians and contemporary Protestants. The extent of persecution over the centuries, including the thousands of 'martyrs' killed by Pagans and Catholics over the years, did not just provide a link between the 'pure' apostolic times of Christ and late-seventeenth century Europe, but also human sympathy for those attacked by the authorities for committing to beliefs that the audience were told were identical to their own. These first two parts demonstrate that the Whig histories were not theologically novel: they rarely strayed from commonly held tropes and stories that date back to the Reformation. This connectedness to these standard tropes suggests, partly, the political/propaganda purposes of these histories: these age-old messages were re-packaged to justify a partisan political position.

The third and final part of the chapter relates how histories of Europe since the Reformation were used to connect Protestants through their ideas and interests. The narrative since the 16th century demonstrated how little national boundaries mattered in this timeless war between Good and Evil. The Reformation and the Wars of Religion illustrated the interconnectedness of Europeans in continuing the struggle of the 'primitive Christians' against the Papacy. The outcomes of local conflicts between Protestants and Catholics were dependent upon one another. Without Protestants remaining vigilant to protect their liberties, the Catholic forces were likely to return.

Together, this chapter's three sections demonstrate the extent to which the Whigs' historical culture tied Protestants across Europe together. Whereas the first two parts are heavily imbibed with works that cannot be explicitly affiliated with the Whigs, the third part demonstrates how these non-partisan intellectual accounts were used by them. The chapter therefore demonstrates the Whig historical culture that was used to frame the events of the 1690s. Indeed, the pervasiveness of this historical

culture provided the intellectual apparatus for lobbying for participation in the Nine Years' War, and later the War of the Spanish Succession, and became a cornerstone of the Whig worldview.

## The Reformed, and Returning to the True Church[15]

The importance of historical narrative to the Whig worldview was shared by many later seventeenth century institutions and ideas. Some tropes were so powerful that many, even contradictory entities, drew on them. For example, many Church of England clergy justified their church's existence by reference to historical myth rooted in primitive Christianity. David Manning rightly calls the fashion for studying and justifying religious beliefs through drawing precedent from the early Church 'primitivism'.[16] To sate the thirst for connecting the mythical past to various ideas and institutions, the 1690s saw a plethora of publications on the nature of the 'primitive Church', or the makeup and beliefs of the early Christians before Christianity's supposed corruption by the Church of Rome.

In understanding the importance of the primitive Church genre to the Whig historical worldview, first the importance of religion on Court thought and action should be stressed. Historians are still problematising the 'Enlightenment' paradigm established so prominently by Roy Porter.[17] Some reassessments of later-17th century religiosity in political discourse hinge on highlighting Tory/'High Church'/Jacobite voices, with classics such as G V Bennett's biography on Francis Atterbury,[18] and J A I Champion's work on High Church Anglicanism,[19] being supplemented by more recent works on the Jacobites.[20] However, these works only seek to re-centre the voices of those who were seen as 'losers' in the battle against the secular enlightenment, rather than challenging the paradigm directly. Other scholarly works increasingly stress the religious influences on mainstream post-Revolutionary political discourses and attitudes: not only has John Marshall re-stressed religious intolerance in English

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[15] Parts of this section are adapted from William H F Mitchell, "The Primitive Church Revived: The Apostolic Age in the Propaganda of William III', *Church History & Religious Culture* 101, no. 1 (2021): 61-79

[16] David Manning, ''That Is Best, Which Was First': Christian Primitivism and the Reformation Church of England, 1548-1722', *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 13, no 2 (2011): 153–193

[17] Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000)

[18] Gareth V Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730. The Career of Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975)

[19] J A I Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

[20] Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* 2nd ed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019)

intellectual thought,[21] and Jonathan Israel convincingly demonstrated the 'moderate enlightenment' and its religiosity in the 1690s.[22] Lionel Laborie has shown the high number of English political figures swayed by 'enthusiastic' and prophetic religious traditions,[23] and Robert G Ingram has argued that 18th century controversies tilted self-consciously on Reformation/religious questions, rather than Enlightened one.[24]

The image of the primitive church was powerful, and it was claimed in the mythical history of various Christian viewpoints. William Penn argued that primitive Christians were very similar to Quakers;[25] David Clarkson stressed the episcopalian tendencies of primitive Christians;[26] William Wake wrote a history justifying the long-lasting vein of Erastian principles from primitive Christianity;[27] John Patrick claimed that primitive Christians were against transubstantiation.[28] There has not been a large amount of scholarship of how primitive Christianity was used in 1690s Church debate and, insofar as primitivism has been studied, studies have tended to underplay 'low Church' primitivism, given the extent to which high church 'Tories' used examples of primitive episcopal structures to brow-beat latitudinarians.[29]

However true it was that High Churchmen incorporated primitive Christian rhetoric into their idea of the true church, those trying to prove the spiritual links between English and European Protestants also keenly used the history of the primitive church as a legitimator of their views. When an article was published '*to prove the Invalidity of the Orders of the Church of* England', Gilbert Burnet felt the need to

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[21] John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

[22] Jonathan Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

[23] Lionel Laborie, *Enlightening Enthusiasm, Prophesy and Religious Experience in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015)

[24] Robert G Ingram, *Reformation without End: Religion, Politics and the Past in Post-Revolutionary England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018)

[25] William Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived In the Faith and Practice Of the People Called Quakers* (T Sowle: London, 1696)

[26] David Clarkson, *Primitive Episcopacy, Evincing from Scripture and Ancient Records, That a Bishop in the Apostles Times, and for the Space of the First Three Centuries of the Gospel-Church, Was No More than A Pastor to One Single Church or Congregation* (London, 1689)

[27] William Wake, *The Authority of Christian Princes Over Their Ecclesiastical Synods Asserted: With Particular Respect to the Convocations Of the Clergy of the Realm and Church of England* (London: R. Sare, 1697)

[28] John Patrick, *Transubstantation No Doctrine of The Primitive Fathers: Being a Defence Of the Dublin Letter Herein, Against the Papist Misrepresented and Represented, Part 2. Cap. 3* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1687)

[29] Robert D Cornwall, 'The Search for the Primitive Church: The Use of the Early Church Fathers in the High Church Anglican Tradition, 1680-1745', *Anglican and Episcopal History* 59, no. 3 (1990): 303–329

publish an eighty-three-page response, which was reprinted in the year of the Glorious Revolution.[30] This refutation was typical: Burnet and the others who coalesced around the Whig understanding of history regularly presented their arguments as revisionist assertions of 'truth' against the lies of the dominant, Catholic view. The argument that the Catholic writer produced, which evidentially Burnet found threatening enough to merit such a full response, was that the Church of England – as well as every Protestant church – was illegitimate, because it had broken with the episcopal succession established by primitive Christians, as continued by the popes. Consequently, without episcopal validity, Protestant organisation was inconsistent with the laws set down by Christ. The full title of Burnet's pamphlet was revealing, stating that 'It is Demonstrated that all the Essentials of Ordination, according to the Practice of the Primitive and Greek Churches, are still retained in our Church'.[31] In his wide-ranging preface, he attempted to vindicate the view that Protestant churches, with their textual focus on the Bible and their allowances for individual consciences and self-government, posed a transnational worldview that conformed with Christ's teachings. It was a small text that provided the synecdoche of Burnet's broader historical understanding.

In the way Burnet sought to defend the Church of England as an institution – rather than his narrower latitudinarian beliefs – the primitive Church genre was used as a unifier of, rather than as a wedge between, the various Anglican factions. Indeed, orthodoxy with the perceived moral, and literal episcopal, system of 'primitive Christianity' was a central rhetorical tool of justifying the Church of England following the Glorious Revolution by the clergymen promoted by William III. The episcopal, moral, and doctrinal links were inextricable: Thomas Sprat, whose ecclesiology can probably be described as 'High', sermonised to the Queen that the Church of England was rooted on the 'Primitive Soundness of its Faith, and Sacraments' as well as 'the Apostolical Antiquity of its Government'.[32] One could not occur without the other: through episcopal passage, primitive purity enlivened English religious and political culture.

The claim of the primitive Christian mantle was part of an older, Reformation discourse that was explicitly made by a few writers, not least Gilbert Burnet[33] and the Archbishop of York, John Sharp, who argued that the original point of the Reformations of Europe was to fit 'the Pattern of the Primitive

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[30] Gilbert Burnet, *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England*, 2nd ed. (London: Ric Chiswell, 1688)

[31] Burnet, *Ordinations of the Church,* title page

[32] Thomas Sprat, *A Sermon Preached before the King and Queen, At Whitehall, On Good-Friday, April. 6. 1694* (London: Edward Jones, 1694), 30

[33] Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached before the King and Queen, at White-Hall, On the 19th Day of October, 1690. Being the Day of Thanksgiving, For His Majesties Preservation and Success in Ireland* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1690), 26-27

Churches of Christ.'[34] This argument cemented the religious and political histories: the Reformation's restorative role was a key rhetorical argument against reconciliation with Rome in the 1690s. Thomas Comber, a clergyman who wrote many anti-Catholic histories, sermonised at Court on the perfection of the English Church through its Reformation credentials, holding the balance between having 'not omitted any one Ordinance that is of Divine Institution, nor yet added any Invention of her own as an Essential and Necessary part of Religion.'[35] This Reformation spirit was dynamic, and, according to another clergyman, William Lloyd, was ebbing: the Reformation had brought 'primitive purity' but, when the 'heat was over' people 'cool'd to Religion'.[36] The early portion of the Reformation was thus the closest Europe had come to the primitive Church purity: that different branches of the Reformation had spread between different nations was a regrettable demonstration of the European-wide degeneration away from original Christian piety.

The Whig historical narrative therefore drew on a rich symbology that came from many Anglican perspectives on the importance of the early Church. This symbolic importance was supercharged in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, where the traditional justification of succession (hereditary) was not watertight. William Sancroft, who was Archbishop of Canterbury when William III arrived, led hundreds of clergymen into schism when a Church that previously prided itself on the defence of hereditary monarchy now found itself propagandising on the legitimacy of a new regime. With both internal and external critics, the new clergymen who took the non-jurors' offices, or the old clergymen who adapted to the new regime, invoked a range of religious and political arguments in justifying the new status quo. One such argument came from the claim that the crowning of William III – done by the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, following Sancroft's refusal – ushered in a return to the principles and practices of the primitive Christians. This theme peppered the sermons delivered by the elite clergy at the Court of William and Mary. In the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, Gilbert Burnet preached that the Church's validation of William and Mary's invasion had 'reduced Christianity to its Primitive Purity and Simplicity', in that the Church's new, unequivocally Protestant co-monarchs would now commit to eradicating 'the unreformed Practices' and 'Sins' of the old regime.[37] Burnet concluded by thanking God for belonging to 'that holy Religion which the Son of

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[34] John Sharp, *A Sermon Preach'd before the King & Queen, At White-Hall, The 12th of November, 1693. Being the Day Appointed for a Publick Thanksgiving To Almighty God, for the Gracious Preservation of His Majesty, And His Safe Return* (London: Walter Kettilby, 1693), 24

[35] Thomas Comber, *The Reasons Of Praying for the Peace of Our Jerusalem: In A Sermon Preached before the Queen On The Fast-Day, Being Wednesday, August 29th* (London: Robert Clavel, 1694), 15

[36] William Lloyd, *A Sermon Preached before the Queen At White-Hall, January the 30th. Being the Day of the Martyrdom of King Charles the First* (London: Thomas Jones, 1691), 27

[37] Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached In the Chappel of St. James's Before His Highness the Prince of Orange, the 23d of December, 1688*, 2nd ed. (London: Richard Chiswell, 1688), 5

God brought to the World', in contrast to the corruptions of Catholicism.[38] If lacking direct hereditary legitimacy, Burnet conferred new confessional legitimacy on the new co-monarchs, with God sanctifying the revolution through his interventions in the natural world to guarantee the success of his chosen people to return the English people to the original practices and doctrines of the primitive Church.

However much the 'primitive Christian' mantle was taken by those defending the Church of England *per se,* it was often used by partisans of various political views to argue that the Anglican Church should be a certain way. To Burnet, the lesson of primitive Christianity was narrowly partisan: European Protestants, including non-Anglicans like Lutherans and Calvinists, were linked in doctrine to the earliest Christians and disciples of Christ. This historical narrative was latitudinarian insofar as it grouped together Protestants from across Europe as spiritual heirs to the true message of the early disciples; like the ancient churches, European Protestants were linked not by a church hierarchy, but by shared spiritual values. Consequently, to writers like Burnet, the looseness of ancient Christian structures provided a guide and commonality to their contemporary Christianity. It was this claim that provided a Whig historical narrative that underpinned European Protestantism: To Whig historical propagandists, after surviving the near-constant threat of Pagan persecution, primitive Christians had their traditions and authorities usurped by the early Catholic Church. This claim began with the assertion that the early Catholic church falsified the teachings of Christ to enhance its own power, internalising and reproducing pagan rites and rituals. Those who argued that the Pope is the true inheritor of the seat of St Peter are often *'men of no Conscience at all, and such as stick not at mocking both God and Man, at Perjury and the foulest kind of Equivocation'*.[39] In contrasting the Catholic belief in transubstantiation with the true, pan-European Protestant assertion that transubstantiation is inconsistent with Biblical teaching, Burnet invoked a common, pristine, primitive Christian heritage that any non-Catholic was part of.[40]

One piece dedicated two hundred pages to exposing the apparent differences between the theology of the Catholic and the primitive Church, the latter of which the Protestants of Europe adhered to. The pages attempted to prove sixteen differences between how primitive (and, as the primitive Christians were closer to God, purer) Christians worshipped, compared to the anti-Christian Roman church. These differences were somewhat repetitive, but essentially centred on opposing conceptions of the Eucharist,

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[38] Burnet, *Chappel of St. James's*, 25
[39] Burnet, *Ordinations of the Church,* xx
[40] Burnet, *Ordinations of the Church,* 14

with primitive Christians seemingly agreeing with contemporary Protestants in the denial of actual transubstantiation, as well as the primitive acceptance of different legitimate churches within the Church hierarchy, rather than a unipolar power structure asserted by Rome.[41]

Such claims rested on the assertion that the Catholic church had acted for generations across borders, beginning with their corruption of primitive Christianity through forgeries and false ordinances. Edward Gee, who became a royal chaplain to William and Mary, wrote a history of the Catholic Church's apparent invention of saints, against the teachings of original Christianity. Gee detailed how Roman scholars revised the original teachings of Christ, which was so similar to contemporary Protestant ideas: 'we had no reason to expect to meet with any *Practice* of *Invocation* of *Saints* or *Angels* in their [early Christian] days, since we find their *Doctrines* so fully and so unanimously against any such thing'.[42]

In returning to Christ's apparently authentic conception of morality and Christian fellowship, the pan-European Reformation was an attempt to rediscover, and re-live, true Christian morality, away from the falsities of Rome. Such 'true' Christianity involved learning the truths of the Old Testament as well as the new, particularly revelations of God's interventions in purifying the ancient Jewish state. There were ample Old Testament instances of God directly intervening to help (or chastise) his chosen people, with Richard Meggott in one sermon explaining that God's punishing of David for counting his people was revelatory of God's inherent goodness and personal investment in the progress of his people.[43] The transfer of God's allegiance from the Jews to the Christians was apparently taken as given to most of the preachers at the royal Court, revealing the relative theological consensus, and lack of political explosiveness, in explaining this tenet of royal Court thinking. However, High Churchman William Sherlock did dedicate one sermon to explaining what he assumed everyone already knew: the God of the Jews was the God of the Christians, because Christians were 'the true spiritual Seed of *Abraham* […] and if God so punctually performed his Promise to the carnal Seed of *Abraham* [i.e. the Jews]', then God was likely to keep his promises to Abraham's spiritual heirs. Indeed, given that Christianity still existed in its pure form demonstrated God's protection over the centuries, fulfilling the promise God made to

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[41] John Patrick, *A Full View of the Doctrines and Practices of the Ancient Church Relating to the Eucharist. Wholly Different from Those of The Present Roman Church, And Inconsistent with the Belief of Transubstantiation* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1688), contents page

[42] Edward Gee, *The Primitive Fathers No Papists: In Answer to the Vindication of the Numves Testium* (London: Richard Chiswel, 1688), 64

[43] Richard Meggott, *A Sermon Preached before the Queen, At White-Hall, On the Fast, July 19. 1691* (London: Tho Bennet, 1691), 9

his first chosen people: the Jews.[44] Since Christianity's beginning, it had been persecuted, yet it had survived and spread. A young Francis Atterbury sermonised to the Queen that God's miraculous interventions to guide the primitive Christians was evidence of his divine support, particularly as the primitive Christians' success was far from likely if left to purely secular forces.[45] Sherlock argued that Protestants were particularly protected by God, given that it was 'Protestant Churches which profess the Pure and Uncorrupt Faith and Worship of Christ,' in spite of being persecuted throughout Europe by Louis XIV.[46] Edward Pelling agreed, preaching that English history was replete with instances of God's direct interventions against domestic plots and foreign invasions: indeed, no country had been 'more Miraculously Defended, and Preserved, in any Countreys since the Primitive Ages'.[47] This reliance on miracles, and the evidence of God's direct interventions on the side of the pure in the world, furthered the point that the Protestant Churches were on the side of God against the anti-Christian Louis XIV. And the particularly perfect Protestant Church revived by William and Mary was especially well-positioned to draw on God's patronage in the war against the Ludovician terror.

In 1689, Francis Carswell compared England's revolution with the restoration of Judah. Heavily laying the comparison between contemporary England and post-exilic Judah, Carswell's sermon noted the Jews' escape from 'their *Babylonish Capitivity*':[48] Carswell argued Judah's break with Babylon gave theological sustenance to St Augustine's City of God, defined as a place that projected beyond its temporal realm to fight 'the City of Satan'. The state of affairs 'commands such an *universal acknowledgment*.'[49] With this spiritual mission beyond its borders, the City of God and its temporal incarnations (Protestant states) served Christians across Europe. Judah was the spiritual home of the Jewish diaspora, so too was England the spiritual home of Protestants across the world. Carswell argued that King William had inherited 'the Heart of *David*', the Jewish king who sought to protect Jews both in and out of his kingdom.[50] As it was the Christian duty of English people to obey their new

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[44] William Sherlock, *A Sermon Preached at White-Hall, Before the Queen, On the 17th of June, 1691, Being The Fast-Day* (London: W Rogers, 1691), 8 Owing to damage to the source, the pagination is my own.

[45] Francis Atterbury, *The Christian Religion Increas'd by Miracle. A Sermon Before the Queen At White-Hall, October 21. 1694* (London: Thomas Bennet, 1694), 1, 10

[46] William Sherlock, *A Sermon Preached*, 10

[47] Edward Pelling, *A Sermon Preached before the King & Queen At Whitehall, Decemb. 8th. 1689* (London: Walter Kettilby, 1690), 29-30

[48] Francis Carswell, *England's Restoration Parallel'd in Judah's: Or, The Primitive Judge and Consellor. In a Sermon Before the Honourable Judge at Abington Assizes, for the County of Berks, Aug. 6. 1689*, 2nd ed. (London: Awsham Churchill, 1689), 1

[49] Carswell, *Parallel'd in Judah's,* 2

[50] Carswell, *Parallel'd in Judah's,* 23

sovereign and the teachings of its church, English people could 'be made partakers of' Jesus' 'Eternal Kingdom in Heaven'.[51]

The cross-border spiritual sympathy of ancient Christians, who were separated by different jurisdictions but united by reference to common scriptural authority, had resonance for contemporaries facing a Europe with Protestants divided into different sized states. One book, ostensibly hoping to moderate between the High Church and Low Church claims to the primitive church,[52] ended up creating an intellectual and political world for primitive Christians that mirrored his contemporary Europe. When discussing the election of primitive bishops, he contextualised the process by asking readers to imagine the world before Jesus, 'in a state of Paganism and Darkness'. This world manifested itself in how people worshipped 'their own bruitish Inventions, and adoring as God whatever their corrupted Reason and silly Fancies proposed to them as Objects of Adoration and Homage'.[53]This idolatry, in a world 'before the Preaching of the Gospel', was a description of a world posing a threat to the true church was eerily similar to the writer's contemporary Europe. After all, the contemporary Catholic Church regularly took it upon itself to corrupt all truths, including the history of primitive Christianity, by poisoning the gospel with talk of spirits and saints. Thomas Comber argued that historical recordings of the purest Christian age had been written mostly '*by fraudulent Hands'*, bent on establishing '*a new Authority'* to '*contrive new Doctrines to furnish and support it with Wealth and Power* […] *to corrupt all genuine Ecclesiastical History'*.[54] The book opening was typical of pan-Protestant treatment of Papal councils, in describing council attendees in the 5th century: as 'the Popes Creatures', working so that 'all the Affairs of the whole Christian World were managed solely by the Bishop of Rome'.[55]Comber went on to ridicule the efforts of Roman authorities to establish ecclesiastical authority over the primitive Christians and their latitudinarian ways, noting how, in 498, the Roman clergy split between two papal candidates, which resulted in arbitration from 'an Heretical *Gothish* King'. Whereas Papal authorities call the episode '*a Schism of the universal Church'* Comber argued that 'it was no more than a Schism of that particular Church of *Rome,* and had no influence, that we hear of, upon' any of the other basically independent churches.[56]

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[51] Carswell, *Parallel'd in Judah,* 26

[52] Peter King, *An Enquiry Into The Constitution, Discipline, Unity & Worship, Of The Primitive Church, That Flourished within the First Three Hundred Years after Christ* (London: Jonathan Robinson, 1691)

[53] King, *An Enquiry Into,* 9

[54] Thomas Comber, *The Church History Clear'd from the Roman Forgeries And Corruptions Found in the Councils and Baronius: From the Year 400, till the End of the Fifth General Council, An. Dom. 553* (London: Samuel Roycroft, 1695), Preface

[55] Comber, *Church History,* 1

[56] Comber, *Church History,* 186

The authors so far discussed held a variety of political and ecclesiological views. Irrespective of those views, their work contributed to the Whig histories in two ways. For one, their evocation of the primitive Church strengthened its resonances. Whoever drew on the early Church, for any purpose, consciously entered an emotionally and politically contested space: the authors' views on ancient bishops and the Eucharist were often clear indicators of their views on contemporary affairs. Secondly, the generally-held Anglican view that the Roman Catholic Church's claim to papal supremacy as something rooted in the primitive Church could be drawn on and expanded into the general pan-Protestant sympathy that formed such a large component of Whig history. If the Catholic Church had been lying for generations, then any community in Europe who at least adhered to the pre-lying past was worthy of sympathy and potentially political or military support.

The images that contrasted Protestantism with the Catholic Other were often sharp. To invoke the horrors of the Roman Catholic corruption of primitive Christianity, one writer, Henry Maurice, argued that the Bible itself could be used to show that the earliest Christians (and even Christ himself) shared his contemporary Protestant outlook. Maurice argued that Jesus' attacks on the Sadducees' authority was akin to attacking the Papacy, through Jesus' call to 'Scripture and Reason': Jesus' enemies 'would take Refuge in their Authority' rather than argue against his rational exposition of the way to understand the world and live.[57] Maurice argued that unjustified papal pretensions to secular and ecclesiastical power over other, non-Roman jurisdictions were particularly alien to true Christianity, given that it appears nowhere in scripture, and 'That no other Church pretends to it', and that the doctrine was obviously formed to gather more authority, usurped over the original primitive Christian constitution.[58]

In a more explicit comparison between the contemporary papacy and Judah's anti-Christian clerical establishment, one pamphlet labelled the 'Discovery of the Artifices Used by Roman Catholic Priests' as 'The Pharisee Unmask'd'.[59] The Pharisee/Sadducee motif was taken by a number of royal preachers, appropriating Christ's denunciations of his contemporary 'corrupted' sects to argue against the Catholic Church. Anthony Horneck made the comparison between '*Pharisiasm,* and *Popery*'[60] explicit

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[57] Henry Maurice, *Doubts Concerning the Roman Infallibility* (London: James Adamson, 1688), 20-21

[58] Maurice, *Roman Infallibility,* 38

[59] *The Pharisee Unmask'd: In A New Discovery of the Artifices Used by Roman Catholic Priests To Convert Prisoners Both at, and before the Time of Execution* (London: Henry Hills, 1687)

[60] Anthony Horneck, *The Nature of True Christian Righteousness, In a Sermon Preached before the King and Queen, at Whitehal, The 17th of November* (London: E Jones, 1689), 5-6

in both their focus on 'bare Outward Task and Performance, without any regard to the Inward Frame', their pursuit of 'Profit and Interest'.[61] This motif was a more obvious way of drawing a dichotomy between the corrupted practices that Jesus resisted in his time and that contemporary Christians continued to resist under William III. Thomas Sprat preached that Jesus 'so earnestly endeavoured to free the World from a Pharisaical Religion,' defined as ceremony without intellectual substance. To Sprat, true Christianity taught that 'all Ceremony is Hypocrocie', without inward reflection. [62] The wrestling between the craven, manipulated, ceremonially-oriented Christianity, and the pure Christianity as preached by Jesus and practiced by the early Christians, had occurred in Europe since the Reformation, and God's direct interventions had ensured that he continued to protect those who practiced what was originally intended, against those who sought to undermine divinely-revealed truth.[63]

Usurping primitive liberty though councils that were spun as 'general councils' for the whole of Christianity was a common gripe among those stressing Protestantism's roots with true, original Christianity. Daniel Whitby argued that 'the pretended *General Councils'* had 'great vanity, and most apparent falsehood' in tearing traditional Christianity towards a more pagan, centralised religion.[64] Taking particular issue with the use of images in Catholic ceremonies, Whitby argued that this practise was allegorical of the corruption and myopia of Catholic worship that contradicted '500 Years and more' of the practise of ignoring images as idols.[65] Given the numerous historical accounts of clashes between Christians and Pagans over the use of idols, Whitby used the worship of images as proof that the Catholic church lied about early Christianity, with its promise that images had been a core part of the Christian faith since Christ.[66] If the (non-ecumenical) Catholic councils lied about something so plainly important to early Christians, what else had these councils claimed that formed the bedrock of contemporary Catholic worship, but was false?[67]

Set against the context of these historical works that sought to blend theology and history to demonstrate the extent to which Rome's authority was far from universal, general anti-Catholic sentiments were harmonious in the argument that the Catholic church had always been illegitimate,

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[61] Horneck, *True Christian Righteousness,* 11-12
[62] Sprat, *A Sermon Preached,* 6-7
[63] Sprat, *A Sermon Preached,* 19-21
[64] Daniel Whitby, *The Fallibility of the Roman Church* (London: J D, 1687), 2
[65] Whitby, *Roman Church,* 6
[66] Whitby, *Roman Church,* 8-10
[67] Whitby, *Roman Church,* 70

and that Protestants across Europe were united in their pursuit of primitive Christianity. This view seeped into Robert Boyle's argument against conversion to Catholicism. Boyle argued that the timeless struggle between the Catholic Church and the Protestant churches was inherent in the Catholic ideology, rooted in a falsification of history and scriptural testimony. The recognition that Rome's authority did not leave Rome, and that each church had authority over its own localities, was central to 'the primitive and purest times of the Church'; denial of Rome's authority was not apostacy, but merely reconvening on an episcopal structure that existed before Rome's usurpations.[68]

In producing works that stressed the dichotomy between the truer primitive church and the Catholic church, English history writers emphasised a connection with the former. Writers from a wide spectrum of partisan beliefs agreed that early persecuted Christians provided a guide of how to live and act, as well as what to oppose. Acting in accordance with the lives and precepts of the primitive Christians was to live contemporarily as a Protestant. Whig writers argued that living in accordance with the primitive Church had political consequences: namely, unity with William III's regime in its prosecution of the timeless enemy, the Catholic Church and its secular persecutors.

**The Heritage of Persecution**

The previous section showed that the historical connection between primitive Christianity and contemporary European Protestant states was ideological, with churches and clergymen seeking to connect Protestants throughout Europe with appeals to common doctrine and practise with those in the past. However, the links between Protestants were also solidified through appeals to shared experiences. Many apparently popular histories of European states dwelt on the extent to which all the successful Protestant states, driven by the superior moral values that propelled their stability and economic growth, were at one point ruled by the Papacy. Their history was defined by their breakaway from 'the dark ages'. From then on, their history pivoted on the conflict between their positive vigilance of their security, and the Catholic conspiracy attempts to return them to the horrible past.

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[68] Robert Boyle, *Reasons Why a Protestant Should Not Turn Papist: Or, Protestant Prejudices Against the Roman Catholick Religion; Propos'd in a Letter to a Romish Priest* (London: H. C., 1688), 9-10

Using the heritage of persecution, Whig writers made two different appeals to Protestant union: the first was recreating how the Papacy suppressed political liberties before the Reformation, and the second was connecting Protestants through shared human suffering.

*Institutions under the Catholic yoke*

In Whig historical accounts, Europeans shared a common experience under the papacy. Those who broke from Rome did so for similar reasons. Consequently, the intellectual revolution that drove the break from the dark ages was trans-national. When Pierre Jurieu, the Huguenot theologian, argued that the Reformation was the most important event to take place since Christ's death, he did not distinguish between different national reformations: there was just 'the separation of the Protestants from the church of *Rome'*.[69] The pivotal historical importance of the various national reformations was to degrade the forces of absolutism and Catholicism. Symbols of Catholicism and the power of Catholic religious orders were so important to Gilbert Burnet and other Englishmen because of the assumed purpose of Catholic supremacy: violence against Protestants. Daniel Disney's polemic *Compendious History* dwelt on pre-Reformed England, which was described in purgatorial terms: when the world was stuck in 'Popish Darkness', it was 'almost covered with Religious Houses', spouting 'Swarms of Locusts' like a 'great Smoak of the Bottomless-Pit.'[70] This world was typified by: 'a depraved Mixture of *Jewish* and *Pagan* Rites', and 'Thousands of Magical Tricks and Exorcisms, Charms and Amulets,' plus 'other Diobolical Fopperies'.[71] This account of the pre-Reformed condemned the Papacy, particularly the Popes. For example, Disney dwelt on how Pope Leo X sold places in heaven in return for money to fund his war against the Ottoman Empire. Disney criticised both the carte blanche nature of the offer, as well as the innocent way it was accepted: for ten shillings one could escape purgatory and 'flow up joyfully to heaven.'[72]

Disney linked the pan-European 'dark age' to Europe under a Papal-controlled hierarchy. Pierre Jurieu's analysis was similarly transnational in his *History of the Council of Trent*, going into the

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[69] Pierre Jurieu, *The History of the Council of Trent* (London: J Hepinstall and Henry Faithorne and John Kersey, 1684), i

[70] Daniel Disney, *A Compendious History of the Rise and Progress of the Reformation of the Church Here in England, from Popish Darkness and Superstition. Together With an Account of Nonconformity, and the Grounds Thereof, since the Said Reformation* (T Varnam & J Osborn, 1715), 5-6

[71] Disney, *A Compendious History,* 5-6

[72] Disney, *A Compendious History,* 16

mechanics of how the papacy enforced its backwards ideology. Jurieu argued that those who assembled at Trent in 1545-1563 were conscious of their need to fight the Reformed across Europe. However, the Council encapsulated the ideas that had led to the rejection of the Papacy: it was stuffed with 'Pensioners' that were there to agree with the overweening power of the Pope, as opposed to counterbalancing it.[73] The concerted criticisms of the great three Catholic monarchs – the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, and the King of Spain – was used by Jurieu to strip the council of historical impact as anything other than an event showing how much the ecclesiastics of Rome were 'slave[s]' and 'creature[s]' of a unipolar power structure with pan-European pretensions.[74]

The effects of papal domination on countries' constitutions and liberties were studied by a number of authors involved in pan-Protestant polemic. Gilbert Burnet keenly wrote in his landmark study on how Catholic rule had changed England's landscape. Burnet's book deployed well-worn anti-Catholic tropes that were as old as the Henrician reformation. His grand narrative positioned the Reformation as a hard-fought victory against potential and actual counter-Reformations, and only under the celebrated reign of Elizabeth I did the Church of England gain anything close to a sense of security, around half a century after Henry's break with Rome. Burnet shared Disney's themes in emphasising the terrors of pre-Reformed England. Indeed, the Reformation's novelty was often highlighted through Burnet's references, sometimes extensive, to the corruption of the clergy in pre-Reformation England, and the malign actions the clergy took to try to maintain their position. When Cromwell ordered the inspection of the monasteries, Burnet defended the inspectors' forceful behaviour, reporting the 'Monstrous Disorders' of the Catholic religious houses, containing 'Factions', 'Barbarous Cruelties', and 'Idolatry and Superstition.' These houses were also spaces for criminality, with 'instruments,... for multiplying and coyning.'[75] These spaces were prophane, committing civil and religious offences: The nunneries were equally ungodly. Burnet counted reports from one hundred and forty-four nunneries that were more like '*Sodom*' than England.[76] This re-packaging of 16th century propaganda as history demonstrates Burnet's political intention in his work: age-old anecdotes and stories featured prominently in his readers' historical imagination, cementing the nefariousness of Catholic states' intentions for contemporary political effect.

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[73] Jurieu, *Council of Trent,* vi
[74] Jurieu, *Council of Trent,* xl
[75] Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England,* 2nd ed. (London: Richard Chiswell, 1681, 1683), 2 vols, vol 1, 190-191
[76] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 191

Burnet's focus on England's Catholic subjugation followed Sir William Temple's account of Dutch history, which he wrote following his appointment as Charles II's ambassador to the United Provinces. Temple dwelt on similar themes: an expensive clergy, maintained by superstition, overthrown in the Dutch Revolt. Temple detailed the slavish ideology of pre-Reformed Christianity, where 'the Authority of the Priesthood' rested on 'Reverence for their Character and Mystical Ceremonies and Institutions'.[77] Temple tied the temporal and spiritual motivations of the Dutch Revolt together, arguing the uprising stemmed from the peoples' response to their Catholic leader's attacks against Lutherans, as well as Philip's deployment of Spanish troops, viewed 'as the Instruments of their Oppression and Slavery'.[78] The radicalisation of the Catholics and the rebels – principally over whether they should submit to the Inquisition – pushed the two sides further apart, and eventually into war.[79]

*Human Persecution*

As well as institutional persecution, Whig writers also discussed human persecution. Intellectual and national histories of breaks from the papacy were complemented by pieces on martyrdom, which underplayed nationality at the expense of pious Protestantism. This divide was partly rooted in the widespread argument that Catholicism was un-Christian, analogous to Devil-worshipping, Paganism, or Islam. One example of this argument was given by the famous Restoration republican Andrew Marvell, who preferred 'open *Judaism,* or plain *Turkery,* or honest *Paganism,*' to Catholicism, because at least those theories and religions were consistent with their labels.[80]

The transnational historical narrative of Protestants across Europe being linked by their exposure to persecution for living truthfully and consistent with Biblical injunctions drew comparisons with the primitive Christians who suffered in the Roman Empire. Many writers, from across the theological/political spectrum, established a common historical experience: as the Pagans (particularly Nero) persecuted the early Christians, so too did Louis XIV and other Catholics persecute contemporary Protestants. William Cave's piece, which was re-published posthumously throughout William III's reign, described in detail the lives of the early Christian fathers, presenting his subjects as timelessly containing the precepts of his contemporary Protestantism, besieged by Catholic threats throughout Europe. The frontispiece (see Figure One), depicting graphic images of torture sanctioned

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[77] William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands,* 5th ed. (London: Jacob Tonson, 1690), 10
[78] Temple, *Observations,* 22
[79] Temple, *Observations,* 28-29
[80] Marvell, *Account of the Growth of Popery,* 5

by authority, centred on an anonymous Christian dressed in a timeless, black robe, crying into a basket overflowing with tears. Cave argued that it was the duty of readers to study early Christianity, as it 'acquaints us with the most remarkable occurrences of the Divine Providence', showing how to live 'a life of true philosophy and vertue': 'the History of the Church' is 'our biggest interest'.[81]

Like Peter King's description of the world on Christ's death, Cave's description was remarkably similar to his contemporary Europe, describing how the true believers were surrounded by enemies, who produced superstitious rituals and exacted vengeance on those who refused to follow. The similarity between the two worlds came from Cave's apparent view that history is a timeless contest between God and the Devil, with the latter constantly attempting to undermine the former's authority. Cave described the period immediately following the death of Christ as a period influenced by 'the Devil, who for so many ages had usurped an Empire and Tyranny over the Souls of Men, became more sensible every day, that his Kingdom shaked; and therefore sought, though in vain, by all ways to support and prop it up.'[82]

Burnet drew direct parallels with Pagan persecutors and his contemporary Catholic ones, in a 1687 translation of Lacantius' *A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors.* In his lengthy introduction, Burnet justified the need for the translation given 'the *present* scene of affairs', pointing out the contemporary resonances of the Pagans who lived for 'Brutalities of sensual Pleasure', enforcing 'vast *Armies*' and 'costly *Buildings*'; 'the Melancholy State of things' in 1687 made him meditate on the roots of oppression in both the present and the primitive past.[83] In his preface, he argued that persecution was tied to Catholicism, given the faith's stress on infallibility and the wilful obedience of members of the Church to follow the commands of corrupt courtiers.[84] In arguing how the Catholic church had infected Christianity with intolerance, he contrasted primitive Christianity with primitive Islam, arguing that the two had undergone a reverse: Islam had started out as a warlike, tribal religion, but contemporarily, to Burnet, Islam was the centre of toleration. Contrastingly, Jesus' preaching of love and understanding had mutated over the centuries to produce war and death: 'if there were no other Evidences but this single one, it is enough to demonstrate, how much that Body has departed from its first Institution'.[85]

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[81] William Cave, *Apostolici: Or, The History of the Lives, Acts, and Death, and Martyrdoms Of Those Who Were Contemporary with, or Immediately Succeeded the Apostles,* 3rd ed. (London: Richard Chiswell, 1687). Preface
[82] Cave, *Apostolici,* ix
[83] L C F Lacantius, *A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Persecutors,* trans. Gilbert Burnet (Amsterdam: J S, 1687), 7-9
[84] Burnet, *Relation of the Death,* 38
[85] Burnet, *Relation of the Death,* 24-25

A more direct parallel was drawn between primitive persecutors and writers' contemporaries with one pamphlet calling Louis XIV 'Nero Gallicanus'. In making the comparison the polemicist hoped to prove 'the necessity of reducing that Most CHRISTIAN KING to a more CHRISTIAN TEMPER.'[86] In presenting Louis XIV in this light, the author stripped Louis of his Christianity, arguing the French king 'has so little *Christian* kindness for his own subjects'; his pursuit of universal slavery was 'Leprosie', the disease cured by Christ.[87] This anonymous piece supports the view that the comparison between Louis and Nero was spread beyond a clique of writers, and that those writers' use of the trope was at least in part a political attempt to solidify the notion in readers' minds that Louis was evil and had to be resisted.

The comparison with Nero was especially damning. The Roman emperor was understood to be the first prosecutor of Christians, and was depicted on stage as tyrannical, mad, and pompous. Nathaniel Lee's *Tragedy of Nero,* first performed in 1675, was printed throughout the 1690s. When Nero attacked Cyara, the emperor was presented as demonic: 'Mercy and I, no correspondence have,/ Pity's a whining tender-hearted slave: Fury I love, because she's bold and brave,/ As I scan things, Virtue's the greatest Crime:'.[88] Nero was also depicted as a tyrant in an educational dialogue, with the instruction manual reminder readers of the brutal assassination of his mother, as well as the murders of his wives.[89] The instructor remarked that 'he had a mortal hatred to the Christians,' and that he 'made them suffer Torments which till that time were unknown.'[90] These two sources were produced for either entertainment or education, appealing to as broad an audience as possible to sell. They therefore are particularly useful for showing the richness of the analogy when deployed politically by the Whigs. The appropriation of a popular hate figure – Nero – and the multi-media presentation of Nero as the typical persecutor of primitive Christians, demonstrated the desire of some writers to popularise the association of primitive persecution and contemporary Ludovician tyranny.

Gilbert Burnet drew an encouraging comparison between the persecutions of the primitive Christians and those of his present, arguing that the extent of the early martyrs' sufferings were a consequence of the deepness of the covenant established between them and God: God 'delivered many of them up to

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[86] *Nero Gallicanus, or, The True Pourtraicture of Lewis XIV* (London: R Taylor, 1690), Front page
[87] *Nero Gallicanus,* 4
[88] Nathaniel Lee, *The Tragedy of Nero: Emperour of Rome* (London: R Bentley, 1696), 26
[89] Fourcroy, *A New and Easie Method to Understand the Roman History* (London: R Baldwin, 1697), 142-143
[90] Fourcroy *New and Easie,* 144

the Fury of the Jews, and to the Cruelties of *Nero*':[91] yet, following their repentance, God spared Jerusalem and later let his early followers live in peace. This persecution also had the effect of sharpening the early Christians' purity, thus allowing the faith to spread quickly throughout the empire. Early persecution, like contemporary persecution, had purified and therefore fortified the faith of those closest to God.[92] The drawing of the comparison made sense of the tough military fortunes of the early Williamite years, and showed that the primitive Christian genre could be used to explain a variety of circumstances under William, not least the apparent failure of a decisive breakthrough after the Battle of the Boyne.

Indeed, Christian purity – often discussed as disdain for the fleshy pleasures of the Earth, in contrast to reflections on godly truths – and persecution were often presented as necessarily connected phenomena. Francis Atterbury – who was far from being a Whig, later becoming a Jacobite rebel – pointed out that the grotesqueness of the suffering of early Christians 'made mighty impressions' among the lower classes in the Roman Empire, who then converted to Christianity.[93] Those who suffered understood the fleeting nature of temporality, as well as the potential for hurt on Earth, and therefore the desire to go to Heaven. Richard Lucas, another preacher at the royal court, argued that martyrdom was the crowning example of the trails to be expected of the godly on Earth, proving God's intention for Christians to be watchful of the 'Hardships and Labour, Watching, Contention and War' on Earth.[94] The refrain that the willingness to suffer and die for true religion was the most evocative moral example of the early Christians provided a propaganda argument as suffering became widespread in the tumultuous Nine Years' War.

Foreign Protestants also claimed spiritual primitive ancestry through the similar persecution of the early fathers with their contemporaries. Such a view was given by French Protestants like Mattieu de Larroque, whose work to console his oppressed brethren was translated into English nearly a decade after he died. Larroque wrote that the oppression of the French Protestants mirrored the persecution of the early Christians, and that their faith would only grow as they underwent the same experiences as the early Christian fathers.[95] Attacks against them was 'being animated with a spirit contrary to that of Christianity', which, as well as being violent, was infecting those Catholics in France who carried it to

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[91] Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached before the Queen, At White-Hall, On the 16th Day of July, 1690. Being the Monthly-Fast* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1690), 21

[92] Burnet, *the Monthly-Fast*, 21, 28-30

[93] Atterbury, *A Sermon Before,* 18-19

[94] Lucas, *The Christian Race,* 21

[95] Mattieu de Larroque, *Conformity of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Of The Reformed Churches of France, With That of the Primitive Christians* (London: Tho. Cockerill, 1691), vi

have 'no other design but to open the door to Licentiousness, to foment Vice, and to incourage Debauchery and Excess'; it was better French Protestants conformed to their primitive roots than expose themselves to this spirit.[96]

This common ancestry was a template for the most militant, cross-national idea of Christianity, according to William Wake, who asked 'was there ever a Race of Men that despised' death, disgrace, and torment, 'more than the *Primitive Martyrs'*?[97] Wake preached at Court with hyperbole in rallying his audience to the standard of primitive Christianity, noting how their example 'chills our Blood'; their lives being 'more like *Romance* than *History'*: their sacrifices was rooted in their fear of God outweighing the fear of the loss of their bodies.[98] Richard Lucas, also preaching at Court, similarly put the 'the Race of the Primitive Christians' on a pedestal, with their 'Sufferings and Blood' being used to establish a Kingdom of Jesus.[99] He noted that they 'sought no Country but a Heavenly one', travelling like 'Pilgrims upon Earth', and shunned earthly things.[100]

The canon of martyrology was Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.* As Linda Colley has argued, books like the *Book of Martyrs* were the tabloids of the times, disseminated and consumed by many.[101] The popular nature of the book can be demonstrated on the print following the preface (see Figure Two) that detailed the gory ways devout early Christians had been tortured over the centuries, creating a common history through martyrdom. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was regularly republished. In the 1702 edition, instance after instance detailed the painful deaths of Protestants in England who resisted the Catholic counter-reformation in Henry VIII's time, or in the reign of Mary Tudor. The chroniclers contrasted the piety of the martyr with the gory pain of their death.

A popular martyr was Ann Askew, unique as the only woman to be both tortured in the Tower of London and burned at the stake. The book gendered the account, contrasting her virtue with the 'blood Hounds' who 'put [Askew] upon the Rack to make her confess' the names of other martyrs. When she did not, 'they in the end sentenced her to the Fire', offering her a pardon if she recanted.[102]As well as

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[96] Larroque, *Reformed Churches,* xvi-xvii

[97] William Wake, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen At Whitehall: May Xth M. DC. XC. I.* (London: Richard Sare, 1691), 36

[98] Wake, *Queen At Whitehall,* 36

[99] Lucas, *The hristian Race,* 3

[100] Lucas, *The Christian Race,* 22-23

[101] Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 21-22

[102] *The Book of Martyrs, with an Account of the Acts and Monuments of Church and State, from The Time of Our Blessed Saviour, to the Year 1701,* 2 vols, vol 2 (London: D Browne, 1702), 69-70

using gender, the authors often deployed piety and love of the broader commonwealth, in depicting the virtue of the martyr. Roland Taylor was typical. The *Book of Martyrs* spent six pages, beginning with him being dragged from his wife, refusing to flee, and being questioned by the detestable Cardinal Gardiner. On the way to his execution, he stopped to help a poor man and his children, before calling to individual members of the poor of the village by their names. The sheriff struggled to find people to set up the apparatus for burning Taylor, and when they did, a woman had to be forcibly pulled from him, as she sat crying next to him. The *Book of Martyrs* called the executioners the 'Enemies of Christ'.[103]

Yet Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* did not just serve as a source of bloody stories to scare readers, it also provided a historical umbilical cord connecting Protestant Europeans from the early Christian martyrs suffering under the Pagans to the Protestants of the present. The full title on the 1702 edition promised to give:

> A Faithful Relation of the *Sufferings* and *Martyrdoms* of the Apostles, Evangelists, and Primitive Christians, under the Ten Heathen Persecutions, and of the Anti-Christian Popish Persecutions that have been in *England, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, Spain, Flanders, France, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Savoy, Piedmont,* and in other Countries.[104]

Just by providing the contents of the reports of Protestant persecution, sympathy between the English readership and their Protestant brethren was meant to be produced. The editors of the volumes stated in their preface that the work was intended for this purpose, saying it was '*so worthy the acceptance of the Protestant World'*.[105] The book was meant to be read '*as Publick as possible, and fitted even to the meanest Capacity'*, and when the editors prayed that God would '*Defend and Protect his Church from all Oppression, Tyranny, and Superstition'*, they did not feel the need to clarify whether they meant the Church of England or the broader 'Church' of followers adhering to the true (Protestant) way of Christ.[106]

In spite of the exhaustiveness of the *Book of Martyrs,* other pieces on martyrdom entered into the English market, either focusing on individuals, or on groups. One anonymous author argued that this rollcall of martyrs proved 'the true spirit of Popery': the author argued that Roman Catholicism was primarily

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[103] *Book of Martyrs,* vol. 2, 140-146
[104] *Book of Martyrs,* vol. 1, title page
[105] *Book of Martyrs,* vol. 1, Preface
[106] *Book of Martyrs,* vol. 1, Preface

a persecuting ideology and their Church was primarily an instrument of persecution.[107] Boyle wrote a two hundred and fifty page account of the martyrdom of Theodora and Didymus (killed by Diocletian and Maximianus for their Christianity);[108] one pamphlet went over one hundred and fifty pages detailing the martyrdom of Isaac le Fevre, who Louis XIV had enslaved.[109] Also, works on the martyrdoms of groups abounded. Some tried to copy the *Book of Martyrs* and intended to supplement Foxe's standard work in a way that was even more exhaustive, and inclusive of all Protestants: Samuel Clarke's *General Martyrologie* presented the persecution of 'Christians' in this pan-European light. Beginning with the persecutions of early Christianity, the seven-hundred-page history details Protestant rebellion throughout Europe.[110] Others focused on groups like French Protestants (see next chapter).

The popularity of works detailing martyrdom, and their stress on the faith of those who died, as opposed to their nationality, built a transnational consciousness that tried to impress on readers that the deaths of a Protestant in ancient Rome, 16th-century France, and 17th-century Hungary, were all equally tragic. The moral of these martyrdoms was that Protestants had to group together to prevent malign Catholic influences from being able to inflict such horrible murders on them in the future.

**European Connections in the Confessional Struggle**

The histories so far discussed were strongly anti-Catholic in content and therefore were not novel or explicitly party political; anti-Catholic propaganda and history stretched from the Reformation into at least the 19th century. The novelty of the texts discussed here was less their theological and ideological contents, and more their application of those time-old ideas to the treatment of their recent history. In integrating these timeless anti-Catholic narratives into their contemporary present, their pan-Protestantism gained two novelties that distinguished them from other, earlier accounts of anti-Catholicism. The first was the stress on the potency of human power to manipulate their environments.

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[107] *The True Spirit of Popery: Or the Treachery and Cruelty of the Papists Exercis'd against the Protestants in All Ages and Countries where Popery has had the Upper-hand* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1688)

[108] Robert Boyle, *The Martyrdom of Theodora, and of Didymus* (London: H Clark, 1687)

[109] *An Historical Account of the Sufferings and Death of the Faithfull Confessor and Martyr, M. Isaac Le Fevre, and Advocate of Parliament* (London: T. W., 1704)

[110] Samuel Clarke, *A General Martyrologie, Containing a Collection of All the Great Persecutions Which Have Befallen the Church of Christ. From the Creation, to Our Present Times; Wherein Is given an Exact Account of the Protestants Sufferings in Queen Maries Reign*, 3rd ed. (London: William Birch, 1677)

The alleged superiority of the people, and particularly the leaders, of the Protestant states over their Catholic antagonists meant that they could defy them, even when Catholics held numerical superiority. The second novelty was the understanding that this conflict between different peoples often by-passed states and nations and that connecting Protestants together was crucial to overcome the trans-national Catholic threat.

Following a traumatic century, English writers were keenly aware that the fruits of the revolution of 1688 could be snatched from them by a court coup, and their works reflected that even in times of great promise, nefarious forces could outwit the reformers and condemn them to Catholic slavishness. The central role of a few well-placed humans, plus the view that good events were contingent upon the successes of one another, belied the perceived need to secure the tenuous gains of the Reformation and Revolution. The major lesson from the historical works of the Whigs was that this could only be done through linking Protestant states together to try to ensure against the historical forces undermining the liberties gained since the 16th century.

*The Whig homo historicus: agent of change*

The emphasis on individuals as agents of change presented people as thinkers who could evaluate and respond to their environment. This ability to think resulted in a new moral imperative for Protestant states and peoples that if they could take control of their destinies, then it was incumbent upon them to do so. Further, the recognition of the transience of Protestant successes, themselves only a product of Protestants taking advantage of chance to assert them, meant that historical studies gained a new dynamic. Although this view of human potential did not sit easily with the prevailing theology of a covenant with a directly intervening God – who many argued was the ultimate author of the Glorious Revolution –Whig histories presented not just the motive but also the analytical framework to unite against Catholics.

Demonstrating the extent to which Williamite England was becoming an entrepot for a variety of historical and philosophical ideas, Christopher Clark shows that the new stress on how events were connected to one another across Europe in historical study came through Samuel Pufedforf's works, patronised by William's court by way of Hanover and Sweden.[111] Samuel von Pufendorf spent his life

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[111] Clark, *Time and Power,* Chapter 1

criss-crossing through Protestant states, being born in Saxony, and having worked in the Netherlands, Sweden, and various other German states. So, it is no surprise that his works either deliberately[112] or sub-textually[113] forwarded an ideologically pan-Protestant agenda that defined historical forces as transnational and contingent upon one another. Only when Protestants recognised that no historical law will protect their liberty, and that they must work beyond national boundaries to defend their freedom, might the hard-won Protestant settlements reached in the countries Pufendorf worked and taught in be secured.

Pufendorf's idea of history was especially suited to a Protestant prince surrounded by Catholic, absolutist states, and the translation and promotion of his works in the 1690s shows the political implications of his historical view. Indeed, Pufendorf's rejection of the Hanoverian States General's arguments against their executive's attempts to enhance his power is eerily similar to William's arguments against the English House of Commons later in the decade for a standing army on the grounds that Hanover had entered a 'new normal', where executives needed the powers to fight foreign threats at short notice.[114]

It is impossible to determine whether Pufendorf directly influenced the writings of English histories. However, given that the major histories of the 1690s repeated Pufendorf's analysis of European history that centred on how the outcomes of European events in different areas were contingent upon one another, it does not matter whether it was Pufendorf himself or his ideas that influenced authors such as Gilbert Burnet, Abel Boyer, and the other Whig historians whose works were produced in the 1690s. That his ideas chimed with the greater Whig ideas of the rootedness of pan-Protestantism, and the collective memory of persecution, is enough to show that his ideas supplemented pre-existing Whig currents of historical thought.

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[112] For example, see Samuel Pufendorf, *The Divine Feudal Law: Or, Covenants with Mankind, Represented. Together with Means for the Uniting of Protestants. In Which Also The Principles of the Lutheren Churches Are Stated and Defended* (London: John Wyat, 1703). In the piece he argues for the closer alliance of Protestants following different theologies in different German states.

[113] Samuel Pufendorf, *The Compleat History of Sweden, From Its Origin to This Time: Comprehending The Lives and Reigns of All Its Kings and Governors, the Several Revolutions, Wars, Riches, Forces, Strrength, and Interest of That Nation, in Respect to the Other Kingdoms of Europe* (London: Joseph Wild, 1702). As Clark shows in his chapter on Pufendorf, the History of Sweden is a court history that seeks to justify the policies of the King of Sweden, demonstrating the precariousness of Sweden's state and its reliance on shifting historical and political forces to remain secure.

[114] Clark, *Time and Power,* 41

A typical work combining scepticism with the awareness of how events were intimately related to one another was John Phillips' *Secret History* of Charles II and James II. Philips began his history observing how no other monarch before Charles II had inherited as 'so large a Dominion' as him.[115] Yet, 'Evil Consellors' soon removed this advantage, corrupting the king 'with Effeminate Pleasures', weakening him and exposing him to the dangers that undermined England's position over his reign.[116] The history reminded readers how easily corruption could set into a once-strong body politic, providing contingency that changed the state's historical trajectory. It also illustrated Phillips' and others' views that some Catholics also had as much capacity for individual action as Protestant ones. There was often an implicit contradiction here: part of being Protestant was to have escaped from the brainwashed conformity that was Roman Catholicism. Catholics were often presented as an identikit mass of humanity deprived of free will through their lack of education and dependence on ritual. In Phillips' telling, some well-placed Catholics – like Charles and James of his history – could and did use their well-placed power, but uniformly for secret, shadowy ends, to impose Roman Catholicism on the rest of the population. If Charles was a suspect figure after the Glorious Revolution, James had to be presented as a corrupted anti-hero. Phillips presented James not as an unfortunate king corrupted by fates beyond his control, but as someone brought down by his own stupidity: he '*laboured, against all the Common Rules of Policy, so industriously to lose*' his crown.[117] Phillips detailed episodes like the forced election of Anthony Farmer to Magdalen College, which gave blow-by-blow accounts of conversations revealing the extent to which the king was intent on degrading the kingdom to a slave-like state (as well as revealing the agency of those who resisted him).[118]

In this telling, Roman Catholicism contributed to the degeneration of Charles and James as people; their faith explained why they used their power to try to effect history in such a negative way. William III represented the opposite of that degeneration: he had taken Protestant morals to heart, allowing him to connect other Protestant states together to defend their freedoms. He marshalled the United Provinces' limited resources against Louis XIV's state at the height of its powers. A deluge of pamphlets made this argument. But two particularly long and detailed histories are relevant here: R. B.'s *History of the House of Orange,* and Abel Boyer's biography of William III. These books, and others, presented a prince who had learned the historical lessons of the necessity of Protestant unity, and had the command of his potential to act on them.

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[115] John Phillips, *The Secret History of the Reigns of Charles II and James II* (London, 1690), 1
[116] Phillips, *Secret History,* 2
[117] *Quadriennium Jacobi, or, The History of the Reign of King James II,* 2nd ed. (London: James Knapton, 1689), Preface
[118] *Quadriennium Jacobi,* 146-156

R.B.'s treatment of the patriarchs of the House of Nassau as prime movers in history presented their navigation through domestic and European politics as crucial in fighting the nefarious, timeless, Catholic threat. Like Temple, R.B. attributed the Dutch Revolt to 'the People abhorring the name of the Inquisition,'[119] placing peoples' outrage with individual actors, detailing the conversations between William the Silent and the authorities before the outbreak of hostilities.[120] R.B.'s account of William's ascension to power similarly depicted him as unambiguously in command of history, with his commitment to defending Protestant liberties crucial in turning the tide from Louis and his 'Vast Army'. Just as all hopes were lost, 'his Highness the Prince of Orange being advanced to the Stadtholdership, the face of affairs began to alter'.[121] R.B.'s Pufendorf-like theme of placing princely power and judgement at the centre of history was followed in far greater detail by Abel Boyer, in his biography of William, who he called 'the only Support of the Liberties of *Europe,* against the Growing Power of *France.*'[122] In contrast to Charles' tendency towards arbitrariness in striking an alliance with Louis,[123] William never appeared distracted or corrupted from his goal of defending European Protestant interests. Boyer's later volumes, going into the fine detail of governing, consistently presented William as pursuing a policy in keeping with the national interest, in spite of growing parliamentary backlashes against him.[124]

Whig writers awarded agency to statesmen to show both what can be gained from defending the Protestant interest, and how quickly that interest could come under threat from Catholics or weak Protestants who did not remain vigilant in defending Protestant liberties. This is not to say that, in placing the power of historical change in actors like the later Stuart monarchs and William III, these writers consciously contradicted the prevalent belief of God's direct interventions in the world's affairs. The square was circled in two ways: first, by claiming that God had awarded these good judgements to specific princes, and placed them in positions of power to fulfil his Divine purpose.[125] Second, the covenant God had awarded England in exchange for this Divine protection was dependent on those in the country ruling wisely. Either way, the nature of God's presence was not challenged by the emphasis

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[119] R. B., *The History of the House of Orange; Or, A Brief Relation of the Glorious and Magnanimous Atchievements of His Majesties Renowned Predecessors, and Likewise His Own Heroick Actions till the Late Wonderful Revolution* (London, 1693), 4
[120] R.B., *House of Orange,* 5
[121] R.B., *House of Orange,* 36
[122] Abel Boyer, *The History of William the Third in Three Parts*, 3 vols, vol 1 (London, 1702), dedication ii
[123] Boyer, *William the Third,* vol 1, 16
[124] Boyer, *William the Third,* vol 2, preface
[125] Burnet gives this view in Gilbert Burnet, *23d of December*

on individual action to defend Protestant liberties. Contrarily, William III was warned that not acting on that ability would lead to divine retribution.

*The history of a connected Europe*

In the Whig histories, the principal means of defending Protestant liberties was the recognition of the interconnectedness of the continent that had been at war for so much of the last two centuries. The Reformation itself was necessarily understood as a transnational exchange of ideas, with temporal princes using foreign writers to reinforce their authority. Linking Protestant writers and statesmen was crucial in maintaining the Reformation. Whig histories showed that the 16th century was full of examples of when, if Protestants did not work together, the Reformation went backwards. Jurieu set the transnational stage when he contextualised Henry VIII's early denunciation of Luther in 1521, writing that 'All *Europe* was presently full of' Reformation texts, creating 'the heat of the controversie' that 'excited the Curiosity of many'.[126] In Jurieu's telling, the whole European continent partook in a debate with transnational implications. According to Burnet, Henry VIII's ascension marked the beginning of England once again taking 'a large share in all the Affairs of *Europe'*, after the ending of the bickering of the houses of York and Lancaster.[127] This policy was in the timeless English interest: '*Holding the Balance*', through military and diplomatic power.[128] Burnet assumed that whenever England wasn't at civil war, its European connexions made it a European power.

Hence perhaps why Burnet felt no need to explain why or how Reformation ideas arrived from '*Germany, Switzerland,* and the *Netherlands'*; given the proximity of the states, and the similarities in the polities, it was no surprise.[129] It was also no surprise that Henry VIII commissioned a learned mission to churches throughout Europe to study whether his marriage to Catherine was void or not, rather than relying insularly on English scholastics.[130] The Catholic legacy meant that England was a European power, if only through its ties to the Papacy and its shared interest in navigating the Papal courts. English religious and political affairs were purely part of Europe, because England was religiously associated with one of the two camps, both bent on existentially removing the other.

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[126] Jurieu, *Council of Trent,* 10
[127] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 1
[128] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 3
[129] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 31
[130] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 94

From the beginning of Burnet's account, the Reformation's development was peppered with events that nearly crushed it as many times as it saved it. The print accompanying Burnet's book (see Figure Three) demonstrated how contingent the event was on the successes or failures of other events by illustrating buildings and workers putting up 'Religion' and take down 'Superstition', in spite of resistance from the latter's occupations. Such analysis tinted Burnet's description of the Queen Catherine of Aragon's mobilisation of Papal forces to change Henry's mind, through coercion if necessary, during his attempt to divorce her.[131] Thereafter, Henry VIII's court was a court in flux, with two parties caballing to persuade the king to either further pursue Lutheran-esque policies, or quasi-papal ones.[132] English court lobbying was a pan-European affair.

Burnet's descriptions of these power conflicts were highly personalised, reflecting the extent to which the Reformation rested on the whims of Henry VIII. He spent much of his account of how a coalescing force of Catholics attempted to strip Archbishop Cranmer of his post, due to his holding 'heretical' (or, to Burnet, 'Reformed') views about the sacrament and the prayer book. When they persuaded Henry to prosecute him, they fail to win a terminal sentence, due to Cranmer's rhetorical abilities. Thwarted, Burnet described the disgruntled party turning to the Queen, capitalising on Henry's discontent. Only because the document to impeach her found its way to her servant's hand did the Queen persuade her husband of her view. The day after, when troops arrived to arrest her, Henry called them idiots and demanded that they went away.[133]

Burnet's detailed account underlined the precariousness of the Reformation. As a consequence of these power-tussles and the inability of the Reformed to consolidate their revolution behind the kingly office of Henry VIII, the power of the monasteries took a decade to break, in part because of the clergy's resorting to mobilising the mob to secure their place.[134] By Edward's reign, commissioners reported that 'Water, Salt, Bread, Incense, Candles, Fire, Bells, Churches, Images, Altars, Crosses, Vessels, Garments, Palms, Flowers; all looked like the Rites of *Heathenism*', were still found in religious buildings.[135] In describing the monasteries well after Cromwell, Burnet presented a portrait of a

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[131] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 57
[132] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 172-173
[133] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 344-345
[134] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 1, 180
[135] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 2, 73-74

country still not finished with its Reformation, where 'and the Holy Bread were blessed, to be a defence against all Diseases, and snares of the Devil', among other profanities.[136]

Details of the changes in fortune of the two court parties during the Reformation, and the apparent pervasiveness of 'Popery' in the monasteries (as well as the reign of Mary) meant that, following the Restoration, the argument that English Protestant liberties had always been contingent on events, circumstances, and good actors protecting the changes from corruption and removal. The idea that only constant vigilance and constitutional novelty prevented the descent into Popery, became pervasive. The implicit linking of Protestant communities through the details of the horrors that would come with a Catholic restoration were made explicit in the number of histories that drew no lines between the fates of European Protestants in England or on the Continent: Gilbert Burnet judged 1685 to be 'the most fatal to the Protestant Religion.'[137] If any year laid bare how contingent the fate of Protestant liberty was, it was 1685. Chronologically, the author listed the reasons for his assessment: February saw a Catholic king in England; in June, the Elector Palatinate passed to a Catholic; the Edict of Nantes was revoked in October, and a similar protection for Protestants was revoked in Savoy in December.[138] Burnet did not clarify a line between Protestants in England or abroad; both were tied together by a common history. In tying the multiple different Protestant confessional and national groupings into one whole, the Williamite war effort could be justified by positioning it as a historical fulfilment of the timeless conflict and as a tool to protect those communities. After all, Catholic polities did not struggle mobilising from the centre. To counter this threat, it was necessary to recognise the common connections European Protestants shared.

Whig historians used William as an analogy to demonstrate the necessity of Protestants connecting, and his campaign in the Nine Years' War was used as the strongest evidence of the truth that when Protestants ally together, they can overcome Catholic tyranny. William III became the fulfilment of the pan-Protestant promise to unite against the Catholic church that had usurped Christ's authority and had persecuted dissidents. This message was popularly communicated in a broadside entitled, 'The Virtue of a Protestant Orange', which digested the long historical struggle into pithy rhyming paragraphs, using the medical benefits of oranges as an analogy for the boons of William's reign in contributing decisively to the power shift from the Catholics to the Protestants. Invoking the memory of Elizabeth's reign, the broadside stated that 'There's none can express,/ Your great Happiness,/ The

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[136] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol 2, 73-74

[137] Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time,* 2 vols, vol 1 (London: Thomas Ward, 1724), 655

[138] Burnet, *History of His Own Time,* vol 2, 655-656

like never seen since the days of Queen *Bess*:/ A Nation Enslav'd,/ And *Justice* out-brav'd,/ To be thus Redeemed, and gallantly Sav'd,/ *By an Orange.*' William III would stop 'Our *Catholick* Fools,/ And Tantivy Tools' who had been undermining England for 'So long' with 'Fryars and Devils,/ And such kind Evils,/ That pester'd our Nation'.[139]

Yet, in spite of the high number of official rejoicings of William's accession, many other pieces were keen to remind their readers that their revolution was contingent on vigilance against transnational Popery. A year after the revolution, one writer saw Catholic conspiracies behind every corner, using a 'history' of James' reign to show how quickly Catholicism can grip a country unawares.[140]

After all, history showed that Catholics were often better organised than Protestants, and Catholics were always searching for ways to subvert the English constitution. Gabriel d'Emillianne's ostensibly unbiased *Short History of Monastical Orders* attempted to show how virtually every Catholic religious order was bent on undermining the liberties of the community they were settled in. D'Emillianne's motivation to write the study was that he was 'not altogether ignorant of the great disturbances' monastic orders had inflicted, 'so delivilishly attempted the total Destruction both of Churches and Church men'. D'Emillianne wanted to 'bring in these Monks as vanquished Slaves, and lay them at the Feet of the Protestant Clergy'.[141]

On his chapter covering the English 'Gilbertines', d'Emillianne's explanations of the order's growth kept relating the English chapter with its Continental educators, with Gilbert travelling to the Continent and back to liaise with the Pope in gaining money and authority. D'Emillianne found the order especially threatening given its 'Hermaphrodite' nature, with 'holy Virgins having got almost all of them big Bellies', and condemning the apparently well-known fact that 'many Bones of Young Children' were buried in the cloisters, only to be found after the Reformation.[142]

D'Emillianne's stories of nefarious pan-European Catholic orders undermining Protestant liberties underlined how easily, to Protestants, Catholics were able to organise. Through direction from the centre, and top-down cohesion, Catholics were able to divide Protestants. D'Emmilliane's stories, and

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[139] *The Virtue of a Protestant Orange* (London: W.D., 1689)
[140] *A Brief History of the Rise, Growth, Reign, Supports, and Sodain Fatal Foyl of Popery, during the Three Years and an Half of James the Second, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1690), 2-3
[141] Gabriel d'Emillianne, *A Short History of Monastical Orders* (London: S Roycroft, 1693), Preface
[142] D'Emillianne, *Monastical Orders*, 133-134

others, underlined the importance of not dividing, but learning from history and uniting in a pan-Protestant crusade against the common enemy.

**Conclusion**

Whiggery was a worldview built on a particular understanding of history. When advocating for this worldview, Whigs drew on writings from different sources and perspectives, both in England and abroad. I have shown in this chapter how these different perspectives blended together to create some of the tenets of their worldview that are explored in subsequent chapters. Particularly, I have tried to show how these histories contributed to the creation of a common Protestant community that, although spread across geography, was united in their adherence to a faith stemming from the same place with the same values, if slightly different practices.

The Whigs relied on ecclesiastical history. This history was explicit in the sermons and supposedly academic studies of ancient Christians, and more implicit in histories of martyrdom, the Reformation, and the Revolution. This reliance derived in part from the understanding of faith as holistic. Without faith, society and politics was meaningless. For example, Daniel Disney argued that Christianity is 'chiefly designed for perfecting the Nature of Man,' for 'governing his Actions'; religion ought 'to be judged by its Relation to the main Ends of it'.[143] Gilbert Burnet shared these ideas in his mammoth history of the English Reformation. His preface argued that '*where the Salvation of Souls being concern'd, the better sort are much affected',* and that salvation derived from '*the Credit, Honour and Interest of Churches and Parties'*. Religious change had affected affairs *'every where'*, and an understanding of the Reformation is central to understanding the political and economic development of England.[144]

To these historians, what happened before provided lessons for the present. The principal lesson was that, without a robust reliance on Protestant alliances abroad, England's 17th century destabilisations could return. This need for establishing these alliances was established in a number of works: in his sermon comparing England to Judah, Francis Carswell noted the achievements of James I, Charles I, and Charles II, in their contributions to the Protestant cause.[145] So did Gilbert Burnet. In his *Dedication*,

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[143] Disney, *A Compendious History,* 1
[144] Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 1, Preface
[145] Carswell, *Restoration Parallel'd in Judah's,* 22-24

Burnet recounted the many successes of the English reformation, and subtly instructed Charles II on how to follow in the illustrious footsteps of his ancestors. Burnet asked Charles to maintain 'a closer correspondence with the Reformed Churches abroad', so that his 'Royal Title of Defender of the Faith is no empty Sound, but the real Strength and Glory of Your Crown.'[146]

Indeed, Burnet's writings were arguably the largest single contributor to the synthesising of pan-Protestant history. His account was the most exhaustive and influential history of the English Reformation, published first in 1681, before being abridged, translated into French, and re-printed throughout his lifetime. Burnet's popular success was due to his ability to communicate commonly held historical tropes.

It has been shown that Burnet's work can safely be assumed to be the most lucid work informed by the orthodoxies of pan-Protestant latitudinarianism that dominated Williamite regime writing in the 1690s, due to the high number of other authors who developed his themes. These themes, centring on the naturalness of the links between Protestants in England and elsewhere in Europe, breathed into historical accounts of English history from the Reformation to the Restoration, and was done in two ways.

These writings stressed both the capacity for human control of events, as well as the extent to which these events were contingent upon one another. With these two viewpoints, William and Louis symbolised two different European trajectories. Only with the right arsenal could the Protestant grouping claim victory. Whig historical writers, not least Gilbert Burnet, emphasised in their histories the suffering incurred at the hands of Catholics, whether before the English Reformation, in the Reformation's early, contested state, or in the reign of Queen Mary. Gruesome accounts of torture and pain implicitly highlighted the necessity of defending the Reformation, an event that some feared others took for granted.

Whig history provided a framework for explaining the necessity of Protestant unity to an English audience exhausted by conflict and demanding to know why it was committed to the Nine Years' War. The answer was simple: just as early Christians had allied together in loose structures to fight against oppression, now their heirs, contemporary Protestants, needed to associate against new enemies: Louis and the Papacy.

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[146] Burnet, *History of the Reformation,* vol. 1, dedication

**Chapter Two**

**The Huguenots: Archetypal Protestant Brothers[1]**

The last chapter showed that Whig historical writing emphasised the similarities between Protestants in England and Europe, as well as the necessity of unifying around those similarities. This historical culture provided the lens through which contemporaries viewed one of the most traumatic events of a particularly traumatic century: the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not only did the edict of Fontainebleau confirm to many English people that Catholic countries were barbaric, but it also created a conduit of information that flowed from France to the Netherlands and to England, generating an unprecedented network of highly literate witnesses of persecution. The quantity of their number – 200,000 fled France – allowed a lobby to form in the Netherlands and, later, in England, to campaign for deeper English integration into Protestant internationalism.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was a seminal event in the development of the Whig idea of Europe. The historical works discussed in the last chapter provided an interpretative lens for understanding the causes and consequences of Louis XIV's move, and it became part of the justification of the Nine Years' War. The revocation became so central to Whig argument because of the supposed barbarity of the event, as well as the revocation's consequences. The deluge of French Protestant refugees who arrived in England added their testimony to the anti-Catholic, anti-Ludovician sentiments that formed the cornerstone of the Whig worldview.

This chapter examines how Huguenot testimony of Louis XIV's barbarity contributed to the Whig idea of Europe. It does so principally through an analysis of Huguenot pamphleteering. These pamphlets reveal the rhetorical importance of pan-Protestantism. This chapter brings together two historiographies: the contribution of Huguenots to English political and cultural life, and the extent to which the Nine Years' War was justified in pan-Protestant terms. Building on these two historiographies, it will be shown that the Huguenots' appeals to Protestant solidarity was a major boon in the mission to justify the Nine Years' War, connecting with the pre-existing Whig argument that Protestants across Europe were forced to unite to defeat Louis XIV. This call for unity was primarily

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[1] Parts of this chapter are adapted from William H F Mitchell, 'Huguenot Contributions to English Pan-Protestantism, 1685-1700', *Journal of Early Modern History* 25, no 4 (2021): 300-318

emotional. Writers used doctrinal differences, alongside anecdotes of these doctrines put into practice, with the number of pamphlets dwelling on stories of torture and destitution wrought by Louis XIV. This emotionalist argument added urgency to the Whigs' calls for greater participation in the conflict against France.

The extent to which the influx of Huguenot refugees contributed to evolving English debate on foreign policy has been the subject of a series of papers published a decade ago, particularly in Lisa Clark Diller's analysis of contemporary pamphlets debating the extent to which these refugees could be considered part of the British nation.[2] Diller's work builds on the standard study provided by Robin D Gwynn's survey of Huguenot contributions to 'British' politics in the long term,[3] which is in turn built on a Victorian survey.[4] Such studies rest on the assertion that the Huguenots' unique potency derived from their own idiosyncratic characteristics fitting Benedict Anderson's description of an imagined community,[5] with a collective memory,[6] institutional and ecclesiastical heritage,[7] and unique philosophical and political tropes forged in similar circumstances.[8] The cohesiveness of the diaspora allowed novel contributions to English identity-formation, particularly through their ability to act as a lobby group for pan-Protestantism, and through their supplementary ability to provide European news.[9] However, the extent and effectiveness of Huguenot lobbying in England is understudied, as Gwynn attests in his most recent work.[10] There is yet to be a thorough investigation into which Huguenots held particular sway in William III's court, and how those Huguenots leveraged their influence to further their diaspora's interest. This chapter hopes to partially fill this gap by studying the impact of those Huguenots engaged in Williamite propaganda, particularly framed in pan-

[2] Lisa Clark Diller, 'How Dangerous, The Protestant Stranger? Huguenots and the Formation of British Identity, 1685-1715', in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context. Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 103–20

[3] Robin D Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge, 1985)

[4] John Southerden Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and Other Foreign Protestant Refugees Settled in England, from the Reign of Henry VIII, to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: With Notices of Their Trade and Commerce, Copious Extracts from the Registers, Lists of the Early Settlers, Ministers, &c., &c. and an Appendix, Containing Copies of the Charter of Edward VI., &c.* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846)

[5] David Onnekink, 'Models of an Imagined Community: Huguenot Discourse on Identity and Foreign Policy', in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context. Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. Trim, J. B. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 193-216

[6] H. H. Leonard, 'The Huguenots and the St Bartholomew's Massacre', in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context. Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. J. B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 43–68

[7] Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard, 'Doctrine and Liturgy of the Reformed Churches of France', in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, ed. Raymond A Mentzer and Bertrand van Ruymbeke (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 43–65

[8] Hugues Daussy, 'Huguenot Political Thought and Activities', in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, ed., Raymond A Mentzer and Bertrand van Ruymbeke, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 66–89

[9] Jeremy Black, 'The European Idea and Britain 1688-1815', *History of European Ideas* 17, no. 4 (1993): 439-460

[10] Robin D Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, vol 1, 3 vols (Sussex: Sussex University Press, 2015)

Protestant terms. This framing makes Huguenot-produced propaganda pertinent to the historiographical debate on the extent to which William III's foreign policy was 'pan-Protestant', and whether it was perceived as such.

Steve Pincus has argued that the English political nation's concerns centred on the loathed figure of the 'Universal Monarch', switching between the Dutch and the French in the Restoration[11] before being deployed as an anti-French trope in the Glorious Revolution.[12] Pincus in turn builds on the older work of John Miller, who demonstrated the potency of 'absolutism' as a theme in anti-French discourse from the Restoration to the Revolution,[13] as well as accounts of the period rooted in the longer 17th century English constitutional struggle, such as Tim Harris' *Revolution*.[14]

Yet, the religiosity of later-seventeenth century English foreign policy attitudes has been asserted by Andrew C Thompson, whose studies show that even in the supposedly Enlightened mid-18th century the claiming of the pan-Protestant mantle was important to English political thinkers. Thompson argued that the 'balance of power' principle could co-exist with a pan-Protestant agenda, with England siding with different Catholic powers to prevent one Catholic power from dominating Europe and thereby threaten Protestant states' security.[15] The religiosity of the Williamite state was analysed in depth in Tony Claydon's *Godly Revolution*, which shed light on how William's propagandists used Protestant themes to justify his rule. Claydon studied in detail the courtly demand for obedience in the aftermath of the revolution, carefully charting the court's propaganda from William's *Declaration of Reasons*, which focused on James II's breaches of England's civic constitution and how William would rectify it by bringing a free parliament, to Gilbert Burnet's December 1688 sermon of a 'two-church model' of God and of sin, licensing the moral authority of William through the obviousness of God's preferment for his invasion.[16]

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[11] Steve Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the Late 1670s', *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 2 (2000): 336–61. Also, Steve Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

[12] Steve Pincus, '"To Protect English Liberties": The English Nationalist Revolution of 1688-1689', in *Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland, c. 1650- c. 1850* eds. Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 75–104. Also, Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009)

[13] John Miller, 'Britain', in *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 105–224

[14] Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Allen Lane, 2006)

[15] Andrew C Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 40

[16] Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 24-63

This chapter shows that Huguenot pamphlets reveal the rhetorical importance of pan-Protestantism, particularly when 'pan-Protestant' is considered with an emotional appeal. This emotional hatred of Protestant persecution, as Claydon shows, allowed William III to argue that he was pursuing Protestant interests while allying with Catholic states, because Louis XIV was the antichrist.[17]

The more expansive, emotive understanding of pan-Protestantism used in this chapter benefits from recent work on foreign perceptions of Louis XIV. The essays in *Louis XIV: Outside In* reveal the complexity of English anti-Ludovician sentiment, and how anti-Catholicism, anti-Frenchness, and anti-Universal Monarchy themes could tie together to become a general rallying call for Protestants against the Other. Tim Harris' analysis of popular Francophobia,[18] as well as Jamel Ostwald's account of English anti-French military critiques,[19] demonstrate how English-produced anti-French works operated in a context of the near-hegemony of French culture.[20]

John Evelyn provides a suitable case study in the emotional import of the Huguenots' testimonies; his politicisation was based on anger against the French state, and sympathy with the persecuted. As Evelyn made his journey from London to his country home on November 3rd 1685, he recorded how the French 'Tyrant, abrogating the edicts of Nantes', had attacked his Protestant subjects 'with uttmost barbarity, exceeding what the very heathens used'. Without apparent motive or warning, Louis XIV had demolished churches and burned libraries; seized estates; banished, imprisoned, and enslaved subjects: the tinging of Evelyn's Protestant conscience quickly turned political. He noted how it 'was much taken notice of' that the government-controlled *London Gazette* did not mention any of the events in France, nor did any English printing press publish an account of the event. Evelyn remarked that 'it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant Countrie, that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered', thereby showing his shared identity with non-English Protestants, who he sought news of.[21] These were communicated to him by Huguenot sympathisers and, by early 1686, the vast numbers of

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[17] Tony Claydon, 'Protestantism, Universal Monarchy and Christendom in William's War Propaganda, 1689-1697', in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* eds. David Onnekink and Esther Mijers (London: Routledge, 2017), 125–42, 136-137

[18] Tim Harris, 'Francophobia in Late-Seventeenth-Century England', in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661-1715* eds. Tony Claydon and Charles-Edward Levillain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 37–55

[19] Jamel Ostwald, 'Popular English Perceptions of Louis XIV's Way of War', in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661-1715* eds. Tony Claydon and Charles-Edward Levillain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 93–110

[20] Tony Claydon and Charles-Edward Levillain, 'Louis XIV Upside Down? Interpreting the Sun King's Image', in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661-1715* eds. Tony Claydon and Charles-Edward Levillain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 1–23

[21] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E S De Beer, 6 vols vol 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 485-487

Huguenot refugees who had arrived in London. He continued to record French events closely,[22] made friends with Huguenot exiles,[23] and avidly agreed with sermons calling for contributions for their relief.[24] He complained to his diary when, one month after the revocation, a Whitehall preacher demanded the 'submission of Christians to their persecutors', seeing it as an officially-sanctioned slight against those French Protestants who refused to submit to the tyrannical whims of their king.[25]

Evelyn's enflamed pan-Protestant conscience was not unique. The continuing arrival of French refugees meant closer interpersonal relationships between the English body politic and their foreign brethren. I will show how prominent Huguenots built correspondences with major English political figures, which provided a self-reinforcing effect of more news, more sympathy with those who suffered, and more interest in that news. This momentum was accelerated substantially by William III, who arrived with Huguenot battalions that then went on to fight in Ireland.[26]

Although not seeking to show that individual Huguenots, through direct lobbying, influenced English political thinking, the evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates the power of Huguenot testimonies in contributing to the pre-existing Whig argument that Englishmen ought to care about, and be attached to, their Protestant co-religionists. Therefore, their testimonies strengthened the Whigs by providing emotional potency to pre-existing intellectual argument.

This chapter's source selection rationale is intended to build the most authentic picture of the English coverage of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and Louis XIV's treatment of the Huguenots, and to assess the impact of those coverages on the argument for pan-Protestantism. In seeking to do this, three types of sources have been consulted. The first type are the pamphlets written in reaction to Louis XIV's treatment of the Huguenots. All of these printed from 1685-1705 are discussed in this chapter, but I discuss with emphasis those that had high impacts: that were cited by others, re-printed, or published by someone close to William III's court. The second source base are the works produced by the most prominent Huguenots whose works arrived in England in the 1680s and 1690s, such as Abel Boyer, Pierre Allix, Pierre Jurieu, Jean Claude, and Pierre Bayle. Huguenot output was varied and significant, contributing to different literatures and topics throughout the 1690s. All these authors' works on the

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[22] Evelyn, *Diary,* vol 4, 490

[23] Evelyn, *Diary,* vol 4, 522-523

[24] Evelyn, *Diary,* vol 4, 508

[25] Evelyn, *Diary,* vol 4, 493

[26] Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688: The Lions of Judah* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2002)

Huguenot diaspora that were published in England are discussed, as are a number of the wider works that drew fame and attention to the authors. I include these texts to integrate their wider lobbying efforts in these varied fields for the Protestant international. Thirdly, I have consulted as many court-aligned English writers' views about the revocation as possible, to see the extent to which partisans for further participation in the Nine Years' War were aware of, and used, propaganda produced by the Huguenots in their argument. These works include sermons and pamphlets, and have been prioritised by the extent to which they were read (cited, re-printed, et cetera) by contemporaries.

Given the number and heterogeneity of these sources, I often needed to decide which sources to emphasise and which to leave out. This choice was guided principally by this chapter's main intention: to accurately reconstruct the impact of the Huguenot diaspora on the Whig idea of Europe. The sources that serve this intention are those that can be most plausibly connected to the Whigs, either interpersonally, through patronage, or through ideas. The first I have traced using inference, archives, and secondary material; the second through contemporaries' recollections, Court pronouncements, and imprinted publisher; and the third through the publications' language. When these connections can be established directly, they have been included in this chapter. More arms-length connections that can establish the broader intellectual/political context are also included, but the thesis' main analysis is focused on the sources that brought out the Whig idea of Europe.

Following this introduction, this chapter is divided into three parts. Each seeks to demonstrate how the Huguenots contributed to the Whig idea of Europe that tethered England to Europe through emotionalist pan-Protestant rhetoric. The first addresses the mechanics of the influence of key members of the Huguenot diaspora on the English body politic, particularly through William's court, as well as interpersonal social relations that bypassed James II's silence on their prosecution. Given the centrality of the late-Stuart court as the centre of patronage, the benevolent advocacy taken by members of that court focused propaganda efforts to solidify the refugees' position as advocates for greater European involvement.

Using positions in court and wider elite society, major Huguenot writers deepened England's connection with European Protestants through personal relationships and printed materials. Relationships often influenced what was printed, and those prints in turn expanded some Huguenots' social networks, and deepened pre-existing sympathies. Such relationships allowed news to be communicated to mobilise support for charitable endeavours, both for French Huguenots settled in England and those hoping to be transported there.

Court-backed Huguenot lobbying fitted into two themes, which form the next two sections of this chapter. First, the Huguenots communicated the horrors of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, reminding their readers that the French King – and his Catholic subjects – ought to be resisted. The long-ranging detail of torture, duplicity, and betrayal was meant to build sympathy for the pan-Protestant alliance against Louis. By 1702, Huguenot martyrdom had become part of the English Protestant canon, demonstrating the success of Huguenot advertising that their fate was part of the narrative that was tied to that of historical English Protestant sufferings.

As a second theme, many Huguenots contributed to the debate of England's reformed place in Europe because of the Glorious Revolution. Several Huguenot celebrations of the revolution of 1688 reinterpreted the Glorious Revolution from an event that fundamentally concerned the restoration of English ancient liberties, to one that Europeanised the English state to fight with other Protestants against Louis. I will show that the number of pieces written by Huguenots positioning the Glorious Revolution as a pan-Protestant, European event, reveals the contentiousness of the Whigs' argument; further, the use of William III's person as a symbol of the pan-Protestant European struggle by Huguenots shows the acknowledgment of William III as a propaganda tool. Taken together, the quasi-legal, quasi-historical arguments made re-told 1688 was presented to the English literary market as the vindication of pan-Protestant commitment to the struggle for continental European liberties.

Taken together, these three sections make the argument that the Huguenot diaspora was a cornerstone element in building a Whig worldview of Europe. It integrates separated historiographies – Huguenot studies, English political history – to form a more complete picture of how the Whig idea of Europe was supplemented, building on the other phenomena discussed in chapter one (history) and three (the press).

**'Strangers to Citizens'**

Some Huguenots, who were either lucky enough or useful enough to ingratiate themselves among William III and the English exiled court in The Hague before 1688, used their court connections for the purpose of lobbying for their distressed brethren in and out of France. The nitty-gritty work of explicitly establishing how those connections were formed, and how influential those key Huguenots were, has

yet to be done. However, this section presents evidence that some members of the Huguenot diaspora held positions of influence at William III's court, and that this influence was leveraged to further a pan-Protestant agenda that suited the diaspora's interests. This section establishes the nature of some of these connections, and discusses the power of William III's court as a place of patronage. It therefore provides context by demonstrating the medium by which the message, discussed in the next two sections, was produced.

To understand the unique position the actors this chapter discusses were in, it is important to spell out the idiosyncrasies of the Huguenot diaspora. The Huguenots' usefulness to the pan-Protestant agenda was strengthened by the Huguenot community's pre-existing intellectual richness, industry, and cohesion. The tight knit nature of the community forms the bedrock of Huguenot historiography, in spite of the divergent socio-economic experiences of the Huguenot diaspora when they arrived in different European countries: whereas many Huguenots commanded senior court positions, others were forced to integrate into the poorer Spitalfields weaving community. Given the scarcity of employment and resources, these poorer Huguenots were faced with a far less tolerant English community.[27] The pressures of the trade drove the entire weaving community to such desperation that they participated in some of the largest riots 17th-century England had ever experienced.[28]

Although the diaspora was economically divergent, as a whole the cohesion of the educated Huguenot diaspora was evidentially strong. A comprehensive study of the experiences of Huguenots in Dutch exile has been done by David van der Linden, showing that Huguenots in the Netherlands both had forces of unity (in a foreign land, having to undergo legal and financial processes to settle) and disunity (different occupations, different backgrounds, and different attitudes to Protestantism).[29] Mara van der Lugt's study of the Bayle-Jurieu intellectual feud centring on Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* reveals how the tightness of the Rotterdam-based community contributed to the visceral attacks the two launched against one another,[30] which attracted enough infamy that the Amsterdam citizenry were

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[27] Catherine Swindlehurst, '"An Unruly and Presumptuous Rabble": The Reaction of the Spitalfields Weaving Community to the Settlement of the Huguenots, 1660-90', in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. Randolf Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 366–74

[28] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September, 1678 to April 1714*, 6 vols vol 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 199 for the account of the Spitalfields weavers' riots in March 1696

[29] David van der Linden, 'Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680-1700' (London: Routledge, 2015)

[30] Mara van der Lugt, *Bayle, Jurieu, and the Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

still interested in it as late as 1740.[31] Some letters written by both Bayle and Jurieu held in the Walloon Archive in Leiden University reveal how much this community sought to relay personal and public news to other members of the diaspora, settled throughout Europe: Bayle did not allow the logistical difficulties of getting letters to Berlin to argue with fellow-Huguenot Charles Ancillon, who had complained of the treatment of his family member in Bayle's dictionary: 'if you had criticized a hundred faults in my *Dictionaire* […] you would not have caused me displeasure', Bayle assured Ancillon, but the malicious attack on the author's integrity was too much to bear.[32]

Pierre Bayle used Rotterdam as a hub to spread literary news and develop connections throughout Protestant Europe, and even Catholic states allied against Louis, like the Empire. From his correspondence he appears to have been something of a literary agent for Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, liaising with someone in the Earl's employ, Mr Furly, to procure books for his library. In sending Ashley-Cooper books by prominent authors, he also sent him sections of his dictionary, perhaps advertising to a potential patron the literary assets of his major work.[33]

Although private Anglo-French communication flourished after the Glorious Revolution, arguably the more important advocacy for deeper connections between Protestants in England and Protestants abroad occurred at court. The centrality of the English court's importance as an institution of patronage did not dwindle in William's reign. Whereas James II used his Court to patronise Catholics and pro-French divines that cast aspersions on Dissenting traditions like the Huguenots, William III used his Court to patronise the opposite: in spite of Huguenot outliers like Jean Durel (1625-1683), whose Restoration preferment ran concurrently with his robust defence of Anglicanism, Huguenot court preferment was dramatically accelerated by the pro-Protestant William III:[34] Abel Boyer was a tutor to the Duke of Gloucester, and he used the position to sell his French language aide, writing that his book was built on the basis of instruction given to England's heir. [35] Boyer exploited his growing court patronage to further his links with other establishment names, such as the newly-minted Bishop of

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[31] *Two Dialogues: I. Between Monsieur Jurieu And A Burgomaster of Rotterdam. II. Between A Country-Clergyman And A Quaker* (Amsterdam, 1740)

[32] Leiden University Library Special Collections AW2 MAR 4:1 Brief van Pierre Bayle en Charles Ancillon

[33] Leiden University Library Special Collections AW 2 MAR 4:1 Brief van Pierre Bayle en Anthony Ashley-Cooper 5 June 1699

[34] John McDonnell Hintermaier, 'Rewriting the Church of England: Jean Durel, Foreign Protestants and the Polemics of Restoration Conformity', in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. Randolf Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 353–258

[35] Abel Boyer, *The Compleat French-Master, For Ladies and Gentlemen*, 2nd ed. (London: R Sare, 1699)

Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet.[36] Boyer was following the example of a number of Huguenots benefiting from the benign post-Revolutionary English regime: Pierre Allix gained a doctorate from Cambridge; Jacques Abbadie became Dean of Killaloe; Pierre Jurieu became an ordained Anglican, and Queen Mary patronised the translation of Elie Benoist's *History of the Edict of Nantes* into English.

Many pieces have has shown the extent to which the welcoming of the Huguenots was 'bottom-up', with John Hintermaier being informed by Mark Knights' methodology in his study of the Exclusion Crisis[37] to reveal the extent to which 'public opinion' demanded the assistance of French Protestant refugees.[38] This thesis is bolstered by Steve Pincus' focus on how actors outside the Court (in parliament, the press, and pulpit) formed a 'Protestant ideology' in the 1690s.[39]

However true it might be that many minor members of the English body politic zealously supported the assistance of Huguenot refugees, the court was still the central arbiter of the expression of this sentiment. Sugiko Nishikawa rightly argues that Henry Compton's pro-French Protestant attitude was powerful both in the Jacobean and Williamite regimes, through his use of his position as Bishop of London to divert funds and coordinate Protestant relief.[40] Further, until 1694, all pamphlets needed the approval of the court censor, vesting significant power in the executive to arbitrate acceptability of opinions espoused by the public. The free expression of pan-Protestant sympathy was aided directly, with funds for printed materials and coordinating sermons demanding charity, and indirectly, by a court so publicly claiming to want to aid their French brethren. For instance, under William's influence, around one hundred and seventy-five Huguenots were receiving Dutch army pensions in 1700.[41]

The amicable court atmosphere encouraged the Anglo-Dutch Huguenot community to form a concrete lobby, which was both in person and in print, to express their views to their pan-Protestant monarch. Those Huguenots at William III's court campaigned for state relief and employment. To relieve their brethren in France, they lobbied for English participation in the Nine Years' War. In other words, they lobbied for what William would later advertise to the English people as a potent persuasive tool for

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[36] Abel Boyer, *The Correspondence of Abel Boyer, French Refugee 1667-1729*, ed. Rex A Barrell (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 78

[37] Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

[38] John McDonnell Hintermaier, 'The First Modern Refugees? Charity, Entitlement, and Persuasion in the Huguenot Immigration of the 1680s', *Albion* 32, no. 3 (2000): 429–49

[39] Pincus, *The First Modern Revolution*

[40] Sugio Nishikawa, 'Henry Compton, Bishop of London (1676-1713) and Foreign Protestants', in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. Randolf Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 359-265

[41] Leiden University Library Special Collections AW2 694

justifying his reign: a pan-Protestant agenda. Both physical and written lobbying were connected: pro-Huguenot petitions were more likely to be received sympathetically by the Court, with its number of Huguenot pensioners, than in the House of Commons. The number of well-placed Court Huguenots paid dividends to the larger diaspora. On the 9th of January 1692, a Huguenot petition was waived by the Commons, owing to parliamentary time constraints. Following a further petition to the king, William issued a proclamation in their favour, and a week later the Commons complied with a motion 'for a supply to be given towards the Relief of the Petitioners'.[42]

Huguenots who arrived at Court ensconced themselves early into William's English reign. Immediately following the Revolution, one pamphlet circulated around London that contained the Edict of Fontainebleau, the sufferings of Protestants since 1685, and the Elector of Brandenburg's declaration of charity,[43] which William was to mimic soon after.[44] Printed lobbying could be coordinated to express gratitude transnationally. In 1692, an address from the Dutch Walloon churches were received, presenting 'their most humble respects', thanking God that William was 'on the throne of Great Britain' so that he could provide 'just and wise government'.[45] This lobbying occasionally contained specific requests. In early 1689, William and Mary declared that any French Protestant who arrived in England would receive 'Our Royal Protection', as well as 'Our Endeavour' to find them work so that living 'in this Realm may be comfortable and easie to them.'[46] Three years later, a royal report showed that since the revolution, under government aid, there were fifteen new French churches, and that 15,500 people had received charity.[47]

Royal patronage of the Huguenots followed from the group's promotion of William's agenda. Physical examples of the plight of Protestants abroad galvanised English support for the greater integration of European Protestants, as well as the broader potential to increase the commitment of English Protestants to European affairs. With William's Whig ministers attempting to pursue the greatest possible commitment to the 'Common Cause' in the Nine Years' War, the presence of French chapels

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[42] Boyer, *The History of William the Third in Three Parts* 3 vols vol 2 (London, 1702-1703), 318

[43] *By the King and Queen, A Declaration for the Encouraging of French Protestants to Transport Themselves into This Kingdom* (London: Charles Bill & Thomas Newcomb, 1689)

[44] *The French King's Decree Against Protestants, Prohibiting Them the Exercise of Their Religion* (London, 1689)

[45] Leiden University Library Special Collections AW2 741. 'Harangue a sa Majesté Britannique, gouverneur des Provinces Unis… Prononcée le 14 Févier 1692 par Mr EIasun, Pasteur d'Amsterdam, préident du Sinode, tenu en la méme Ville le 23 Août 1690. 'que les Eglises Walonnes vous présentent leurs trés humbles respects, benisfants Dieu de l'élévation de V: Me: sur le fiône de la Grand Brétagne, & de la protectoin qu'il continuë à ces Provinces, par vôtre juste & sage Gouvenement, les honorant de vôtre Auguste Présence pour la joye de leurs Peuples & pour la consolidation de l'Eglise.'

[46] *A Declaration for the Encouraging of French Protestants to Transport Themselves into This Kingdom*

[47] *His Majesty Having Been Pleased [...]* (London, 1695)

on London's streets, as well as French refugees at court, could produce the necessary propaganda affect to justify the ever-heightening taxes and debts to fund the war.

Many literate Huguenots allied with William's regime wrote pamphlets defending his regime's legitimacy in the aftermath of the revolution, like Pierre Jurieu's work on the necessity of 'defending our religion by arms'.[48] Some deployed different principles to suit different needs for the regime. Pierre Allix examined 'the Scruples of Those Who Refuse to Take the Oath of Allegiance' to William III, writing a dissertation on the self-evidence of the original contract, how James II had broken that contract, how James had abdicated the crown, and how William had legitimately fulfilled the vacuum demanded by the English people.[49] However, when the regime was more established, he wrote a piece attacking Christians who dared to comment on affairs of kingship, arguing that Christians should merely be satisfied with who is in power *de facto,* rather than who is in power *de jure.*[50]

Also, for those who did not read French or Latin, well-connected Huguenots were central to the translation of key foreign ideas that bolstered pan-Protestantism. Between 1690 and 1710 there appeared English translations of Erasmus' major works,[51] as well as Hugo Grotius.[52] In addition to these classic works that could be weaponised in the anti-Catholic atmosphere of William III's reign for anti-Papal narratives, two contemporary works were also released: Pierre Bayle's translated *Dictionary*, and Samuel von Pufendorf's *History*.[53] The latter's translator dedicated the book to the high-Whig and Williamite fixer, the Duke of Shrewsbury.[54] These works, as will be discussed below, enriched English political debate and expanded readers' terms of reference beyond English constitutional history to broader historical themes of pan-European struggle for liberties.

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[48] Pierre Jurieu, *Monsieur Jurieu's Judgement upon the Question of Defending Our Religion by Arms, with Reflections upon the Affairs of England* (London: John Lawrence, 1689)

[49] Pierre Allix, *An Examination of the Scruples of Those Who Refuse to Take the Oath of Allegiance* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1689)

[50] Pierre Allix, *A Letter to a Friend Concerning the Behaviour of Christians Under the Various Revolutions of State-Governments* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1693)

[51] Desiderius Erasmus, *Morie Encominium: Or, a Panegyrick upon Folly* (London: J Woodward, 1709)

[52] Hugo Grotius and Symon Patrick, *The Truth of Christian Religion: In Six Books. Written in Latin by Hugo Grotius. And Now Translated into English, with the Addition of a Seventh Book Against the Present Roman Church*, 5th ed. (London: J L, 1702)

[53] Pierre Bayle, *An Historical and Critical Dictionary by Monsieur Bayle. Translated into English, with Many Additions and Corrections, Made by the Author Himself, That Are Not in the French Editions*, 4 vols (London: J Tonson, 1710)

[54] Samuel Pufendorf, *An Introduction to the History Of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe*, trans. J Crull, 6th ed. (London: Tho Newborough, 1706)

With such deep connections between William's court and the Huguenot diaspora, it is no surprise that the death of Queen Mary reverberated around the Huguenot community. Pierre Jurieu wrote one of his pastoral letters (written to French Protestants throughout Europe who either faced persecution or had recently escaped it) on the meaning of Queen Mary's death, and how her death was a great 'Loss to Europe'.[55] Jurieu stated that Mary was 'that *great QUEEN* [who] was both a Mother and Protectoress',[56] not just providing moral leadership by providing archetypal femininity as an example to Protestant wives,[57] but also through her commitment to her husband's European policy.[58] At least one Dutch Huguenot congregation's sermon was translated into English: the preacher justified the mourning because Queen Mary spent her life 'praying for our Common Interests'.[59]

The interpersonal connections between English elites and Huguenots, built on the cohesiveness of the Huguenot Protestant community, was crucial for the dissemination of pan-Protestant arguments for the English state to commit to the Nine Years' War. With propaganda often through the conduit of William's court, two major themes were produced: the barbarity of Louis' actions, and the assessment that the Glorious Revolution was one step in the rectification of the European balance between the Protestant good and the Catholic evil. Discussion of these two themes makes up the remainder of the chapter.

**Publicising the Plight of Foreign Protestants**

Samuel de Chaufepié exemplified the ways in which the Huguenots, the Dutch, and the English were tied together by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was at the centre of the Protestant relief efforts that he pursued in Holland and England. Chaufepié had been part of a Protestant international even before his forced exile, as he trained as a clergyman outside of his native France, in Geneva. Following the revocation, his life became further internationalised when he was thrust with a boatful of his community out of the village that his father had spent his life preaching in and across the Channel.

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[55] Pierre Jurieu, *A Pastoral Letter Written on the Occasion of the Death of the Late Queen of England Of Blessed Memory. With Reflections on the Greatness of That Loss to Europe* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1695), Title page
[56] Jurieu, *Queen of England,* 6
[57] Jurieu, *Queen of England,* 13
[58] Jurieu, *Queen of England,* 22-23
[59] Isaac Claude, *A Sermon upon the Death of the Queen of England Preached in the Walloon Church at the Hague, Feb. 6, 1695,* 2nd ed. (London: John Dunton, 1695)

Following the rapidly escalating 'increased persecution against all of our religion',[60] he made an emergency escape to Rotterdam with his wife via England. Of his brief stay in England he related both the apparent enthusiasm of the Englishman to listen to him, as well as the English demonstration of solidarity with his community in offering him a place to stay and a boat to Rotterdam. [61]

Even before the revocation, the testimonies from French Protestants who had left their country in response to the state-organised coercion against them were turning English attention further to their plight. This attention was not new, and Huguenots had been able to publicise their deteriorating position for decades. Gregory Dodds has shown the extent to which Huguenots were able to complain of their deteriorating legal position in France in the Caroline regime.[62] Edmund Everard, for example, felt confident enough of Charles' pan-Protestant sympathies to ask for his mediation between the French king and the Protestant community, reminding him that the '*the* Kings *of* England' had always been guarantors of the Edict of Nantes.[63]

In explaining the motives behind the erosion of French Protestant liberties, through the gradual increase in harassment from the late 1670s, one writer argued that the French state's ideology centred on a malicious attempt to deal the French Protestant community a death by a thousand cuts, rather than 'to stab with one blow'.[64] Some local regimes were more vicious than others: one account of 'The Horrible Persecution' in Poitou argued that any Protestant found by the regime faced harassment from the authorities and from galvanised members of the public. The authorities used any pretext to imprison them, putting them in solitary confinement, before being tortured until they either converted to Catholicism or died. Throughout the conversion process, they were threatened with punishments like being sold into slavery.[65] The publication of these pieces suggests an English appetite for Huguenot related news: although this appetite could have been caused by a variety of factors, the specificity of

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[60] Leiden University Library Special Collections AW 997.10 (F/19) Abrégé des principaux événements de ma vie. Par Samuel de Chaufepié, ministre de la parole de Dieu, né à Champdeniers 2 avril 1644, mort à Leeuwarden 11 mars 1704'.Origineel handschrift pp. 5 'percecution augmentois fort contre tous de notre Religion'.

[61] Leiden University Library Special Collections AW 977.10 (F/19). 'Seigneur du Lieu est un gentilhomme seavant parsant fort bien notre langue avec qui jeus plusieurs fois conversation et qui voulut mentendre precher. Je parti de Falmut sur un vaisseau anglais venant a Rotterdam Le 25 Janvier, et je de'barquai a Rotterdam Le 2 Feveier', 7

[62] Gregory Dodds, '"Sham of Liberty of Conscience": Huguenots and the Problem of Religion Toleration in Restoration England', in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context. Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. J. B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 69–101

[63] Edmund Everard, *The Great Pressures and Grievances of the Protestants in France and Their Apology to the Late Ordinances Made against Them: Both out of the Edict of Nantes, and Several Other Fundamental Laws of France* (London, 1681)

[64] *The Present State of the Protestants in France. In Three Letters* (London: John Holford, 1681), 25

[65] *The Horrible Persecution of the French Protestants In the Province of Poitou* (London: Randolf Taylor, 1681), 1

the stories, focusing on specific regions or persons, as well as the emotionalist language, indicate that English readers sought evidence to vindicate their anti-French, anti-Catholic beliefs that Louis XIV was a barbarian who allowed terror to be inflicted on intelligent, relatable French Protestants.

Prior to the revocation, arguably the most effective promoter of the Protestant cause in France was Pierre Jurieu, who published two dialogues that were hungrily translated into English.[66] Jurieu's works have been analysed by John Marshall, who roots Jurieu's pre-revocation dialogues in their political context of trying to persuade an ambivalent readership of the commitment of the international Catholic conspiracy.[67] *The Policy of the Clergy of France* posited that tightening discrimination was the font of a vain king that could no longer exercise his vanity through war, so he turned on his perceived internal enemies. Following the king's change of focus from the international to the domestic, Jurieu contrasted the state of Protestants before:

> were Counsellors and Attorney at Law, Physicians gathered in a Body of the faculty. They were received into Arts, they carried on Trade; they likewise entred into the Kings affairs as well as others. In War no distinction was made between them and the Catholicks: Nothing was considered, but Merrit and Fidelity, and Service, and Courage.[68]

To how they are in his time, with:

> People […] banished, lost their Honour, and their Goods are confiscated for Religion's sake? There needs nothing more than Fire; and that terrible Tribunal of the Inquisition, which *France* has been hitherto so much afraid of, will be established there.[69]

In going from honoured members of French society to outcasts, Jurieu's dialogues detailed the historical steps of the French Protestants' persecution, and the pernicious logic in alienating the Protestants further from France. He and other Huguenots were aware of the Old Testament precedent for exile: indeed, Jurieu turned to the Biblical prophets to try to indicate whether his contemporary

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[66] John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 19-21, 32-35
[67] Pierre Jurieu, *The Policy of the Clergy of France, to Destroy the Protestants of That Kingdom. Wherein Is Set down the Ways and Means That Have Been Made Use of for These Twenty Years Last Past, to Root out the Protestant Religion. In a Dialogue between Two Papists* (London: R Bently & M Magnes, 1681), 7-8
[68] Jurieu, *Policy of the Clergy,* 11-12
[69] Jurieu, *Policy of the Clergy,* 102

banishment signalled the imminent end of the world.[70] His allowance for articulating Catholic attitudes to Protestants – not least Louis' notion of a 'French union' that had to be confessional and political – presented a history of misconstrued objectives, with horrible consequences for his Protestant brethren.[71]

The revocation seemed to vindicate Jurieu's worries: pamphlets were printed throughout 1685-89 chastising English lethargy, and publishing the extent of the French king's wrath against his subjects. One 1689 account 'Cannot but wonder' why there was 'not History of the Persecution' published in England and in English,[72] before filling his account with 'The Horrid Cruelties' being inflicted on French Protestants. The incredulity expressed by the pamphleteer reveals how common-sense pan-Protestantism was supposed to be: the language served to chastise other elites that were less actively pan-Protestant to be more concerned with the events in France.

The reason why this 1689 account could claim to be the first was because James II made it clear early in his reign that his court would not tolerate propagandising through telling details of the persecution, because they were unfavourable to France. These accounts had contemporary potency that carried decades later: Jean Claude's account was re-printed in 1715 to ward off all those who might be tempted to join 'the present Rebellion, raised in favour of a Popish Pretender'.[73] Writing his account almost immediately after escaping France, Claude stated that ''Tis certainly too barbarous to oppress innocent People in their own Countrey', and it was almost as bad to not allow this persecution to be published in '*Gazetts,* and News-letters'. However, despite the censorship, the 'infinite number of Fugitives of all *Conditions'* meant that the truth would escape, whether their accounts were published or not.[74]

Claude spent a terse eighteen pages methodically listing all the ways in which the French state had drained the Edict of Nantes of its meaning before its revocation, showing the impossibility of the French Protestant's community to find work, buy land, or live with dignity.[75] Claude's labouring over the

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[70] Lionel Laborie, 'Millenarian Portraits of Louis XIV', in *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661-1715* eds. Tony Claydon & Charrles-Edward Levillain (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 209–28

[71] Pierre Jurieu, *The Last Efforts of Afflicted Innocence: Being an Account of the Persecution of the Protestants of France. And A Vindication of the Reformed Religion from the Aspersions of Disloyalty and Rebellion, Charg'd on It by the Papists* (London: M Magnes & R Bently, 1682), 8-13

[72] *Popish Treachery; Or, a Short and New Account Of The Horrid Cruelties Exercised on the Protestants in France* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 1-2

[73] Jean Claude, *French Dragooning: Or Popish Persecution, As It Was Practised and Executed upon the French Protestants, by Lewis XIV. in the Year 1686* (London, 1715)

[74] Jean Claude, *An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions of the Protestants in France* (London: J Norris, 1686), 1

[75] Claude, *Account of the Persecutions,* 2-18

detail of the Edict and the specificities of its violation indicated the extent to which his intended audience was intimately acquainted with, and interested in, the document and its violation. Such listing provided an update from Jurieu's dialogues. After the recital he provided vivid descriptions of Protestants fleeing their estates to Paris, which followed the similar structure of the pre-revocation descriptions of Catholic state-sponsored terror against Protestants. However, he added novel information, particularly when discussing the enforced billeting of the dreaded 'Dragonnades', when soldiers were stationed in Protestant houses, and caused problems through insulting their hosts, draining their material resources, and invading their privacy. These Huguenots wanted to see the king, not believing that their harassment by royal dragoons could have been done under his orders; they were turned away and later forbade re-entry into Paris.[76] This episode developed sympathy with a readership that avidly believed in conservative dedication to royal power, irrespective of the horrors being committed by that power. Claude was mindful that, within France, the major charge against the Huguenots was that their theology was rooted in schismatic, anti-monarchical violence. In presenting the Huguenots as long-suffering, passive receivers of punishment, Claude was refuting the French state's propaganda, printed throughout Europe, that the Huguenots were seditious troublemakers. After the revocation there was 'no Justice nor Humanity' for the Protestants; and Claude provided the English audience with an account of imprisonment, enslavement, forced family separations, and land confiscation,[77] moving Huguenot suffering into the well-trodden genre of Protestant suffering under the Catholic yoke, using emotional language to build a breathless narrative intended to build sympathy with the sufferers.

As well as Claude's printed account, the rapidly growing Huguenot exile community allowed the verbal communication of stories of profound misery brought by Louis XIV against his people. It was through these verbal communications that members of the English political nation, like John Evelyn, were attached to their cause. Hundreds of stories shared through the growing French Protestant churches seemed to underline the proneness of Catholics to state-sanctioned violence, when conditions were suitable to achieve the Papacy's objective of eliminating non-conformity to the Church of Rome. English readers were reminded of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, which – already a seminal part of Huguenot martyrology[78] – quickly became part of wider Protestant anger against the French state. Earlier, Gilbert Burnet had written an account of the massacre, clearly with the intention to prove that

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[76] Claude, *Account of the Persecutions,* 22
[77] Claude, *Account of the Persecutions,* 27-31
[78] Leonard, St Bartholomew's Massacre'

'the Church of *Rome* teaches Barbarity and Cruelty, against all who receive not their opinions'.[79] The worst excesses of the Catholic Church, normally 'kept among the Secrets of their Religion', was released in irrational anger.[80] After giving the specific example of the bloody murder of the Duke of Guise, Burnet dwelt on how the Catholic court celebrated the deaths of thousands of innocents: nobody denied the massacre, 'tho some rejoiced at it, and others wrote in defence of it.'[81] Another two English-language works drew on similar themes and language to Burnet, stressing the need to remember the St Bartholomew's Day massacre to underline the evil Catholics could commit.[82] All three used the trademark themes of the other works discussed: the dichotomy between the pious Protestant sufferer and the malign Catholic persecutor; the microscopic focus on individual instances of horror in the foray of general persecution; the use of language that stressed the culpability of Catholicism as an idea and system in the suffering of Protestants. They therefore added to the tenor of works that sought to elicit the sympathy of Protestants in England for Protestants abroad.

Stories of persecution were published through the coordinated efforts of the English-Dutch Huguenot community. One of the best printed documents showing the extent of the publicity and coordination campaign was Pierre Jurieu's *Pastoral Letters,* letters supposedly smuggled into France to those Protestants who were unable to escape, but which were collected, printed, and translated into English first in 1689. Jurieu claimed to be responding to letters received from persecuted Protestants throughout France, 'from our Confessors which are in Chains, in the Galleys, in Holes, and Dungeons, of an hundred feet in depth, in dark Prisons,' and who are being seduced into Catholic conversion.[83] Jurieu's recurring theme was the horrible potential for Catholic conversion, and the clear demarcations between international Protestantism and Catholicism. In one letter he noted how some Protestants had started attending mass, so as to avoid persecution: Jurieu denounced the practice as entering God's houses that 'Superstition hath rendred entirely profane'.[84] To remedy the temptation to conform to Catholicism and return to their confiscated estates, Jurieu exposed to his readers the growing line between the Papacy and original Christianity in a series of letters, detailing the break between the quasi-Pagan Church of Rome and the original founders of Christianity. In these long philosophical-historical works,

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[79] Gilbert Burnet, *A Relation of the Barbarous and Bloody Massacre Of about an Hundred Thousand Protestants, Begun at Paris, and Carried on over All France by the Papists, in the Year 1572* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1678), 3
[80] Burnet, *A Relation*, 4
[81] Burnet, *A Relation,* 24-40
[82] *A Seasonable Warning to Protestants; From the Cruelty and Treachery of the Parisian Massacre, August the 24th 1672* (London: Benji Assop, 1690). George Walker, *The Protestant's Crums of Comfort*, 3rd ed. (London: W Wilde, 1697)
[83] Pierre Jurieu, *The Pastoral Letters Of the Incomparable Jurieu, Directed to the Protestants in France Groaning under the Babylonish Tyranny, Translated: Wherein the Sophistical Arguments and Unexpressible Cruelties Made Use of by the Papists for the Making Converts, Are Laid Open and Expos'd to Just Abhorrence* (London: T Fabian, 1689), 2
[84] Jurieu, *Pastoral Letters,* 71

the clear implication to Jurieu was to demand that his Protestant brethren remained aligned with the original founders of their faith, and not with the idolaters.[85] As well as sharing the same defiant history, Jurieu linked French Protestant suffering with the broader pan-Protestant cause with his note that Protestants have always faced 'The Uniformity of the Persecution'; the revocation was merely the latest instance of imprisonment, enslavement, enforced entry into nunneries, which has studded Catholic policy against dissenters.[86]

The cacophony of stories of violence and deprivations were finally rationalised under the Williamite court-sponsored translation and publication of Elie Benoist's *History of the Famous Edict of Nantes.* The association between the Court and Benoist's *History* could not have been more clear, containing a page sealing the royal production rights to John Dunton, the publisher. The translator reaffirmed the connectedness between the Court and the pan-Protestant cause: the translator's dedication promised to vindicate the charitable policies of the Court, with details of *'astonishing Barbarity'* from France. The text itself was large and detailed, beginning with the foundation of the Edict. To Benoist, the revocation renewed England's European purpose: not only did the French king's behaviour signal the need for urgent intervention against a king that cannot be trusted, but it also reminded English readers the extent of their luck to be ruled by a monarchy that defended the Protestant interest and the rights of parliament.[87] It was clear in Benoist's work that the Huguenots' story was a European story, rather than a French one, and that foreign Protestants were intimately involved in the struggle for the rights to freely practice their religion. Benoist reminded his readership that no Protestant was more committed to the principle of passive obedience than French Calvinists, but that principle only emboldened Versailles to stick further on their process of persecution.[88] Each step of increased persecution was done in the knowledge that resistance was becoming more difficult, as more converted and few were able to gain resources to organise resistance. Meanwhile, the Catholic state always justified its acts of persecution, through thin legal and moral arguments to take away the livelihoods of innocent Protestants. Given their disregard for objective truth, Benoist considered it likely that by the year 1800 the Jesuits would have used their powers to abolish the memory of the cruelties inflicted, so as to carry on the thin legal-moral venire of respectability of pressuring French subjects to conform to the same religion.[89] Re-making the association between Catholicism and lies reaffirmed the dichotomy between the good, Protestant states, and the evil Catholic ones.

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[85] Jurieu, *Pastoral Letters,* 138-156

[86] Jurieu, *Pastoral Letters,* 155-156

[87] Elie Benoist, *The History of the Famous Edict of Nantes* (London: John Dunton, 1694), Translator's dedication

[88] Benoist, *Edict of Nantes,* vol. 1, vi

[89] Benoist, *Edict of Nantes,* vol. 1, xxi-xxix

The consequences of the court-sanctioned communication of the horrors of the Edict of Nantes were palpable. Not only did charitable contributions rise,[90] but large numbers of accounts were published: Charles Brousson's sermon, preached in a French forest before his back was broken on the wheel, was smuggled into the Netherlands and translated into English. Tim Rogers' preface argued that Englishmen shared a '*Relation to*' the French Protestants through '*the same* Reformed Religion, *the* common Tenderness of humane Nature, *and the* share we ought to have in their Sorrows'.[91] The sermon's common reference to passages cited often in English churches, including the section on the need to love God as the fountain of all happiness, and the need to devote oneself to God because he was punishing the Protestant community to purify it, was clearly published with the intention of pulling heartstrings.[92]

Although other standalone accounts of Huguenot martyrdom were published over the years,[93] arguably the strongest sign of the successful integration of Huguenot prosecution into the English Protestant whole was the inclusion of the many stories of persecution in *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. The 1702 edition had an updated chapter on 'The Lamentable Persecution, And Deplorable Sufferings of the Poor Protestants in France, under Lewis the Fourteenth'.[94] The book talked of contemporary Frenchmen being 'beat unmercifully as they were draging him to Mass, he crying out, *He would never do it*; beseeching them, *to dispatch and make an end of him*.'[95] Page after page of torment reminded the readers of the ironclad connection between Catholicism and absolutism, and the consequences of both, using sensationalist lexis so that the point was obvious:

> They strip'd a Boy of about 10 years of Age, and made a fire round him, the Child incessantly crying out, *My God help me,* till he was in a manner Roasted, and then they snatched him out of the fire in a Miserable blistered and scorched condition.[96]

[90] *His Majesty having been Pleased* [...] (London, 1695)

[91] Charles Brousson, *The Support of the Faithful in Times of Persecution. Or, A Sermon Preach'd in the Wilderness To The Poor Protestants in France* (London: Tho Snowden, 1699), Preface

[92] Brousson, *Support of the Faithful,* 12-13

[93] Isaac Jacquelot, *A Specimen of Papal and French Persecution* (London: Samuel Holt, 1712)

[94] *The Book of Martyrs, with an Account of the Acts and Monuments of Church and State, from The Time of Our Blessed Saviour, to the Year 1701*, 2 vols, vol 2 (London: D Browne, 1702), vol 2, 401

[95] *Book of Martyrs,* vol 2, 406

[96] *Book of Martyrs,* vol 2, 407

With the integration of contemporary Huguenot struggles into the broader narrative of prosecution, the publicity campaign of the 1690s achieved its goal: a sympathy between the French and English Protestant interest. This sympathy bolstered the broader Whig view of Europe, as discussed in the last chapter, in that it provided living evidence that Catholics acted in the present how they acted in the past. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was just the latest step in this broader historical arc that pitted different European forces against one another.

**Europeanising the Glorious Revolution**

As well as providing information of the horrors of their treatment in Catholic France, some court-backed Huguenot writers also attempted to persuade the English body politic to commit to European Protestantism politically and militarily. These writers argued that the Glorious Revolution was an assertion of England's European destiny. The bitter debate over the meaning of the Glorious Revolution – was it a return to ancient liberty, or an endorsement of pan-Protestant identity? – that arose in the first parliamentary debates assembled by William, has been revitalised by recent scholarly attention turning to William's court propaganda, which reflected a clear emphasis on pan-Protestantism, over the cause of England's ancient liberties. The interpretation of England's welcoming of William as an endorsement for European war was encouraged not least by Huguenot courtiers and writers, who published pamphlets and books in the 1690s that explained the revolution as one of the parochial English people gaining consciousness of the threat of French Catholicism.

In shifting the historiography to the court's argument over the meaning of the Glorious Revolution, Tony Claydon's *Godly Revolution* stands above previous works, shedding light on how William's propagandists sought to portray his rule. Claydon studied in detail the courtly demand for obedience in the aftermath of the revolution, carefully charting the court's propaganda from William's largely Country-constitutionalist *Declaration of Reasons*, to Gilbert Burnet's December 1688 sermon of a 'two-church model' of God and of sin, demarcating the world into two blocs of the godly and the devil. The leaders of these two Churches – God and the Devil – regularly intervened in earthly affairs to increase their powers on Earth. In putting England into the godly column, Burnet licensed the moral authority of William through the obviousness of God's preferment for his invasion.[97] This reliance on the

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[97] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 24-63

executive transferred war-making powers to William, and his court used propaganda to 'nationalise' the Nine Years' War, with expressed sympathy for Protestant churches abroad.[98]

Further, two essay collections take particularly belligerent stances in pivoting the Glorious Revolution into an international context: Jonathan Israel's *The Anglo-Dutch Moment,* as well as Hoak and Feingold's *The World of William and Mary.* In his introduction to *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, Israel argued that the Glorious Revolution has to be understood as a redistribution of the European balance of power:[99] thereafter there are essays unearthing the Dutch realpolitik motivations for financing William's invasion of England,[100] as well as essays on Dutch concepts of freedom,[101] the pre-history to the revolution in the 1672-1688 Protestant alliance of William III and the Elector of Brandenburg,[102] and the modernisation of England's economy immediately after the Revolution for the purposes of fighting the European wars.[103] Dale Hoak is more polemical, arguing that the Glorious Revolution was essentially a successful Dutch attempt to split a hostile Anglo-French alliance from ruining the United Provinces: the militarisation of the English state suited the Dutch goal of weakening France, and was paid for by English taxes.[104] This thesis suited Lisa Jardine's later attempt to argue that England 'went Dutch' in 1688, importing and internalising Dutch political and cultural norms, before stealing the Netherlands' place as the world's preeminent colonial superpower.[105]

These works have gone a long way to show how Europeans contributed to the evolution of English politics and society. However, in spite of these works, the scholarship on the Huguenots' contribution to William's vision of a united Protestant public against the Catholic aggressor has yet to be integrated into broader studies on William's kingship, as Gwynn argues in his most recent book.[106] Key Huguenots contributed to the vision of the Glorious Revolution as a pan-Protestant endeavour through their writings, some directly concerning the revolution: Jacques Abbadie's *Defence of the British Nation* spent

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[98] Claydon, *Godly Revolution*, 134-147

[99] Jonathan Israel, 'General Introduction', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, eds. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-47, 30-33

[100] Jonathan Israel, 'The Dutch Role in the Glorious Revolution', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment* eds. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 105–162

[101] E H Kossmann, 'Freedom in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Thought and Practice', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment* eds. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 281–298

[102] William Troost, 'William, Brandenburg, and the Construction of the Anti-French Coalition, 1672-99', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment*, eds. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 299–334

[103] D W Jones, 'Sequel to Revolution: The Economics of England's Emergence as a Great Power, 1688-1712', in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment* eds. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19911), 389–406

[104] Dale Hoak, 'The Anglo-Dutch Revolution of 1688-89', in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89,* ed. Mordechai Feingold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 1-28

[105] Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: Harper Collins, 2008)

[106] Robin D Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*

five hundred and nineteen pages interpreting the revolution for his audience, through a series of letters enmeshing the event further into European affairs: in his introduction he argued that he was moved to write following the 'invectives' launched against what he synonymised as 'the English revolution' and 'the European confederation'.[107] Abbadie's later writings valorising Queen Mary[108] and King William[109] similarly praise the royal couple's attachment to the 'Common Cause'.

Particularly underplayed have been the writings of Pierre Jurieu, where he blended the domestic-constitutional motivations of the Glorious Revolution (checking the power of the executive, restoring 'ancient liberties'), with Protestantism (Catholics inevitably subvert liberties, Protestants naturally defend them), and therefore with a pan-Protestant foreign policy, claiming that the Glorious Revolution was just one battle in the greater war between the forces of good and evil. Jurieu wrote two pieces that particularly placed the meaning of the Glorious Revolution in pan-Protestant context: the first, published in English, Dutch,[110] and French,[111] dwelt heavily on the constitutionality of the invasion, before moving to the pan-Protestant foreign policy implications. Crucially, he argued that Protestantism was more than a confessional stance, taking on aspects of political aspects, writing, 'Since *Henry* VIII. all the Kings and Queens of *England* (*Mary* excepted) were *Protestants,* that is to say, Enemies to the Papal Tyranny, this was a Quality annexed to the Crown of *England.*'[112] Jurieu's pamphlet was in response to someone criticising William and Mary; to Jurieu, this pamphleteer 'speaks in *France,* he speaks for *James* the Second.' James and Louis – domestic and foreign propagations of absolutism – were entwined.[113] Jurieu's making of this point demonstrated the contested nature of his claim: indeed,

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[107] Jacques Abbadie, *Defense de La Nation Britannique: Ou Les Droits de Dieu, de Lat Nature, & de La Societé Clairement Établis Au Suject de La Revolution d'Angleterre, Contre L'auteur de L'avis Important Aux Refugiés* (London, 1692) Writing against a text, 'the opinion of the Refugees',: 'Lorsqu'on lût l'avis aux Refugiés pour la premiere fois, on crûd s'apercevoir que, si le dessein du livre étoit de nous invectiver en declamant contre l'impatience des Refugiés, contre la Revolution d'Angleterre & contre la confederation de l'Europe, celuy de la Preface étoit d'empêcher nos écrivains de repondre à ces invectives en nous faisant peur des injures qu'on disoit avoir retranchées de cet écrit & de l'humeur emportée de cet auteur qui traitoit, disoit on, avec indignitè jusqu'à nos auteurs les plus recommandables par l'excellence de leurs ouvrages & par les grans services qu'ils ont rendus à l'Eglise de Dieu.'
[108] Jacques Abbadie, *A Panegyric On Our Late Sovereign Lady Mary Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Of Glorious and Immoral Memory* (London: Hugh Newman, 1695)
[109] Jacques Abbadie, *The History of the Late Conspiracy Against the King and the Nation. With a Particular Account of the Lancashire Plot, And All the Other Attempts and Machinations of the Disaffected Party, since His Majesty's Accession to the Throne* (London: Daniel Brown, 1696)
[110] Pierre Jurieu, *Apologie Voor Hare Koninghlijcke Majesteyten van Groot Brittanje, Tegens Een Eer-Rovend Lasterschrift, Genaemt Het Ware Afbeeltse van Wilhem Henrik van Nassou* (Amsterdam: Aart Dircksz, 1689)
[111] Pierre Jurieu, *Apologie Pour Leurs Serenissimes Majestés Britanniques, Contre Un Infame Libelle Intitule Le Vray Portraite de Guillaume Henry de Nassau* (A LA Haye: Abraham Troyel, 1689)
[112] Pierre Jurieu, *A Defence Of Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, Against an Infamous and Jesuitical Libel, Entituled, a True Portraiture of William Henry Prince of Nassau, &c.* (London: John Taylor, 1689), 14
[113] Jurieu, *Defence Of Their Majesties*, 60

these pamphlets were written as domestic political interventions in the pamphlet wars of the 1690s, rather than detached theological writings.

Another of Jurieu's texts to be translated and published in London in 1689, although evidently written before the Glorious Revolution, contained morals for the new state. Jurieu's pamphlet was a pan-Protestant manifesto, titled *Seasonable Advice to all Protestants in Europe of what persuasion soever, for uniting and defending themselves against popish tyranny*.[114] Like Gilbert Burnet, Jurieu argued that Protestant Europe was facing an existential threat, with the rise of Catholic intolerance and temporal power. Unlike Burnet, Jurieu attributed Protestant Europe's fall to a lack of pan-Protestant consciousness. He urged 'the Protestants of *Europe'* to 'awake' and 'prevent those calamities that at present hang over their heads.'[115] Corruption from Protestant virtue, in part through over-indulgence in national characteristics (French vanity, English lack of piety, German 'Debeachery that debaseth'), led to the decline of the church, 'slothfull' pastors, and the rescinding of 'the Work of the Reformation'.[116] Reflections on the Reformation, published in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, pointed towards England's reorientation towards the pan-Protestant church whole. Indeed, the completion of the Reformation necessitated pan-Protestant consciousness: only through shedding the false-consciousness of national divides, and re-establishing a community of the faithful, could true Christianity be supported and defended against the perversions of the Church of Rome and Catholic France.

As well as through the pan-Protestant interpretations published in 1689, the Glorious Revolution's European meaning was demonstrated through presentations of William III, as an Anglo-Dutch warrior-king who pursued policies only in the sincerest interest of 'the common cause'. Abel Boyer's biography is instructive, given its repetitious highlights of times when the stadtholder-king overcame obstacles, seemingly through divine approval. The previous chapter showed how new emphases on human agency and connectivity in the histories of the 1690s allowed focus on princes like William III, who could use their position and powers to defend European Protestant freedoms. Through Huguenot-written propaganda William's person was elevated to embody pan-Protestant promises.

For example, Boyer treated William's rise to his premiership in Holland as one of triumph over adversity: Louis' invasion led to the fall of the De Witt brothers, and the consequent pivot of the United

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[114] Pierre Jurieu, *Seasonable Advice to All Protestants in Europe of What Persuasion Soever, for Uniting and Defending Themselves against Popish Tyranny* (London: R Baldwin, 1689)
[115] Jurieu, *Seasonable Advice,* 2
[116] Jurieu, *Seasonable Advice,* 3

Provinces into an actively-involved Protestant power intent on the perusal of war with France.[117] Indeed, Boyer stated that the intention of his account was to fight William's detractors whose 'Malice endeavour'd to blast his Name'; Boyer countered the accusations of William's critics by saying that 'the whole Series of his Conduct' was to 'preserve the Liberties of Christendom, and maintain the Protestant Religion in all Parts of *Europe*.'[118]

The brilliance of William III in his tying of various Protestant forces together was contrasted with his nemesis, Louis XIV, who embodied the evil that the Huguenots had fled. Figure Four suited an English political climate united under William against Louis XIV, who had allied with the Ottoman Empire against the Habsburgs. Louis' treaty betrayal of Christendom dovetailed with his perceived ideological betrayal, following the cruelties that he inflicted against his Christian brethren.[119] The printer demonstrated this betrayal as the French king rode a horse into a priest, bolstered by a torch-bearing Turk. Pierre Allix contrasted the personalities of William and Louis show the linkages between the fates of England and France, and that the Glorious Revolution had necessarily thrown England into Continental affairs, whether English subjects wanted to be involved or not. This was because, in removing James II, the English had allowed the French to create a viable puppet-king that could be sponsored by Louis to enslave England into a state system centring on a Versailles-dominated axis. It was this 'Private League' of shared outlook and interest between James and Louis that meant England was forced to commit to the European Continent on the side of the Huguenots, Dutch, and German States against the French.[120]

To bolster his claim, Allix also turned to the history of James II's brother and his reliance on a younger Louis, rooted originally in Louis' protection of the Stuarts after the English Civil War. The Huguenot priest gave a detailed account of the Treaty of Dover, highlighting Charles II's circumvention of parliament, his absolutist pretensions, and his slavish loyalty to France. One of the parallels between Charles' return to England and James' potential return to England is both had spent time in France, absorbing their hosts' pretences to absolutism, and gaining sympathy for a form of government that consolidated power against the ancient liberties at the French estates. Further, Charles was complicit in

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[117] Boyer, *History of William*, Vol 1, 23

[118] Boyer *History of William,* vol 2, Preface

[119] Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 152-192

[120] Pierre Allix, *The Private League Betwixt the Late King James II. And the French King* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1689)

the invasion of the United Provinces which, to Allix, nearly brought 'the Protestant Interest' to 'a final Period'.[121] Could the younger brother copy his older brother and be subservient to France?

With such an ironclad link between the Bourbons and the Stuarts, it became easier to argue that English subjects had to choose between 'King William or King Lewis', because, using the example of James II's supposedly brutal army in Ireland, 'we may plainly see what King *James*, by direction from King *Lewis,* designs.'[122] Another letter argued that James' exile in France would have hardened his absolutist tendencies: partly through surrounding himself in the absolutist court of Versailles; also through his enhanced means as head of a French army; also through the direction of Louis, who would demand James behaved in an authoritarian way.[123] The letter argued that 'tho not an absolute Prince', James would be 'yet an absolute Viceroy, and Minister of *France*.'[124]

The detriments to being ruled by a French-appointed Viceroy were numerous, as one long pamphlet showed. Although *The Politicks of the French King*'s authorship has not been traced, as it was written originally in French, and as it is so critical of Louis XIV, it can safely be assumed to be written by a Huguenot. Indeed, the pan-European survey of the author – covering the French state's foreign policy attitudes to each European polity – indicated a transnational outlook associated easily with a diaspora. The evidence of conspiracy draws from the author's original experiences of residence in The Hague, which the author considered to be a microcosm for French designs that Louis intended to inflict on the rest of Europe. He related how 'Jesuits and other Foreign Priests' bribed and corrupted members of the Dutch Court and military: 'the chief Cities about the *Hague* infested with Spies, who hunt every Table'. Partly because the Netherlands was the first pillar of defence of pan-Protestant liberties, and partly because William became the head of state of both the Netherlands and England, the author's depiction of 'Vermine' swarming in the pay of France, published just after the establishment of William's regime,

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[121] Pierre Allix, 'An Account of the Private League between K. Charles II. and the French King, to Establish Popery in England, Scotland, and Ireland', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III,* 3 vols (London, 1705), 31–36, vol 1, 31

[122] 'King William or King Lewis: Wherein Is Set Forth the Inevitable Necessity These Nations Lie under of Submitting Wholly to One or Other of These Kings; and That the Matter in Controversy Is Not Now between K. William and K. James, but between K. William and K. Lewis of France, for the Government of These Kingdoms', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III,* 3 vols vol 1 (London, 1705), vol 1, 402-406

[123] 'A Letter to a Friend Concerning a French Invasion to Restore the Late King James to His Throne; and What May Be Expected from Him, Should He Be Successful in It', in *A Collection of State Tracts* 3 vols vol 2 (London, 1705), 243–52, 247

[124] 'Letter to a Friend' in *A Collection of State Tracts,* vol. 2, 248

was evidently meant to warn the English of the fate of their polity if they did not resolutely stand with their new monarch against the horrors that Louis represented.[125]

The Europeanisation of the Glorious Revolution – through pivoting the meaning of the revolution as a Manichean struggle between the forces of Protestant good and Catholic evil – was assisted by further revelations of the all-powerful Versailles court, coming from supposedly well-connected Huguenots reporting what they saw. Particularly famous was Gatien de Courtlitz de Sandras, whose *Amorous Conquests Of the Great Alcander* depicted a dysfunctional Versailles dominated by Louis and the ever-scheming Madame de Montespan. The gossipy depiction of the displacement of Louis' previous mistress, Madame de Valliere, conveyed a country run on the whim of an easily-dominated tyrant.[126]

If Sandras' work was meant to amuse, it also contained the serious message of the threat this system of government posed to European Protestant and English freedoms. Sandras summed up his country's foreign policy since 1659 as one of *French Intrigues*, with Louis being presented as a monarch constantly manoeuvring for advantage, leading up to him by 1685 becoming Europe's hegemon.[127] Further, a more detailed piece on French foreign policy since the Peace of Nijmegen contained two moral lessons for resisting Louis. The first was that, with a pliant England, the country could achieve European dominance: hence why Louis bought off Charles in the Treaty of Dover.[128] The second was the trust that should be put in William III, for the defence of European liberties, as well as the Dutch people for their steadfast commitment to the preservation of their liberties.[129]

Through the connection of the Glorious Revolution to the personalities of William III, James II, and Louis XIV, Huguenot writers were able to indelibly associate the Revolution with European pan-Protestantism. By acting as auxiliary propagandists for the court's message to the stubborn English politicians who insisted on smaller army estimates and lower taxes, they played a significant role in generating the message that England was a European, Protestant power and that its fate was tied to the Protestants in France and the Netherlands.

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[125] *The Politicks of the French King, Lewis the XIV* (London: Mat Wotton, 1689)

[126] Gatien de Courlitz de Sandras, *The Amorous Conquests Of the Great Alcander, Or, The Amours Of the French King, And Madam Montespan* (London: R Bentley, 1685), 23-24

[127] Gatien de Courlitz de Sandras, *French Intrigues; Or, The History Of Their Delusory Promises Since the Pyreæan Treaty* (London: W Hensman, 1685)

[128] Gatien de Courlitz de Sandras, *An Exact Survey of the Grand Affairs of France, In Their Particular Conduct and Management, since the Conclusion Of the Peace at Nimeguen: As They Relate to That and Other Kingdoms* (London: William Whitwood, 1689), 2

[129] Sandras *An Exact Survey*, 5-11

**Conclusion**

The Huguenot diaspora's brought a stream of ideas and infrastructures into England. Their experiences, ideas, and ability to communicate them, bolstered the Whig idea of Europe. Their anecdotes and theories had a cyclical effect, creating a perceived dialogue between nations that solidified denunciations of the common European enemy. In so doing the Huguenots gave ammunition to the official argument emanating from official Williamite propaganda channels.

Three points are necessary to make in understanding how the Huguenot community performed an auxiliary role in the formation of the Whig idea of Europe. First, the centrality of the community for providing nodes of information provision from the Continent to England. Second, the intellectual boons of Huguenot-aided translations of prominent pan-Protestant and Enlightened thinkers, both as contemporaries (Pierre Bayle and Samuel von Pufendorf, for example) and as early-modern idea-formers (Grotius and Erasmus). Finally, the communication of a litany of first-hand accounts of Catholic persecution. All three cemented a certainty, relayed through the Whigs, that England's fate and sympathies were entwined with Europe.

Testament to the strength of this diaspora's influence in England is the apparent popularity of some of its members, whose numerous works were reprinted and consumed through into the 1720s. As well as Abel Boyer's seemingly enduring success as a translator and chronicler both Pierre Allix and Pierre Jurieu's popularity extended beyond nakedly polemical political/theological works justifying the Glorious Revolution, writing about morality more broadly: Pierre Jurieu's two-volume *General History of Religious Worship* was republished in 1721,[130] and his *Plain Method of Christian Devotion* was on its 26th edition by 1730.[131] Pierre Allix became a Biblical authority,[132] writing a definitive analysis of the Book

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[130] Pierre Jurieu, *Religio Veterum: Or, A General History of Religious Worship, (Both True and False) Observ'd in the Church for 4000 Years* (London: J Wilford, 1721)

[131] Pierre Jurieu, *A Plain Method of Christian Devotion: Laid down in Discourses, Meditations, and Prayers, Fitted to the Various Occasions of a Religious Life*, 26th ed. (London: J Walthoe, 1730)

[132] Pierre Allix, *The Book of Psalms, With The Argument of Each Psalm, And a Preface Giving Some General Rules for the Interpretation of This Sacred Book* (London: John Taylor, 1701)

of Psalms, as well as Old Testament theology.[133] He considered himself part of the movement to reform English manners,[134] and wrote two guides for young men to live morally.[135]

The intimacy felt by Huguenots abroad for their English Protestants was reflected in their mourning for Queen Mary, who was the Stadtholder-consort in the United Provinces and the Queen of England. Isaac Claude's sermon, in arguing that Queen Mary was the most virtuous of Queens, reminded his congregation that Mary's virtue derived in part from her sincere commitment to 'our Common Interests', for which she asked God daily to aid. She spent her days 'praying for the Church, incessantly imploring an end of Her Miseries and Calamities'. Tellingly, Claude did not feel the need to justify that Mary's church and their church was the same.[136]

In sum, one of the major consequences of the Huguenot diaspora's arrival in England was the strengthening of the argument that England was a European polity. It was dependent on the defence of Protestant liberties: without the survival of the Protestant alliance – symbolised by the diasporic Huguenot community – then England's liberties were itself threatened, and before long English Protestants could be as displaced and penniless as their French co-religionists.

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[133] Pierre Allix, *Remarks Upon Some Places of Mr. Whiston's Books, Either Printed or in Manuscript* (Lonson: John Wyat, 1711)

[134] Pierre Allix, *Considerations and Exhortations To The Serious and Religion Observation of the Lent-Fast* (London: John Nutt, 1700)

[135] Pierre Allix, *A New-Years Gift: Or, Advice To a God-Son* (London: J L, 1696) & Pierre Allix, *Christian Charity, or Seasonable Advice to a Friend Communicated by Letter to a Young Gentleman, His Kinsman* (London: J Wells, 1699)

[136] Claude, *Death of the Queen of England*

## Chapter Three

## The English Press' European Coverage & the Whig Idea of Europe

Pan-Protestant historical narratives provided a sympathetic intellectual backdrop for the Whigs when they received their French Protestant brethren in the wake of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots' physical and intellectual presence in England provided auxiliary arguments for pan-Protestant union. These mutually reinforcing phenomena – the historical works and the Huguenot presence – contributed to the argument for deeper involvement in European affairs. This argument was supplemented by case-by-case demonstrations of the efficacy of pan-Protestant unity. This gathering of evidence came from a rapidly developing medium: the English press.

This chapter analyses how the ideas that arose from the intellectual and historical works discussed in the previous two chapters were bolstered by the English press of the 1690s. In so doing, it analyses a process whereby information and reportage became opinion and editorial. It discusses how ideas framed reactions to events, and how those reactions became part of the broader narrative of a Europe divided between two monolithic forces. Specifically, it shows how journalists wrote on events through a lens that justified the Glorious Revolution and William III's ever-increasing involvement in European affairs.

Following the Glorious Revolution, there was an unprecedented number of periodicals purporting to provide breaking news of European affairs. These periodicals were accompanied by a growth in the volume of pamphlets and polemics providing analysis of the information that was newly available to the English public. This literary spike created greater intimacy between the English public and the Europeans they were reading about. This intimacy allowed European events to be used to justify William's regime's existence in general, and its interventions in continental Europe in particular. Three case studies of coverage of major European events particularly reveal the ways in which the press was used to add detail to European events that justified the regime in terms of its pan-Protestant struggle against France.

First, the earliest Williamite press interventions, such as the takeover of the official *London Gazette*, the brief flourishing of other newspapers, and the patronising and licensing of polemics, promoted a uniform message that sought to rally all English people behind the legitimacy and strength of the Williamite state. From the beginning of 1689 to the Battle of the Boyne, much of the English press interpreted European events to create a day-by-day narrative that justified William III's power as a defender of the English state, not just through domestic protections like safeguarding the 'Protestant settlement', but through his military campaigns in Ireland. English press articles laboured to connect Louis XIV's European ambitions with English security. In so doing, the English press 1689-1691 created an exciting narrative that justified not only William's rule, but his broader foreign policy against France.

Second, the Confederate retaking of Namur in August 1695 demonstrated the sophisticated linkages between the London newspapers' feverish reporting of day-by-day events leading up to the French surrender and the laudatory statements of pamphlets and poets glorifying King William's valour. These showed the extent to which the coverage of the victory was intended to unify the nation behind the regime whose domestic support was flagging, justifying the regime's policy of vigorous prosecution of the war against sceptical politicians who feared the economic and constitutional repercussions of high taxes. The intimacy of the accounts of the siege built an emotional stake that, when the French surrendered, contemporaries reported that few could talk about anything else.

Third, the Papal succession of September-November 1700, which received detailed press coverage, demonstrated the apparent evil of the French polity, the reach of its influence, and the way it concerted a transnational policy between European events. The internationalisation of the event taught newspaper readers that the election of the ecclesiastical prince was a proxy war that revealed why France had to be opposed by the Williamite state. As the Pope was elected during the death of the Spanish Charles II, a reminder of the nefariousness of the French state was timely: its reach stretched from Rome to Madrid, as at the end of the November 1700 it was revealed that not only had Charles declared in his will that a Bourbon should succeed him, but that Louis had accepted his request, tearing up the Second Treaty of Partition, and ultimately triggering the War of the Spanish Succession.

These three case studies show the different ways in which this new media illustrated the moral efficacy of England's European commitments. The first was important because it created the foundational myth that cemented the pan-Protestant historical narrative discussed in Chapter One, setting the tone that justified William's foreign wars. The second was important because it built on those earlier themes but added to the war's immediacy: Namur involved English soldiers, close geographically to England's

shores. It brought the closeness of Europe to England, demonstrating how intimate the war was to the country. The third was important in its scope: whistle-stop tours of European capitals revealed how most countries had a stake in the Papal succession. Further, as columns on French interference in Rome were juxtaposed with columns on French interference in Madrid, the trans-national power of France was underlined.

Each case-study is discussed on the basis of my reading of every newspaper published in the most pertinent months of the events, as well as every pamphlet discussing the event. The first section has involved the reading of every newspaper printed 1689-91, plus all the pamphlets I could find relating to William III's Ireland campaigns. For the Siege of Namur, I have read every newspaper published in August 1695, as well as the poetry, analysis, and polemics relevant to the run-up to, and consequences of, the siege, that were produced in 1695-1697. For the Papal Succession, and its ties to the Spanish Succession, every newspaper from September 1700 through to November has been read, as well as the pamphlets related to the event in 1700-1701.

Newspapers were one of three types of document that dealt predominantly with current affairs in the 1690s. Newspapers were supplemented at least partially because, for the duration of William's reign, they all took the same terse format: two, small-print pages containing collected official statements and dispatches. One type of document that complemented newspapers were the longer form, more detailed, pieces that purported to tell a 'history' of what had occurred earlier. The time difference between the event and the publication was often less than a year. These served to collect and summarise information that had come out in raw form in newspapers, either with the writer's eye-witness accounts, or with collected letters that the writer put into print. These presented a view that was less 'authorised' than the newspapers, but were nevertheless licensed before 1694, and therefore passed through pre-publication censorship.

The second type of supplemental document this chapter uses are the pamphlets that were obviously deliberate reactions to an event reported on in the news. Because neither the newspaper nor the longer-form history explicitly gave moral and authorial instruction from the event (although, as will be discussed, they often implicitly did give that instruction) the polemical accounts gave more direct, sometimes coarse, arguments to persuade the reader that the events reported on proved a particular point. These can be distinguished from other polemical pamphlets in that their entire inspiration derived from an event (including sometimes taking the title from that event), and were not probably meant to provide timeless instruction. They were also short, at around twenty pages. Altogether they

can be considered part of the press ecosystem of William III's reign, and are included to present an exhaustive picture of press coverage of the three case studies.

I ordered the presentation of these sources to logically convey the ways in which the medias promoted the Whig idea of Europe. Each section substantively discusses the raw newspaper coverage, before moving on to the pamphlets and books that were published to frame that coverage. Pamphlets and books have been highlighted because they were particularly salient and relevant to the analysis of the Whig idea of Europe, in that they were published by a major Whig publisher, or went through numerous editions, or were advertised in a newspaper. Overall, they give an accurate representation of how the Whig idea of Europe was refracted through day-to-day press coverage.

The evidence presented here leads to three conclusions. The first demonstrates how a large number of English prints gave English readers an unprecedented knowledge of European events. The second shows the importance of the Court in encouraging and shaping the coverage to be presented to the literary public. The third demonstrates that even as the Rage of Party bit into English domestic politics, the 'Whig newspaper' and the 'Tory newspaper' of Queen Anne's reign (with the *Gazette* representing the views of Anne's favourite minister at the time) was yet to take off, and – in spite of domestic party discord – the English press presented a court-backed 'official line', outside of the control of the two party factions.

That said, this chapter will make clear that these state interventions in England's media finessed the Whig idea of Europe, as much as the development of a historical narrative, and the arrival of the Huguenots. Newspaper provision did so principally because its effects – the coverage of foreign events, the control that meant that only a favourable view of the Nine Years' War was presented – justified the view that England's fate was connected to Europe's, and that the English state needed to evolve to recognise the challenges posed by Louis XIV's France. Consequently, the English press of the 1690s provided ammunition to those affiliated with the figures discussed in the last two chapters who encouraged greater involvement in Europe.

The expansion of European news coverage suited the Whigs perfectly. The deepening of knowledge between English and European Protestants encouraged pan-Protestant consciousness, allowing readers to feel invested in the Nine Years' War. That it was influenced by the heavy force of the Williamite state meant that this information could be channelled towards achieving a Court end, that is, support from the political nation to fight for Protestant liberties, irrespective of the cost to the English taxpayer.

My view rests on the argument that the state encouraged widespread foreign coverage, while exercising tight editorial control over the conclusions reached by the coverage. The early modern English press is understudied, and the mechanics of precisely how (or even which) government actors shaped English press coverage, is unknown, other than that obvious observation that the *London Gazette* was government-owned and government-ran. That said, although it is out of the scope of this thesis to specify how the state specifically used levers to influence English press coverage, the evidence presented here demonstrates that the state did exercise such influence.

This chapter is split into four sections. The first briefly sets out the nature of English state involvement in the press, and the next three considers the previously mentioned case-studies (Ireland, Namur, the Papal election of 1700) as examples of how newspaper provision furthered the Whig idea of Europe.

**Court and Media under William III**

In understanding the new regime's attitude to the press, it is useful to analyse one of the first Williamite-era pamphlets licensed under the new regime, about two characters called 'Tom' and 'Dick'. Their dialogue, which was set and published in early 1689, revealed the new state's attitude to the bubbling growth of the newspapers that was emblematic of the new regime.

Tom was an honest country gentleman who asked his more urbane friend for news. Dick laughed at him, saying that the question was 'as idle as the Fellow that held his Watch in his hand, and ask'd his Friend what a Clock 'twas.' Dick explained that since the Revolution, London was awash with newspapers to supply his friend with stories from abroad – 'we have *Gazettes, Intelligences, Courants, Mercuries, Orange Gazettes,* &c', which had made London hawkers rich. Dick revelled in the number of reports in London: after all, 'News like Fish stinks in three days', but there was so much new news that came to London that 'he must have bettor Lungs than I' to relay it all to his friend.[1]

However supportive of the new influx of newspapers and pamphlets, Dick equally stressed the necessity of scepticism when reading pieces opposed to the government's view. Indeed, at the start of

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[1] *A Dialogue Between Dick and Tom; Concerning the Present Posture of Affairs in England* (London: Randolf Taylor, 1689), 4

the dialogue the two friends reflected on how powerful seditious rumours could be: Tom had just left his town, which had been evacuated following a fake report that an Irish army was coming towards them.[2] Dick focused particularly on a pamphlet in Tom's hand on the new parliament: such pamphlets 'poison almost every body that reads 'em', on account of their sedition. The pamphlet's 'design is only to amuse and frighten People with fears and jealousies, of what perhaps will never be; causing them like people in false alarms of Fire, to break their Necks out at window to avoid being burnt'.[3]

Dick presented the Janus-facing press policy of the Williamite regime: the celebration of the press' provision of news to bolster the regime's legitimacy by shining a light on the international Ludovician/Irish/Catholic conspiracy to enslave England, and a detestation of those who have taken advantage of the laxity of state controls to lobby for that Catholic conspiracy by sowing discord in the country through 'false news'. Consequently, whilst allowing revolutionary news provision to exist to further the regime's agenda, it maintained many decidedly censorious attitudes to a free press.

The extent to which the proliferation of newspapers was novel, as well as the extent to which this proliferation had novel effects on the English polity, is contested. Some historians have argued that the explosion in news provision was not as unprecedented as 1690s specialists might think, through archival demonstration that there was similar press prevalence at other moments in English history, notably the Civil Wars.[4] These accounts work to emphasise the continuities in early modern English political opinions and activities, arguing that the newspaper revolution was merely part of a continuum fitting with England's seventeenth century past. Andrew Pettegree contested Defoe's belief that the flow of news was unique to England at the dawn of the eighteenth century.[5] Pettegree's analysis of post-Lutheran German prints demonstrate that the two-page newspaper existed in continental Europe well before the Glorious Revolution. Furthermore, the influx of newspapers and pamphlets covering controversies was not a new phenomenon by the 1690s. Jason Peacey's work on the English Civil War,[6] Mark Knights' study of the Exclusion Crisis,[7] as well as Steve Pincus' analysis of the pamphlets of the Anglo-Dutch wars,[8] all demonstrate how print cultures mobilised a deep base in similar ways in similar

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[2] *Dick and Tom,* 3

[3] *Dick and Tom,* 11

[4] David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

[5] Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)

[6] Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (London: Routledge, 2004)

[7] Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

[8] Steve Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

periods throughout the early modern period. Additionally, 'long durée' works, such as Scott's history of the 17th century,[9] Clark's history of the long eighteenth century,[10] Brendan Simms' millennia-long account of Anglo-European relations,[11] work to downplay the innovations in news provision as a force for change, through their narratives that stress the continuity of their time period's political themes.

However much retrospective continuums have been attached to the period's news provision, contemporaries at least appeared to think they were being inundated with news. Following the stultified Restoration press scene, it would require someone to be at least seventy years old to remember the last explosion in media (the Civil Wars). Also, the culminative effect of so many different sources, reporting news from different angles, provided a lattice-like structure for writers to construct analyses of events with a pre-assumed knowledge of affairs abroad, provided by those newspapers. Whereas the Civil War-era newspapers struggled to gain the sophistication of a variety of foreign correspondences (in part because those newspapers lacked the new Huguenot diaspora connections brought by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes) and Restoration-era newspapers were stifled by a suspicious Caroline court, the vibrant newspaper industry of the 1690s was qualitatively and quantitatively novel, both objectively and in the eyes of contemporaries.

In summary, the number of newspapers, and the number of accounts of the reception of the newspapers, overwhelms the argument that the explosion in printed news material was part of a broader, evolutionary English seventeenth century. Tony Claydon has argued that the influx of news created a specific temporal turn, with readers aware of a European present through the minutia of events covered by their newspapers, painstakingly dated.[12] Robert Poole has argued that the contradistinction between England's Old Style and New Style, revealed to an unprecedented extent through the flowing of news from one calendar style to the other, added momentum to the eventual abandonment of the Julian Calendar.[13] As was discussed in Chapter One, Christopher Clark's *Time and Power* argued that the increased connectivity throughout Europe in the 1690s created a new conceptualisation of time. This way of viewing time was brought to England through the Williamite court and awareness of European affairs, like the translations of Samuel Pufendorf's works.[14]

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[9] Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

[10] J C D Clark, *English Society 1660-1832* 2nd ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

[11] Brendan Simms, *Britain's Europe: A Thousand Years of Conflict and Cooperation* (London: Penguin, 2017)

[12] Tony Claydon, 'Daily News and the Construction of Time in Late Stuart England, 1695-1714', *Journal of British Studies* 52, no 1 (2013): 55–79

[13] Robert Poole, *Time's Alteration: Calendar Reform in Early Modern England* (London: UCL Press, 1998)

[14] Jonathan Clark, *Time and Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), chapter 1

The best way of illustrating the extent of the break with the past with new news is to use direct comparisons. For example, if a Londoner had stopped at a coffeehouse on Monday 20th September 1686 in search of news, they would have been disappointed. Their hopes would not have been high: ten years before, Charles II had issued a proclamation denouncing coffeehouses, and many Court-affiliated pamphlets had attacked the newish institutions for everything from rebelliousness to lowering male virility.[15] The court's view of coffeehouses had deteriorated under Charles' brother. As a consequence of the court's hostility, a lone newspaper would sit on the coffeehouse table, and billeted soldiers – their potential presence was a necessary requirement of the coffeehouse license – would be sat around to ensure that no seditious conversation might arise from the information contained in the two-page government-controlled newspaper.[16]

Not that the Jacobean *London Gazette* contained no news. There had been a naval skirmish between the Turks and allied forces near Levant, and a great land victory, with the re-taking of Buda, after over a century of Ottoman occupation. '*A Particular Account*' detailed how thousands of men assaulted Buda, claiming 'a great deal of plunder of Plate, Jewels, Money', after killing 2,500 enemy soldiers, and forcing another 1,500 to surrender.[17]

Nevertheless, if the same person were to walk into the same coffeehouse ten years later,[18] they would have been bombarded with newspapers vying for their attention. Often, the newspapers covered the same events, but with different angles, derived from the positions of their correspondents and their informants. The culminative effect of the influx of newspapers was enriched with more detailed coverage of European events. The *Gazette* had a long dispatch from Hungary on the sieges and manoeuvres of the Imperial army;[19] the *Flying-Post* had letters from Constantinople and Moscow on the different perspectives of the two sides following the Turkish surrender of Asoph;[20] the *Post Boy* had a Polish letter on the interim-leader's six articles to secure the state before the election of its next king;[21]

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[15] For the best summary of the arguments presented by the court, and their motivations, see Steve Pincus, '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no 4 (1995): 807–34. Particularly 822-830
[16] Steve Pincus, 'The State and Civil Society in Early Modern England: Capitalism, Causation and Habermas's Bourgeois Public Sphere', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Lake and Pincus, Steve (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 213–231, 218
[17] *London Gazette,* no 2174
[18] As in, mid-September 1696
[19] *London Gazette,* no 3228
[20] *Flying-Post,* no 206
[21] *Post-Boy,* no 215

the *Post Man* had a letter reporting that the Spanish Queen had received extreme unction. Further, without the billeted troops, and a new regime that did not overtly interfere with the coffee houses, Londoners would have felt that they could discuss the news more freely.[22]

Jurgen Habermas cited the new wave of media as evidence of the broader growth of the public sphere.[23] As was discussed in the introduction, Habermas' theorisation has been criticised by several historians.[24] However, the most pertinent criticism for this chapter is that Habermas overstates the break between the Court's attitudes to the press from the 1680s to the 1690s: indeed, many attitudes remained the same. Further, the Court's power of patronage remained undiminished. So, with both means and motive, the post-Jacobean court remained far more involved in press control than Habermas and his supporters acknowledge.

The extent to which Williamite censors sought to control the press has been understood for some time. R B Walker showed how 'William III had reason to be grateful that the newspapers put such a good and favourable light on the war', through formal influences – some press censors from the 1670s and 1680s were working for William – and informal ones, with a cowed press promising not to cover what the official *Gazette* had already received.[25] Also, de Beer has shown the extent to which newspapers' coverage of European events made them distinctly non-partisan, given their general support for the Nine Years' War and their collective quiet in covering domestic events.[26] The exceptions were anti-Tory journals, which are discussed in the next chapter.

However, the best researched account of early-eighteenth century relations between government actors and newspapers was Alan J Downie's account of Robert Harley's bribing of most of London's major press organs.[27] Harley gained an interest in press control after his experience of trying to whip the disorganised non-ministerial members of parliament in the 1690s, using the press to focus the attentions of MPs against William's call for a continuing standing army.[28] Downie notes how Harley acquired

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[22] *Post-Man,* no 214

[23] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Berger (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1991); Craig Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992)

[24] Harold Mah, 'Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians', *Journal of Modern History* 72, no 1 (2000): 153–82

[25] R B Walker, 'The Newspaper Press in the Reign of William III', *The Historical Journal* 17, no 4 (1974): 691–709

[26] E S De Beer, 'The English Newspapers from 1695 to 1702', in *William III and Louis XIV: Essays 1680-1720 by and for Mark A Thomson*, ed. Ragnhild Hatton and J S Bromley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1968), 117–29

[27] Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1

[28] Downie, *The Press,* 23, 29-30

Defoe's support and sympathy with shielding him from Nottingham's attempts to prosecute him; Harley became more involved with Defoe and the *Review* for the rest of his career.[29] Given Downie's work, and others, the power of the Court in exercising a high degree of control over the press is nowadays taken as given. These historians' works solidify the view that the Court was a prime mover in press coverage in William's reign, and consequently the pro-pan-Protestant agenda could be sifted through the Court to the coffee house. However, given that Downie and others tend to study the Annean period, the conclusions tend to be that party leaders can create party organs to encourage party positions. As there are no comparable studies of William's era, this assumption could also be applied here. However, the evidence presented in the next sections shows that it was the views coming from the Whigs affiliated with the Court that were reflected in the English press. The move to non-Court party leaders – both Whig and Tory – seems to have come after William. This is not because the Court lost relative power in Anne's reign, but perhaps because English politicians of the early 1700s had more of an inclination (and Anne had less of an inclination) to be involved in press control.

The Court's influence was partly legislative, which had two aspects. The first was the encouragement of liberal amounts of coverage through the ending of pre-publication censorship, which gave space for publications to flourish, and before Robert Harley's Stamp Act, newspapers were cheap to print.

The second legislative influence was proscriptive, with tacit methods of censorship replacing pre-publication censorship. Strict libel laws, and the enforcement of parliamentary privilege, meant newspapers did not yet feel comfortable to comment on English politics. Printers were regularly hauled to the bar of the House of Commons to apologise for their misdemeanours in printing 'scurrilous' or 'malicious' reports, and their work could be 'burned at the hands of the common hangman' to set an example that ideas that strayed too far from the orthodox would be punished. As well as there being orders for finding and punishing printers who produced works the regime did not like,[30] the *London Gazette* issued public notices against both specific publishers,[31] and general warnings against publishing anti-government documents.[32]

[29] Downie, *The Press*, 66

[30] 'William and Mary: February 1689', in Calendar of State Papers Domestic: William and Mary, 1689-90, ed. William John Hardy (London, 1895), 1-11. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/will-mary/1689-90/pp1-11. Feb 16 offers one of many records of warrants issued 'to search printing houses for unlicensed, seditious, false, and scandalous papers, books, &c'

[31] *London Gazette,* no 2452, 1

[32] *London Gazette,* no 2417, 2

Another influence was patronage-based. The last chapter showed how the court acted as a patronage hub for displaced Huguenots, and the next chapter will discuss the court's influence via ecclesiastical preferment. William and Mary's court held sway over the fashions and politics of English society. The influence of the Court meant that, in the fierce competition for newspaper sales and patronage, providing the court-line could prove crucial to the viability of the newspaper. As my argument here on the nature of court influence over the English press is both understudied and contentious, it is justified in full in the next section, and then is followed by the three case studies.

Political actors of the 1690s/1700s did not see a clear line between government and journalism. Indeed, the government led journalists' positions on major events, through both coercion and patronage. With this control, the government could celebrate the explosion of coverage of European events that furthered the agenda of linking Continental Protestants together with English ones, by creating sympathy in England for Protestants, and hatred of Catholics.

**Editorialising a Revolution: The Early Williamite Press**

All of the surviving periodicals produced in the period 1689-1691 produced a similar editorial narrative that coloured their interpretation of the news. This editorial narrative was deeply in tune with the Whig lens established over the preceding decades, discussed in earlier chapters: events vindicated the view that England was under attack from Catholic forces (a combination of dogmatic Jesuits, French secret agents, and domestic traitors) who were conspiring to bring down the hard-fought freedoms associated with Protestant states. Early regime news provided evidence that unless England realised the extent to which it was in danger and united under the true Protestant king William III, it would be subsumed by a conniving foreign power that sought to monopolise European power.

The 1689-1691 press is useful to study not just because it produced the editorial that (as will be shown) was refined and repeated throughout William III's reign, but because of the crudeness with which this editorial was formed, enforced, and popularised. Its formation was repetitive, with the same themes (French perfidy, allied courage; Williamite public-facing valour, Jacobite secretive plotting) presenting the same moral truths. Its enforcement was blunt because pre-publication censorship was still established and, as was shown above, the government regularly hunted those who wrote things it did not like. However the government enforced its editorial line, the results were apparent: there were stark

contrasts between how the new regime wanted to present itself, and how it labelled its domestic and foreign opponents. Its attempted popular appeal was apparent in the exciting language that could attract a deep pool of interested readers, brought by stories full of gore, and black-and-white moral messages that positioned good against evil.

The 1689 *London Gazette's* European dispatches, which made up the bulk of the largest, most established, and most government-influenced periodical, stressed themes that dovetailed with the views of the Whigs that I have discussed in Chapters One and Two. Faced with a Jacobite challenge in Ireland, William III and English troops did not go to the European continent to fight Louis until 1692, but the *Gazette's* reportage of the clashes between the Imperial and French troops in these earlier years contrasted the honour and strength of the former against the jaundice and cowardice of the latter. As the Whig lens was so emphatic that the French regime represented an evil inherent in its ideology and structure, honour was a major theme in the dispatches from battles between the French and the Holy Roman Empire. Early in the campaign, the *Gazette* quoted the Imperial Chancellor verbatim in his remark that the French invasions into the Empire had occurred 'without any foregoing Declaration of War'; Louis XIV acted as if not bound by the international laws for military advantage.[33]

What Louis' troops allegedly committed in Germany took up the majority of the early war reporting. One German-based writer for the *Gazette* wrote that wherever the French invaded, 'they had damaged and destroyed with Fire and Sword': their behaviour was 'barbarous.'[34] Specific examples abounded: retreating French troops had 'plundered' '*Heyborn'*, destroying the gates and walls, taking hostages at fees they knew nobody in the town could pay.[35] Heidelberg suffered under a garrison of two thousand five hundred French troops, who taxed the town to bankruptcy, before destroying the city's castle and retreated.[36] '*Pforzheim'* was also plundered and destroyed.[37] At Nuis, the occupying French forces 'forced the Country People' into hard labour, carrying their supplies into the town.[38] As the French generally retreated westward against an Imperial advance, one correspondent wrote that the French troops left 'nothing but misery and ruine behind them.'[39] Indeed, as the Spring campaigning progressed, the French committed so many 'Barbarities' that 'It's impossible to give a particular Relation' of them all. Many towns like '*Monbeirn'* saw the burning of 'all the publick Buildings and the

[33] *London Gazette*, no 2422, 1
[34] *London Gazette*, no 2422, 1
[35] *London Gazette*, no 2422, 2
[36] *London Gazette*, no 2424, 2
[37] *London Gazette*, no 2426, 1
[38] *London Gazette*, no 2435, 1
[39] *London Gazette*, no 2433, 1

principal Houses'; the French 'now threaten to burn all the Country on the West side' of the rhine, as they retreated.[40] The French forces destroyed beautiful religious buildings; one writer wrote with horror that the French were likely to destroy Strasburg's 'Great Church'.[41]

By June, the number of atrocities began to add up: one *Gazette* correspondent writing from Heidelberg highlighted the high numbers of refugees arriving throughout Germany, particularly noting the reduction of Spiers, Worms, and Oppenheim 'to heaps of Ruins', with 'neither Churches nor Religious Houses being spared, and the miserable Inhabitants being carried away like Slaves' into France. The writer finished by writing that these instances showed 'plainly […] what others are to expect that fall under their Tyrannical Power.'[42]

This final sentence made explicit what must have been the implicit moral to the English readership of the *London Gazette*: what was happening in Germany could easily happen in England, should Louis get the chance. Louis' German adventure was only one element of his broader agenda of turning Europe into a unipolar, universal monarchy, and France's eastern boarders were as important to Louis as the western boarders. The explicit moral that the Ludovician harassment of the European system of multipolarity so favoured by Whigs in the East could easily occur in the West was shown in the declarations of war that the *London Gazette* repeated at length (often taking up the majority of the newspaper). The similarities of these war declarations underlined the similar interests the Empire, the Dutch, and the English had in opposing Louis. Each had their individual grievances, but the themes were the same: the Empire's official declaration lambasted French double-speak, of invading territories to promote '*pretended Re-unions',* which really meant bringing '*divers Countries and People under their subjection*'. In these places they had committed '*grievous Oppressions,' 'deprived of their* [occupied cities'] *Civil and Ecclesiastical Rights'.* The Emperor had no choice but to fight '*the subverting the Rights and Liberties*' of the occupied imperial territories.[43] Similarly, the Dutch attacked the French king for breaking peace treaties '*without any just cause',* and for committing terrible acts, particularly against the Protestants in his own country: Louis' behaviour added up to '*evil Designs and Machinations*'.[44] The English declaration of war noted Louis' treatment of the Empire: '*We can do no less than Joyn with Our Allies in opposing the Designs of the French King, as the Disturber of the Peace, and the Common Enemy of the Christian World'.*[45] Indeed, the English declaration of war offered a conceptual bridge linking Louis'

[40] *London Gazette*, no 2437, 2
[41] *London Gazette*, no 2464, 1
[42] *London Gazette*, no 2416, 1
[43] *London Gazette*, no 2431, 1
[44] *London Gazette*, no 2434, 1
[45] *London Gazette*, no 2452, 1

harassment of the Empire and the Dutch with his existential threat to England: after all, as well as persecuting Protestants throughout Europe, Louis had attempted '*to overthrow the Government of England,*' through inciting subjects to rebel in England, and through his logistical support to the Jacobites in Ireland.[46] In noting the wide-ranging nature of the Louis' actions, William III was arguing that Louis' incursions were interconnected and presented more than local problems in the Empire. This declaration, therefore, drew on the intellectual themes laid down in the histories that were discussed in Chapter One: as Pufendorf had argued that the outcomes of local European theatres were historically connected with one another, so Louis' attacks on his eastern frontiers ultimately had consequences for England.

In the early Williamite press, this link between the fate of continental Europe and England was made easiest through James II and his Irish challenge to the Williamite regime. Until the end of 1691, indeed, it was far from clear that the Williamite regime would survive, particularly if the French committed more fully the Jacobite project.[47] So, as well as reports of the horrors and injustices committed by the French in Germany were reported, so too were the multiple accounts of James II's ties to France. The short-lived *London Intelligence*, published 'with allowance' from the government, relied on long accounts from Versailles to cement the Franco-Jacobite alliance into the readers' minds. One gave an account of James II and Louis XIV regularly in council as they planned the invasion of Ireland, announcing the creation of new regiments to combat the 'extreamly' worrying (from the French view) developments of William III's success in England.[48] The nature of these accounts, going into details of the conversations with key personalities, added a popular dimension to the coverage. Readers were more able to relate to stories of individuals, rather than broader foreign policy tropes. Furthermore, this focus on people also built into the themes discussed in earlier chapters, of emphasising individuals' powers to influence European events, over the structural or institutional forces that people shaped and overcame.

The tying of James to Louis was also done through polemics commenting on James' faltering Irish campaign. Several polemical pieces (many published by Richard Baldwin) were apparently aimed at a variety of audiences. These pamphlets were consciously, and inextricably, commentaries on the contents of newspapers, hence their inclusion in this chapter. They contained few, if any, abstract ideas, and were mostly relations of, and reactions to, the events they were concerned with. They were printed

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[46] *London Gazette*, no 2452, 1
[47] Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788,* 2nd ed (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019)
[48] *London Intelligence*, no 5, 1

and sold cheaply to reach mass audiences to speedily respond to the details that were given in the newspapers. For example, one piece purporting to have been written by James' Irish viceroy, Richard Talbot, to Louis XIV, used pseudo-praise for comedic and dramatic effect that sought to show the dependence of James on the French king. 'Tyrconnel' praised Louis' 'Imitable Methods' – persecution, violence – as being more praiseworthy than anything Nero and Caligula did.[49] He glorified the pan-European tributary system established by Louis, and could not wait until England joined with 'the *Wealth,* Ease, and Luxury of your *Vassals'*, who benefited from 'the Umbrage of your *Protection'*, involving the 'Sacred Designs of *Restoring* Religion to Pristine *Paganism'*; restoring monarchy to its rightful '*Unlimited Sway'*, and bringing the English people into a 'Bigotted state of *Slavery.'*[50] Not leaving the reader in any doubt as to who 'Tyrconnel' represented when he gave these views, the author signed to the 'Most Dread, Most Invincible, Most Tremendous Monarch,' as 'Your Most Christian Majesties, Most Bigotted, Most Stupid, and Most Constant Vassal, Adorer and Admirer'.[51] A licensed response from Louis XIV to 'Mons[ieur]' Tyrconnel that was published in August reconfirmed the imagery of a dependent Britain in a French-dominated tributary system: Louis expressed his 'most *Sultan* like Thanks' for Tyrconnel's 'Worship' of him as a '*Living Diety'*, deserving 'Wise Pagan' worship. The French King reminded the reader of the historical dimension to the war: the 'late Kings of *England'* had worshipped him as Tyrconnel did then.[52] In sum, the 'Tyrconnel' exchanges represented the lynchpin view that tied England's fate to the European continent: he sought French intervention in England, while the French were intervening in establishing 'reunions' across the Rhine. Given the apparent French willingness to oblige 'Tyrconnel' through the sending of French support to Ireland, the implication of the letter was that the English readership had to realise that only through supporting William III and his European interventions could English liberties be saved from the likes of the author.

In 1690 Richard Baldwin, who published a vast amount of pro-government propaganda, published a play that extended the themes of the Tyrconnel letter, by ridiculing Jacobite hopes in Ireland and showing the extent to which those hopes were contingent on French logistical support. The Jacobites' reliance on France degraded the morality of the cause, with the Jacobites – including James II himself – reduced to slavish reliance on those with questionable morality. In the play, James agreed that he was not Louis' brother, but his English viceroy, existing merely at his master's whim.[53] Two French agents later revealed the real reason that Louis funded James was not because of the French king's love of

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[49] *Tyrconnel's Letter To The French King From Ireland* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1

[50] *Tyrconnel's Letter*, 1

[51] *Tyrconnel's Letter*, 4

[52] *The French King's Answer to Mons. Tyrconnel's Letter* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1-2

[53] *The Royal Flight: Or, The Conquest of Ireland. A New Farce* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 2-3

James' cause, or the English, but merely because it was a cheap way of distracting William III from engaging in the European continent. Only because James was divisive did he get Louis' support: he would endorse 'the Cham of *Tartary,* or the Great *Mogul'* instead if it would be as effective in dividing English opinion.[54] I do not know if the play was performed, but if it was it demonstrates the multi-dimensional nature of the pro-government media ecosystem that worked to undermine James II. In endorsing the Jacobite cause, Louis XIV encouraged Protestant persecution akin to what was occurring throughout Europe under his banner. The dramatized James II regularly discussed how best to torture and punish Protestants for their beliefs.[55] Lurid descriptions of torture persuaded a broader audience that James II intended to inflict such sufferings on them if he were ever to be restored in England, thereby following the pattern of persecution that befell whichever Protestant ended up under a Louis-backed Catholic viceroy.

The two texts discussed thus far were consciously fictions that were inspired by the potential reality of a Jacobite restoration, published in reaction to events in Ireland and their coverage in English newspapers. In addition to these texts, Richard Baldwin also published pieces purporting to provide a non-dramatized, literal truth of what a restoration of James II might mean in England. These texts were a heady mix of anti-Irish, anti-French, and anti-Catholic prejudice, given typically in one pamphlet that had an idiomatically Irish-speaking Catholic priest who refused to 'relate... de Shapter and Vershe' of the Bible to his congregants, 'becash you are not allowed to read de Bibles': the text praised Shakespeare's Macbeth as one of the greatest kings, and inevitably alluded to the drunkenness of the Irish.[56] Another typical pamphlet argued that 'the *genius* of the *Irish'* was so barbaric that the only appropriate response was violence against them: they 'are like their Boggs', the only way through them was 'by cutting your way to the bottom.'[57] Another argued that the tumults in Ireland gave the Catholic Irish the opportunity to reveal their true nature: : 'a ravenous Generation, and greedy of Blood', 'they suck in this Romish Poison with their Mother's Milk'.[58]

The author of *A True Narrative Of The Murders, Cruelties and Oppressions, Perpetrated on the Protestants In Ireland* gave numerous examples of the horrors awaiting those who let James II back into power: 'An

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[54] *The Royal Flight,* 22

[55] *The Royal Flight,* 24

[56] *A Sermon Preach'd by a reverend Father, in the Jesuits Chappel at the Kings-Inn Dublin, on St. Patrick's Day* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1688), 1-3

[57] *The Mantle Thrown Off: Or, the Irish-man Dissected. In a Letter From a Gentleman to his Friend in London* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 9

[58] *A True Narrative Of The Murders, Cruelties and Oppressions, Perpetrated on the Protestants In Ireland, By The Late King James's Agents, since His Arrival There. Published for the Information of the Jacobites, That Endeavour His Return Again* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 19

*English* Gentleman' (it is unclear whether the author meant Irish Protestant or a person born in England) was forced to witness his daughter being raped sixteen times.[59] Such a horrific account was generalised, to prove that French-backed Jacobite forces would destroy the liberties guaranteed by the 1688 settlement: once James II arrived in Dublin, no Protestant could leave their house without having to bribe soldiers to spare their lives and families.[60] This text was part of a broader sensationalist genre that told stories of Catholic barbarities against Protestants: one claimed to be a dispatch from a Protestant gentleman who escaped death dressed as a servant;[61] another related how innocent Protestants were hung on signposts as Catholic revanchists plundered Protestant Dublin households under the benign watch of James II;[62] another generally told of 'great Melancholy and Distraction', of a 'Country… already destroyed'.[63] A longer text purported to give a *Full and Impartial Account* of Catholic conniving in Ireland since the Civil War, which finished by detailing the high political discussions between the Jacobite-Catholic-French alliance. It presented these discussions as an existential threat to the English body politic, and only through William III could English lives be saved from a vengeful James II who, once on the throne, would turn against those subjects who disobeyed him, and copy the French method of persecuting Protestants wherever he could.[64]

As well as the French-dominated forces being cruel and nefarious, much of the English press 1689-1691 presented them as weak, both in Ireland and on the Continent. This contradiction at the heart of English anti-Catholicism, that Louis XIV and James are to be feared and mocked, as cruel and stupid, was rarely addressed explicitly, with writers seeming to accept that both states of affairs could be true. The contradictoriness reinforces the propagandistic purpose of English news commentary: arguments and tropes were borrowed and thrown together primarily to persuade the English readership of the boons of William III's state, in contradistinction to the alternative. For example, in spite of their numerical superiority, many in the English press highlighted that it was the French troops who regularly lost battles. As victories dominated the news, allied defeats and retreats were de-emphasised. The English reader of the *Gazette* over these years faced lots of evidence that, if only the public united behind

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[59] *Murders, Cruelties and Oppressions*, 25

[60] *Murders, Cruelties and Oppressions*, 29

[61] *The Sad Estate and Condition of Ireland, As, Represented in a Letter from a Worthy Person, who was in Dublin. On Friday last, to the Honourable Sir – Together with a Declaration of the Earl of Tyrconnel, For the Disarming all Protestants, and preventing their Escape out of that Kingdom* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 1-6

[62] *An Exact Account of The most Considerable Transactions That hath Occurred in Ireland, Since The Late K. James's Arrival there* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 1-2

[63] *The Dangerous Condition of the Protestants in Ireland; with a new Order of Tyrconil's: In a Letter from Dublin Febr. 19* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 1

[64] *A Full and Impartial Account Of All the Secret Consults, Negotiations, Stratagems, & Intriegues Of The Romish Party in Ireland, From 1660, to This Present Year 1689. For the Settlement of Popery in That Kingdom* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 149

William III and fully backed his war effort, the war would be over soon. Indeed, most of the battles that the *Gazette* reported on involved a humiliating French retreat, even when they started with geographical or numerical advantages. In early February 1689, when two thousand French troops sought to break a Saxon siege, the Saxons quickly reformed and repelled the French, defeating them so soundly that they also managed to kill the French leader.[65] A month later, seven thousand French soldiers faced five thousand confederate cavalry; two thousand French troops died and the rest surrendered: the writer commented, 'This happy beginning of the Campagne gives us no small Encouragement'.[66] A month later Dutch soldiers repulsed a four-hour French night attack near Brussels.[67] By the end of April the *Gazette* gleefully recounted all the German towns France had to abandon against Imperial offensives.[68]

The coverage of the German sieges used tropes studied in this chapter's next section, on the siege of Namur, with its intense day-by-day accounting of the heroics of confederate troops against the weaknesses of the French. One brief siege by the Elector of Brandenburg detailed the nightly digging of trenches, the number of paces made per-day, and the surrender negotiations, with all the supplies gained by the German success.[69] The siege of Mentz dominated the *Gazette's* news coverage from July through to August. At Mentz, it was reported how independent German states coordinated together to defeat the French, with Hessians, Hanoverians, 'Lunenburgers', Saxons, and Bavarians relieving one another as they inexorably tightened the net around the French-held fortification.[70] The terseness of the passages meant that the moral and political lessons of the sieges were not brought out directly into the open via an authority stating explicitly what the readers were meant to take away from the information provided. However, the compositions of the facts led to these conclusions being obvious. For example, the *Gazette's* reporter drew readers' attention to the desperation of the French, suffering 'a great many sick and wounded', and trying to break the siege with highly risky (and always unsuccessful) attacks out of the town and into the confederates' lines.[71] Such attacks led to the French losing more lives than the Confederates: one 'great Sally' saw two hundred French deaths to fifty Confederates, as the latter 'advanced our Trenches very considerably' towards the town.[72]

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[65] *London Gazette*, no 2427, 1
[66] *London Gazette*, no 2435, 1
[67] *London Gazette*, no 2444, 1
[68] *London Gazette*, no 2447, 1
[69] *London Gazette*, no 2465, 1-2
[70] *London Gazette*, no 2475, 1
[71] *London Gazette*, no 2479, 1
[72] *London Gazette*, no 2480, 1

The reports' facts were rarely dull; indeed, surprising details, not essential to the narratives of the battles, often made their way into the newspapers. One reported how the Prince of Hanover escaped one French attack with a gunshot passing through his hat.[73] The purpose of this excitement was probably to entice the readers with gripping accounts, as well as demonstrating the bravery of England's confederates. One particularly action-packed account of the closing in on Mentz is worth quoting to demonstrate this effect:

> The 25th the Imperialists threw a great many Bombs into the Counterscarp; and the Night after sprung a Mine at the last Angle of the Attack of the covered-way, and made a Lodgement there, The Prince Palatine of *Weldentz* was mortally wounded in the Trenches. The 26th we continued to sap the Glacis of the Counterscarp, and secured our two new Redoubts with Palisado's. The 27th four Deserters reported, that our Bombs and Carcasses had done great Execution, and that there were 1500 wounded in the Town. The great Battery of 36 pieces of Canon, and 10 Mortars, at the Saxon and Bavarian Attack, was finished this day: The 28th; at 6 in the Morning, it began to play upon the Town and the Cittadel, the Elector of *Bavaria* having ordered, that all the Musqueteers should first give 3 Vollies, and that at each Volly 8 Bombs should be shot into the place, which was perform'd with the sound of Trumpets, Kettle Drums, and Hautbois. At the same time the Imperialists and Lunenburghers made a great Fire from their Batteries, as did likewise the Bavarians from another Battery of 11 pieces of half Canon. The Enemy answered with their Canon and Hautbois from the Ramparts. The night following we continued our Works at both Attacks. The Imperialists advanced with sapping above 60 Paces on the right and left.[74]

These detailed, violent accounts of confederate military sophistication against a French inability to fend off the attack was repeated in many pieces in the *Gazette* until the French surrender. The reader was drawn in by the exciting nature of the war reporting, and was left to conclude that, in spite of the French military might, it would not be long before the kingdom would collapse.

A number of newspaper articles and pamphlets produced drier accounts and anecdotes that supported this impression from reporters on the battlefield, persuading readers that the French state was indeed facing imminent economic ruin as a consequence of its absolutist, tyrannical government spending beyond the state's means on a faltering war effort. A Paris-based writer observed that France had to

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[73] *London Gazette*, no 2481, 1
[74] *London Gazette*, no 2485

keep some of its recruits that it intended to disband, owing to the lack of new recruits coming in from the regions.[75] Another wrote copiously in the *Gazette* on the extraordinary monetary and fiscal policies used by the French state, owing to the fact that 'the People are hardly able to bear the heavy Impositions that lie upon them': these policies included melting down precious metals.[76] In early 1689, the *London Intelligence* wrote how 'extreamly sunck' the French exchequer had become, following a Dutch-German trade embargo.[77] Although such dispatches had ideological overtones – it was the perfidy of the French state that had degraded its finances to the extent it had – the main focus of the pieces were the promised consequences of France's weakness: victory.

Facing such a horrible but weak foe, it was argued that the correct way of interpreting the events of 1689-1691 was to unite under William III to fight Louis XIV while he was weak and overstretched by his own hubris, thereby eradicating the perennial threat to English liberties. The *London Intelligence* wrote that even before William III was crowned, the French political nation was petrified of him: William III was viewed with the 'Admiration of his Friends, the Terror of his Enemies, and the Wonder of all Mankind'. He was 'the *Primuum Mobile*' and 'The Name of *Louis le Grand*, seem's Eclips'd by' him. If the English crowned him, 'which the *Frencb* Court dreads, it will not only Crown the security of the Protestant Religion,' but perhaps secure the Protestant interest forever.[78] This flattery of England and its new monarch, which placed the two at the centre of Europe (and, by extension, the world), was a cornerstone of the Whig historical narrative that was being demonstrated in the writers' present: if history had been a timeless struggle between true and false religion, directed by bannermen working with or against God, now William III was the best attempt in the present to finally bring that historical struggle to a conclusion by weaponizing England's resources against the French state.

This message – that the king was worth uniting behind, so that England could combine with other European powers to defeat the existential threat posed by Louis XIV – was driven to a fever-pitch by William III's success in Ireland. Victories had been reported copiously in special news prints.[79] The poet laureate, Thomas Shadwell, poetically followed the Whig ideas that were encouraged in the newspapers: the wound that William III suffered at the Battle of the Boyne was not only felt by every

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[75] *London Gazette*, no 2642
[76] *London Gazette*, no 2515
[77] *London Intelligence*, no 2
[78] *London Intelligence*, no 2
[79] Examples: *A Full and True Account Of the Besieging and Taking of Carrickfergus By the Duke of Schomberg* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689); *An Exact Relation of the Glorious Victory Obtain'd upon the French and Irish Army before London-Derry, On Sunday, June the 2d, 1689* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689); *A Particular Relation of the Great Victory obtained by the Protestants in London-Derry: And the taking of the Duke of Berwick Prisoner* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689)

Briton, but made 'the *Great Confederacy* Reel.' This alliance built on more than just self-interest was 'The only *Holy League,* that e're was made' because it was opposed to 'the most Barb'rous Foe' who, aware of how brilliant their English adversary was in stopping their tyrannical design, celebrated when they thought William's wound was fatal. However, following victory at the Boyne, William could take his place 'at the Head of this *Great League'* against Louis.[80] This local-domestic theatre of conflict was represented as part of a broader, European struggle between two opposing interests and outcomes.

The English press of the early 1690s was more limited than it was later in the decade, and its message was less sophisticated. However, these newspapers, pamphlets, plays and poems, repeated the themes that had been formed by Whig writers as the regime became established. The press did not nuance its narrative that Europe was divided between two moral poles, and that Europe's fate rested on England's recognition that it had to join with the good against the evil. By 1691, and after the Battle of the Boyne, the regime became more secure, and William III deployed the full fiscal and military powers of the English state to the European continent. As he did, the English press' method of communicating the necessity of engaging with Europe changed to suit the new circumstances, and these are discussed in the next section.

**The Press and Galvanising Support Following the Re-Taking of Namur**

By August 1695, William III needed a victory. The war that had destabilised England from 1688 had not produced a convincing English victory since the French-Jacobite evacuation of Ireland. Indeed, following the stabilisation of Ireland, the French threat to English liberties had receded, allowing MPs to question England's participation in the war at all. Worse, following Queen Mary's death, the English were ruled solely by a Dutchman, with a tenuous link to the crown.[81] Consequently, the importance of achieving a victory – partly to showcase William's military credentials, partly to signal that the Nine Years' War might finally be coming to an end – was important to the Court. Through breaking news stories that provided extensive coverage to the sorties and batteries that led to the fall of Namur, as well as the pamphlets and poems, a concerted interpretation of the victory was produced.

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[80] Thomas Shadwell, *Ode To The King, On His Return from Ireland* (London, 1690), 3

[81] Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833) Book IV, dealing with the sole reign of William III, is tightly packed with anecdotes and opinions from William III's court that the second half of his reign was far less congenial than the first.

At least one contemporary believed that the retaking of Namur was universally discussed. William Pittis wrote that, 'evr'y Pen and ev'y Tongue employ/ Their forward Zeal, to speak their forward Joy.'[82] Although the writer had every reason to exaggerate – the more Pittis praised the success, the more likely he might gain patronage through a Court position or through elites being signalled to purchase his works – the extent of the coverage, and subsequent number of pieces published in celebration, meant that if not every literate Londoner was talking about the victory, then it was not the press' fault.

Indeed, the siege was covered extensively by the London press, at a time of changes in the industry that were still in their infancy. Pre-publication licensing had only just been allowed to lapse, and 1695 was a period of experimentation in the pursuit of European news, particularly those covering the war effort. In May 1695, the inaugural *English Courant* promised by-weekly collections 'of Foreign and Domestick Occurrences', for 'the Curious and Speculative,' as well as 'the Trading part of Mankind.'[83] *An Historical Account of the Publick Transactions of Christendom* contained whistle-stop tours of European capitals, covering skirmishes in the Nine Years' War.[84] A triad of privately-owned newspapers that, alongside the *Gazette*, were to survive and grow into the early eighteenth-century, started publication in 1695: the *Post Boy,* the *Post Man,* and the *Flying Post.* Demand for European news seemed insatiable, with even a few Dutch-oriented news ventures blossoming: the *Holland Pacquet Boat,* the *Pacquet-Boat from Holland and Flanders,* and even a translation of the *Harlem Courant* was attempted in 1695.

On one level, this lapse in pre-publication censorship signalled the end of obvious government involvement and intervention in the press that was not the *Gazette*. However, this section will show that the press in general continued to produce a pro-government line. To show this, I am discussing a selection from my research on every newspaper published in the period. Although there is evidence of strong newspaper diversity available to literate Londoners in August 1695, the Burney Collection only has full collections of the *Gazette* and *Post Boy*. However, even alone they demonstrate the extent to which the Siege of Namur was covered: five August editions of the *Gazette* and eight of the *Post Boy* covered Namur; nine, from both newspapers, contained detailed dispatches direct from the Confederate camp. In all, over half of their August editions contained dispatches either about or from Namur.[85]

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[82] Pittis, *An Epistolary Poem To N. Tate, Esquire: And Poet Laureat to His Majesty: Occasioned by the Taking of Namur* (London: R Baldwin, 1696), 1
[83] *English Courant,* no 1. It doesn't appear to have survived long.
[84] *An Historical Account of the Publick Transactions of Christendom,* particularly no 10
[85] *London Gazette* nos. 3102, 3106, 3107, 3110; *Post Boy* nos. 37, 40, 44, 47, 48, 49

This coverage was always either explicitly flattering to the Confederates against the French, or implicitly so in its focus on the successes that led to the surrender of Namur. It is my belief based on a close reading of these newspapers that the most plausible explanation for the consistent pro-government line was that some form of influence was exercised over them. That said, how, or even if, the government exercised direct influence over the press after 1695 is only tangential to my argument, which is concerned with the stories and morals produced by the press. These morals contributed to the Whig idea of Europe in their content, not in how they were produced. Therefore, this section on Namur focuses solely on the contents, rather than the broader facts, of the newspapers it analyses.

Of course, the government-controlled *Gazette* was particularly suited to providing dispatches from the camp, almost certainly due to the contacts built between the official government organ and aides de camp in William's army. These links were organic: the newspaper was not even nominally independent of government, and run as an organ of the state, with its writers as self-conscious civil servants, publishing 'by authority'. Through these links, the *Gazette's* dispatches from Namur were particularly patriotic. For instance, one dispatch, on the retreat of the French into Namur's castle, detailed how the enemy left one thousand four hundred and thirty 'Sick and Wounded Men' behind, including the hundred and forty officers that William allowed to be sent to a hospital. The dispatch promised that soon, during nightfall, 'we shall break Ground' to dig trenches, followed by a morning's battery against the castle.[86] One fifty-six column piece, as the French began to near apparent desperation to flee the castle, detailed how the enemy tried to interrupt Allied trench digging by a mounted horse attack left, right, and centre, but was repulsed by the Allies 'so that we went on with our Work without any interruption'. Although expecting an attack from a French relief force, 'Our Breaches are very much increased, and by Monday or Tuesday next we hope to be in a readiness for a general Assault.'[87] These reports had a general narrative structure: an encounter with the enemy, grizzly facts *in medias res*, inevitable defeat of the enemy, who were undermined by their cowardice of stupidity. The conclusion was that the allies were in an even stronger position for the next encounter, making overall victory more likely.

The *Gazette's* unique place came not just from its provision of a positive spin on the official progress of the siege. The *Gazette's* ties to the regime also allowed detail, partly because of its access to the facts through their on-site reporter, and partly through its ability to fill its two pages with such detail. On average, when there was a dispatch from its on-the-spot Namur correspondent, it occupied just under

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[86] *London Gazette* no 3102
[87] *London Gazette* no 3107

one fifth of the *Gazette* it was written in,[88] which is high considering the Gazette's attempts to cover news throughout Europe, as well as Namur-related stories from other correspondents. Dispatches tended to contain numbers of dead, the times of attacks and defences, and the probabilities of results in the near future.

The *Post Boy*, in contrast, was a newly founded newspaper, on its thirty-seventh issue when the Namur siege began. Unlike the *London Gazette,* it was not directly run by the government, and, therefore, it required its own informant network outside government channels. No study of the *Post Boy's* information network has been done, and it seems that their correspondents' identities will never be traced. However, given that the reports had different emphases, as well as different facts, it can be inferred that it benefited from different connections and information supplies to the official civil servant connected ones used by the *Gazette*, and that these came from both within and outside of the Namur camp. At the very least, they provided depth to English readers through the slightly different perspectives that their correspondents had. Particularly, the *Post Boy* seemed to benefit from its Paris sources. It may have been easier for a non-government enterprise to gain correspondents in an enemy country. Either way, their Paris correspondent(s) contributions to the print landscape during the Siege of Namur was often the gleeful depiction of Versailles' woes as Namur came closer to capitulation. Apparently, the French Court felt that 'the Town cannot hold out', particularly given the 'vigour' of William's attacks. 'Soldiers are so afraid' of defeat that 'they don't make the resistance they used to', and Versailles' morale had dropped so low that Louis was mulling sending 'the Dauphin' to command the army, in spite of it being 'too late; for in all likelihood the Place will be taken before we have time to bring thither a sufficient Army for that undertaking.'[89] A week later, the newspaper reported that news from Namur 'extreamly disorders the King', driving 'The King's Creatures' to begin a propaganda campaign to justify tax rises to fund a reprisal attack.[90] Writing focusing Louis' attention on this propaganda campaign also demonstrated the weakness of France's finances, having to persuade an already-impoverished peasantry to bear the burden of what Louis was beginning to see as an unwinnable war. By August 16th Versailles had given up hope of relieving Namur,[91] and the court heard, three days before the event, that the garrison would be forced to surrender soon.[92] A day after the capitulation – but before Paris knew about it – the *Post Boy* reported with glee that Louis was forced

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[88] *London Gazette,* no 3107, excluding the advertisements, contains approximately two hundred and fifty-three lines. On average, the Gazette gave space forty-one lines to its Namur dispatch. Assuming No 3107 is typical of the other August editions, the average percentage of the Gazette that the Namur dispatch filled was 16.5%.
[89] *Post Boy,* no 37
[90] *Post Boy,* no 40
[91] *Post Boy,* no 42
[92] *Post Boy,* no 44

to celebrate St Louis' day, juxtaposed with news 'relating to the Siege', and the failings of the French marshal in the field.[93] The *Post Boy's* schadenfreude provided a climatic conclusion for the broader English readership, who (if they had been reading newspapers regularly), had been inundated with news from Namur.

To complement the effect of the emotional detail of the French collapse, it was the *Post Boy* that bolstered the *Gazette's* announcement of victory when the French garrison at Namur capitulated on the 25th August. The 2nd September issue of the *Gazette* announced a general thanksgiving throughout the kingdom to give thanks to God for the victory of which details were 'already Printed',[94] from a special Gazette supplement containing all the articles of capitulation. The *Gazette's* announcement, containing some details of the final attack, was laudatory and formal, spending more columns in the specifics of the treaty, rather than the hubbub of the assault.[95] This was dealt with in the *Post Boy*, with details such as:

> The *English* forced their way through the Breach, and notwithstanding the resistance of the Enemy, and the great fire they made upon our Men, they gained the top of the same, but finding the *French* strongly intrenched behind the Breach, and badness of the Ground not permitting our men to advance in any Front, they were forced to retire.

After further confrontations, 'they agreed Yesterday to Capitulate for the Whole.' 'All our Forces behaved themselves to an Admiration', the *Post Boy* noted.[96]

The patriotic tone of the *Gazette* and *Post Boy* was evidently taken as given, and both editors appeared to view their function as giving detailed reporting with favourable presentation. This attitude was particularly shown in the way the press reacted to the *Paris Gazette*, which was viewed in England as mirroring their functions – providing detailed, favourable coverage – but for a French audience. Particularly attacked was the *Paris Gazette's* coverage of the Flanders campaign, of which the Siege of Namur was part. The *Post Boy* dropped its normal coverage to attack the *Paris Gazette's* editorialising on the siege of Brussels. The *Post Boy* translated and re-printed the *Paris Gazette's* explanation of Louis' motives for besieging Brussels, which the French organ attributed to Louis' motivation to deter the Allies from killing French innocents by carrying out a like-for-like reprisal. 'These Arguments, or rather

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[93] *Post Boy,* no 47
[94] *The Gazette,* no 3110
[95] *The Gazette* supplement dated August 29th
[96] *Post Boy,* no 49

Excuses are, I must confess, very specious,' wrote the editorial: 'perhaps never was so much Stuff and Impudence in so few Lines as in these'. The writer attacked the French newspaper's ignorance of the number of towns Louis' forces had ransacked, as well as noting that the Allies hadn't bombarded any towns or cities for some time. Noting the irony of a regular breaker of international law calling for justice, the newspaper argued it was as poor as 'a Drunkard commending Sobriety, or a Highway man Justice'.[97]

On the same day (22nd August), the *Gazette* made the same complaint, but in a triter, more official tone. The *Paris Gazette* 'omits what is very remarkable'; before listing French atrocities like the sacking of Genoa in spite of its neutrality, as well as the French troops 'many Cruelties and horrible Desolations' against civilisation in Germany and Italy, which even 'the most Barbarous Nations would be ashamed of.' The 'shameful Falsities', emblematic of the French newspapers' general lies that 'are weekly Printed', were obviously meant to subdue the French masses. The *Gazette* finished on the patriotic note that ''tis a sign their Affairs are in an ill condition when they need such Methods to support them.'[98]

Thus, both the *Gazette* and the *Post Boy* displayed a hyper-sensitivity when combatting the *Paris Gazette's* editorial. There is evidence that the English literary elite more broadly sought to defame non-English-aligned narratives of the Flanders campaign. One pamphleteer, noting the necessity of the Paris Gazette's pro-French coverage of the Nine Years' War, mocked how the newspaper would cover the collapse of Namur. 'SIR, YOU will undoubtedly stand in need of all your Wit', to spin the capture of Namur – with 'so many mortifying Circumstances for your Court' – in a positive way. In spite of 'all your Skill in disguising the truth, and the long Experience you have added to your natural Talents to make yourself Master of that Art', the Paris newspaper was unlikely to be able to succeed.[99]

This letter was part of the cacophony of schadenfreude that sprang from the news of the retaking of Namur. Such a splurge in analysis and polemic revealed a nexus connecting the newspapers to the current affairs-oriented pamphlets and longer form 'histories' that were printed in response to the events they editorialised over to create a coherent narrative to insist that English subjects had a stake in the success of William's armies oversees, thus fitting the Whig campaign of support for the muscular prosecution of the Nine Years' War.

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[97] *Post Boy*, no 45
[98] *The Gazette*, no 3107
[99] *A Letter to the Paris Gazetteer, Upon the Siege and Taking of Namur* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1695), 1-2

The remainder of the *Letter* to the *Paris Gazette* at length detailed how the success at Namur would mean the soon-inevitable collapse of the French war effort. After all, Louis had built the legitimacy of his war effort on the capturing of Namur in 1692.[100] Now it had gone, the collapse was symptomatic of the collapse of French military prowess everywhere: in the Low Countries, Spain, and Germany, Louis was in retreat, and it wouldn't be long before the French would be forced to sue for peace.[101]

Within six months of the capture of Namur, a string of pieces provided information to the evidentially hungry English readership. One gave a nearly-day-to-day diary of William's movements in the Flanders campaign, with pithy summaries of who William met with, why they met, and the consequences of their meeting: for example, on September 28th, William talked with the Prince of Anhalt Dessau and celebrated the re-taking of Namur: fireworks were forgone for a toast to 'the King's Health in a Glass of good Wine.'[102] Others swapped day-to-day detail for the close re-telling of the most important events. One *Exact Journal* covered the Marshal de Villeroy's anger at the successful retreat of Allied forces from his grasp, which resulted in the Marshal burning down an entire village.[103] The account printed a letter that William dictated in full, where he commended the retreat as a better '*general accomplishment in the Art of War, than if you had won a Battel.*'[104] The journal's awarding of agency to key commanders in the Flanders campaign provided immediacy, drawing readers into the details and consequences that arose from the commanders' decision-making.

Such was the number of quick-release accounts of the Siege of Namur that the quasi-official regular chronicler of the Nine Years' War, Edward D'Auvergne, was palpably angry at the rude imitations of his own work. In 1696 he wrote that '*Some People will wonder why this Account comes out so late; I rather complain that it comes out too soon.*' Even a chronicler as experienced as him had still committed errors in his 1696 draft, for which he apologised to the major military commanders. However, '*The Booksellers to make the most hast, have put it into several Hands to have* [this book] *printed*', before it was ready.[105]

As well as the influx of accounts detailing the event, the regime published works to ensure that the public understood the importance of celebrating the victory. A number of sermons were read and

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[100] *Paris Gazetteer,* 2-4

[101] *Paris Gazetteer,* 27-28

[102] *An Exact Account of the Siege of Namur: With a Perfect Diary of the Campaign in Flanders* (London: Tim Goodwin, 1695, 52

[103] *An Exact Journal of the Siege of Namur* (London: J Whitlock, 1695), 12

[104] *Exact Journal,* 13

[105] Edward D'Auvergne, *The History of the Campagne in Flanders, for the Year 1695* (London: Mat Wotton and John Newton, 1696). Preface

printed throughout September. By mobilising the clergy, through either printing sermons from bishops, having feast days that were encouraged at parish level by vicars, William's regime could reach well into English society, producing the sensation that his success was their success. John Adams read Psalm 33.1: '*Rejoyce in the Lord O ye Righteous! for Praise is Comely for the Upright.*'[106] Adams stressed that England's successes were the font of God's grace.[107] God's grace was particularly 'Conspicuous' in William's successes, where 'We find that Torrent which has over-run *Europe* for so many Years with so much Noise and Devastation, Shrinking back again into its own Channel.'[108] The water metaphor demonstrated the connectedness of England to different areas in Europe, presenting the continent as a whole as a place where English people should be concerned.

Other sermons provided similar themes, expressing the victory of Namur as vindication of their faith that William had received God's grace and was being rewarded in victory. Christopher Wyvill quoted the Bible's account of the '*long War between the House of* Saul, *and the House of* David', explaining that 'God was pleased so far to assert the cause of *David,* as to grant him Success over his Enemies'.[109] Although a Civil War, Wyvill was using this example as a war between moral systems, as decided by God's support for one over the other. Wyvill enjoined his flock to celebrate the victory, as it was likely to result in 'an Eternal Jubilee of Peace, Rest and Glory',[110] neatly fitting into the newspaper assumptions that the victory would speedily bring the peace that English people were craving after many years of instability and rising fiscal pressures.

Another sermon argued that the retaking of Namur was confirmation of William's greatness, with God providing the victory as part of a series of liberations going back to 1688: 'When *Arbitrary Power* […] was just ready […] Then, for God to give us a King in his mercy, to protect us against these worst of evils: A King, whose hereditary *Right* to our Monarchy made him dear to the Loyal': William is 'A King, who seem'd fram'd by Heaven on purpose for this great Emergency'.[111] Walkington's sermon, like the other sermons discussed here, was a direct response to the event reported in the press, and is therefore current-affairs oriented. However, Walkington's sermons also neatly raises the themes discussed in the

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[106] John Adams, *A Sermon Preach'd at White-Hall on Sunday, September 8, 1695. Being the Day of Thanksgiving for the Taking of Namur, and the Safety of His Majesty's Person* (London: Thomas Pennet, 1695), 1
[107] Adams, *Sermon Preach'd,* 3
[108] Adams, *Sermon Preach'd,* 22
[109] Christopher Wyvill, *A Sermon Preach'd in the Collegiate-Church of Ripon, on Sunday the 22d of September* (London: Tho Warren, 1695), 1-2
[110] Wyvill, *Sermon Preach'd,* 22
[111] Edward Walkington, *A Sermon Preached in Christ-Church before His Excellency the Lord Deputy, And The Honorable House of Peers; October the 8th 1695* (Dublin: William Norman, Eliphal Dobson, Patrick Campbell, 1695), 13

preceding chapters, showing the coexistence of God's direct interventions with individual princely agency and power. In this sermon, William III was both a free actor and the beneficiary of God's grace. He was using his capacity to act to serve God's purpose, as God created him to do. God in turn awarded William (like the Old Testament kings) supernatural powers to defeat the Fallen. To Walkington, it was not a contradiction to claim Louis' defeat at Namur was both a consequence of God's direct interventions and William III's brilliance as a strategist and king.

As can be shown from the moral lessons produced from these sermons, a variety of mediums gave a variety of messages that connected Namur to the Allies' progress of the Nine Years' War and the political consequences of that conflict. One pamphlet typically wrote *'that there never has been a War of greater Consequence than the Present'* because it was *'for the LIBERTY or SLAVERY of Europe.'*[112] This view was ploughed particularly into poetry, with a number of poems providing panegyrics to William and to the war effort. William was elevated from a military genius to a spiritual symbol of pan-Protestant protection of liberty, defending England and other Protestant states through his deft diplomacy and marshal prowess. Denne wrote of William, 'the wondrous Man requires,/ Heroic Warmth' from his subjects.[113] This warmth came from the military and morale significance of the falling of Namur, which Denne elevates in his poem to one of mystical import that symbolised the tide toward inevitable English victory:

> *Namur*, the destin'd Object of the War
> Severely pleasing, rises in the Air:
> So beauteous! That it tempts the Warrior's Eye:
> So strong! he wishes, but he dares not try.

In its elevated significance, Namur to Denne was 'The Siege of *Europe'*.[114]

Other poets dramatized Namur as demonstrative of Protestant superiority when working together, as well as a signpost for the collapse in Catholic morale. One poem, intended to be sang to an apparently popular tune,[115] called to 'listen, you Protestant Subjects,/ that have any love of the Land,/ Here's

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[112] *Exact Account,* Preface

[113] Denne, *A Poem on the Taking of Namur, by His Majesty* (London: R Cumberland, 1695), 1

[114] Denne, *Poem on the,* 3

[115] The piece just states 'to the Evening Ramble', suggesting that the title was enough to invoke the readership to recognise the tune

Tydings of Joy, sing, *Vive le Roy*,/ the *French* are not able to stand,/ Against out Great KING of Renown.'[116] The quick pace of the poem was evidentially written to elicit excitement and joy:

> The *French* in their Castle did tremble,
>
> To hear how the Canons did roar,
>
> Whose battering Balls so shatter'd their walls,
>
> they ne'r was so frighted before;
>
> [...]
>
> That, during the Action, they were in distraction,
>
> that just like a fiery storm,
>
> *They fell on the Castle with thundring noise,*
>
> *This made them be glad to surrender, brave Boys.*[117]

Depictions of the victory at Namur such as these were evidently designed to reach the widest possible audience, set to music, using sketches (see Figure Five), and quick paces to communicate in a basic way. One such piece depicted a 'Valiant Coronet's Return from *Flanders*, who endeavoured to persuade his Brother *Jack* to forsake the Plow, and to take up arms the next Spring'. The coronet enjoined Jack to join the army because the conflict was part of a common endeavour, and 'The Son of a Farmer/ In glittering Armour,/ May kill and destroy,/ as many proud French, As a Squire or Knight'. As the war benefitted all Englishmen, it was 'A fortunate change' to be 'the nation's upholder'.[118]

However, as well as depicting Namur closely and linking it to the immediacy of the implications for the Nine Years' War, poets also used Namur to argue that the victory was emblematic of the broader brilliance of William. To Denne, the 'warmth' he demanded to be showed to the king should be granted because Namur was part of a constellation of victories that validated William's brilliance: 'Each Year new Themes of Glory must afford,/ When *William's* arm'd, and wields the *British* Sword.' His appearance 'husht' Europe, expecting 'some wondrous Birth of long contriving Fate.'[119] The event – the taking of Namur – was detailed over a number of pages, with passages depicting the superiority of William over the French: 'what Noise! Ah! humbled *Lewis* falls;/ Whole *British* Ensigns, from the

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[116] *The Triumph of Namur: Or, The Confederate Army's Unspeakable Joy, for Their Victory over the French, in the Surrender of the Castle, Which They Bravely Conquer'd* (London: J Deacon, 1695), 1

[117] *Triumph of Namur*, 1

[118] *The Farmer's Son of Devonshire* (London: J Deacon, 1695)

[119] Denne, *Poem on the*, 1

conquer'd Walls,/ Wave at the backs of the retreating *Gauls*,/ See *Britain's* Worthies! see *Batavia's* there!'[120]

Another poet agreed, writing for a performance at a theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. The 'Musical Entertainment' exhorted the audience to make 'Haste, Loyal *Britons*, haste, prepare;/ *William*, Victorious *William* comes.'[121] The audience should listen for martial trumpets and drums to herald the power of their king. Another writer 'Humbly Offered' a 'A Congratulatory Poem' to the king, rejoicing in the fact that 'Propitious Heaven with an indulgent Care,/ Sends home a Monarch to dispel our Fear.'[122] Indeed, to one poet, the battle epitomised the Manichean forces of good and evil, and how, under William's leadership, good will always triumph. 'Nature ne're brought a fierce Destroyer forth' like Louis, but for 'the Balance of the Age', she introduced his opposite in William.[123] These 'Two rival Armys' clashed at Namur, 'In all the horrid Pomp of War',[124] but William's presence made England's victory all but inevitable, to such an extent that 'Too weak's the Pencil's Art, and all the Pow'r of Verse' that his majestic powers could be not conveyed. However, the poem was a small contribution to 'Let *Albion* hear' of his success, so that 'her distant Shores rejoice.'[125]

In all, the availability of news that covered the retaking of Namur allowed analysis, polemic, and poetry to reverberate through the press. These different media underlined to readers that William was a hero who, by uniting Protestants throughout Europe, had deity-like attributes that secured England's freedoms and security. This chorus of coverage entwined two themes, patriotism, and pan-Protestantism, closely together. In reading the novel news provisions from Versailles and Flanders, it behoved the reader to interpret their patriotism as supporting English interests in Europe. This interest could only be to support the Confederate states against Louis. Although it is true that some of the major confederates were Catholic, the emotional themes stressed in the coverage was that these allies were being used to serve a broader purpose that benefited European Protestants. On one level, this was obvious, with the fighting taking place close to the Protestant United Protestants. On another, there was an analytical level, with writers taking the Siege of Namur as an illustrative episode of French (and Catholic) stupidity and cruelty. Finally, there was a conceptual level: the novel availability of this news

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[120] Denne, *Poem on the*, 2

[121] Peter Anthony Mottoux, *Words for a Musical Entertainment At The New-Theatre, In Little Lincolns Inn Fields; On The Taking of Namur, And His Majesty's Safe Return* (London, 1695), 1

[122] Manning, *A Congratulatory Poem: Humbly Offered to the King, Upon His Return Home, After the Taking of Namur* (London: Peter Buck, 1695), 1

[123] Thomas Yalden, *On the Conquest of Namur* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1695), 1

[124] Yalden, *Conquest of Namur*, 4

[125] Yalden, *Conquest of Namur,* 9-10

allowed readers to experience near-first-hand events happening far away. The breathlessness of the coverage of the Siege of Namur, followed by the deluge of pieces reacting to the victory, sent a moral message that it was patriotic to read about and engage with the European continent. This infrastructure, the novel density of the news, and the way it was apparently coordinated throughout the press, shows how pan-Protestantism seeped into the 'public sphere' via the coffeehouse readership of newspapers following the official government line.

**Trans-National French Conspiracy and the Election of Pope Innocent XIII**

In the five years since the Siege of Namur, English newspaper coverage had grown more established, with fewer immature ventures and more regularly-produced bi-weekly (and tri-weekly) newspapers in the same two-page format. As well as the four regularly-circulating newspapers (*Flying Post, Gazette, Post Boy, Post Man*) there were two more newspapers: the *English Post,* which appears to have survived until 1709, and the *London Post,* which lasted until 1705.

Although the English newspaper industry had matured, it still followed the homogenous editorial line that exemplified the industry during the Siege of Namur. Taken together, these six newspapers covered the Papal Succession extensively. From the first report of the Pope's death to the announcement of his successor, over two thirds of the *Gazettes* issued contained either a dispatch from Rome, or commentary about Rome from another capital.[126] The same was true of one third of the *Flying Post's* editions,[127] as well as around half of the *Post Man*[128] and the *Post Boy's* editions.[129] The extensiveness of the coverage reveals the salience that the editors of the newspapers thought the event had to their readers and patrons. They also generally presented the news of the events in Rome in an idiosyncratic way,

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[126] The London Gazette announced the death of the Pope in No. 3641, and announced the election of the new Pope in no 3659. Nos 3644, 3646, 3648, 3649, 3650, 3651, 3653, 3654, 3655, and 3657, either contain a dispatch from Rome or one concerning Rome from another city, or 71% of the editions between (but excluding) nos. 3641 and 3659

[127] The Flying Post announced the death of the Pope in No. 848, and announced the election of the new Pope in no 870. Nos 851, 854, 855, 856, 859, 863, and 867, either contain a dispatch from Rome or one concerning Rome from another city, or 35% of the editions between (but excluding) nos. 848 and 870

[128] The Post Man announced the death of the Pope in No. 815, and announced the election of the new Pope in No. 836. Nos. 816, 817, 819, 820, 823, 826, 830, 831, 832, 835, and 836, either contain a dispatch from Rome or one concerning Rome from another city, or 52% of the editions between (but excluding) nos. 815 and 836.

[129] The Post Boy did not announce the death of the Pope, but its first mentioning of the Pope's cadaver being put on display is in no 861. It announced the election of the new Pope in no 883. Nos. 864, 867, 868, 869, 872, 874, 877, 878, and 880 either contain a dispatch from Rome or one concerning Rome from another city, or 45% of the editions between (but excluding) Nos. 861 and 883.

blending three components: the 'sickness' at the heart of the Roman system; the opportunities exploited by the French to corrupt it further; and the interconnectedness of French interference in Rome and interference in Madrid. English newspapers' coverage in Rome was consistent with Protestant cynicism of the Catholic system of electing a Pope, which was disdained of because of its apparent corruption. In this, like the Siege of Namur, it was following the government line and elite consensus of anti-Catholicism. As a Protestant country, England had no direct spiritual investment in the Pope's succession. Indeed, perhaps because of the country's official Protestantism, analysis of the election was interpreted in a sordidly *Realpolitik* lens, revealing the emblematically corrupt Papal court and how temporal Catholic powers sought to manipulate the result for temporal ends.

The extent of the corruption, and the temporal motives of key Papal actors, was taken for granted. The *London Gazette's* correspondent noted tersely that 'THE Pope grows weaker every day,' which, instead of turning Innocent's friends and colleagues' thoughts to prayer, 'makes the Cardinals very busie in carrying on their Intrigues against the next Conclave.'[130] In the dispatch announcing Innocent's death, the *Gazette* immediately began its analysis of the succession: 'There are several Factions formed among the Cardinals, the most considerable of which seems to be that of the Cardinals who call themselves the Zealots.'[131] Faction was a uniformly pejorative term at this time, implying a group of people motivated by their own material interests to defy their state's interests. Typical hard-nosed dispatches on temporal sways on votes dominated coverage, with one breathless report: 'There are now 57 Cardinals in the Conclave, where the Scrutiny is taken every day; But there is yet no appearance of their coming to an Election, the parties being very much divided, and two Thirds of the Votes being necessary to make a Choice.'[132] Before the doctrine of loyal opposition, 'parties' were synonymous with 'factions', as entities that politically jockeyed for advantage. The election of an ecclesiastical prince was being treated as an election for a City of London alderman.

Particularly apparent was the English press' treatment of the symbolic nature of the incumbent Pope's physical decline. In covering the dying Pope's final days, the press revealed its prejudices against a corrupt religious system, which had such a flawed process for electing the successor that it could easily be perverted by a power like France. The theme of Papal weakness and court decay could be illustrated in full in depictions of the collapse and death of Innocent XII, who was so sickly that in his *Flying Post* obituary it was announced that he was 'at last dead'.[133] The *London Gazette,* quoted 'a very famous

[130] *London Gazette*, no 3641, 1
[131] *London Gazette*, no 3643, 1
[132] *London Gazette*, no 3655, 1
[133] *Flying Post*, no 848, 1

Physician', who claimed that in the ailing pope there was 'a Decay of Nature, and that he can receive little Assistance from any Medicines.'[134] The emphasis on the human element of the Pope, as a frail, old, man, further underlined the view to readers that this election was a fundamentally political event to replace a temporal ruler, rather than a sacred event to replace God's pontiff.

The *London Post* reported how key cardinals lied as the Pope lay dying, refusing 'to suffer publick Prayers' so as not to admit Innocent's illness. The correspondent contrasted one cardinal's lies with the brutal reality of the Pope's decline – 'his Holiness began to void part of his Bowels with the Flux'.[135] In the fevered reports of the Pope's deterioration, and in spite of official Papal representatives reporting his recovery, the English press stressed the illness and human decay of the supposed representative of St Peter: The *Post Man* contrasted the 'very busie' Cardinals in forming their parties against the Pope, who 'continues very ill, and so weakened by a Fever and Looseness, that his recovery is altogether despaired of.'[136]

Other newspapers used responses to the Pope's death as allegorical of the heady superstition that the papacy represented. The very first article of the very first edition of the *English Post* reported how 'A great Tempest of Lightning and Thunder' following Innocent's death was 'very ominously broke on the Vatican'.[137] The author's noting of this fact could well have been ironic, given that the same correspondent expressed his disdain in how the Romans, who were 'superstitious People of all sorts', 'flocked' to kiss the feet of the papal cadaver.[138] The ominousness of the bad weather stoked an already ridiculous scene. Meanwhile, the death of the pope triggered disorders throughout Rome: the *Post Man* reported that the death had attracted 'A great many Banditti and other Villains';[139] the *Flying Post* reported that 'Murders, Quarrels and Robberies continue frequent here.'[140]

The deprivation of Catholics' thought and control was a cornerstone anti-Catholic trope used in English print-media to explain how and why Catholic states and peoples behaved maliciously against England. To take one contemporary example of the categorisation of Catholics as stupefied, Marie-Catherine Aulnoy's travel account into Spain, which was on its eleventh edition by 1738, showed how the Spanish

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[134] *London Gazette,* no 3642, 1
[135] *London Post,* no 208, 1
[136] *Post Man*, no 811, 1
[137] *English Post,* no 1, 1
[138] *English Post,* no 5, 1
[139] *Post Man*, no 816, 1
[140] *Flying Post*, no 855, 1

Catholics were prone to the type of superstition that the Romans were exhibiting when visiting their embalmed ecclesiastical leader. Aulnoy visited various Spanish towns and villages, reporting widespread religious fantasies and stupidities, reporting for example a crucifix so large 'it is covered with three Curtains one on another, all embroidered with Pearls and Diamonds', only opened with 'great Ceremony, and for Persons of Quality'; when the bell-ringing indicated that the crucifix would be revealed to the public, 'every one falls on his Knees.'[141] Deploying common anti-Catholic tropes of laziness, one dialogue noted '*That the* Spaniards […] *seemed so strangely stupefied and drowsie'.*[142]

Given the stupefaction that was at the centre of the corruption in both Catholicism generally and Papal governance and succession, English writers were keen to stress how the temporal power of France was to dominate European affairs, seeing a larger story of French conspiracy to actively achieve universal empire. However, the French were not depicted as the only power trying to influence the Papal succession. France was locked in a power-struggle with the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the domestic 'zealots' who tried to position themselves as the purifying party. A typical dispatch discussed how 'Cardinals *de Noailles* and *Lamberg,* the first from *France,* and the other from Vienna [...] both particular Instructions in relation to the Election of the Pope', against 'The Party of the Zealots' who were the 'most numerous [but] are subdivided into four Parties'. [143] Particularly, the *Gazette's* emphasis on the zealots' plea when lobbying the other cardinals for insulation from external interference demonstrated the point that London wanted to underline: foreign states were perverting the Papal election process, in spite of the declaration reported by the *Flying Post* that all foreign states 'will protect the Freedom of the Conclave'.[144] This interference revealed the extent of the Papacy's corruption. English fear, communicated through the press, was not that France was the only power shaping Papal politics, but that they had the worst motive, and had the most powerful means.

To Catholic states like France, although the successor to the throne of St Peter had little to offer in terms of troops, his validation of France's exploits was crucial to guaranteeing internal French unity and international Catholic acceptance for the state's power grab. This was arguably particularly important when facing another Catholic power, as Louis did and was to do again in fighting the Holy Roman Empire. After all, literate Englishmen were aware that Rome and Paris had been implacably split only

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[141] Marie-Catherine Aulnoy, *The Ingenious and Diverting Letters of the Lady's ------ Travels into Spain. Describing The Devotions, Nunneries, Humour, Customs, Laws, Militia, Trade, Diet, and Recreations of That People,* 5th ed. (London: Samuel Crouch, 1703), 51

[142] *A Dialogue Between Marphorio and Pasquin, Concerning the Succession of Spain, And the Present State of Europe* (London: A Baldwin, 1701), To the reader

[143] *London Gazette*, no 6353, 1

[144] *Flying Post* no 851, 1

recently, and that the divide had harmed France and therefore aided the common Protestant cause. A decade ago Gilbert Burnet had explained the divide between the two courts which was, to Burnet, a conflict 'on which the World has now lookt so attentively for some time'.[145] Although 'the Generality of the Inferiour people' in France were 'more addicted to the See of *Rome* than could be imagined',[146] French court elites were increasingly perturbed by the Pope's claim that temporal princes are moons rotating around Rome's sun, particularly as Louis was the Sun King.[147] Burnet noted that many French clergymen remained tied to the Pope for patronage,[148] yet had declared for Louis' assertion of temporal rights over the Pope.[149]

The aftershocks of this controversy reverberated into the Papal succession, with many English newspaper writers fixating on the French securing a Pope more amenable to Louis' assertion of sovereignty over both France and Europe. The extent to which the French could influence the election of the pope was clear, given the 'infinite Number of Intreagues' necessary to become Pope.[150] With the amount of resources necessary to corrupt a cardinal to vote a certain way – bribes of money, land, placements – the power of temporal princes, not least the strongest Catholic temporal prince, was crucial.[151]

Indeed, the London press reported that Paris was watching Rome closely. The *London Gazette's* Paris reporter wrote that the French were receiving tally-sheets, with the number of voters, and who each cardinal was planning on voting for.[152] The sophistication of the lobbying was detailed in copious newspaper columns. The *London Gazette* reported that the French and Venetian ambassadors acted in concert as soon as Innocent's body was embalmed.[153] Through the various twists and turns of the fortunes of Papal candidates, the newspaper reported the regular reporting back to Versailles of those of 'the French Party'.[154] There was copious opportunities for the French to cabal given the weakness of

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[145] Gilbert Burnet, *News from France: In a Letter Giving a Relation of the Present State of the Difference Between the French King and The Court of Rome* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1682), 10

[146] Burnet, *News from France*, 2

[147] Burnet, *News from France,* 5

[148] Burnet, *News from France,* 9

[149] Burnet, *News from France,* 11

[150] *Reflections on the Present Interests of the Several Courts of Christendom; Relating Particularly to the Spanish Succession; As Also the Different Factions at Rome, in the Late Conclave: With the Characters of the Most Eminent Persons in That Court, and Other Courts of Europe* (London: J Nutt, 1701),  9-10

[151] *Several Courts of Christendom,* 10

[152] *London Gazette,* no 3648, 1

[153] *London Gazette,* no 3644, 1

[154] *London Gazette,* no 3649, 1

the Papal authority: *The English Post* reported the Vatican having to issue edicts against all of the 'Disorders and Riots' that had broken out throughout Rome.[155]

*The Flying Post* gave detailed coverage to the attempted French power grab, regularly producing columns reporting French manoeuvres in Rome. As Innocent was dying, the newspaper reported the extent of Louis' power as he attempted to ruin Cardinal de Bouillon, a dissident French cardinal. The heavy-handedness of France's coercion – it was rumoured that Louis planned on sending '25 Gallies to Civitta Vecchia' to recover the cardinal, led Bouillon to hire a constant guard.[156] In lobbying for the Papal successor, the French also used visual propaganda. One prominent French-backed cardinal (Pasquin) 'hath hung up the King of *France* and the Dauphine's Pictures in his Audience chamber.'[157]

Early in the election process, English commentators recognised that 'the Affair of the Spanish Succession' would be influenced by the new Pope. Before the death of the Spanish King, English commentators were concerned by whether the Pope would support the Second Treaty of Partition.[158] The papal candidates' reactions to the Treaty was viewed as a proxy by the French as to whether they would suit their interests after the Duke of Anjou had been proclaimed, with Cardinal de Noailles being attacked by the French because 'he would not consent to the Treaty for dividing the Spanish Monarchy', as well as his support of Bouillon.[159]

The election of this particular pope was understood to be especially important for English interests, given that the Pope would necessarily arbitrate over the Spanish succession. The ill-fated Second Treaty of Partition – a compromise between the Holy Roman Emperor and the French King over the Spanish crown, to prevent the state falling under the hegemonic control of either – still appeared in flux, with the *Post Boy* reproducing the Treaty of Partition in its newspaper, contrasting it with the (still rumoured) will of Charles II to give Spain to the French suitor.[160] The new pope's moral authority as an arbitrator could influence if one party got more (or even all) of the Spanish possessions, through the Pope's divine legitimation of the papacy's preferred suitor.[161]

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[155] *English Post,* no 5, 1
[156] *Flying-Post,* no 844, 1
[157] *Flying-Post,* no 836, 1
[158] *Flying Post,* no 834, 1
[159] *Flying Post,* no 863, 1
[160] *Post Man,* no 870, 1
[161] *Several Courts of Christendom,* 2

News pieces directly pointed to the relevancy of an amenable Pope to Bourbon succession in Spain. Well before Charles II died, English newspapers speculated on his health, with the knowledge that his death had the potential to trigger a European conflagration: the *English Post* gave a mundane dispatch of the Spanish Ambassador trying to persuade Louis that Charles had perfect health. Two weeks before Charles died, Louis was apparently unimpressed by the ambassador's artifices.[162]

Consequently, news of the King of Spain's deterioration and eventual death, and Louis' reactions to these events, were often juxtaposed with events in Rome. According to the *Gazette,* 'AN Express arrived' in Rome reporting Charles II's death, 'the Cardinals thought it necessary to hasten the Election of a Pope'. The French at first rejected a 'a Person acceptable to all Sides' because they needed to be instructed by Paris: only when Paris acquiesced to Cardinal Albani, he was chosen Pope.[163] The *Post Man* gave a similar account, with the death of the king of Spain triggering reflections that it was 'high time' to choose a pope.[164]

To the English press, the speed in which the French whipped their cardinals to endorse Clement XI revealed that the motives for French interference in Papal affairs went beyond quelling domestic pressures. Indeed, the heavy-handed interference seems to show that Louis sought an amiable Pope to assist him in the domination of Europe, particularly Spain, through the securing of a Bourbon succession. One summation of the intrigues leading to the election of a new pope noted that 'The Election of a Pope has a great Influence upon all the Affairs of *Europe*'.[165] When the new pope was declared, The *Flying Post* reported that he had received the French ambassador's consent.[166] Within a week the newly-anointed Clement XI supported the Bourbon claim to the Spanish throne on the basis of Charles II's lately-revised will.[167]

With the Pope allowing Louis to claim Spain for his grandson – in spite of the recently-agreed Treaty of Partition – it appeared that Louis was uniting a strong French-Papal-Spanish bloc around his orbit. When Louis declared the Duke of Anjou King of Spain, English newspapers covered the event with the same mix of alarmism and absurdity that covered French (seemingly successful) attempts to dominate the Papacy. The *Flying Post* wrote that Louis' declaration 'hath diffused an Universal Joy through the

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[162] *English Post,* no 1, 2
[163] *London Gazette,* No. 3659, 1
[164] *Post Man,* no 836, 1
[165] *Several Courts of Christendom,* 2
[166] *Flying Post,* no 870, 1
[167] *Flying Post,* no 872, 1

Court and this City.' The newspaper noted laconically that on the evening of the announcement, 'the late King and Queen of Great Britain' sat with 'the King of Spain'. Two kings who's authority rested solely on Versailles sat side by side.[168]

If the threat to England from this new bloc was not self-evident, a number of pieces in 1700-1701 lectured the public on the necessity to secure the English succession, as well as the Spanish succession, along lines that balanced Europe and, consequently, stabilised England. It was through these pamphlets that the trans-national nature of Louis' ambitions, shown in a micro-context in Rome, were reverberating around Europe.

For one, immediate reports from Versailles revealed the extent to which the new Spanish king would depend on his grandfather. Mocking accounts from *The Flying Post* reported Louis demanding his grandson dress a particular way (wearing a coat to avoid a chill) and walk a certain route around the garden (avoiding a rock so as not to slip); the grandson complied.[169] The high-handed way in which Louis declared his grandson king of Spain also revealed his hegemonic ambitions. The report read:

> [Paris, November 17] On the 15th the King having suffer'd all his Courtiers to enter his Closet at his Levee, he declar'd with a loud Voice, the Duke of Anjou to be King of Spain; and having sent for the Spanish Ambassador, he shew'd him the Duke of Anjou, saying, There's your King. Immediately the Ambassador fell on his Knees, and having embraced those of the King his Master, he kiss'd his Hand. The Ambassador's Son and several other Spanish Gentlemen that were present, did the like. Then the King said aloud, *Henceforward* France *and* Spain *shall be One!* When they went out of the Closet, the King of France gave the Right to his Catholick Majesty; and in that Posture they went through all the appartments to Mass.[170]

Following Louis' Spanish coup, his hegemonic power made resistance impossible. One highly alarmist piece of analysis, which went through five editions in one year, argued that three facts made the Spanish Succession a terrible threat to Europe: (1) Louis' grandson was French first and foremost and, consequently, he would put French interests first; (2) he owed his position to Louis; (3) he depended on Louis to maintain his position.[171]

[168] *Flying Post*, no 862, 1
[169] *Flying Post*, no 767, 1
[170] *Flying Post*, no 861, 1
[171] *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Considered, As to Its Legality and Consequences; With Reflections on the French King's Memorial to the Dutch, and on What May Be the Interest of the Several Princes and States of Christendom, with Respect to the Present Conjecture* (London: A Baldwin, 1701)

The author argued that these facts would drive Spain further into France's grip, given that Anjou would have to create 'Honours, Places and Pensions' to create a new aristocracy, and thus divide Spain into those either for or against French dominance. This meant that Anjou was 'really Viceroy of *Spain*.'[172] Another essayist agreed: in establishing this extractive apparatus, the new king would prove difficult to dislodge as, '*by acts of bounty and insinuating Declarations*', he would solidify his position. The author of *An Account of Spain* implored the Duke of Anjou be stopped in his tracks before he arrived in Madrid.[173]

With the 'formidable Conjunction of the Sword of *France,* and the Purse of *Spain*',[174] *The Duke of Anjou's Succession Considered* expected a speedy confrontation with The Netherlands, given that the state represented the continental 'Protestant Interest', and 'the Civil Liberties of *Europe*, and next to us the greatest Obstacle in the Way of an Universal Monarchy'.[175] Unless England renewed its alliance with the Dutch, the author predicted that 'the Dutch must either be totally-brought under the Power of *France,* and their Government dissolv'd or they must be forc'd to submit to such Terms as the *French* shall impose.' Consequently, England would be in danger of invasion, and, with its trade ruined, impoverished within a few years.[176] In this state, England would soon accept – or be forced to accept – the Pretender.[177] To one Viennese writer, 'This Important Affair must determine the Fate of *Europe*; it's now come to a *Crisis*: We must either prevent the Union of the *Spanish* Monarchy to that of *France* in the House of *Bourbon,* or resolve patiently to submit to the Yoke for fear of adding to its Weight.'[178]

With papal legitimacy achieved, therefore, by late-November 1700 Louis had set his ambition on dominating Europe through a proxy on the Spanish throne. By navigating the corrupt Papal system, he had exercised his power clearly enough for the English press to report it regularly from September to November, 1700. As Englishmen entered the new year, the press had strongly attempted to persuade the English public that France's threat was trans-national and present: as England began 1701, it had to

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[172] *Anjou's Succession Considered*, 7-9

[173] *An Account of Spain: Being A New Description of That Country and People; And the Sea Ports along the Mediterranean: Of Ceuto, Tangier, &c. London* (London: Joseph Wilde, 1700), preface

[174] *Anjou's Succession Considered,* 11

[175] *Anjou's Succession Considered,* 25

[176] *Anjou's Succession Considered,* 32

[177] *Anjou's Succession Considered,* 34

[178] *The Partition of the Lion in the Fable, Verified in the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy* (London: A Baldwin, 1701), Advertisement to the Reader

quickly decide whether to intervene, in the decade-long conflict that became the War of the Spanish Succession.

Although using different sources and presenting different angles, the English press were unambiguous in presenting the same political narrative and themes to their readership. This suggests a high level of consensus in elite publishing circles on the intention to follow official government policy to the papacy and to France.

Further, the combined effect of English news coverage of the accession of Pope was to underline longstanding anti-Catholic, anti-French tropes, and to manipulate them to present the necessity of a militantly pan-Protestant foreign policy to the English literary public. By bombarding the English literary public through the new medium of newspapers, blow-by-blow accounts of the Papal election could underline, day by day, how corrupt the Papacy was, and how open it was to French domination.

**Conclusion**

From the 'abdication' of James II to the election of Pope Clement XI, England witnessed a multiplicity of foreign events that were covered by newspapers, not least the election of a new Polish King, the election of a new Venetian Pope, the succession of a Danish King, as well as peace negotiations at Ryswick and the outbreak of war in the East. The three periods taken as case-studies here were chosen over the others because they reveal three themes that dominated Williamite thinking regarding Europe: the pan-Protestant cause against the terrible policies of Louis.

The 1689-1691 press coverage took Whig ideas that animated the Glorious Revolution and turned them into an editorial in which to cover European events. The battles between the Confederates and the French, as well as the association between James II and Louis XIV, underlined the moral that Englishmen needed to unify under William III to fight the abhorrent French regime, that was seeking to undermine English liberties. Repeated, popular, coarse language and broader mediums such as plays and poems, reinforced the ideas produced by the Whigs and blended with the narratives of the press.

The narrative established by the early press was expanded and made more sophisticated over the course of the Nine Years' War, as the English and the Williamite court adapted to the lack of swift

resolution in the conflict against Louis XIV and the seemingly ever-rising taxes. The immediacy of the Siege of Namur provided evidence to the Whig worldview that English arms, supplemented by other 'Common Cause' allies, could prevail over Louis. The victory at Namur was especially potent, given that it had been held by the French for several years, and was regarded as a textbook case of superior French military science. Given its proximity – both physically and symbolically – to the success of the Confederates in the Nine Years' War, it was touted throughout the press, and subsequent polemics, as vindication of William's strategy.

The death of Pope Innocent XII, in contrast, occurred further away and appeared peripheral: the selection of a leader of a faith that was widely feared and derided in England. However, English press coverage could turn the Papal election into an allegory of both Catholic corruption and the ability of Louis XIV to take advantage of that corruption for his own ends. This end was, essentially, Papal legitimation for French-lead Catholic unity. English press coverage of the death of Pope Innocent XII revealed the extent to which Catholic countries had previously been divided, principally over the French king's insistence of temporal primacy in his realms.

These three case studies thus demonstrate how the English press used different events, evoking different themes, to ultimately deliver the same moral: pan-Protestant unity was necessary, and desirable, to stop the French king establishing universal monarchy.

The implications of this evidence, other than demonstrating the importance of pan-Protestantism to English court elites in the 1690s, are two-fold. The first is that it demonstrates, as far as the organs of English press influence were concerned, strictly parliamentary party politics were unimportant, because of the importance of the Court. Irrespective of whether the Earls of Nottingham or Shrewsbury were Secretaries of State, the English press followed this Court outlook, particularly with regard to the Nine Years' War and England's involvement with it. Although anti-Catholicism was a widespread, cross-party phenomenon, the politicisation of anti-Catholicism – placing confessional divisions on a higher plane of meaning – meant that the beliefs and tropes emanating from the Court were a major influence on the English press.

Second, the standard Habermasian divide between the rational-discerning space and the government space is problematic. As has been shown by the deluge of print media into the 'rational-discerning space' parroting the government line, the extent to which this space was free of government interference is open to question. It may perhaps be impossible to archivally demonstrate how this

influence worked. However, it seems that the increasingly intelligent and literate English public space received news slanted with the Whig idea of Europe without literate space for compliant. The next two chapters will show how written opposition against Whig ideas were both rhetorically derided and legally coerced. For now, it is sufficient to say that the quantity of publications producing the standard Protestant/patriotic line that aligned supporting participation in the Nine Years' War with being a good subject far outweighed printed opposition: the Habermasian expectation of keen coffee-drinkers mulling two different positions free of government manipulation does not cohere to the reality of the 1690s.

Overall, whether the Augustan court held significant influence over the English literary space or not, the lattice-like combination of up-to-date news and speedy pamphleteering to support the English military and political agenda to intervene intensively in European affairs on the side of European Protestants showed the willingness of those not strictly connected to the government machine to further its objectives. The readers of the press coverage of events in Europe in the reign of William III were left in no doubt that it was their duty as patriotic Englishmen to use the new medium to learn about events in Europe, and to side with the Court in its mission to aid the Protestant interest against Louis XIV.

# Chapter Four

## The Creation of the Tory Party, 1688-1692

The first three chapters of this thesis discussed the ways in which an idea of Europe was created and communicated. This idea contributed to the broader worldview of the Whigs in a number of ways, indicated in the earlier chapters: the Whigs' understandings of history, their relationships with Huguenots, and the growth of the English press, intersected to form a worldview that positioned Europe as fiercely demarcated between good and evil, as dynamically represented by William III on the one hand, and James II and Louis XIV on the other. This worldview had political and policy consequences, the most significant of which was the funding of the Nine Years' War.

The Whigs were, by my definition, a collection of political actors who coalesced around individuals, patronage networks, and ideas in the 1690s. When demarking themselves, they quickly found an Other in the early post-Revolutionary years: the Tory party. This chapter and the next analyses how the Whig idea of Europe informed their explicit political output. This chapter deals specifically with the earlier part of William's reign, and therefore concerns anti-Tory works. This is not a category I have chosen: the vast majority of political tracts 1689-1692 focused on the Tories. In their numerous tracts against their historic enemies, Whig broadsides encompassed criticisms on a range of positions. However, underpinning this variety of criticism was the Tories' weakness for French rule and domestic absolutism. In this way, anti-Tory polemics reveal how important Europe was to the Whigs' political existence.

For example, Gilbert Burnet's analysis of the politics of the immediate post-Revolutionary years epitomises the broader Whig viewpoint: 'The party that was now beginning to be formed against the government, pretended great zeal for the Church; and declared their apprehensions that it was in danger'.[1] Burnet, like the other writers and politicians that this chapter discusses, conflated two things. First, the 'pretended' positive positions, which in this case was defending the Church, could also be opposing the East India Company, or lobbying for more local government or lower taxation. Second, the opposition 'against the government', which meant the king. This tying together meant that the Whigs' opponents were not arguing with him in good faith. Rather, they were using whatever

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[1] Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* 6 vols 4 vol 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833), 20

argument that could to undermine post-Revolutionary settlement. Burnet often used innuendo to insinuate what the Tories hoped to replace this settlement with, but he was sometimes explicit in connecting the Tories to attempts to restore James II.[2] As will be shown, this line of attack was central to the Whig criticism of the Tories.

Williamite-era Toryism is still woefully understudied. Who the Tories were; what they believed; how they were organised; even whether the party existed, are questions that we have never answered, and few study today.[3] In the last forty years, there have been no biographical studies of any of the major Tory figures, in spite of one of those figures – Robert Harley – leaving more papers and correspondence than any other politician of the period.

For the purposes of this thesis, it does not matter what the Tory party was. Instead, the Tories are discussed from the perspective of their Whig beholders. It is not the Tory Party of Francis Atterbury, the Earl of Nottingham, William Bromley, or Robert Harley. It is the Tory Party as understood by the dozens of writers who shared the idea of Europe discussed in this chapter. It included people like Gilbert Burnet, the trade publisher Richard Baldwin, and *The New Observator,* the latter of which created a narrative that denounced the 'busie People' in Parliament who 'whisper' that the cost of defending the Revolution is 'too great for the Nation to bear'.[4] It was the caricatured collection of the opponents of the Whigs. Rather than analysing the specific parliamentary dynamics of the Whig/Tory divides in the 1690s, this chapter specifically analyses how the Tories were used as a political-literary device by their Whig opponents in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution to demonstrate their credentials for government, as defined by the negative potential of the Tories. Its analysis shows that in demonising the Tories, the Whigs were able to signal their pan-Protestant credentials.

The Tory Party of this chapter is therefore the subject of Whig polemic, rather than an objective entity. There are three advantages to treating the Tory party in this way. First, this chapter can sidestep the historiographical debate of how to categorise the parliamentary politics of William's reign, which is a project that could be a thesis in itself. Second, I am not dependent on archives and sources that justify

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[2] Burnet, *His Own Time*, vol 4, 73

[3] In the history of political thought, Mark Goldie, *Tory Political Thought 1689-1714* (University of Cambridge Doctoral Thesis, 1978); Geoffrey Holmes' *British Politics in the Age of Anne* 2nd ed (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987) can be transposed to an extent onto William's reign, as can Linda Colley's more general history of Toryism, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Hayton summarises scholarship in David Hayton, *The House of Commons 1690-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5 vols, vol 1

[4] *New Observator*, vol 2 no 17, 1

and give identity to the Tory party, which would complicate the thesis' argument. Third, the chapter's attention can be kept squarely on its thesis objective: analysing how the Whigs' identity and idea of Europe was formed in direct political debate.

This chapter draws on three source bases. These have been chosen to reflect two things: what the major political debates circa 1689-1692 were, and how those who promoted the Whig idea of Europe interacted with them. The first source base is the sermons of preachers associated with the Court: those appointed as royal chaplains, or whose religious works legitimised the Glorious Revolution. A sermon preached at and/or for the royal Court was always at least partially political, even if they ostensibly covered theological subjects. This is partly because the Court acted as a hub of ecclesiastical patronage, and partly because the sermon conferred legitimacy on the speaker and their ideas. This was particularly in the case of the royal sermons, which were chosen by Queen Mary personally. Furthermore, as we will see, many of these sermons were often direct political interventions, either explicitly (a sermon on the need for unity given during tumult in parliament) or implicitly (a sermon condemning the godlessness of courtiers and politicians for their corruption and vice).

Newspapers and periodicals make up the second source base. In this period (1689-1692), newspapers generally had a foreign affairs orientation, as was made clear in the last chapter. Domestic news was often trade-based, listing ships in and out of Liverpool and Bristol. However, newspapers are still useful to this chapter in three ways. Firstly, these foreign dispatches often had direct domestic political relevance: particularly when covering Irish or French affairs. Secondly, they covered official pronouncements, like royal declarations, speeches from the Lord Mayor of London, and so on. These indicated what was important to the pronouncers, sometimes setting political and legislative agendas, defining enemies, and setting the terms of political debate. Thirdly, the newspapers' advertisements recorded printed pamphlets and books on a variety of subjects, including political works. The tracing of these advertisements often details specific party debates, organically developing between party actors, with either side publishing positions and retorts. Which party position the newspaper supported also indicated the position of the publisher, which, as will be shown, was virtually always Whig.

The third source base, which this chapter is most dependent upon, are the political pamphlets produced by the Whigs. Pamphlets formed the bread of butter of day-to-day political debate. Because this chapter is arguing that the idea of Europe discussed in chapters 1-3 was the lodestar of day-to-day political debate, pamphlets are central to this chapter. The vast array of pamphlets published circa 1689-1692,

and the general practice of anonymising authorship, raises questions of how to choose which pamphlets most accurately represent Whig politics. My rationale has been two-fold. The first are those that signpost deliberately to ideas discussed, like a pamphlet relating a recent Tory manoeuvre to events in France. The second are where publisher-politician connections can be safely labelled 'Whig': Richard Baldwin, who published many of the works discussed in earlier chapters; or Samuel Raycroft, who enjoyed state patronage through his contract to publish City of London declarations; or Richard Chiswell, who published pro-latitudinarian religious works (and some of the royal sermons). Using these two metrics, I am confident that the pamphlets produced here can be associated with the Whigs.

Taken together, the three source bases can effectively reconstruct how the Whigs discussed the Tories as a synecdoche for everything they opposed. I will show that Europe was at the centre of that representation. Seeking a simple narrative to explain the complexity of the events of Glorious Revolution, the Whigs positioned the Tories as the English division of the pan-European French-led movement that sought to impose absolutism on England, which they were resisting through their rallying to William III. Layers of European contexts and imageries were attached onto the Tories. Whether in their penchant for court conspiracies, their potential to divide the body politic through unnecessary subdivisions, their weakness for ritualistic ceremony, their doctrine of passive-disobedience, or indeed a whole range of issues, the Tories were presented as the incarnation of absolutist slavery.

The remainder of this chapter demonstrates how the Whigs' representation of a 'Tory party' in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution advertised their support for William III and his quest to weaken France. It is divided into two parts. The first section analyses the bleakness of the perspective of the newly patronised Whig political and religious leaders on English society. The most striking element of government-aligned printing of the early years was how fearful leaders purported to be: England's weakening moral and geopolitical position went hand-in-hand, and the potential for an anti-government force – the Tories – being able to overturn the just rule of William III seemed likely. Analysis of early newspapers, polemics, and sermons demonstrate how 'Jacobite' and 'Tory' were stitched together, associating the Tories with the worst elements of English society. Tory-inspired, Jacobite coups would herald a French invasion, and the dreaded restoration of James II. The purported activity of the Tories justified William III's greater reliance on his truest defenders, the Whigs, against those who only gave thin support to their king.

The second section turns to the substance of 'Toryism' in Whig polemic, and how writers drew on the earlier Whig/Tory debates of the 1680s to remind readers that the Tories were wedded to absolutist ideas that vindicated James II's reign and undermined William III. In reminding their readers that the Restoration-era Tories supported the Court in all its designs, including their defence of James' right to the throne in the Exclusion controversy, Whigs create a normative shift that created an ironclad association between 'Tory' and 'Jacobite.' Catholicism was used as a theme to tar the Tories with the Jacobite brush, providing absolutist ideological import. This context gave Whig writers the language to question the motivations and ideologies of their enemies that proved so important in attacking their long-standing domestic opponents, allowing them to wave their own pan-Protestant mantle.

In using rarely cited material on an ill-served topic, this chapter uses less historiography than other chapters covering better understood historical themes. Given the comparative lack of historiographical grounding, its conclusions are also more tentative. However, by taking the hundreds of documents used in this chapter together – sermons, pamphlets, and newspapers – it can be shown that European tropes were a core part of Whig signalling of their beliefs and positions, contrasting them with the Tories. This in-depth study of the representation of Tories at the beginning of William's reign makes it clear that Whig lines of attack went beyond narrow constitutional critiques of Toryism, but used the party as a way of signalling their own identity as a pan-Protestant force, opposed to absolutism-Catholicism as incarnated by their domestic foes.

**Moral Corruption and Seditious Plotting: Elite Anxieties, 1688-1692**

Quickly following William III's arrival, any open adherent of James II was purged from government-controlled institutions: new oaths of allegiance swore parliamentarians and civil servants to the new regime, anti-government publishers were harassed, and clergy who stuck to their legitimist theologies were replaced by those willing to affiliate with the new regime.[5]

In spite of this speedy purge, many works from the Whigs espoused anxiety, rather than relief. The belief that large swathes of the population were either ambivalent or hostile to the new regime, as well as James II being ever ready to re-take the throne under the sponsorship of Louis XIV, seeped into these early accounts. The moral and actual threat of a European invasion was reiterated in hundreds of

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[5] Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13-50

printed works spanning newspapers, polemics, poems, and sermons. Taken together, they create an atmosphere of crisis that meant that opposition could not be loyal.

This section analyses the ways in which a general state of anxiety was whipped up by the press in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. This anxiety was political in that it warned against the regime's opponents using a variety of (often vaguely defined) instruments to remove and replace the regime with something sponsored by Louis XIV. In framing this anxiety, it sets the context for the next section: the explicitly party-political works that took aim at 'the Tories'. This is because by their nature these party-political pamphlets sought to use pre-existing tropes to tar their enemies: if these pamphleteers invented new terms and fears, they would have been less salient and therefore less effective as a party tool to increase the reader's opinions of the Whigs and their policies.

In analysing the Whigs' use of crisis in its early printed pamphlets, and how this angst was tied to its concern with a European threat, this section starts with the more explicitly religious works first, followed by the more obviously political ones second. The religious works reveal the totalising fear of moral and political corruption represented by France, that the political works then gave form to as 'Tory'. It was this generalised state of anxiety, induced by an elite view of the corruptible nature of Englishmen, exemplified specifically in anti-government agitation, that lent credence to the specifically political charge that Tories were plotting against the state.

The religiously-driven justifications of the new regime were porously connected to the explicitly political ones. Contemporaries viewed religious views that differed from the ones promulgated by the new clergy appointed by William and Mary as treasonous, because this dissent was framed in European terms: not acquiescing to the legitimacy of the new regime inextricably meant providing religious justification to William III's foreign enemies.[6] These texts argued against the clergy who did not accommodate themselves to the new regime, either in their preaching of passive-obedience, or in their refusal to abjure their oaths to James II and swear loyalty to William III. These arguments were suffused with the imaginaries of the Whig idea of Europe, not least the realpolitik emphasis that whatever the constitutional and theological niceties that the new regime may have tread on, it was a distraction to focus on them in the 1690s, owing to the existential threat posed by France.

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[6] *Reflections upon a Form of Prayer, Lately set forth for the Jacobites of the Church of England* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), preface, decries the 'Treasonable Prayers' of the non-juring Anglican faction

These views fed the more explicitly political anxiety, that the Tories were conspiratorially planning the fall of the state, became a major narrative theme in the early Whig works. Newspapers, such the polemical commentary in *The New Observator,* sought to construct an idea of English unity around the Whig ideas of Europe: this unity was in opposition to those that were seeking to bring it down through violent and/or rhetorical campaigns against the state. The conspiracist rhetoric added urgency to the polemicists' agenda to warn against those Tories who sought to undermine the state. In analysing the relationship between this generalised social and religious anxiety espoused by the new regime alongside the specifically political anxiety against Tory plotters, it can be shown how fear was used as a rhetorical tool to attempt to persuade readers to rally behind the pan-Protestant agenda of the new regime.

These specifically partisan arguments used the language and metaphors that formed into the Tory Other. The extent to which the new ecclesiastical establishment used this language demonstrated its utility to the new regime to explain its anxieties by projecting a common framework of reference onto contemporary politics. Particularly, this language was used to point out that this moral decline supposedly made the English susceptible to French-induced despotism, as they were seduced by appeals to their base emotions. It was this general and popular theme as given at the royal Court that Whig writers was later capitalised on. They claimed that the Tories were the enemy within that royal preachers were worried about, and that Louis XIV had willing English agents to further English corruption to undermine the state.

To many preachers, English society was suspectable to corruption from the immoral members of the body politic who sought to turn them from the Godly government of William III. This claim built on the theological idea of Fallenness and applied it to their contemporary surroundings. The Bible provides a rich denunciatory lexis, and post-Reformation Protestants preachers had regularly invoked Biblical language to denounce their contemporary society as either Fallen from Eden, or as exemplars of the idolatrous ancient Jewish states. The corruption was both a theological and social commentary. One typical, licenced pamphlet drew a direct line from religious conformity to the new regime and treasonous political dissent: the 'De Facto Man' – who refused to swear the loyalty oath to the new regime – began his day praying half-heartedly for William and Mary. He then went 'to the Tavern, the next Stage of his Devotion', where, 'over roast Beef and Claret', he denounced the government and

poured 'forth his Wishes for King James'.[7] The move from the church to the tavern indicated the anxiety that anti-government views were spread outside of officially-controlled spaces.

The anxiety of religious heterodoxy seeping into political attacks against the government was spread throughout elite clergy sermons. For example, Richard Lucas, a writer of devotional works who accommodated himself to the new regime easily,[8] preached at arguably the high-point of the Williamite regime's popularity (1693): Ireland was secure, and William III was firmly on the throne. However, even at this time he worried that a corrupted zeitgeist could undermine the revolutionary regime that he had become so attached to. He claimed that 'if ever it were necessary to possess our Minds with a due Sense of the *Meanness of Man,* and the *Majesty of God,* 'tis now'. It was so important to warn of the threat of this meanness against God because 'Luxury and Hypocrisie, Loosness and Corruption' had openly undermined accepted standards of morality and Christianity. Lucas took a blunderbuss approach to his idea of society's critics that would be repeated by many of his clerical colleagues: they were influenced by '*Judiasm, Arianism, Phatinianism, Turcism'* and promoted '*Heresie* and *Impiety*'. Lucas' foes were so strong that 'never […] was it more necessary than *now'* to speak of divine truths.[9] As the list of Lucas' imagined enemies showed, this was less because of a specific threat from a particular group, and more because of Lucas' view that his fellow Englishmen were susceptible to general anti-social forces because of their Fallen nature.

Richard Lucas' Court sermon was typical of those given by the senior clergy to William and Mary. Time and again a senior clergyman would tell the Court anecdotes, or give theories, on the supposed collapse of English social order, which was ripe for manipulation by the Court's enemies. The fear that was repeated at Court – that people were won over by the Court and Church's rhetorical enemy, the sophistry of the generalised atheist bogeymen – revealed a self-perceived systemic challenge to their authority, as knowledge was spread less through hierarchical institutions, and more through the print market. This spread of new information was prone to manipulation by those who opposed the state, because of the corruption of English people, both at elite and at a common level. The frequency in which throwaway comments on the general corruption of the English nation were made demonstrates the

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[7] *A Hue and Crye after Passive-Obedience, And Non-Resistance. Being a True Character of a De Facto Man* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1-2

[8] His three court sermons were: Richard Lucas, *The Christian Race: A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen at Kensington, On Sunday the 31st of July, 1692* (London: Samuel Smith), Richard Lucas, *The Righteous Man's Support: A Sermon Preach'd before Her Majesty, On Wednesday 14th, 1693. Being The Day of the Monthly Fast* (London: S Smith & B Walford, 1693), Richard Lucas, *The Incomprehensibleness of God, In A Sermon Preached before Their Majesties, At White-Hall, Decemb. 31. 1693* (London: S Smith & B Walford, 1694)

[9] Lucas, *Incomprehensibleness of God,* 2-3

pervasiveness of the sermonisers' belief in the fall of the polity to atheism. Atheism took an expansive meaning in the 1690s: entailing not just a disbelief in God, but a rejection of the moral authority that clergymen believed stemmed from God as a divine ethical order. To be an atheist was not an academic position, but a rejection of the moral system that ordered society appropriately. It would be tedious to insert every remark, but a few examples can be given: John Lambe argued a 'Deluge' of immorality was sweeping the Christian world.[10] To Thomas Manningham, 'a great many Sins' are treated like 'modish and fashionable Guests.'[11] One such sin, speaking ill of others, had 'become the general entertainment of all Companies', according to John Tillotson.[12] 'It is a very Atheistical Age we live in', said Richard Meggott.[13] Stillingfleet said in one sermon that it was a 'Sceptical and Unbelieving Age';[14] in another he said that some – 'and I am afraid too many' – are 'carnally minded'.[15] Edward Gee was saddened by how 'too many Christians' were idle, drinking, and generally acting in an un-Christian way.[16] This conceptual background is important because it was in these taverns and coffeehouses, outside of direct ecclesiastical and state control, that the Fallen English people could be seduced by bad faith actors to subvert the state.

Preachers had used Biblical precedents to rail against immorality in their contemporary contexts for generations: in Mary's Court, the use of this language ratcheted up in a way specific to the 1690s. This was partly quantitative: never had so many sermons been sponsored by the Court.[17] However, this was also qualitative: the railing against immorality was long, as if there was a genuine deluge of immorality in the 1690s. And they blamed this rise on the immorality of the seductive 'wits' of their opponents, who waxed lyrically against the Church's strictures. These were the forces that Habermas would later link to 'modernity' and 'rational-critical thinking': the print market and the broader exchange of ideas. This seductive, non-Court-regulated exchange of ideas was presented as a threat to the body politic because it gave space to plotters to undermine the state. Exposure to non-Church, immoral, ideas could only come from a source that had already encountered such heterodox ideas. Thomas Tenison

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[10] John Lambe, *A Sermon Preached Before the King and Queen At White-Hall, On Sunday Jan. 15. 1692* (London: Walter Kettilby, 1693), 21

[11] Thomas Manningham, *A Sermon On the Sincerity and Integrity of the Heart. Preach'd before Her Majesty, At White-Hall, February the 28th. 1693/94* (London: S Smith & B Walford, 1694), 16

[12] John Tillotson, *A Sermon Preached before the King and Queen at White-Hall February the 25th 1693/94. Being the First Sunday in Lent*, 2nd ed. (London: Brabazon Aylmer, 1694), 11-12

[13] Richard Meggott, *A Sermon Preached before the King & Queen, At Windsor-Castle, Sept. 21. 1690* (London: Tho Bennett, 1690), 14

[14] Edward Stillingfleet, *A Sermon Preached before the King & Queen At White-Hall, On Christmas-Day, 1693* (London: Henry Mortlock, 1693), 6

[15] Edward Stillingfleet, *A Sermon Preached before the Queen At White-Hall, March the 13th 1691/92. London* (London: Henry Mortlock, 1692), 9

[16] Edward Gee, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen At White-Hall, August 7. 1692* (London: Brab. Aylmer, 1692), 7-8

[17] One hundred and twelve sermons were printed by royal command over six years (1689-1695)

described the spread of vice as a 'Contagion' akin to 'Leprosie', spreading in families, then churches, then kingdoms.[18] Edward Gee noted how hard it was to preach 'our Faith pure and undefil'd' given the 'Arts of Hereticks', with 'their enticing Words'.[19] The enticing nature of sinful ideas was revealed through the horrible consequences of leading a sinful life: drunkenness caused dropsy and gout; consumption and palsy, plus other diseases, are caused by 'Unchast Pleasures'.[20] In one sermon, Gilbert Burnet asked if there were 'Ten Righteous Men left' in the kingdom.[21] Burnet's complaint was as political as it was religious: he was joining in the general, non-party-political denunciation of 'atheism' as an amorphous concept that represented a number of social and intellectual phenomena that Court preachers detested. However, this non-party attack quickly had party implications: the decay of righteousness sounded the alarm that the country was under threat from dissolute forces that could bring about a revolution against the Court.

The Court's preachers' worry with the new media centred on concept of 'wit', or the use of superficially intelligent argument to undermine established truths. The wit given by those anti-social atheist plotters particularly impacted the young. Edward Stillingfleet, who preached seven times at Court, pointed out that the young were highly likely to sin, given their inability to think of great religious and philosophical questions: instead they distract themselves by sleeping and seeking diversion with company at 'Publick Entertainments'. In this state, they wanted to believe those who denounced an institution they did not want to believe in. Because 'they love their Vices', they absorbed 'one or two such Sayings' against the divine truth.[22] Such criticisms were of course without substance, and only believed because they were permitted a sinful life: John Lambe, a royal chaplain, claimed that it was 'far more easie to Carp' than philosophically engage with great moral questions. But 'a little Wit, and a great deal of Confidence', of this carping can overcome even the most considered Church view.[23] William Wake – a latitudinarian who appeared particularly favoured by Mary, as a Royal Chaplain who preached three times to the royals – bitterly stated that sceptics and atheists can 'applaud themselves, if they please, in their profane Drollery, and strengthen One Another in Wickedness; but let them know assuredly that there is a Time coming when neither their *Number* shall *Defend,* nor their

[18] Thomas Tenison, *A Sermon Concerning Doing Good to Posterity. Preach'd before Their Majesties at White-Hall on February 16. 1689/90* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1690), 23

[19] Gee, *Sermon Preach'd*, 12

[20] Gee, *Sermon Preach'd*, 27-28

[21] Gilbert Burnet, *A Sermon Preached at White-Hall, Before the King and Queen, On the 29th of April, 1691. Being The Fast-Day* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1691), 15

[22] Edward Stillingfleet, *A Sermon Preached before the King & Queen At White-Hall, March 23. 1689/90* (London: Henry Mortlock, 1690), 25-26

[23] Lambe, *Sermon*, 19

*Sophistry* excuse them.'[24] Wake's rallying cry demonstrated anxiety that 'wit' could not be combatted by the reliable elements of those that supported the regime, and that the proliferation of superficial argument was subversive because they could not be countered. Bad actors, working against the state, used their wit as a weapon to take advantage of the corruptible English people.

In bringing together the many definitions and instances of atheism cited by the royal preachers, the porous, expanding nature of the phenomenon needs to be stressed, because it was this broad strokes theory that gave fertile ground to the attacks on those who resisted the new religious establishment. Indeed, the term was an umbrella for the abdication of civilised humanity, defined as behaving within certain bounds, and subscribing to certain beliefs, as espoused by the Church. Vice, sin, atheism: the three were deeply enmeshed. 'Immorality is the beginning of Atheism, and Atheism is the strengthening of Immorality', argued Thomas Tenison, a royal chaplain and Bishop of Lincoln.[25] Atheism was the rejection of the Church's authority, often spurred because of the atheist's enthralment with his own vices, which possessed him to convert others and commit more vices. Atheists could therefore not be communicated with rationally: they broke with the rules of accepted behaviour, and their actions showed they were beyond understanding simple truths. After all, they had traded the possibility of 'being like *Angels* for ever, that they may enjoy a few *Brutal Pleasures* for a few days on earth'.[26] Atheists were part of the Other, in the timeless historical battle between the forces of redemption and corruption. The Williamite state pursuing a redemptive mission, working to improve the morality of English people so that they could correctly enjoy the liberties afforded to them. Those plotting against the state, using wit and new media, were the latest incarnation of the corruptive forces that the regime existed to suppress.

So, Court-affiliated preachers stressed that English people were corrupted and Fallen, and therefore needed to be protected from bad ideas being circulated on the print market. This pessimism is crucial context for how these clergy used themes tied to the Whig idea of Europe in the representation of their enemies, in their contrasting of the minor niceties their opponents clung to against the all-encompassing pan-European confessional conflict. One sermon to the Lord Mayor of London argued that the 'murming and discontented Spirit' brought 'tyranny and Oppression, Sedition and Rebellion, Schism and Faction', and that spirit was in turn caused by 'sin' and 'the Devils' who were 'continually envying

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[24] William Wake, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen At Whitehall: May Xth M. DC. XC. I.* (London: Richard Sare, 1691), 22

[25] Thomas Tenison, *A Sermon Concerning the Folly of Atheism; Preached before the Queen, At White-Hall, Febraury 22. 1690/91* (London: Richard Chiswell, 1691), 15

[26] Tenison, *Folly of Atheism,* 11-12

and vexing, cheating and defrauding'.[27] Framed in these terms, these opponents were not equals who preachers competed against in the realm of ideas: they were a poison that prayed upon the sinfulness of the English to distract them from the pan-European conflict against Catholicism and Louis XIV. One typical pamphlet described the process as '*Knaves* and *Sycophants'* who spread evil ideas that become 'believed by *Fools'.* These *'*People, That suffer themselves to be so far intoxicated with the Sweet Draughts of the Whore's Cup' and *'*Flesh Pots of Popish *Slavery* and *Arbitrary Power'* that they become 'infected with the Monsterous Excrescencies of' absolutism and Catholicism, until they engage in 'Plots and Conspiracies' that undermine the body politic.[28] Irreligious people, with their irreligious ideas, caused political chaos that distracted from the godly cause of William III's government.

The connection between potential for English corruptibility and its consequences (regime change; Catholicism) was repeated constantly. As one sermon put it, the 'general Corruption and Degeneracy in our Morals' allowed opponents of the regime to be so persuasive.[29] This belief suffused elite interventions against the clergy who did not wholeheartedly commit themselves to the new regime. Opponents were framed as French stooges who sought to destabilise the Godly government of William III at a time when Protestants needed unity. The sermon was typical in its attack on 'the *Refusers* of the *New Oaths*', which amounted to a conspiracy of '*High-flown Monarchical Men'* to abuse the 'general *Stupidity* of the meaner sort' to cause disunion.[30] The author made a commonplace attack on the Catholic threat: 'our Sacramentally-sworn Enemies' were united by '*Priests and Jesuits'* to break 'any degree of *Common Civility'* to impose their government on the English. The author went on to criticise the English enablers of this Catholicism as 'worse than the Papist'. 'The *Titulary Protestant'* amounted essentially to those who did not unify around the principles of the Glorious Revolution: whose priorities were wrong ('his chiefest [fear] is, that Ceremonies will be abolish'd'), and treasonous (claiming William III had only a de facto claim to power licenses them 'to *Depose'* him).[31] This argument was suffused with the Whig idea of Europe in that it contextualised the debate in the broader, European confessional struggle: 'How industriously do they labour to prevent Union and Agreement, which (under God) is the only way to secure us against Domestick and Foreign Enemies?'[32] This sermon

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[27] *A Sermon Preached at St. Mary-Le-Bow, Before the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Citizens of London* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1691), 3-4

[28] *The Absolute Necessity Of standing by the Present Government: Or A View Of what both Church-Men and Dissenters, Must Expect; If by their unhappy Divisions Popery and Tyranny should Return again* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), Preface

[29] *A Second Defence of the Present Government Under K. William, and Q. Mary, Delivered in a Sermon, Preached October the 6th 1689. At St. Swithin's in Worcester* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 30-31

[30] *A Second Defence,* Dedication

[31] *A Second Defence,* 21-22

[32] *A Second Defence,* 31

bound an idea of Europe so closely to domestic, religious, and constitutional issues, that they become impossible to separate. A listener could not side somewhat with the Court's opponents without opposing the regime wholeheartedly.

As the above sermon indicates, the Whig idea of Europe was central to the religious justifications of William III's reign. Whatever the theological or constitutional reservations some claimed to have against William III's coronation, the voicing of those reservations amounted to treason in the face of the pan-Catholic threat. A key supposition in this argument was the latitudinarian claim that many Anglican ceremonies were artificial divisions that distracted from the basic divide between Protestant and Catholic. For example, one clergyman wrote that 'all good English Protestants' felt 'grief' from the 'unaccountable frenzy' of those defending traditions that amounted to 'brambles that have rent and torn' the Protestant alliance.[33] However, this latitudinarianism was laced by the more contemporarily relevant claim that these old divisions had to be put aside by the pressing circumstances of the European war. For example, the preacher cited above wrote an incendiary pamphlet that posited that 'The *Protestant* and *Popish* Interest are as contrary as *Fire* and *Water*': how could someone 'declare *Love* for the *Reformed Religion*', and not '*Renounce* the *late King*'?[34] The author called these people a '*dangerous Race of Protestants*'[35] because they undermined 'the most *Heroick Prince* and pervert[ed] the Ends of the most *Christianly generous Enterprize* in the World'.[36] To 'compensate the *Difference* they have done the Protestant *Cause*,' the author advised anyone calling themselves Protestant to carry out '*conscientious Obedience* to their *gracious Majesties*'.[37] This call to action demonstrates the centrality of religious conformity to political conformity, with the former demanding action (swearing an oath; attending a ceremony) to achieve the latter.

Broad strokes arguments on the need to conform in the face of the Catholic threat were suffused into dozens of pamphlets through the early part of William III's reign. One purported print of a letter from a father to his son to take the Oath of Allegiance to William III was suffused with this idea of Europe: not taking the oath 'is an Invitation to Popery and Slavery to return'. In contrast, in taking it, 'the World shall understand how unanimous we are' for the new regime.[38] The need for 'The World' to see the

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[33] *The Vanity, Mischief and Danger of Continuing Ceremonies in the Worship of God* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1

[34] *A Defence of the Present Government under King William and Queen Mary* (London: Richard Claridge, 1689), 7

[35] *A Defence,* 1

[36] *A Defence,* 8-9

[37] *A Defence,* 9

[38] *English Loyalty: Or, The Case of the Oath of Faith and Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary examined and resolved: In a Letter from a Father to his Son, two Divines of the Church of England* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689)

unity of the English was a core dimension in persuading people to put aside their petty objections to the new regime in the face of the catholic threat. Another pamphlet laid out the legalistic reasons for swearing loyalty to the new regime, before framing the debate in the broader terms of the Whig idea of Europe: only 'a great stranger to the World' would not know that 'a Reigning Power and Interest (the *French*-Papal)' sought the destruction 'of the Protestant Party in *Europe*'.[39] Similarly, another author argued that petty 'Dissention' among Protestants was being provoked by '*Roman* Emissaries' who sought to create artificial divisions to further the Catholic interest.[40] All three of these pamphlets used European 'realities' to persuade their opponents that, irrespective of the (unfounded) arguments they gave, they needed to put them aside because of the far greater European threat.

That said, most of these pamphlets were not attempts at persuading the other side, but at persuading the general body politic that those giving the opposing argument were beyond the pale and in the pay of France. Particularly, those who did not back the Court line were framed as out of sync with the potential chaos of disunion at a time of war. Richard Lucas' assizes sermon neatly demonstrated the intersection of the well-established Christian language on the corruptible people with Lucas' specific political worry that a faction sought to undermine the body politic with seductive language against the State.[41] Although the language of Whig and Tory was not used in that sermon – given that it was taboo to recognise the existence of parties in parliament, it was no surprise that sermons never used the terms – Lucas all but denounced those he saw as undermining the state from within. The evidence for this undermining was simply their opposition to the policies of William III. Lucas maintained that 'the Being of our Church and Nation', as well as Protestantism more broadly, depended on 'the Success of their Majesties Undertakings', which in turn depended upon 'the Chearfulness and good Affection of their *English* Subjects'. This need for harmony was undermined by the argument that taxes were leading to '*The Impoverishment of the Nation*', which 'penetrates deeper, and spreads much further' than other arguments against the State. Lucas drew the dichotomy that forced the listeners of his sermon to choose: '*the Taxes are heavy*; suppose it: But would a Foreign Yoak, Popery, and Persecution by lighter?'.[42] He illustrated graphically:

> Our Granaries, Barns, and Houses are not every where on a light fire; the Country is not laid
> desolate, nor Cities in Rubbage and Ashes; Our Wives and Daughters are not Ravished before

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[39] *Just Principles of Complying with the New Oath of Allegiance* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 13

[40] *A Pastoral Dialogue. A Poem* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), Preface

[41] Richard Lucas, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Horsham In the County of Sussex. August 23d. 1691* (London: Samuel Smith, 1691) 18-19 for his defence of taxes

[42] Lucas, *Held at Horsham,* 18-19

our Eyes, our Children murdered, our Faith tortured, nor out own Blood spilt promiscuously in the Fields and Lanes, High-ways and Streets: This is the Fortune of others, this is the state from which we Redeem our selves by the payment of Taxes.[43]

Lucas' logic was clear: those who were against the high taxes were knowingly or unknowingly furthering the return of civil war and absolutism. The problem for Lucas was that those agents that sought to bring about this state found support among the corrupted population that he sought to warn.

The sermons set crucial rhetorical contexts for government-supporting political writers. The anxiety that Englishmen were fallible and likely to be corrupted by 'wit'; that this wit was levelled through new media that elites had yet to establish control over; and that the battle against these wits was part of a struggle between the civilised and the barbaric: this argument, established by the most influential Anglican clergymen, intersected with the specifically political anxiety that a group of plotters intended to use wit and violence to overthrow the state and replace it with something corrupted.

The elite clergy propagated a theology that emphasised the inherent corruption of man in general, and of contemporary Englishmen in particular. They were especially fearful of the English political nation succumbing to non-government-controlled media. In this, their views dovetailed with the broader non-Church press, controlled either directly or indirectly by supporters of William III's regime, in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. The early press is useful because it shows the extent to which works defended the regime and its European foreign policy incursions, revealing the tensions in England's body politic over these issues. Sometimes these tensions were referred to directly – with periodicals decrying the weakness, stupidity, and corruption of their countrymen that they could not persuade to fully rally behind the new regime and its attitude to Europe – but also indirectly: why produce such stories (or interpretations of facts) so repeatedly if not to persuade the readers that the government's view was right? The post-revolutionary press therefore served as a major component of propaganda for the regime, against its (real and imagined) enemies, who took the form of Tories.

The previous chapter related how the English press reported on European affairs to bring a direct provision of news that created intimacy between the readers and Europe, as well as aligning with a Whig idea of Europe. In the press' treatment of domestic matters, the extent of government control is even more apparent, and news 'from abroad' often intersected with news from home, particularly the French plot to rouse compliant Englishmen to overthrow the Williamite regime.

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[43] Lucas, *Held at Horsham,* 20

For example, the print media reported on the unity of the English body politic under William, with a frequency that implied a pressure to do so in the face of the perceived risk of discontent. 'The welcome News' of Queen Mary's arrival from the Netherlands, months after William had arrived with his Dutch armada, 'was received with Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and other publick Demonstrations of Joy'.[44] Mary's arrival, choreographed in this way, symbolised the stability of the new regime: England was safe enough for the female monarch-to-be to take up residence. These celebrations also added political pressure on the parliamentarians who debated whether William and Mary ought to be made monarchs. Later, the coronation of William and Mary was reported in detail, concluding, *'Dinner being ended, and the whole Solemnity performed with great Splendor and Magnificence, About Eight in the Evening Their Majesties returned to* Whitehall.'[45] The report of the coronation is unsurprising, and the *Gazette* had given similar reports for the earlier monarchs. However, a stronger expression of the type of unity that was so impressed on the readership of the government media was given in the long report of the re-election of the Lord Mayor of London. The article is emblematic of the type of unity that the regime sought to project, illustrating the procession of London's luminaries paying 'their Obeysance to Their Majesties' on their richly adorned barges. These actors carried flags and badges to represent their affiliation to different parts of London's civil societies. While they paid homage, 'a multitude of People' gave 'repeated Huzza's'. The article then detailed the Court's procession to the City that took place later in the day: 'all the Great Officers of the Court, and a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry in their Coaches' passed through a London that was 'richly hung with Tapestry, and fill'd with Spectators, and the People, in great Crowds, expressing their Joy with loud and continued Acclamations.' A show represented 'the Splendor and good Order of the whole Proceeding,' which 'out-did all that has been heretofore seen in this City upon the like occasions'. The final dinner had 'the Grandieur and Magnificence of the Entertainment was suitable to so August and Extraordinary a Presence.' From start to finish, the account of the day was full of unsubtle symbolism: the reciprocal trips between the elites of the City of London and Westminster demonstrated the harmony between the new adopted monarchy and the nation that adopted it. The account finished by moving from symbolism to a direct editorial on the moral to be drawn from the day:

> Houses were all illuminated, the Bells ringing; and nothing was omitted through the whole Course of this days Solemnity, either by the Magistrates or People, that might shew their Respect and Veneration, as well as Dutiful Affection and Loyalty to Their Majesties, and the

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[44] *London Gazette*, no 2427, 2
[45] *London Gazette*, no 2444, 1

Sense they have of the Happiness they enjoy under Their most Benign and Gracious Government.[46]

When the *Gazette* reported this universal demonstration of acceptance of William's reign, the newspaper set the groundwork for the narrative that developed through the early years of the reign: because the Crown and nation were in sync, those who opposed the Crown's policy were foreign, non-representative agents who worked against the country. This requirement for supporting William was not just an abstract support for the state in general, but was applied to his specific policies. An example of this requirement for unanimity in policy (in this instance, foreign policy) can be shown in the report of the set-piece exchanges between the House of Commons and the King, where both agree on the necessity of unity 'to reduce the French King' so that he cannot again 'violate the Peace of Christendom'. The long form coverage presented the reader with an official image of shared purpose by a body politic under a king committed to European alliances.[47] The declaration of war later in 1689 decried Ludovician infractions against the Holy Roman Emperor, the persecution of Protestants, and the French attacks on English trade, which was printed in full by the *Gazette,* leaving an authoritative impression that the view presented was the view that demanded the reader's assent.[48] William III's July 1st speech to parliament balanced criticism of lack of legislation to effectively carry out his European policy with cajoling legislators with the rhetoric that justified the Glorious Revolution: the printed speech finished be calling on legislators to *'avoid all occasions of Dispute or Delay, at a time that requires Unions and Vigor in your Councils, upon which, the Preservation of all that is dear to Us, doth so much depend'*.[49] In reporting these speeches and texts so extensively, the *Gazette* was used to as a mouthpiece for the government to justify the raising of heavy war sums to fight against Louis.

The apparent need to use print media against internal English enemies reads implicitly from the earliest *London Gazette* issues. The fact that the *Gazette* had to print 'An ORDER' from William to prevent 'Disorders' 'in any Borough, Corporation or other Place of Election' reveals that disorder was taking place, particularly against the Dutch troops who were ordered to withdraw to encourage peace. Another declaration in the same issue explicitly complained against widespread failure to collect tax: the declaration attacked customs and tax collectors as well as Justices of the Peace, brewers, and law enforcers.[50] Also, William had to reiterate through the *Gazette* that Dutch troops should not quarter

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[46] *London Gazette,* no 2501, 1
[47] *London Gazette*, no 2448, 1
[48] *London Gazette*, no 2452, 1
[49] *London Gazette*, no 2466, 1
[50] *London Gazette,* no 2416, 1-2

themselves in private houses, and ordered that they withdraw.[51] These declarations reached two audiences that only a newspaper could access: the first were the potential troublemakers throughout England who were advised to conform, reaching all geographical parts of the country faster than verbal and own-printed orders. The second audience was those non-troublemakers who could be reassured by the state's enforcement of its laws against those who were yet to submit. The febrile, potentially rebellious atmosphere in England was implicit in the language of William's *Gazette* proclamations. In March 1689, William warned readers '*That divers Officers and Soldiers are now in Actual Rebellion, and levying War against Us*', which was at best an exaggeration – no contemporaneous account mentions this rebellion. The proclamation '*Require[d] all Our Good Subjects to Apprehend, Subdue, and Prosecute*' those William declared traitors to the realm.[52] As well as literally asking its readers to engage in the state's attempts to impose its authority, these declarations demonstrated to the *Gazette's* readership that it had de facto authority to defeat its opponents.

Furthermore, the extent to which Williamite press agents feared the anti-government media was also shown in the *Gazette,* with regular warrants of arrest issued against those printing anti-Williamite works. One such statement printed from William attacked '*divers False, Scandalous, and Seditious Books, Papers of News, and Pamphlets, daily Printed and Dispersed*', which constituted a '*Disturbance of the Publick Peace*'. William ordered the search of all printing houses to find those culpable, and ordered all legal administrators to prioritise punishing the printers when they were found.[53] Sometimes specific tracts were targeted: a £100 reward was issued for the apprehension of '*the Author, Printers, and Publishers*' of the anti-Williamite *A Short History of the Convention*.[54] Sometimes individuals, like Sir Adam Blair and Dr Robert Grey, were targeted for 'Dispersing a Treasonable Paper'.[55] The actual consequences of non-official information could undermine the state: William had to declare against '*several Untrue and Groundless Reports*' given to seamen that they would not get paid, which had caused '*great Discontents and Disorders*' as well as desertion.[56] A similar rumour affecting the army – that Englishmen would be paid lower wages when sent abroad – had to be dispelled.[57] The anxieties of these various, and repeated, campaigns against anti-government printing, demonstrated the government's view of the deepness of the intersections of treasonable language and treasonable action. The government appreciated

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[51] *London Gazette*, no 2418, 1
[52] *London Gazette*, no 2436, 1
[53] *London Gazette,* no 2417, 2
[54] *London Gazette,* no 2452, 1
[55] *London Gazette,* no 2466, 1
[56] *London Gazette*, no 2419
[57] *London Gazette,* no 2443

language's potential power, and ensured that even it could not control the verbal dissemination of anti-government ideas and rumours, it could frustrate the dissemination of written works.

The political and military anxiety shown in the *Gazette* circa 1689-1692 was both implicit and explicit. It was implicit in its repetition of examples of the joyous unity of the English political nation, prizing this unity as a virtue to be rewarded. It was explicit through the number of warnings it gave against those who dissented against the regime. Both leveraged the status of the *Gazette* as the licensed distributor of the authorised truth. Both these explicit and implicit calls for unity against an ill-defined foe were also manifested in the polemics that supplemented the *Gazette*. The *New Observator* is important, partly because its name belied its intention. The (old, Caroline) *Observator* was a fiercely pro-Tory, pro-government newspaper edited by Roger L'Strange. It existed to ridicule the Whig opposition, giving polemic analysis that bounced off of the news reportage of the *Gazette*. The author later regretted writing under the name, given the 'indelible stain' it had through L'Strange's association.[58] Contrasting itself with its earlier namesake, which was part of 'The Grand Popish Managers at Court['s]' project of 'cheating the Nation out of its Liberties,' the *New Observator* intended to bring truths for Englishmen to better appreciate 'their present Majesties Accession to the Throne'. Mirroring the pessimism of human and English nature found in the royal sermons, the newspaper regularly commented on how those in power in the older reigns so quickly surrendered peoples' liberties and cities' charters to James II.[59] The newspaper's modus vivendi was to halt the seductive powers of those who opposed the government.

The newspaper was closely aligned with William III's regime. It signalled its support for the new regime, as well as capitalising on its popularity, by selling Prince of Orange-themed playing cards, which pictorially presented, in broad terms, why the Glorious Revolution had been justified: it depicted Protestants hung by Judge Jeffries' Bloody Assizes and nefarious Jesuits to show James II's reign, followed by various demonstrations of the universal appreciation upon William's arrival.[60] In the *New Observator's* first pieces, the writer amplified regime propaganda discussed in earlier chapters, by representing William III's past to demonstrate his heroism. To the writer, many episodes of William III's life, such as his overcoming of the de Witt brothers in his youth, and his fighting France against the odds in the 1670s, proved he had divine favour.[61] Once the polemic had established an authorised past, it turned to the present, intervening in a number of direct political disputes. For example, it argued that William III deserved a revenue established for life, and that those who did not agree were either

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[58] *An Appendix to Mercurius Reformatus: Or The New Observator* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1692), 1
[59] *New Observator*, vol 1 no 27, 1
[60] *New Observator*, vol 1 no 11, 2
[61] *New Observator*, vol 1 no 22, 1

secret Jacobites or did not understand that without this lifetime revenue William III was as powerless as 'the *Doge* of Venice'.[62] Whenever victories were reported, the commentator highlighted William's brilliance as a military strategist, claiming that the new king's victories in Ireland had a rallying affect for English allies throughout Europe.[63] The war in which William demonstrated his brilliance and divine favour, the Nine Years' War, was an existential one that would either result in a chastened or dominant France: whichever result would dictate whether England could exist as an independent trading nation.[64] The polemicist also praised Queen Mary, who was akin to Queen Elizabeth in her ability to rule the kingdom competently and fairly in her husband's absence.[65] In this praise, the author was implicitly contrasting the good government of the executive with the quibbles and divides of the legislature.

The *New Observator* contained two paradoxes that revealed the political nature of the Whig newspaper in its attack on the Tories: the first was the conflation of what is regarded as objective truth and its self-described worldview, like the need to create a 'happy Union among all Protestants'. The polemic criticised the ideologically motivated lies of the Tories in one sentence, before constructing its account of events for its own ideological ends in the next sentence. This conflation of truth and worldview gave space for the newspaper to argue that its idea of Tory ideology could be extrapolated to prove that there actually was a Tory plot, committing the tautology that Tories were plotters, and therefore the people they called Tories were plotters. The second paradox was the centrality of unity as a desirable outcome, juxtaposed with deeply divisive rhetoric against the Tories it claimed were conspiring to undermine the unified body politic.[66] Examining both of these tensions shows how anxiety and European imagery dovetailed to create a Tory that that was the opposite of Whiggery.

First, defining a 'Tory' as a conspiracist, and therefore a threat to the regime, blended ideology and truth to present to the readership the ever-present threat of invasion from those either paid by Louis XIV or tied to beliefs that made them sympathetic to the return of James II. The first issues of the *Observator* created a conspiracy narrative stretching back to the Restoration, where the Stuarts aligned with France in an attempt to hoist universal Catholicism on Europe.[67] In this period, Englishmen with 'the unaccountable Notion of *Passive Obedience'* (code for 'Tory') furthered this project either out of

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[62] *New Observator*, vol 2 no 16, 1

[63] *New Observator*, vol 3 no 3, 1-2

[64] *New Observator*, vol 3 no 17, 1

[65] *New Observator*, vol 3 no 4, 1

[66] *New Observator*, vol 1 no 1, 1

[67] *New Observator*, vol 1 no 2, 1-2

mistaken belief or because of material advancement.[68] In this way, the *New Observator* was drawing on the ideas that came out of Whig histories, interpreting current events in a longer running arc of English history. Events following William III's arrival only seemed to prove the extent to which Louis had embedded himself into the corrupt English body politic: James II fleeing to France was surely proof of his dependence on Louis.[69]

The *New Observator* saw conspiracies throughout the English political nation. Those who were sceptical of paying heavy taxes for the Spring 1690 campaign were professionals in foreign pay, 'who make it their Business to whisper'.[70] By July 1690 the writer claimed nobody could have 'the *Impudence* to *deny*' the *'Plot* in *England'* to restore James II, yet discussions of the plot is being *'stifled, but by whom and for what end, God knows'*.[71] This stifling, it was clear, was coming from those who were in the French interest. In December the writer claimed a 'certain Party of Men in *England* are "obliged to the *French* King for his *Gold'*, this gold being the '*Universal Poison* of Europe.'[72] By taking this money, these people became 'The *French* King's *Parasites* in *England'*.[73] However, these parasites were only part of a London elite, readers were assured. '*LONDON* may be said to be the only Place of *England,* where there is any murmuring against the present Government to be heard.' The rest of the country were united solidly behind the regime.[74]

The Tories' place in London meant their conspiracies could be furthered in parliament. The *New Observator* covered parliamentary affairs as a clash between loyal Williamites and mendacious Jacobites that employed any argument possible to undermine the Williamite settlement. Parliament 'must determine the greatest Question that can befall a Nation: *Whether we shall be Slaves to* France, *or free Denizens of* England'. Where MPs stood on this question could be revealed by how they voted to support the king for '*the price of a little Money'*.[75] Writing to electors before the 1690 elections, the *New Observator* argued it would be 'an *inexcusable* Crime' to re-elect those who had not 'erected themselves a lasting Monument in the Hearts of all the Protestants of Christendom' by wholeheartedly supporting the regime.[76]

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[68] *New Observator,* vol 1 no 18, 1
[69] *New Observator,* vol 1 no 7, 2
[70] *New Observator,* vol 2 no 17, 1
[71] *New Observator,* vol 3 no 2, 1
[72] *New Observator,* vol 3 no 24, 1
[73] *New Observator,* vol 4 no 7, 1
[74] *New Observator,* vol 4 no 10, 1
[75] *New Observator,* vol 3 no 13, 1-2
[76] *New Observator,* vol 2 no 10, 1

The anxiety against this supposedly small, but disproportionately threatening and influential group of people, derived from the fear of the new media – newspapers, polemics – that the royal sermonisers criticised and the *New Observator* was hoping to mimic for pro-government purposes. This new media could determine the strength of the parties in parliament and society: according to the *New Observator,* the publication of one of William Sherlock's (a Tory) books, deemed to be critical of Tory views, threw the party into disarray.[77] The *New Observator* took aim at the use of this new media to grow Tory support, given its use as a tool that could be used to amplify lies and distort moral truths, or allow *'the best of Men and Actions* re branded with the *harshest Names.*[78] A rumour that Dutch soldiers murdered and pillaged in Hampton Court was spread by those seeking to promote their 'weak Cause'.[79] The political use of newspaper writing was reflected when the *New Observator* justified a third volume on the grounds that '*a certain Party'* claimed they planned to shut down because of the likelihood of a Jacobite restoration. The newspaper would continue to demonstrate to 'these *unthinking* kind of Creatures' that the author had total confidence in the Williamite regime to continue defending it in print.[80] The writer lamented that 'We have been strangely overpower'd of late with Books and Pamphlets' on political questions, and that these questions only destabilised the body politic when debated in print: instead, they should be decided by '*Lawyers,* and *Members of Parliament*', who 'can best instruct us'.[81] The accusations that all writers were in the pay of some political party forced the *New Observator's* author to deny, 'in the Sight of God', that he took money from anyone other than booksellers for his newspaper.[82]

The tone of the *New Observator* indicated that accusations of conspiracy defied political affiliation; people of numerous persuasions were using fears of a potential plot to sully their rivals. However, this section has shown that the polemic was nested in a far larger context of angst that defined the tone of religious and political elite writing at the start of William III's reign. The *New Observator* drew deeply on commonly-held theological and political tropes, particularly the febrile discussions that an enemy within sought to turn the body politic away from the revolutionary government and back to James II. This context developed into a generalised anxiety that these plotters presented a strong and viable threat. The texts discussed here set the broad contours of what the enemy within looked like: they focused on ideas that divided Protestants; they downplayed the European threat; they caballed in

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[77] *New Observator,* vol 3 no 18, 1
[78] *New Observator,* vol 1 no 28, 1
[79] *New Observator,* vol 2 no 6, 1
[80] *New Observator,* vol 3 no 1, 1
[81] *New Observator,* vol 3 no 21, 1-2
[82] *New Observator,* vol 2 no 18, 2

'private' spaces where they 'murmured'; they prayed upon the weak and gullible masses. To one association of writers, these broad contours took one label: 'Tory'.

**Absolutism at Home and Abroad: The European Dimensions in the Whig Creation of a Tory**

The previous section detailed the extent to which conspiracies and social angst were communicated in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. This section will show how, by tapping into this older, Restoration discourse, Whig propagandists were keen to assert that they were the most naturally loyal subjects of William III. They did this through a barrage of pamphlets published in the outset of the establishment of the new king, through creating a Tory in their literature that became the anti-Whig. Thus, the Whigs signalled their pan-Protestant virtue through their association of Tory philosophy with continental-style absolutism. In doing this, Whig writers were not creating a Tory outside of English historical intellectual traditions and language; instead, they were ascribed particular characteristics that pre-dated the Revolution. The figures discussed here 'created' the Tories as a bête noire to define themselves against. This section is divided into two uneven parts: the first briefly re-caps the already extensively covered intellectual history that provide essential context for the second section, which marshals contemporaneous depictions of 'Tories', stressing the European dimensions of that depiction.

*The Good Old Cause*

The new Whig propagandists sought to claim ownership of the Protestant label and interpret that label to mean muscular defence of pan-Protestant liberties abroad. We have seen how this claim to Protantism covered the Whigs' communication of history. In the view that they are the only legitimate holders of this muscular Protestantism, their opponents were meant to be associated with the opposite of desirable Protestant outcomes. When Whig writers attacked the Tories' apparent softness for French-style government, they did so because of the Tories' perceived infatuation with absolutism. It is not for this thesis to rehash the quagmire of intellectual history that sets out this anti-absolutist context, but suffice to say that the Whigs drew on an intellectual well that attracted widespread respect in Restoration political life: arguably the best analysis of this rich well comes from Mark Goldie, whose work on English intolerance of Catholicism has been instrumental in squaring how writers were both 'latitudinarian' – in that they believed different understandings of Christian doctrine could coexist – but also so intolerant of impulses to absolutism. This lack of toleration for

Catholic practice followed a series of logical processes. These processes were: Catholicism led to absolutism; absolutism inevitably led to expansion and deprivation of liberties; consequently, Catholics should not be tolerated.[83]

This association between republican anti-tolerationism and Whiggery can also be illustrated by the extent to which the Whigs borrowed from the language of Andrew Marvell. Although it will be shown how Whigs rejected the republican label in the next chapter, it is worth establishing that the anti-Tory arguments Whigs made were borrowed from older discourses. Indeed, 'French', 'Catholic', 'Arbitrary', and 'Slavery', had become reflexive synonyms in a glut of English republican thought, as was shown by one work by the republican, Andrew Marvell, who worried that 'men among us' who were undermining 'so Legal and perfect a Government, to introduce a *French* slavery, and instead of so pure a Religion, to establish the *Roman* Idolatry: both and either of which are Crimes of the highest nature.'[84]

In the same vein, the Whigs weaponised fairly common anti-Catholic concerns and Protestant identification with the cause of 'liberty', which broadly meant the allowance for law-abiding (Protestant) people to work and live without arbitrary interventions from the king. The *Memorial* drawn up in 1688 to justify William III's invasion blended the concerns of Catholic rule with this arbitrariness when it asked William to intervene in English affairs: 'The suppression of the Protestants of *England* hath been always esteemed the principal part of the Popish Design to extirpate the Protestant Religion'.[85] Indeed, evidence of anti-Catholicism is not difficult to find, and the cacophony of published material can daunt or lead to generalisation. For example, it has been argued that anti-Catholicism *in toto* brought identity formation.[86] As Tony Claydon has argued, the overemphasis on nation-building and 'imagined communities' had led to the subtleties of the relationship between the 'Other' and the 'Community' being ignored.[87] Our contemporary interests in what ideas coalesce to form nationalism has meant that anti-Catholicism has been misunderstood as a nation-building tool. Undoubtedly, many anti-Catholic works had xenophobic appeal. And, following the consensus built as the 18th century

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[83] Mark Goldie, 'The Theory of Religious Intolerance in England', in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, eds. Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 331–368

[84] Andrew Marvell, *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* (Amsterdam, 1677), 13

[85] 'A Memorial from the English Protestants to Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, Concerning Their Grievances, and the Birth of the Pretended Prince of Wales', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols vol 1 (London, 1705), 1–37, 8

[86] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992)

[87] Tony Claydon, 'The Trials of the Chosen People: Recent Interpretations of Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland', in *Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland, c. 1650- c. 1850* eds. Tony Claydon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3–32, 5-7

wore on, Catholicism was a useful tool in the attempt to build a national identity for a predominantly Protestant nation. However, before this national consensus existed, when different ideas of what Englishness was clashed with one another, the xenophobia built into anti-Catholicism was often re-purposed against those who disagreed with Whig ideas of government. These English enemies were as bad as being French, and Catholicism was used as a conceptual bridge to form that association. Anti-Catholicism in much of the 1690s was a constitutional-political impulse that unified non-English Protestants against the supposed threats Catholics posed to liberty.[88]

The set-piece philosophical enunciation of anti-absolutism was put by John Locke. Quentin Skinner argues that even 'the most canonical texts' should be treated 'essentially as interventions in pre-existing debates'.[89] The Lockean context was the fertile intellectual debates that held Robert Filmer and Thomas Hobbes in the ascendency. As the standard introduction to Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* puts it, 'Locke never escaped the shadow of *Leviathan*.'[90] As Locke's interventions drew on previous interventions, so too did the Whigs draw on a Lockean heritage that proved a core prism for Whig analysis of Tory moves to undermine their administration and their policy of prosecuting Continental wars to the utmost vigour.

The emphasis on Catholic persecution, as well as the association of English Protestant and European Protestant fortunes, were linked together to develop a Protestant siege mentality. The two were tied together because of the widespread assumption that Englishmen alone would never submit to Popish slavery without being subdued. Subjugation could only occur with sponsorship from another power. There was a natural alliance, therefore, between the French and the English Catholic community: the former would establish the latter in England, in return for loyalty.

The interchangeability of Catholicism and absolutism allowed Whigs to accuse the Tories of essentially behaving in Catholic ways, exhibiting their worst denotations. This interchangeability further allowed the Continent to provide rich examples of failed absolutist attempts, and such evidence could be hoisted onto the English domestic setting against the Tories. John Toland, for example, defined a 'Papist' as 'one that holds the *Pope* to be the necessary *Principle or Center of Unity,* and the Head of the

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[88] Colin Haydon, '"I Love My King and My Country, but a Roman Catholic I Hate": Anti-Catholicism, Xenophobia and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Protestantism and National Identity in Britain and Ireland, c. 1650- c. 1850* eds. Tony Claydon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33–52, 49

[89] Quentin Skinner, *From Humanism to Hobbes: Studies in Rhetoric and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 11

[90] John Locke, *The Two Treatises of Government*, eds. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 72

Church Universal, *Jure Divino*'.[91] Logically, to writers like Toland, a hierarchical view like this presented Catholicism as the most absolutist of belief systems, but allowed for other non-Catholics, who still believed in a '*Center of Unity*', to share the Catholics' worst features.

*The Tories in post-Revolutionary pamphlets and press*

This intellectual context is crucial, and well understood by historians. However, the political pamphlets of the Williamite era, printed to give an instant interpretation of events to a contemporaneous audience, is less often analysed, and its interactions with and manipulations of the high intellectual discourse are important to this thesis. In highlighting the apparent connections between absolutism, Catholicism, Toryism, and Jacobitism, Whig writers demonstrate both a variety of depictions of the Tory, as well as the multi-faceted use of European dimensions in that depiction. In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, Whig pamphleteers argued that the Tories' absolutist beliefs meant they could only be nominal supporters of William III. Not only was this treasonous in a literal, legal sense – William III became the 'legitimate' monarch in 1689, and to oppose him was to oppose the state – but also in a moral, ideological sense, because his intervention in 1688 freed England from absolutist government.

The word 'Tory' was a useful term for making the comprehensive associations of absolutist pretensions, Catholicism, and betrayal of William III. Although we don't know when or why people started calling one group 'Tory' and the other 'Whig' (just that it started during the Exclusion Debates), we do know that 'Tory' was still used in its old sense (a vagabond) in Ireland still in the 1690s, with 'An Act for the better Suppressing Tories' being passed in 1697.[92] One poem published in 1689 appears ambiguous as to whether 'Tory' is being used in the old or the new sense: the poem mocked the Jacobite army, laughing at their odd dress sense and cowardice, and could be calling them 'Tories' on account of their army's illegitimacy (now that James had been deposed) or because of their royalism.[93] The editor translated Irish slang like 'Brouges' and 'Trousers', but not 'Tories'. The publisher (Randal Taylor) printed a number of works criticising the Tories in the unambiguously English, political sense of the term (in a work discussed below), which might suggest that the poet he published was using 'Tory' in

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[91] Toland, *Destiny of Rome*, 11

[92] *An Act to Supply the Defects; And For the Better Execution of an Act Passed This Present Session of Parliament, Entituled, An Act for the Better Suppressing Tories, and Rapparees; and for Preventing Robberies, Burglaries, and Other Hainous Crimes* (Dublin: Andrew Crook, 1697)

[93] *The Irish Rendezvous, Or A Description Of T---Ll's Army Of Tories and Bog-Trotters* (London: Randal Taylor, 1689)

the same sense. Randal Taylor published a wide variety of vehemently anti-Jacobite, pro-regime works 1688-1692, including William III's *Declaration of Reasons* for entering England, written by Gilbert Burnet, and in whatever sense he was using the word 'Tory', his publication was an attempt to provide rhetorical support to the new regime.

Setting the ontological standard for presenting the 'Tory' in the new, English sense as an abhorrent creature, the author of *Toryism Revived* argued that 'A Tory is a Monster with an *English* Face, a *French* Heart, and an *Irish* Conscience'. This blending of the two European nations seen as most opposed to the Williamite project – the Irish and French – defined the Tory characteristic. This pamphlet was unusually coarse, bringing rhymes of major moral transgressions into its definition of a Tory: '*Roary, Whorey, Sworey, Scorey:* That's a Torey.' Tapping into the conspiracist discourses discussed above, the pamphlet singled out the elite Tories: 'First-rate Tories […] are Catterpillars that devour every green thing in a Flourishing Kingdom, and would stab Liberty and Property to the heart'. In undermining liberty and property, they work for 'the *French Mahometan*': thus their European identity and policy combined with their absolutist domestic ideas, or: 'They are a sort of Wild-boars, that would Root out the Constitution'. 'Our Tory is an Animal of the Doubtful Gender; whatever his External Cant may be for King *William,* his Inward man is fraught with King *James*'.[94] The unsubtle attack animalised and de-nationalised the Tories, presenting the Whigs' enemies as un-English agents of foreign powers and emotions that sought to undermine the freedom-loving Williamite regime.

*Toryism Revived* was uncommon in its popular language, and its polemic tone: it made simple aggressive assertions, rather than build its associations with evidence or argument. More common were dialogues, which used the 'Tory' to dismiss the character's arguments and strengthen associations between them and Jacobites, and Whigs with Williamites. One dialogue equated Toryism with Jacobitism directly. *The anatomy of a Jacobite-Tory* was an unusual Whig dialogue in that it delivered its message mostly through manipulating the Tories' answers to the Whig questions (mostly these dialogues are less subtle, with the Whig haranguing an unrepentant Tory). In 1690, this *Jacobite-Tory* admitted that he undermined William III even as he took a pension from him, because he is 'a King in *Fact,*' and 'there cannot be real Treason against a King only in Fact.'[95] The Tory-Jacobite admitted to holding absurd, obviously anti-Williamite positions, including the view that no parliament could legitimately meet without swearing an oath to King James and his successors, even if the parliament

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[94] *Toryism Revived: Or, The Character of a Modern Tory* (London, 1690)

[95] *The Anatomy of a Jacobite-Tory: In a Dialogue Between Whig and Tory, Occasioned by the Act for Recognizing King William and Queen Mary* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 13

was convened by William! This state of affairs could not change until 'King *James* and the Prince of *Wales* are dead'.[96] Here, the foreign and domestic implications of the Jacobite-Tory are laid bare: by delegitimising the Williamite state they not only invite a French invasion, but the reintroduction of French-backed absolutism via a restored James II dependent on Louis XIV. This was either through maliciously seeking a restoration, or through the stupidity of holding outdated views under the new regime. The reason this *Jacobite-Tory* was being so obstructionist was not because of their appreciation of constitutional niceties, but because the Tories really sought an absolutist European realignment that condemned England to belong to a unipolar European order centred on France.

A similar dialogue, between two tradesmen, noted how few Tories had rushed to buy arms to defend the revolution after James II had fled to France: this was because of their dislike of the Dutch who had saved them ('The Tory revileth the *Dutch*').[97] The dialogue argued that the current Tory-Whig dichotomy was a longstanding division between those defending English sovereignty and liberty and those who subverted it. Notably for its specifically Whig message, the two speakers took sovereignty and liberty to be interchangeable, because only a strong English executive could defend itself against the French-backed Catholic conspiracy. This was a major break from the earlier Restoration Whigs who were suspicious of any powers not in Parliament. In this new narrative, 'The whole Kingdom is divided into Whig and Tory, and ever was, and will be distinguished […] our Nations safety or ruin depends on whether the Whig or Tory do prevail'.[98] While the Whigs support 'an *English* Monarchy, tho not a *French* one', which defended the interests of the entire 'Common-weale', rather than the elite, the Tories sought to capture the state and 'bewitch' the masses through the Church to not recognise that their liberties were being subverted.[99] This dialogue cleverly interpreted the Whig mantle to support the Williamite regime (the next chapter will show the extent to which those calling themselves Whigs contested William III's reforms) while placing the multifarious group of those who opposed William III as Tories, and those who hated 'English' ways of government.

The European dimensions that synonymised 'Jacobite' and 'Tory' were easier to stress in the immediate post-Revolutionary years because of the French-backed Jacobite army in Ireland. Events in Ireland were connected to those in England: one pamphlet alleged 'Papists' would rise in Lancashire because of the opportunity presented by William III's absence in Ireland, as well as the broader dislocations occurring

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[96] *Anatomy of a Jacobite-Tory,* 24

[97] *A Smith and Cutlers Plain Dialogue about Whig and Tory*, n.d., 1

[98] *Smith and Cutlers,* 1

[99] *Smith and Cutlers,* 1

because of the Irish campaigns.[100] The writing up of reports outside of London demonstrates the importance of print media in communicating news (true and false) quickly to the metropole. This metropole was sandwiched between Ireland in the west, and France in the east. As another pamphleteer put it, England and Ireland were also connected because Ireland was a country more comfortable with '*Popery* and *Slavery'*, hence why James II began his absolutist experiments in Ireland and why he landed there to challenge William's regime.[101] The umbilical cord connecting England and Ireland also existed as English Jacobites could spread fake news about James II's supposedly benign regime in Ireland: one pamphleteer felt compelled to write an account of the horrors of Ireland because of 'their Sophistical arguments' on 'the Tranquillity of the *Protestants'*.[102]

The decrying of sophistry ties with the Whig sermons discussed above, particularly in the worry that new print media could be manipulated to persuade London's readers that the European dimensions of the ideological conflict were less pertinent. The paradoxical attitude – that pamphleteering corrupted and excited emotions, but must be done to stop the bad ideas of the Tory-French-Catholic-Jacobite cabal – was apparent in dozens of pamphlets. One author claimed to write a pamphlet just because his silence encouraged the '*Papists* and *Tories'* who used his silence to lobby for a return of James II.[103] Another pamphleteer wrote because he wanted to denounce those 'making Parties for the French King,' by 'privately sowing the Seeds of Sedition', and using any forum and argument possible to bring about a French invasion.[104] Similarly, one poet lamented the '*Close Cabal'* who met in the corner of his synecdoche coffeehouse: these, 'no *Friends* to th' *government'*, murmured and conspired.[105] These talkers encouraged and coordinated attacks against the state: one manifesto for London's common council used thinly-veiled terms to signal their anti-Tory credentials, attacking those who 'under the colour of *Zeal* for the *Church,* and *Loyalty* to the *Crown,* they resigned the English Liberties into the Hands of the Papists'.[106] The author highlighted the Tories' traitorous actions – 'they who surrendered Charters' to James II – done 'for the sake of having the Government with their Party'.[107] The traitorous actions was

[100] *A New Discovery Of the Horrid Association & Conspiracy Of the Papists in Lancashire: To Raise War and Rebellion in the Kingdom of England, during the Absence of King William in Ireland* (London: Jonathan Greenwood, 1690)
[101] *A Faithful History of the Northern Affairs of Ireland: From The Late K. James Accession to the Crown, To The Siege of Londonderry* (London: Randal Taylor, 1690), 3
[102] *An Account Of The Transactions Of The Late King James In Ireland. Wherein Is Contain'd The Act of Attainder Past at Dublin in May, 1689. As Also The Proclamation For Raising Twenty Thousand Pounds per Mensem, without an Act of Parliament. With Other Proclamations and Acts Made There* (London: Robert Clavel, 1690), 2
[103] *Mene Mene, Tekel Upharsin* (London: John Patridge, 1689), preface
[104] *Sedition Unmask'd and Exploded: Or, Reflections on the Seditious Designs of some Disaffected Persons to Ruin the present Happy Settlement of the Nation* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689), 1-2
[105] *The School of Politicks: Or, The Humours Of a Coffee-House. A Poem* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 15
[106] *An Antidote against Pretended Caution, To the Inhabitants in every Ward, in the Choice of their Common-Council* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1
[107] *Pretended Caution,* 2

tied up with the Whig idea of Europe: the Tories did these things because they did not pay due attention to the 'Defence of the common Protestant Religion', and voters should choose candidates who centred their capacity to support 'King *William* and Queen *Mary*'.[108]

This last pamphlet was part of a burgeoning electoral literature that sought to sway voters by defining a Tory enemy to vote against. They often used a nakedly partisan history to elect those not tainted with the old regime: one reminded London voters that those previous (Tory) elected officials served 'the designs of the *former Courts,'* could not be 'serviceable to this' one.[109] The pamphlets regularly imbibed this history with binaries connected with the Whig idea of Europe. For example, loyalty to William III was combined with commitment to the pan-European Protestant interest, against the transnational Tory/Jacobite/French enemy. One piece of 'Good Advice' to electors argued the dissolution of parliament 'hath given us an Opportunity' to support the king in electing people who 'will be Friends to Him'.[110] This friendliness meant confounding 'our Enemies both abroad and at home' and who 'would be a Door opened for all *Protestants*' to unify.[111] The speech of one mayor called for the '*divisions* amongst us' to be replaced by unity around 'the *Interest of* this Government', which was a bulwark against the principles of 'late Reigns', where 'Liberties and Franchises were *Ravish'd* from you'.[112]

Many pamphlets used 'Jacobite' and 'Tory' interchangeably, without evidence that the writers accepted the potential tensions between the two labels. For example, one dialogue's title put that Whig and Tory were aliases for 'Williamite and Jacobite'. This had the effect of lumping 'Tories' in with the absolutist practices of James II, and, necessarily, Louis XIV. All the positive associations of the former were attached to the Whigs, whereas all the negatives were associated with the latter. The title promised that 'the Principles and Practices of each Party are fairly and impartially stated; that thereby Mistakes and Prejudices may be remov'd from amongst us, and all those who prefer English Liberty and Protestant Religion to French Slavery and Popery, may be inform'd how to chuse fit Instruments for our Preservation'. In promising impartiality, the writer could claim he had rationally arrived at the conclusion that the Tories were tied to France in both an ideological sense (they were absolutist) and a literal sense (they supported the restoration of James II). Two parts of this dialogue are interesting: the

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[108] *Pretended Caution,* 2

[109] *Advice to the Citizens of London, Concerning their ensuing Choice of a Mayor, Sheriffs, and Chamberlain* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1

[110] *Good Advice To All the Free-Holders and Corporations of England, Concerning the Choice of their Representatives, To Serve in the Ensuing Parliament* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 1-2

[111] *Good Advice,* 4

[112] *The Speech of the Right Honourable, Henry Earl of Warrington, Upon his being Sworn Mayor of Chester, In November 1691* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1691), 1-2

introductory letter to King William, and the dialogue itself. The introductory letter demonstrated how deeply enmeshed Whig critiques of the foreign and domestic policies of the Tories were. The piece was evidently written in the mid-1690s, when William employed the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester to steer through ministerial business. William's move offended many Whigs who were denied employments, and the author argued that the king's move was so damaging that his 'Palace is on Fire'.[113] The fire was coming not just because of the Tories' vexatious policies, but because William employed 'Creatures and Tools of the two last Reigns, and are irreconcilable Enemies to your Majesty's Government': they would do anything to replace him with James II.[114] To see the subtlety with which the author switches from attacking the Tories' ideology (which was damaging) to their loyalty (which would lead to weakening the English state, and therefore a French invasion), it is worth quoting one passage at length:

> Is it reasonable to believe the E[arl]. of N[ottingham], whose Father and Family was rais'd by King *Charles* and King *James* for prostituting the Law (and his nauseous Rhetorick) to the Designs of those two Brothers, who himself was a Privy-Counsellor with Father *Peters,* and chosen by King *James* at the time of the Revolution to treat with your Majesty at *Hungerford,* in order to delay your Progress to *London*; and lastly, who so violently oppos'd your Majesty's being crown'd King, as to lay an eternal Obligation upon King *James* by it: […]

Nottingham and his family were thus under suspicion not just because he was supposedly disloyal to William (Nottingham famously refused to recognise William as the King *de jure*), but because he was previously an absolutist (with 'his nauseous Rhetorick'), as well as his patronage ties to the Stuarts. Many factors thus formed a web that tied Nottingham to the Jacobite cause, both through ideology and loyalty,[115] irrespective of the empirical evidence of whether Nottingham was actually a Jacobite. In this literary creation of a Tory earl, Nottingham's foreign policy and ideology blended in a way that laid his attachment both to English geo-political strength, as well as 'liberty', under suspicion.

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[113] 'A Dialogue between Whig and Tory, Alias Williamite and Jacobite. Wherein the Principles and Practices of Each Party Are Fairly and Impartially Stated; That Thereby Mistakes and Prejudices May Be Remov'd from amongst Us, and All Those Who Prefer English Liberty and Protestant Religion to French Slavery and Popery, May Be Inform'd How to Chuse Fit Instruments for Our Preservation', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 371–92, 371

[114] 'Alias Williamite and Jacobite', 372

[115] 'Alias Williamite and Jacobite', 373

The same enmeshing of ideological patronage links were layered in the dialogue that followed the letter. The Whig said that ''tis certain, you owe your being known in the World, to the horrid and execrable Designs of the two late Kings to set up arbitrary Power and Popery amongst us'.[116] In spite of being such heavy handed supporters of monarchy when the monarchs were the worst, when England was granted a perfect monarch, the initial Tory reaction was to enter 'into Cabals for the weakning of his Government'.[117] The European dimension solidified the horrendousness of Tory support for James, given both the likelihood that James will invade England, and the necessary implications of James' success (French dominance): the 'King [William] hath here a Rival, a Father-in-Law, who pretends a Right to the Crown, who is supported by the greatest Power that ever was known in *Europe'*.[118] With the viability of the James II's mission to restore himself, dissent against William was treasonous: consequently, any philosophical absolutism among the English body politic – given form by the Tories – could literally lead to the reintroduction of political absolutism through James II.

This confluence of Tory and Jacobite was shaped by the claim that both were duplicitous. They never owned the label, so it had to be imposed. As one pamphlet put it, the foundational difference between Williamite and Jacobite, according to one pamphlet, was that the former 'answers his *Name*'.[119] So, the pamphlet established contrasts for the reader: Williamites were brave, understood their country and its constitution, and hated all things French; the Jacobites were the opposites of these things.[120] In equating Whigs and Tories with Williamites and Jacobites, the Whigs sought to claim the mantle of being the only patriotic, viable movement capable of supporting the king. In the aftermath of the revolution, not supporting King William and actively supporting Louis XIV became synonyms, as much as supporting Louis XIV meant supporting absolutist government: one pamphlet argued that 'we may plainly see the *French* King uses King *James* in this Juncture merely as a Stalking-horse, over whose Back he designs to render himself Master of these Kingdoms'. Furthermore, if the French succeeded, then their success would be permanent, following the humbling of the Netherlands and the subsequent hegemony established by France.[121] The support of either king was not just a foreign-policy

[116] 'Alias Williamite and Jacobite', 378

[117] 'Alias Williamite and Jacobite', 380

[118] 'Alias Williamite and Jacobite', 388

[119] *The Character of a Williamite: Being the Reverse of a late unlicens'd Treatise, Entituled, The Character of a Jacobite, By what Name or Title soever Dignify'd or Distinguished; Written by a Person of Quality* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 2

[120] *Character of a Williamite*, 2-7

[121] 'King William or King Lewis: Wherein Is Set Forth the Inevitable Necessity These Nations Lie under of Submitting Wholly to One or Other of These Kings; and That the Matter in Controversy Is Not Now between K. William and K. James, but between K. William and K. Lewis of France, for the Government of These Kingdoms', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols, vol 1 (London, 1705), 402-406, 404-405

choice, but one with ideological resonance. Opting for one binary meant English security and liberty, the other meant French-imposed rulership and absolutism.

This duplicitousness was necessary given that the Tories knew that their ideas were so antithetical to English principles and common sense: they were the 'bigoted Faction of *Lewis*'.[122] The attachment provided further vitriol for the Whig writers to pour onto their enemies, thereby signalling their Williamite credentials.

One pamphlet laboured the European dimensions of the failures of Tories in a poetic dialogue between a Tory and 'a Trimmer' (a politician that sought to serve William III irrespective of party affiliation). With James II overseas, how could a Tory 'stick/ To a rebellious wicked *cause*,/ Against so many *Oaths* and *Laws'*, especially when the country needed defending from *'Romish Priests* and *Pope'*?[123] The 'Trimmer', who dominated the dialogue, blended the domestic concerns of the 'Tory' – the oaths he owed to James II, his softness for absolutism and Catholicism – with the broader European implications of his view: 'From *home-bred* misery and woe/ Deliver'd by *Invading* Foe?'[124] One could not occur without the other: the Tories' role as a fifth-column led to their Ludocivian sponsorship. The use of the Trimmer as the everyman character was indicative of the political, persuasive intent of the author: they evidently believed that readers were less likely to trust the views of a self-declared Whig, given that the parties were in their adolescence and any out-and-out party-political affiliation was criticised.

The piece also contained a mocking 'High Tory Catechism'. The catechism was an overtly political analogy to draw, given that one of the Tories' supposed attributes were their overzealous attachments to false doctrines in the Church. This bathetic instrument of indoctrination taught the Tory initiate that their constitutional/religious views were smokescreens for imposing French-led absolutism on England: asking if the doctrine of passive obedience was 'always binding', the Tory responded with 'No; this *Passive* Doctrine obliges in the rigour, only when *Whiggs* and *Trimmers* are like to *suffer* by it'. The cornerstones of their political beliefs were catechised as a cynical argument to gain power. When Tories feel like they are being oppressed, then the correct solution is to 'withdraw our *obedience*, and not only *invite* a Forreigner to rescue and deliver us, but *assist* him with our *prayers, purses,* and

[122] *Sedition Unmask'd,* 2
[123] *A Poem, In Vindication of the Late Publick Proceedings. By Way of a Dialogue, Between a High Tory and a Trimmer. To Which Is Added, The High Tory's Cateschism* (London, 1689), 1
[124] *In Vindication,* 7

*persons.'*[125] The hypocrisy highlighted that the power to persecute non-Tories was the lodestar to Tory thinking and ideas: Louis XIV and James II were enablers of this campaign of prosecution.

Other pamphleteers underlined the necessity of defending the Williamite regime, and the Protestant alliances more broadly, if only for the reality that without defending these alliance structures then Louis would become Europe's universal monarch. One pamphlet – which does not specifically advocate for a particularly 'Tory' or 'Whig' position, but did at the end become a polemic for building up a strong navy – argued that both parties' zeal for persecuting one another meant that only Louis would incur further into England's sphere of safety. The author argued that every politically active citizen had to realise that the point of any political movement had to 'preserve us, at least, from the Yoke of Foreign Power, from being overgrown by States that are about us, and coming from being the principal in Power and Riches, to be the last of *Europe,* or but once inferior to any of these neighbouring ones'.[126] This call for unity situated domestic political competition in European context: every debate levelled at one section of the body politic prevented energies being directed at Louis XIV.

*The State of Parties* was uncommon for the period for not explicitly linking the Tories' desire for absolutism at home with their covert support of absolutism abroad. More common was *The Englishman's Choice and True Interest*, which was similar to the other pamphlets discussed in that it argued that friends of liberty in England were on the side of Protestants abroad, and those who favoured withdrawing from the conflict against Louis XIV were abettors of tyranny. This pamphlet argued that those who were rabble-rousing against the high taxes of the 1690s were the same people who were in favour of expropriating wealth to pay for the war against Protestants in the Restoration.[127] Repeating a common refrain, the pamphlet alleged that the Tories' anti-Dissenter works, and their conjuring 'up the Phantasm of a Commonwealth', were tactics done 'to divert the Apprehensions of the Power of *France'.*[128] Fears of French power were well grounded, as the piece explained: 'that if the *French* should swallow *Flanders* (which they had certainly done before now, if it had not been for the Confederacy) *Holland...* must necessarily tuckle, and their Navy be at the command of *France.'*[129] This expression of domino-theory was common, situating the European context at the centre of English

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[125] *In Vindication,* 8

[126] 'The State of Parties, and of the Publick as Influenc'd by Those Parties in This Conjuncture, Offer'd to Englishmen', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William II*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 208–217, 209

[127] 'The Englishman's Choice and True Interest, in a Vigorous Prosecution of the War against France', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 422–430, 422

[128] 'Choice and True Interest', 424

[129] 'Choice and True Interest', 424

political debates. The Tories' de-emphasising of this context – either because they actually supported Louis XIV, or if they mistakenly pursued religious/constitutionalist goals that alienated pro-regime Whigs – furthered France's agenda.

Given the reality of the French threat, some argued that the main claim to not accept the new Williamite state – the doctrine of non-resistance – was in fact only a theological fig leaf for base attachments to Louis XIV and James II. The debate of whether, and to what extent, a subject should rebel against a monarch, was a red herring for those who believed that the English geopolitical reality was catastrophically bad and in need of urgent attention: what was the point of debating these esoteric points when the enemy is at the gate? Such was the case put by Edmund Bohun, who dismissed the 'Doctrine of Non-resistance' debate as uninteresting and unimportant in light of the damages James II had done to the kingdom and the threat it faced from his restoration.'[130] To Bohun and others, this debate indicated the wider, more important debate between the ideological/foreign policy pivot between Whigs and Tories, over whether, now the revolution had taken place, they would pragmatically assist the regime that promised an end of absolutism and an attack on French plans for hegemony. Bohun argued that there was no way James II would not repent his ways if he were to be restored, and so his restoration meant the return of absolutism.[131] Academic debates were therefore harmful to the preservation of English liberties as restored by William III. Of course, this view was implicitly deeply ideological, in its support for the Williamite settlement, and the argument that any disagreement from this view was itself factionalist, demonstrated how hegemonic Bohun projected Whiggery.

Similarly, one published letter supporting an early Whig measure to 'Comprehend' Dissenters, so that they would be part of the Church of England, defended the policy in terms of European affairs. The Comprehension debate was a major chapter in the establishment of the revolutionary settlement, and whether to allow dissenters into the Church of England was often debated through the prism of the best way to strengthen England against France. The anonymous author (who could have been Gilbert Burnet, given that it was written by 'a divine', as well as it containing his characteristically controversial style, plus his outspoken parliamentary lobbying for Comprehension as a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee that recommended it) contrasted supporters of Comprehension with those in 'the Popish

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[130] Edmund Bohun, 'The Doctrine of Non-Resistance or Passive-Obedience, No Way Concern'd in the Controversys Now Depending between the Williamites and the Jacobites', in *A Collection of State Tracts publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III* 3 vols, vol 1 (London, 1705), 347–367, 350

[131] 'Doctrine of Non-Resistance', 355

Party', that have historically persecuted Dissenters to divide and weaken England. The Bill coincided with a 'favourable Season' to right the wrongs of the Restoration's foreign policy alliance with France: there is 'the League at this time between the Protestant Princes and States': 'Let us not a second Time suffer our selves to be so far mistaken in our own Interest', and instead unify Protestants in England so that England would be strong enough to fight abroad on the side of the Protestant International.[132]

With this broadening of the Whig anti-Tory critique – labelling their opposition not just religious bigots, but absolutists who sought close alignment with France – came polemics that tarred the Tories as emblems of evil, anti-Whiggery. One pamphleteer associated the rationality of his anti-Toryism with Englishness, arguing his critiques of the Tories were '*Plain English*'. The author claimed he had to speak out because 'the Betrayers of their Country, having fatned themselves with its Spoils,' were going to succeed in profiting from his country's destruction.[133] After listing a litany of proofs of the Tories' absolutist pretensions, the author equated England's civil constitution with its foreign position, asking, 'Whether Men of those Arbitrary Principles which the others profess at this Day, will suffer this Government to be defended, as it was founded, upon the true Principles of Civil Right?'[134] This broad polemic was part of a prolific genre, which tied together the themes discussed throughout this chapter: a Tory bogeyman hid behind every tavern, spreading disinformation that aided the return of Louis XIV. One pamphlet encapsulated this genre, framing English history in meta-terms as a conflict between the Tory, Jacobite, Catholic, French, evil, and the converse. The 'Modest Enquiry', told with 'impartiality', set out the 'Hellish Works of Darkness' put forward by '*two Parties*': the Catholics and their 'High-flown *Passive-Obedience men*' (Tories).[135] These people 'busie themselves' by 'buzz[ing] into the ears of all People' against William III with issues that distracted from the war in France.[136]

To summarise, in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, a large number of prints sought to posit that being a 'Whig' meant belonging to a party that was best placed to serve and receive patronage in the Williamite state, by aligning and appropriating stated Williamite aims (a muscular

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[132] 'A Letter from a Divine to a Member of Parliament, in Defence of the Bill for the Uniting of Protestants; with the Member of Parliament's Answer', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 71–79, 75 especially

[133] 'Plain English, or an Inquiry Concerning the Real and Pretended Friends to the English Monarchy. With an Appendix, Concerning the Coronation-Oath Administer'd to King James II', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 79–95, 82

[134] 'Plain English', 91

[135] *A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the Present Disasters in England. And who they are that brought the French Fleet into the English Channel, Described* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1690), 2-3

[136] *Modest Enquiry,* 29

English state participating in the Protestant International) into their identity. They did so partly by positioning the anti-Whig – the Tory – as the evil carriers of absolutism and French-inspired rule. In these early years, Whig criticisms of the mingled foreign and domestic policy; those that opposed the Comprehension Bill would divide England and thus let James II in, just as those who wanted James II to return to England would introduce domestic policies that would amount to England's enslavement. Early Whig pamphlets sought malign the apparent animating ideology of their opponents, which meant claiming the Tories were necessarily both sponsored by France and believers in absolutism. In contrast, they were the party whose ideas best served the new regime.

**Conclusion**

From the first pamphlets published in the post-Revolutionary regime, anti-Toryism was an important part of the justification of Whig power and policies. By creating a 'Tory' trope that absorbed the negative denotations and consequences of not pursuing Whig policies, Whig writers created a creature that could be commonly understood, anthropomorphising their fears onto their enemies. The above section analyses some of the ideological kindling laid by the Whigs in the years after the Glorious Revolution, where the writers sought to own the Glorious Revolution as a vindication of their worldview against what they called Tories: enamoured with the French; only lukewarm support for the new king; ready to return to the bad regime as soon as convenient. It is no surprise that this group was regularly accused of carrying out treason against the regime.

In accusing 'Tories' of plotting against the state, Whig writers were interacting with a broader conspiracist worry espoused by broad sections of England's ecclesiastical elite. It has been shown that it was fashionable among the most powerful preachers – those who were either retained by William and Mary or invited to the Court to preach as guests – to decry England's contemporaneous moral condition, and to warn that this moral condition had a political consequence: an unruly population that could be seduced to undermine the regime and replace it with the French-backed Pretender.

As a unifying theme, the pamphlets and sermons were worried that they did not understand the new written medium that the Tories were exploiting. A Tory was a wit, who could manipulate printed media to communicate news that ran rings round the Williamite establishment. Even as preachers and writers showed some success in their own manipulation of print, most maintained a fear that

'wit'/barbarism would triumph over 'reason'/civilisation, forming a powerful rhetorical tool to rally under their 'true' news against the falsity of their opponents.

In contrast to sermons, pamphlets were an intrinsically reactive medium: published in response to the affairs that patrons (and, later, consumers) thought needed to be addressed. Consequently, Whig anti-Tory pamphlets were embedded in their temporal contexts. The 1688-1692 pamphlets on the attempt of the Whigs to establish themselves as the true defenders of English and Protestant liberty, used current issues (debates on the budget, battles in Ireland, attempts to comprehend dissenters) to cleave a divide between the correct Williamite view, and the Tory/Jacobite one. By conceptualising of Tory opposition as disloyal Jacobite activity, current affairs could be used as greater evidence of the conspiracy that Whigs wanted to save England from.

In spite of these differences, the sources discussed here were united in that their arguments were necessarily derivative. Little 'new' was said in the sermons, pamphlets, or newspapers: each drew on themes that stretched back into the 17th century (and earlier). The sermonisers did not imagine a new theology to explain their anxiety; they drew on old theological themes to interpret their anxiety. The pomp and ceremony of William III's coronation, as reported in the *Gazette,* was reminiscent of the coronations of the earlier Stuart monarchs. This repetition was essential, given the need to assure the body politic of the continuity of the new government, against charges that William III's reign signalled a dramatic break with England's past. Finally, the anti-Tory pamphlets drew on the tried-and-tested Restoration terminologies that were refined most prominently in the Exclusion Crisis: anxieties about. a restored Stuart monarch becoming absolutist was similar to those who complained a French-raised Charles II would also become absolutist and deprive Englishmen of their liberties.

These sources' derivative natures lead to two important conclusions. The first was that these sources were political. Political communication is often most successful when long established ideas are repackaged for contemporary audiences. It is far harder to persuade an audience of the efficacy of a policy if it uses language and ideas that are new. Old ideas, that people understand, are reimagined onto new entities. So it was with the Whig construction of the Tories: negative past associations, discussed using 17th century theological and political languages, were funnelled into a literary trope. The second conclusion was how these old ideas added into one another to explain something new. In these years a group of people who believed in what were Whig values – limited executive power – morphed into becoming a party that was comfortable at William III's court, in supporting a strong executive, and developing fiscal military state. This unprecedented realignment (arguably the first

party political realignment in English history) was explained using old, comfortable language, to explain the dramatic necessity of supporting the new monarchy because of the stresses the polity faced. The readers of the pamphlets of circa 1688-1692 were led to believe that the new world required old ideas to be reinterpreted and reapplied: The Whigs still opposed the Tories, but in ways relevant to the present.

Thus, this chapter has sought to use Whig/Tory pamphlets to show the extent to which the Whigs enmeshed the 'Tory' as a force that the Whigs were intent on opposing in England and in Europe. In demonstrating the links between the Whigs' foreign and domestic concerns, it is apparent that the dimensions of European debate suffused every link in the constitutional association of the Tories and absolutism. Whether tangentially (through the reminder of the body politic that the country faced an existential European war), or directly (through the assertion that the Tories' moves were absolutist in intention and consequence, copying European absolutist models), the early Whig pamphlets surveyed here are best understood in the light of the Whigs' understanding and promotion of their idea of Europe.

**Chapter Five**

**Europe and the Whig Split, 1697-1705**

The previous chapter demonstrated how, in the early part of William III's reign, Whig polemics drew on common tropes and ideas of Europe to create an image of what they were against. The result was the Tory: someone with Catholic and Ludovician sympathies, and who sought to undermine the institutions set up by William III. Their nefarious activities were painstakingly discussed in the press, and in sermons, poems, and plays. The effect was to signal who the Whigs were by contrasting them with who they were not.

As the decade went on, this divide remained at the core of Whig rhetoric. Those who opposed their policies were malevolent opposers of the English state's security and English peoples' liberties. Yet this divide changed in structure and in content, because of changes in the political context. For one, the Whigs faced a more concrete opposition. The Whig/'Tory' arguments immediately after the Glorious Revolution are murky and multifarious: who held what view and why is still an open question. This state of affairs contrasts with the substantial and well-organised opposition created from the breakdown of the consensus established during the Nine Years' War. Politicians could, for the first time, debate the meaning and consequences of the Glorious Revolution because the French threat stopped being so immediate. The Whigs who aimed to preserve the wartime reforms in peace –were met by the pressure of those who wanted to return to an idealised past with 'ancient liberty'.

However, just as the last chapter analysed the Tories as a Whig literary-political construct, so this chapter analyses the Whigs' enemies through their subjective lens. It does not seek to wade into the exact nature of the opposition to William III, and only discusses the Country Party's programme as it pertained to the Whigs' reactions to it. These Whig writers claimed that the self-styled 'Country Party' they opposed were undermining the Revolutionary settlement, through disbanding William III's army, introducing bans on those taking court pensions from sitting in parliament, and examining the executive's disbursement of Irish grants.

One letter joked that the invective of the pamphlets from both sides of the debates demonstrated that 'the ending of one War, has been the occasion of another'.[1] The author was right; the arguments of 1697 to 1701 were engendered by the Peace of Ryswick, exposing fossilised ideological divisions that had been ignored since the start of the Nine Years' War. Now that there was no enemy to fight, the debates were unique insofar as they allowed questions to be raised over the efficacy of having a centrally-funded army at all, because England was – uniquely for the post-Revolutionary years – at peace, and until Louis proclaimed the son of James II the 'King of England' in 1701, it was plausible that peace might be preserved. So, the episode raised unique challenges for those who advocated for a strong state, bolstered by a permanently existing armed force, to be used to defend European Protestantism.

This chapter is broken into four parts. First, I will quickly eðtrstablish what the 'Country' challenge to the pro-government Whigs was, providing some voices from the self-styled 'Country Party' but predominantly working with historical expertise. I do this to set the context for what the writers I discuss were interacting with.

The pro-William Whig response to the Standing Army debate can be divided into two parts, which make up the following two sections of this chapter. The first was the positive assertion of the Williamite state as a muscular defender of European liberty. The higher-tax, higher-spend, more efficient, centralised state, led by a competent, benign leader, was advertised as a positive development in the historical arc that pitted Protestants against Catholics. English state development was both positive and necessary in that it placed England at the centre of the pan-Protestant alliance against Louis XIV, guaranteeing the freedom that comes with security.

The second response was to attack their enemies as 'Tories', disgruntled elites, and republicans. The pro-government Whigs rejected that their opponents were meaningfully Whigs: they were the discontented fringe that were tied together by their denial of the logic and emotional pull of pan-Protestantism. Their views were characterised as retrograde and dangerous. The disruption of narratives that contradicted the pro-government Whig vision of the state came through rhetorical devices like ridicule, over-simplification of arguments, and claims of ulterior motives.

Finally, the last section explores how during and after the Standing Army debates, the Whig idea of Europe that this thesis has examined was presented as common sensical and normative. Given European events that precipitated the War of the Spanish Succession, the Standing Army debates

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[1] *A Letter to a Foreigner on the Present Debate About a Standing Army* (London: Dan Brown, 1698), 3

quickly became a quaint, academic debate, as the Whigs claimed that necessity demanded intervention against Louis XIV, whatever the moral/intellectual arguments against. Whereas in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, ideas of Europe contained novelty and required explanation to win over an English public that had yet to digest such ideas, by the turn of the century these ideas were presented as inevitable conclusions of reasonable thought. There could be no rational opposition. Such an argument belies how much the Whigs were setting the norms that became entrenched in the Annean period, and thus presents a good point to conclude this thesis.

This chapter uses a diffuse source-base. I've read every political pamphlet published between the Peace of Ryswick and the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, relying on Somers' *Tracts,* the 1707 *Collection of State Papers,* and pamphlets advertised in contemporaneous newspapers. Only a comparatively small selection of this vast source base appears in this chapter. The guiding principle for selecting which sources are discussed is their contemporary salience, as measured by factors like: their citations, if they were advertised in newspapers; if they prompted a response; if they were re-printed or issued; whether they were included in contemporaneous collections.

Taking these collections together, I have recreated an accurate picture of the major themes of the 1697-1703 political debate, and applied my methodology used in the previous chapter: seeking to identify ideas of Europe and their application in the Whigs' political practice. Overall, this chapter shows a watershed moment, where Whig ideas of Europe were midwifed into the Annean period not as a partisan, factional interpretation of the world, but as the norm-establishing European policy that set the intellectual justification for mainstream 18th-century attitudes of what became the Walpolean establishment.

**The Anatomy of the Country Rhetorical Challenge**

The government evidently realised early after the Nine Years' War that its peace plans would trigger a negative reaction. William's initial speech (December 3rd 1697) – before any of the divides were public – reveals how fraught it was with attempts to reassure the body politic of the necessity of its proposals, arguing that 'The Circumstances of Affairs abroad are such, that I think my self obliged' to argue for 'a Land-Force'. William gave 'the most solemn Assurance, That as I never had, so I never will, nor can have, any Interest separate from' the English people, reminding parliament 'that as I have, with the

hazard of every thing, rescu'd your Religion, Laws and Liberties, when they were in the extreamest Danger, so I shall place the Glory of my Reign, in preserving them entire, and leaving them so to Posterity.'[2] William's claim that reforms were necessitated by European conditions were central to his regime's argument, and became a standard Whig refrain in the early eighteenth century.

In spite of the boons of peace, William's representation of his argument (and, more broadly, his person) ensured his speech was received unsympathetically. He had arrived in Whitehall the day before, having arrived in England in November. As he proceeded to London, he curtly told those who were in the process of building triumphal arches to mark his victory to cease.[3] As Londoners celebrated the victory, he practiced austerity, going straight to the Whitehall chapel to hear Gilbert Burnet preach.[4] To add to his apparently unapproachable image, his speech to Parliament, instead of being seen in the context of several victories, was viewed in the context of Parliamentary suspicions that the costs of those victories were too high.

When the Commons met to debate William's calls for a 'Land Force', those for the Court lost both the debate and the vote. On the 11th of December the Commons voted 'That all the Land-Forces of this Kingdom, that had been rais'd since the 29th of September 1680. should be paid and disbanded'.[5] With this motion, the Commons sparked such acrimony that, before the circumstances changed and forced parliamentarians to commit to war in 1701, there was a three-year pamphlet war, a threat of abdication, and two General Elections. Crucially for this chapter, at each step of the debate, the Court appeared to be on the back foot, responding to eloquent arguments put by their adversaries. In spite of their efforts, it was a propaganda campaign that they ultimately lost. When William first heard of the Commons' intentions to block his proposal, he closeted his key advisor, Gilbert Burnet, and confided that 'if he could have imagined that after all the service he should have done the Nation,' he would be treated so poorly, 'he would never have meddled in our Affairs'.[6]

In spite of the concerted propaganda efforts of the Whigs' brightest ministers – not least John Somers – William experienced greater bitterness over the years, culminating a year later in the Commons' forced expulsion of his Dutch guard. As 'A Regiment who had faithfully attended his Person from his Cradle,' William lobbied hard for the Commons to allow them to stay, even writing a hand-written note to

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[2] Abel Boyer, *The History of William the Third in Three Parts,* 3 vols, vol 3 (A Roper et al, 1702-1703), 287
[3] Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, 2 vols vol 2(Thomas Ward, 1724; Joseph Downing, 1734), 203
[4] Boyer, *William the Third,* vol 3, 286
[5] Boyer, *William the Third,* vol 3, 302
[6] Burnet, *History of His Own Time,* vol 2, 207

Parliament, stating that 'he intended to send them away immediately, unless out of a Consideration to him, the House was disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his Service, which his Majesty would take very kindly'. The Commons rejected William's request, reducing his arsenal of pan-Protestantism to the tiny number of 7,000 men.[7]

In understanding the genesis of the coalition that resisted the government, historians emphasise the Commission of Public Accounts, a body that Robert Harley was elected onto in 1690. Contemporaries thought that the man many considered to be a junior Whig added little to a commission 'marred by internecine feuds between the whigs and tories'.[8] Gilbert Burnet recalled that the concept of the Commission was devised by Court managers to funnel more money from parliament into the king's coffers to fight the Nine Years' War.[9] If he was right, the Court terribly miscalculated. By 1697, this Commission had helped fuse those divided Whigs and Tories into a coalition united in their attempts to bring down the ministerial Whigs who were proposing a Standing Army. It was this force that pro-government Whigs clashed with during the Standing Army controversy. Because, unlike the last chapter's debates, their arguments were partially responses to a standard and understood argument, it is worth spelling out that argument here.

It is clear that this anti-Court challenge was not a clear party-political split. W A Speck's work shows the necessary bipolarity of the two political parties in the general elections of the period slightly after what is covered here,[10] and David Hayton's collating of party lists, diaries, poll books, and other psephological materials demonstrate that Tory and Whig were prime movers in voting behaviour throughout the Williamite and Annean periods.[11] In spite of David Rubini, who argued that, as King William remained uncommitted to the two parties, divides logically arose between those who opposed William's policy, and those that did not,[12] the two party divide has always been the mainstream way of viewing parliamentary conflict. Clayton Roberts argues the confusion in terms is owing to the Tory

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[7] Boyer, *William the Third,* vol 3, 73

[8] A J Downie, 'The Commission of Public Accounts and the Formation of the Country Party', *English Historical Review* 91, no 375 (1976): 33-51, 34

[9] Downie, 'Public Accounts', 36

[10] William Arthur Speck, *Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701-1715* (London: Macmillan, 1970)

[11] David Hayton et al, *The House of Commons 1690-1715,* 5 vols vol 1, The History of Parliament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002),

[12] Dennis Rubini, *Court and Country 1688-1702* (London: Rupert Harris-Davis, 1967), 23-25

party's conversion to responsible government,[13] and neither J P Kenyon[14] nor Henry Horwitz[15] follow Rubini's split in their set-piece accounts of the period. The best recent chronology of the debate was braved by Julian Hoppit, who argues rightly that there was a 'country persuasion', but ultimately party-political issues – whether or not MPs signed the voluntary association following an attempt on William's life – proved more important in the major political episodes, particularly in the 1698 general election, which asserted the Tory-Whig split.[16]

Within the 'Whig party' itself, historians have largely not attempted to divine an overarching ideology during the party's apparent volte-faces in the Standing Army debates, with most studies preferring to focus on the more relatable 'country' ideology, which historians have claimed has prescience for the 20th and 21st century debates around state power and citizens' liberties.[17] Whereas there has only been one full-scale study of 'Court Whiggery' – which begins its study on the Hanoverian years, rather than the Williamite/Annean periods[18] – so much attention has been paid to the 'country' ideology that a recent paper could be specific enough to discern a 'Saxon republican' tradition out of the classical Roman one.[19] Historians prefer to study the definitive reestablishment of the party-political binary that typified Anne's reign, which has been established paradigmatically by Geoffrey Holmes, who himself began his analysis on the ascension of Anne, and conveniently after the Standing Army debates.[20]

So, scholarship suggests that the 'Country' and 'Court' blocs predominantly existed outside of the two party structure, producing arguments in print and in parliament. The number of pamphlets produced during the controversy indicates the extent to which the debate absorbed such a high amount of attention. Part of their rhetorical challenge was the claim that the Whig/Tory party divide had always been meaningless; the real divide had historically always been between a 'Court' and a 'Country'. In 1710, in the midst of the bitterest party contention since the Civil Wars, a pamphlet alleged that the labels 'Whig' and 'Tory' were fictitious. Simon Clement's *Faults on Both Sides* argued that 'designing

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[13] Clayton Roberts, *The Growth of Responsible Government in Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 317-319

[14] J P Kenyon, *Revolutionary Principles: The Politics of Party 1689-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)

[15] Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977)

[16] Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 151-161

[17] Lois G Schwoerer, 'The Literature of The Standing Army Controversy, 1697-1699', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 28, no 4 (1965): 187–212

[18] Reed Browning, *Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs* (London: Louisiana State University Press, 1982)

[19] Ashley Walsh, 'The Saxon Republic and Ancient Constitution in the Standing Army Controversy, 1697-1699', *Historical Journal* 62, no 3 (2019): 663-684

[20] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* 2nd ed (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987)

Men in both Parties' maintained party division to mask the robbing of the state's patronage networks.[21] To demonstrate how much a nonsense the party labels were, the writer cited the post-Revolutionary years where apparent Whigs had supercharged 'that detestable Art' of bribing Commons votes, as frequently as the old Stuart-supporting Tories did.[22] Honest Tories and Whigs have very little differences, the pamphlet concluded, and both ought to be opposed to court corruption.[23]

The attractiveness of Clement's argument demonstrated some contemporaries' perceptions that the Whigs had no beliefs at all, and the notion of the Tory-Whig divide was just a myopic attempt to keep factional interests in power. John Toland wrote in 1701 that the development of *The Art of Governing by Parties,* 'Of all the Plagues which have infested this Nation since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*', parties and patronage networks was the worst, bringing tyranny, conducted as justification to keep the other group of people out of parliament.[24]

The reorientation of the political divide between a court and a country was value-laden: true patriots could only be on the side of the 'country.' Conversely, the court became a synonym for corruption. One of the most eloquent recent arguments in favour of this division came from Charles-Edouard Levillian's study of transnational neo-Roman discourses in opposing William III's military power, first in the Dutch Republic and then in England. Following contextualist arguments that polemical discourse is indicative of the political ideas influential in the political nation,[25] Levillian argues that the revitalisation in Roman allegory in opposing William's Standing Army was reflective of a Cato-esque political movement that emphasised opposition to an ever-expanding licentious court.[26]

In arguing for the Court/Country dichotomy in the Standing Army debates, writers like Levillian point to the number of those pamphlets that deployed what he correctly calls 'Country Whig' lexis. For example, one set-piece argument by John Toland began by claiming that 'Our Constitution is a limited mix'd Monarchy,' balancing an executive strong enough to defend the country, with checks to prevent abuse of power. In Toland's words, 'the Man is loose, and the Beast only bound'. Such a constitution meant that England was governed by laws, and not the caprices of elites. Toland argued that such a

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[21] Simon Clement, *Faults on Both Sides: Or, An Essay Upon The Original Cause, Progress, and Mischievous Consequences of the Factions in This Nation* (London, 1710), 4

[22] Clement, *Faults on Both Sides,* 20

[23] Clement, *Faults on Both Sides,* 46-48

[24] John Toland, *The Art of Governing by Parties* (London: W Fenner, 1757), 5

[25] Quentin Skinner, 'Augustan Party Political and Renaissance Constitutional Thought' in vol 2 *Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 344-367

[26] Charles-Edward Levillain, 'William III's Military and Political Career in Neo-Roman Context, 1672-1702', *Historical Journal* 48, no 2 (2005): 338-344

state – which was threatened by the Standing Army proposal – was in keeping with the Roman republican ideals he believed that the state ought to represent, with a citizen army of volunteers who spontaneously formed associations when attacked.[27]

Some 'old Whig' writers invoked the larger canon of anti-court works to theorise more broadly on the malign effects of any court that contained too much power. 'Fatal Experience' had taught Toland that 'powerful Allurements and Temptations' often 'debauch[ed]' the 'honest Principles' of anyone who came in contact with the Court.[28] Toland argued that there could be no independence of thought in a court-dominated structure, given the promotion of those who were loyal, and the exclusion of those who thought critically.[29] Even in a Williamite court, perceived as more in favour of 'English liberties' than the Stuarts, the existence of executive power in the legislature worried Toland to the point of demanding that MPs be independent as a condition of entering parliament. If they were not free from court influence, Toland argued that they could not do their constitutional duty.[30]

There was a confessional dimension to the anti-Court rhetoric that ironically runs parallel to one of the insights of the Whig idea of Europe: namely, that Catholic states' absolutism quashed opposition and made the states untrustworthy. A strong Court aped the mechanisms of Catholic apostolic absolutism in its structure. Toland later argued that the Papacy was the most 'corrupt and nefarious' court in Europe, exemplifying court decadence with 'the Pride and Pomp of the World, the Gaudiness and swelling Titles,' and the 'Avarice, Ambition, Jealousy' of its members.[31]

As a court had seductive domestic power, so did a state's court have seductive capabilities on a European scale. Centralised patronage networks gave leverage to Louis XIV and the Pope to command actors to betray the interest of their nations, in return for financial reward. Joseph Addison reflected on this submerging of patronage and perverse interpretations of glory in his account of the Versailles court, where good men were 'bribed to permit the Massacre of the rest of the World' through Louis' arts and sciences patronage. In attempting to create a hegemony of values, arbitrated by his court, he had persuaded Europeans to abide by his policy. These values '*were the snares in which* France *has Entangled all her Neighbours.*'[32]

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[27] John Toland, *An Argument Shewing, That a Standing Army Is Inconsistent with A Free Government, and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* (London, 1698), 6
[28] John Toland, *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments* (London, 1698), 4
[29] Toland, *Danger of Mercenary Parliaments,* 2
[30] Toland, *Danger of Mercenary Parliaments,* 1
[31] Toland, *Destiny of Rome,* 8
[32] *The Spectator*, no 139, 1

To English readers, who in recent memory worried about the susceptibility of Charles II to Versailles, this was an especially valid point: 'Without doubt [Henry VIII] knew his power, but now I can compare *England* to nothing but an Ox, which knows not his own strength and suffers himself tamely to be yok'd.[33] The English ox could be milked to terrible effect; the author reported that the grievances that triggered the English Civil War was fomented by England's French ambassador, who purportedly declared when he arrived back in France, that 'he had kindled a fire which would not be *put out* a good while'.[34]

The Country movement could capitalise on a deep well of ill feeling and articulate writing that placed the Court as the centre of corruption, both nationally and on a European scale. As courts rested on relationships with the monarch at the centre, who disbursed patronage to their favourites, independence of mind was forfeited. Given the power of the Court, the Country movement's central historical theme was resistance to efforts of members of the Court to expand their power further into the country. The Court's response was to reject this value-laden dichotomy. For the authors discussed here, this divide was not between Court and Country, but between those who recognised the reality of the threats of Europe and the English state's need to deal with those challenges, and those who either out of stupidity or ill-will sought to stop those necessary reforms occurring.

**State Evolution as Benign and Necessary**

Given that the Country challenge was the positioning of executive authority and state expansion as inherently morally corrosive, part of the Whig response was to defend these changes as positive and essential. Such arguments faced strong opposition, partly from the venerable anti-tax impulse that runs through most societies at most times. One poem, produced probably just after the Glorious Revolution, celebrated the change of administration in terms of the anticipated reduction of taxation. Without a named publisher or date, is hard to ascertain the extent to which it represented a broad or influential viewpoint, but nevertheless it's worth producing here because it invoked ideas that we can find to be popular. The author wrote that 'With such heavy Taxes the Nation did groan,/ The like ne'r before nor

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[33] *The Politicks of the French King, Lewis the XIV* (London: Mat Wooton, 1689), 57
[34] *Politicks of the French King*, 59

since has been known:/...The late King did take all... But now, God be praised,/ Our burthens are eased,/ No more bloody Taxes are now to be raised'.[35]

Rejecting this hope for lower taxes, the argument to justify tax-raising under the new administration took place in the background of novel re-understandings of the role of the state in economic life, with a number of pamphleteers arguing that the state should intervene in industry and trade for moral, economic, and foreign policy reasons. These pamphlets' ideas were heterodox, published by different people, and had anonymous authorship. However, their contents were tied together by the Whig idea of Europe: that the English simply could not afford a low-tax, low-security state apparatus when faced with threats from abroad. One anonymous writer argued that 'Taxes [are] no Charge', because those taxes funded protection by the Williamite state. The anonymous author pitted supporters of war taxation against those 'Male-contents' who sought to whip up fury against measures that 'purchas'd its [England's] Redemption from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power'*. Contrasting the formal loss of liberty suffered under James' reign and contemporary Williamite taxes, the author asked how much 'every *honest Man*' would give 'to have had that Security under his own *Vine,* and under his own *Fig-tree*'?[36] The quote from the Book of Micah[37] demonstrated the rhetorical intent of the author: the piece was using language that was assumed to be popular, to justify a new way of governing. When contrasting the formal subjugation under a malign prince like James, with the high taxes required under a benign prince like William, it was clear to the author that taxes were well spent, funding new purposes.

The anonymous pamphleteer added a moral dimension to the payment of taxes, given that taxes redistributed the income of the state, taking from 'the worst Members of the Commonwealth' to pay for the civic-minded courtiers and army officers: these worst people were 'Extravagant and Debauch'd', owing to their high payment of import duties on 'Pleasure and Sumptuousness, as Silks, Gold and Silver Lace', plus 'Wines and strong Liquors'. These ideas were old, with medieval and mercantilist economic thinking fearful of imported luxuries distracting kingdoms from their manufacturing and agricultural bases. However, they were re-packaged for the unprecedented state growth carried by William III. In seeking these large sums, the pamphleteer's criticism of luxury consumption was targeted at the poor, who were worse than the rich in their spending on luxuries 'in proportion to his

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[35] *A New Protestant Ballad, Called, England's Congratulation*, n.d.
[36] 'Taxes No Charge, in a Letter from a Gentleman to a Person of Quality; Shewing the Nature, Use and Benefit of Taxes in This Kingdom, Compar'd with the Impositions of Foreign States. Together with Their Improvement of Trade in Time of War', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III*, 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 116–129, 116-117
[37] Micah 4:4

Income'. Taxation not only helped pay for everyone's protection but also penalised those for living immorally.[38] This rise in virtue meant that the English could be stronger against decadent Europeans.

Another pamphleteer lauded war-mandated state intervention into unemployment through getting men into the armed forces. In stark contrast to Country writers who romanticised a past where London did not interfere in municipal affairs, this writer saw an opportunity to rationalise and improve local areas by using war needs to socially cleanse backwater towns and villages. The writer argued parliament and local institutions had been too unscientific in how it chose and gathered recruits, and instead wanted powers to conscript men who were nuisances in towns: for instance, 'any sturdy, wandring Beggar, Fortune-teller, or the like idle, unknown, suspected Fellow in the parish,' should be conscripted before the 'Men of Trades and Callings' were called up.[39] Taking on the 'Country' argument that conscription was against England's traditional liberties – particularly the right to not fight for your king – the author listed a number of statutes and precedents of knights being obligated to fight for the security of the realm.[40] Conscription was not a sign of arbitrariness but a sign of resolve against arbitrariness, both abroad (Louis XIV) and at home (licentiousness, which would be reduced with a greater marshal spirit).[41] Again, this anonymous pamphleteer argued that increasing state capacity was necessary against a foreign threat, both morally and literally.

The moral and pragmatic boons of using the state to employ the unemployed were communicated in a number of tracts. G Malkin justified his scheme to find work for the unemployed through the lens of the war: 'How the CHARGE of the WAR (if it should continue) may be Born without any TAX or PRESSURE to the SUBJECT'.[42] Malkin in effect argued to mobilise the human capital of England's unemployed through forcing the children of the poor to be raised in work houses to escape a culture of begging.[43] He tried to calculate the economic boon of turning every unemployed person into a tradesman, discussing how a tradesmen spent more and took on more labour.[44]

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[38] 'Taxes no Charge', 122

[39] 'A Discourse about the Raising Men; in Which It Is Shew'd, That It Is More for the Interest of the Nation That the Parishes Should Be Oblig'd to Provide Men for the Service of the War, than to Continue to Raise 'Em in the Ordinary Way. And All Objections Are Answer'd, Particularly the Popular One, That This Way of Raising Men Is a Violation of Liberty and Property', in *A Collection of State Tracts, Publish'd on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688. And during the Reign of King William III* 3 vols, vol 2 (London, 1705), 539–551, 539-540

[40] 'Raising Men', 346

[41] 'Raising Men', 347

[42] G Malkin, *A Good-Work for Bad Times, or A Way to Make England Rich and Happy* (London, 1697), title page

[43] Malkin, *Good Work,* 1

[44] Malkin *Good Work,* 4

Calls for greater state coordination in the funding of the war often took technical turns, as exemplified partly by Charles Davenant, whose works encapsulated a mercantilist era that was self-consciously modern: previous wars were 'decided by courage; but now the whole Art of War is in a manner reduced to Money.'[45] Charles Davenant's party politics is complex. He wrote a wide variety of works justifying a range of partisan positions through his career (or for patrons, like the East India Company). However, this essay, which one biographer argued launched his public career,[46] contributed to the rhetorical argument of state expansion. Davenant argued he was part of a new zeitgeist that turned against the 'Opinion […] That the War could not last', due to England's inherent strengths and the inherent foes of England's enemies.[47] Davenant sought to establish tenets of good fiscal management as a core component of war-winning, mainly because smaller states like England could only defeat larger states like France through undermining their economy.[48] Davenant was in a minority in recognising that the proposals were new, rather than in keeping with traditional English ways of fighting wars.

In a similarly self-consciously modern way, John Cary sought to link the war with France with efforts to improve trade, modernise taxation, and reform the English body politic so it was more efficient and capable of defending itself against France. John Cary was an active politician in Bristol, reforming the city's corporation and advancing radical democratic schemes for voting and supervising the MPs.[49] He lobbied for Bristol's merchants more broadly, both in writing and in his activities in the city. The pamphlet discussed here contributed predominantly to the Whig argument for reforming England so its wealth could grow and fight France. Cary's mercantilist views went hand in glove with Whig ideas of Europe: trade created a virtuous circle, the strong and competent defence of trade led to greater wealth, which could be paid towards defending trade, and so on. It is no surprise that Cary dedicated his work to William III and his pursuit of a war that would provide 'the Security of Religion, Liberty, and Prosperity'.[50] Cary argued that the government's economic policy had structural effects on English wealth, and that changes in types of taxation could, without reducing revenue, increase the country's productivity. He gave an example of how England's sugar refining industry had been crushed following a two shilling and four pence duty laid on sugar imports, making it cheaper to buy Dutch- or French-refined sugar, and thus increasing unemployment in England.[51] Cary advocated deep state

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[45] Charles Davenant, *Essay Upon Ways and Means of Supplying the War*, 2nd ed. (London: Jacob Tonson, 1695), 27

[46] Julian Hoppit, *Charles Davenant* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. *Supplying the War* went through three editions, the last being published in 1701

[47] Davenant, *Supplying the War*, 1

[48] Davenant, *Supplying the War*, 23

[49] D Hayton (eds) *House of Commons* vol 2, 212-213

[50] John Cary, *An Essay on the State of England in Relation to Its Trade, Its Poor, and Its Taxes, for Carrying on the Present War against France* (Bristol: W Bonny, 1695), dedication

[51] Cary, *State of England,* 20

involvement to improve England's wealth: 'providing Work-houses for the Poor'; plus editing taxation to encourage protected industry.[52] Like other texts mentioned, Cary gave state intervention a moral purpose: England was beset by moral corruption incurred by unemployment, producing men who are 'maintained in Sloth' and who hated religion and promoted vice.[53] Cary, like the other authors discussed in this section, both relied on the necessity and virtue of a larger, more militaristic state, in relation to strengthening England so that it could protect itself from France.

In finding the formula to raise taxes as fairly as possible, the 1690s saw a slew of proposals. Some of these may have been satirical or seditious in nature, but it is impossible to determine. Both satirical and serious motives serve my argument equally here. If they were serious, they demonstrate the extent to which English writers were engaged in the quest to reform the state to make it more efficient in building its fiscal-military capacities. They show the extent to which they would allow unprecedented control of English lives. If they were satirical, they demonstrate at least that some literate people were aware of such schemes, and perceived them as so ridiculous and intrusive that they were worthy of the expense of printing a rebuttal. In other words, both motives demonstrate a recognition that new schemes for state expansion had entered the mainstream. Whatever the motive, there was a pamphlet justifying a tax on measuring scales,[54] a tax on the hides and skin of cattle,[55] and the sale of cattle for meat,[56] on amending taxation on beer to close down loopholes exploited by brewers,[57] and on increasing the tax on foreign paper from 15% to 30%.[58]

Although many innovations were mooted to fund the war effort, the general justification for increasing taxes to fund wars were often rooted in historical precedent, positioning defenders of liberty against those 'Luxurious People, fearful of Slavery, and yet unwilling to pay the Price of Liberty'.[59] One anonymous writer demonstrated the legality of tax-raising through English history,[60] whereas William Temple was more ambitious. He justified his essay on taxes because of the sureness of the cause that the taxes supported: defeating France was 'the last Consequence to every true English-man' (in contrast

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[52] Cary, *State of England,* 23-24

[53] Cary, *State of England*, 153

[54] E. L., *Proposals by E. L. to Raise One Million Three Hundred Thousand Pounds*, n.d.

[55] *An Essay How to Raise above One Million Sterling per Ann. by an Equal and Easy Tax*, n.d.

[56] W. P., *A Proposal of a Plain and Ready Way to Raise a Very Great Sum of Monies, by a Tax, or Poll upon Quick Stock, Which Was Never yet Charged nor Assessed*, n.d.

[57] *A Proposal to Raise Four Hundred Thousand Pounds per Ann.*, n.d.

[58] *Reasons For Further Additional Duties upon Paper*, n.d.

[59] Davenant, *Supplying the War*, 26

[60] *Some Remarks upon, and Instances of the Usages of Former Parliaments, in Relation to Taxes*, n.d.

to the aims of 'Discontented Jacobites') to keep England free.[61] A pro-Dutch ambassador to the Netherlands during the Restoration, Temple was a keen advocate of Dutch ideas and policies being emulated in England, as well as a sympathy of English foreign policy against the French. Temple's argument that the threat from France was so severe that something had to be done, was followed by a description of the general maxims that English taxes have always sought to equitably fund war: they should be on 'Superfluity', rather than necessity; they shouldn't harm domestic industry; they must be consensus-driven; to name a few. In listing these maxims, Temple implicitly refuted the charge from the Country movement that high taxes were alien to England and therefore against English liberty.[62] Temple's unusual frankness in arguing that the main end of English peoples' desires to defeat France at whatever the cost was often an implicit argument in the pamphlets discussed in this section.

The fiscal innovations were justified as measures to reform England to strengthen it as a state to defend liberty, through a permanent 'land force' to be deployed in Europe when that liberty was under threat. Pamphlet after pamphlet argued from authority that the Standing Army was the surest way of basing the Glorious Revolution, the seemingly final settlement of the Protestant-Catholic conflict, on a permanent footing. These pamphlets took manifold themes, but ultimately centred on the conflict between two pan-European historical forces – one for liberty, the other for slavery – as the proper context for visualising the Standing Army debates. Alluding to the Country Party's attempts to pivot the Standing Army on the historical axis of a Country resisting the Court, one author 'shall not trouble the Reader with Historical Quotations, either out of Ancient or Modern Authors', which were often used to defend the 'Country' position.[63] Instead, the author took 'for granted, that an Army in time of Peace is consistent with our Constitution', given that the army would be under the authority of parliament.[64] Sidestepping what the author considered to be an unnecessary debate over constitutionalism, he quickly turned to the substance of the necessity of a standing army: defending the country from its real enemy (Jacobites and their French sponsors), who had been undermining the Holy Roman 'Empire, *Spain*, and *Holland*.'[65] Given that England could not rely on a navy alone to prevent an invasion, England's next level of 'Defence therefore must be a Land Force.'[66]

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[61] William Temple, *An Essay Upon Taxes, Calculated for the Present Juncture of Affairs In England* (London: Tim Goodwin, 1693), 1

[62] Temple, *Essay Upon Taxes*, 2-3

[63] *The Case of Disbanding the Army at Present, Briefly and Impartially Consider'd* (London: John Nutt, 1698), 1

[64] *Disbanding the Army*, 2

[65] *Disbanding the Army*, 3

[66] *Disbanding the Army*, 5

To Daniel Defoe, only a wholehearted endorsement of the Standing Army proposal demonstrated the true belief in liberty, rather than the factious and false invocation of the government's opponents, aided by the pamphlet produced by Toland. Defoe's party politics defy easy description. Although he started as a pamphleteer for Whig positions, he later became Robert Harley's chief propagandist. However, it was during the Standing Army debate that he cut his teeth as a pamphleteer, on the side of the pro-government Whigs. Defoe cited the Bible: 'And King Solomon had four thousand Stalls for Horses and Chariots, and twelve thousand Horsemen; whom he bestowed in the Chariot-Cities, and with the King at Jerusalem.' In following King Solomon, William III was following in a line of pious princes protecting their realm.[67] Solomon was the wisest king, and his decision to have a permanent land force, even in times of peace, protected his godly kingdom from the idolaters of Judea and other threats.

To be against Williamite fiscal-military innovations was to deny the reality that unless Protestant states adapted, they would be subsumed by the forces of Catholicism. Around the turn of the century, Defoe warned that Protestantism was far weaker in the early eighteenth century than it was at the turn of the seventeenth century: he listed the swathes of Europe that had switched to Catholicism, from eastern to western Europe. Such a history should trigger 'the most melancholy Reflections'.[68] After listing the horrors inflicted on Protestants by Catholics in Europe, Defoe called for England to use 'our utmost Endeavours by all legal ways to assist his Majesty and his Government, against all his and our Enemies both at Home and Abroad'.[69] Debating the niceties of English constitutional history while England's spiritual and political allies were being defeated was like fiddling while Rome burned.

Given the French threat, Toland's classical Whig attack on the Standing Army was invalidated, either because he was a stooge for the Tories by believing in an outdated mode of liberty, or as being a Tory by wilfully using those outdated modes knowing that they expose the country to danger. One pamphleteer distrusted the sincerity of his argument: 'Nor do I believe that even our Author thinks what he says'. The longer history of English affairs, rather than the short Court-Country history espoused by the Country movement, demonstrated that 'an Army composed of *English* Nobility, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, have always gone with the Sentiments of the Majority of the People, even to the abandoning and giving up of their Masters and Generals', and so consequently boosted English

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[67] Daniel Defoe, *An Argument Shewing, That a Standing Army, With Consent of Parliament, Is Not Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c.* (London: E Whitlock, 1698), Title Page

[68] Daniel Defoe, *The Case of England, and the Protestant Interest* (London, n.d.), 1

[69] Defoe *Case of England*, 4

liberty. In consequence, Toland's militia, 'will prove a Guard only fit to defend his Commonwealths of *Oceana* and *Utopia*; where alone, I fancy, he will be fit to Govern.'[70]

With the parameters of debate limited to the best way to serve a benign prince, pamphlets claimed that the establishment of a standing army was the legitimate middle-ground between the apparent extremism of the 'Country' and those in the 'Court' who wanted an army to threaten liberty. In a piece obviously intended to aid the pro-government cause, Daniel Defoe eloquently dwelt on these extremes, though he focused far more on the factious Country. The 'safe *Medium'* Defoe implored was established on pro-government Whig principles;[71] whatever happened, England had to be the arbiter of Europe, and ready to meet any threat. Crucially, this threat could need meeting before it was ready to land in England: implicitly, the standing army had to be the size of a continental expeditionary force.[72] However, as England was under a benign prince, and that the army was always premised on explicit parliamentary consent, it could really be any size without threatening liberties.[73] Consequently, the Standing Army was a reasonable policy instrument given European realities.

In this new 'middle-ground' that accepted the legitimacy of the state's ability to raise taxes, fund debts, and maintain a standing army, writers also argued such policies would create a new centre of unity that strengthened the body politic. One author argued that the Williamite regime had a restorative effect on England, 'rekindl[ing] the decaying Fire of this warlike People', providing 'Occasions [to] show a Courage and Resolution equal to that of their warlike Ancestors'.[74] Criticising the author's contemporary parliament (which had frustrated William in his wish to have a standing army), 'Drake' argued that the virtues of national unity manifested itself best in a compliant parliament that 'adhered to the Interest of *Europe* against a Common Enemy', agreeing to the fiscal-military innovations and taxes that made England competitive in its war.[75] These innovations, while a threat if introduced by a Catholic king, were introduced by a king whose interests were inseparable from those of the country: 'the Interest of their Country was plainly the same with that of the court'.[76]

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[70] *Some Remarks Upon a Late Paper, Entituled, An Argument, Shewing, That a Standing Army Is Inconsistent with a Free Government, and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy* (London, 1697), 16-17

[71] Defoe, *a Standing Army,* 2

[72] Defoe, *a Standing Army,* 7-8

[73] Defoe, *a Standing Army,* 13-16

[74] Drake, 'A Short History of the Last Parliament, by --- Drake, M. D', in *A Second Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, On the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects: But Chiefly Such as Relate to the History and Constitution of These Kingdoms*, 4 vols, vol 4 (London: F Cogan, 1750), 164–89, 164-165

[75] Drake, 'Short History', 167

[76] Drake, 'Short History', 169

To advocates of the fiscal-military revolution that involved more targeted taxes, greater state involvement in local politics, and a 'land force' to defend the state abroad and enforce laws at home, the Nine Years' War and the threat of further conflicts were ample justifications for the changes brought about by the Williamite regime in the 1690s. Their production from 1695 to 1701 reveals the necessity of making the argument in print, first due to the longer duration of the Nine Years' War than many anticipated, and then their ideological justification following the Peace of Ryswick (we saw how in the chapter on the English press how one of the major consolations of England starting war with France was the promise that France could not fight for long). These pamphlets therefore reveal the first justifications of these reforms on the basis of their intrinsic merits and were partly produced in the knowledge of the growing backlash against the reforms.

**Malicious Motives of the 'Country Movement'**

As well as justifying the reforms in print, Whig defenders of the Williamite regime also turned to attacking enemies of the reforms as malign. Such criticisms have echoes from a decade earlier, where 'Tories' were used as a literary-political trope as a shorthand for everything that the Whigs feared. The coalition that criticised the Williamite regime invoked a Court-Country dichotomy. The pamphlets that retorted in their attacks on William's opponents barely mentioned this dichotomy, instead arguing that any switch in rhetoric was, at root, a Tory trap to impose absolutism on the country. Either it was argued that the country rhetoric was the product of disingenuous Tories making any argument to sow discord in the country, or it was the product of mistaken idealists who had been pulled into the Tory publication machine as gullible idiots.

This response echoed through the next decade. An oft-cited piece by Simon Clement, who reflected on the Standing Army as a major example of Court-Country conflict, was instantly dismissed then as a Tory tool to dishonestly re-fashion politics to suit its own ends. For instance, *Faults in the Fault-Finder* posited that Clement's views were lies and aspersions against the Whig ministry. Clement gave arguments 'without the least colour of Truth'.[77] Instead of assenting to Clement's view of a Court-Country dichotomy, defenders of the Standing Army were keen to assert a Whig-Tory divide, with their position rooted firmly in the former. In using these labels in the Standing Army debate, Whig-

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[77] *Faults in the Fault-Finder: Or, a Specimen of Errors In the Pamphlet, Entitul'd Faults on Both Sides* (London: A Baldwin, 1710), 12-13

sponsored pamphlets positioned their side as the standard-bearers of English goodness, and the latter representatives of French evil.

The pro-government Whigs argued that those who were against the Standing Army were not in the tradition of the Restoration Country movement, but secret enemies of the English Constitution, using the Country label to subvert the state they claimed to represent. In explaining the dishonesty of the development of a 'Country' narrative that positioned them against a corrupt Court, Whig writers argued that the dichotomy was a fake one to bamboozle the nation into accepting what their opponents really endorsed: French slavery. In countering propaganda that positioned the country opponents as the moderate acceptors of the Revolution Settlements, Whig writers argued that Tory motives, if not actions, reflected why they shouldn't be trusted.

When the Standing Army proposals were rejected by the Commons, writers mocked the irrational resistance to it. One pamphlet decried the 'spleenetick Humours' of professional opposers that used the Land Force arguments to destabilise the country.[78] Another, written by Dan Brown, pointed to the self-evident weaknesses that the liberal English constitution was exposed to in the event that the army was disbanded; those celebrating were all historical members of anti-Protestant groups. In positing that arguments against the Standing Army were part of a conspiracy to weaken the government, Brown asked 'if any People in the World but may be enslav'd by their own Government?'[79] If the answer was 'no', then rejections of the Standing Army argument were malevolent and attempts to weaken the English polity.

Abel Boyer followed the theme of Brown in criticising the stance against the Standing Army as one that necessarily weakened the country by his explicit linking of the Commons' motion of abolition of the Standing Army with the spirits of the English Catholics. Abel Boyer was deeply attached to the Williamite Court: a Huguenot educationalist, who tutored the Duke of Gloucester, leveraged his political connections to establish his long-running *Annals* in Anne's reign. He later wrote the hagiographical biography of William III that I discussed in my chapter on Whig conceptualisations of history. It was in his biography of William that Boyer interpreted the events in his longer arc of Protestant versus Catholic. Whatever weakened the Protestants strengthened the Catholics, and the removal of a Land Force weakened the Protestant interest. Boyer recounted that, so quickly following

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[78] *The Case Of a Standing Army Fairly and Impartially Stated. In Answer To the Late History of Standing Armies in England: And Other Pamphlets Writ on That Subject* (London, 1698), 4

[79] Brown, *Letter to a Foreigner*, 10

the Commons' anti-land force resolution did Catholics appear publicly around Whitehall and the Palace of Westminster, that the Commons demanded that they be expelled from London. In a petition dated 31st March 1699, the Commons complained that the London Catholics 'keep Horses and Arms contrary to Law'. The Commons cited their security threat and their spiritual threat; the former through a potential assassination of William, and the latter through their door-to-door exploiting of the dying, converting the weak to Catholicism before they die, thereby condemning their souls.[80] Whether people opposed the Land Force for sincere reasons or not, the consequences were the same: the enemies of the state were emboldened by parliament refusing what William required.

In creating the dichotomy between Tory slavery and Whig liberty – with the former allowing Catholic priests to travel freely around London condemning souls, like they did in James II's day – pamphlets positioned the Land Force debate as not one between the 'Country' resisting monarchical incursions, but legitimate government protection of Tory attempts at weakening the forces that protected liberty. One anonymous pamphlet turned the Glorious Revolution and the Standing Army into synonyms, or the latter being a rational consequence of the former. After preserving England following decades of religious strife, William's endorsement alone was argued to justify the standing army, given his 'fatherly care of his Subjects.'[81] In enforcing the Williamite stability of the 1690s, another anonymous pamphlet questioned 'What Fools' people were who asked William to be their 'Deliverer,' 'who they dare not trust with Edge Tools in his Hand, under a less Dread than of Shackles, and Rods of Iron'?[82] This pamphlet argued that even though the threat of immediate danger had passed, European political realities required that English people follow William III's advice and keep a land-force.

With the self-evident power of threats like the French monarchy, pro-government Whigs claimed that arguments against a standing army was really a front to introduce foreign government into England. Instead of the pretended Court-Country dichotomy asserted by the Tories, it was the more important, longer conflict between those within and without the centre of the body politic who fought to either secure or undermine Protestant liberties. There was no room for dissenting against the official Whig line of the Standing Army on Whig grounds: there could be no 'Country Whig' position. For example, when the Whig opponent of the Standing Army, John Toland, penned an anonymous piece,[83] he attracted criticism from the ministerial Whig machine. Daniel Defoe argued that any Whiggish

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[80] Boyer, *William III*, vol 3, 378-379
[81] *The Argument Against a Standing Army Rectified, And the Reflections and Remarks upon It in Several Pamphlets, Consider'd. In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1697), 3
[82] *Remarks Upon a Scurrilous Libel; Called, An Argument, Shewing That a Standing Army Is Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c.* (London, 1697), 21
[83] Toland, *Standing Army is Inconsistent*

invocation of classical or traditional liberty was disguised Toryism, in spite of Republican/Machiavellian lexis. He mocked the author's need to remain anonymous: 'why shou'd he fear his Name?'[84] Defoe answered that it was because the author himself realised the hollowness of his pretences for 'liberty'. Defoe wrote: '*All your Plea is Liberty, an alluring word; and I must tell you, Liberty or Religion has been the Mask for almost all the Publick Commotions of the World.*'[85] Defoe's attack on 'public commotions' reflected how the Whigs who defended the regime were becoming the status-quo rather than the instigator of the 'commotions' of the last decade.

One punchy pamphlet went point-by-point in arguing that John Toland's Whig dissension against the Standing Army was a tool for Tory slavery. It was simply not intellectually legitimate to attack the measure on Whig principles. The anonymous pamphlet asked whether France still hoped to 'subdue England by the Re-establishment of the late King James' (yes)? How often did Louis break treaties (often)? Whether William could marshal sufficient defence of England if Parliament is not sitting (he could not)?[86] In introducing his piece, the anonymous author wrote the key tenet of the Williamite Whigs' argument that a Land Force was the only effectual guardian against slavery: '*Men must consider the Power of its Neighbours, especially those who are most to be feared*'.[87] The contrast between Tory invocation of fake threats against the very real threat posed by France could not be greater. This reality was European. Without the credible threat of Louis XIV's France, the pro-government Whigs had fewer arguments to utilise. Pieces like this drew on the idea of Europe that had been developing over the last few decades to justify the new status quo.

Toland proposed something like a militia-derived 'Land Force' to defend England.[88] In so doing, he balanced the old Whig fear of an overweening executive with the fear of France. To the regime's defenders, this trade-off was illogical. The previous chapters have shown how the Whigs' pamphlets downplayed the threat of an overly strong executive now it was controlled by such a benign prince. The measure of William III's benignity was his idea of Europe that emphasised the threat from abroad. Thus, Toland's criticism was misplaced: France was the only force to fear, not the benign state. Given

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[84] Daniel Defoe, *Some Reflections On a Pamphlet Lately Publish'd, Entituled, An Argument Shewing That A Standing Army Is Inconsistent with Free Government, And Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy*, 2nd ed. (London: E Whitlock, 1697), 1

[85] Defoe, *Some Reflections*, preface

[86] *Some Queries Concerning the Disbanding of the Army: Humbly Offered to Publick Consideration. Which May Serve for an Answer to Mr. A, B, C, D, E, F, G's Argument* (London, 1698), 3-4

[87] *Some Queries Concerning,* Preface

[88] John Toland, *The Militia Reform'd: Or, an Easy Scheme of Furnishing England with a Constant Land-Force, Capable to Prevent or to Subdue Any Foreign Power; and to Maintain Perpetual Quiet at Home, without Endangering the Public Liberty* (Daniel Brown, 1699)

this value structure, one anonymous pamphlet argued that Toland could only be a stooge for the Tories. In making this connection, the pamphlet drew on the rich conceptual base established at the start of William's reign. The Tories were like 'Strangers' – or foreigners – who 'cannot *comprehend'* the common law nature of English monarchy because of the 'invincible Prejudice' that meant 'that nothing can beat into his Noddle' other than '*Divine Right,* and *Power,* of a Papist or Tyrant'.[89] Toland's inability to see England's true threat meant he was simply the Tories' useful idiot.

A far pithier piece – responding to John Toland specifically, but also anti-Land Force partisans more broadly – simply gave one page of numbers to undermine those who were against the standing army proposal. It listed all 20,000 men loyal to James who were ready to invade England. This page intimated that those who wanted to disband England's army were either wilfully blind to, or supportive of, James' invasion.[90] Another pamphlet, in the form of an anonymous letter, concluded that the irrationalities of being against the standing army – at least in the interim between the training of a proper militia – must be due to a sinister motive, 'some Snake in the Grass... your popular Topick is *Liberty* and *Property*,' but it 'looks very like a Design to Grasp the Power, the Government, and the Dominion of this now happy Kingdom, or else you would have let these Weighty Matters alone to whom it Rightly belongs, The King, Lords and Commons in Parliament.'[91]

This was a dual criticism, deeply in keeping with the themes discussed in the last chapter. First, rhetoric was a smokescreen for the true facts and motivations of the anti-Land Force authors. There was no good faith and their arguments should be seen as power-political tools, not academic contributions to the common wealth. The second criticism was the rejection that these debates should happen at all outside of formal structures: only the king and parliament should discuss such matters. Why? Because of English peoples' susceptibility to Fallenness. Popular print led to rabble-rousing, which led to civil discontent, which only helped England's foreign enemies. This argument for hierarchical stability was uncomfortable given that this piece was itself a polemical, non-parliamentary intervention, hence why perhaps it took the form of a private letter that was printed without the explicit consent of the author.

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[89] *A True Account of Land Forces in England; And Provisions for Them, from before the Reputed Conquest Downwards: And of the Regard Had to Foreiners. In a Letter to A. B. C. T. T. T. &c. With Animadversions upon Their Argument and History of Standing Armies; Militia Reformed; Pretended Confutation of the Ballancing Letter; Life of Milton; and Letters Concerning Guards, Garrisons, and Mariners* (London: J Nutt, 1699), 2

[90] *A List of King James's Irish and Popish Forces in France, Ready (When Called for:) In Answer to an Argument against a Land-Force, Writ by A, B, C, D, E, F, G, or Whatever Has Been, or Ever Shall Be, Writ upon That Subject* (London: Edward Jones, 1697), preface

[91] *To the Annonimus Author Of the Argument against a Standing Army* (London, 1697), 4

Removing Toland's ideological threat by lumping him with the Tories, John Somers, both one of the major architects of William's standing army and its major parliamentary defender, apparently ignored the Whig-Country voices that 21st century historians emphasise when turning to his critics in his defence of his position. Somers drew a dichotomy that had no space for 'Country Whigs', instead positioning all opponents of the Standing Army as Tories. Like most writers, he did not use the term 'Tory' directly, but his laying out of English history made clear which faction he was referring to:

> To tell you Truth, I cannot see some Men grow all of the sudden such wonderful Patriots for publick Liberty, without remembring what their Behaviour was, some years ago, in the late Reigns; when we had not only all the justest Causes of Jealousie, but all the Certainties of Evidence: The Designs were bare-faced, and the Attempts were bold; and yet some were then silent, and others went into them, with as hearty a Zeal for Arbitrariness as they seem now to put on for Liberty.[92]

Whig ministers attempted to tie England's interest, even the interests of the country squires, with the Protestant international, assisted by England's Standing Army. John Somers' faux-objective title, *A Letter, Ballancing the Necessity of Keeping a Land-Force In Times of Peace: With The Dangers that may follow on it* belied his vested interest in favour of the standing army, and contrasted himself with the opposition, who were inherently against the scheme. Somers argued that the Country opposition's ideas were wilfully outdated, writing that 'if we were in the same Condition in which we and our Neighbours were an Age ago, I should reject the Proposition with Horrour.' However, 'the Case is altered', given that nations now took it as a norm to keep standing armies, the 'powerfullest of all these happens to be our next Neighbour', France.[93] Implicit in Somers' argument was the acceptance that traditional 'country' opposition ceased to be legitimate under a benign prince that tied together broader interests against the Universal Monarch. Under a benign prince, opposition was instead factious and either deliberately or consequently pro-French. The dichotomy was crucial, given that it was argued that it was illegitimate to oppose a prince's requests for funds when that prince had proved that such funds would only be used for the appropriate use of the executive.

Somers had a vested interest in re-framing the debate to encompass the Restoration years. Reminding readers that his contemporary 'wonderful Patriots' were those who enabled James II to carry out his

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[92] John Somers, *A Letter, Ballancing the Necessity of Keeping a Land-Force In Times of Peace: With The Dangers That May Follow on It* (London, 1697), 8-9
[93] Somers, *A Letter*, 4

absolutist plans in previous decades swapped the Court-Country dichotomy, where the latter always lost because of the overwhelmingly negative associations of belonging to a 'Court', with the Tory/Whig dichotomy. One diatribe against the opponents of the Standing Army, for example, argued that only by placing a standing army under a benign prince could the nefarious enemy within be resisted: otherwise the 'Taint', the 'Disease', of Toryism would strike and bring about a Jacobite restoration. A poem stressed the same extremist message: in answering arguments against a standing army, one verse ran: 'Would they who have Nine Years look'd Sow'r,/ Against a French and Popish Pow'r,/ Make Friends with both in half an Hour?/ *This is the Time.*/ Would they discreetly break that Sword,/ By which their Freedom was restor'd/ And put their Trust in *Lewis* Word?/ *This is the Time.*' The final stanza wrote that 'I pray then let 'em shew their Games', demonstrating the perceived deceit of those arguing against a standing army, as those – in the case of this poem – in favour of either 'A Common-wealth, or else *K. James?*'[94]

It was explicit in Somers' positioning the Standing Army debate as between two political parties that the Tories' naked abuse of the Country label was to mask foreign, Catholic ends. This in itself was a blunt way of tying political discourse to the Whigs' anti-Catholic idea of Europe. However, the arguments in favour of the Standing Army – animating a policy that tore up a decade of ideology against them – reflect a subtler, strategic idea of Europe grounded in a common memory that highlighted the contingency of the Protestant settlement and the need to assist Protestants abroad.

Fortuitously for the Whig advocates of the Standing Army, a character personifying the emptiness of the Tory's country clothing came onto the scene. Charles Davenant wrote a classical 'Country' attack on the Whig Junto ministers in his *Essays upon Peace at Home, and War Abroad.* The piece lamented the 'Endeavours to keep up a great Land-Force in Times of Peace,' to the 'Neglect of Trade, general Profusion,' and the 'Weight of present Taxes, and of future Debts.'[95] Davenant denounced the party tempers of politicians, with both inflaming the masses with paper wars that sought to mobilise discontent rather than promote calm.[96] Each time a paper war occurred, the country became more divided, thus leading to further weakness and degrading of the body politic.[97] Liberty itself was permanently in jeopardy as long as parties incentivised a lack of unbiased, nation-focused thinking.[98]

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[94] Matthew Prior, *A New Answer to An Argument Against A Standing Army* (London, 1697), 1

[95] Charles Davenant, *Essays upon Peace at Home, and War Abroad* (London: James Knapton, 1704), preface

[96] Davenant, *Essays upon Peace,* 6

[97] Davenant, *Essays upon Peace,* 8

[98] Davenant, *Essays upon Peace,* 54-57

Davenant's arguments jarred with another piece he wrote, denouncing *The True Picture of a Modern Whig*. Whereas he signed his *Essays* in his name, *The True Picture* was intended to be published anonymously, and the contradictory nature of the two pieces when put together demonstrated why. In spite of criticising the number of pieces that attacked one party as inflaming the body politic in his *Essays*, Davenant's *True Picture* set a dialogue that presented the Whig as the most degraded type of person. The characters agreed that 'a Civil War at Home' was the Whigs' aim, and they wanted to prolong a foreign war until such conditions existed to bring down the body politic and restore a Republic.[99] To achieve their aim, they will bribe corporations, libel enemies, and print propaganda to disrupt law and order.[100]

Whatever the merits of Davenant's case, the juxtaposition of the two texts harmed his reputation, and allowed partisans to present any potential 'Tory Country' argument as two-faced. One author labelled Davenant as the anti-hero of his dialogues; 'the True Tom Double', who was 'an adventurous Gamester, who depended too much on his good Luck,' had lost everything in producing two pieces that contrasted so significantly.[101] The bulk of the text discredited Davenant's style, which was so obscure that it was accused of hiding the basic meaninglessness of his philosophy: 'his very *Language* is as False and Mean, as his *Thoughts*;[102] the piece demolishes his multiple and clashing use of metaphors, calling 'faction' a tide in one paragraph, and an 'unruly steed' in the next.[103]

To the author, the flowery language was deliberately used to distract from the contradictory nature of country Toryism; for example, in both demanding an end to aggression while simultaneously ram-rodding the Bill of Occasional Conformity through the Commons in spite of its veto in the Lords.[104] Particularly cited was Davenant's writings about dissenters, which was so vague that the writer demanded to know 'what doth this Jargon mean? How shall we understand this puzling, puzled Writer?'[105] To the writer, the actions of Davenant's group – the Tories – answered the question: Davenant's 'country' essays were not published in the Netherlands, because 'no [Dutch] Man is allow'd to hold a Place upon the *English* Terms of *Occasional Conformity*.'[106]

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[99] Charles Davenant, *The True Picture of a Modern Whig, Set Forth in a Dialogue Between Mr. Whiglove & Mr. Double, Two Under-Spur-Leathers to the Late Ministry*, 7th ed. (London: John Nutt, 1705), 8-11
[100] Davenant, *The True Picture,* 12-26
[101] *The True Tom Double: Or, An Account of Dr. Davenant's Late Conduct and Writings, Particularly with Relation to the XIth Section of His Essays on Peace at Home, and War Abroad. With Some Latin Memorandums for the Dr.'s Use* (London: G Croom, 1704), 3
[102] *True Tom Double,* 24
[103] *True Tom Double,* 25
[104] *True Tom Double,* 7
[105] *True Tom Double,* 25-26
[106] *True Tom Double,* 27

With Davenant exposed, Somers and others felt justified in tarring anti-standing army polemists as Tories, irrespective of those espousing 'Country Whig' rhetoric. The rhetoric was hollow. As Davenant practiced duplicity, so did the wider Tory movement, criticising the Whigs with country rhetoric to suit their aims in pursuing power, but sincerely believing in different, party-political Tory doctrines, that would lead to the weakening of England.

## The Whig Idea of Europe as Self-evident

In the short-term, the pro-government Whigs lost the legislative and rhetorical battle over the Standing Army. The Commons' demand that William expel the Dutch Regiment that had watched over him since birth marked a new low in the relationship between the executive and the legislature. When signing the bill, he gave a remarkably frank public comment that 'I might think my self unkindly used,' in being forced to remove 'those Guards who came over with me to your Assistance,' and that 'to tell you as plainly my Judgment, That the Nation is left too much expos'd' by the Commons' unkind actions.[107]

In spite of the apparent triumph of the enemies of the Whigs, their idea of Europe – as one continent divided ideologically between two blocs, requiring English involvement – was soon again translated into English foreign policy, and became so confident that it was presented by its proponents as self-evident. The thesis did not need justifying in lengthy historical pieces, or short polemics. The question moved from: how threatened was England by forces in Europe?, to how should we deal with these self-evident European threats? Although this rhetoric was at its most salient during the War of the Spanish Succession, the tying together of pan-Protestantism with sensibleness came from the Standing Army debates. Like William himself, the Dutch guards to some had come to be a symbol of acting to militarily secure pan-Protestant liberties. As the guards left, an equivocally complimentary poem written as a *Dutch-Gards Farewell to England* was released. It contained anti-Dutch overtones – noting how they enjoyed 'turning our Tails, sav'd our selves by our Running', and how they enjoyed England because of 'your Wives and your Daughters' – but on the whole contrasted the high mindedness of the pan-Protestant cause with English domestic squabbling. They reminded their readers that 'IN Times of great Danger, have we been so civil,/ To save your Religion from Pope and the Devil?' In leaving the country,

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[107] Boyer, *William III,* vol 3, 371

'we're bound to forsake-ye;/ And heartily Wish a *French* Devil may take-ye.' Instead of Protestant strength, 'May Discords Domestick arise and Confound-ye; And *Lewis* this Summer with Forces surround-ye.'[108]

One pamphlet used William and his Guards as a representation of pan-Protestant Europe, arguing that William III and his soldiers 'may be resembled to lovers', who had managed to create a victory that freed England from 'Popery, Slavery and arbitrary power, which gather so thick a Cloud round about Us, that we were in despair of ever seeing the glorious Sun-shine of Peace'.[109] Describing himself as a 'Lover of the Constitution of my Country', the writer sought to reconcile defence with liberty, stressing such reconciliation as the only policy patriots could pursue.[110] However, in establishing this compromise, he highlighted what was necessary to secure peace and stability, which was 'making a Confederacy for stopping an Universal Monarchy'.[111]

These arguments were soon presented as mainstream. The arguments given against the Standing Army appeared as an arcane aberration from the general direction of government policy. In these years, the Whigs' defence of increasing involvement in European affairs – manifesting itself in the War of the Spanish Succession – was defended not only as just, but as necessary.

The force of the Whig analysis of Europe seemed confirmed when, from July 1700 to March 1702, England seemed beleaguered with bad fortune. In the Summer of 1700, England's best hope of an uncontested, English, Stuart, Protestant successor, died. Parliament was forced to scramble to appoint a Continental successor with a far weaker claim to the throne. A few months later, just as the Second Treaty of Partition was signed, Charles II's death and revisionist will raised the prospect of a Bourbon on the throne of Paris and Madrid. With Innocent XII's death, this new empire received the approval of the Pope, partially cooling the Paris-Rome tensions that had flared since the Gallican controversy. A year later, the death of James II allowed Louis to crown another English king, James III, which rallied English Jacobites around a renewed figurehead. Finally, the death of William III generated trepidation as to whether the English polity – now led by a monarch decidedly lukewarm on the issue of war – would combat the Bourbon Universal Monarchy just as it became the most threatening. The re-creation of how precarious the Whigs perceived England's position contextualises their analysis of their

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[108] *The Dutch-Gards Farewell to England*, 1699
[109] *The Late Prints for a Standing Army, and in Vindication of the Militia Consider'd, Are in Some Parts Reconcil'd*, (London, 1698), 1-2
[110] *Late Prints*, 3
[111] *Late Prints*, 4

opponents either malign or dogmatic motives for bringing in anti-Dissenter legislation just as the Continent's hegemon signalled its attempt to once again dictate England's affairs by appointing their king.

Abel Boyer complained that, outside of Court circles, the death of England's last hope of an England-born heir was met with widespread ennui. 'Never was so great a Loss, so little lamented', a phenomenon the Huguenot attributed to the caballing of Jacobites and Republicans that hoped to capitalise on the heir's death to either bring about a restoration or a commonwealth.[112] Daniel Defoe agreed. He lambasted politicians and the wider body politic for obsessing over foreign events that, while important, 'Ought not *so to Divert us*.' He implored them to 'suspend a little their Concern for the Events of Foreign Affairs, and cast their Eyes upon their own.'[113]

In spite of the writers' recollections, it seems that there was a significant response to the heir's death. A number of sermons were published lamenting William of Gloucester's passing, and the publication of the prince's post-mortem must have attracted public interest, going into such gory detail as to describe the former heir's 'extremely Flaccid' heart, his lungs, 'filled with Blood', his 'Swoll'n' neck, and his Stomach, 'which had in its Cavity, Wind, and a small quantity of Liquor.'[114] John Evelyn noted that 'as now there is none to succeede to this Crowne', and the allocating of rightful inheritance was a 'matter of high speculation to the Politic'.[115] The body politic was aware enough of the dynastic threat for the divided Commons and Lords to agree to support the Act of Settlement, which passed within a year, and guaranteed the Protestant succession to the House of Hanover.

Indeed, the death of the Duke of Gloucester resulted in a series of highly emotionalist sermons that offered little political analysis into the consequences of the heir's death, nor of the anxiety that politicians felt that England had become weaker because its succession was thrown into question. Read alone, these sermons appeared to show that the death of the heir merely triggered a public outpouring of grief. For example, two months after the Duke's passing, James Gardiner preached that the death was God's indictment of 'the Sin of the Nation', which had also struck down William III's consort,

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[112] Boyer, *William the Third,* vol 3, 457

[113] Daniel Defoe, *The Succession of the English Crown Considered* (London, 1701), 5

[114] Edward Hannes, *An Account of the Dissection of His Highness William Duke of Glocester* (London: J Nutt, 1700), 3-4

[115] John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, eds E S De Beer, 6 vols, vol 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 421

Queen Mary.[116] Gardiner reassured his congregation that 'DEATH, like *Caesar, Taxes* the *Whole* World, and his Mortal Sythe Mows down the *Lilies* of the *Crown*, as well as the *Grass* of the *Field.*'[117] In sermons in this style, lamentation and emotionalism outweighed appraisals of England's European position.

In the same emotionalist vein, one poem asked of the infant, 'Did we reflect how Good, how just he was'.[118] Similarly, another poem by James Fowler, noted that 'Wisdom in his Youth declar'd him Man', and that the ten-year old had 'the Beauteous Graces'.[119] At the official funeral, William Fleetwood philosophically reflected that 'The Life of Princes is a mole of Sand', and 'God alone abideth for ever', arguing that humanity should take the death of the heir as an example of the constancy of God, in contrast to temporal princes.[120] Richard Burridge took the death as an opportunity to express his general theory that 'Death if the regeneration of the Soul',[121] and that, without it, 'an utter detestation of morality'.[122]

Much of this was the standard lamenting that was part and parcel of preaching. I've included them here, however, because behind the general, unpolitical expressions of grief, these sermons reveal a deeper anxiety. These preachers recognised that the death of the Duke of Gloucester revealed an angst that England was less safe and more open to foreign intervention now that the generally-agreed Protestant successor had died. In other words, behind such lamentations was the principle that Europe was now a more dangerous place, and that the Whig polemics and analyses of the previous two decades had been validated by French forces sweeping to power in much of Europe. One New Englander wrote to the metropole, succinctly communicating the meaning of the Duke's death to his patriotic subjects:

> Old *England's* WEAL was his [William's] peculiar Care,
>
> And mine the fatal Loss of *England's* HEIR.
>
> Long on the Throne may Glorious *WILLIAM* shine;
>
> But *GLOUCETER'S* GONE! – the *Promise* of the Line![123]

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[116] James Gardiner, *A Sermon Preach'd at St. Michael Crooked-Lane September the 8th 1700, Upon Occasion of the Death of His Illustrious Highness The Duke of Gloucester* (London: Hugh Newman, 1700), 6

[117] Gardiner, *St Michael Crooked-Lane*, 14

[118] W. B., *An Ode on the Death of William, Duke of Gloucester* (London: J Nutt, 1700), 7

[119] John Fowler, *Carmen Pastorale Laugabre* (London: Bennet Banbury & J Nutt, 1700), 5

[120] William Fleetwood, *A Funeral Sermon On His Late Royal Highness, William, Duke of Glocester. Preach'd Aug. the 4th 1700* (Dublin, 1700), 15

[121] Richard Burridge, *The Consolation of Death* (London: Wlliam Punnocke, 1700), 20

[122] Burridge, *Consolation of Death*, 15

[123] *A Poem on the Death of His Highness The Duke of Gloucester* (London: J Darby, 1701), 3

The theme of anxiety and destabilisation, likely to occur following the death of the childless William III, can be inferred from the praise published about the heir before he died, when it was more common to explain the extent to which the body politic depended on his succession. One such poem, published a week before the heir died, was explicit:

> But can Great NASSAU finish all? Ah no.
>
> Can *single* Hands thro' *Endless* Labours go?
>
> To raise *Immortal Structures* to their Height,
>
> The *Founder* does but *half* the Work of Fate.[124]

The anxiety that William III's brilliance was not enough to secure English liberties in perpetuity, and that Princess Anne's heir represented the promise of dynastic security that William's victories alone could not provide, was reported in the rest of the poem. After highlighting the heir's teleological purpose – 'That Work, THOU, *then Unborn*, Thy Stars decree;/ Th' *Almighty Consult Fate,* and call'd forth THEE'[125] – the piece laboured how necessary his life was to the polity: 'SO GLOC'STER, may the blest *Britannia* see/ Her *Hopes,* her *Happiness*, all sum'd in THEE.'[126] Communicating the confidence of a country set in its succession, the writer finished: 'Let great PREDESTINATION tune this SPHERE/ I'll quit the *Poet* for the *Prophet* here.'[127]

Without an heir to fulfil this teleological purpose of providing stability to the polity, some poems were candid as to the extent to which England was now exposed. This exposure implicitly backed Whig assumptions of French malignity as common sense. James Gibbs addressed a poem to Princess Anne, which strayed far from its titular 'Consolatory' purpose, stating he could not provide her solace, and that 'Your *Patience* now stand the severest Test'.[128] This testing was not due just to the personal grief of losing a child, but in exposing the country to such danger, without an heir, facing threats from '*Foreign Force,* or *Homebred Treachery!*' Gibbs contrasted England before Gloucester's death, when 'secure did we our selves presume/Pleased with a Prospect of Times to come'. Now: 'since the *Rising Sun* withdraws his *Light*/ We fear Confusion and approaching *Night.*'[129] This anticipated night came from

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[124] *Carmen Natalitium. To His Highness The Duke of Glocester. An Heroick Poem* (London: A Baldwin, 1700), 5
[125] *Carmen Natalium*, 5
[126] *Carmen Natalium,* 15
[127] *Carmen Natalium,* 16
[128] James Gibbs, *A Consolatory Poem Humbly Addressed to Her Royal Highness* (London: J Nutt, 1700), 2
[129] Gibbs, *Humbly Addressed,* 6-7

the realisation of the Whig prophecy that, now that Louis XIV was approaching his long-sought-after hegemonic position, he would threaten English independence.

Another poem was more explicit, addressing his mourning not to the grieved mother, Princess Anne, but to 'Britannia', who used to be 'Warm'd with Heav'n's indulgent smiles', but, since the death of Queen Mary and now the Duke of Gloucester, was filled by 'everlasting Night'. The pain the author was trying to communicate was clear: 'Mourn wretched Queen, ah! Poor *Britannia,* Mourn!'[130] The anthropomorphised representation of the British Isles nationalised the Queen's grief, both for the personal and political loss of the heir.

The contents of the emotional appeals of Gibbs' poem was given substance in another poem, *Suspirium Musarum*, which laboured the extent to which 'Remorseless Fate' had exposed England to foreign danger, given the loss of a standard 'Of war-like Kings, which should o'er *Albion* Reign,' against 'haughty *Gallia* trembling in her Chain,/ And strike a Terrour'.[131] The linking of English dynastic questions and European continental ones, implicit in many pieces, was explicit here. English stability was a threat to France; English instability was France's opportunity, hence the piece's worry of 'Imperious *Lewis'.* The poem at length dealt with England's anxiety of the potential for French attack now that England was without an heir, fretting that 'But all the Wealth, that now Adorns my Soil,/ Must then become the barbarous Victor's Spoil.' These spoils would be extracted viciously:

> Promiscuous Ruin shall my Realms embrace,
>
> And ghastly Slaughter show it's murd'ring Face;
>
> In hostile Flames, *Augusta's* Tow'rs shall blaze,
>
> And bleeding *Britans* on the Fire shall gaze;

The bloody French-led invasion that could be triggered by the destabilisation of the Duke of Gloucester's death was not just terrible for the short-term horrors caused by war, but by the fundamentally altered state that England would become following the French attacks. The poem went on:

> Curst *Romish* Priests, my Alters will o'erturn,

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[130] *Suspirium Musarum: The Sighs of the Muses. Occasion'd by the Death of His Royal Highness Prince William Duke of Glocester* (London: B Harris, 1700)

[131] *Suspirium Musarum*, 4

> And abdicated Saints make fair Religion mourn.
>
> Prevailing Fancy, to my fearful Ears
>
> The screaming shrieks of ravish'd Virgins fears:
>
> This very now, before my weeping Eyes,
>
> The black'ning Scenes of ruin'd *Albion* rise;

The linking of moral, sexual, and religious degeneracy – heralded by Catholic imposition – threatened the older, purer 'Albion', consumed in physical and spiritual fire. Given that this threat was only possible because of the heir's death, the author saw only one solution to avoid the flames:

> I shake, and tremble, at my distant Doom,
>
> And feel the pointed Pangs of Death to come;
>
> Unless the GODS, Charm'd by the Voice of Pray'r,
>
> Bless Royal *ANNA* with another Heir.[132]

In spite of the poet's wish, it was widely recognised that it was *'but too probable'* that Anne would not produce an heir.[133] Consequently, it became a first imperative to the Commons to secure England's Protestant succession. Indeed, William 'harangu'd' the Commons to settle the English succession as a priority on Parliament's first meeting in February 1701.[134] As the Bill of Settlement made its way through the Commons, a number of pamphlets emphasised the weakness of the English polity without a legitimate heir.[135]

These lobbying efforts consistently recognised that the English succession was not an insular issue, and English weakness and French strength were tied together. In making this argument, these pieces cited the events of the winter of 1700-1701, which proved so decisive for the European Protestant and Catholic blocs that William became committed to war and dissolved a parliament in the hopes of finding the funds to fight it.[136]

The Whig argument that a Europe united under Ludovician hegemony posed a deep challenge to the English body politic was presented in an even more self-evident light following Louis' crowning of the

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[132] *Suspirium Musarum*, 6
[133] Defoe, *Crown Considered,* 6
[134] Boyer, *William III,* vol 3, 468
[135] Defoe, *Crown Considered,* 4
[136] *The Present Disposition of England Considered* (London, 1701)

English Pretender, 'James III'. Even those claiming to belong to the non-juring part of the clergy showed disgust at their French patron crowning a man they considered to be the legitimate King of England. 'T. D.' told his king that if Louis '*Swears the Contrary on all the* Mass-Books *in* France, *I wou'd not believe him*.' The non-juror argued that associating the Stuart name with Louis was a tactical mistake, '*For England never Lov'd him so well, as to take a King of his Recommending*.' [137] After all, Louis 'sticks at nothing, to inlarge his *Dominions; Fraud, Falshood, Treachery, Bribery, Hostility, Perjury*'.[138] This supposed anti-Whig therefore concluded by endorsing Francophobia.

Helpfully for Louis, the new Pope, Clement, was unequivocally supportive of the French king's coronation of James. In a speech printed in Dublin, the Pope told the College of Cardinals to 'take Notice of the eminent Goodness and Vertue (so well becoming the Royal Mind) of our most dearly beloved Son in Christ Lewis,' not just for offering asylum to 'King James, when most wickedly forced from his Throne,' but also 'he hath without any regard to his own private Interest, openly acknowledged and kindly complemented, as the True Heir of the British Empire, his surviving Son,' who had, worryingly for Protestants, been 'so piously Educated' so 'that he may imitate, if not exceed, his Father's Verues', particularly in 'his Resolution of boldly asserting the Catholick Faith, cost him what it will!'[139] With a crowned king indoctrinated in the worst excesses of Versailles' absolutist system, presenting such a viable threat to England, it was argued that it was necessary to respond militarily to prevent the country's worst fears being realised.

Any hope that the son might learn from his father's mistakes appeared dashed. One apparently Jacobite pamphlet circulated James' last dying words to his son to 'never put the Crown of *England* in Competition with your Eternal Salvation. There's no Slavery like Sin, nor no Liberty like his Service'. As Louis promised the dying James that 'he would never forsake his Interest', the potential of a reconstituted Catholic absolutist, sponsored by Continental Europe's hegemon, seemed real.[140] This piece – whether real or fake – contributed to persuading English contemporaries that the worst fears of the pro-government Whigs was coming true: a viable, French-backed threat to English independence from a new Stuart viceroy, James III.

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[137] N. D., *A Letter to the French King, By a Non-Juror: Dedicated to the Pretended Prince of Wales* (London: Nat Fox, 1701), dedication
[138] *To the French King*, 1
[139] *The Pope's Speech to the College of Cardinals; Upon the Death of the Late King James* (Dublin, 1701), 1
[140] *The Last Dying-Words of the Late King James To His Son and Daughter, and the French King* (London: D E, 1701)

It appears that the death of James II allowed pamphleteers to remind the body politic of the real threat of English absolutism. A number was printed soon after the death was announced. One, *An Historical Poem*, berated the dead king for his absolutist projects, accusing him of using 'A Turkish method' in resorting 'to the reeking Steel' to subdue England.[141] The poet argued that James II's two worse flaws were his dependence on absolutist methods, and his dependence on Louis' patronage. He argued both would be even more apparent in James' son, who had been imbibed at Versailles with the apparent merits of absolutism: 'We read indeed a Wolf was Nurst to those,/ From whose Endeavours *Rome's* proud Fabrick rose.'[142]

With the succession just secured by the House of Hanover in 1701, England remained exposed to multiple threats, principally the threat of invasion, which was given urgency by Louis' plot that involved 'James III' as a pawn in his system to institute a 'Universal Monarchy'. It was clear that many of these authors hoped to engage the wider political community; one dialogue used popular tropes like alcohol, prostitution, and banter.[143] In the dialogue, 'Marcellus' and 'Louis' remind the readership of the viable threat that the French Universal Monarchy had on England, reminding readers 'Of *Oppression* his *Huguenots'*, and '*Blood-shed* poor *Flanders'*.[144] The threat was so serious, and the need for unity so urgent, that Defoe even put his initials to a pamphlet that could have done him serious reputational damage, pleading with the Jacobites of France to return home following the death of James II. As if pre-empting his critics' question of what authority could someone make such an invitation, Defoe responded that '*the Civility of our Constitution is an Invitation in its own nature, and since room is left by the Law for their return, it is but a piece of Extraordinary Charity to be willing to Receive them*.'[145]

A man purporting to have previously served in William's government wrote an open letter explaining this position to King William's final Secretary of State, James Vernon. The piece was on one level unorthodox. He was a contractarian, saying he served William because he was the better monarch, rather than because he had a divine right to rule.[146] Otherwise, he confirmed much of the Whig view of the world. From his 'impartial' position, he argued that Louis' crowning James II's son was a pivotal moment in European affairs, and demanded English unity against what amounted to a declaration of

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[141] *An Historical Poem upon His Late Majesty King James II* (London: A Baldwin, 1701), 4
[142] *An Historical Poem*, 7
[143] *A Familiar Discourse Between a Jacobite and a French Hugonot, Concerning the Succession to England and Spain* (London, 1702), 1
[144] *A Familiar Discourse*, 2
[145] Daniel Defoe, *The Present State of Jacobitism Considered, in Two Querys* (London: A Baldwin, 1701), preface
[146] *A Letter To Mr Secretary V—n, In Relation to the French King's Proclaiming the Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland and Ireland. With Free Thoughts on the Interest of England at This Juncture* (London, 1702), 5

war. Louis' move was only because of 'his vain Ambition' and 'his greedy desire of Empire' that followed 'Murders, Rapine and Poison, and any Barbarity' to achieve his goal.[147] The very act of crowning an English monarch was demonstrative of his attempt to be the arbiter of English affairs: 'If we allow him to be our King-maker, he'll in a short time be our Lawgiver too'.[148] In becoming the English lawgiver, he sought to become 'a mighty *Nimrod*', 'a Monopolizer of Kingdoms'.[149]

The presumption that Louis felt he had for crowning an English king, as if he had the authority to make and unmake the leaders of the English polity, was a provocation that in its own right demanded war. In response to one of Defoe's pamphlets that pleaded for moderation in attacking France, one pamphleteer argued that Louis' crowning was doubly offensive, and therefore required retribution. For one, it was a legal fiction for Louis to claim he had the power 'to Compliment (as he calls it)' James with the title. Second, in so doing 'he must deny his present Majesty's Title… since… there cannot be two Kings of *England*.' Louis' move was a smoking gun.[150]

The extent of the threat allowed calls for significant Continental intervention. One poem argued that Louis' crowning of James revealed that he could not be contained. Consequently, tyrants had to be removed, irrespective of the cost. The poet imagined leading an army first into France, against 'The vilest Wrech did e're a Scepter sway', who 'By Blood and Poyson manages Intrigues', the breaker of 'sacred Oaths'; 'His Faith is found in every Carted Whore.'[151] The poet, after liberating 'his Slaves', would march against 'The little Bastard he of late proclaim'd', James III. He then would march throughout Continental Europe, killing tyrants and freeing captured subjects.

Another poem immediately reminded its readership of the apparently innocent Stuart's blood link to the rest of his tyrannical family, thereby showing Louis' endorsement for James as an endorsement for a programme that would sacrifice England's liberties with reforms in the vein of the Prince of Wales' father. Mocking the 'KINGS without Scepters, a pretender Heir', with its 'empty Crown' brought by conditions made 'Ripe by the Conduct of the Court of *Rome*',[152] the author enlivened a debate between the new Pretender's various impulses, with one spirit reminding him of his family history of

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[147] *Letter to Mr Secretary*, 12
[148] *Letter to Mr Secretary*, 18
[149] *Letter to Mr Secretary*, 21
[150] *Reasons Prov'd to be Unreasonable*, 10
[151] *The British Muse: Or Tyranny Expos'd. A Satyr, Occasion'd by All the Fulsom and Lying Poems and Elegies, That Have Been Written on the Death of the Late King James* (London: John Tutchin, 1702), 9
[152] *The Prince of Wales: A Poem* (London: A Baldwin, 1702), 3

absolutism, saying 'uncotroul'd, – You uncontroul'd shall be,/ And make your Will alone Necessity.[153] The poignancy of the threat defined the pro-government Whigs' outlook as 1701 drew to a close. The necessity of intervention, given philosophical substantiation through the understanding of William's legacy, was crucial in presenting the only solution to the generally conceived threat to the polity.

**Conclusion**

The relationship between King William and his Parliament did not improve over the remainder of his reign. At one of William's final parliamentary sessions, the Commons called on the king to remove ministers who 'should presume to misrepresent their Proceedings to his Majesty', namely the Whig ministers.[154] William responded curtly that 'it can't seem strange for me to assure you, that no Persons have ever yet dar'd to go about to misrepresent to me the Proceedings of either House'.[155] He dissolved parliament two months later, and dissolved that parliament a year later, two days before it was meant to sit.

Anti-Dutch tracts circulated, as some depicted the King as a Cromwell in the making. One ballad grumbled that the English had traded Dutch cheese for English freedom.[156] Another reminded London that the Dutch were '*a Nation which shits upon all the world beside'*, In a pamphlet so polemically anti-Dutch that it elicited a few retaliatory pamphlets.[157]

The souring of king-parliament relations was due to a fissure in understanding between the Whig advocates of the Standing Army and the opposition preaching of 'Country' values. The over-focus on the opponents of the Court and their attempt to meaningfully deploy Country messaging has led historians to overemphasise the constitutional-historical principles of the opposition, leading to the casting of the history as one entirely in a domestic light. The opposition waxed lyrical about the history of 'the Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacdemonians, Thebans, Samnites' and their yeoman-democratic ways, in contrast to the Romans, who 'maintain'd their Freedom, till their Empire encreasing, necessity constrain'd them to erect a constant stipendiary Soldiery, either for the Holding

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[153] *Prince of Wales*, 4
[154] Boyer *William III,* vol 3, 413
[155] Boyer, *William III,* vol 3, 414
[156] *The Dutch Bribe*, 1700
[157] Owen Felltham, *A Trip to Holland* (London, 1699), preface

or Winning of Provinces, which gave Julius Caesar an opportunity to debauch his Army, and then upon a pretended Disgust, totally to overthrow that famous Common-Wealth'.[158] This framing of the debate has influenced historians to this day.

Yet the Whig advocates of the Standing Army claimed never to defend a Caeser-esque constitution. A pamphlet published to tarnish William's reputation caused a furore when it alleged that the deceased king was a would-be Caesar, using the Irish grants to cause chaos and strengthen his own position to remedy his tenuous claim to power (as a foreign invader).[159] One account slammed an anonymous pamphleteer by stating that his criticism 'has done more to establish his [William's] Reputation, and to Eternize his Fame', than any praise, given that the 'Extravagant' criticisms of William were so obviously also levelled at England's 'Liberty.'[160]

Instead of being a tool for the imposition of imperial rule, the pro-government Whigs argued that the Williamite land force was a device to uphold a Protestant Europe. Even John Toland's piece, attracting such criticism from the proponents of the official Whig line, in many ways tried to solve the Whigs' official policy with England's constitution. Although Toland wanted to base the scheme around a militia, he went so far as to endorse whatever land force came into existence to be strong enough to support wider foreign policy ends like expanding 'Trade and planting of Colonies', as well as its 'noble Ambition of holding the Balance steddy' in Europe.[161]

The rejection of Toland's case, and the lumping of the republican with his Tory enemies, by Court Whigs goes a long way to explaining the development of their identity in the late Williamite period. The movement away from constitutional/religious divides that so animated Whigs in the Restoration period had been supplemented by awareness of an attachment to a wider, Protestant whole. Consequently, Whig writers sought to enmesh English and Continental European affairs in a pan-Protestant cause. This enmeshing was central to justifications for the Standing Army, and was built on two tenets: sympathy with the Protestant diaspora, and a belief that Protestant coordination was necessary and desirable to overcome imminent Catholic domination. Both these tenets stressed the fundamental bipolarity of Protestant and Catholic means of moral and political organisation.

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[158] Boyer, *William III,* vol 3, 291

[159] B. B., *The Exorbitant Grants of William the III. Examin'd and Question'd,* 2nd ed. (London, 1703), 28

[160] *Animadversions Upon a Seditious Libel, Intituled, The Exorbitant Grants of William III. Examin'd and Question'd* (London: A Baldwin, 1703), 3

[161] Toland, *The Militia Reform'd,* 17

In sum, the context of the growing Whig intellectual cohesion around an idea of Europe provides context to their constitutional innovations and ideological manoeuvring in arguing for a Standing Army. After all, if the enforcing of a certain idea of Europe was paramount in the thinking of party leaders, it makes sense that they would bend other principles to ensure that the idea of Europe is created. The Standing Army debates reveal the extent to which pan-Protestant historical memory moved Whig thinking and polemic in the final years of the seventeenth century.

# Conclusion

This thesis has investigated the Whig idea of Europe in the later 17th century. It has examined the factors that contributed to the idea's formation, and also some of the ways in which the idea matured and changed when used in the debates of the period. To conclude, this final chapter is divided into two sections. The first will highlight this thesis' main findings and conclusions. The second will suggest some avenues for further research.

**Main findings**

This thesis began in 2018, when there was inevitable interest in understanding how ideas of Europe contributed to political debate. The thesis' period (1685-1705) was natural, because it appears to offer two contemporary parallels, in substance and in style. In substance: ideas of Europe were used as one of the major dividing lines in a period mired by constitutional division. In style: novel medias were important factors in the debate.

I began my archival research by reading the major pamphlets published during the many pamphlet wars of the period. The intention was to recreate a history of the Whig and Tory parties using the idea of Europe as a guiding theme to explain English political change and division. However, whilst carrying out my research, it became clear that these ephemeral pamphlets used ideas of Europe that were profound and complex, and that a study of them could not be separated from the intellectual, cultural, political, and technological changes that they were contextualised by. So, to fully understand these ideas, I decided to focus on one political party (the Whigs), and to use their idea of Europe to examine how this idea (and perhaps others) became so pervasive. The thesis' final chapter structure is my attempt to provide the clearest examination of what these themes were, and how they were tied together into the thesis' titular subject.

One of the more obvious conclusions this thesis' findings quickly drew was the deep, multifaceted, connections of ideas of English history and the proposals for the English near-future. The advocacy for a political project that tied England deeply to the European continent required a narrative of English

history that highlighted the longstanding existence of that tie. Even very short pamphlets found space to root lobbying for English involvement in European affairs in a longer time continuum. Unsurprisingly, traumatic near-contemporaneous history (the Civil Wars; the Restoration) was invoked as pressing and relevant, such as the discrediting of James II's past as duke and king when discrediting his bid for the throne. However, this thesis has also shown that this near-history was presented alongside a millennia-old, confessional history, that embedded a spiritual clash between good and evil into the authors' present. This use of the past as something non-academic, as pressing, was complemented by a historical understanding that emphasised human interconnectivity: if it could be demonstrated that Protestant unity led to beneficial outcomes in the past, then it was easier to make the case for continuing collaboration with Protestants in parliament and in the press. In these ways, the first chapter encapsulates how historically driven the Whig idea of Europe was.

It also became clear in my research that this use of history interacted deeply with interpretations of contemporaneous events. It is difficult to demonstrate directly the extent to which the volume of Huguenot refugees shaped debates about Anglo-European relations: I have produced indirect evidence of how the accounts of eloquent aristocrats, alongside the presence of impoverished weavers crowding around places like Spitalfields in London, shook English people and contributed to arguments against Louis XIV's regime. As well as making this inferential connection of the Whig idea of Europe to the Huguenots, my second chapter more concretely focuses on how burgeoning interpersonal exchanges with European Protestants validated and deepened the claim that England's fortunes were tied to the broader cause of Protestantism. For example, I show how the historical narrative of Protestant Good and Catholic Evil was inserted into texts that framed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 as part of a predictable event, and how Huguenot testimonies were seamlessly integrated into the broader story of Protestant martyrdom. Overall, the chapter demonstrates the importance of the *refuge* to the potency and relevance of the Whig idea of Europe.

The Huguenot phenomenon was just one of the well-noted kaleidoscopic social, political, and economic changes of the later seventeenth century. All these changes shaped, and made possible, the Whig idea of Europe. If the Huguenot influx gave immediacy and physical examples of Catholic barbarity, the proliferation of the English press provided the reems of quantitative material that was used to bolster the Whig narrative. Chapter Three shows the ways in which the Whig idea of Europe was reproduced in news stories, with pages exposing Catholic barbarity and perfidy. It explains firstly how the novel infrastructural and communication networks allowed an underlying, necessary ability to find out comparatively quickly what was happening in Europe. This ability to find things out quickly was a

precondition for the Whig idea of Europe to develop into the sympathetic portrayal of the Protestant cause that it became: London readers could plot the outcomes of battles within weeks of them happening. They knew, far more than in previous conflicts, how their taxes were being spent; how their allies fared; and the nature of their enemies. The chapter also showed how an industry of editorials, pamphlets, sermons, and poems, explicitly (and often bluntly) framed these stories to explain and bolster the Whig idea of Europe: the loss of this battle, or the razing of that town, was slotted within the story of a larger, cosmic battle between Good and Evil. The English press was an essential medium for the Whig idea of Europe because it turned an intellectual, long durée project, into a day-to-day way of viewing the world.

This use of ideas in day-to-day print impacted foreign and domestic news discussion. My fourth chapter shows how the Whig idea of Europe was finessed and expressed through the early domestic debates of William III's reign. It explains how the Williamite era's publishing industry weaponised by those advocating for the Whig idea of Europe to explain this idea through a series of negative imageries. The chapter recreated the Whigs' representation of the 'Tory', a bogeyman that embodied the characteristics, loyalties, and policies that the Whigs claimed to oppose. The chapter does not draw any conclusions on the actual nature of English political divides, sidestepping the question to investigate more rigorously how public representations of political foes reveal signalled political identity. The chapter also demonstrated how this representation cut across genres, from sermons to ballads. The pervasiveness of the anti-hero Tory across genres suggests the cohesion of the Whig bloc in promoting this image in contrast to themselves. Finally, the chapter shows the centrality of Europe to this signalling: the Tories were not just wrong on constitutional and religious questions, their ideas were criticised through the Whig idea of Europe, in that their wrongness weakened England when faced with a centrally important foreign threat (France). We cannot account for this Whig anti-Toryism without understanding the Whig idea of Europe.

My final chapter demonstrates the continuities in this criticism as the decade wore on. It shows how, although the substance of the political context changed (an articulate opposition; peace), the Whig idea of Europe was reproduced in domestic debate in similar ways to how it was in the immediate aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. It examines how emerging arguments about political economy were subjected to the Whig idea of Europe, discussing how various proposals to increase the army and taxes were justified through its assumptions (English-French antagonism; relaxedness about a Protestant prince having so much power). It also shows how the Whig idea of Europe became increasingly represented as standard, common-sensical, normative claims. The more insecure, anxious language of

the early years was replaced by an increasingly assured rhetoric that it was impossible to disagree from its central tenets. I show that this final Williamite-era presentation of the Whig idea of Europe was ushered into Anne's reign.

By breaking this thesis down into these themes, it adds clarity on the different components of what made up the Whig idea of Europe. These divisions are inevitably artificial, and I have highlighted the significant crossovers where relevant. Indeed, one of this thesis' overall conclusions is that ideas of Europe suffused into the major political-economic changes of the 1690s, and the chapter divisions aim primarily to show that, rather than to expose breakaway components of the idea as a whole.

Three conclusions follow when taking the thesis together. Firstly, the coalitions I found were more heterogeneous than expected from reading the standard accounts of the politics of the 1690s. In reconstructing coalitions as closely as possible to the ways in which contemporaries did, I found, firstly, a surprising paucity of discussion among my sources of what we traditionally associate with Whiggery. They rarely resembled pieces of abstract political thought (the original contract; the role of the executive and the legislature). More often, they were more concerned with the breaking news of the day, which they framed overwhelmingly in confessional terms, using common tropes to illustrate to their readers why they were unhappy with their topic. I also found that these unifying tropes and themes spanned a more diffuse number of genres: sermons, plays, poems, polemics, history books. I have tried to show that all these weave together authentically: some authors wrote across genres, other authors from different genres cited one another, or were used by the same publisher with obvious political motivations. The group called 'Whig' was something far larger and more complicated than a parliamentary party, or a few grandees and their acolytes. It was a strange coalition to modern eyes, but one that appeared deep and authentic to contemporaries

Secondly, the binary between 'intellectual' and 'political' works often does not seem to hold up to scrutiny. I have showed how long, academic projects contained so much strategic vagueness and self-contradiction that it is probable that they had a political, persuasive purpose, and I have supported my claim with other evidence, such as how the work was advertised, who cited it, and who published it. Similarly, even short polemical poems intervening in a specific debate drew, in laboured explicitness, to the ideas in the arsenal of the Whigs. Furthermore, some of the most-cited authors in this thesis – Gilbert Burnet, Daniel Defoe, Pierre Jurieu – wrote works that were both intellectual and political, intended both to explain the new ideology, and to defend it through assembling current affairs or attacks on enemies.

Thirdly, and perhaps most obviously given my thesis title, is that 'Europe' is the organisational motor force of the coalition I have discussed. The Whig idea of Europe was mature and well-articulated, more so than other rhetorical and political principles of the 1690s, such as an emphasis on low taxes, or advocacy of mercantilism. The idea that Europe was divided into two blocs, and that good politics was awakening the English body politic to the essentialness of the divide and the practical consequences arising therefrom, centred the Whigs. All other beliefs and principles were either rooted in it – like the need to expand the state – or ran adjacent to it, like the claim that William III could be trusted with much executive power. Europe therefore took the role as a bridging concept in the formation of the group I have discussed.

**Further research**

The 1690s is hardly understudied. The period is totemic to many schools of thought and disciplines, to the extent to which any scholar of the period must try hard to strip away many ideological claims, myths, and assumptions, before they can examine the sources with attempted objectivity. And yet, there are two reasons that point to the period still meriting historians' study.

Firstly, and incredibly, the period still lacks a scholarly narrative history. The closest we have is Julian Hoppit's introduction to the period,[1] which is mostly thematic and necessarily covers a broad remit. There have been no biographies published in the last thirty years on any politician. This gap means, firstly, that there are no texts to offer undergraduates that help orient them in the events of the Glorious Revolution. Secondly, scholars new to the topic rely on Macaulay or Burnet to answer basic political questions, such as: *when* was the first triennial bill introduced; *who* proposed it; *how* and *why* did it fail. Thirdly, scholars must search too deeply in the literature to understand important contextual questions, particularly those on the mechanics of parliament, and the connections between parliament, party, and electioneering.

So, whatever else may be completed this decade on the 1690s, a narrative history is merited.

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[1] Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Secondly, access to sources has been revolutionised. Many era-defining works of history – I particularly am thinking of J H Plumb's lectures – relied on comparatively sparce source material, compared to what we have now.[2] Thanks to the works of archivists around the world, we know that 1685-1705 presents a treasure trove of printed material. As early as a decade ago, a PhD student or research-grant holder needed to limit their analysis within a time frame that suited the logistics of a physical archive, scholars can now digest and find far more. A significant portion of research for this thesis took place during the disruptions of the Covid epidemic, and I still found many pertinent sources in digital archives. In the process of completing this thesis I found so many reems of sources that tangentially connected to the thesis that I have had to bookmark them as later article-length projects. It is this digitisation that means that this thesis cites sources I have not seen elsewhere, and that I am confident I can work with sources for many more projects that are also not cited.

As this thesis has shown, these easily accessible sources enrich, nuance, and question, canonical historical interpretations, and the 1690s merits further study at least until these new gold mines have been adequately excavated.

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[2] J H Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England* (London: Macmillan, 1697)

# Figures

Figure Two



Figure One

Figure Three

THE
Historie of the
REFORMATION
of the
CHURCH of ENGLAND

RELIGION

LONDON
Printed for Ric. Chiswell

Figure Four

Behold the Christians Scourge, by fortune hurld;
Like Damn'd Pandora's Box to plague y' world
No Leagues nor oaths, bind this Leviathan;
With fire and Sword, he made rushes on.
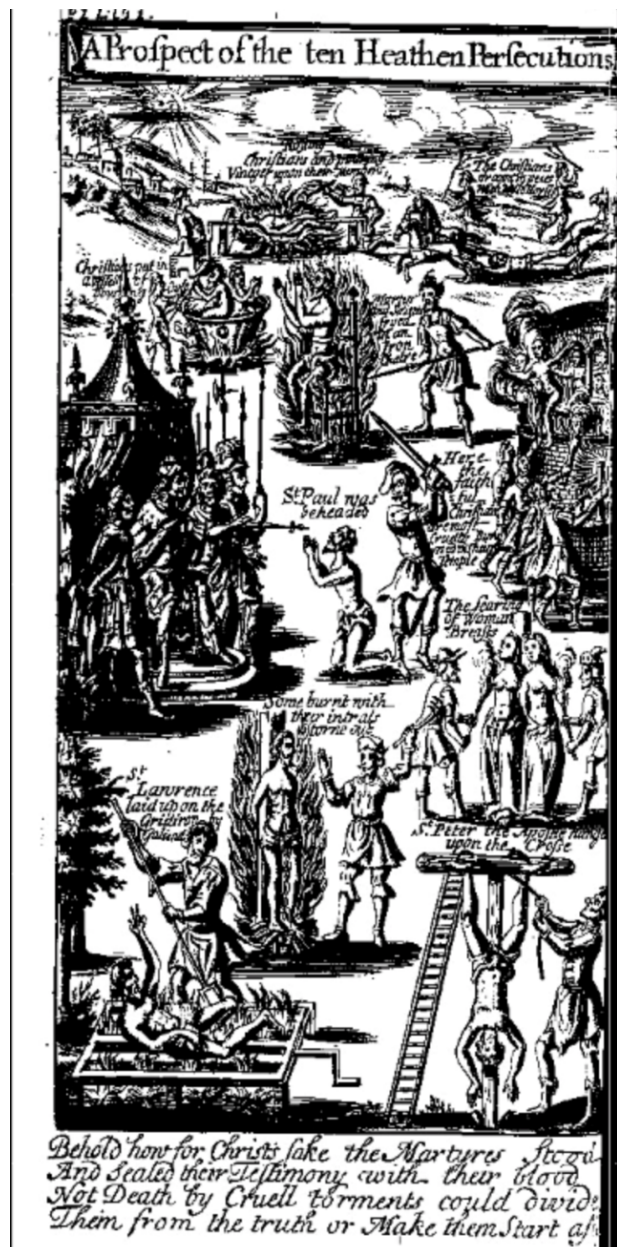
Figure Five

THE
Farmers Son of Devonshire:
BEING
The Valiant Coronet's Return from *Flanders*, who endeavoured to persuade his
Brother *Jack* to forsake the Plow, and to take up Arms the next Spring ; which he refu-
sed to do, because he was loath to have his sweet Wife Joan.
Tune of Maryly be long          Licensed according to Order.

WEll met Brother Jack,
    I have been in Flanders,
With valiant Commanders,
And am return'd back
    to England again,
Where a while I shall stay,
And shall then march away ;
    I'm an Officer now ;
Come with me dear Brother,
Go with me dear Brother,
    and lay by the Plow.

I tell the Old Boy,
    The Son of a Farmer
In glittering Armour,
May kill and destroy,
    as many proud French,
As a 'Squire or Knight,
Having Courage to fight,
    then Valiantly go
In Arms like a Soldier,
In Arms like a Soldier,
    to face the proud Foe.

But, dear Brother Will.
    you are a bine Fellow,
    and talk mighty Mellow,
But what if they kill
    the poor Brother Jack,
By the Pounce of a Gun,
If they shou'd I'm undone,
    and ruined quite,
You know that I never,
You know that I never,
    had Courage to fight.

If you will advance
    in Arms like a Soldier,
    the Nation's Upholder,
A fortunate Chance
    your Portion may be :
All that goes are not slain,
You may return again,
    with Victory here ;
There's no Men but Cowards,
There's no Men but Cowards,
    are subject to fear.

Each timorous Soul ,
    when Trumpets are sounding,
    and Cannons rebounding,
He fears no controul,
    nor Death in the least ,
When the Smoke do's arise,
And darkens the Skies,
    we fall on amain ;
That Trophies of Honour,
That Trophies of Honour,
    in field we may gain.

King William you know ,
    in heat of the Battel,
    when Guns they do rattle,
He venters also ,
    then what shall we fear,
When an Army is lead
By a Crown'd Royal Head,
    it baffles all fear ,

And makes Soldiers fee,
And makes Soldiers fire,
    from the Front to the Rear.

JACK's Answer.
The King, I confess,
    he I'sues by power,
    the French to devour ;
Let P obidence bless
    his conquering Arms :
I wou'd do the fam thing,
If I were to be King,
    and make the French groan ,
Till then loving Brother,
Till then, loving Brother,
    pray let me alone.

The Enemies Men
    with horror will fill me,
    perhaps they may kill me,
And where am I then ?
    this runs in my mind ;
Should I chance to be Lame,
Will the Trophies of Fame
    keep me from sad Groans,
A Fig for that Honour,
A Fig for that Honour,
    which brings broken Bones.

Such Honour I scorn,
    I'd rather be Mowing ,
    nap , Plowing or Sowing,
Or threshing of Corn,
    at home in a Barn,
Then to leave Joan my Wife,
And to lose my sweet Life,
    in Peace let me dwell ;
I am not for fighting,
I am not for fighting,
    so Brother Farewell.

Printed for *J. Deacon* , at the
    Angel in *Gilt-spur-Street* ,
    without *Newgate*.

220

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