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Citation: Dowley, Emma Louise (2019) 'An expressive kind of history' : Anti-Jacobite prints and the 1745 rebellion. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

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‘An Expressive Kind of History’:

Anti-Jacobite Prints and the 1745 Rebellion

Volume I: Text

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Thesis submitted for the degree of

PhD History of Art

Birkbeck College, University of London

July 2019

Abstract

Following the removal of James II from the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland in 1689, the last meaningful attempt to restore the Stuart dynasty was made in 1745, when Charles Stuart, grandson of James II, landed in Scotland, his makeshift army managing to get within one hundred and twenty miles of London. This thesis explores the printed visual imagery expressing the Hanoverian viewpoint on the momentous events of the mid-1740s.

This imagery addressed the broad religious, political, social and economic debates of the period, seeking to discredit the Jacobite agenda, the leader of the rebellion and its supporters. Graphic satire proved to be an especially important medium for presenting the arguments in favour of George II, as part of a wider debate carried on in the press, pamphlets and elsewhere. The Hanoverian cause was bolstered by the communication of ideas in the form of these images, incorporating a sophisticated array of visual languages and strategies, in addition to engaging extensively with other media. Whilst William Hogarth may have been the eighteenth-century master of imagery involving a wealth of graphic detail and multiple layers of inter-related meaning in his prints, those lesser artists involved in producing anti-Jacobite imagery were also capable of employing such tactics with skill.

This thesis provides an analytical survey of the anti-Jacobite imagery produced at the time of the 1745 rebellion which has, hitherto, been given little attention. My aim is to establish the full extent of the pro-Hanoverian printed imagery of the years 1743-7 and to evaluate its content, market and influence. Of particular concern are the strategies used to address a diverse audience with varying degrees of visual and textual literacy skills and the extent to which anti-Jacobite prints may be classed as 'propaganda'.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Kate Retford, for her invaluable guidance and support throughout the course of my research.

I would also like to thank the following people:

Dr. Sarah Thomas and Dr. Brodie Wadell, who gave me helpful feedback and suggestions at the upgrade stage

staff at the various libraries and institutions that I visited during the course of my research, especially those at: the British Museum; the National Library of Scotland; the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; the Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, USA; the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, USA; and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, USA

Dr. Jacqueline Riding and other fellow participants in seminars and conferences organised by: Fairfax House, York - Jacobite Colloquium, 2013; The Jacobites and Europe (1689-1807) conference, Paris, 2013; the British Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, 2016; and the Birkbeck Eighteenth Century Research Group, 2017

Sam Eidinow, Director of Studies in Classics at St Benet's Hall, University of Oxford, who kindly provided translations from Latin into English and advice on classical literature where needed

Finally, I would like to thank the British Museum, the National Library of Scotland and the Lewis Walpole Library for kindly giving their permission to reproduce images for the purposes of this thesis.

Notes to the reader

Dates: for the period of this thesis (1743-7), the Julian calendar was used in England. The year commenced on 25th March, while in Scotland it commenced on 1st January. To avoid confusion, dates in January, February and March were usually written with the old and new year included. Thus 31st December 1745 was followed by 1st January 1745/6. I have chosen to include just the new year for dates in January, February and March and have not adjusted any dates for the transition to the Gregorian calendar in 1752 – i.e. all dates are 'old style' unless otherwise stated.

When quoting from primary sources, eighteenth-century orthography has been retained.

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Introduction

Though the artist William Hogarth was not known for his enthusiasm for the conventional rules of art, his *March to Finchley* conforms to the tradition of academic history painting to the extent that it concerns a pivotal moment in British history when the threat posed by the last Jacobite rebellion of 1745 was at its peak (fig.1). Hogarth's picture alludes to several inter-related topics of concern at the time of the rebellion. At the centre of the painting is a grenadier guardsman facing a choice between two women: one a young, pregnant ballad seller looking lovingly towards him; the other an elderly harridan wearing a crucifix, a symbol of her Catholicism, around her neck and attacking the guardsman with furled copies of Jacobite news-sheets. This can be interpreted as a metaphor for the choice that Britain itself faced between the Hanoverian and Stuart dynasties, between Protestantism and Catholicism, and between parliamentary and absolute government.

The March to Finchley can be read as a deeply patriotic image, with the soldier inclined towards the young woman and the wholesome prospect of family life under the Hanoverians, whilst turning his back on both Catholicism and the immorality represented by the brothel on the far right.[1] This is, perhaps, an indication of Hogarth's own leanings, as his xenophobic outlook, especially towards the French, is well known. Furthermore, with respect

[1] For analysis of *The March to Finchley* see: Douglas Fordham, 'William Hogarth's *The March to Finchley* and the Fate of Comic History Painting', *Art History*, Vol.27, No.1 (February 2004), pp.95-128; and Elizabeth Einberg, *William Hogarth: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2016), pp.304-7.

to the meaning of the *mêlée* round the soldier, Jean-Andre Rouquet, a friend of Hogarth, pointed out in 1750 that:

> Presented in the background is a line of soldiers in fairly good order; discipline is less observed in the foreground, but if this displeases you, it could easily be argued that order and subordination agree only with slaves, even that which goes by the name of license everywhere else, here assumes the august name of liberty.[2]

Importantly, however, *The March to Finchley* can be viewed as a less than complete endorsement of the Hanoverian regime. It is telling that George II is supposed to have taken offence at the image because he thought that the artist was making fun of his guards, depicting them in the foreground as a disorderly, drunken rabble.[3]

The ambiguities within *The March to Finchley*, besides demonstrating Hogarth's use of 'variety', may also reflect the doubtful outcome of the rebellion during its early stages.[4] Charles Edward Stuart had arrived in Britain in the summer of 1745 to try to recover the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland for his father, James Francis. The latter's own father, James II, had been unseated when William of Orange had been invited to England in 1688 by those fearing the direction of James's rule. Though Charles had landed with a tiny band of followers, he had gathered a considerable number of Scots clansmen into a makeshift army as he headed for Edinburgh, before seeing off General Sir John Cope's troops at the

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[2] Quoted in Fordham, 'William Hogarth's *The March to Finchley*', p.119.

[3] Ronald Paulson, abridged by Anne Wilde, *Hogarth: his Life, Art and Times* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1971), p.90.

[4] In William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Ronald Paulson (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1997), pp.27-8, the author outlined the role 'variety' plays in preventing excessive 'sameness' in art.

Battle of Prestonpans on the outskirts of the city and then marching south into England.[5] The threat became more acute as the Jacobite army advanced rapidly towards London: the ultimate prize for those wishing to see the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in Britain as a whole. British troops were ordered to assemble in the Tottenham Court Road and head for Finchley where they were to make their stand in defence of George II. At the time, much was at stake for the religious order of the country, the principles of monarchical succession, the nature of kingship (together with associated implications for the relationship between monarch and subjects) and the system of government, as well as the overall dynamics of power across Europe: matters of heated debate since the turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Political controversy naturally prompted coverage in print, both textual and visual, but this was especially true when the threat of war or rebellion emerged. All levels of society were eager for news of Charles Stuart's progress and the government's response to the situation and, alongside the demand for accurate, up-to-date information, most often found in newspapers, printers and booksellers of the period found a ready market for printed imagery. The 1745 Jacobite rebellion thus gave rise to a large number of prints, indicating the magnitude of the issues and the intense ideological battle at stake.[6] These came in the form of

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[5] See Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: the Jacobite Army in 1745* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp.70-9, for analysis of recruits to Charles's army, which comprised more than Jacobite sympathisers from the Highlands of Scotland.

[6] Previously it was the Exclusion Crisis and Popish Plot as well as the financial scandals of the 1720s that had aroused the greatest response from print publishers, although the latter were mainly Dutch. For details of these see: Antony Griffiths (with the collaboration of Robert A. Gerard), *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London, British Museum Press, 1998), pp.21, 28, 280-90; Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), *passim*; Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999), chapter 2.

single sheet prints, as well as illustrated broadsides, ballads and songs, which could be quite rapidly devised, etched or engraved, and then printed off ready for sale.[7]

This thesis explores the printed visual imagery proffering the Hanoverian perspective on the rising. I will consider material published, for the most part, in the years 1743-7, a period which includes the lead-up to Charles Stuart's attempt to supplant George II, the active phase of the rebellion, its military defeat and the concluding events for those high profile Jacobite leaders who did not escape the judicial consequences of their involvement. I will examine how the designers and publishers of this pro-Hanoverian material interpreted the events of the rising and articulated the ideological tenets and benefits of the existing regime in contrast to the alternative offered by the Stuarts. Bob Harris has said of the London press of the period; 'with some justification [it] could claim to have been one of the principal bulwarks of defensive loyalism during the Hanoverian regime's darkest hour'.[8] The printed imagery expressing the Hanoverian outlook on the rebellion was another buttress of that loyalism, which has not hitherto been focused on in detail.

These printed images played an important role during the rebellion. Those interested in presenting the Hanoverian viewpoint in imagery attempted to appeal to patriotic sentiment in the face of deep uncertainty in the early phases about the underlying levels of support for George II and its final outcome. Constituting visually appealing, marketable products, they also incorporated wide-ranging comment on the momentous events of the period. In this thesis, I will explore their range, from notably blunt prints, containing alarmist visions of the implications of a Stuart triumph, to highly sophisticated images, incorporating erudite,

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[7] By way of example, *Court and Country United against this Popish Invasion*, which included a reference to the arrest of William Cecil, was published ten days after news of his being taken into custody was reported in a London newspaper (fig.12).

[8] Bob Harris, *Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1993), p.9.

sometimes classical references in their exploration of the key issues at stake. My thesis will privilege in-depth analysis of the prints, concentrating on close readings of particular examples, in order to shed light on how Hanoverian political argument was presented to the public in visual imagery. This entails identifying possible sources of the imagery which, in some cases, harked back to that produced several centuries earlier, as well as contextualising them within the wider print culture of the mid-1740s.

Such printed imagery has often been used for illustrative purposes in political histories; investigation of the nature of the Hanoverian political messaging which the imagery encompasses has, however, been given little attention and, as Gordon Pentland has noted, 'the fact that the graphic artists friendly to the Hanoverians were going through a similar process [to the Jacobites] of attempting to represent Scottishness [in the mid-1740s] has been all but ignored'.[9] I aim here to create a bridge between art history and the political and social history relating to the 1745 rebellion, emphasising the visual qualities and contents of the images and how they were used to articulate the Hanoverian position. The exercise is well worth undertaking because, as Vic Gatrell has pointed out, 'texts and images are embedded in the world that produced them and in that sense have comparable evidential standing'.[10] Dorothy George viewed prints as an important form of evidence concerning historical events.[11] Indeed, they can be, but it should be remembered that imagery is heavily mediated by the interpretation placed on those events by the artist. Ernst Gombrich thus persuasively argued that it is better to look for what images reveal about the perspectives of the artists and

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[9] Gordon Pentland, '"We Speak for the Ready": Images of Scots in Political Prints', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.90, No.229, Part 1 (April 2011), p.73. Pentland, nonetheless, had only a certain amount of space to devote to the topic given that his article covers some 125 years.

[10] Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, Atlantic, 2006), p.12.

[11] M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959), Vol.1, pp.1-7.

viewers, more than the events themselves; in other words, for what they can tell us about contemporary concerns and attitudes.[12]

In charting the span of prints between 1743 and 1747, I will note important shifts in emphasis as historical events unfolded, from broad-brush visual statements at times of anxiety and uncertainty, to highly detailed images of particular events as Hanoverian triumph became assured. I will thereby seek to show how anti-Jacobite imagery of the mid-1740s developed to take account of events and shifting perceptions of the rebellion, the chances of its success and the identity of 'the enemy'. Generally speaking, the tone changed from one of mocking the government for its failure to deal with the threat in its early stages to an earnest attempt to present the arguments in favour of George II at a time when the king was in grave danger of being unseated through Charles Stuart's advancing military campaign. Once Charles had turned back from Derby, it became easier to look forward to a time when this challenge to Hanoverian rule in Britain might be overcome and, when finally defeated, the tenor became a moralising one about the consequences of engaging in rebellion. In the meantime, the Jacobites were increasingly identified as specifically Scottish, with many pre-existing notions of Scottishness updated and augmented in order to fuel antipathy towards Charles Stuart, his campaign and his followers.

As a critical part of the discussion, the thesis will explore the relationship between these prints and other forms of information and opinion disseminated in the period. Sometimes they worked in tandem, the prints reinforcing or amplifying messages expressed in a variety of pre-existing and contemporary textual and visual material, in other media. Indeed, the prints themselves included text, in the form of titles, speech bubbles, labels, verse

[12] Ernst Gombrich, 'The Cartoonist's Armory' in *Mediations on a Hobby Horse; and other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London, Phaidon, 1971), pp.127-42.

and prose, offering a means of clarifying the imagery and helping the viewer unravel the meanings embedded within. The more ambiguous quality of imagery compared with text made it more difficult to prosecute, but when the purpose was to provide a clear interpretation of events, text could make the messaging explicit. In many cases, however, the prints reduced the complexity of the issues at stake – laid out in lengthy textual commentaries on the underlying ideological and political arguments in pamphlets and periodicals - into condensed visual statements, maximising the immediacy of the image, intelligible to those mostly familiar with cheap chap books and almanacs. Crucially, this was a medium which allowed ideas to be transmitted through a channel which held the possibility of engaging both the illiterate and the literate. Furthermore, because these prints often also included easily learnable verse, they engaged with contemporary oral culture, helping to disseminate core Hanoverian narratives beyond the group who could afford to buy the prints themselves, or who otherwise made up the audience for them. However, on other occasions, the designers made the most of their armoury of techniques and devices from the world of visual culture – the language of the emblematic, for example, or devices common in monumental sculpture – to create sophisticated and dense artefacts, to be deciphered by more erudite consumers. These could be supplemented by references to classical literature, and/or require knowledge of languages other than English.

It is thus important to assess the potential market and audience for the prints, but it is not an easy task, because there is little other than anecdotal evidence available. Those who have done the most detailed research into these issues to date have used a variety of methodologies, to be discussed in Chapter One, but have not so far been able to produce wholly satisfactory answers.[13] Cost would necessarily have played a part in determining who

[13] Those who have worked on the market for prints include: Atherton, *Political Prints*, pp.63-5; Charles Press, 'The Georgian Political Print and Democratic Institutions', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.19

the buyers of prints were, although it is important to note that some prints appear to have been subsidised in order to expand their reach. Original political prints, as opposed to plagiarised copies, usually cost between 6d. and 1s., so that a print such as *The Pope's Scourge*, priced at only 3d., may well have been one of those subsidised (fig.31).[14] It is also important to consider their geographical reach in this context. Certainly, printed imagery found its way to the regions, whether via local booksellers and street vendors, as sent by post directly to customers, or as printed outside London.[15] However, the heart of the print industry was in London, and it was there that its market and audience was concentrated. Indeed, this market and audience was of particular significance during the 1745 rebellion, as support in the capital was vital to the Hanoverian regime's chances of prevailing.[16]

Buyers of political prints included those from among the elites and political insiders at Westminster who bought all types of print, not just the most expensive.[17] They could also be afforded by others who were relatively affluent, such as merchants and those in the professions, able to purchase a variety of printed consumer goods and participate in a range of urban pastimes and activities. Cheaper etchings and ballad sheets, however, were within

(1977), pp.229-31 and Eirwen Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of Political Print in Eighteenth Century England', *History*, Vol.81 (1996), pp.5-21.

[14] 1s. was the equivalent of approximately £12.65 in 2018 – https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator, accessed 5th June, 2019. To put the cost of a print in context, in the 1740s the average daily pay of women was between 7d. and 8d. (depending on whether in fixed or casual employment) and that of men was about 11d., Jane Humphries and Jacob Wiesdorf, 'The Wages of Women in England, 1260-1850', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.75, No.2 (2015), pp.417,430.

[15] For discussion of the location of the print industry and how prints were distributed and marketed see Tim Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1997), pp.9, 105-17; Hallet, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.15-8.

[16] Nicholas Rogers, 'Popular Disaffection in London During the Forty-Five', *London Journal*, No.1 (1975) pp.5-27; evidence of the ministry's appreciation of the capital's strategic importance can be seen in the efforts made to keep watch on and control Jacobite activity there.

[17] See below.

the means of those with less disposable income, such as tradesmen, shopkeepers and artisans.[18] Even the labouring classes are likely to have had some access to printed imagery pasted on the walls in such public places as taverns or amongst the wares of street vendors.[19] Consumers of political prints were thus a heterogeneous group, albeit one dominated by the more prosperous. Nonetheless, despite the fact that many of the surviving prints which are the subject of this thesis were not 'popular', in the sense that they were 'read or seen by almost everybody' and 'part of the consciousness of the learned or educated as well as the uneducated', they played a significant role in popularising pro-Hanoverian ideology and attitudes.[20]

I.1 *The 1745 Jacobite rebellion: domestic politics and the international scene*

If we are to gain a fuller understanding of the political significance of printed images, they need to be located within the specific historical context in which they were produced. This, as Alastair Bellamy has noted, can 'shift, complicate and multiply any one image's political meanings … the new-model interdisciplinary cultural historian of politics must pay attention to the history of "events" as does the bluntly empiricist practitioner of old-fashioned "high political" history.'[21] In this section of the introduction I will give a brief account of the

[18] Hallet, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.25.

[19] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), chapter 5, discusses how access to printed imagery by poorer sorts was possible even before the rapid expansion of the print industry in the eighteenth century.

[20] Ronald Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding* (Notre Dame, Indiana and London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), p.x. This definition is also used by Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (British Museum Press, London, 1999), p.14.

[21] Alastair Bellamy, 'Buckingham Engraved: Politics, Print Images and the Royal Favourite in the 1620s', in Michael Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010), p.223.

wider political background to the '45 rebellion, setting it within the long-term history of Jacobitism as well as the pan-European War of the Austrian Succession which had broken out at the beginning of the decade. When I come to discussing particular images in the course of this thesis, I will provide further details surrounding more specific historical circumstances, elaborating on certain episodes as they become relevant.

Charles Stuart's grandfather, James II, had been removed from the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, fleeing to France, but eventually settling in Rome with his family. From 1689 onwards William III and those who succeeded him had to contend with the fact that there were alternative direct claimants to the three thrones, and that Britain was faced with the possibility of a restoration attempt until such time as this threat was expunged. James II sought to use Ireland, with its predominantly Catholic population, as a spring-board for his return by landing there in 1689, but William successfully saw off this challenge. The 1715 Jacobite rebellion, timed so that the House of Hanover did not have the chance to establish itself on a firm footing, was set in train in Scotland, but also ended in failure. A number of plots and conspiracies were then hatched in the 1720s and 30s before a Franco-Jacobite invasion attempt in the winter of 1743-4 and finally Jacobite forces were massed in Britain in 1745.[22]

The rebellion began with Charles Stuart - often referred to as 'the young Pretender' by his detractors, or more politely as 'the young Chevalier' - setting off for the west coast of Scotland in July 1745 and landing on the mainland later that month.[23] When he raised his

[22] The most significant conspiracies of the period were the Atterbury plot of 1721-2 and the Cornbury plot of 1733-5. For details of these, and the rebellions of 1689 and 1715 see: Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994); and Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, *passim*.
[23] For the origins of the various terms used for Charles Stuart see: Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.41, who notes 'the old Chevalier' was a Jacobite epithet for Charles's father; and Jacqueline Riding, *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion*

standard, proclaiming his father, James Francis, king at Glenfinnan in August, he did so amongst about one thousand clansmen who had rallied to his cause there. Charles then headed for Edinburgh, drawing more supporters as he went, and, following his entry into the Scottish capital, had his first encounter with the British army at nearby Prestonpans, on 21st September, where he enjoyed a comprehensive victory. It was at this point that the Duke of Cumberland, George II's younger son and commander of Britain's army on the Continent, was recalled to England along with some of his troops to take charge of the situation at home. After spending a few weeks in Edinburgh, Charles marched south, crossing the border into England on 8th November, at which moment it became clear that he was not just intent on a restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the Scottish throne and a dissolution of the Union, but that his ultimate goal was also to remove George II from the English throne. The prince took the symbolically important English border fortress of Carlisle on 15th November and reached Derby, only 120 miles from London, on 4th December. Despite his rapid progress, two days later the prince was persuaded by his senior advisors to turn back for Scotland. His forces were dangerously overextended and, more disturbingly, he had failed to attract a meaningful number of new recruits to his army whilst in England. Cumberland, moreover, was now heading north with a sizeable force and looking to inflict a decisive blow on the Jacobite army while it was still on English soil, but by 20th December the Jacobite army was back in Scotland, defeating the forces of the British General Hawley at the battle of Falkirk on 17th January 1746 before retreating to the Highlands. The Duke of Cumberland finally caught up with the Jacobite army near Inverness, achieving a definitive victory over Charles at the

(London, Bloomsbury, 2016), p.5, who identifies the term 'Pretender' as derived from the French *prétendant*, meaning 'claimant'.

Battle of Culloden on 16th April. Unlike many of his unfortunate troops, the prince managed to escape and arrived back in France on 30th September.[24]

The Glorious Revolution had entailed breaking with the traditional rules of monarchical succession, but it had also raised an array of constitutional issues. It had different consequences in England, Scotland and Ireland, and, significantly, the impact in each kingdom was often dependent on events in the other two. In other words, there was a complex matrix of motivations and consequences arising from the differing regional political, social and religious circumstances, ensuring that not all Jacobite rebellions were similar to one another.[25] A desire to see the restoration of the Stuart dynasty was at the heart of Jacobitism, but Jacobite ideology adapted over time: programmes of pledges were designed to draw support from various groups alienated by the Revolution Settlement and, later on, by the Hanoverian regime. Some could not accept the altering of the rules of monarchical succession which allowed William III and George I to take the throne, while many Tories were driven towards Jacobitism because of their exclusion from all positions of power after 1715. Crucially, though, James Francis and Charles Stuart both refused to renounce their Catholic faith, ensuring the Jacobite mission was persistently associated with 'popery'. They were also damaged by their perceived attachment to the principles of divine right and absolute monarchical power, as well as their supposed threat to Britain's post-Revolution constitutional arrangements. Jacobitism and the Jacobites have been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, most recently by Frank McLynn, Bruce Lenman, Paul

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[24] For more extensive accounts of the rebellion see: Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, chapter 10 and Frank McLynn, *The Jacobite Army in England*: *the Final Campaign* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1983).

[25] For an overview of the situation in each of the three kingdoms see Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Movement', in H. T Dickinson, ed., *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2006), pp.81-96.

Monod, Murray Pittock and Daniel Szechi, but the debate about whether it could ultimately have succeeded is unresolvable.[26]

In England in the years prior to 1745, discontent with the Whig regime in London was generated by several factors. Support for Jacobitism had tended to come from the Nonjuring community: those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III while James II still lived and wanted to see the return of the high church Anglicanism that had prevailed in the first half of the 1680s, though the significance of this constituency diminished as the eighteenth century progressed and their support was ideological rather than practical. The Catholic community tended to be loyal to the exiled Stuarts in the hope that a restoration would lead to greater toleration of - if not a full reversion to - Catholicism in Britain. It is Daniel Szechi's view that there were probably too few English Catholics to have any meaningful impact on Charles's chances of success in ousting George II in 1745. The Tories were traditionally the upholders of the authority of the Church of England against both Dissenters and Catholics, but, although they had played a major part in creating the Revolution, there was no unified and consistent Tory view on the Revolution. Evelyn Cruickshanks has argued that the Tory party after 1715 was shot through with active Jacobite supporters.[27] Some may have been long-term, committed adherents to the Stuart cause, but Linda Colley has persuasively argued that Jacobitism was just one political option amongst many for most Tories, to be engaged with if and when it became viable.[28] Opposition to George II's regime also came from many independent Whigs who did not hold government

[26] Besides the works already mentioned see also Frank McLynn, *France and the Jacobite Rising of 1745* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1981) and Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1998).

[27] Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (London, Duckworth, 1979).

[28] Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party 1714-60* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982).

positions: the ‘Patriot’ Whigs who, in coalition with the Tories in the co-called ‘Country Party’, had been instrumental in Sir Robert Walpole’s downfall in 1742. However, the most senior ‘Old Corps’ Whigs, Henry Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, survived the political manoeuvring of the next two years to form the ‘Broad Bottom’ administration in 1744. The Westminster political arena of the 1740s was thus complicated by the fact it was not just riven by a Whig-Tory divide, but also by a Court-Country one.[29] Most importantly, opposition to the government did not necessarily equate to support for Jacobitism. Similarly, it was possible to be anti-Jacobite without being a keen supporter of the Whig regime, while Jacobitism was often linked with Catholicism by many opponents, as a means of tarnishing it by association.

Nicholas Rogers, through his study of the patterns of plebeian hostility towards the Hanoverian dynasty and post-1714 Whig ministries, has concluded that Jacobitism in England was too localised and volatile to ‘engender a sustained and politically integrated challenge to the Hanoverian regime’.[30] In his view, discontent with the government in the 1740s was outweighed by widespread anti-Catholic and, by extension, anti-Jacobite sentiment which had been ruthlessly exploited by Walpole, who professed to see the hand of Jacobite conspirators behind any outbreak of public disorder.[31] Paul Monod, also focusing on

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[29] For details of Westminster politics of the 1740s see: W. A Speck, *Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760* (London, Edward Arnold, 1977); and Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783* (London, Longman, 1993).

[30] Rogers, ‘Popular Disaffection in London During the Forty-Five’; Nicholas Rogers, ‘Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London’, *Past and Present*, No.79 (May 1978), pp.70-100; Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), p.22.

[31] For discussion of Walpole’s political management see also: H. T. Dickinson, ‘Popular Politics in the Age of Walpole’, in Jeremy Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1994), pp.45-68; Holmes and Szechi, *Age of Oligarchy, passim*; and Eveline Cruickshanks, ‘The Political Management of Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-42’, in Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole*, pp.23-44. Cruickshanks endorses the Whig-Tory divide because it bolsters her argument that nearly all Tories were, at heart, Jacobites.

Jacobitism in England, maintains, on the other hand, that there was extensive support for the Jacobite cause at all levels of society, but that it was Charles's character failings that were ultimately fatal to his restoration attempt.[32] Charles may have been convinced that help would arrive from France in time to make a difference and that such assurances of support in England as he received would materialise. His judgement in this proved to be at fault, but the fact that so few in England were, in the end, prepared to join the Jacobite army in 1745 lends credence to Rogers's argument.

Bruce Lenman has discussed the origins of Jacobitism in Scotland from Charles II's return from exile in 1660, following the collapse from within of the Commonwealth. He concluded that the Jacobites were unable to succeed in 1745 because France had been unwilling to back the rebellion in an official way until such time as its chances of success were evident, not because there was an underlying groundswell of disaffection against George II's regime.[33] Jacobitism had festered in Scotland since 1689, mainly because of William III's inept rule and the post-Revolution religious settlement reached there. Due to circumstances in Scotland William III had been obliged to hand control of the Kirk to the Presbyterians and, as a result, many Episcopalian clergy, ousted from their university posts or parish livings, saw the Stuarts as a means of restoring their position within the Kirk. Many were subsequently employed by Scottish nobles and lairds as chaplains and teachers, becoming influential promoters of Jacobite ideology in Scotland.[34] William III's secular policies had also alienated the Scots; his wars caused severe disruption to Scottish trade and

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[32] Monod, *Jacobitism*, *passim*.

[33] Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, pp.240-3 indicates that France was anxious to avoid the diplomatic consequences of the rebellion failing.

[34] Bruce Lenman, 'The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism', in Eveline Cruikshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982), pp.36-48.

he viewed Scotland mainly as a source of tax revenue and troops for use in European wars.[35] The 1707 Act of Union, which saw the abolition of the parliament in Edinburgh, had caused particular resentment and exacerbated the disaffection felt most acutely in the Highlands and Lowland areas of north-east Scotland. Lenman cites three main factors which allowed the 1745 rebellion to take off: Charles managing to convince his supporters that it would be relatively easy to seize control of Scotland; the lack of government forces available to police the country, particularly in the early stages of the uprising; and agreement amongst the leaders of the pro-Hanoverian Scots that the rebellion was not a serious threat.[36]

Given that the Jacobites were never likely to succeed in restoring the exiled Stuarts without substantial foreign backing, their power lay in the role that a rebellion might play within the broader context of international relations in Europe. George II's government rightly feared that the Jacobites might be capable of persuading one of Britain's European adversaries to intervene on their behalf and actively assist in a restoration attempt - something not lost on the Hanoverian propagandists. Jeremy Black makes the important point that Walpole's inclination to try and avoid war in Europe had been partly to neutralise this Jacobite threat.[37] Szechi, meanwhile, has considered events from the perspective of the foreign powers which at various times considered intervening in support of the Jacobite cause. He plausibly concludes that Jacobitism was, in the end, always unlikely to succeed in its main aim of restoring the Stuarts, post-Revolution religious, social and economic forces ranged against it proving too strong, and only lasted as long as it did because several European powers encouraged and sustained it (as it was in their interest to do).[38] That said,

[35] Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, p.53.

[36] Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, p.245.

[37] Jeremy Black, 'Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole' in Jeremy Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1984), pp.159-60.

[38] Szechi, *Jacobites*, chapter 1.

Jacobitism was also a 'natural vehicle' for the expression of anti-Hanoverian resentment within Britain, while the bonds of kinship inherent to the clan system in Scotland also helped maintain commitment to the Jacobite cause there, as Szechi has discussed.[39]

The Jacobites' search for a major backer became increasingly urgent as the Hanoverian regime bedded in. The critical threat in 1745 was posed by France; increasingly Britain's rival for colonial trade as well as her most powerful European foe, that country had given the exiled Jacobite Court a haven at St. Germain for several years, if only, as many suspected, to further her own strategic ambitions. The year after the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740, Britain entered that conflict as an ally of Austria.[40] War was declared between Britain and France when, as part of that struggle, France launched an invasion fleet into the Chanel early in 1744. Charles Stuart was to lead a rising when the fleet landed in Essex, but French plans were scuppered by storms at sea. The prints addressing this abortive invasion attempt will be covered in Chapter Two. When the '45 rebellion started in earnest, many of Britain's troops were on the Continent engaged in the war, and Britain and the government in London were ill-prepared to deal with it.

The Hanoverian regime did not collapse in 1745 as James II's had in 1688, but the problem for George II and his ministers was that the king did not excite much active loyalty, partly because little was done to court it.[41] Many in Britain were not impressed at being ruled by a 'foreign' monarch, suspecting George II of undue bias towards his native Hanover at the expense of British interests. Resentment towards the regime had also been aroused by

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[39] Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.136, 15-6.

[40] The War of the Austrian Succession had been explored most recently by Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession* (Stroud, Alan Sutton, 1994) and M. S Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748* (London, Longman, 1995).

[41] H. T. Dickinson, *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press, 1995), pp.258-9.

legislation such as the Riot Act (1715), the Septennial Act (1716) and the Black Act (1723), the occasional suspension of Habeas Corpus (for example, as an emergency measure taken in 1722 in the wake of the Atterbury plot) and the harassment of printers, or the attempted suppression of what were deemed to be subversive publications: all used to restrict opposition activity. Against this, thirty years of peace under the House of Hanover had certainly allowed many people to prosper and Protestantism had remained safe in their hands. The precariousness of the situation in the autumn of 1745 can be seen as a measure of the overall lack of enthusiasm for Whig rule and the relatively new dynasty; it was this that caused such grave concern at the heart of government. By this time, Whig ministers' suspicions and accusations of Tory support for the Jacobites were probably not merely a propaganda ploy, as Ian Christie has noted.[42] Whatever the underlying truth of the matter, almost any disaffection shown towards George II's regime could provoke charges of, or be seen as evidence of, Jacobite sympathy in the feverish wartime atmosphere.

Thus, however historians may have analysed the Jacobites' chances of success in 1745 (and compared them to earlier attempts at a Stuart restoration), or assessed the significance of Jacobitism to the broader sweep of British history in the 'long' eighteenth century, the end result of the rebellion was uncertain at its outset. This is underscored by the efforts that were made to present the Hanoverian case during the national crisis point of the mid-1740s, those who were interested in setting out the arguments in support of the established regime making extensive use of the full range of available media. They were to go on doing so, not just while Charles's army was still at large, but for some considerable time after it had been defeated at the battle of Culloden, with the final acts of retribution against captured rebels serving as an opportunity to press home the consequences of armed

[42] Ian Christie, 'The Tory Party, Jacobitism and the "Forty-Five": A Note', *Historical Journal*, Vol.30, No.4 (1987), pp.921-31.

insurrection. The pamphleteers became especially active in defence of George II, expounding at length on matters concerning the constitutional basis of the monarchy after the Glorious Revolution, the king's role as the guardian of Protestantism and liberty in Britain and detailing the apparent dangers to which the country was exposed by the Jacobite threat. The newspaper and news-sheet press, meanwhile, were important sources of recent information. Printed imagery provided another powerful contribution to the wider commentary on this set of fast moving events, likewise engaging with all the major issues at stake, but also providing a method by which it was possible to address both the textually illiterate and the literate.

I.2 *The print industry*

Before focusing on the printed visual imagery related to the rebellion, I will outline the broader culture of print in the period in question. Kathleen Wilson, in her article assessing the legacy of the events of 1688-9, has written of the 'profound, if unintended, impact of the Glorious Revolution on popular political consciousness and political discourse in the eighteenth century', and highlighted the importance of the growth of the print industry in the increasing awareness of politics.[43] Coming only a few years after the Revolution, the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695 relieved the press of pre-publication censorship and precipitated a rapid expansion of both the newspaper press and the production of printed imagery.[44] London was the heart of the burgeoning print industry in mid-eighteenth-century Britain, though there were also significant regional centres of activity, bringing news of affairs of state and political opinions to growing sections of the population, especially in urban areas

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[43] Kathleen Wilson, 'Inventing Revolution: 1688 and Eighteenth-Century Popular Politics', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.28, No.4 (October, 1989), p.350.

[44] For discussion of the print industry regulatory regime in England see Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* (London, British Museum Press, 1998) and Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England, An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010).

where newspapers, pamphlets and periodicals circulated increasingly widely. It was alongside this textual print culture that the trade in visual political satire developed.

The relationship between the press, politics and public opinion in this period has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion.[45] The political elite may have sponsored publishers, printers and journalists producing material 'for their own ends in the struggle for power', as H. T. Dickinson has noted, but the press played a major role in diffusing debates among those who were outside the formal political process in Britain, particularly amongst the middling sorts.[46] In spite of attempts to control it, a free press independent of the government developed into a key component of political life in early eighteenth-century Britain, becoming a symbol of the liberty enjoyed by its people, with the public, as Hannah Barker has stated, 'both informed and represented by the newspapers and other forms of print'.[47] But, as J. A. W. Gunn has discussed, 'an appreciation of the overall role of the press in political life was slower in emerging'.[48]

After 1695, for all the debate around the need for a free press and freedom of expression, those involved in the flourishing eighteenth-century printing industry were not at liberty to publish whatever they chose. Under the seditious libel laws, all those involved in the production or distribution of material which was deemed 'likely to bring into hatred or

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[45] For example, see: Michael Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole: A Study of the Origins of the Modern English Press* (Rutherford, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1987); Harris, *Patriot Press*, *passim*; Joad Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern England* (London, Frank Cass, 1999); and Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861* (Sutton, Stroud, 2001).

[46] Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, pp.204-5.

[47] Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, p.168-9; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society 1695-1855* (Harlow, Pearson, 2000), p.22.

[48] J. A. W. Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property: the Process of Self-Recognition in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought* (Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), p.89. For a discussion of contemporary attitudes to the freedom of the press see Eckhart Hellmuth, 'Towards Hume – the Discourse on the Liberty of the Press in the Age of Walpole', *History of European Ideas*, Vol.44, No.2 (February 2018), pp.159-81.

contempt the ruler, his or her heirs or successors, government or any of the great national institutions, or to cause disaffection against them', even if true, could be charged, and this applied to the production of visual material as well as text.[49] In more serious cases, the government resorted to the laws of treason.[50] The restraints on publishing which had formerly been exercised by the Crown and the Stationers' Company were certainly fundamentally altered by the lapsing of the Licensing Act, but subsequent legislation also had a significant impact. The Stamp Act of 1712 introduced a one penny tax on each newspaper sold, and a one shilling tax on each advertisement printed, and was tightened in 1725. This was arguably designed primarily as a revenue raising measure rather than one of press control because it did not specifically ensure official scrutiny, but it put a brake on the increase in new titles for a time and increased the cost of production for those who obeyed the law.[51] Those costs had to be passed on to consumers, affecting affordability for those with limited spending power. The total reach of information derived from the press may well not have been restricted significantly by this extra cost, but it seems likely, as Kathleen Wilson has suggested, that the market was stratified.[52] The cheaper unstamped press (newspapers on which stamp duty had not been paid) thrived until concerted action was taken to restrict its circulation. The 1743 Act of Parliament introduced penalties ranging from heavy fines to imprisonment for hawkers and mercuries (travelling sellers of pamphlets and news-sheets) caught selling unstamped printed news. The main instrument of press control, however, remained the libel laws, but this was sometimes counterproductive and could be expensive.[53]

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[49] Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, p.19.

[50] Monod, *Jacobitism*, pp.101, 121, discusses the extreme example of John Mathews, executed in 1719 for publishing *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, a satirical pamphlet advocating the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

[51] Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, p.10.

[52] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.46.

[53] Harris, *London Newspapers*, pp.197-8.

It may well be correct that the press had become a generally accepted component of the political system by the middle of the century, as Wilson has indicated.[54] Michael Harris's view is that the power of the press in the early Hanoverian period has been underestimated, its effect more 'subtle and pervasive' than others have credited it with being. He goes so far as to suggest that most contemporary politicians had 'a firm belief' in its power, if only because they saw the value of using it to promote their own viewpoint.[55] Though he sees the press as having been both a cause and an effect of heightened political consciousness, Jeremy Black is of the opinion that it had less influence on politics at the time than might be supposed by modern observers. From an eighteenth-century perspective, Black reasonably argues that the press may have been perceived by many as creating dangerous expectations, undermining the respect due from the general population to the governing classes and thus threatening to stable social order.[56]

The impact of the press would naturally have been governed by levels of literacy amongst the population. Information gained from the newspapers could, of course, have been passed on by word of mouth, but the literate are bound to have gained more from the press than those who could not read for themselves. Literacy rates in this period have been researched by R. S. Schofield, Rosemary O'Day, David Cressy and Lawrence Stone as well as by Keith Thomas, who rightly observed that the terms 'literate' and 'illiterate' 'fail to register the complexity of the situation'.[57] Verbal literacy would also have been important to

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[54] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.31.

[55] Michael Harris, 'Print and Politics in the Age of Walpole', in Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole*, p.210.

[56] Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, chapters 1 and 2.

[57] R. S. Schofield, 'The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England', in Jack Goody, ed., *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp.311-25; Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800* (London, Longman, 1982); David Cressy, 'Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England', in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, Routledge,1993), pp.305-19; Lawrence Stone 'Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900',

the accessibility of graphic satires, which often contained considerable amounts of text, some of it, indeed, in languages other than English. However, in these debates, insufficient attention has been paid to visual literacy; to the ability to comprehend and interpret images, as well as words. Patricia Anderson is one of the few scholars to have focused on this issue (although dealing with a period rather later than mine: 1790-1860). Anderson is concerned primarily with the visual experience of working people.[58] She sees the crucial difference between usable access to word and image as lying in the image's greater ability to communicate with those who had no formal education.

The need for verbal and visual literacy skills was in part the legacy of the emblem culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which images were used primarily to illustrate a text and an associated motto. Justin Champion, in his discussion of the frontispiece commissioned in the seventeenth century for Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, has made the point that imagery was used 'to anchor abstract ideas in concrete and recognisable pictorial forms', helping to generate a range of familiar iconography which could be adapted according to purpose.[59] Graphic satire, however, had become more than an accessory to political writing by the eighteenth century, developing into an independent art form, albeit one that has been described by Eirwen Nicholson as 'an unstable mix of … the creative and parasitic'.[60] As it was also a mix of image and text, I will investigate the relationship between

Past and Present, No.42 (1969), pp.101-35; Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Gerd Bauman, ed., *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, Wolfson College Lectures, 1985 (Oxford, Clarendon, 1986), pp.97-131.

[58] Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991).

[59] Justin Champion, 'Decoding the Leviathan: Doing the History of Ideas through Images, 1651-1714', in Hunter, *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, p.257.

[60] Eirwen Nicholson, 'English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument c.1640-c.1832: A Study of Historiography and Methodology' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994), p.17.

the two in the context of the anti-Jacobite political satire under discussion and suggest the main aim of this was to ensure that the polemical content of the prints was clear to the audience for the prints. This could also be communicated more widely through the recitation of verse which often accompanied the imagery.

Prior to the 1745 rebellion, wars and instability had tended to prompt an increase in the circulation of newspapers, but the demand was possibly more for their news content rather than any editorial comment they may have contained - though the choice of news material included in, or omitted from, a newspaper's coverage is, of course, in itself comment of another kind.[61] Comment on political affairs was also found in pamphlets, broadsheets and satirical prints. H. T. Dickinson has noted that 'all forms of newspapers commented on politics and most adopted an identifiable political stance', however, as Jeremy Black has discussed, many newspapers, especially those which were not subsidised for political purposes and were, therefore, subject to greater commercial pressures, were prepared to publish material expressing differing opinions.[62] The press coverage of the mid-1740s is a significant exception to the general rule that newspapers tended not to be excessively partisan. The particular circumstances of press interaction with politics at the time of the rebellion have been the subject of detailed research by Bob Harris. He has looked at the role of the London and, separately, the provincial press in the mid-1740s, during the few years when the Jacobite threat eclipsed foreign affairs and trade as the main focus of their content. He has demonstrated that the press played a crucial part in rallying support for the Hanoverian regime when the danger posed by the rebellion was at its height, as evidenced by the large amount of anti-Jacobite and anti-popery polemic which was published, along with

[61] Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, p.17; Bob Harris, 'England's Provincial Newspapers and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6', *History*, Vol.80, No.258 (February 1995), p.5

[62] Dickinson, *Politics of the People*, pp.204-5; Black, *English Press, 1621-1861*, p.21.

the texts of loyal sermons and addresses as well as extensive coverage of loyal demonstrations, subscriptions to loyalist funds and the progress of the Duke of Cumberland.[63] Even opposition newspapers all but avoided criticism of the government's handling of the rebellion, but it is unclear whether this was because they felt they could not do otherwise.

Satire became a common method by which comment on contemporary political affairs was delivered to the public, in textual and pictorial form, enabling the creator to throw a cloak of humour over any disparagement of the government, its ministers or other powerful people.[64] One of the principal devisers of the concept of 'politeness', Joseph Addison, set out some general principles for the use of satire, notably that it 'should expose nothing but what is corrigible, and make a due discrimination between those that are, and those who are not the proper objects of it'.[65] Addison advised satirists that their mockery should be deployed with care and in a socially acceptable manner. His guidance went a good deal further than suggesting that it should basically not cross over into the territory of libel, potentially resulting in legal action.[66] Whatever the 'polite' use of satire in the first half of the eighteenth century was supposed to be, it nevertheless carried a connotation of cutting criticism that its humour, including extensive use of sarcasm and 'raillery', often did little to disguise.

A pamphlet of 1710 declared: 'The chief means by which all the lower Order of that sort of Men call'd Whigs, shall ever be found to act for the Ruin of a potent Adversary, are the following Three; by the Print; The Canto or Dogrell Poem; and by the Libell grave, calm

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[63] Harris, *Patriot Press*, *passim*; Harris, 'England's Provincial Newspapers and the Jacobite Rebellion', pp.5-21.

[64] For extended discussions of satire in an eighteenth-century context see P. K. Elkin, *The Augustan Defence of Satire* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973) and Mark Knights and Adam Morton, eds., *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture, 1500-1820* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2017), chapters 6-7.

[65] *The Spectator*, No.210, London, 31st October 1711.

[66] For analysis of the legal situation concerning libel see C. R. Kropf, 'Libel and Satire in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol.8, No.2 (Winter, 1974-5), pp.153-68.

and cool'.[67] This publication appeared in defence of Dr. Sacheverell some thirty-five years before the last Jacobite rebellion, but the sentiment may be applied just as well to the attempts made in the mid-1740s by supporters of the Hanoverian regime to discredit Jacobite sympathisers and their mission. The word 'Print' here refers to woodcuts, etchings and engravings, 'Canto' to ballads or song sheets, and 'Libell grave' to textual material such as broadsheets and polemical pamphlets. All three were published in quantity at the time of the '45 to demonstrate the alleged evils of the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

Joad Raymond has stated that we need to 'recognise the thoroughly permeable boundaries between newspapers and other cultural forms', because news 'is not a set of events with shared characteristics, nor a set of institutions with shared procedures, but a basis for verbal (and partly visual) exchange'.[68] I would add that the boundaries between prints and other media were also permeable. It should be noted, however, that those who have explored eighteenth-century printed media which addressed political events have tended to concentrate their efforts on either visual *or* textual material, despite periodic acknowledgement that there is a considerable amount of overlap between the two. Furthermore, whilst the markets for printed text and visual political satire developed alongside one another, it is important to emphasise that the latter involved more than just a visual transcription of texts already in circulation, making a significant contribution to the public debate surrounding the 1745 rebellion. Indeed, its topical comment was a critical aspect of its appeal, helping to popularise it for wider consumption.

Whilst the capacity of graphic satire to deliver critical commentary had not gone unnoticed by those with the power to restrict or control it, the printed image trade, as well as

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[67] Anon., *The Picture of Malice, or a True Account of Dr. Sacheverells Enemies …* (London, J. Read, 1710), pp.10-1.

[68] Raymond, *News, Newspapers*, pp.8-9.

the newspaper press, in Britain was not subject to an intensive regime of censorship of the kind that could be found in some countries on the Continent.[69] That said, when the government was most exercised by the Jacobite threat in the first half of the eighteenth century, it was apt to harass print publishers, making occasional use of its powers under the seditious libel laws, usually to rein in those it deemed the worst offenders.

I.3 *Printed imagery and the 1745 rebellion*

Kathleen Wilson has observed that ‘any society’s historical “reality” is inseparable from the forms of its cultural representations’.[70] More specifically in the current context, Paul Monod has argued that, because Jacobitism had no institutional structure beyond the exiled Stuart court, exercising only very limited control over its adherents, ‘the most concrete evidence for its existence is found in records of expressions - words, images, forms of behaviour’.[71] He used this argument to underpin his examination of Jacobitism in England through its cultural manifestations. While this is only one method of analysing Jacobitism as a political force, it is an important means by which to examine Jacobite ideology and the methods its followers used to communicate and promote it in their attempt to garner support for their mission to restore the Stuart dynasty. In light of Monod’s work, it is logical also to examine the culture of the opposing side, particularly with respect to the 1745 rebellion, as well as the relationship between the two. Because printed graphic satire became an increasingly popular tool in the political debates in the years 1743-7, it is an especially rich source when it comes to divining the preoccupations and sensibilities of the broader political nation at the time. As George Bickham junior, an eighteenth-century printer, put it in an

[69] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.260; Clayton, *English Print*, p.78; and Barker, *Newspapers,* p.68.

[70] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.38.

[71] Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.7.

advertisement placed in the *Daily Gazetteer* on 30th March 1745, prints were a medium 'wherein … an expressive Kind of History is continued', drawing attention to the significance of the loaded comment to be found within the graphic satire which he and others produced.[72] Meanwhile, sections of the art-historical world have been concerned to make sense of its ambiguous status within the artistic hierarchy.

In the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, the market for printed imagery had been dominated by imports or the work of immigrant European engravers, but a native tradition had established itself in Britain by the 1740s, stimulated to a considerable degree by the talents of William Hogarth and fostered by the peculiar political conditions of Hanoverian Britain which invited visual engagement and allowed the market to expand.[73] In an open letter of 1735 to MPs making the case for a copyright Act, Hogarth stated that there were no more than twelve major print publishers in London and Westminster, although prints could be bought at the many shops, stalls and booksellers, often located on or near the main thoroughfare which ran from the Royal Exchange to St. Paul's Cathedral, along Fleet Street to Charing Cross and then along Whitehall to Westminster.[74] George Vertue estimated there to be fifty-four master engravers working in London by 1744, and those who specialised in the production of political satires were mainly English.[75] Most prominent amongst the print entrepreneurs who designed, engraved and published their own satirical political prints were George Bickham junior (c,1704-1771), Charles Mosley (d.1756), John Tinney (c.1706-1761),

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[72] *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 30th March 1745. The word 'history' is used in its contemporary sense of 'a narration or relation of events and facts', from Dr. Johnson's 1755 Dictionary, http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?p=8309, accessed 11th December 2017.

[73] Hunter, *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, p.7; O' Connell, *Popular Print*, pp.42-55; Clayton, *English Print*, p.xii.

[74] Hogarth's letter quoted in Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.2. Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.16.

[75] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.17.

J. Collyer, Benjamin Cole and Peter Griffin.[76] These men sold printed goods they published themselves, but, as independent businesses, their viability also depended on work coming from others in or connected to the print trade. They were thus also involved in producing reproductive engravings or portraits for the major dealers, as well as frontispieces and illustrations for book and pamphlet publishers and sellers. In addition, they supplied printed material for smaller print shops and other commercial enterprises.[77]

The types of printed imagery related to the 1745 Jacobite rebellion encompassed a number of formats. At one end of the market were the single sheet satires 'Published according to Act of Parliament' (i.e. under the provisions of the 1735 Engravers' Copyright Act forbidding the copying or selling of a print without the permission of the proprietors(s) of the copyright for fourteen years), engraved or etched on high quality paper. These were sold, mostly by the print shops, to be kept in portfolios, bound into collections or framed and displayed, whether in domestic settings or in public sites such as coffee houses and clubs. At the other end of the market were the less expensive, often pirated copies after original engravings and the more ephemeral broadsides, ballads and song sheets, illustrated with simple woodcuts, which were within the financial reach of a greater range of people.[78] This cheaper material would often be carried by itinerant hawkers in the street, sometimes along with other inexpensive consumer goods. Sheila O'Connell has researched the cheaper types of print and how they were distributed and consumed in her important work on 'popular' prints produced 1550 - 1850.[79] Whilst some could only afford the cheaper products, there is

[76] Biographical detail is sadly lacking for these printers, but see Atherton, *Political Prints*, *passim* and Clayton, *English Print*, *passim*., for further information.

[77] For discussion of the circumstances of print production and the print entrepreneurs' businesses see Tim Clayton, *English Print*, pp.105-17, and Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.17-8.

[78] For further details on the range of prints published see Clayton, *English Print*, pp.3-23.

[79] O'Connell, *Popular Print*.

evidence that all types of print were bought by those with deeper pockets. Horace Walpole mentioned in a letter that ‘there is nothing new, but what the pamphlet shops produce; however, it is pleasant to have a new print or ballad every day’.[80]

The Hanoverian regime has been the subject of recent scrutiny, with important contributions from scholars such as Hannah Smith and Andrew Thompson.[81] However, there has been little discussion of the printed imagery related to its struggle to prevent a restoration of the Stuart dynasty in the mid-1740s to match that of the Jacobites, a much greater source of interest, partly, perhaps, because of a certain romantic appeal.[82] The identities of genuine Jacobite supporters and their intrigues have absorbed many, while the unknowable consequences of a successful rising have been compelling enough to prompt questions about whether any number of changed circumstances could have altered the final outcome. Interest in the Jacobite cause has been sustained particularly by the youthful glamour of Charles Stuart and a preoccupation with the subtle methods by which Jacobite propagandists negotiated their way round the British government’s attempts to stifle their opponents’ attempts to persuade Britons of the merits of their case.

The Hanoverian cause can seem dull by comparison, appearing to embody the somewhat leaden voice of a self-serving establishment with a less than inspiring monarch at

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[80] W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, 48 vols. (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1937-83), Vol.9, p.195, Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 28th August 1756.

[81] Hannah Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714-1760* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), *passim*; and Andrew C. Thompson, *George II: King and Elector* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2011), *passim*.

[82] A number of scholars besides Monod have explored Jacobite art and material culture, among them are: Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Vicky Coltman, ‘Party-Coloured Plaid? Portraits of Eighteenth-Century Scots in Tartan’, *Textile History*, Vol.41, No.2 (2010), pp.182-216; and Jacqueline Riding, ‘“His Little Hour of Royalty”: The Stuart Court at Holyroodhouse in 1745’, in David Forsyth, ed., *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* (Edinburgh, NMS Enterprises Ltd., 2017), pp.97-125.

its head. And, as Wilson has noted, Whig attempts to gather support for their party and the House of Hanover have often been dismissed as 'hypocritical adjuncts to their authoritarian, repressive legislation'.[83] I seek here to conduct an investigation of pro-Hanoverian printed imagery, in part to balance the bias towards consideration of Jacobite art and material culture of the period. By exploring the issues from the Hanoverian perspective as expressed in printed imagery at the time of the last Jacobite rebellion, my investigation covers a period in which the contest between the two sides was at its height and, as a result, printers were at their most inventive and prolific. However, I will consider, in the course of my discussion, how these pro-Hanoverian prints related to the Jacobite-sponsored prints and material culture which have more commonly been the subject of scholarly attention. The two were frequently engaged in a sophisticated dialogue, as they sought to counter each other's arguments and persuade viewers of the merits of their respective cases.

The visual styles and motifs used in the assortment of anti-Jacobite prints will be an important theme in this thesis, not least because of their intrinsic relationship with meaning. A notable variety of visual languages were deployed in the imagery related to the rebellion, including: the more traditional emblematic; naturalistic depictions, not only of personalities, but also credible portrayals of scenes and events; and caricature, a recent import from the Continent. I will explore how these modes were used in various contexts and at different stages, as the output of the printmakers evolved to take account of circumstances. Eirwen Nicholson elaborated on many of the problems with earlier research into printed imagery, noting especially how much of the scholarship to date had been dominated by a sometimes overly simplistic linear model of style development.[84] This model has been importantly questioned by Diana Donald in her work on the 'Golden Age' of caricature in the second half

[83] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.86.

[84] Nicholson, 'English Political Prints', *passim*.

of the eighteenth century. She has also made a significant connection between style and political intention in graphic satire, which I will consider in connection with anti-Jacobite imagery of the slightly earlier period of the mid-1740s in Chapter Two.[85]

Several pro-Hanoverian prints included elements of the 'print', 'canto' and 'libell grave', suggesting that designers had a variety of possible viewers in mind when outlining their case. This strategy would have been a familiar one to an eighteenth-century audience because, as Justin Champion has stated, 'accounts of the history of public communication in the pre-modern world suggest that communities were adept at creating collective meaning out of a "multimedia" of texts, images and oral exchange'.[86] A good example is *The Procession, or the Pope's Nursling Riding in Triumph*, a print first published on 15th October 1745 (fig.27). The eye is initially drawn to an image at the centre of a sheet packed with detail. Charles Stuart is shown in the clutches of Pope Benedict XIV, portrayed as the architect of the rebellion seeking to re-impose Catholicism in Britain, in a carriage being driven by the Pope's co-conspirator, Louis XV of France. The carriage rides roughshod over the most revered symbols of Britain's constitution, Magna Carta and statute law, as well as representative members of the Church of England clergy. Above are six stanzas of verse, a neat summary of many of the main platitudes and prejudices used at the time to rouse anti-Jacobite feeling. They take the form of rhyming couplets that would have been easy to learn and sing to some suitably recognisable loyalist tune: 'Shall Popery and Rome her Tenets dispense, Devoid of all Reason devoid of Sense? Shall the Minion of France & ye Dupe of Old Rome, Dispose of our Rights, both Abroad & at Home?'. This element of the print enabled anti-Jacobite polemic to be transmitted to a wider audience than that for the print

[85] Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996).

[86] Champion, *'Decoding the Leviathan'*, p.257.

alone. In addition, below the image is a lengthy explanation clarifying how the picture should be read by the viewer and adding some specific detail to the more general points made in the verse. There is, therefore, a wealth of messaging in which the print's designer has sought to communicate with a diverse audience with differing literacy skills and interests.

The fact that my study of prints is focused on those associated with a specific political issue is in line with a trend in recent print scholarship towards more in-depth analysis of smaller groups of printed images or single issue prints. The seven volume survey of eighteenth-century English prints, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832*, published under the general editorship of Michael Duffy, provides some valuable broad cultural background for my thesis.[87] Organised thematically, the series was mainly contributed to by political and social historians, with a strong emphasis on the context in which the prints were published, but this came at the expense of visual analysis of individual prints. Both Tim Clayton, whose influential exploration of prints published in the 'long' eighteenth century addresses each genre as it came to prominence, and Malcolm Jones, who has advanced our understanding of prints published or sold in England in the early modern period by tracing works held by institutions across Britain, Europe and North America, have explicitly stated that their work should be the basis for more focused research.[88] Accordingly, in his study of graphic satire in the late Stuart and early Georgian period, for example, Mark Hallett has shown how urban political dissent was transformed into a commercial product through its entertaining and detailed engagement with a wide variety of cultural output, aligning 'pictorial insubordination' with political dissent. He fails, however, to account for instances where 'pictorial insubordination', such as the use of grotesque imagery, is deployed in material

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[87] *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832* (Cambridge, Chadwyck-Healey series, 1986).

[88] Clayton, *English Print*.

which is *supportive* of a regime or government policy, as seen in the mid-1740s.[89] He sees graphic satire as an urban phenomenon responding to urban concerns and market developments, and views the implied readership of the advertisement pages of contemporary newspapers (which included advertisements for prints) as a good indicator of the target market for graphic satire, but this approach has its difficulties which will be discussed in Chapter One. Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown have explored the specialised area of frontispieces produced from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, considering their sophisticated use of emblematic imagery, which produces interesting analyses of the narrow field of material covered.[90] Helen Pierce has concentrated on a few of the most significant political images produced in England in the first half of the seventeenth century.[91] Many of these were inspired by Continental imagery, whereas, by the mid-1740s, the prints relied more on sources developed in England. The latter authors concentrate on a small number of images, which it is useful to set against studies encompassing the broader picture, and have considered prints published prior to the period with which I am concerned, but all three have provided valuable methodological context for my research, and have helped highlight areas of critical interest for my project.

One such area of interest is the intertwining of the visual and the verbal, with the added implication of the oral, in mid-eighteenth-century political prints. To recover some meanings contained in anti-Jacobite graphic satire also requires knowledge of an assortment of other visual formats such as coins, medals and ‘high’ art, as well as other media such as performance arts and literature. Different media fed off each other, reflecting and influencing

[89] Hallett, *Spectacle of Differenc*e.

[90] M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

[91] Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2008).

each other in what Hallett has called a ‘multi-referential form of pictorial and textual dialogue’.[92] Moreover, graphic satire - a varied genre operating on many cultural levels - was also intended to provide entertainment. Hogarth himself is known to have derived amusement from unravelling the detail of prints and was apt to take note of graffiti on walls and signboards, ‘with delight’ he said, the aim being to indulge that ‘pleasing labour of the mind to unfold Mystery Allegory and Riddles’.[93] Importantly, though, such processes could only operate, and the prints thus become successful commercial products, if sufficient numbers of people could grasp the embedded allusions, adaptations and borrowings. Viewers could only ‘get the joke’ if the objects and ideas to which they referred were already also to be found in the public domain and fairly readily available.

Humour was also used frequently in political prints produced during the course of the 1745 rebellion, despite the seriousness of the situation. It needs investigation for the particular manner in which it was incorporated into anti-Jacobite imagery. It sometimes lay in the ironic quotation or referencing of other art forms, and could be basic or sophisticated. Its core purpose, however, was the mocking of Jacobite supporters, their ideology and their mission. In addition, crude scaremongering was another device prevalent in anti-Jacobite satirical imagery, exploiting widely held fears about what a restoration of the Stuart dynasty would mean for Britain. Hanoverian propaganda persistently evoked the spectres of French-style absolute government and popery running rife in order to suggest that a Whig government under George II was the only sure way to safeguard Protestantism and liberty in Britain. These tactics were often brought to bear in printed imagery published as the

[92] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.1.

[93] Ronald Paulson, *The Art of Hogarth* (London, Phaidon, 1975) p.64; Jack Lindsay, *Hogarth, his Art and his World* (London, Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1977), pp.20, 157.

Hanoverian regime struggled to contain and then see off Charles's attempt to overthrow George II.

The anti-Jacobite prints that are the subject of this thesis are notable for the fact that they do not conform to the prevailing notion that graphic satire is primarily a vehicle for the expression of radical, malcontent or opposition views, as advanced by Dorothy George and Herbert Atherton.[94] George described prints as 'recognised weapons of controversy', which they indeed could be, but they were not *always* used as a medium of protest against ministerial actions.[95] Herbert Atherton was concerned with political prints produced within the relatively short time frame of Hogarth's era, seeing them not necessarily as a medium of opposition, but one which gave rise to 'a journalism of protest'.[96] His opinion was that, at a time when the concept of an organised opposition to the government had not been fully formed, satirists tended to focus on highlighting corruption, attacks on liberty and perceived betrayals of the national interest on the part of those in power, the basis being 'stubborn and permanent discontent'.[97] He modified this by stating that 'prints were not necessarily specific weapons of opposition propaganda'.[98] This last point is valid, but he also paid little attention to instances where satirists made extended use of printed imagery to deliver messages that were broadly aligned with government policy.

Graphic satire was used to promulgate Hanoverian ideology at the time of the 1745 rebellion, but what kind of 'propaganda' it constitutes is a difficult issue. Were these prints designed for 'the systematic dissemination of doctrine, rumour, or selected information to

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[94] George, *English Political Caricature*, Vol.1, p.3; Atherton, *Political Prints*, *passim*.

[95] George, *English Political Caricature*, Vol.1, p.3.

[96] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.260.

[97] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.262.

[98] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.260.

propagate or promote a particular doctrine, view, practice etc'?[99] The exiled court in Rome was certainly involved in such an officially sponsored propaganda effort as here defined, intended to further the Jacobite cause. Portraits were commissioned on a regular basis, with printed versions, often smuggled in from the Continent, circulating in Britain.[100] Medals, usually incorporating political narratives, were struck to be sold or given away to Jacobite sympathisers.[101] The British government was, conversely, not engaged in such a 'systematic' campaign to promote the Hanoverian case via graphic satire or other visual means. There are, however, other aspects of anti-Jacobite printed imagery published during the 1745 rebellion which indicate it did indeed function as propaganda, in a looser, less directed, sense of the word than some more rigorous definitions. I will consider whether the political messages contained within the imagery and the circumstances of their production indicate signs of any consistent, programmatic attempt to influence public opinion in favour of George II's regime, including the possible subsidising of prints to expand their reach. This, to a significant extent, is dependent on the above introduced project of identifying who the intended audiences for

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[99] *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003), Vol.2. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (London, Sage, 2006), pp.72-3, discuss how the word 'propaganda' derived from the establishment of the Sacra Congregatio Christiano Nomini Propaganda, or Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide as it was commonly known, by Pope Gregory XV on 22nd June 1622. This body was charged with reviving Catholic doctrine in Europe and spreading it to the New World - by persuasion. For some time the origins of the word gave it negative connotations in non-Catholic northern Europe. Jowett and O'Donnell cite a mid-nineteenth century English encyclopaedist, W. T. Brande, as stating that the term was applied pejoratively to secret associations for the dissemination of suspect opinions and principles and is unlikely to have been used in the mid-eighteenth century in connection with efforts to demonstrate the benefits of the Hanoverian regime. Only later did propaganda became a convenient term associated with the manipulation of public opinion.

[100] Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1996), p.19 notes that Prince Charles's portrait 'became widely known from engravings and mezzotints' in London during the late 1720s, a period when Lord Bolingbroke was keen for James Stuart to renounce his claim in favour of his son.

[101] For an example of the political content that could be contained within a medal see Neil Guthrie, 'Unica Salus (1721): A Jacobite Medal and its Context', *Georgian Group Journal*, Vol.15 (2006), pp.88-120.

these prints might have been, and the strategies and methods used by graphic designers to reach them. A further factor in analysing the impact of pro-Hanoverian prints on public opinion will be how widely disseminated anti-Jacobite printed imagery might have been, given the capacity of the mid-eighteenth-century public to buy or otherwise access it. Ultimately, my thesis requires an assessment of how successful the prints may have been in penetrating public consciousness, to offset and outweigh Jacobite narratives.

I.4 *Corpus of prints*

In the first place my task was to identify the images which are relevant to the rebellion of 1745/6. In researching my thesis, the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum has been an invaluable source: a collection built up over a considerable period and supported by F. G. Stephens and D. M. George's extensive catalogue, with volume 3 covering my period.[102] More recently, greater understanding of the material in the British Museum has been aided by digitisation of their collections, as well as those of other institutions, and, therefore, their wider availability online. The archive of prints and other material related to the Jacobite movement put together by a late-nineteenth/early-twentieth-century collector, William Biggar Blaikie (1847-1928), has been especially useful. This was donated to (and also added to by) the National Library of Scotland. I have found further material at the Lewis Walpole Library, a department of Yale University Library at Farmington, Connecticut, the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and the MacBean collection at the University of Aberdeen.

[102] F. G. Stephens, *Catalogue of Personal and Political Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol 3. (London, British Museum, 1978, originally published 1877).

The corpus of prints published in the years 1743-7 which I have amassed in working on this project comes to a total of 112 images. I have only included portrait prints which involve substantially more than a likeness and an identifying text; the total volume of printed portraits is so large that thorough study of them was beyond the scope of my project, especially as some are difficult to identify with certainty. This approach is one which has also been adopted by Malcolm Jones in his study of early modern prints; he cites the need for portraits to be given space of their own on account of their volume, whilst including both high and low end images, as I have done.[103] Anthony Griffiths elected to exclude woodcuts from his work on seventeenth-century English prints, as a means of reducing his enterprise to a more manageable amount of material, but this policy applied here would not have resulted in a full understanding of anti-Jacobite prints published in the mid-1740s.[104] I have thus included woodcuts, several maps and battle plans, a number of illustrated broadsides and ballad sheets, as well as variants of certain images which were also published on the Continent or published for markets outside Britain, and two watch papers. Besides this, one print is included which I have seen mention of, but been unable to trace. I have compiled a database of identified, relevant images, included in the Appendix to this thesis. Some of the images were reprinted, either by the original publisher or by others - some several times, as in the case of Hogarth's much pirated image of Lord Lovat (fig.71). I have included prints which ran to multiple editions under a single entry, the exceptions being when alterations were made to a plate which change the possible readings of the image, or when the context of the image was changed, for example if incorporated into a broadside version with added text.

[103] Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England, An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010).

[104] Griffiths, *Print in Stuart Britain*.

In my discussion in the chapters that follow, I necessarily focus on examples taken from this dataset, allowing me to provide detailed visual analysis and discussion of prints that are particularly rich, and/or which engage with the events of the rebellion in especially telling ways. However, I have constantly checked these against the larger set to ensure that they cover the full range of the material, allowing me to explore various types of message, content and style, and enabling me to track the changing nature of anti-Jacobite visual propaganda over the course of the rebellion. Besides the prints, the core material for my thesis, I have also examined advertisements placed by print publishers in the newspaper press; publishers' catalogues; newspapers, broadsides, song sheets and pamphlets; and material relating to certain court cases featuring print publishers.

I.5 *Chapter summary*

In Chapter One, I will use the printer and publisher, George Bickham junior, as a case study to introduce some of the complexities surrounding print culture at the time of the 1745 rebellion. Of all the known artists and publishers involved in producing political satire in this period, the contribution made by Bickham and his business was one of the most extensive, his output in the 1740s particularly significant for coverage of the last Jacobite rebellion. I will examine a court case against Bickham for what it tells us about the government's attitudes to the production of politically sensitive pro-Jacobite material, and its attempts to suppress it, even some time after the rebellion had been defeated.

I will then turn to consideration of the printed imagery that was produced during the course of the rebellion, working in chronological order over three chapters. My decision to take a chronological approach is motivated by the degree to which the reaction of the printmakers to the rapidly developing political situation gives clues to specific concerns about

contemporary events as they unfolded, as well as the changing mood in Britain as the rebellion progressed. Print designers, moreover, incorporated references to certain media at key moments in the course of the rebellion with the aim of making particular points, and it is useful to chart these.

In Chapter Two, I will address the prints produced from the time that the Jacobite threat emerged with the abortive invasion attempt of 1744 up until the rebellion began in earnest in the summer of 1745. Only a few prints related to the developing situation were produced during this period, but they will allow me to begin my discussion of some of the principal topics and themes associated with print culture as it related to the most important political issue of the period. I will consider the use of humour and satire in contemporary political prints. The capacity of viewers to read these satirical images was in some cases dependent on fairly extensive knowledge of current events, much of which would have been derived from the press. I will therefore open my exploration of the relationship between the image print industry and the newspaper and periodical press in this chapter. Another factor governing the ability to read the imagery involved was the need to be familiar with the visual languages used. I will examine the widespread use of the emblematic mode and the reasons behind its longevity, as well as situating its continued use against the background of other artistic trends of the eighteenth century.

The third chapter deals with the printed imagery published once Charles Stuart had landed in Scotland in August 1745, raising his army amidst a rising tide of Jacobite optimism, up to the point where the rebel army penetrated furthest into England in December 1745, when the Hanoverian regime was at its most vulnerable and before the British government seemed to be able to offer any meaningful military resistance. In this phase anti-Jacobite print designers tended to be preoccupied mainly by the central ideological and religious debates, in part as a means of avoiding specific references to the embarrassing turns of events during

these months. I will therefore explore how they approached contemporary Hanoverian arguments in relation to Protestantism, the constitutional issues surrounding the monarchy, liberty and the law, as well as the economic landscape in the post-Revolution era, frequently contrasting Britain with its arch enemy, France. Condensing Hanoverian narratives into single images was a challenge for print designers, often requiring text in order to clarify the intended meanings. For this reason I will concentrate much of my discussion on the relationship between imagery and text in graphic satire in this chapter. The material also raises questions about its potential to 'persuade' viewers of the Hanoverian case: to promote loyalist sentiment as well as to incite antagonism towards Charles Stuart and the Jacobite army. An increasing volume of pro-Hanoverian prints produced at this stage suggests that the output had a propaganda function, if not a directed, co-ordinated one, which will be discussed here. The formation of loyal associations was part of the initial defence campaign and they have been regarded as a propaganda exercise in themselves, because seen as of doubtful practical use by some. Their mustering was the subject of several medals as well as graphic material, and the interactions between the two art forms will be appraised here.

The English appear to have sensed that success against the Jacobites was within their grasp as soon as the rebel army turned back from Derby. This seems to have prompted a distinct change in the tone of the prints, though they continued to be dominated by the emblematic mode rather than broadly naturalistic representations of events, until such time as there were significant military successes to celebrate. When these came, there was a notable increase in the inclusion of depictions of actual episodes of the rising and the protagonists involved in them. In Chapter Four, I will look at how the printed imagery altered and evolved in response to the more positive outlook for the Hanoverian side, the market for these prints growing rapidly as events began to turn in the government's favour. News of the final defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden in April 1746 reached London quickly, and print makers

moved fast to capitalise on the opportunity. The Hanoverian commander in the field, the Duke of Cumberland, proved a popular focus for print publishers in the light of his military success. They also produced more generally moralising imagery, the quashing of the rebellion prompting a number of images associated with death and memorials, as a metaphor for the demise of Jacobite project, which in turn invites examination of these prints' engagement with sculptural monuments. Finally, in this chapter, I will examine the prints which covered the fate of the most prominent rebels who did not manage to avoid the justice system, in particular looking at the imagery which pictured their public executions.

There will be a change of direction in my final chapter, where I will address both the portrayal of the leading personalities of the Jacobite campaign and the broad body of people who joined it, or otherwise assisted and supported it, in printed imagery. As the leader of the campaign, Charles Stuart was an obvious target for the graphic satirists, and I will examine how, as part of the effort to discredit him and therefore the entire Jacobite project, he was consistently associated with two traditional adversaries, the Catholics and the French, as well as being depicted as unduly effeminate. However, in terms of the sheer volume of prints, it was the notoriously duplicitous Simon, Lord Lovat who appears to have been thought of as the most reprehensible of the Jacobite leaders. Lovat's image featured most frequently in graphic satire, reproduced in the most wide-ranging formats, in which he was transformed into a symbol of treachery. In this chapter, set against my previous consideration of the chronological arc of the prints associated with the 1745 rebellion, I will also reflect on the longer-term processes by which negative stereotypes of, and prejudices against, Jacobite supporters developed, to create an overall impression of 'the enemy'. I will explore how perceptions of the Scots were relayed visually, with humour often used as a means of deflating the Jacobites and ridiculing their project as the graphic satirists exploited clichéd notions about Highlanders to rouse and intensify animosity towards them.

Chapter 1

George Bickham junior and the Political Print Trade of the 1740s

With the exception of William Hogarth, many of the graphic satirists who worked in London in the mid-eighteenth century remain indistinct figures.[1] George Bickham junior is one of those who, due to his extensive output and business interests, does regularly appear in the historiography of the print industry, but attempts to draw him out further from the shadows are hampered by the limited amount of available evidence. As with many of his competitors, as well as his collaborators, he left very little in the way of a personal record of his life. Yet, there is enough evidence, worth investigating more closely, which can not only improve our understanding of the workings of the print industry in general, but also give us invaluable insights into the role of visual imagery as it related to the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.

In creating a successful independent print business, Bickham deployed his extensive range of skills as an artist, engraver, printer and publisher. In addition, and fortunately for the historical record, he seems also to have been a colourful and intriguing character who was involved in a number of controversies, some of which resulted in litigation or criminal proceedings. Crucially, various incidents of his career, particularly in the 1730s and 1740s, are also significant because they coincided with the build-up to, and aftermath of, the final

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[1] Biographical details and recorded episodes from Bickham's life, appear, for example, in; Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), *passim*; Tim Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1997), *passim*; Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999), *passim*. However, the coverage is often relatively brief.

attempt of real substance made to restore the exiled Stuart dynasty to the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland.

At this distance it is often not possible to be sure of the relative creative and practical contributions made to the production of many political prints: the identities of those involved have, in many cases, been lost. There are, however, some clues to be found within the prints (where an inventor, engraver, publisher or printer is specifically mentioned), but also in the advertising notices which Bickham placed in newspapers to promote his stock. The production of graphic satire was an important aspect of George Bickham's business, but one complemented by an effective marketing and distribution operation. An advertising page of the *General Advertiser* of 24th October 1745 includes a notice placed by Bickham for his print *Publick Credit*, providing an illustrative example of the format of his advertising (fig.2). This page also carries advertisements for a number of other printed products which were published in response to the Jacobite rising, demonstrating how it dominated the agenda at the time. On offer were: printed versions of loyal sermons preached in churches around the country; two pamphlets warning of the possible consequences of the rebellion for Britain, *Popery and Slavery Display'd* and *A Serious Address to the People of England*, both published by Mary Cooper; verses, under the title *The Association, or Loyalty and Liberty*, written by the actor-theatre manager Theophilus Cibber and referring to the loyal associations being formed at the time to defend England; together with copies of an Act granting the government powers to arrest those it suspected of conspiring against the King. These appear alongside notices for candle auctions and the offer for sale of rum and brandy, amongst other things.[2]

[2] Candle auctions are those in which bidding ends when a candle flame dies.

The texts of Bickham's advertisements frequently include publication details of the prints he sold, some not available elsewhere, and indicate how he sought to present his products so as to attract customers. At the same time they serve to highlight still unresolved questions concerning the reach of eighteenth-century political prints. Herbert Atherton, Sheila O'Connell, Mark Hallett and Eirwen Nicholson have notably contributed to this discussion.[3] There is a very limited amount of evidence for the numerical size of the market for printed satire and, in the absence of such evidence, other factors have been discussed. The technical limitations of eighteenth-century print processes, the price of prints and their affordability have naturally been seen as constraints on production and market. More indirectly, the implied readership of advertisements for the prints has been used as an indication of the target market.

Another area of the eighteenth-century print industry that has been the subject of continuing discussion is plagiarism and Bickham was certainly involved in this, both as a perpetrator and a victim. It is worth exploring certain incidents of his working life in this context because it was a common phenomenon at the time, but the issue was not a wholly clear-cut one. The convoluted connections of prints to various artistic and literary sources were essential components of meaning: adaptations, in the form of deliberate and subtle changes, could be made to existing imagery to produce alternative readings as part of an

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[3] Atherton, *Political Prints*, pp.63-5, discusses the circulation of political prints. Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, British Museum Press, 1999), chapter 7, is concerned with the reach of 'popular' printed material, noting that illustrated broadsides, ballads and almanacs readily available alongside other cheap consumer goods from street hawkers. Mark Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.25, is concerned with more high-end material printed from metal plates, characterising the market for graphic satire as one that was 'resolutely metropolitan, relatively literate, moderately affluent and eclectic in its tastes'. Eirwen Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of Political Print in Eighteenth Century England', *History*, Vol.81 (1996), pp.5-2, has done the most extensive work on the technical limitations of printing from metal plates and research into the contemporary evidence for the size of print runs, making the point that the total reach was more extensive than the market.

ongoing visual dialogue with earlier work. This dialogue could be built up by, for example, engraving a new plate or by making changes to legitimately acquired second-hand plates. Borrowing and referencing could, nonetheless, break the bounds of what was deemed acceptable by other artists and publishers, if not the law, if it consisted of copying on a far-reaching scale. The instances in which Bickham was involved serve to indicate where some of those limits lay, and, by reviewing these, we can also gain a more vivid impression of the contemporary printing industry overall, as well as George Bickham's contribution to it.

In this chapter, I will examine first Bickham's background as a member of a family-run printing business and the range of material that he produced. His activities, business practices and connections to the book trade usefully demonstrate the range of possible options open to the mid-eighteenth-century publisher of printed material in sourcing material and reproducing copies in quantity for sale. The production of printed material was at the heart of Bickham's business, but so too were the marketing and distribution of his output and a discussion of this side of his business forms the following section. His advertisements in the press represent the most useful, but often overlooked, primary source of information in this regard, and these supplement other primary sources. In the third section I will explore certain incidents of his working life which occurred in connection with plagiarism for what they reveal about the print trade in the mid-eighteenth century.

In order to provide contextual information concerning Bickham's output at the time of the 1745 Jacobite rising, I will elaborate on the contemporary market for political prints in general terms, with the work of other publishers being considered to aid a better understanding of Bickham's contribution in the particular circumstances. A discussion of Bickham's pro-Hanoverian prints forms the following section. He engraved or published a number of images which were broadly sympathetic to the loyalist side of the argument. I will

use three examples to represent the scope of his prints in this field. Finally, I will look in detail at his publication of a map and pamphlet which resulted in him being prosecuted because it was deemed 'treasonable'. To the best of my knowledge, the records of the case against Bickham have not come to light before now.[4] The documents which relate to this prosecution give us some idea of how imagery that the Hanoverian regime viewed as unacceptable was construed and how the visual strategies used differed from printed imagery which was more supportive of the government line.

1.1 *George Bickham junior's background, publishing activities and connections with the book trade*

George Bickham junior's career should be set against the background of a rapidly expanding market for printed material generally in the first half of the eighteenth century.[5] The opportunities afforded by this drew in a range of skilled practitioners such as artists, engravers, printers and publishers. Print- and booksellers provided the main commercial outlets for end buyers, with street vendors tending to sell the cheaper products. These retail operations were supplemented by increasingly popular print auctions, many held in coffee houses in this period. The interlinked activities of the participants fostered the development of a vibrant and highly competitive print trade which was focused on the central area of London running from the City, principally around the Royal Exchange and St Paul's

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[4] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.78, recounts how Bickham was questioned about his involvement in the publication of the treasonable map and pamphlet, but does not mention the subsequent court proceedings against him. Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.83, also mentions that Bickham sold seditious maps, but does not elaborate.

[5] For general discussion of the market see: Bob Harris, 'Print Culture', in H. T. Dickinson, *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp.283-93; and Clayton, *English Print,*, *passim*.

churchyard, along the main thoroughfare of Fleet Street and the Strand to Covent Garden and Charing Cross, as well as at the stalls of Westminster Hall.[6]

As Mark Hallett has pointed out, a distinct sector of the print market that became increasingly important at this time was comprised of engraver entrepreneurs. They tended to be trained artists who developed their own businesses as independent producers and retailers of engraved material, and their output ranged from reproductive engraving to original engraving work of their own design.[7] George Vertue noted that there were thirty-two such master engravers working in London in 1713, and that this number had expanded to fifty-four by 1744.[8] The most enduringly famous is William Hogarth, but George Bickham senior and his son, George Bickham junior, were significant figures.

George Bickham senior's trade cards and newspaper advertisements indicate that he was a copper-plate engraver who also taught drawing, writing and engraving. He published writing and drawing copy books, engraved portraits, prints after old masters and other printed imagery, as well as designing and executing plates in the sophisticated satirical format of the medley print which he helped to popularise in the early part of the eighteenth century.[9] He is probably best remembered for *The Universal Penman*, published in fifty-two parts between 1733 and 1741, which includes some decorative engraving work under his son's name.[10] Born c.1704, George Bickham junior and his father seem to have operated from several

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[6] Atherton, *Political Prints*, chapter 1; Richard Stephens, 'The Palace of Westminster and the London Market for Pictures', in Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn and Martin Myrone, eds., *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture 1660-1735* (New Haven, the Yale Center for British Art, 2016), pp.29-50.

[7] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.15-8.

[8] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.17.

[9] Mark Hallett, 'The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Art History*, Vol. 20, No.2 (June 1997), pp.214-37.

[10] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.43-54; Kim Sloan, 'Bickham, George (1683/4-1758)', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/2353?docPos=1, accessed 6th June 2013.

addresses over time, but at some point Bickham junior began to publish on his own account and set up in business in May's Buildings in Covent Garden. May's Buildings was situated in the parish of St Paul's, Covent Garden, and John Rocque's 1746 map shows this to be a passage extending east from St. Martin's Lane towards Bedford Street.[11] David Hunter states that he was in these premises from 1738 until 1763.[12] However, evidence derived from newspaper advertisements suggests that he was still there later in the 1760s. Bickham first appears to have included this address in an announcement placed in the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* on 18th May 1741, and the last time he did so was in the *Gazetteer and Daily News Advertiser* on 18th July 1766.[13] He was, in any event, certainly based there around the time of the last Jacobite rebellion. It was announced in April 1767 that the business in May's Buildings had passed to his nephew and former apprentice, Thomas Butcher, but, after retreating to the country, Bickham was still taking subscriptions for a map 'at the Richmond-End of Kew Lane' in June 1767.[14]

The precise nature of the working and publishing relationship between the two Bickhams remains unclear and it is difficult to distinguish which of the two was primarily responsible for some of the work printed under their shared name in the 1720s and 1730s.[15] Besides working with his father, the younger Bickham (hereafter referred to simply as George Bickham or Bickham) is also known to have undertaken engraving work for Mary

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[11] *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark; with the contiguous buildings; from an actual survey, taken by John Rocque, Land-Surveyor …* (London, John Pine and John Tinney, 1746).

[12] David Hunter, 'Pope v. Bickham: An Infringement of *An Essay on Man* Alleged', *The Library*, 6th Series (1987), p.268.

[13] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 18th May 1741; *Gazetteer and Daily News Advertiser*, London, 18th July 1766.

[14] *Public Advertiser*, London, 25th April 1767; *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, London, 25th-27th June 1767.

[15] Hunter, 'Pope v. Bickham', p.268; Michael Snodin, 'George Bickham Junior: Master of the Rococo', *V & A Museum Album*, Vol.2 (London, V & A, 1983), p.354.

Cooper, Benjamin Cole and William Rayner, and he went on to develop separately a successful printing and publishing operation of his own.[16] Though not involved in the highest end of the market, for prints that aspired to the status of art, much of his material was designed to appeal to the aesthetic and cultural tastes of an audience able and wishing to pursue fashionable pastimes. Bickham's output encompassed aids for polite activities such as dancing manuals and patterns for use in embroidery, painting and japanning, as well as printed designs for so-called 'speaking fans'. His printed portraits were intended to be collected or displayed, and he produced wallpaper and books of ornament for interior decoration purposes. He also published garden and topographical views, while those who wished to travel could also purchase his guide books and maps. Besides this, Bickham taught etching, undertook seal engraving and picture framing, and sold materials for drawing and painting. For retail and commercial purposes he sold trade cards and other printed business stationery.[17] Furthermore, he seems to have sold some salacious or obscene material. The record of his examination concerning a treasonable map and pamphlet states that 'Bickham's wife delivered … about 150 obscene Books with all sorts of obscene Postures seized out of Mr Bickham's Escrutore', and he advertised 'A Set of Cuts of the School of Venus' in

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[16] There are a number of instances of work published jointly with Mary Cooper and advertised in the press, for example *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 28th February 1745. Nancy Valpy, 'Plagiarism in Prints: *The Musical Entertainer* Affair', *Print Quarterly*, Vol.6 (1989), p.59; Michael Harris, 'Scratching the surface: engravers, printsellers and the London book trade in the mid-18th Century', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell, eds., *The Book Trade and its Customers 1450 -1900* (Delaware, Oak Knoll Press, 1997), pp.107-8; S. Smith, *The Compleat History of the Old and New Testament; or a Family Bible ...* (London , W. Rayner, 1735 & 1737, bound copies of a serial publication).

[17] Catalogue bound into the V & A copy of George Bickham jun., *The Oeconomy of the Arts: or, a Companion for the Ingenious of Either Sex Adorn'd with Curious Sculptures* (London, G. Bickham, 1747); various contemporary newspaper advertisements: *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 19th July 1743; *Daily Post*, London, 26th September 1745; *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*, London, 28th December 1745; Tim Clayton, 'Bickham, George (c.1704–1771)', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/2352?docPos=2, accessed 4th June 2013

1745.[18] At the same time, he engaged in the controversial area of graphic satire, for which he is most well-known, and which is of most relevance to this discussion.

The market for political satire in the 1740s was dominated by a few specialist engravers such as Bickham, Bispham Dickinson, Charles Mosley and John Tinney, whose output was not only sold from their respective shops, but also distributed by political pamphlet sellers and other print sellers.[19] It is difficult to establish how many of Bickham's ideas and concepts were solely initiated by him, or to what degree there was some form of collaboration with employees, patrons or others. He would, however, have needed to be responsive to the opportunities presented by political events such as the 1745 rebellion and the commercial logic of what he thought would sell. It does seem likely that he was the creative force behind much that he published which carried his own name, and specified his role as the inventor: 'G.Bickham invt. et Sculp' or 'G.Bickham junr. Invt. et Sculp' are examples of the form of words used by way of a signature. However, where such a signature does not appear, there tends to be little clue as to how the imagery originated. In particular, the prints which only identify Bickham as the publisher allow us little insight into the creative agency behind them.[20] Bickham would, no doubt, have been alert to, and able to appreciate, the ideas contained in successful prints produced by his competitors. Indeed, he regularly incorporated details or motifs from other artists' work into his own engraving, sometimes as

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[18] The National Archives, Kew, SP 36 Geo II Gen. Vol.146, No.359, n.d., examination of George Bickham jun.; *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*, London, 23rd February 1745. Clayton, *English Print*, p.148, also notes Bickham's premises were searched in 1745, 'Ten Ladies of Pleasure, or the Shades of Concubine-Row' being found amongst his stock, but the search may have been conducted because of concerns about political prints produced by Bickham at this sensitive time.

[19] See Clayton, *English Print*, pp.11-2, 148, for background on print publishers' business practices.

[20] Bickham also signed his work: 'Geo. Bickham junr. Sc', 'G. Bickham junr. Sculp', 'Bickham junr. Sculp', 'G. Bickham Sc', 'By George Bickham Engraver' and 'G B Sc'. These signatures suggest he did the engraving work, but was not necessarily responsible for the design.

part of a clear visual dialogue.[21] Importantly, in attempting to offer an appealing range of topical political prints to his customers, he needed to keep up with fast moving events. Given that engraving is a relatively time-consuming process, it is not surprising that he explored further possible options for acquiring new designs of current interest. Thus, in addition to a mix of printed work that he had designed and engraved himself, or imagery he engraved, he also published prints made from plates that he had employed others to engrave for him, or from plates he acquired second hand, some of which were adapted. He also published some material in conjunction with other printers, as well as selling work he bought in or had printed for him.

As mentioned above, some of the prints Bickham published were sold under his own name, either as the designer and engraver or just as engraver, while others only included the line ‘Sold in May’s Buildings in Covent Garden’. This would tend to suggest that they were the work of ‘Understrappers’; most of whom were anonymous hired hands engaged to engrave or etch plates.[22] Alternatively, they could have been impressions run off from second hand plates, to which Bickham had added his address and, in some cases, more extensive alterations and adaptations. In the years 1744-7, almost all prints which carried the May’s Buildings address were also marketed by him in advertisements that used the wording ‘G. Bickham in May’s Buildings, Covent-Garden’, indicating that they were, at least in part, produced by Bickham’s business.[23]

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[21] See below the discussion of *A Harlot’s Progress* and *Flora, or the Hob in the Well*.

[22] Valpy, ‘Plagiarism in Prints’, p.59

[23] For example, the prints *The Parcae*, *The Chevaliers Market* and *The Fawning Priest* carry only an address. Of the sixty-six notices it is possible to connect with Bickham in the years 1744-1747, fifty-nine include ‘G. Bickham in May’s Buildings, Covent-Garden’. I have found no evidence of any other printer based in May’s Buildings.

Bickham may also have published prints under other names. He might have done this in order to be able to deny responsibility in the event that the authorities took exception to their publication. For example, Bickham published six prints, advertised on 12th March 1746 as 'Publish'd by G. Bickham, Engraver and Printseller'.[24] A short time later, five of these six prints were re-advertised, along with *A Nurse for the Hess—ns*, but on both occasions the advertisements stated that the prints were 'Publish'd by G. Lamb in May's Buildings, Covent Garden'.[25] 'G. Lamb' does not appear in any other contemporary print advertisements and there is no record of him as a print seller or publisher elsewhere. This could well indicate that this was a false name, perhaps adopted by Bickham because *A Nurse for the Hess—ns* involved criticism of the government's use of Hessian mercenaries in their efforts to suppress the Jacobite rising.[26] The circumstances would seem to suggest that Bickham was responsible for all three advertisements, and that he was the publisher of *A Nurse for the Hess—ns*. Confirming this, the *General Advertiser* of 6th August 1746 carried another advertisement for this print, but this time with Bickham's name attached.[27] A possible explanation is that, by that date, Bickham felt free to publicise the availability of the print at his premises without fear of retribution, as *A Nurse for the Hess—ns* had then already been in circulation for several months without incident.

Bickham seems to have engaged in the respectable sectors of the printing and publishing trades, but is also known to have had dealings with more dubious characters

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[24] *General Advertiser*, London, 12th March 1746. The prints advertised were *The Bob-Cherry*; *The Parcae, or the European Fates*; *Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls*; *A Papist, with his Jacobite Running Footman*; *A Likeness, notwithstanding the Disguise* and *Next Sculls at the Adm[iral]ty*.

[25] *General Advertiser*, London, 20th March 1746; *London Evening Post*, London, 5th-8th April 1746.

[26] W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981), pp.106, 114.

[27] *General Advertiser*, London, 6th August 1746.

involved in the print industry who produced cheaper, unstamped material.[28] For example, he engraved plates for William Rayner, a pioneer of the cheap newspaper, who was described by the publisher and bookseller, Jacob Tonson, as 'that scandalous fellow' who gave 'great Encouragement to the said Pyratical Edition' of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, in breach of what Tonson believed was his Shakespeare copyright.[29] Some of Bickham's work for Rayner was executed while Rayner was operating within the Rules of the King's Bench prison in Southwark in the 1730s, having been confined there for seditious libel. The area became known for the production of printed matter combining imagery and text in serial form, characteristic of the cheap book trade. Rayner was also responsible for a low-end illustrated Bible series, published in infringement of the Bible Patent, to which Bickham contributed.[30]

1.2 *George Bickham and the business of selling prints*

Bickham's activities as a skilful and prolific engraver were matched by his capacities as an astute entrepreneur. He successfully built up a printing and publishing business that thrived amid a competitive, if expanding, marketplace for all types of printed material. The overlap in the production processes of the print trade was replicated in their marketing and distribution, with many booksellers and other vendors offering prints to complement their stock of material printed from type. As was typical of printers and publishers at the time, Bickham's marketing strategy involved making regular use of the newspapers to promote his stock. He may not have invested in such quantities of advertising as, for example, the Cooper

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[28] Material on which stamp duty had not been paid in accordance with the 1712 Stamp Act - for details see my Introduction.

[29] Quoted in Michael Harris, 'Paper pirates: the alternative book trade in mid-18th Century London', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript* (Winchester, Hants, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1989), p.54.

[30] Harris, 'Scratching the surface', pp.106-7.

family, but scrutiny of the notices he placed in the advertising pages offers up illuminating details, not only about the products he sold and his publishing ventures, but also the wider context of the commercial environment of London in which Bickham was operating.[31] My comments here will be confined to Bickham's use of them in the years 1744-7.

These newspaper notices represent a useful source of information about particular prints. Where the prints do not include prices and publication dates, they can often be found in these pages, and they help to shed light on Bickham's involvement in a print's production, publication and distribution, as well as that of his contemporaries. For the most part, Bickham took out advertisements in the press to announce newly published prints: 'This Day is publish'd' was the standard wording used to begin such notices. They were often sold by him as single sheet prints that cost 6d. plain, or 1s. coloured, prices in line with the cost of most original satirical prints at the time. Some prints, often pirated ones, could cost less than this, while Bickham's *Publick Credit* was relatively expensive at 1s. 6d., and his 1749 combined map and pamphlet setting out the route of Charles Stuart's 1745/6 campaign considerably more so, at 5s.[32] The cost of political satire was normally less than that of prints aspiring to the status of 'fine art', and its affordability has been identified as one factor which might assist attempts to identify its market.[33] There are, however, a number of difficulties associated with this approach, not least because we do not know whether those who may have had the capacity to buy, did in fact do so, as Eirwen Nicholson has noted.[34] In addition, the buying public was also most probably smaller than the total viewing public, with numerous people able to see a print if it was displayed on an ale house wall, for example. Another possible line

[31] Searches of the Burney collection show that Bickham placed sixty-three advertisements in the years 1744-7 and was probably responsible for at least another three.

[32] See below for more on both these prints.

[33] For a discussion of this see Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators', pp.11-3.

[34] Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators', pp.13-4.

of investigation is to consider the customer base that is referred to or implied in the rhetoric of the advertising. Bickham's notices give us only small snippets of information - that he sold 'patterns for Ladies to work from', and a children's storybook 'for all little Masters and Misses', while *Deliciae Britannicae: Or, the Curiosities of Hampton Court and Windsor-Castle* was a 'necessary Pocket-Companion for such as visit those Courts'.[35] All of these do suggest a reasonably affluent customer base, and these publications were offered by Bickham alongside political satires, sometimes within the same notice, and on the same pages as other types of goods and services intended for 'polite' consumers. However, such inferences must necessarily be drawn with caution.

Given that making confident assertions about the nature of the satirical print market, based on the capacity of various sectors of society to pay for or view prints, or the potential customers implied in advertising, is problematic, the size of print runs has importantly been identified as another useful indicator of reach. The technical limitations of printing from engraved or etched plates were such that only a certain number of impressions could be drawn before the plate deteriorated beyond usable life. This number has been estimated by Charles Press as 1,000-1,500 for a single plate, while Antony Griffiths has suggested 2,000 as the maximum number of impressions that could be made.[36] Eirwen Nicholson has done the most detailed work on the topic of print runs, and she tells us that 'it is helpful to think in terms of an initial print run of 100-600', though she does suggest that subsequent editions of

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[35] *London Evening Post*, London, 14th-17th December 1745; *General Advertiser*, London, 14th June 1745; *Daily Post*, London, 26th April 1745.

[36] Charles Press, 'The Georgian Political Print and Democratic Institutions', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.19 (1977), p.229; Antony Griffiths, *The Print before Photography* (London, The British Museum, 2016), p.50, 'retouching' of a copper plate could double the number of possible impressions to 4,000, depending on the level of detail involved.

more high profile or controversial ones might have reached 1,500 to 5,000.[37] One of the very few specific pieces of information we have about the size of a print run in relation to Bickham is that 700 copies were made of his ‘treasonous’ map, but the circumstances of its publication were quite unusual (they will be described in detail later in this chapter). Print runs of cheaper images printed from wood blocks could be considerably larger. The issue of print runs is thus a complicated one, particularly as it is often not clear how many prints ran to more than one edition or were printed in different formats; for example, in bound collections or used subsequently to illustrate broadside texts. Additionally, the size of a run would probably have been dictated by the nature of the particular print, making generalisations difficult.

The advertisements placed by Bickham show how he sought to package his printed products so as to draw potential customers to his shop and boost sales. At the same time as focusing on newly published prints, Bickham would often point out that he had other political prints available for those who might be persuaded to build up a collection ‘for Framing or Binding’.[38] For those without the patience to look out for new prints on a regular basis, he also offered prints in ready collated sets; ‘all of a Size, for Six years past, which are a lively representation of those Times’.[39] Bickham is credited by Tim Clayton with the innovation of selling political prints in sets.[40] By retrospectively putting them together in sets he could

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[37] Nicholson, ‘Consumers and Spectators’, p.11.

[38] *London Evening Post*, London, 20th-22nd December 1744.

[39] *Daily Advertiser*, London, 4th January 1745.

[40] Clayton, *English Print*, p.148. Clayton cites two advertisements as evidence: *London Evening Post*, London, 20th-22nd December 1744, and *General Advertiser*, London, 12th March 1746. Griffiths, *Print Stuart Britain*, pp.21, 238, notes that a number of prints related to the Popish Plot were advertised in the Term Catalogues of the early 1680s, although it is not clear if these were supposed to form a set, while sets of playing cards depicting Popish Plot episodes, printed on a single sheet, but designed to be cut up to form a set, were also popular in the 1680s. *Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid* ... (British Library 789.g.20) consists of a collection

extend their useful life and encourage sales of images that would otherwise have been harder to shift once the events to which they related had become less topical. The fact that the impressions of *Publick Credit* and another Bickham print, *The Pope's Scourge*, reproduced in Volume Two of this thesis, have had roman numbers added in manuscript at the top suggests that they relate to some form of collection, possibly compiled by Bickham after their initial publication, although these annotations may have been the work of a subsequent collector (fig.4 and fig.31).[41] Bickham's prints were also variously puffed as 'Humourous and Satirical', 'curiously engrav'd', 'diverting', 'very intelligible' and with epithets such as 'a very significant interested Print', in order to generate sales.[42] A notice of 30th March 1745, however, offers the most revealing comment. It reads:

> There being only a few complete Copies left, This Day is publish'd, POLITICAL SCULPTURE; or, the Fashionable Satirist, being a Series of above Thirty Folio Prints, Humourous and Satirical, wherein the publick Affairs of Europe, and particularly of Great Britain, are delineated; the Characters of Men are preserv'd, where the Mention of Names might be dangerous, and an expressive Kind of History is continued, without the Use of many Words. The Whole bound together, at only Two-thirds of the original Price of the Prints. Publish'd by G. Bickham in May's Buildings, Covent-Garden.[43]

This advertisement is arguably the closest Bickham came to publishing a manifesto. He here voices the point that graphic satire is fully intended to make an active contribution to

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of Dutch prints relating to the South Sea Bubble of the 1720. My thanks to Sheila O'Connell for advice regarding these prints.

[41] I have been unable to locate any surviving sets of Bickham's prints.

[42] *Daily Post*, London, 21st March 1744 and 18th December 1744; *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 14th November 1744 and 30th March 1745; *Daily Advertiser*, London, 4th January 1745.

[43] *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 30th March 1745.

public debate concerning current political events, much as pamphlets and theatrical productions were vehicles for such comment at the time (even if it was often somehow disguised, through the use of metaphor and innuendo, for example). The fact that Bickham refers to his art as 'political sculpture' is another sign of the multi-referential nature of such graphic satire, as well as identifying its expressive capacity with that of sculptural forms. More specifically, the wording suggests that these prints offered particularised interpretations of events - but we are left wondering by what authority this 'expressive Kind of History' was being presented. Following on from the question of agency, we need to ask whether it was designed to reflect public opinion or, rather, to influence it. The advertisement does give us specific evidence that imagery was understood as facilitating criticism without definitively identifying the individuals under attack, in cases where clear naming might have had adverse consequences for the publisher. The last phrase of the advertisement, that prints did 'without the Use of many Words', indicates that viewers could rely for the most part on their visual literacy skills to access meanings. This might be taken to suggest their intended type of audience, but more likely refers again to the fact that imagery could be a more cryptic, and therefore less dangerous, means of communication than text.

The printed image has been viewed as capable of comprehension by the illiterate - but this glosses over the broader subject of how text was used in different forms, as well as the relationship between text and image within prints. Eighteenth-century graphic satire, so often augmented by text, was exclusive to the extent that it commonly addressed a viewer who was conversant with contemporary events, and able to appreciate sophisticated pictorial references to those events. These prints could well involve an eclectic range of iconography and complex formal reading structures, the understanding of which would have occupied the viewer over time to provide amusement. Several of the prints in question, however, also involved some basic and easy-to-grasp humour that would certainly have appealed to many

without much education. Consideration of the visual and textual strategies used by Bickham and others will help further our understanding of the market and the wider audience for political prints in the mid-eighteenth century. That said, given that it is likely that a relatively high proportion of the population was, to some extent, aware of events surrounding the 1745 Jacobite rising, it seems likely that many of the prints related to it would have been of interest to a wide range of viewers.

1.3 *George Bickham and plagiarism*

Unlike his father, Bickham seems not to have been shy of publishing material that attracted the attention of the authorities; nor was he afraid to push at the boundaries of what it was possible to print under the copyright laws of the time. He regularly indulged in the allusion to, adaptation of, and borrowing from material in various media that was common at the time, fully intended to form an inter-textual dialogue. Following the example of Hogarth, Bickham was capable of employing a wealth of graphic detail that drew on a variety of sources, some going back a considerable distance in time, and of adapting and subverting existing imagery, to produce layers of meaning within his prints. As Faramerz Dabhoiwala has aptly noted, 'by the 1730s the general process of copying, echoing, and responding to original works was one of the chief means through which all popular images and texts achieved their cultural impact'.[44] Borrowing, however, could spill over into the more questionable practice of lifting imagery wholesale from other fashionable and saleable printed material, beyond practices which could be understood as witty quotation, or as referencing. Issues surrounding plagiarism can be usefully illustrated by describing some

[44] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Appropriation of Hogarth's Progresses', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.75, No.4 (Winter 2012), p.582.

specific instances of Bickham's career. His involvement in what was a widespread practice gives us an insight into the mid-eighteenth-century perceptions of the matter, as well as the chance to explore some of the measures it was possible to take to counteract more dubious practices.

In 1732 Henry and Philip Overton advertised an unauthorised set of prints after William Hogarth's *The Harlot's Progress*, under the title *The Progress of a Harlot*.[45] E. Rayner also put his name to a version entitled *The Progress of a Harlot. As she is described in six prints, by the ingenious Mr. Hogarth ... The second edition.* In both of these sets, plate three was engraved by Bickham, and his name appears in the print.[46] At this stage, before the Engraving Copyright Act was passed in 1735, Hogarth could not have recourse to the law to prevent his work being copied. However, Bickham was subsequently involved in a Chancery case in 1738, in which Elizabeth Blackwell accused him, along with others, of pirating some of the images from her publication, *A Curious Herbal*. Bickham's co-accused claimed they had been sent the prints by Bickham, and had not been involved in the actual production of the copies, implying that Bickham was most at fault, and that merely distributing copies could be regarded as legitimate.[47] The outcome of the case remains a mystery, but Samuel Harding did see fit to advise customers in the press that he alone sold the genuine version,

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[45] Dabhoiwala, 'Appropriation of Hogarth's Progresses', p.581.

[46] Harris, *London Newspapers*, p.92. Harris tells us that William Rayner's 'Marigold Court printing office (off the Strand) and the pamphlet shop (at Charing Cross) were kept in operation by E. Rayner whose name appeared on the imprints of the full range of output' in the early phases of the former's imprisonment in the King's Bench from the summer of 1733. E. Rayner is named as the publisher on the British Library record of one of their copies of *The Progress of a Harlot*. It is tempting to see this as a method that allowed William Rayner to deny his involvement, but ensured customers knew where to acquire copies.

[47] The National Archives, Kew, C11/1546/6, 1738, Elizabeth Blackwell v Thomas Harper, John Tinney, Samuel Simpson, Stephen Lye, John King, Thomas Bakewell, Phillip Overton and George Bickham jun.

and that they should not ‘be imposed upon by the Undertakers of a spurious and base Copy … which had been lately publish’d and sold by’ Bickham and the other defendants.[48]

The 1735 Act did not altogether resolve the issue of plagiarism in print. A particular instance which demonstrates this is a case brought by Alexander Pope against Bickham, the details of which have been discussed by David Hunter.[49] Pope charged Bickham with printing ‘some great numbers’ of the first book of *An Essay on Man*, and with intending to publish the rest of Pope’s poem for his own profit. The bill of charges, dated 9th January 1744, provides the grounds which Bickham is recorded as having used to justify his actions. The counter arguments to Pope’s claim appear to have been: that Pope had no rights to the poem as he was not the author, based on the fact that it was first printed anonymously; that it was Bickham himself who had the rights to the poem, though he did not say how he came by them; and that he had printed the poem for the ‘seperate benefit and advantage’ of others, and hence there was no case against him. Most interestingly, however, in the current context, it was noted that Bickham had printed his version from engraved plates, rather than from type. Thus it was claimed his work was not covered by the Copyright Act of 1709/10, which applied to printed type only.[50] The 1735 Act allowed the engraver absolute property in his prints, but did not specify that the contents should *necessarily* be comprised of visual imagery, rather than text.[51] Pope’s bill of charges made the reasonable point that the technique or process used to create a printed impression should make no practical difference

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[48] *The Country Journal or the Craftsman*, London, 16th April 1738.

[49] Hunter, ‘Pope v. Bickham’, pp.268-73.

[50] Hunter, ‘Pope v. Bickham’, p.271.

[51] Printed imagery involving sections of engraved or etched text could be produced on a single metal plate that required only a rolling press to produce an impression, but in producing his educational books of sample script intended to be copied by those learning to write, Bickham took the use of engraved text to its ultimate limit in covering entire plates.

to the fact that he had suffered a financial loss, and that his exclusive property rights (what would nowadays be classed as his intellectual property rights) had been encroached upon.

Bickham clearly realised that he could exploit this ambiguous legal situation. It is possible that he had merely employed the process of engraving as that was where his skills lay, and because he possessed the tools needed to print from an engraved plate (in particular, a rolling press). However, since Bickham was well accustomed to selling material printed by others and could readily, given his connections within the book trade, have outsourced a pirated letterpress version of the poem, his last defence, in particular, indicates that he had thought carefully about how he might sidestep a potential legal problem before embarking on the project, and that he had a shrewd understanding of the finer points of the law. He opted not to contest Pope's charge, perhaps in an attempt to save himself the costs involved or, possibly, because he feared the consequences if he lost the case. He also took the precaution of not appearing in court. In the end, the court merely granted Pope an injunction, on 23rd January 1744, and Bickham lost his recognizance (bail) money.

Bickham may have been responsible for some instances of plagiarism, but he also felt the need to defend himself against it on occasion. In 1746, when Bickham believed his own work was the subject of pirating, he threatened that 'Whoever copies these Prints will be prosecuted as the Law directs', in an advertisement printed in the *General Advertiser* of 19th May.[52] However, there is no record of him actually taking legal action. Bickham's sceptical attitude to the efficacy of the courts as a method of seeking redress from plagiarists is implicit in the fact that he chose to use the medium of notices in the newspapers as a means of persuading customers not to buy cheaper pirated alternatives, although he may well have been deterred by the potential costs, in terms of both time and money. In one instance

[52] *General Advertiser*, London, 19th May 1746.

Bickham objected to his concept, rather than specific images, being copied. Having had success with his *Musical Entertainer* project (a set of one hundred song sheets with headpieces that were for the most part copied from French prints, published fortnightly in twenty-five parts) he embarked on a similar venture: a set of twenty-four song sheets from Colley Cibber's 1715 ballad farce, *Flora, or the Hob in the Well*. For this, he specially commissioned some headpieces from Hubert Gravelot. In October 1737, he began a robust debate in the press with Benjamin Cole after Cole published song sheets under the title *British Melody, Or Cole's Musical Magazine*, which were clearly modelled on Bickham's own project. Nancy Valpy has set out the ensuing war of words in which each accused the other of plagiarising their songs.[53] Cole conceded that Bickham had some original Gravelot designs for his headpieces, but he stated that most were unacknowledged and unpaid for copies *after* Gravelot's work, and were not appropriate to the songs. Cole was correct in that most of the headpieces were engraved by Bickham after Gravelot, and not the latter's original work, but Bickham's reply to this charge was that he had commissioned as many designs as was possible from 'so great a Man', who had many other demands on his talents.[54] Bickham expressed his opinion in his newspaper advertisement that producing his own engravings after one of the best hands in Europe was a perfectly acceptable alternative, and preferable to using the kind of obviously inferior engravings to which Cole had resorted in the *British Melody*. Bickham went on to accuse Cole of using headpieces which had been engraved by Cole's assistants, and given the spurious creditation of 'Signor Marini', because Cole himself was incapable of engraving anything more than a straight line. Cole in turn admitted that he had indeed used understrappers, justifying this on the grounds that it was common practice at

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[53] Valpy, 'Plagiarism in Prints', pp.54-9.

[54] Valpy, 'Plagiarism in Prints', p.58, quoting *General Advertiser*, London, 31st August 1738.

the time: ‘’tis customary throughout the Business’.[55] In a further jibe, he added that he had even employed Bickham himself in this capacity in the recent past, but claimed he had ceased to do so because the latter’s work was not good enough. It is not possible to ascertain what the readers made of this exchange, but Bickham’s project sold well enough for him to carry on producing instalments as far as the intended conclusion, while Cole’s venture petered out after he had produced only sixty of his planned one hundred plates. Thus Bickham’s faith in the press as a means of seeing off Cole appears to have been justified. In this case, such strategic use of the newspapers may well have been more likely to succeed than resorting to legal action, given the nature of the sortie into Bickham’s territory, of which he was complaining. Cole’s attempt to produce a rival publication was not plagiarism, in the strict sense of being a direct copy. The *British Melody* was, though, evidently closely modelled on Bickham’s basic structure, including using the same size plates and similar wrappers, and was certainly aimed at taking sales away from Bickham, who felt the need to advise customers, ‘don’t be deceived’.[56] The exchange underlines the fact that such practice was rife at the time and that, as Bickham observed, his productions were ‘liable to be pirated, mimick’d, imitated, and torn to pieces when found successful’.[57]

1.4 *Political prints in the context of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion*

Bickham is most famous for his political prints, which he first began advertising in 1740.[58] In embarking on this area, he was likely to be on contentious ground, especially if the political imagery involved any sort of criticism of the king and his family or the government

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[55] Valpy, ‘Plagiarism in Prints’, p.59, quoting *General Advertiser*, London, 2nd September 1738.

[56] Valpy, ‘Plagiarism in Prints’, p.58, quoting *General Advertiser*, London, 4th August 1738.

[57] Valpy, ‘Plagiarism in Prints’, p.57, quoting *Daily Advertiser*, London, 8th June 1738.

[58] *London Evening Post*, London, 7th-9th October 1740.

and its policies. In this sector of the market the authorities could present a more formidable challenge to the activities of printers and publishers than their commercial rivals, at a time when producing, displaying and selling political prints that were deemed subversive carried a severe risk of arrest and prosecution. The censure and ridicule contained in printed satire was considered capable of undermining the respect due from ordinary people to their social superiors and rulers.[59] Occasionally, printed imagery attracted the more serious charge of being 'treasonable' and, in one instance, Bickham was indeed the subject of such an accusation (of which more below).[60]

Mary Cooper is an example of a printseller who was unlikely to have been of concern to the authorities because the material she stocked and the advertisements she placed in newspapers suggest she was an ardent supporter of the Hanoverian regime. Mary and her husband, Thomas, were primarily book, newspaper and pamphlet publishers and sellers, with prints added to complement their stock in their premises at the Globe in Paternoster Row. When widowed in the early 1740s, Mary carried on the business along similar lines.[61] She was the publisher of several of Henry Fielding's pro-Hanoverian pamphlets at the time of the

[59] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.1 (London, July 1731), pp.286-7, presents the grounds for a seditious libel prosecution, mentioning particularly that 'the best way to make any degree of magistracy or form of government useful to the people for whose sake it is intended, is to keep up among them a proper respect and due veneration for such Magistrates and Governors as the law appoints and that contrary behaviour always tended to, and often ended in, the subversion of order and decency, and the introduction of anarchy and confusion into any State wherein it is allowed to prevail'.

[60] For a discussion of laws relating to sedition, praemunire (support for a foreign authority or one in opposition to the authority of the monarch) and treason see Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.5-7. By the late seventeenth century, while sedition involved *encouraging* rebellion orally or in writing/print, treason involved the *act* of rebellion, though the 1702 Treason Act 'made the construction of sedition as treason more explicit', so that anyone promoting the rights of an alternative claimant to the throne with the aim of persuading others to that view could be guilty of treason.

[61] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.6.

1745 rebellion, including *A Dialogue Between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender*.[62] Moreover, in one of the more lurid of over 3000 known advertisements she placed between 1744 and 1747, she described the engraving, *Court and Country United against The Popish Invasion* (6th March 1744), a print suggesting that the population at large overwhelmingly backed the existing regime, as: 'A New PRINT, design'd as an Ornament for Apartments of all those who are well-affected to his Majesty and the present Royal Family, and to discountenance the Abettors of a Popish Pretender', with the added exhortation that the print was 'Inscrib'd to all those who heartily hate the French'.[63]

In contrast, the printseller Thomas Bowles's stock of portraits was skewed towards Tory notables and those involved in the 1715 rebellion, suggesting that he harboured Jacobite sympathies, but in subdued fashion so as not to arouse the unwanted attention of government messengers. Bowles published a portrait print of Bishop Francis Atterbury, a champion of High Church Toryism who was later forced into exile for his role in the so-called Atterbury Plot; another of the Earl of Derwentwater, an active participant in the 1715 rising; and an engraving after Gribelin's 1713 portrait of the Duke of Ormonde, following the latter's flight to France, where he took part in planning the 1715 rising.[64] In addition, the plate for a print of Maria Sobieska at the time of her marriage to James II's son, James Francis Stuart, given the title *A Polish Lady*, was found in his possession in 1719.[65] The use of relatively non-descript titles, as in this case, or issuing prints with no title at all were common tactics in such cases.[66]

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[62] Henry Fielding, *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender* (London, M. Cooper, 1745).

[63] Online searches of the Burney collection bring up 3332 advertisements during this four year period. The advertisement for *Court and Country United*, which appeared in *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 7th March 1744, is quoted in Clayton, *English Print*, p.148, though under an incorrect newspaper and date.

[64] Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1996), pp.57, 187.

[65] Clayton, *English Print*, p.76.

[66] For coverage of the use of text by Jacobite propagandists see Sharp, *Engraved Record*, p.43.

Publisher's details could also be omitted, allowing a seller or buyer to evade the possible consequences of being caught in possession of suspect prints.[67]

Any sympathies for or against the Jacobites which George Bickham may have had are less readily identifiable with any certainty. Mark Hallett has described him as 'a staunch opponent of the Whigs' who expressed his Tory views in a series of pamphlets published while Sir Robert Walpole was in power.[68] Toryism, however, was not synonymous with Jacobitism, and whilst Paul Monod tells us that Bickham was a member of John Caryll's Oak Society, this Jacobite club was not formed until 1749, well after the rebellion had been defeated.[69] Furthermore, these pieces of information do not sit easily with the fact that much of the material Bickham published at the time of the 1745 rebellion was supportive of the Hanoverian side of the divide. I would suggest that his attitude is perhaps better described as generally unintimidated and anti-authoritarian; his interest focused on targeting those he thought good subjects for mockery whatever their status or allegiance; his ultimate aim to produce what he thought would sell. Some of his output did certainly involve biting satire directed at Walpole and his Whig government, and he used the anti-Walpole publication, the *Champion*, to advertise it.[70] In the years immediately before and after the rebellion, however, he also published a number of anti-Jacobite prints.

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[67] Sharp, *Engraved Record*, pp.61, 187, notes Bowles, nonetheless, felt able to add his name and address to one edition of the Ormonde print and advertised it openly.

[68] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.151.

[69] Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.83; F. Peter Lole, *A Digest of the Jacobite Clubs* (London, The Royal Stuart Society, 1999), Paper LV, p.53, mentions that the Oak Society met at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand and was involved in planning Charles Stuart's visit to London in 1750, but was not heard of after 1753.

[70] Harris, 'Scratching the surface', p.106.

1.5 *George Bickham's pro-Hanoverian prints*

Bickham engraved several pro-Hanoverian printed images. For example, *Publick Credit* was published on 17th October 1745 with Bickham's own name attached, and *The Pope's Scourge* includes the information 'GB Sc.', whilst another print, *A New and Accurate Chart of the Sea-Coasts of Great Britain, Ireland with a View of Dunkirk …* (February 1744), a map produced after an attempted invasion in 1744 outlining the route taken by the French fleet, was advertised as being 'by George Bickham, Engraver'.[71] Others can be traced to his business because they included his address at May's Buildings, or featured in his advertisements. Six prints of this sort carry the May's Buildings address: *The Parcae: or, the European Fates* (probably 1744); *The Chevaliers Market, or Highland Fair* (1745); *Plan of the Battle of Culloden* (probably 1746); *The Stature Dress and Likeness of the Rebel Lords* (1st August 1746); *The Fawning Priest and Disappointed Fool* (probably 1746); and *A Funiral Ticket for Lord Lovet* (19th March 1747).

Three of these prints serve well to introduce the range of the processes, visual tactics and types of imagery used in Bickham's pro-Hanoverian output. *Publick Credit* was published in an attempt to shore up public confidence following a run on the Bank of England and a fall in stock prices in September 1745, triggered by the uncertainty surrounding the early stages of the rebellion (fig.3). To this end, the text included at the bottom of the print gives a precise account of how the imagery is to be read by the viewer, so as to leave no doubt about the meaning of the motifs. These include 'Publick Credit' depicted as 'a Man in ye Vigour of his years, healthy, strong and active, nobly clothed having his Senator's gown and a Gold chain about his Neck'. He also has a griffin, 'a Symbol of safe custody, &

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[71] *A New and Accurate Chart* was advertised thus in: *Daily Post*, London, 15th February 1744; *London Daily Post & General Advertiser*, London, 18th February 1744; and *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 20th February 1744.

therefore intimates that a person should have a watchful Eye over his Stock, if he means to get & preserve credit', beside him.[72] The allegorical figures of Popery, Rebellion and Slander, accompanied by a fox as a symbol of the 'Cunning and Deceit' of these three, are seen 'forming to threaten Publick Credit', with the two ships on the sea background signifying the international trade that was the source of much of Britain's wealth. The aim of the text here is to guide the viewer as rapidly as possible to the intended meaning, rather than to provide the recreational value which might be found in tracing that meaning solely through detailed and complex imagery. Given its subject matter and format, this print would seem to be addressed to those with a direct interest in the value of stocks and bank notes; that is, to businessmen and the well-to-do, even if public confidence in Britain's financial institutions could be seen as a concern for society as a whole.[73] *Publick Credit* is not, however, typical of the sort of political prints put out by Bickham in that its production appears to have been directly sponsored. The advertising announced that it was backed by a group of 'Gentlemen under-named in the Print, who associated in its Support at Garraways Coffee-house', with the print available at Garraways as well as at Bickham's own shop, together with 'all the Print,

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[72] The figure of Publick Credit has been directly taken from Cesaré Ripa, *Iconologia: or, moral emblems* (London, Benjamin Motte, 1709), 'Figure 77'. The British Museum identifies 'Publick Credit' as William Pitt the elder and the portrait in the print is not unlike William Hoare's 1754 likeness of Pitt. Jeremy Black, *Pitt the Elder: the Great Commoner* (Stroud, Sutton, 1999), pp.53-5, notes that Pitt had helped maintain confidence in the Pelhams' 'Broad Bottom' ministry despite his earlier objections to subsidising Hanover and public pronouncements against the corrupt practices of Walpole's government which had caused the dowager Duchess of Marlborough to leave him £10,000 'to prevent the ruin of his country' - perhaps justifying the identification.

[73] Bob Harris, *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993), p.202, covers the press reports of the tightening of public credit and the run on the Bank of England in the last week of September 1745. Much space was devoted to the merchants who agreed to issue a signed declaration saying they would accept bank notes as payment for any sum owing them. This was designed to restore market confidence, with some newspapers stating that the entire problem had been caused by papists and other disaffected groups.

and Pamphlet-Shops in London and Westminster'.[74] This sponsorship distanced Bickham personally from the propaganda function of the image to some degree. Even though the advertisements make it clear that he was responsible for delineating and engraving the image, they also disclose that the print had been produced at the express behest of others who would have funded its high production costs in advance.[75]

In contrast to *Publick Credit*, *The Chevaliers Market, or Highland Fair* is likely to have appealed to a wider audience (fig.5). This print appears to have been printed from a plate that Bickham bought in or commissioned and to which his address was added.[76] It is an emblematic print in the old tradition making a standard connection between both Catholicism and the absolute monarchy of France and the Jacobite project, to indicate the consequences for Britain of the rebellion succeeding. To be had at various stalls in the market is an array of supposed evils such as indulgences and miracles, saints' relics (a dog beside the stall chewing a bone intimates that many ordinary meat bones were passed off as saints' relics), wooden shoes (a sign of poverty) and frogs, nosegays of *fleur-de-lys* and thistles (symbols of the French and Scots). There is also 'Flesh for such as have Licenses' (either a reference to the fact that Catholic clergy issued licenses to eat 'flesh' during Lent or suggestive of the illicit sexual activity of some of their number). The inn on the left of the image offers French and Italian wines imported by Cardinal Tencin (Louis XV's Minister of State) at the sign of the 'French Yoke'. The supposed virtues of British liberty, Protestantism and economic

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[74] The print was advertised in the *General Advertiser*, London, 23rd and 24th October 1745, and the *Westminster Journal*, London, 2nd and 16th November 1745. The identities of the numerous sponsors are included in a version with four columns of names printed beside and beneath the image (fig.4).

[75] *Publick Credit* was a relatively expensive print at '1s. 6d. plain, and 2s. colour'd'.

[76] The impressions I have seen of this print include the words 'sold in May's Buildings Covent Garden. & a 100 sortmt.' at the bottom left which appear to have been engraved by a different hand from the rest of the plate. This would seem to indicate that Bickham somehow acquired the plate and then added his address.

development are being swept aside in the foreground. The ‘Chevalier’, as Charles was sometimes called, is in the middle of the market clad in highland dress. This print serves to indicate what was at stake for the religious and political landscape of Britain in simple terms using light-hearted humour and mockery which would have been readily intelligible and thus accessible to a wide cross-section of society.

The third and final example demonstrates how extensive adaptations could be made to an existing plate in order to change some of the readings within that image and, as a result, frame a response to the original one. *The Glory of France* was originally published by Daniel Fournier on 14th February 1747 as a broadside which included verses in French and English (fig.6). It is an emblematical satire on Louis XV, attacking his regime and his propensity for abandoning commitments made under treaty terms. The French king appears in a central panel in front of an image of the St Bartholomew’s Day massacre of the Protestant Huguenot population of Paris of 1572. Louis’s face is in deep shadow (carrying a general connotation of the suspicious or disreputable), Pride and a two-faced Janus (symbol of treachery) placing a crown on his head while various treaties lie under his foot, as the Devil hovers around. To the left, Cardinal Tencin and two figures representing Spain and Genoa ‘stand for the Glory of France’ in front of an obelisk carrying an image of a weeping Europa. To the right, blindfolded Justice is led up to the gallows. Below are three panels depicting: the burning of treaties; the sale of ships and a customs house put up for rent as the consequences of broken agreements; and the destruction of life and property, as well as the imposition of Catholicism, that would apparently be attendant on French dominance over Europe. The verses below mockingly give advice to a French court painter as to how to represent Louis XV and the happiness of his subjects and allies accurately.

Bickham’s version of this print gave it the new title *A Funiral Ticket for Lord Lovet*, and included the details: ‘London Publish’d in May’s Buildings Accordg. to Act of Parlt.

March 19th 1747' (fig.7). It did not include the verses below the original. Bickham's print was published on the day that Lord Lovat was sentenced to be executed. The entire lower central panel has thus been replaced with an image of Lovat, recognisable from William Hogarth's likeness of him taken as he was being escorted to London for trial and published in August 1746 (fig.71). He warns the viewer directly that 'the above King to make Jack a dupe of us', as he points to the severed heads of the rebel lords executed the previous year. A *trompe l'oeil* paper ticket has also been added in the top right of the print, inviting viewers to the execution as if to a theatrical performance.[77] Various types of text - titles, names, speech bubbles and a large banner - could in this way be deployed to help a viewer decipher imagery. Bickham would have produced his version of Fournier's print in order to take account of the circumstances surrounding the trial of the notorious rebel Simon, Lord Lovat - and to take advantage of the demand for imagery spurred by such a high profile media event, a topic I will return to in Chapter Four. The version published by Bickham would appear to have been taken from a plate which he somehow acquired and then had modified, but by whose hand is not known. This version makes a new point: that however wily Lovat had been in his double dealing with the Jacobites and representatives of the Hanoverian regime, he had ultimately been taken in by Louis XV, and, in effect, used by the French in the furtherance of their own national interest.

1.6 *A treasonable map and pamphlet*

In this section I will look in detail at an example of a pro-Jacobite print published by Bickham because it demonstrates that he addressed both sides of the market. Importantly, the

[77] Sheila O'Connell, *London 1753* (London, British Museum Press, 2003), pp.113-4, notes that tickets were issued for the trials of Lovat and other rebel lords, held in Westminster Hall. Tickets for executions appear elsewhere - for Jonathan Wild's execution in 1725, for example.

circumstances surrounding the particular publication also tell us much about the production and distribution of this type of imagery, which was likely to be subject to censorship in the fraught atmosphere of the 1740s. In October 1749, for instance, the government prosecuted four people (George Foster and John Seagrove as the 'Original contrivers', Thomas Gardner as 'the Engraver'; and Henry Lewis as 'the Copper Plate printer') of a print entitled *The Agreeable Contrast between the Formidable John of Gant and Don Carlos of Southern Extraction*, in which Charles Stuart was favourably compared to the Duke of Cumberland.[78] Bickham, along with James Verhuyck, Bispham Dickinson, Robert Sayer, Charles Mosley and Mathew Darly, was taken up and examined in November 1749 over their involvement in the production or selling of four other prints: *The Cropper*, *John of Gant in Love*, *John of Gant Mounted* and *Solomons Glory*, all of which were satires directed against the Duke of Cumberland. For the most part all six denied knowledge of the authors, engravers or printers of these prints (with the exception of Dickinson who cited one Henry Lewis as the printer and publisher of *John of Gant in Love*).[79] The most serious incident for Bickham, however, came when he was the subject of a government raid on his premises for allegedly selling obscene material. The real reason may well have been the fact that the content of a map and pamphlet, *A Chart wherein are mark'd all the different Routes of P. Edward in Great Britain*, which he was selling was deemed highly suspect because of its obvious expression of Jacobite sympathies (fig.8).[80] The document detailing his examination over this matter is dated 21st January with no year specified. However, it is likely to have been 1750 given that that on 20th February that year, Bickham was bound over and required to pay recognizance money of

[78] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.80.

[79] Atherton, *Political Prints*, pp.78-81.

[80] P. Edward or Prince Edward in the map and pamphlet serve as a thin disguise for Charles Stuart.

£250, and his two sureties £100 each, 'for being the Printer and Publisher of an Infamous Map and Chart'.[81]

The record of Bickham's examination begins 'George Bickham author and publisher of a treasonable map and pamphlet', and it indicates that he was selling this material on a retail basis from his premises and probably also to other members of the trade for onward sale.[82] It states that a Mathew Lukers had bought a copy of the map and pamphlet from Bickham's shop in the presence of William Clark, a government messenger. Clark had also bought a copy himself from a William Bizet for 5s.[83] Bizet claimed in turn that he had bought that copy of the map and pamphlet from Bickham's shop, and 'was ready to prove it', thereby indicating that he took no part in its production and suggesting that he was therefore less culpable. Henry Lewis was deemed the printer of the map and pamphlet as he was caught in possession of the relevant copper plate, and 200 impressions from it were found in his printing workshop. It may well, however, have been a combined effort between Lewis and Bickham as the examination records reveal that Bickham 'kept a rolling press in his own house', used for printing engraved or etched plates, while Lewis had 'letter presses in his own house', which would instead have been used for the printing of type. Lewis stated that a Mr

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[81] SP 36 Geo II Gen. Vol. 146, No. 359; Gloucestershire Archives, D1677/GG/1532, 1750, George II v George Bickham jun.

[82] SP 36 Geo II Gen. Vol. 146, No. 359.

[83] Bizet was possibly a pamphlet seller and publisher in London in St. Clements Churchyard. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726-1775* (Oxford, printed for the Biographical Society at the Oxford University Press, 1932), indicates that he is only known through the inclusion of his name as the publisher of a pamphlet entitled *A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord A…* (1757). He did, however, publish a mezzotint of the Jacobite Alexander Murray, Earl of Westminster (John Faber the Younger after Allan Ramsay, *The Hon. Alexander Murray*, London, William Bizet, 1751), suggesting Jacobite leanings.

Finlayson was the ‘author’ of the map; a further 500 copies were found at his lodgings.[84] This may indicate that, after his initial input, the printed copies were sent back to John Finlayson for onward distribution, or possibly that it was just safer for him rather than either Bickham or Lewis to house the prints. The most subjective aspect of the case made against Bickham was that ‘the plate is judged by an engraver to be his own work’. This presumably refers to another engraver called in as an expert witness to give his opinion on whether Bickham could be implicated in the production of the map on stylistic grounds.

From this, then, we can see once again that the publishing of such printed political material involved the skills and facilities of several interlinked trades, with the roles of the various participants in any particular instance not well defined. It is possible, however, that it does not give an entirely clear picture of how the print came to be produced because the evidence the authorities could gather was not conclusive. It seems reasonable to suppose that the 700 copies found by the authorities were destroyed, but a few copies have survived, indicating that it was probably already available and causing alarm when Bickham’s premises were searched.[85] We cannot know how many were sold before the authorities decided to act, but we have some partial evidence here of the size of the print run. The map and pamphlet together cost 5s., considerably more than the average print, which was priced at between 6d.

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[84] In Samuel Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School: painters, architects, engravers and ornamentists with their lives and works* (Bath, Kingsmead Reprints, 1970 - originally published 1878), John Finlayson is described as ‘a draughtsman and mezzotint engraver, born c. 1730, who practised his art in London. A member of the Free Society of Artists in 1763, he engraved a considerable number of portraits after Zoffany, Reynolds etc., died c. 1776’. In Gloria Clifton, *Directory of Scientific Instrument Makers 1550-1851* (London, Zwemmer in association with the National Maritime Museum, 1995), the entry for John Finlayson states only ‘W 1743, mathematical instrument maker, optical instrument maker, 1743, Edinburgh, known to have sold thermometers and microscopes - source: ‘Instrument NMS, Brydon, 1772, pp.11, 48’.

[85] To date I have found copies in the British Museum (museum No.1868,0808.13481, map), the National Archives, Kew (SP 36/79, ref MPF 1/2, map), the Royal Collection (RCIN 729135, map), the British Library (system No.004852842, map and pamphlet) and the National Library of Scotland (MMSID: 9936129303804341, map, and MMSID : 996551423804341, map and pamphlet).

and 1s. There may have been profit to be made from this sort of supposedly subversive publication; alternatively it may have been intended as a means of raising money for the Jacobite cause. The print is a detailed engraving which includes a good deal of artistic embellishment and was sold with a pamphlet. It was not a low-end single sheet print hurriedly etched, but a more sophisticated product than those typically sold by many street hawkers. That is not to say that it would not have been of interest to many, but this matter highlights some of the still-unanswered questions surrounding the extent of the market for prints in this period. Given the high price and that the opportunities for distribution were probably restricted in light of the government's ongoing sensitivity about Jacobite propaganda, perhaps the runs for cheaper and less controversial material were larger than the 100-600 figure span that has been suggested by Eirwen Nicholson. It would seem that her estimate (discussed above) may be on the low side, especially as we are considering here a relatively expensive print and pamphlet, which might have been difficult to market because of its contraband status.

Publishers of what was considered by the government to be undesirable material were liable to find themselves the subject of harassment by the authorities. The attention of government messengers, however, could have the perverse effect of encouraging sales if they became known. As one observer recorded:

> There are such Contrasts in the Business of Authors, Printers and Publishers, that to the rest of Mankind are amazing. If the Government chastises them for any Misdemeanour, it is accounted the greatest blessing that can befal them … a Book or

Pamphlet ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, being the most agreeable News that can come to the Proprietors of the Copy.[86]

There is, though, no trace left to us of public awareness surrounding the efforts actively to suppress this particular publication and thus it does not seem to have attracted the sort of notoriety which might have propelled sales to unusually high levels.

What is interesting is that, despite the number of people involved in the undertaking, Bickham seems to have been the man that the authorities were most concerned to act against. Bizet and Lewis escaped prosecution and were later discharged, as they were deemed more useful as witnesses against Bickham, and there is no record of further legal moves against Finlayson.[87] Although others had a hand in the production of the map and pamphlet, as well as the distribution of it, the authorities appear to have believed that Bickham was the instigator or prime mover. This may have been partly because his address was printed in the pamphlet and partly because of his track record of publishing undesirable imagery; the authorities' persistence in pursuing Bickham is symptomatic of long-term mistrust of this particular printer.

The pamphlet in question is dated 1749 and its title page announces:

A Description of a Chart. Wherein are marked out All the Different Routes of Prince Edward, in Great Britain; and the Marches of his Army, and the E[n]gl[i]sh. The Sieges are distinguished, and the Battles that were fought in his Enterprise.

[86] Anon, *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal-Exchange*, *With Remarks Serious and Diverting* ... (London, Edward Withers, M. Cooper and J. Joliffe, 1744), pp.54-5.

[87] Gloucestershire Archives, D1677/GG/1537, 1752, brief to the Attorney General.

N.B. This Book, and the Chart, printed off a Copper-Plate, will be very useful in History; the Dates of the principal Events being marked with greatest Exactness. Edinburgh Printed: Sold in May's Buildings, Covent-garden. M.DCC.XLIX.

Price, with the Chart, printed on exceeding fine Paper, 5s Plain.

It then includes eleven pages covering a brief history of the rebellion with dates, an explanation that an old map by Robert Morden was used as the model for the chart, and a key for the dotted lines representing the routes that Charles Stuart and the Duke of Cumberland took. Also included are the Latin mottos inscribed next to each of the emblems in the map, together with direct translations.

The fact that the title page of the map and pamphlet were 'printed on exceeding fine Paper' suggests it was aimed at high-end consumers, the map possibly intended as a collector's item. The copies of the map in the National Archives and National Library of Scotland include the words, 'Drawn by J. A. Grante Colonel of the Artillery to the Pr. in Scotland' ('Pr.' referring to 'Prince' Charles), printed outside the map border.[88] According to Rodney W. Shirley, the details of the rebellion were first drawn onto an existing map by Colonel James Grante; this original may have been Philip Morden's now lost wall map of 1674.[89] The map annotated by Grante constituted the most comprehensive contemporary record of Charles's route as Colonel Grante accompanied him throughout the 1745/6 campaign. It was first engraved in France in 1747 on nine sheets and then copied in a smaller version on two sheets by the Scottish engraver, Alexander Baillie, in Edinburgh that same

[88] The British Library copy of the map has been clipped at its black border except at the bottom right where 'Price 5s. with the Book' is printed beyond the border. At the back of the pamphlet is a list of eleven books sold by Bickham together with a catalogue of fifty-four prints sold by him, but it not clear if this was included at the time or bound in later.

[89] Rodney W. Shirley, *Printed Maps of the British Isles 1650-1750* (Tring and London, Map Collector Publications and the British Library, 1988), p.61.

year. At this stage it was without the elaborate allegorical figures seen in Bickham's map, though some images of ships were used to signify the main naval manoeuvres. The allegorical figures seem to have been added for the variant that was printed with the pamphlet in 1749, for which the size was again reduced.[90] It is this map, together with its mottos and the extra lettering and other adaptations, which may have been the artistic work of Finlayson, while Bickham may have been responsible for engraving the image. The fact that the copper plate and 200 impressions were found in Henry Lewis's possession would suggest that the map was printed in London, while the pamphlet legend that it was 'Edinburgh printed' was possibly designed to deflect suspicion as to its origin.

The papers containing the records of the subsequent court case against Bickham for publishing the treasonable map and pamphlet are dated 9th May 1752.[91] The government appears to have been still concerned at that date about Jacobite propaganda which might be in circulation, implying that the perceived threat had still not been totally extinguished. These papers are particularly worthy of scrutiny for the fact that they give a quite detailed description of the image together with an interpretation of its contents. They provide a rare opportunity for exploring a contemporary written account of a mid-eighteenth-century printed political image and its visual language. They also highlight some of the issues that those wishing to support the Jacobite cause had to negotiate when designing an image likely to prove unacceptable to the authorities.

Bickham stood accused of:

> being a wicked seditious malicious and ill Disposed person and being greatly Disaffected to our said present Sovereign Lord the King and to his administration of

[90] From 990x690mm to 625x400mm.

[91] Gloucestershire Archives, D1677/GG/1531, 1752, George II v. George Bickham, jun..

> the Government of this Kingdom and being a Favourer of the eldest Son of the person pretended to be prince of Wales during the Life of James the Second late King of England and so forth and since the Decease of the said late King pretending to be and taking upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England by the Name of James the third.[92]

Specifically, it was alleged that he 'did unlawfully … print and publish and did cause and procure to be printed and published' the map and pamphlet, and was charged with 'devising and contriving and intending to mark out and Describe' the routes Charles and his army had taken during the 'late wicked cruel and unnatural Rebellion', together with the sites of the principal events of the rising, such as battles, sieges and encampments. The map was also noted to include a number of 'emblematical Images figures mottos Inscriptions Devices matters and things'.

Visual imagery could be seen as a safer medium than text for expressing dangerous anti-Hanoverian ideas and as possibly rendering it somewhat less incriminating for the owner, artist or publisher, if imagery is understood as relatively less specific in nature than text. Designers used a number of devices which further helped them to avoid being explicit. It was common practice to remove a proportion of the letters from a name or word which allowed room for doubt and, as mentioned earlier, titles and other overt signifiers could be omitted altogether. Most usefully, though, they could make extensive use of allegorical or emblematic imagery which had been popular in the past. However, this required viewers to be familiar with Jacobite visual vocabulary and relied on their ability to unpick a range of coded symbolism. The court documents helpfully give some idea of how the print in question was read. The eye is first drawn to the coat of arms at the top left hand corner above a title

[92] Gloucestershire Archives, D1677/GG/1531.

scroll - the lion and unicorn, instead of supporting the arms of England, are shown fearfully regarding the crown whilst attempting to flee away from it (fig.8a). The ‘Emblematical Image or Figure of Britannia’ supports another figure with the Latin inscription ‘Ecce Novum sidus’ above, and both were ‘placed printed or impressed towards the sun’ (fig.8b). The motto is translated here as ‘so a new Star’. There is no further description of the latter figure, but the document states that the combined images and motto were ‘intended to Represent’ Charles Stuart ‘as a person pointed out by the Extraordinary appearance of a New Star for the Government of this Kingdom’. The imagery accords with the tradition dating back to Charles’s birth in 1720 of associating him with, as Richard Sharp has put it, a ‘quasi-messianic star’.[93] The wording of the document suggests that the authorities assumed the image of Charles and this ‘new star’ iconography was quite widely known, but, presumably for legal purposes, this needed to be made explicit in the court documents. Within the image itself, Britannia and Charles with his star are situated at the heart of England and close to London, emphasising that the ultimate aim of the prince’s mission was to restore the Stuarts to the English throne and not merely that of Scotland.

The figure of Justice placed with the motto ‘Astrea redit’, translated as ‘Equity returns again’, and, more specifically, it is spelled out in the document that this was ‘alluding to the said eldest son thereby meaning to represent that justice and equity attended’ him in his ‘wicked and treacherous attempt to conquer this Kingdom’. Justice and her motto are sited next to the point where Charles set out from France at St Nazaire, indicating not only that, from the start, his cause was a just one, but also that his return would restore justice to Britain. She sits, with her scales and sword, looking benevolently down on a cartouche enclosing the words, ‘Inscribed to all the Honest’, a Jacobite coded reference to the

[93] Sharp, *Engraved Record*, p.26. Monod, *Jacobitism*, pp.79-80, also notes that Charles’s birth was supposedly accompanied by the appearance of a star, as Christ’s had been, according to St. Luke.

supporters of the prince.[94] In relation to the figure of Venus with her motto 'ipsa favet Venus', the document gives a direct translation of 'Venus herself favours' (as does the pamphlet), but also makes a point of saying that this image and its related motto were 'meaning and intending to have it understood as if Venus herself favoured the said eldest son in his attempt' (fig.8c). The figures of Apollo with the motto 'adjuvit Apollo' and Neptune with the motto 'Imperium pelagi' in the image were read as signifying that Charles was assisted by Apollo in his efforts at recovering 'The Empire of the Seas' that was Britain. Along the sea routes to the west of Ireland which Charles took to and from Scotland, Venus, Neptune and Apollo, as well as Britannia, Zephiros (whose motto invokes the winds to speed the ships along) and three cupids are depicted overseeing his passage. The figure of Luna, the divine personification of the moon, with the translated Latin 'the obscured moon hides her light', was read as 'the moon by hiding her light favoured the retreat of the said eldest son in his return from Scotland to ffrance'. She is placed at the end of Charles's journey, having ensured his safe return to France by sheltering behind the clouds. Thus, the positioning of the emblematical images within the print augments the signification of the motifs.

An array of pagan gods was invoked to indicate divine sponsorship and protection of the Stuart cause and the British authorities were quick to understand their symbolic meaning. There is no clue as to who put this document together, but it appears that they had a certain amount of classical education given the references to mythological figures and their related Latin inscriptions and that they were familiar with the visual language used. The document does not mention, however, that the Latin mottos come from Virgil's *Aeneid* and that there was an implied meaning attached to this. At various points the Aeneid alludes to Julius Caesar's comet of 44 BC and the star of Venus. The comet, star and flame imagery are

[94] Pittock, *Material Culture*, pp.66-8, states that 'Honest' was a cant term used by both sides from 1660, but was, nonetheless, 'a means of identifying Jacobite references when corroborated by other indicators'.

indicative of Caesar's divinity, but the comet of 44 BC was also believed to herald the beginning of the Golden Age of Augustus' reign.[95] The logical inference from this is that Charles's return would herald another Golden Age, this time under a Stuart king. Moreover, it seems that the authorities had a certain reading of the map and its imagery which they assumed would be a fairly general one. It is possible this may have been exaggerated in order to reinforce the case against Bickham; it was in their interest to do so. Their reaction, though, in taking the step of prosecuting Bickham, would suggest that they were aware of the power it had to communicate its embedded messages and that the content, including a figure that was supposed to have been recognised as Charles Stuart, without the need for further identifying signs, would have been quite widely intelligible at the time.

The claim was made in the document that the map and print were published to 'the great scandal and dishonour of our present Sovereign … to the great Disturbance of the Publick Peace and Tranquility of His Highness'. This was in keeping with contemporary thinking. As a 1725 pamphlet put it: 'Those … who set up Pictures or Images of the Pretender, or his Adherents, in their Chambers or Closets, no doubt have his cause at heart, and wd. set him upon the Throne if it were in their Power'.[96] The map's supporting pamphlet, described as a 'scandalous seditious and malicious Libel', adds the details of Charles's military campaign with the dates of 'the principle (sic) Events … being marked with the greatest Care and Exactness' with 'all the different Routs of prince Edward in Great Britain

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[95] Mary Frances Williams, 'The Sidus Iulium, the divinity of men, and the Golden Age in Virgil's Aeneid', *Leeds International Classical Studies*, Vol.2, No.1 (2003), http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics/ , accessed 5th April 2016.

[96] *A Letter from a Parishioner of St Clement Danes…*, (London, J. Roberts, A. Dod and E. Nut, 1725), p.14. See Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.72 and Ronald Paulson, abridged by Anne Wilde, *Hogarth, his Life, Art and Times* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1971), pp.63-5, for details of an altarpiece painted for St Clement Danes, reputed to contain portraits of James Francis's wife and children, which led to the accusations of Jacobitism set out in the pamphlet.

and the Marches of his Army'. It is known that the Jacobite court in exile commissioned propaganda-type imagery, but it was predominantly in the form of portraits of the Stuarts, Jacobite leaders or clergymen who were sympathetic to a restoration of the Stuarts There are only rare survivors of the sort of imagery under discussion here and this instance highlights some questions about how it came to be published, as well as its reception.

The case made against George Bickham for the publication of the map and pamphlet is significant for giving us first hand testimony of how the authorities reacted to printed imagery proffering Jacobite narratives. Crucially, if the language of the documents is anything to go by, it demonstrates the power of the image to communicate its meanings to contemporary viewers. Bickham seems to have been the man the authorities had in their sights because he was considered to have masterminded what was deemed an especially sinister publication, clear cut enough to make a successful prosecution feasible. The phrasing of the charge suggests that he was also thought to be 'disaffected' on a long-term basis, rather than just a one-time publisher of seditious material. It could be that their ire had been provoked repeatedly by Bickham's involvement in the publication of the three prints satirising the Duke of Cumberland in the late 1740s as well as other earlier anti-ministerial satires. This was, perhaps, an opportunity to deal once and for all with Bickham, who had persistently produced material which broke with the norms of acceptability. In addition, it could send out a message to other publishers and printers about what would and would not be tolerated. Ultimately, Bickham appears to have opted not to engage with the court process once again, perhaps seeing this as the best way to avoid a worse penalty than forfeiting his substantial recognizance money. Judgment went against him by default and there the authorities seem to have let the matter rest. They possibly decided they had done enough to persuade Bickham and other potential publishers of rogue material to toe the line and there

followed a marked decline for a few years in the production of this type of controversial political imagery.

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The information it has been possible to amass suggests Bickham was an imaginative and adroit entrepreneur, fully alert to the opportunities presented by an expanding market for printed material of many types, which he proved adept at exploiting. In order to enhance sales of his productions he engaged in the relatively recently established practice of press advertising which accompanied the rapid expansion of the newspaper industry in the first half of the eighteenth century. This sort of publicity helped not only to attract attention to particular printed products that he produced and sold, but would also have been intended to establish Bickham in the minds of the newspaper-reading public as a key participant in the market for graphic satire with a ready supply of up-to the-minute prints, as well as other genres. Then, as now, publicity could be enlivened by an element of notoriety and sharpened by anything contentious. Bickham was robust in the face of controversy, whether he generated this through his inclusion of scurrilous comment on powerful people in his prints, his testing of the law in relation to copyright or the airing of disputes with rivals in public. He may even have courted controversy deliberately as a publicity-seeking measure, but he was careful to take steps that would minimise the likelihood of adverse consequences. He overstepped the mark on a number of occasions and this resulted in legal action, mostly in the civil courts, but also in a criminal context, when he published a map and pamphlet that was deemed treasonous by government authorities. As a result, and despite the fact that he seems to have left very little in the way of a personal record of his life and work, there is a

significant amount to be pieced together from the surviving documents relating to the court cases in which he was involved, and the advertisements and other notices he placed in contemporary newspapers. Considered in conjunction with the prints themselves, Bickham represents an interesting case study whose career serves to highlight some of the issues which still warrant further research relating to the mid-eighteenth-century print market in general, and to the graphic output associated with the Jacobite campaign of 1745-6 in particular.

Chapter 2

The Gathering Storm: November 1739 - May 1745

This Day is publish'd

Priced 6d. Plain, 1s. Colour'd

The COURT FRIGHT

A Comical, Merry, Facetious NEW PRINT.

Printed for W. Webb, near St. Paul's[1]

Thus read an advertisement in the *Daily Gazetteer* of 24th February 1744 for an anonymous print which was published amidst mounting concern that the French were about to launch an invasion against Britain. After many years of peace under Sir Robert Walpole, Britain had gone to war with Spain in November 1739 in order to protect her trading and colonial interests, though hostilities for the most part involved operations on the part of the British in the Caribbean. The series of struggles known as the War of the Austrian Succession had then begun in 1740, ostensibly over Maria Theresa's right as a woman to succeed to the Habsburg lands of her father, Charles VI, though in essence it centred on territorial ambitions and the balance of power in Europe. Military action on the Continent began when Frederick II of Prussia invaded Silesia in December 1740, but the war came to involve most European powers at some point. Spain, then ruled by Louis XIV's grandson Philip V, had entered the war in order to recover territories in northern Italy which had been lost earlier in the

[1] *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 24th February 1744.

eighteenth century and France responded to attempts by Britain to form an alliance in support of Charles VI by attacking Austria in 1741. It was not until late in 1743, though, that France began to put a plan in place for a landing in England.[2]

Initially, the extent of Jacobite involvement in the French invasion plans was uncertain, although there were reports in the press at the time that Charles Stuart had been seen making his way from Genoa to Toulon, suggesting a likely link.[3] News of a possible attack surfaced in the press in London in mid-January 1744, but the primary issue was the threat posed by France. Any attempted rebellion by the Jacobites appeared to be of secondary significance to Britain at this time. Walpole had successfully minimised the opportunities for a rising after the 1715 rebellion, in part through his policy of maintaining peaceful relations with the Jacobites' potential supporters in Europe. As the French knew, the Jacobites could prove a useful lever in helping to undermine and distract the British government which, in its turn, was 'well aware of the implicit threat the Jacobite card posed and they were eminently blackmailable on the subject', as Daniel Szechi has noted.[4] For their part, the Jacobites appreciated that they needed the backing of a major foreign power and were constantly alert for an opportune moment to enlist French backing so as to give them the best chance of achieving their main aim of restoring the Stuart dynasty. Such a time and set of circumstances appeared to present themselves towards the end of 1743. Encouraged by the Jacobite supporters in France, the French planned to launch an invasion in southern England, thus

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[2] For a brief account from the Anglo-French perspective see Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe: 1688-1788* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994)**,** p.95-6. For background on the war see M. S. Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748* (London and New York, Longman, 1995), *passim* and Jeremy Black, 'Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole' in Jeremy Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1984), pp.154-7.

[3] For example, see *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 13th February 1744.

[4] Szechi, *Jacobites*, p.89.

drawing defensive forces away from London, allowing Jacobites in the capital and elsewhere to instigate a rebellion.[5]

An important aspect of graphic satire relating to the invasion attempt lay in its typical humour. The humour of any era is difficult to recapture at a distance in time. As we will see, graphic satire produced during the course of the 1745 rebellion involved humour in ways that ranged from the playful to the savage. It could suggest anything from a lack of serious concern that the Jacobites could represent a real threat to full blown fear that their project might just succeed. In the first part of this chapter I will examine how the prints relating to the early phase of the rebellion accommodated contemporary ideas concerning satire, raillery and laughter, and what this may have implied about the audience for them. I will then go on to explore how the imagery used in prints was linked to the output of the newspaper press.

For many, the London newspapers were the principal source of information regarding the events of the war and any developments in relation to the invasion. A critical aspect of their competitive positioning lay in conveying the latest particulars of military and naval manoeuvres as rapidly as possible. They were also a major source of inspiration for the graphic satirists of the era. Indeed, as I have already mentioned in this thesis, prints were attractive precisely because of their frequently subversive references to, and engagement with, a wide range of contemporary literary and visual material. The relationship between the newspaper and image print industries was, nonetheless, of particular significance.

It is important to stress at this point that the prints of the period were much more than a visual rendering of newspaper journalism. They were certainly not intended to be a news medium *per se*. Nonetheless, the contents of prints have been drawn on by historians as

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[5] For discussion of the role Jacobitism played in British foreign policy in the period leading up to 1743 see Jeremy Black, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1985), chapter 7.

significant indicators of contemporary perceptions of the issues in question and the handling of affairs of state - though how useful they are as historical documents is a moot point that several scholars, including Ernst Gombrich and Roy Porter, have explored.[6] The events and issues that were the subject of prints were not, however, the only means by which their meanings was communicated to viewers. As Diana Donald remarked in her important study, *The Age of Caricature*, 'too often the nature of the representation is treated as unproblematic, ignoring questions of iconographic tradition, agency and specific purpose', adding that 'political theory' and 'events', 'so far from merely supplying the contingencies, were in fact the fundamental determinants of artistic expression'.[7] Donald makes a compelling case for departing from a chronological model based on a progression of style away from the emblematic mode and towards caricature during the eighteenth century, largely because it is too simplistic and does not unequivocally fit the evidence. She instead eschews an evolutionary approach, in favour of 'associating *style* with *political intention'* in her analysis of eighteenth-century graphic satire.[8]

The prints I discuss in this chapter predominantly involve the emblematic mode. This was a traditional idiom which, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, was most often seen in children's literature and the decorative arts. Nonetheless, designers of prints continued to make use of emblematic imagery, especially at the lower end of the market, and it survived longest in the context of political satire. At the same time, political prints also began to incorporate more recently-popular artistic styles so as to address fashionable tastes,

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[6] Ernst Gombrich, 'The Cartoonist's Armory', in Ernst Gombrich, *Mediations on a Hobby Horse; and other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London, Phaidon, 1971), pp.127-142; Roy Porter, 'Seeing the Past', *Past and Present*, No.118 (February 1988), pp.186-205.

[7] Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996), p.44.

[8] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, pp.44, 47.

though the rate of change was not rapid. What appear to be elements of naturalism in the form of credible representations of objects and three-dimensional space were introduced to keep pace with changing aesthetic trends. Towards the middle of the century, furthermore, satirists made experimental use of caricature, the artistic mode imported from Italy. I will consider the implications of the various visual languages used in graphic satire and the contributions these made to the meaning and readings of the imagery. Finally, I will examine the extent to which Donald's ideas might be applied to the prints produced during the earlier phases of the 1745 rebellion.

2.1 *The humorous side of political prints*

Many in London learned of the possibility of an invasion through the printed press on 14th January 1744. A number of articles appeared on that date announcing that the French fleet based in Toulon was ready to put to sea, and that this might be preceded by a declaration of war, but few details were available at this time.[9] Twenty French men of war were seen off the Lizard in Cornwall on 7th February, a fact that was first reported in the London newspapers three days later.[10] On 12th February Admiral Norris set sail as commander of the Channel fleet in pursuit of the French, 'which we hear he has directions to fight', according to an account published two days after that.[11] It was a mere twelve days after publication of the news that the Channel fleet had embarked in search of the French invasion force that *The Court Fright* was offered for sale (fig.9).

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[9] *Old England or the Constitutional Journal, Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*, London, 14th January 1744; *Daily Advertiser*, London, 14th January 1744; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 17th January 1744.

[10] *Penny London Morning Advertiser*, London, 10th February 1744.

[11] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 14th February 1744.

The French moves marked a new phase of the war and, despite the perilous nature of the situation, the advertisement with which I opened this chapter indicates the print was meant to amuse. The fact that it identified the image as a form of entertainment seems to belie the seriousness of the matters to which it referred, but this was possibly intended to mask, or at least temper, the satirical attack it contained and minimise the printer's risk in publishing it. The crucial phrase is the description of the print as, 'A Comical, Merry, Facetious NEW PRINT'. Dr. Johnson's 1755 dictionary does not give examples of the usage of the words 'comical' and 'merry', but 'facetious' is defined as meaning 'gay, cheerful, lively, merry, witty. Used both of persons and sentiments'.[12] This indicates the print taking a light-hearted approach to a set of events which were potentially very dangerous for Britain. The humour in the image involves the grotesque depiction of a chaotic scene in a chamber which lacks anything to suggest that this is a space connected with royalty. A number of uncontrolled animals, including an unlikely combination of domestic, farm and wild beasts, is present at this 'court', a place normally associated with formality, order and decorum. In addition, most of the people present have been drawn with exaggerated noses and ridiculous body shapes.

In using words such as 'comical' and 'facetious' in the advertisement, the print seller appears to have been attempting to evoke ideas propounded in the eighteenth century by a number of writers. Daniel Defoe announced a basic principle of satire in his preface to *The True-Born Englishman*, that 'the End of Satyr is Reformation'.[13] A while later Jonathan Swift set out his perceptions of the appropriate nature and function of satire within the overall cultural construct of politeness:

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[12] http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?p=400, accessed 30th November 2015.

[13] Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr* (London, s.n., 1700).

> that kind of Satyr, which is most useful, and gives the least Offence; which instead of lashing, laughs Men out of their Follies and Vices … And although some things are too serious, solemn or sacred to be turned into Ridicule, yet the Abuses of them are certainly not.[14]

Swift was primarily concerned with satire in a literary context, and, while his guidance might also be applied to pictorial satire, this was not specified. He also looked at the motives that lay behind it:

> There are two Ends that Men propose in writing Satyr, one of them less Noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than Personal satisfaction, and Pleasure of the Writer, but without any View towards personal Malice; the other is a Public Spirit, prompting Men of Genius and Virtue, to mend the World, as far as they are able.[15]

Swift went on to write, 'If my design be to make Mankind better, then I think it is my Duty', indicating that satire had a moral purpose, and, in line with other commentators, should be deployed with care. Francis Hutcheson made reference to Aristotle's writing when he stated, in his *Thoughts on Laughter*, that ridiculing people was permissible if the object was 'some mistake, or some turpitude, without grievous pain, and not very pernicious or destructive', cautioning that 'laughter at small faults should flow from kindness'.[16] In an especially timely contribution for the present discussion, Corbyn Morris suggested in 1744 that 'humour appears only in the Foibles and whimsical Conduct of Persons in real Life'.[17] Henry Fielding

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[14] Jonathan Swift, *The Intelligencer*, No.3 (2nd edition, London, Francis Cogan, 1730), p.21.

[15] Swift, *Intelligencer*, No.3, p.21.

[16] Francis Hutcheson, *Thoughts on Laughter; and, Observations of the Fable of the Bees; in Six Letters, 1758*, with an introduction by John Price (Bristol, Thoemmes, 1989), pp.2, 44-5.

[17] Corbyn Morris, *An Essay towards Fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humour, Raillery, Satire and Ridicule …* (1744) (New York, AMS Press, 1972), p.13.

also specified that satire was supposed to be used judiciously to rectify lesser shortcomings in his *Essay on Conversation*, advocating that 'the Jest should be delicate, that the Object of it should be capable of joining in the Mirth it occasions.'[18] He believed, moreover, that satire should not be personal, so that 'to prevent … malicious Applications', the satirist should portray 'not Men, but Manners, not an Individual, but a Species'.[19]

Satire, then, was supposed to make a positive contribution to sociability, to be genial and generous rather than excessively harsh, and was held out as an ideal remedy against folly. It seems that the French invasion could qualify as a suitable subject for satirists, but any humour involved was supposed to operate along prescribed lines.[20] The advertisement for *The Court Fright* suggests not only that the subject of the print, but also the manner in which humour is applied, would conform with approved norms, and was therefore designed to appeal to a polite audience *au fait* with such thinking. Dr. Johnson, however, made the point in 1750 that, in practice, satire was often less than good-natured - 'Wit, cohabiting with Malice, had a son named Satire' - and the tenor of the print itself is considerably sharper than the theorists would have thought appropriate.[21] In particular, it is difficult to conceive that the faults referred to in the print could be construed as being at the level of 'foibles', especially given how serious their ultimate consequences for Britain could potentially be, and, whilst

[18] Henry Fielding, 'An Essay on Conversation', in Henry Fielding, *Miscellanies* (London, Henry Fielding, 1743), p.174.

[19] Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* [1742] (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), p.164.

[20] For more extensive discussion of satire and humour in the eighteenth century see: P. K. Elkin, *The Augustan Defence of Satire* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973), *passim*; Mark Knights and Adam Morton, eds., *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture, 1500-1820* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2017), chapters 6-7; and Vic Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, Atlantic, 2006), pp.167-77.

[21] Quoted in Andrew Benjamin Bricker, 'Laughing a Folly out of Countenance' in Knights and Morton, *Power of Laughter*, p.165.

individual targets are not named, the satire would appear to be aimed directly at senior government ministers.

The events which constitute the subject of *The Court Fright* were cause for alarm at the time, but apparently not to the extent that the government was to be uncritically supported in the face of the threat. The protagonists are presented in surroundings that bear some resemblance to a stage set, placing the viewer in the position of a theatre audience. This may be a form of image/word play relating to the central scene of the image in which George II is seen conducting an audience with two members of his cabinet. At the same time as being engaged with his ministers, the King is being bled by two surgeons with his arm on the shoulder of a collapsed and choking Britannia at his feet. 'Alas I am weak', says Britannia, the downward direction of her speech bubble emphasising that weakness. The cause of their shared infirmity is an 'Express from No[rri]s' that appears to have been spewed by Britannia in the direction of the two figures to the right who, we are left to assume, are Henry Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle. The two men are not specifically identified, and the images bear little resemblance to contemporary portraits, but, given the title of the print and the fact that they were leading members of the administration in power at the time (Pelham was Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury, and Newcastle was Secretary of State for the Southern Department), this seems most likely. The king exclaims, 'Bon Dieu! Est-il possible?'[22] He is depicted here with his garter star and sash and wearing a deep tricorn hat with a bow on its brim, similar to one seen in an earlier print, *The H[anove]r Bubble*, in which he is also shown speaking in French (fig.10). The two ministers address him saying,

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[22] John Van der Kiste, *King George II and Queen Caroline* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1997), pp.48-9, notes French was the language most commonly used at court and had long been the polite language of courts round Europe. This could, however, be swipe at the king for his 'foreignness', even if he is shown speaking French rather than his first language, German.

‘Forgive I’m ignorant of ye Marine’ and ‘And I of ye French Scheme’, signalling, in a way that their facial expressions do not seem to make explicit, that they have been taken by utter surprise at the French moves. The fact that one is wearing an oversized pair of glasses leads the viewer to infer that he is barely capable of comprehending what is right in front of his eyes: namely, the express from Norris with its ominous contents of the latest news from the Channel fleet (fig.9a).

The scene gives a sense of the comedic absurdity trailed in the advertisement for the print, but it also involves a barbed critique of the government’s handling of the situation. The situation would, indeed, have been quite humorous if it were not a cause for considerable consternation: Pelham and Newcastle’s supposed ignorance was possibly a reference to their being kept in the dark deliberately through Secretary of State John, Lord Carteret’s secretive management of foreign affairs.[23] Their supposed blindness to the current threat is also highlighted by the array of loyal addresses lying on the table. Many such addresses had been printed in full in the press, suggesting that the import of the French naval movements had not escaped many observers and compounded the failure of Pelham and Newcastle to recognise the imminent danger despite the tensions within the government.[24] The satire in the print rests in deriding the king’s chief ministers for their inability to see the obvious, perhaps as a means of encouraging them to act with greater urgency and to function more effectively before it was too late, and as such it could be said to have some corrective intent. Treating the situation

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[23] Anderson, *War of the Austrian Succession*, p.136, explains that Carteret was able to speak German and had considerable influence over the king because of this, causing Newcastle to complain of Carteret’s ‘obstinate and offensive silence’. For further background on the difficult relations between the king and his ministers in this period see W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the ’45* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981), pp.11-5.

[24] For loyal addresses published in the press see: *London Gazette*, London, 14th-18th February and 28th February-3rd March 1744; *Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol.14 (London, January 1744), p.51; and Anon., *An Authentick Account of the Intended Invasion by the Chevalier’s Son …* (London, M. Cooper, 1744).

with humour enabled the edge to be taken off the criticism involved, but did not necessarily bring it into line with the theorists' approved methods of deploying humour in an amiable fashion.

The implied meaning within *The Court Fright*, of a weakened Britain being governed by two short-sighted ministers, is that their failures had led to the country being ill-prepared to defend itself in the event of a possible invasion by France. As well as referring to these immediate circumstances *vis-à-vis* the French invasion manoeuvres, the scene is symbolic of the general nature of the king's dealings with his chief ministers and the handling of affairs by members of the administration. Surrounding the central scene, however, is an array of emblematic imagery that relates to the wider international situation and one that covers a longer time frame, of which more below. The only indication in this print of any part played by the Jacobites is an indirect one. An oversized pedlar stands on a French ship to the right of the image with a speech banner containing the Latin words 'Tertia non deficit' (the third is not lacking), as an indistinct figure cowers under some fallen rigging. This figure can be understood as the 'third' that 'is not lacking' - in other words, Charles Stuart, or perhaps some generalised representative of the Jacobite cause, either of which is 'on board' in both a literal and a figurative sense (fig.9b).

2.2 *Political prints and the press*

As already noted, the capacity to 'read' political satires such as *The Court Fright* was dependent on a knowledge of the details of contemporary events which would, for many, have been derived from the broadsheets, newspapers and journals of the period. The dangers posed to Britain's national security became the subject of considerable and increasing amounts of press coverage in the first half of the eighteenth century and some basic

information concerning the fast moving events of 1744 readily and rapidly found its way into the public domain, as can be seen from the timings given above. Whilst the manner in which those events, and the administration's handling of them, was reported in the press was a sensitive issue for government ministers, graphic satirists were also aware of their capacity to draw attention to, and foster ridicule for, the shortcomings of politicians, both proving an effective means of airing pointed comment despite legal and more informal constraints. Indeed, the critique of ministerial policy seen in *The Court Fright* accords closely with that found in opposition pamphlets and the press at the time.[25]

Newspapers did carry some visual imagery, but mostly, in the first half of the eighteenth century, in the form of mastheads and decorated initial letters. These simple woodcut embellishments could be printed simultaneously with type using a single press, but etched or engraved plates involved a different technical process and combining the two was time consuming and costly. This was feasible for illustrated broadsides and ballads, as well as book illustrations and periodicals, but less commercially viable for news publications where speed of production was an essential factor.[26] The printing of graphic satire was also time-sensitive, but not to the same pressing extent as for news reporting.

Similarities between the press and the print industry have been noted to the extent that the graphic satirists' output has sometimes been dismissed as being the visual equivalent of

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[25] For details of the press debate see Bob Harris, *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.163-7.

[26] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, a monthly periodical, only included plates on two occasions in 1744 (an image of a ship sinking and a map relating to the War of the Austrian Succession) and on four occasions in 1745 (a diagram for an article on fortifications, plans of Edinburgh and Carlisle, and a battle plan of Gladsmuir, later known as Prestonpans). For technical details of printing processes see Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques* (London, British Museum Publications, 1980), *passim*.

the work of Grub Street hacks, as well as demonstrating little respect for the rules of 'art', by such scholars as Herbert Atherton and Paul Langford.[27] These prints were valued for other qualities, as Mark Hallett has outlined, aptly describing them as:

> critical hybrids that rework a wide range of literary and pictorial material then circulating, playing them off against each other, and are objects whose meanings were generated as much by their engagement with other images and texts as by their self-sufficiency as individual works. In a complex process of appropriation and juxtaposition, these exchanges were a major part of their appeal, appreciated for their wit and representational play.[28]

The markets for newspapers and prints have also been seen as closely aligned by, for example, Paul Langford and, by implication, by Hallett.[29] The relationship between the print and newspaper industries was certainly proximate, with many of the participants involved in both trades at certain points along the chain of production and their various products sold in many of the same outlets. Those behind the prints, did, of course, look to the press for source material, and advertisements promoting prints, as discussed in the previous chapter, were regularly placed in the newspapers.[30] These advertisements were relatively brief, but the tone and language used often give some indication of how individual prints were intended to be

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[27] Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), p.82; Paul Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (Cambridge, *The English Satirical Print, 1600-1832*, Chadwyck-Healey series, 1986), p.29.

[28] Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999), p.8.

[29] Paul Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (Cambridge, Chadwyck-Healey series, 1986), p.29. Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.25, bases his analysis of the market for prints on the implied consumers of goods and services marketed in, and the readership of, the advertising pages of a number of contemporary newspapers.

[30] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.25, suggests that newspaper advertising notices 'respond to and construct a specific audience' for prints.

read, making them helpful adjuncts to or in certain instances integral to our understanding of the images. Although I will discuss their engagement with other cultural forms elsewhere, the connections between these two media are, therefore, of particular importance.

The link between the narratives of the press and graphic satire is well illustrated by certain details of *The Court Fright*. On Saturday 18th February, the *Daily Advertiser* stated: 'Last night it was said an Express was arriv'd with an Account … that Sir John [Norris] could see the French Fleet at the Top-Mast-Head, and towards the Evening the same Day, when the Express came away, could see them from the Decks, and was giving them Chace (sic)'. Immediately below this report was another notice: 'We hear his Majesty has been slightly indispos'd with a Cold, and was blooded on Thursday, and is now perfectly recover'd' (fig.11).[31] Importantly, the news that Norris had spotted and was after the French and the information that the king had been bled was thus currently in the public domain, and these combined pieces of news may well have served as inspiration for the central motif in the print: the conceit that the entire nation, by extension downwards from its spiritual and political leader the king, was ailing as a result of the threat posed by France, while the king's chief ministers had failed to comprehend the gravity of the situation.

Additional topical information incorporated into the print, most probably derived from the press, includes the location of the French fleet. A map of Britain, 'Lizard P[oint]' marked together with a number of ships pictured off the Cornish coast, is shown on the back of the Hanover horse seen clattering down the steps to the right of the image (fig.9c).[32] Besides this there are several loyal addresses on the table beside the king which are labelled as coming from 'Cambridge', 'Broughton' and the 'City', amongst other places (fig.9a). The full texts

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[31] *Daily Advertiser*, London, 18th February 1744.

[32] The sighting had been reported in *Penny London Morning Advertiser*, London, 10th February 1744.

of eleven addresses to the king were published in the *London Gazette*, the government sponsored newspaper, in the edition of 28th February - 3rd March 1744, expressing such sentiments as: 'Abhorrence of the Attempt that is carrying on, to invade your Kingdoms, and advance a Popish Pretender to your Throne'.[33] Loyal addresses were also printed in the periodical press: the January issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* carried the full address of the county of Surrey, congratulating King George and the Duke of Cumberland on their return to England after their success at Dettingen and the prospect of their 'securing the rights and liberties' enjoyed by the subjects at home. It also mentioned that there were thirty more in the same vein.[34] Furthermore, an advertisement for *The Court Fright* indicates how one particular element within the image was intended to be interpreted. In giving the print an alternative name in the notice, 'The Court Fright, or Perkin on board', reference is made to the fifteenth-century pretender to the English throne, Perkin Warbeck, who had jeopardised another recently-established dynasty, the Tudors. This pointed to the indistinct figure hiding under the ship's rigging being understood as Warbeck's contemporary equivalent, Charles Stuart.[35]

Shortly after *The Court Fright* was published, and while the French invasion plans were unfolding, another print, *Court and Country United against the Popish Invasion*, was published by Mary Cooper (fig.12). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Cooper was principally a seller of books, newspapers and pamphlets, although she carried prints to supplement her stock, many of which reflected her fiercely anti-Jacobite views. This print

[33] *London Gazette*, London, 28th February - 3rd March 1744. Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (Sutton, Stroud, 2001), p.6, outlines how, from 1666, the *London Gazette* became the main official source of news, the words 'published by authority' prominently displayed in this twice weekly publication.

[34] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.14 (London, January 1744), p.51.

[35] *General Advertiser*, London, 20th March 1746. The advertisement states that G. Lamb was the publisher, but see Chapter One for an explanation of this.

was produced once the link between the French plans and Jacobite plotters had been definitively established and become public knowledge. *Court and Country United* shows George II seated on a throne between his two sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland, surrounded by members of the court offering their allegiance to the king 'With our Lives', 'And our Fortunes'. The 'Country' that is also the subject of the print is represented by two pictures on the wall behind the king, their titles intended to be read together across the throne: 'English Bulldogs' … 'United against the Enemy'. In the foreground, bathed in shadow connoting their secretive scheming, are various Jacobite plotters mouthing such sentiments as 'All's lost', 'Detected', 'Ruin'd', 'Undone', 'Discover'd' and 'Dam their Unanimity' as they attempt to scuttle away. One of their number cries 'O! Cecil! Cecil!', making another direct connection with recent events reported in many of the newspapers. Once the British government had become aware of French naval manoeuvres off the Channel coast and that Charles Stuart had been seen in Paris, it concluded that a Jacobite plot was afoot.[36] William Cecil, who was known to have corresponded with the Jacobite court in Rome from the mid-1720s onwards, naturally came under suspicion. He was arrested on 24th February 1744 and committed to the Tower three days later on a charge of high treason, having been examined by the Privy Council and various papers connecting him to a request for a French invasion force having been found at his home.[37] The news of

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[36] Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.95-6, outlines the invasion preparations, noting that the government apparently remained ignorant of the plans until at least 13th February 1744.

[37] Lawrence B. Smith, 'Cecil, William (1676-1745)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), online edition, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/65467?docPos=4, accessed 20th June 2015. See also Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (London, Duckworth, 1979), p.39.

Cecil's arrest was first reported in the *London Evening Post* of 23rd-25th February and, at the same time, a reward of £30,000 was offered for the arrest of Charles.[38]

Cooper's satirical print, together with its press advertising and the details surrounding the relevant news items, provide valuable evidence of the speed with which such an image could be designed, etched and produced ready for sale. Dated 'March ye 6', it was published only ten days after the news of Cecil's arrest had appeared in the press. This is clearly longer than the time needed to produce letterpress, but was still short enough for the print to be highly topical. By the afternoon of 6th March, the British and French fleets were some eight miles apart off the coast of Britain and crowds had gathered on the hilltops of Kent to watch the battle which appeared to be imminent.[39] However, a violent storm blew in the following day, causing the French fleet to disperse and the British one to head for home shores, but the fact that the French fleet was no longer anywhere to be seen was not reported in the press until 10th March.[40] The immediate prospect of an invasion appeared to be fading, but the overall picture was still confused and Britain remained on a war footing. The British government could not be sure that the French had abandoned plans to invade and was not in a position to ascertain the depth of Jacobite support in Britain. Nicholas Rogers has pointed out that what made Jacobitism especially difficult to deal with was its unpredictability.[41] The focus for the moment remained on France as Britain's most powerful European foe, with the military might to mount a successful invasion, and now her declared enemy in the War of the

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[38] *London Evening Post*, London, 23rd-25th February 1744. Searches of the Burney collection indicate that Cecil's arrest and committal to the Tower were reported in nine different publications between 25th February and 3rd March 1744.

[39] Anderson, *War of the Austrian Succession*, pp.157-8.

[40] *Daily Gazetteer*, London, 10th March 1744 and *London Post and General Advertiser*, London, 10th March 1744.

[41] Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.22-3.

Austrian Succession. However, the Jacobite enemy within had been shown to be colluding in the plans and was now of considerably more concern. This is indicated not only within *Court and Country United*, with the Jacobites featuring more prominently in the foreground, but also in Mary Cooper's newspaper advertisement for this print, mentioned in the previous chapter, stating that it was designed 'to discountenance the Abettors of a Popish Pretender', again demonstrating how the reading of an image could be informed by related press notices.[42]

Although the 1744 invasion attempt failed, the Hanoverian regime remained vulnerable to a revival of Jacobite activism. The two prints already discussed were produced at key moments at the height of the invasion crisis and included details tying them to particular historical circumstances. An image presenting a more generalised response to the Jacobite threat was produced as an illustration for a broadside entitled *Slavery in Miniature* (fig.13). The date '1745' appears in the printed sheet, but it has not been possible to establish precisely when within that year it was published.[43] The contents of the verse indicate that it was produced once it was known that the Duke of Cumberland had returned to Britain to take charge of the army there:

> Indulg'd with Plenty, Liberty and Peace,
> 'Till late involv'd in this intestine War,
> Which we unus'd to, think it more severe.
> Yet if true Subjects cordially unite
> Our daring Foes shall soon be put to flight,
> And Peace and Plenty all our Toils require.

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[42] *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, London, 7th March 1744

[43] i.e. at some point between 25th March 1745 and 24th March 1746.

Such base pretending Rebels can't withstand,

Great GEORGE's Force, and William's brave Command.

The verse also refers to the wider war:

O may his (Cumberland's) Valour with his Years advance,

Old England's glory, and a Dread to *France*,

The Scourge of *Spain*, the Terror of all those

That now does *Briton*'s happiness oppose.[44]

The production of broadsides with etched illustrations, such as *Slavery in Miniature*, required both rolling and letter presses and were thus more expensive to produce than images alone, but large print runs helped offset these costs. Eighteenth-century catalogues point to thousands being distributed wholesale to chapmen for sale in the streets. The relatively low number of surviving examples also suggests that they were of less worth to collectors, but they would probably have been of interest to a range of viewers.[45] The simple visual strategy deployed in *Slavery in Miniature* contrasts the benefits of the Hanoverian regime on one hand with the danger posed to Protestantism, liberty and justice by the Jacobites and their French backers on the other. The image rehearses the perception, frequently set out in the news and pamphlet press, that all Jacobites necessarily espoused Catholicism and would inevitably be supported by Britain's principal enemy in the European war.

On the left side of the image is the Pope in his tiara and with a devil behind him. France is represented by Louis XV trampling on 'Religion' (fig.13a). The Jacobites,

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[44] The Duke of Cumberland's appointment as commander of the allied forces in Europe had been publicised in *The Daily Gazetteer*, London, 16th March 1745, and he went over to take up his post later that month.

[45] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.140-9. Though primarily concerned with an earlier period, Watt believes that the images made an increasing contribution to the appeal of broadsides as the visual element became more closely related to the text over time.

meanwhile, are represented by a tartan clad Charles Stuart similarly travestying 'Liberty and Laws', as an invasion force heads off over the seas towards Britain. The devil and the 'Pretender' were frequently portrayed with the Pope as a triumvirate of evil during the course of the '45. A woman holding the Jacobite standard is also among the group; with her long dress and hooded cape, she resembles the so-called 'Popish Midwife', Elizabeth Celliers, an iconic figure much pictured in printed images of 1680-1 relating to the Popish Plot and the annual pope-burning processions (fig.14).[46] Importantly, the placing of the group bears no relation to conceivable space, but relies instead on artistic convention, Britain's enemies notably situated on the left, 'sinister', side of the image.

On the opposite side, George II is depicted in an apotheosis in which he is glorified as an ideal monarch in an allegorical tableau representing his reign. The king wears the imperial crown and carries the orb and sceptre, solemn symbols of his status as anointed monarch and head of the church. He is flanked by personifications of Justice, with her sword and scales, and Fame, with her trumpet. These were two popular emblematic figures who frequently appeared in prints and other media. Below is the lion of England shown boldly facing its foes and a small image of the City of London. That view is presented here in a figurative prospect taken from an elevated viewpoint south of the Thames, of a type developed in England in the seventeenth century and linked to civic pride.[47] The text below makes the import clear: 'While George and Justice rule our British Isle … No Popish Varlets shall our Rights defile'. This is expanded on in the verse beneath, ultimately promising that the Duke of Cumberland

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[46] Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Spaces, Visual Representation and Social Exchange* (Farnham and Vermont, Ashgate, 1988), p.191, Celliers was found to be involved in a scheme intended to turn the Popish Plot into a Presbyterian conspiracy and this image of her was based on earlier emblems.

[47] Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p.21.

will, in time, outdo the Duke of Marlborough, the hero of earlier eighteenth-century wars in Europe, in his military successes.

2.3 *'Gouty and lame forms': the emblematic mode and alternative visual languages*

Slavery in Miniature draws on the traditional emblematic format of the contrast, comparing the Hanoverian regime and the potential Jacobite alternative. This was amongst a number of familiar structural devices available to the eighteenth-century satirist. These also included: journeys and processions; deathbed scenes, funerals and memorials; symbolic trees, animals and monsters; ritual feasts and catharses; and scales weighing good against evil. Indeed, *Slavery in Miniature* is constructed from traditional emblematic motifs, likely to have been comprehensible to a large range of contemporary viewers. The devil, the Pope and the popish midwife were all emblematic symbols commonly used to signify the Catholic Church or Catholicism. Jacobites in general, and Charles Stuart in particular, once he was known to have taken on the active task of trying to restore his father's dynasty, were usually denoted by figures in Highland dress or sporting tartan in some form, while personifications such Justice and Fame were regularly used to denote abstract concepts. National emblems, likewise, had become standard visual signs by the mid-eighteenth century.

As a cultural phenomenon, emblems dated back to the sixteenth century.[48] Developed on the Continent, it was Alciato's publisher who originally added illustrations to his

[48] For the history and historiography of emblems see: Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London, Longman, 1994), chapter 1; Monteyne, *Printed Image*, pp.184-8, 203-4; Peter Daly, 'England and the Emblem: The Cultural Context of English Emblem Books', in Peter Daly, ed., *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York, AMS Press, 1988), pp.1-60; Donald, *Age of Caricature*, pp.44-7; and Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemorative Art in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007), p.147.

collection of Latin epigrams in 1531, which the author entitled *Emblematum Liber*, 'A Book of Emblems'. The term 'emblem' came to refer to the cryptic combination of word and image into a 'speaking picture', with successful interpretation relying on the recognition of a significant relation between text and picture. In England, the three-part structure was the most widely used, with a motto placed above an image and an explanatory verse below, as seen in *Slavery in Miniature*. Emblems tended, initially, to be the preserve of the elite, seen mostly in the context of the applied and decorative arts as well as in paintings and so-called impresa portraits. They circulated more widely and were popularised in Britain in the seventeenth century through translations of emblem books by Cesare Ripa and Andrea Alciato, but began to fall out of favour following the Civil War as they met with disapproval for their association with political allegory, which in turn was associated with the corruptions of the Catholic faith. Joseph Monteyne is of the opinion that it was this questioning of the artistic status of emblems that left them open to being taken up by those who were perceived to be artists of a lesser sort, or, as he puts it, 'liable to appropriation by Londoners in the production of graphic satire'.[49]

The hallmark of the emblematic remained the inclusion of a quantity of explanatory text in the form of titles, speech bubbles, labels and verses to clarify the sometimes obscure imagery. All three prints I have introduced above include a number of speech bubbles articulating the supposed thoughts or intentions of the participants uttering the words. *The Court Fright* and *Court and Country United* show pictures with titles indicating how the imagery within them might be interpreted, and there are identifying labels, mottos or banners in both *Slavery in Miniature* and *The Court Fright*. The most important issue around emblems, then as now, is the distinction between natural and conventional visual signs.

[49] Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p.188.

Attempts to describe the respective characteristics of these two types of sign lead to difficult questions concerning the quality of an emblematic symbol and hence its authority. These involve notions of 'visual verisimilitude, realism and representation', with 'the distinction between ideographic and mimetic signs a recurrent theme in emblematics', as Michael Bath has discussed.[50] The crucial words 'recurring theme' point to the fact that the differences cannot be wholly resolved into a formula which fits all circumstances.

In the early eighteenth century, Shaftesbury condemned emblems on the grounds that many had no natural affinity with the objects being signalled, and because their meanings were often unstable. He dismissed them as 'false barbarous and mixed characters: enigmatical, preposterous, disproportionable, gouty and lame forms'.[51] In the second edition of his *Characteristicks*, he wrote: 'We are therefore to consider this as a sure Maxim or Observation in Painting "That a historical or moral Piece must of necessity lose much of its natural Simplicity and Grace, if any thing of the emblematical or emblematick kind be visibly and directly inermix'd"'.[52] He was referring to painting in particular, and Shaftesbury did allow the use of emblems in certain circumstances, as traditional emblematic motifs could signify abstract concepts for which there was little in the way of alternative possible imagery. 'It may however be allowable, on some occasions, to make use of certain enigmatical or emblematical devices, to represent a future time', he wrote, citing a particular situation 'as when Hercules, yet a mere boy, is seen holding a small club, or wearing the skin of a young lion' to indicate the origin of his iconography.[53] Diana Donald considers that both

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[50] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp.3, 6.

[51] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Second Characters: or the Language of Forms by the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury*, ed. Benjamin Rand (1714) (New York, Greenwood Press, 1969), p.91.

[52] Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, Vol.3, pp.381-2.

[53] Shaftesbury, *Second Characters*, p.36.

Shaftesbury and Joseph Addison 'took the only proper use of symbols from ancient classical designs, where they conveyed the natural attributes of the gods and virtues with lucidity and conciseness'.[54] Shaftesbury did not address his advice towards the designers of printed material, very possibly believing they did not merit his attention. It is interesting to note, however, that he did include engravings in the second edition of his *Characteristicks*. These were all in the form of frontispieces to volumes, chapters or treatises, and he gave very specific instructions for the engravings he commissioned from Simon Gribelin. Significantly, ornaments to the designs were not to include any motif which could carry meaning; 'there must be nothing added which can possibly make a sense or meaning … otherwise false constructions (were) apt to be made'. The reader/viewer was also carefully to be directed by instructions as to how the text and complex images were to be interpreted together.[55]

Turning to a particular emblem that appears in both *Slavery in Miniature* and *The Court Fright* by way of example, it is clear that a lion has no natural affinity with Britain. However, it was a symbol much used, and so conventional that it could be readily understood, even by those with only a basic level of education. The lion had long been the animal emblem of Britain, supposedly embodying national character traits of strength and fierceness, as well as loyalty. It had been a presence in royal coats of arms for centuries, but also held associations with Christianity.[56] The ability to read such emblematic imagery was

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[54] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.45.

[55] Justin Champion, 'Decoding the Leviathan: Doing the History of Ideas through Images, 1651-1714', in Michael Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010), pp.268-72. Champion quotes Shaftesbury insisting the inclusion of 'referring figures' (i.e. keys) to 'signify the volume and page where the explanation of this device and emblem may be descrypted by any ingenious and learn'd eye'.

[56] Charles Boutell, *Boutell's Heraldry* (London, Warne, 1950), p.205. Emma Major, *The History of Madam Britannia: Women, Church and Nation, 1712*-1812 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), p.49, informs us that, 'according to medieval bestiaries, the lion represented Christ: it was said lions concealed their tracks, as Christ concealed his divinity; they were supposed to sleep with their eyes open, as Christ overcame the sleep of

dependent on the viewer's recognition of standard attributes or associations, and relied on a body of visual experiences amassed over time. Emblematic images containing multiple motifs were used to combine commonplaces and sources, relating them through a web of associations that the viewer also needed to be able to decipher, for, as Bath has noted, 'even works which are artistically crude may nevertheless be iconographically complex'.[57] The instability that so concerned Shaftesbury could be mitigated, or meaning pinned down, through the addition of text, but comprehension often ultimately relied on 'the clichés and stereotypes of accepted knowledge'.[58] Individual motifs or symbols have thus been aptly described as the 'vocabulary' of the emblematic language, while the relationship between them is a 'syntactical' rather than a 'dramatic' one.[59]

Slavery in Miniature provides an interesting example of the construction of emblematic imagery. On the right side of the image, George II is drawn with his entire coronation paraphernalia, including St Edward's crown, seated on a throne emblazoned with his royal coat of arms.[60] This is in keeping with the conventions of royal portraiture, while his position at the apex of a triangular grouping serves to indicate his constitutional role as king and head of the Church in England. The figure of Louis XV, in comparison, is adorned with none of the grand and symbolic accoutrements of kingship, besides the smaller crown on his head, ensuring that Louis can be understood to be a monarch, but one who is inferior to his British counterpart. The image of King George is rather indistinct, so small that it is not

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death; and lion cubs were born dead and only brought to life by their father's roar three days later, just as Jesus rose from the dead after three days'.

[57] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p.12.

[58] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, p.6.

[59] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.47.

[60] M. Corbett and R. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p.160, notes Edward the Confessor's crown was traditionally used for the coronations of English, and afterwards British, sovereigns.

possible to know if it is a recognisable likeness, although sufficient detail is included to allow the symbolism involved to be unpicked. George is supported by the relatively giant figures of Justice and Fame, positioned so that these two may be interpreted as fundamental attributes underpinning his reign. At the bottom left of this group is the lion, and bottom right is the prospect of the City of London, the commercial heart of the nation and home of Whig-inspired, post-1688 financial institutions such as the Bank of England. St. Paul's Cathedral and the Monument can just about be made out. St. Paul's was the most prominent architectural feature of the City, and its most significant token of the Church of England. The Monument, meanwhile, was another symbolic structure associated with the Great Fire of 1666, a disaster which for which the Catholics were held responsible, but one which had been overcome.[61] Together with other components, it seems a group of familiar, 'off the shelf' motifs have been assembled by the artist to create a compound emblem of Hanoverian rule. This image displays the often static quality of the emblematic mode, while the juxtaposition of such an eclectic collection of motifs is also characteristic of that visual tradition. Moreover, it involves standard imagery which demonstrates how individual elements did not necessarily need to be executed with particular skill, originality or time-consuming care. Above all, this type of traditional emblematic imagery has been deployed in a low-end broadsheet, as presumably intelligible to an audience familiar mostly with the type of imagery found in cheap chap books.

The designer of *The Court Fright* also relied heavily on the emblematic idiom. Although Britannia is the only obviously emblematic entity in the central scene, she is accompanied by an array of emblematic symbols at the foot of the print which allows the

[61] For details of four similar prospects printed in the first half of the eighteenth century which could have provided the model for this image, see Neil Guthrie, 'Unica Salus (1721): A Jacobite Medal and its Context', *Georgian Group Journal*, Vol.15 (2006), pp.88-120.

viewer to place the immediate events within both the context of the war, and a longer time-frame. On the left is the British lion, being attacked by a fox wearing a cardinal's hat. The fox was the standard emblem of wiliness and the trait is attributed here to Cardinal Tencin, Louis XV's Minister of State. The heraldic symbol of the Netherlands, a crowned lion holding a sheaf of arrows indicating Britain's co-member of the Pragmatic Alliance, sits astride a fat pig. The pig's speech bubble states 'fide et diffide (faithful and unfaithful), and '6000 for fear of an invasion' is written across its rump. The implied message here is that the unreliable Dutch had been reluctant to abide by their treaty obligations because not at war with France at this stage (fig.9d).[62] Between these two is a paper with the words 'Genoa on the Treaty of Worms', a nod to the provisions of a treaty signed in September 1743.[63] The white Hanover horse on the right, seen stepping over its unseated and 'Bankrupt' rider, with a map of Britain on its back, is a reference to recently intensified criticism that George II's support for his native Hanover was endangering both Britain's economy and her national security.[64]

This visual symbolism would have become familiar to eighteenth-century viewers through a number of means. Understanding such motifs as the papal tiara, the bulldog or the Hanover horse would have come, in part, from regular exposure to the increasing graphic output of the London printers.[65] It would also have been absorbed through encounters with

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[62] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London, John Murray, 1974), p.247, notes the pig is a symbol of gluttony and sloth. Anderson, *War of the Austrian Succession*, p.132, explains that the Dutch, along with Britain, were allies of Maria Theresa in the war.

[63] For details of the treaty and its provisions see Anderson, *War of the Austrian Succession*, pp.122-7.

[64] W. A Speck, *Stability and Strife: England 1714-1760* (London, Edward Arnold, 1977), pp.243-7, notes George II's concern for Hanover produced tension in both cabinet and parliament, and taking 16,000 Hanoverian troops into British pay proved especially controversial when debated in parliament in 1742. Harris, *Patriot Press*, pp.162-4, discusses the press criticism at the time of the invasion threat.

[65] For a discussion of where those who were not able to afford prints might have come into contact with them see Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, British Museum Press, 1999), chapter 7.

other media such as coins, medals and sculpture. Medals struck in gold were a luxury only affordable by a few, but the cost of the same design struck in copper was in line with the prices charged for prints, usually 6d. or 1s., and therefore amongst the range of consumer goods within the budgets of consumers of relatively modest means.[66] Some of the motifs in question could also have been seen in the form of sculpture, most readily in church monuments sited in public spaces to which members of all levels of society, at least in principle, had access. These monuments were of such cultural significance that they were often brought to widespread attention through the press, where proposals for new memorials, design competitions, inscriptions, epitaphs and unveilings were publicised.[67]

The personifications that appear in the prints discussed here, such as Britannia, Justice and Fame, were particularly prominent in these other media. Britannia's state of mind or health was frequently used as a metaphor for the mood or condition of the nation as a whole in eighteenth-century graphic satire, and so she was a basic element of the common stock of visual vocabulary of many people.[68] She can be seen, for instance, in Francis Tolson's book

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[66] Christopher Eimer, *The Pingo Family and Medal Making in Britain* (London, British Art Medal Trust, 1998), pp.8-9, cites an advertisement placed by George Sterrop for a medal struck to commemorate the lifting of the siege at Carlisle by the Duke of Cumberland in 1745. The advertisement itself, in *London Evening Post*, London, 13th-15th March 1746, states that this medal in 'copper' cost 1s. 3d. and one in 'brown copper' cost 1s. 6d. For purposes of comparison 1s. was worth approximately £11.65 in 2018, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator, accessed 29th May 2019.

[67] For the processes surrounding the commissioning and construction of major monuments see: David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995), pp.9-11; and Joan Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth Century British Empire* (Montreal and London, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), p.9.

[68] For a discussion of history of the imagery of Britannia and her iconography see Atherton, *Political Prints*, pp.89-95. Britannia had first appeared as an allegory of Britain when conquered by the Romans and disappeared when the Romans left. She resurfaced in the reign of James I, representing England or Great Britain, depending on the circumstances or intent of the imagery. Her shield usually carries the cross of St George and the saltire of St Andrew. See also Major, *History of Madam Britannia*, pp.47-53.

of emblems, *Hermathenae, or Moral Emblems and Ethnick Tales with Explanatory Notes*, and in such prints as *Bob the Political Ballance Master* (fig.15) and *The Protest* (fig.16), all published in the 1740s, as well as on a medal by Jean Dassier celebrating Frederick, Prince of Wales (fig.17).[69] She was, in short, a much-used, succinct visual notation for the nation in general. Justice, meanwhile, also featured in the print *Bob the Political Ballance Master*, whilst Fame reappeared on the Dassier medal, as well as in sculpture such as Michael Rysbrack's monument to the 1st Duke of Marlborough (fig.18). Such motifs were constantly adapted as part of a creative process intended to generate gradations of meaning or alternative readings. Some emblems were adopted from the Continent: the white horse, already in use in Hanover as the symbol of the House of Hanover, for instance, began to appear in various forms on a frequent basis once George I had succeeded to the throne.[70] New motifs, however, were also invented when warranted or particularly apt associations suggested themselves, often involving puns or other plays on words. A fish, for example, was used to signify one of the architects behind the formation of loyal associations raised to resist the Jacobite rebels, Archbishop Herring. Kate Retford has pointed out that puns were inveighed against because they were seen as a type of 'false' or 'low' wit by Shaftesbury, Morris and Addison, though it was admitted that they were popular, even amongst the 'wisest and wittiest' of people according to the Scottish poet and philosopher James Beattie.[71]

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[69] Francis Tolson, *Hermathenae, or moral emblems and ethnick tales with explanatory notes*, *Vol.I* (London, s.n., 1740) p.55, Emblem XVIII.

[70] For example, see John Ingamells, '*A Hanoverian Party on a Terrace* by Philip Mercier', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.118, No.880 (July 1976), pp.511-5, who notes the white horse in the background of this 1725 picture is intended to represent the Hanoverian dynasty.

[71] Kate Retford, *The Conversation Piece: Making Modern Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2017), p.307; James Beattie, *Essays. On Poetry and Music, as they Affect the Mind. On Laughter and Ludicrous Composition …* (Edinburgh, William Creech and London, E. and C. Dilly, 1776), p.342.

Emblematic motifs became familiar through repeated use, but the repertoire of symbolic devices was also constantly reworked. *Court and Country United* and *The Court Fright* both incorporate a popular emblematic device which William Hogarth regularly made use of: the picture within a picture. As noted above, *Court and Country United* includes two images on the wall behind the throne which together represent the 'Country' facing the dangers of Catholicism (fig.12). The left-hand image shows a number of frolicking bulldogs, supposedly the embodiment of the strength, loyalty and courageous fighting spirit of the English. From the outset emblematists had deployed animals as signifiers of character traits, with their stereotyped characteristics presumed to mirror human ones. From the 1720s onwards, bulldogs had held special significance for the English as loyal guardians of their masters and skilled, courageous and enthusiastic fighters.[72] The image on the right, meanwhile, depicts a larger 'Pope's Bull', arriving to butt a bulldog out of its way. This emblem of Catholicism is a direct reference to the decrees issued by the Pope that were the formal instruments used in his role as Christ's representative on earth. The emblematic imagery here signals the intentions of the Catholic Church supposedly underlying the Jacobite challenge, recalling the broader fear of Catholic plots that had endured since the Reformation.

In *The Court Fright*, behind George II is a painting labelled 'Promotion', showing a scantily clad woman wading in water with a dog swimming towards her (fig.9e). Its significance is not easily decipherable at this historical distance, but this is possibly a reference to the King's mistress, the Countess of Yarmouth. George II had first met Amalie

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[72] Bath, *Speaking Pictures*, pp.1-3. Ronald Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding* (Notre Dame and London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), pp.49-63, discusses dogs as a device of the English satirist in the eighteenth century, charting the changing connotations attached to them in the art and literature of the period, and quotes *The Craftsman* of 13th September 1729 as stating, 'the generous English Bull-Dog' was 'victorious over their Enemies; undaunted in Death'.

Sophie Marianne von Wallmoden in 1735 during a stay in Hanover and had returned to visit her before she was installed in London in 1738, at which point she was created Countess of Yarmouth. She is supposed to have taken a role in the creation of peers and was alleged to have been paid for this in 1741.[73] A speculative reading of this image is that the dog represents George II as her loyal lover with a healthy sexual appetite who was prepared to cross the Channel to be with her.[74] Meanwhile 'Promotion' refers to her involvement in elevations to the House of Lords.[75]

Whilst graphic satirists appear to have looked most frequently to the traditional artistic language of the emblematic during the mid-eighteenth century, they were also clearly prepared to work with alternative modes. Naturalistic imagery had begun to appear in satires before the turn of the eighteenth century. It could bring a useful sense of authenticity to depictions of historical events. This imagery was, however, typically incorporated within the emblematic framework which endured, especially in political satire.[76] Even when certain elements were rendered and organised in a 'realistic' way, they were often, notwithstanding,

[73] Mathew Kilburn, 'Wallmoden, Amalie Sophie Marianne von, suo jure Countess of Yarmouth (1704–1765)', http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28579, accessed 14th September 2015; Andrew C. Thompson, *George II: King and Elector* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2011), pp.113-4, 117, 127-8.

[74] As mentioned earlier, dogs tended to denote fidelity in domestic situations in the emblematic tradition. Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art*, p.54, mentions that dogs could also represent a number of basic animal passions, including carnal desire, or take the place of a lover.

[75] Satirical imagery concerning the Countess of Yarmouth tended to incorporate fish, referring to the fishing trade at Yarmouth, or horns, referring to her cuckolded husband. See *Bob's the Whole*, London, 1741 (BM) and *The Scotch Patriot in Contrast & c.*, London, 1740 (BM). A portrait print of 1740 after Peter Van Hoogh, made by G. de Köning, shows the countess with much of her chest exposed, as in this image, and she is also depicted in a fairly revealing dress in *The Scotch Patriot*.

[76] For example, see Monteyne, *Printed Image*, pp.201-3, for a discussion of naturalistic imagery in *A Scheme of Popish Cruelties; or, a Prospect of what wee must expect under a Popish Successor*, London, 1681.

meant to be understood as signs or symbols within compositions that were essentially emblematic.

In the case of *Court and Country United*, George II is depicted in a manner similar to that seen in *Slavery in Miniature*, though in the former print he is accompanied by his sons, as well as a cleric and unidentified (and unidentifiable) courtiers. His rank is again symbolically signalled through his position at the peak of a triangular grouping. Placed in traditionally emblematic manner, as they would not of course all have been present together in the throne room, the Jacobite sympathisers have been added in the foreground and bathed in shadow so as to ensure that viewers do not miss the point that their secretive plotting was dangerously close to the centre of power. At the same time, the vertical symmetry of the image, taken as far as balancing the direction of the courtiers' speech bubbles, contributes to the sense of unity which is presented as the defining characteristic of the British in the face of the invasion threat and the primary subject of the print.

I suggest that this particular image of the king is almost certainly based on a portrait commissioned by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Willes, from Thomas Hudson (fig.19). It is the only full length seated portrait of the king listed in John Kerslake's *Early Georgian Portraits*.[77] The Hudson portrait had been put on public display in the Court of Common Pleas in Westminster Hall only a matter of a weeks before the print was published on 6th March 1744.[78] Its commissioning was an overt demonstration of loyalty by one of England's most senior judges at a time when George II's hold on the throne was under serious threat.

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[77] John Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1977), p.93. George II did not much like having his portrait taken and there are only two other full length portraits known to have been painted by this time. For comparison see fig.20 and fig.21.

[78] Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits*, p.91. The portrait is dated 1744 by Kerslake and George Vertue noted in February 1744 that 'a picture at whole length of the King put up in the Court of Common pleas - at the expence of Ld. Ch Justice Wills'.

Besides this, the site chosen for the portrait was a highly visible one, at the heart of the justice system, and, significantly, close to the print shops located in Westminster Hall; designers may, therefore, have had access to the painting as well as one of the prints after the original. Britain's legal framework was a fundamental plank of the constitution, held up by supporters of the Hanoverian regime as a crucial index of the liberty enjoyed by Britain's subjects, making the Court of Common Pleas a highly symbolic site. In Hudson's painting, George II is seated in a regal pose, something he is thought to have cultivated, apparently being fond of displaying his Garter decorations and always wearing a well-dressed wig.[79] George Vertue even commented that it 'is thought very like & a good picture. altho. His Majesty did not honour him to set purposely for it—'.[80] The portrait, together with its location, however, also represented a powerful statement of George's royal status and entitlement to the throne. This statement was, by implication, transferred to the print and then reinforced through the alteration of certain details. Notably, the coronation orb, just beside the king's hand in the Hudson portrait, has been inserted into his hand in the print, whilst the crown that is incorporated in the royal coat of arms at the top of the chair in the portrait has been placed on his head in the engraving. The print has thus been carefully fashioned using an emblematic structure so as to carry an important political message, but the lifting of imagery from a recently unveiled portrait, in combination with the broadly naturalistic depiction of a moment in an audience chamber, lends authority to the contents of the print and adds weight to the underlying meaning.

Both these images of the king contrast with that in *The Court Fright*. There, along with other protagonists in the centre of the print, George II has an oversized hooked nose and

[79] Thompson, *George II*, p.40.

[80] Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits*, p.91.

hunched back that suggest some resemblance to Punchinello (fig.22).[81] Punchinello was anglicised and evolved over time into the well-known character Mr. Punch of the Punch and Judy tragi-comedy that many people would have seen at puppet shows at major fairs. This possible allusion in *The Court Fright* may have been designed to suggest Britain's current situation was another form of tragi-comedy.[82] That said, this image of George II is perhaps better construed as a foray into the field of the grotesque, the forerunner of caricature.

Caricature first emerged in Italy, but had not initially met with approval amongst the opinion formers in Britain. It had gained a certain following for its capacity to characterise an individual rapidly and amusingly, but Henry Fielding, in his preface to *Joseph Andrews*, articulated his admiration for Hogarth's work as a 'Comic History-Painter' because of Hogarth's 'exact copying of Nature', 'whereas in *Caricatura* we allow all License'. In particular, Fielding had disapproved of the mode because 'its Aim is to exhibit Monsters, not Men: and all Distortions and Exaggerations whatever are within its proper Province'.[83] The characters at the heart of *The Court Fright* have a variety of outsized noses, but, as I have noted, in so far as it is possible to tell, the images of the King, Pelham and Newcastle do not seem to have been taken from likenesses of the individuals concerned. This indicates, therefore, that these are not caricatures *per se*, exaggerating nature for comic effect, but rather grotesque images which invite stinging criticism of a more general sort, targeted at the confusion at the heart of government during the early stages of the rebellion (fig.9a). The consequences for the nation can be seen in the poor condition of Britannia, pictured at the king's feet. This print thus uses, for the most part, emblematic imagery, with the designer

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[81] Hogarth's *Southwark Fair* (1733) includes a puppet show with Punch depicted in a manner similar to the Van der Gucht print.

[82] For a history of Punch and Judy shows, their plot lines and their puppet characters see Robert Leach, *The Punch and Judy Show: History Tradition and Meaning* (London, Batsford, 1985), pp.9-13, 18-28.

[83] Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (1742) (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), p.5.

introducing an element of the grotesque to add a note of humour at the expense of George II and his ministers. I would argue that *The Court Fright* could well have been intended as an appeal through mockery for the current crisis to be dealt with effectively, rather than as an exclusive joke intelligible mainly to members of the political elite.

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At the start of this chapter, I noted that Diana Donald made an important case for associating style in eighteenth-century satire with political intention. She did this using two particular examples. She cited John Wilkes and his supporters as the first to deploy satirical prints as a strategic aspect of a political campaign, with Wilkesite propagandists making extensive use of the emblematic mode in the early 1760s, by which time it had become more decidedly the visual language of popular print culture. Despite the disdain of artistic opinion formers and the more polite sorts, the jackboot, a common shop sign, became the ubiquitous symbol for John (Jack) Stuart, Earl of Bute. The more incessantly the punning motif of the jackboot was repeated and manipulated, the more its symbolism entered the consciousness of Wilkes's target constituency: those outside the political and social elite.[84]

Donald contrasted this imagery with the political satire of the 1780s, which predominantly involved caricature. The print publishers of the later period were anxious to appeal to a more elite audience and looked to an art form that had, by this date, come to the attention of many through the output of George, 1st Marquess Townshend. He had published

[84] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.51, claims that the prints helped engender a sense of community, solidarity and empowerment amongst Wilkes's target constituency.

a number of biting satires based on caricature representations of various politicians that he is thought to have drawn himself (although the attribution of several prints of the 1760s to Townshend is now disputed), such as *The Triumph of Caesar* of c.1757, which includes a portrayal of the Duke of Cumberland (fig.23). Caricature had met with disapproval in some quarters, partly on aesthetic grounds, but also because of what could be seen as the satire's aggressive and highly personal nature. It probably helped that Townshend was an aristocrat and a political insider, and that Horace Walpole found his caricatures amusing, but his work did go on to have a significant influence on graphic satire, caricature becoming a widely adopted idiom, through the output of the publishers Matthew and Mary Darly particularly.[85] The caricatures of the 1780s involved attacks on ministers which required a sophisticated knowledge of the individuals and matters concerned, especially as they dispensed with as much explanatory text as possible.[86]

The point about Donald's two examples here is that they made use of single modes fairly consistently: the emblematic in the case of Wilkes; caricatures in the case of Townshend. These prints were also disseminated as major components of orchestrated political campaigns that could be regarded as 'expressive of social and cultural antagonisms', as Donald puts it.[87] Known figures sponsored quantities of images. Unlike the Wilkes and Townshend prints, however, those published in the mid-eighteenth century in response to the Jacobite threat were not part of an organised propaganda effort. Indeed, we have very little idea of how most originated and, while the printers who produced them may have had

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[85] W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols. (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1937-83), Vol.9, p.195, Walpole to George Montagu, 28th August 1756, 'the enclosed cards are the freshest treason; the portraits by George Townshend are droll …'.

[86] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.57, notes there are many examples of 'graphic motifs that were directly lifted from politicians "figures of speech" which depended on an intimate familiarity with political rhetoric for readability'.

[87] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.47.

ideological motives, they were likely to have been bound to a considerable degree by commercial imperatives.

Initially, as has been evident in my discussion, the last Jacobite rebellion did not prompt a huge quantity of graphic satire. It was only once the British had been defeated at the battle of Prestonpans in September 1745, and the temperature of events had risen significantly, that London printers began to produce any volume of material. Those generating these images clearly drew on whichever styles best fitted their purposes best. The emblematic mode was a traditional one which, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, had been relegated to less elite art forms. The designers of prints did continue to use emblems throughout the century, but also began to incorporate more up-to-date artistic modes. What appear to be elements of naturalism, in the form of credible representations of objects and events, were introduced. Towards the middle of the century, satirists also made occasional use of the grotesque. But at no point were these prints executed in a consistent artistic mode intended to 'speak' specifically to a certain section of the potential audience - partly because those who did not want to see the Hanoverian regime overthrown came from all levels of society. Those wishing to support the current order under George II using printed satire were free to use whichever mode worked most effectively. That was sometimes to provide amusement for an elite audience through witty exchanges with a variety of contemporary literary and pictorial material. It was sometimes to persuade a more diverse audience of the threat posed by the Jacobites to the religious, political and commercial life of the nation.

The mixing of modes in *The Court Fright* appears to include an example of what Donald has taken to be 'sporadic experiments' in new visual modes, before caricature was taken up more enthusiastically later in the eighteenth century.[88] The exaggerated noses and

[88] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.47.

disproportionally small bodies seen in this print, combined with the surrounding emblems, seem primarily to contribute to the making of a political point in an entertaining way for viewers who possessed the necessary visual and verbal literacy skills to unpick its densely packed contents.[89] One of this artist's tactics was to introduce some 'vocabulary' of the relatively novel visual language of the grotesque, but it has been used to good effect within the more dated 'sentence structure' of the emblematic. *Court and Country United* is less complex than *The Court Fright* and, rather than being designed to provide amusement value, would appear to have been intended to present the Hanoverian case in a concise manner. This involved a naturalistic depiction of George II, drawn from a formal portrait. *Slavery in Miniature*, on the other hand, is an image deploying only emblems that were widely legible as part of a commonplace tradition, which was, as Walter Ong has helpfully summarised it, 'an organised trafficking in what in one way or another is already known'.[90] In any event, it is notable that all three prints include elements of the emblematic, surely because it was such a familiar and widely legible artistic tool at the time.

The emblematic appears to have become a visual language associated with the 'common people' by the 1740s, which would have appealed to a broader, if not a mass audience, whilst caricature had not yet become a fashionable idiom.[91] Meanwhile, naturalistic imagery of represented objects catered to more contemporary aesthetic tastes. The underlying traditional character of the satirists' work considered in this chapter may be attributed to commercial considerations, if the market for political prints 'is perceived as dominated by a

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[89] The capacity to read no fewer than three languages (English, French and Latin) was required to access all the text within *The Court Fright*.

[90] Walter Ong, 'Commonplace Rhapsody: Ravisius Textor, Zwinger and Shakespeare', in R. R. Bolgar, ed., *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.94.

[91] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.44.

public with a distinctive and archaic mode of visual cognition', as Donald has put it.[92] Eirwen Nicholson, on the other hand, has connected the longevity of the emblematic idiom with a greater degree of visual literacy amongst the general population than conventional ideas of an elite audience have allowed.[93] These factors may well account for the durability of that traditional mode. The prints I have discussed in this chapter, however, involved a range of modes and were readable on different levels. The fact that they were not part of a coherent propaganda effort, in which the visual language ensured that the body of material was addressed to a particular section of the social order or particular political grouping, does not necessarily mean that the style, as well as the contents, could not convey meaning. They may well not have carried the potent propagandistic force that large numbers of similarly delineated prints could have created, as in the case of the images of the jackboot, but in the context of a national emergency, it is understandable that the designers of prints sought to make use of whichever mode seemed most appropriate at the time. Political points could be made in graphic satire through an assortment of visual languages, and, most importantly, designers looked to use the most effective means possible to communicate them.

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[92] Donald, *Age of Caricature*, p.48.

[93] Eirwen Nicholson, 'English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument c.1640-c.1832: A Study of Historiography and Methodology' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994), p.186.

Chapter 3

The Rebellion Takes Hold: June 1745 - December 1745

> … that the work of so many wise and honest men, of so many parliaments of fifty seven years … a fabric of so much art and cost as the [Glorious] Revolution and its train of consequences, should be in danger of being overwhelmed by the bursting of a cloud, which, seemed, at first gathering, no bigger than a man's hand.[1]

Charles Stuart departed from Nantes aboard the *Dutillet* towards the end of June 1745 on his mission to restore the exiled line of the Stuart dynasty. The *Dutillet* was joined at Belle-Île by another ship, the *Elizabeth*, laden with about seven hundred men of Viscount Clare's French-Irish regiment and a haul of cash and arms. Both then set sail for Scotland on 2nd July. It is not clear to what extent Charles's father, James Stuart, or Louis XV, or indeed any of the other key figures in either France or Rome, were aware of Charles's planned attempt. On 9th July the two ships encountered an British man-of-war, the *Lion*, off the west coast of England and, in the ensuing engagement, the *Elizabeth* and the *Lion* were so badly damaged that the former had to head back to France and the latter was forced to abandon any attempt to pursue the *Dutillet*. Despite this setback, the *Dutillet* sailed on, arriving off the Isle of Eriskay on 23rd July, and the mainland near Arisaig on 24th July.[2]

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[1] Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, *Life and Correspondence*, 3 vols. (New York, Octagon Books, 1977), Vol.1, p.462, Charles Yorke to Joseph Yorke (both sons of Lord Hardwick), 30th September 1745.

[2] For a details of the early phase of the rebellion see: Jacqueline Riding, *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion* (London, Bloomsbury, 2016), chapters 5-8; and W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981), chapter 2.

At this stage the authorities in Scotland did not seem to be unduly perturbed. The Lord President, Duncan Forbes, wrote to Henry Pelham on 2nd August that 'we have been alarmed with advices … of intended invasions; and particularly of a visit which the Pretender's eldest son is about to make to us, if he had not already made it'. However, he also asserted that these reports, 'particularly as to the visit just mentioned, I must confess, have not hitherto gain'd my belief. This young gentleman's game seems at present to be very desperate in this country; and so far as I can learn, there is not the least apparatus for his reception, even amongst the few highlanders who are suspected to be in his interest.'[3] Forbes did, however, take the precaution of informing General Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief of the British army in Scotland, that a Jacobite rising was rumoured to have begun as soon as he got wind of it. The challenge for the authorities lay in assessing the accuracy of the contradictory reports received and divining the likely progress of events.

The printing industry in London also had to work within this uncertain environment. Details were relatively sketchy, but the newspaper press could still deliver rumour-based or anecdotal reports to the reading public within a few days, even when more definitive information was lacking. As we have seen, however, print makers tended to produce related material a while after the newspapers. Furthermore, particularly during the early stages of the rising, they had to devise imagery that would remain relevant over the longer term. In this chapter, I will first consider the prints that were produced during the early phase of the rebellion. Such evidence of the production dates as is available suggests there was some delay before graphic satirists were prepared to focus their efforts on the rebellion. It was not generally judged to be an acute problem for a while, and so the market opportunities were probably not at first perceived to be especially rich. It was only once the danger had become

[3] Quoted in Riding, *Jacobites*, p.73.

more widely appreciated, after Jacobite forces had won the battle of Prestonpans and then made their way south from Edinburgh in the autumn of 1745, that print makers began to produce material in greater quantities. I will discuss how some of the major ideological debates were pictured in print during the last four months of 1745, at the time Charles's army was making progress into England, and before the decision was made by the Jacobite leaders to turn back from Derby because of lack of active support in England. I will discuss how the underlying political, religious and economic considerations that surrounded the rebellion, as well as the possible involvement of France in the campaign, then proved to be the principal objects of the graphic satirists' attention. This response was largely a function of the general uncertainty about how the Jacobite army might proceed, coupled with the fear that Charles and his supporters might not be readily overcome. The prints produced in response to the raising of loyal associations, the brainchild of the Archbishop of York, Thomas Herring, and amongst the earliest measures taken to counter the Jacobite threat, are explored in the next section. The chapter will conclude with an evaluation of the anti-Jacobite printed imagery which was published during this period as propaganda.

3.1 *Prints published during the early stages of the rebellion*

Despite the efforts of several clan chiefs to persuade Charles to return to France until a more favourable moment arrived and, perhaps more importantly, until he had more substantial support in the form of French manpower, arms and money, he raised his standard, proclaimed James Francis Stuart king and read out his manifesto at Glenfinnan on 19th August in the presence of over a thousand clansmen who had gathered there. By this time, news of his arrival in Scotland had reached the government in London and Charles himself had heard that a bounty of £30,000 had been put on his head. He nonetheless marched towards Scotland's capital city and was joined along the way by around another thousand

armed men. Charles had taken many unawares, and even the Duke of Newcastle, the Prime Minister's brother, admitted to the Duke of Cumberland: 'I have constantly seen the reality & Danger of this attempt to invade His Majesty's Dominions', though 'I own I did not imagine that in so short a time the Pretender's Son with an army of 3000 men would have got between the King's Troops & England, & be within a few days march of Edinburgh, where some think we shall soon hear that he is.'[4] From a British perspective, Charles Stuart's arrival meant the French might well also be making preparations to invade. At a time when France appeared to have the upper hand in the European war, the British government was now forced to confront the possible need to withdraw troops from Flanders to deal with the problems at home.[5] What the government in London did not know was how little practical assistance for Charles had, in fact, been forthcoming from the French.[6] Still, many in Britain did not seem to be alert to the risks.

It troubled the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, particularly that a sense of urgency was lacking. He wrote to Archbishop Herring on 31st August that 'there seems to be a certain indifference and deadness among many, and the spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated to a right tone.' He went on to express the hope that Sir John Cope's force 'is sufficient to crush this infant rebellion, provided it be properly exerted before the assistance, which the rebels undoubtedly expect from abroad, can come to them'. [7]

It transpired that these efforts were not sufficient. The shocking realities of the situation only began to sink in once the Jacobite army had entered Edinburgh and General

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[4] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.191, quoting the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, 11th September 1745.

[5] M. S. Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748* (London, Longman, 1995), pp.143-4.

[6] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.64.

[7] R. Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.19, No.75 (July 1904), Lord Hardwicke to Archbishop Herring, 31st August 1745.

Cope's small force, about the same size as the Jacobite one, was decisively and quickly routed in the first encounter with Charles's forces at the battle of Prestonpans outside Edinburgh on 21st September. Possibly because of the ignominy of the situation, the defeat was downplayed in the press, described in something of an understatement in one newspaper as 'the ill Success of Sir John Cope with the Rebels'.[8] One print, possibly datable to around this time on the basis of its highly topical content, consisted of a portrait of the most senior British officer to die during the battle, Colonel James Gardiner, a Scot who had also served with the British army during the 1715 rebellion (fig.24).[9] According to the text below his image, he was 'slain' on the field. This insinuates that the manner of his death was somehow dishonourable or unusually violent; that is, not consistent with generally accepted, contemporary codes of military conduct. Gardiner's dragoons, having panicked at the surprising fearsomeness of enemy combatants wielding their broadswords, fled in disarray, leaving their commander to face the Jacobite Highlanders alone. Accounts differ as to the precise circumstances surrounding his death, but his body was said to have been 'not only plundered of his Watch and other Things of Value, but also stripped of his upper Garments and Boots; yet still breathing' in one writer's version of events.[10] The use of the word 'slain' in the print appears to hint at such gruesome details and to have been an early contribution to what became an extended campaign to portray the Highlanders as blood-thirsty savages, a

[8] *General Evening Post*, London, 24th-26th September 1745.

[9] *Col: James Gardiner*, London, c.1745: the British Museum impression includes the wording 'Canot Sculp.t' and the National Library of Scotland impression, which may have been taken from the same plate, the main difference being the inclusion of the wording 'T. Kitchin Sculp', indicating that more than one edition of the print was published, but who the actual engraver was is unclear. It is also possible that this image was a later one, engraved for Philip Doddridge, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner ...*(London, James Buckland and James Waugh,1747).
See Riding, *Jacobites*, p.110 for background on Gardiner.

[10] Philip Dodderidge, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner ...* (Edinburgh, G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1747), p.188.

topic I will return to later in the thesis. This is of only relatively minor significance in relation to the overall demonisation of Jacobite soldiers, but the portrait of Gardiner does not otherwise include any indication of the manner of his death or involvement in the battle: he is depicted as a bewigged gentleman with a cuirass beneath his coat, but without further iconographic signalling.

Another print related to the battle, *A Race from Preston Pans to Berwick*, possibly published by George Bickham, was probably issued shortly afterwards, at a time when there was little for the Hanoverian supporters to be proud of in the handling of the rising (fig.25).[11] Not only had the government failed to prevent Charles landing in Britain, but the rebellion also seemed to be gaining momentum rapidly and the British army had lost embarrassingly easily in the initial, devastating engagement with the recently assembled Jacobite army.[12] The print tells little of the actual events other than that General Cope had managed to escape from the scene of the battle unscathed, and had subsequently made his way to Berwick. Three British officers are depicted racing towards Berwick castle, some fifty miles south of Prestonpans, reportedly the first place at which some of the fleeing dragoons stopped. The verse below elaborates on the image: Cope had supposedly left the field out of fear, despite his colonel (Gardiner) having attempted to persuade him to return to the fight. The speech bubble in the mouth of a man greeting him and his companions at the castle gate states, 'Your ye first general that ever was ye Messenger of his own Defeat', suggesting, in other words, that Cope had abandoned the field with unprecedented and unseemly haste.

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[11] Bickham's name does not appear in the print, and he did not advertise it, but the title is etched in a style regularly found in prints published by Bickham.

[12] For analysis of the Jacobite army see Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: the Jacobite Army in 1745* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp.70-9; besides those recruited in Scotland and England, it included some who had Continental military experience.

This is, notably, an isolated satirical print at this stage of the rebellion, as it does not bear any resemblance to others produced during this period. It is a pithy assessment of the actions of a leading member of Britain's armed forces at the time of the battle and its immediate aftermath. However, neither the underlying reasons for that battle nor the general state of affairs in the build up to it are addressed in the print. It is also distinctive in that it makes no use of emblematic imagery or devices, but involves a partly naturalistic depiction of a single moment in time. The horses, their riders and the man at the gate are, however, out of scale with the castle immediately behind them and the horsemen appear in mid-gallop, located at a point where they would be unable to stop in time before the gate. The image is thus an approximation to an actual event, but involves an element of exaggeration for dramatic and comic effect.

In contrast to Colonel Gardiner, described as 'a man who feared to Sin, but not to Fight' by one newspaper correspondent, questions were raised as to General Cope's conduct both prior to and during the battle and he was called to London to account for the mortifying defeat.[13] He became the scapegoat for the disastrous showing at Prestonpans. This is borne out by the print, which reinforces the perception that Cope was responsible for the fiasco by not acting as a commander should in the heat of battle. He is the principal butt of the satire, which accuses him of cowardice in failing to rally his troops when they buckled in the face of the Highlanders' charge and then abandoning them. The print makes no other reference to the particular circumstances surrounding the battle and does not even allude to anyone else in authority who might have had some responsibility. Perhaps this was because insufficient information concerning the government's strategy or military preparations had reached the general public and Cope was an easy immediate target. It may also have been because it was

[13] *General Evening Post*, London, 5th-8th October 1745, 'A genuine Letter from Kendal dated Sept. 30 to a friend in London'. See Riding, *Jacobites*, p.197, concerning Cope's possible court-martial.

easier to blame Cope than to ponder some of the wider implications of the defeat. The more unpalatable possibility, not alluded to in the print, was that the government might not be able to quash the nascent rising before the Jacobite army made its way into England, while military energies were concentrated on fighting the war in Europe.[14] The viewer is invited to mock one of his or her (assumed) own side, the element of humour centred on the idea of Cope being so terrified of the enemy that he out-galloped his messengers to Berwick. The humour is, significantly, not directed at the Jacobites, nor is there any attempt to ridicule *their* efforts and aspirations, which suggests that concerns over the rebellion were not yet overwhelming. The image, above all, appears to capitalise effectively and amusingly on the notoriety of the hapless Cope, while not admitting the real and growing threat.

A greater sense of urgency did, however, begin to set in among government ministers and the population more generally in the aftermath of the battle. General Sir John Ligonier was despatched to the North with a detachment of ten battalions, eight of them Dutch, which had fortunately arrived in London from Flanders the day before the news of the defeat at Prestonpans had reached the capital, on 24th September.[15] Otherwise, according to the Duke of Newcastle, writing to the Duke of Cumberland on 25th September, 'the confusion in the City of London would not have been described; and the King's crown, I will venture to say, in the utmost Danger'.[16] At this stage it was not at all clear whether Charles intended to continue southwards into England or whether he would remain in Scotland to consolidate his position there, recalling the parliament in Edinburgh as a prelude to dissolving the Union.

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[14] See Speck, *Butcher*, pp.48-52 and Riding, *Jacobites*, chapter 17 for an account of the battle. Stephen Brumwell, 'Cope, Sir John [Jonathan] (1690-1760)', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/6254?docPos=1, accessed 7th September 2016. Ultimately Cope was exonerated at an enquiry held in 1746.

[15] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.192.

[16] Speck, *Butcher*, p.53, quoting the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, 25th October 1745.

However, calls for Cumberland to return to bolster British forces became louder and more frantic once panic set in in financial circles. Stock prices fell and there was a run on the Bank of England towards the end of September.[17] As noted in Chapter One, *Publick Credit* was published in response to these events (fig.2 and fig.3).[18] This print features, as a metaphor for the financial health of the Bank of England, a well-dressed merchant, 'that seems to command Esteem & Honour', the cover of his account book testifying to the sound condition of the enclosed documents. This image was intended to help restore confidence in the Bank and is a very unusual one in having known sponsors. Their names, more than 1,100 of them, surround the image in a broadside version of the print (fig.4). They had been moved to contribute to its production so as to allay mounting public concern that a collapse of the financial markets was imminent by stating that they would continue to accept the Bank's paper money. An advertisement for the print makes it clear that the plan to sponsor it was concocted at Garraway's coffee house.[19] This, according to Lord Hardwicke, was 'a step that never was taken before, and has had a prodigious effect to stop the run which has begun'.[20] In an announcement dated 26th September 1745 the merchants concerned also publicised their offer to accept the Bank's paper money, along with the names of those participating in the offer, in the government newspaper, the *London Gazette*.[21]

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[17] For details of the financial market panic see: Speck, *Butcher*, pp.67-8; Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.168; and Sir John Clapham, *The Bank of England: A History, Vol. 1, 1694-1797* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp.232-5.

[18] See pp.72-3.

[19] *General Advertiser*, London, 23rd and 24th September 1745. The work was 'Humbly Inscrib'd to the Gentlemen under-named in the Print, who associated in its support at Garraway's. Sold at Garraways Coffee-house where the Gentlemen subscrib'd'.

[20] Lord Hardwicke to Archbishop Herring, 27th September 1745.

[21] *London Gazette*, London, 24th-28th September 1745

The situation had now reached the point where the king was sufficiently convinced of the risk to his throne that his son was at last instructed to return to England with a further eight battalions, British, however, rather than Hessian. The Duke of Cumberland arrived back in London on 19th October. He had earlier been reluctant to abandon the war in Europe because it would weaken the British position there, but the campaign season was drawing to a close for the winter.[22] Shortly after this, Charles left Edinburgh and, accompanied by the Camerons, crossed the river Esk into England on Friday, 8th November, followed the next day by the bulk of his army. This move made it clear that his ultimate goal was to reach London and depose George II rather than settle for a Stuart restoration in Scotland alone. His forces headed for Carlisle and, after a short siege, both the town and the castle surrendered on 15th November. This was another ignominious chapter in the short history of the Jacobite rebellion as far as the British government and Hanoverian loyalists were concerned. Carlisle was a border stronghold which had, in theory, been rendered redundant following the Act of Union. Despite the Jacobite threat persisting into the following decades, by 1745 it was manned mostly by aged veterans of Marlborough's wars who had little to do.[23] Its loss, however, held symbolic significance as it had historically been a strategic defence point against incursions from Scotland and also dealt a serious blow to any remaining confidence that the rebellion might be swiftly quelled. Against this background of political affairs developing into a state of national emergency, there was, accordingly, a rapid increase in the production of satirical prints.

[22] Speck, *Butcher*, p.82.

[23] Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.212-8; Speck, *Butcher*, pp.79-81.

3.2 *Picturing the issues at stake in 1745*

The growing market appetite for printed imagery concerning the rebellion was consistent with a pattern set during times of political turbulence, reaching back to the Exclusion Crisis of the seventeenth century, although very few were published at the time of the 1715 rising.[24] The volume of the output in 1745 and 1746 was to increase dramatically. The three prints published as the rising was beginning to unfold, discussed above, along with the 'Wanted' poster prompted by the government's offer of a £30,000 reward for Charles, gave little sign of the wealth of material that was to come once the magnitude of the danger became more apparent (fig.26). The surprise defeat at Prestonpans appears to have been the moment of realisation that 'this thing is now grown very serious'.[25] A further blow was that 'the Rebells to the Great Dishonour of Scotland … [had] taken Possession of [most of Edinburgh, excepting the castle] with three or 4,000 Beggarly Banditry', as General Ligonier wrote in a letter to Sir Everard Fawkener, secretary to the Duke of Cumberland, on 27th September 1745.[26] The anti-Jacobite imagery published in the autumn of 1745 was predominantly in the form of emblematic satire that made little reference to specific recent events. Print makers instead addressed the broader political and religious debates that were the principal causes of the division between the supporters of the house of Hanover and the exiled line of the Stuart dynasty. I will consider these under the headings of: religion; the monarchy; liberty and the law; and, finally, the economy. The quotation with which this chapter began gives a measure of the depth of these controversies and how much was at stake

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[24] For what is seen as 'a landmark in the growth of visual consciousness in England' in the 1680s, see Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Spaces, Visual Representation and Social Exchange* (Farnham and Vermont, Ashgate, 1988), pp.158-9. It is interesting to note that the Sacheverell controversy elicited considerably more prints than the 1715 rebellion.

[25] General Sir John Ligonier, quoted in Speck, *Butcher*, p.53.

[26] General Ligonier to Sir Everard Fawkener, 27th September, 1745, quoted in Riding, *Jacobites*, p.193.

in 1745. It also flags up the fact that attempts to capture a sense of the arguments in visual imagery presented significant difficulties, not least the need to condense commentary on complex issues into single sheet images.

Conventional emblematic devices still proved a popular means by which to convey polemical content. As seen in the previous chapter, the emblematic mode was a valuable tool in the depiction of abstract theological and political concepts which had the advantage that it was a visual language intelligible to a relatively wide audience. Two prints, *The Invasion, or Perkins Triumph*, published in September 1745, and *The Procession, or the Pope's Nursling Riding in Triumph*, published on 15th October 1745, draw on an analogy between the progress of a carriage and that of the rebellion (fig.29 and fig.27). This device is a means of suggesting what the rapidly-escalating Jacobite campaign would in the end entail for the political, religious and economic landscape of Britain if successful. *The Rebellion Displayed* is dated 1st November 1745 and, a short while later, on 18th November, *The Ballance* was published (fig.35 and fig.36). The former contrasts the existing regime under George II and that which could be anticipated under the Stuarts, designed to demonstrate the advantages of Hanoverian rule compared with the possible Jacobite alternative. The latter uses the traditional emblematic device of the balance, as announced in its title, as a means of highlighting the fundamental differences between the two, the Hanoverian side presented as the more 'weighty' and, therefore, of greater merit. Two further prints, although only dated '1745', were almost certainly published around this time: *The Pope's Scourge, or an exact Portraiture of a Popish Pretender* and *The Plagues of England, or the Jacobites Folly* (fig.31 and fig.32). These prints both attempt to show that Jacobitism was not what it seemed - or what Jacobite propagandists would have the population of Britain believe. In *The Plagues of England* the Jacobite movement and its backers are likened to some form of pestilence or affliction that would come to haunt Britain if she allowed herself to be hoodwinked into

falling for the Stuart restoration plan. In *The Pope's Scourge*, meanwhile, Charles Stuart is presented as a Roman soldier, implying that he is the agent of the Pope, coming to force Catholicism violently on Britain despite assurances to the contrary.

3.2.1 *Religion*

The prints produced in the autumn of 1745 reflect the fundamental significance of the fierce religious debates which were at the heart of the conflict between the Hanoverian and Jacobite supporters.[27] Contemporary pamphlets, in which issues concerning religion were often aired, are of particular interest when it comes to interpreting the imagery. Pamphlet literature concerning religion was wide-ranging: from serious, reasoned coverage of the arguments to more aggressive diatribes and satirical takes on the Catholic Church, some of which were newly printed editions of earlier works. In focusing on the visual representation of religious and ecclesiastical matters and their interplay with pamphlet literature, the viewer can gain a good understanding of the terms in which the substance of the general attack on Catholicism was conducted. That religion is the dominant theme of the visual imagery produced during this period, moreover, confirms the view of several historians that, ultimately, the outcome of the contest between Hanoverian and Jacobite adherents rested above all on what Linda Colley has described as 'the absolute centrality of Protestantism to British religious experience in the 1700s and long after'.[28] This was enshrined in law, but it

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[27] For a general overview of this terrain see Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999), pp.291-6; and Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688-1783* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave, 2001), chapter 8. For the a discussion of the connections between Catholicism and Jacobitism see Geoffrey Holmes and Daniel Szechi, *The Age of Oligarchy: Pre-Industrial Britain 1722-1783* (London, Longman, 1993), chapter 6.

[28] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London, BCA, 1992), pp.18-9 & 47. Colley, Bruce Lenman, Daniel Szechi, Paul Monod and Paul Langford all stress that Protestantism was crucial.

had also become deeply embedded culturally, more than two centuries having elapsed since the Reformation. To many it was the decisive justification for the overthrow of James II. Although the level of religious toleration in Britain was high by some Continental standards, fear of a reversion to Catholicism had resulted in measures designed to minimise the risk of such an eventuality. This included the levying on Catholics of additional taxes; bans on the owning of weapons or participation in formal political processes for those who refused to take oaths of allegiance; and restrictions on property rights, access to education and freedom to worship.[29] As Colin Haydon has noted, however, the manner in which Catholics were actually treated in England was dependant on 'the interplay of between London's commands and the wishes of the localities'.[30] Protestant non-conformists, on the other hand, were less restricted than Catholics. They were accorded the right to worship freely, albeit with certain conditions (such as an acceptance of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity), under the 1689 Toleration Act. Dissenters were also able to participate in the political system, including sitting in Parliament.[31] In essence, Great Britain's laws 'proclaimed it (Britain) to be a pluralist yet aggressively Protestant polity', as Colley has stated.[32]

In *The Procession, or the Pope's Nursling Riding in Triumph*, published less than a month after the battle of Prestonpans, Pope Benedict XIV is shown seated and holding Charles Stuart in his arms, in an open carriage driven by Louis XV (fig.27). Rather than

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[29] For discriminatory measures taken and their enforcement, as well as religious toleration elsewhere in Europe see Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England, c.1714-80: A Political and Social Study* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1993), *passim*; Rupert C. Jarvis, *Collected Papers of the Jacobite Risings*, 2 vols. (Manchester, Manchester University Press and New York, Barnes and Noble 1972), Vol.2, chapter 24. See also Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1934), *passim*.

[30] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, p.69.

[31] For a summary of the relative position of Protestant Dissenters see Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, pp.293-6.

[32] Colley, *Britons*, p.19.

being involved in a sedate procession, the carriage is seen rushing headlong past a crowd, which can be read as a metaphor for the chaos that would accompany a restoration of the Stuart dynasty, as well as the speed with which the rebellion appeared to be progressing at the time. The Pope is cast as the guiding force behind a rebellion, orchestrating the rebellion from Rome with the primary aim of returning Britain to Catholicism, but he is assisted by an enthusiastic Louis as carriage driver (fig.27a). The Pope mouths, '50 years boarding ye Father besides Nursing & Educating his children', a reference to James Stuart and his family having resided in Rome after they had been obliged to leave France in 1718. Despite an early commitment by the exiled Jacobite court to leave the existing religious order in Britain intact in the event of a restoration, and public claims by Charles and his father that Protestants would be able to continue practising their faith under a Stuart king, Hanoverian supporters were constantly warned at this time that the Stuarts were not to be trusted in this because Catholic doctrine did not permit toleration of Protestantism.[33] As readers of one pamphlet were advised:

> Supposing he makes you the most solemn Promises, and confirms them by a thousand Oaths; as a Papist 'tis not so much as in his Power to perform them … for his Judgment and Conscience is subject, by his Religion, to the Determinations of his Church, and that Church hath solemnly condemned all Toleration of Hereticks.[34]

Charles had been born in Rome in 1720, and had been educated and spent most of his life there, ensuring that many perceived his Catholicism to be deeply and irretrievably ingrained. This narrative is spelled out in a 6d. pamphlet of 1745, *The Liberty of Britons*,

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[33] For background on this see: Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe: 1688-1788* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994), p.31; and Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, pp.135-9.

[34] Anon., *Great Britain's Memorial against the Pretender and Popery* (London, J. Roberts, 1745), p.3.The pamphlet cites two historic examples of promises broken by Mary Tudor and James II.

which states that the Jacobites ‘come headed by a young pretender, nursed at Rome, the imperial city of religious slavery’.[35] The pamphlet refers to Charles in similar terms to the title of the print, where Charles is described as ‘the Pope’s Nursling’, likening him to a breastfeeding baby and the Pope to his wet nurse.[36] The terminology suggests that Charles should be regarded as a helpless infant who is entirely dependent on the Pope for succour, and who had been in thrall to him from an early age. The notion that the Pope had been sustaining Charles and his family for several decades, materially as well as spiritually, all the while masterminding the planning for a restoration bid, was a commonly peddled Hanoverian line.

The price to be extracted by the Pope for his support is presented in *The Procession* as a heavy one. Firstly, it made clear that Britain will suffer the forced re-imposition of Catholicism. Secondly, large amounts of land that had belonged to the Catholic Church before the Reformation would be re-appropriated; an itemised list of some of the most valuable properties to be affected is displayed outside a college window (fig.27a). Finally, control over important offices of state will be assumed by Catholics, as is indicated by a priest tossing them out on pieces of paper to followers of the carriage. The text below informs the viewer that ‘Priests (are) the Channel through which all Court favours are run’. To the left of the image, a label identifies a Catholic priest as ‘Father Graham, Confessor to his Highness’ (fig.27b). Father Graham was a fictitious character who became something of a mythical Jacobite bogeyman. His ‘genuine intercepted letter’ to ‘Father Benedict Yorke’ was

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[35] Anon., *The Liberty of Britons, the Noblest Motive to Loyalty and Courage …* (London, Joseph Collyer, 1744), p.17.

[36] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2003), pp.107-8, notes many elite women would have used a wet nurse, but that the practice declined during the eighteenth century. Vickery has unearthed some anecdotal evidence on this, although she notes that the topic awaits further research.

published as a 3d. pamphlet in September 1745.[37] He is thought by Rupert Jarvis to have been invented by Henry Fielding as part of the Hanoverian propaganda effort because he appears in other pamphlets by that author.[38] Graham's persona appears to have been appropriated from the pamphlet into the print (the 'letter' is dated 1st September, while the print was published on 15th October), where he is seen assuring the viewer directly 'now shall our Smithfield fires blaze again' - a reference to the burning of heretics which took place under Mary Tudor - as a warning that Catholicism would be re-imposed by violent means in Britain if the Stuarts were restored. The figure of Father Graham also indirectly underscores the idea, once again, that the Pope was the architect of the rebellion. As the Pope asks in a satirical pamphlet by Fielding, *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender*, 'are not those Confessors, who keep a Key to the Consciences of those Princes, mine?'[39]

The theme of Catholic religious intolerance and persecution is pursued further in this print, with a monk riding at the back of the carriage carrying a banner depicting the burning of bibles and bishops who refused to convert. Charles is also seen brandishing a banner emblazoned with the claim, 'I'll purge the Land of Heretics'. Yet another, to the left of the image, states, 'Damn the heretical Dogs', as several Protestants are beaten about the head by a group of monks processing under the banner of the Inquisition (fig.27c). Many of the most egregious failings that were generally deemed by Protestants to be intrinsic to Catholicism are embodied in the details of the carriage. It is pulled by a pair each of asses, wolves and

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[37] [Henry Fielding?], *A genuine intercepted Letter from Father Patrick Graham, Almoner and Confessor to the Pretender's Son* … (London, M. Cooper, September 1745).

[38] Jarvis, *Collected Papers*, Vol.2, pp.130-1, states Father Graham may have been contrived as an echo of Father Petre, confessor to James II's consort, Mary of Modena and his supposedly malign influence. He appears in Henry Fielding, *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender* (London, M. Cooper, 1745) and Henry Fielding, *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain. In which the Certain Consequences of the Present Rebellion are Fully Demonstrated, etc.* (London, M. Cooper, 1745).

[39] Fielding, *Dialogue*, p.7.

tigers (animal symbols of stupidity, rapaciousness and fierceness respectively), and ridden by Ignorance, a fury and the devil.[40] These, the text below informs the viewer, are ‘emblematical of Popish Errors, Rage and infernal Cruelty’. They are harnessed together with strapping embellished with the words ‘Bulls and Indulgences’, ‘Fines’, ‘Tortures’, ‘Excommunications’, and ‘Deaths by Fire’, while the devil rides at the back holding reins marked ‘Ignorance & Fury’ (fig.27d). This image grossly caricatures many aspects of the Catholic Church, its theology and its history, but it encapsulates and reinforces many commonly held beliefs, playing on long-held fears about Catholicism that had been fostered by Protestants since the Reformation. These perceptions cannot be easily dismissed as the prejudices of the ill-educated lower orders at a time when the Counter Reformation was still in progress in many parts of Europe.[41] The many Huguenot immigrants who had arrived in Britain from France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and their descendants were, as Colley has pointed out, ‘living reminders to their new countrymen of the enduring threat of Catholic persecution’, and the Inquisition continued in Spain throughout the eighteenth century.[42] It is possible that those at the lower end of society may have seen the religious dimension of the rebellion in fairly uncomplicated terms, perhaps derived from cheap literature or emotive sermons. However, anti-Catholicism was present at all levels of society, fostered in part through Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, a copy of which, with its emotive woodcut illustrations, could still be found in many churches in the eighteenth century. Even those in the upper echelons of society could resort to simplistic generalisations about the makeup of the Jacobite forces and the malevolent intentions of Catholics. For example, the Lord Chancellor, in a letter to Archbishop Herring, penned when the rebels

[40] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London, John Murray, 1974), pp.34, 303, 343.

[41] For background on anti-Catholicism in England in this period see Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, chapter 4.

[42] Colley, *Britons*, p.25.

were heading for Edinburgh, wrote that Charles 'is joined by some clans of MacDonald and the Camerons, mostly Papists, I take to be very certain'.[43] Meanwhile, Herring, in the preamble to his speech given to drum up support for the raising of loyal associations, stated that 'there is now a horrid unnatural rebellion, formed and carried out in Scotland by papists and other wicked and treacherous persons'.[44]

In order to make the meaning of *The Procession* totally clear, the several labels, banners and speech bubbles within the image have been augmented by an extensive explanation printed in two columns of text at the bottom of the page. This clarifies and expands on many of the details seen in the image, but, in addition to this, there are six stanzas printed above the picture. This verse covers much of the same ground as the prose explanation below, but is less specifically related to the imagery. Here, in quite general terms, the verse urges Britons to respond robustly to the Jacobite threat. It describes Charles as the 'minion' of the Pope and France, asserts that his success would ensure Britain's return to Catholicism and subjugation to French control, despite Jacobite pledges, and, finally, encourages the reader with the idea that the country is united against the rebellion.[45] The kind of short rhyming verse used here lent itself to being remembered and repeated, and could be set to music. Even if the text was not directly accessible to an illiterate viewer, it could, nevertheless, be listened to, and memorised for subsequent recitation or chanting. Its presence in the print suggests that it was intended to appeal to those more attuned to contemporary oral culture, whereas the prose text at the bottom would allow the literate viewer to unpick the image more comprehensively. There have been several valuable studies concerning the difficulties of assessing literacy in the early modern era. As David Cressy has pointed out,

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[43] Lord Hardwicke to Archbishop Herring, 31st August 1745.

[44] Thomas Herring, *A Speech Made ... at Presenting an Association (for the Defence of the Kingdom against the Pretender), Enter'd into at the Castle of York, Sept. 24, 1745.* (s.l., s.n., 1745?).

[45] I have not been able to establish if this was a well-known poem or song, or copied from another source.

'instead of a great divide between oral and literate culture there was substantial overlap and interaction, in which visual, verbal, gestural, scribal and print elements intermingled'.[46] Tessa Watt, though concerned with an earlier period, has also observed that the advance of print depended on the 'interweaving of the printed word with existing cultural practices'.[47] Ultimately, the combination of the various types of text within *The Procession* suggests the diverse nature of the potential audience for this type of political satire, despite the need for both verbal and visual literacy skills.

The Procession is based on a print, *The Jacobites Hopes, or Perkin Riding in Triumph*, produced at the time of the impeachment of Dr Sacheverell, the ardent high churchman and suspected Jacobite, in 1710 (fig.28). Sacheverell was impeached for delivering his incendiary sermon inveighing against Protestant non-conformists, the danger they posed to the Church of England, and for expressing his support for the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, doctrines associated with Jacobitism.[48] Reviving imagery that had circulated a considerable time ago, but within living memory, would have served as a reminder to anyone who could recall the earlier print of the Sacheverell controversy and the landslide Tory election victory which had followed. It offered up an analogous instance, when the spectre of a Jacobite restoration was similarly thought to have been ominously close. Comparing the two images is instructive. The emphasis in the earlier print is on the debates surrounding the monarchy, with religion appearing to play a significant, but less prominent role. In *The Jacobites Hopes*, the Pope and other representative members of the

[46] David Cressy, 'Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England' in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, Routledge, 1993), p.311.

[47] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), p.8.

[48] Ian Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution: Governance and Violence in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, Pimlico, 1993), p.15. Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.31, states dissent was 'closely associated in High Church demonology with republicanism, which was reviled as a far worse tyranny than Popery'.

Catholic hierarchy are seen holding various instruments of persecution, but they are placed in the background as outriders or running footmen to the carriage. These clergy can all be identified through their attire, which may well have been familiar to eighteenth-century viewers. The specific details of clerical dress (not only that of the Catholic and Anglican clergy, but also the finer distinctions associated with Protestant non-conformist groupings), became standard components of iconography due to their circulation in imagery relating to the religious debates of the second half of the seventeenth century.[49] This carriage, meanwhile, is driven by James Stuart, who, like his son Charles, was likened to Perkin Warbeck, the fifteenth-century pretender to the English throne. The carriage appears to be progressing in the stately fashion of a royal procession, rather than travelling at speed as in the later print, James's regal bearing perhaps another means of emphasising his aspiration to be king. The vehicle is drawn by animals labelled 'Non Res(istance)' and 'Passive Obedience', 'Absolute Power' and 'Tyranny', 'Slavery' and, lastly, 'Popery'. Five of the six animals thus represent aspects of the anticipated nature of James's rule, with religion, in the form of an animal labelled 'Popery', placed at the rear of the group. The text does, however, tell us that 'when ye Pretender to ye Throne shall come', he will be 'Follow'd by Jesuits Monks and Friers (sic) and those who always were ye Church and Nation's Foes' - a line that was still being trotted out in the mid-eighteenth century. Still, the earlier print does not seem to suggest that the Pope is orchestrating the rebellion. There is no architectural backdrop in *The Jacobite Hopes* whereas in *The Procession* the carriage is set amongst buildings such as York Minster and an unnamed college, which are used to help make additional comment on the situation in 1745. In the case of York Minster, as the text below makes clear, this touches

[49] Justin Champion has demonstrated this point in 'Decoding the *Leviathan*: Doing the History of Ideas through Images, 1651-1714', in Michael Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010), pp.255-6, 267.

on the role of the most senior cleric in the North, Archbishop Herring, in raising volunteer companies as a first line of defence in England against the Jacobite army. He had been encouraged in this by politicians in London, but his active leadership of this initiative is a further indicator of the significance of religion in the events of the mid-eighteenth century. The pictured college, meanwhile, is perhaps intended to represent one in Oxford, seen by many as a hotbed of Jacobitism in view of its historical associations with the Stuart dynasty and the Tories.[50] It is from this college that the list of properties that the Catholic Church would want returned is displayed.

The Invasion, or Perkins Triumph is another print based on one published c.1710, *Needs must when the Devil drives: or, an Emblem of what we must expect if High-Church gets the uppermost*, again inviting comparisons with the circumstances of the earlier image (fig.29 and fig.30). The designer of *The Invasion*, Charles Mosley, was an engraver and printseller known chiefly for his satirical prints, reproductive engravings and frontispieces. He published a number of Hubert Gravelot's designs and was active from the late 1730s until the middle of the century from his shop in Fleet Street.[51] The centrality of religion to this print is signalled by the wording below the title, describing it as 'A Protestant Print Inscrib'd to all true lovers of their Religion & Liberty'. As with *The Procession*, Charles Stuart is seen riding in a carriage with Louis XV as coachman, but he is the sole passenger in this instance (fig.29a). The Pope is depicted as postilion on the leading horse, while two monks and the

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[50] Bruce Lenman, *Jacobite Risings in Britain: 1689-1746* (Dalkeith, Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), p.15; Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p.129. The university had been firmly Royalist in the seventeenth century and supportive of the Jacobite concepts of divine right and passive obedience during the Restoration period.

[51] Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), p.11-2; Tim Clayton, 'Mosley, Charles (d.1756), 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/19397, accessed 11th May 2017. The National Library of Scotland has a version of this print, which includes the figure of Christ added to the cross in the background behind the coach, suggesting this print ran to more than one edition. A German version was also published.

devil take the place of footmen at the back of the carriage. It seems that France and the Pope are in control of the carriage that is speeding away with Charles, riding roughshod over a Protestant clergyman and his Bible, with obvious inferences (fig.29b). The print again makes numerous references to Catholic persecution: the Inquisition (in a banner carried by a monk leading the carriage); the burning of a Declaration (presumably referring to the one in which Charles had stated that he was 'utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion') as well as of heretics; and Protestant clergymen being expelled from a church towards the gallows.[52] The major difference between this print and *Needs must when the Devil drives* is that, in the earlier print, the Devil and Dr Sacheverell, pictured as coachman and postilion respectively, had been presented as the forces accompanying James Stuart, instead of France and the Pope. *Needs Must when the Devil drives* is another print that had been published around the time that the controversy surrounding High Churchman, Sacheverell, was at its height. The circumstances had changed by 1745, with Protestant non-conformity no longer a focus of attention as it was in 1710, but the underlying message that the Stuarts, first and foremost, represented a threat to Protestantism, remained apposite.

A broadside image which involves considerably less detail compared with the two prints discussed above, condensing anti-Catholic rhetoric to a visual minimum, is *The Pope's*

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[52] James Stuart and Charles Stuart, *James R. Whereas we have a near Prospect of being restored to the Throne of our Ancestors …* (Edinburgh, s.n., 1745). This printed version of the declaration states that it was 'given at Paris' on 16th May 1745 by Charles Stuart. It was also published on 9th and 10th October 1745 in the *Caledonian Mercury* and elicited a number of pamphlets in response, including Anon., *Remarks on the Pretender's Eldest Son's Second Declaration, Dated the 10th of October, 1745* (London, E. Say, 1745) and Anon., *The Occasional Writer: Containing and Answer to the Second Manifesto of the Pretender's Eldest Son …* (London, M. Cooper, 1745).

Scourge, or an exact Portraiture of a Popish Pretender (fig.31).[53] Charles is depicted here with devil's horns under a cap labelled 'Error', indicating the commonplace characterisation of Catholic teaching as flawed or faulty. Whilst Charles sports leggings and a cloak made of tartan, he is clad in Roman armour, a visual device which links both him and the rebellion to Catholicism. Charles also stands beneath the papal arms, the tiered tiara and the keys of St. Peter's, as a sign that he was fighting under the banner of the Pope. He draws his sword, to reveal the 'Slavery' that he brings with him and indicating the violent means by which he will re-impose Catholicism. The sword is removed from a scabbard inscribed with the word 'Su[pers]tition', branding Catholicism in familiar manner, and in direct opposition to the implied 'truth' of Protestantism. This is an effective summary of what was often seen by Protestants to be the most damning features of Catholicism. Two background motifs point to the worst possible consequences for the religious order of Britain in the event of a Stuart restoration. First, the promises concerning the safety of Protestantism will be broken, as signalled by a standard carried by a regiment of Highlanders on the left side of the image, with the slogan: 'No promises made good to Heretics'. Second, the prospect of forced conversions, indicated by another standard bearing the words 'Turn or Burn', raised beside an Anglican Bishop being burnt at the stake, is introduced here as the most gruesome historical evidence of Catholic intolerance. Overseeing the scene is the figure of Time, who has removed Charles's mask along with the speech bubble declaring that he was 'Born to redress my Peoples grievances'. The implication is that time will eventually see Charles's real intentions revealed, and that his aim is primarily to settle the scores of Catholics and the Scots. This broadside, with an etched illustration accompanying letterpress text, was printed by James Mechell of Fleet Street, as was the broadside version of *Publick Credit* which, as

[53] The broadside was a cheaper than average one priced at 3d. It was published by James Mechell and possibly etched by George Bickham junior as 'GB Sc.' appears at the bottom of the image.

mentioned above, was sponsored by a group of London merchants (fig.4). It was priced at 3d, lower than was usual for this type of product, and was therefore very likely subsidised, though there is no evidence as to who might have done so.

The Plagues of England, or the Jacobites Folly is another print in which religion dominates the narrative, with the devil, the Pope and the Pretender presented as the 'Images of Devotion' (fig.32). Since the death of James II in 1701, these three (whether referring to Charles or his father, James) had been frequently denounced together as a diabolical triumvirate united in a scheme to restore the Stuarts, which could only mean disaster for Britain. This trio of evil may well have had its origin in an emblem of 1680, *The Protestants Vade Mecum*, in which the Pope, a devil and a Jesuit are seen conspiring together (fig.33).[54] The *Flying Post* of 7th-10th February 1713 had carried a report of a ceremony held to mark Queen Anne's birthday in which effigies of the devil, the Pope and the Pretender were burned as 'the three Grand Enemies to Christianity and Human Liberty'. Furthermore, in a pamphlet published after the 1715 rebellion was quashed, *An account of the Whole Procession as it was carried thro the City …*, the Pretender had also been included in the Jesuit's stead in a woodcut illustration (fig.34).[55] This later combination became one frequently referred to in anti-Jacobite invective, giving rise to Fielding's 1745 pamphlet, noted above, *A Dialogue between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender*.[56]

Many of the usual suspects - priests, monks, Jesuits, Scots Highlanders and a number of French paupers - are brought together in *The Plagues of England* as 'the Devotees of

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[54] Anon., *The Protestants Vade Mecum* (London, Dan. Browne, Sam. Lee and Dan. Major, 1680) is a series of thirty emblems summarising the history of Catholic intrigues from the Reformation onwards. Emblem XXVI is entitled *A Dialogue between the Pope, a Devil, and a Jesuite*.

[55] *Flying Post*, London, 7th-10th February 1713; Anon., *An account of the Whole Procession as it was carried thro the City …* (London, F. Read and F. Baker, 1717).

[56] Fielding, *Dialogue*.

Jacobitism'. They are seen in the print kneeling before the devil, the Pope and the Pretender, while Britannia is being coaxed into joining the devotional throng by a fiddle-playing Louis XV, as if the Jacobite project were some harmless jape. The *dramatis personae* of the image are identified in a key below the image, but Louis can also be recognised through the *fleur-de-lys* on his coat rather than any more regal signifier. There is a pock mark on his face and a paper hanging out of his pocket marked 'P-X', implying that he was syphilitic, or more generally to suggest his diseased toxicity (fig.32a).[57] A jester carrying a French beggar on his back accompanies Louis; they are presented in the image as the Pope's collaborators in the attempt to deceive Britannia (as the Jacobites already had been deceived) into joining in a devilish plan, the main purpose of which is to make Britain bow to Catholicism. This scene skirts over the many important background details of the rebellion, in particular the fact that certainly not all Jacobites were Catholic or Scots, and that there were other motivations for supporting the rebellion. However, the reduction of the imagery to the essential elements of the Hanoverian narrative, the threat posed to the established religion, and the potential consequences for Protestantism in Britain of the rebellion succeeding, with Charles presented as the tool of the Pope and the devil, would have helped to impress the core messages on the consciousness of many viewers.

3.2.2 *The monarchy*

Whilst religion was of crucial importance to mid-1740s Hanoverian polemic, it was also inextricably linked to ideas concerning the monarchy. The way in which the British state was organised had undergone a dramatic reconstruction with the Glorious Revolution.

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[57] While Louis is specifically identified in the key below the image, a crown has been added on top of his tricorn hat in the National Library of Scotland copy of this print, suggesting more than one edition of the print was published (fig.32b).

William III was installed as joint monarch, together with his wife, Mary, in 1689 after his father-in-law, James II, had fled to France. George I had then ascended the throne in 1714. Both of these transfers of sovereignty had broken with the conventional rules of hereditary succession, but had been sanctioned by Parliament under the Revolution settlement and the Act of Settlement of 1701, the primary aims of which had been to ensure that no Catholic could become monarch.[58]

As Paul Monod has discussed, the moral foundations of Jacobite monarchical theory were a good deal more sophisticated than the Whig parody of strict adherence to ancient ideas of the divine right of kings and indefeasible hereditary succession, principles advocated by a minority of die-hard Nonjurors (Anglican clergy and others who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William of Orange and Queen Mary while James II still lived). The theoretical underpinning of Jacobitism was centred on the premise of the sacred and mystical character of monarchy, rooted in the medieval theory of the king's two bodies (sacred and physical). The Glorious Revolution had abruptly separated these and this, in turn, indicated to Jacobites that the moral order of society as a whole had been undermined and corrupted. The Jacobites were keen to stress, however, that a monarch should not rule arbitrarily, and that royal power was not wholly without limits, although the right of the subject to resist, and the related notions of passive obedience and non-resistance, proved difficult and contentious issues.

Many Hanoverian supporters reduced the complexities of Jacobite argument to the concept of divine right, and were happy to obscure the subtle distinctions in Jacobite lines of reasoning, such as, for example, the difference between absolute and arbitrary power. The

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[58] For general background on the constitutional changes see: H. T. Dickinson, 'The British Constitution' in H. T Dickinson, ed., *A Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2006), pp.3-18 and Monod, *Jacobitism*, pp.15-27.

Glorious Revolution and its associated ramifications had profound and complex implications for the conceptual basis of monarchy. Hanoverian apologists argued that James II had failed to rule as his sacred duty to his subjects demanded, and that divine providence had then ensured that Britain was delivered, as it happened by force, from an unworthy monarch. Britons were encouraged to believe that they were peculiarly blessed and that divine providence had also been responsible for the country overcoming a number of other disasters supposedly perpetrated by Catholics; the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot and the Great Fire of 1666 were the most significant examples before the ill-starred reign of James II.[59] The religious basis of monarchy, under which the authority of a king was derived from God, had been supplemented by ideas developed in the seventeenth century of a contract between a monarch and his subjects, as propounded by John Locke and others. The removal of James II was thus justified on the grounds that he had failed to honour his contractual obligations to his people. However, the legitimacy of the Williamite and Hanoverian regimes rested on foundations that could be criticised as a self-serving rationale devised to fit the circumstances, the political arguments designed to be compatible with the all-important need for Protestantism to be secured in Britain. The reasoning behind the Hanoverian succession did feature in the prints produced in the latter half of 1745, but in a relatively limited way. The technical arguments relating to the legitimacy of the post-1688 monarchy were difficult to delineate, and it is noticeable that anti-Jacobite prints avoided references to succession in relation to the House of Hanover, that is, the means by which the monarchical power could be transferred away from the direct line of the Stuarts.

The representation of the theoretical arguments under discussion, achieved through the intermingling of visual imagery and text, is well exemplified by *The Rebellion Displayed*,

[59] Colley, *Britons*, pp.19-20 and Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, p.28.

a print published on 1st November 1745 (fig.35). This print attests to the basis of monarchical power in a statement placed just below the title that it is 'Most humbly Inscribed to his Sacred Majesty King George'. It presents the rebellion as a result of the fundamental battle between a monarchy that is governed by the principle of divine right and the monarchy as it was organised in Britain after 1689. On the left side of the image is a throne with 'Hereditary Right' inscribed along the edge of the seat back. It is not entirely clear who the bearded occupant of the throne is, James II or perhaps some other, future Stuart king. On the right, George II is at the entrance to a Temple of Liberty, above which is a Latin inscription which may be translated as 'from the year of English salvation 1715, the most powerful house of Brunswick and Luneburg has always flourished', a motto for the solidity of Hanoverian rule. Between the two sides is a symbolic representation of the rebellion. Britannia is seen advancing and about to take on a Jacobite ass and a French wolf. Her vigorous and athletic demeanour suggests that she will easily overcome her rather docile-looking adversaries, as the fury between them concedes, 'This last best Effort of my Sovereign Power must then prove abortive'. From behind the temple a crimped sword appears out of a cloud. Swords had been a staple element of emblem books for many years as symbols of divine righteousness and justice. Justin Champion has argued that they 'reinforced the providential understanding of royal government', the crimped sword in particular representing 'a form of divine judgement made under the influence of "heaven alone"'.[60] Charles hails a crowned portrait of his absent father being held out by a devil, whilst the crimped sword points directly at this image, indicating that the Stuart dream of kingship will be thwarted by divine providence.

The Rebellion Displayed echoes contemporary literature which advanced the case for the post-Revolutionary model of kingship in general, and the Hanoverian dynasty in

[60] Champion, 'Decoding the *Leviathan*', p.263-4.

particular. Many people's understanding of eighteenth-century monarchical theory, however, was probably derived less from writings of the theorists themselves as, to borrow an expression from Michael Baxandall, 'vulgar' variants of them. Baxandall, in the context of his discussion of Isaac Newton and John Locke, has reasonably suggested that complex philosophical ideas were most probably 'picked up from simplified and partial versions from this or that source of vulgarisation'.[61] A notable example where ideas concerning the nature of monarchy were explained for more popular consumption is Fielding's pamphlet, *A Dialogue between the Devil the Pope and the Pretender*. Here, Fielding has the Devil state: 'If Kings have any Right from Heaven, it is to be absolute; for Heaven never gave a Power for Men to circumscribe: Hereditary Right, therefore, *jure divino*, and absolute Power are one and the same.' The Pope then replies that the Devil,

> hath forgot one Point … I mean the Tenure under which this Power is granted; for however absolute it be over the People, it is not *simplicter* absolute, but to be holden at the Will of the Church, which hath no less absolute Power over the Crowns of Kings, than they have over the meanest of their Subjects.[62]

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[61] Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: on the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985), pp.77-9. Baxandall is an especially apt source as he is concerned with the science and philosophy of visual perception in his chapter, 'Pictures and Ideas'. Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.110, also makes the point that while pamphlets were, for the most part, aimed at the upper end of the social scale, many were abridged and plagiarised in cheaper, more ephemeral versions.

[62] Fielding, *Dialogue*, p.29. Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (London, Sage, 2006), p.68, note the dialogue format had its origins in Martin Luther's printed sermons attacking various practices of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2008), pp.115-6, outlines how the dialogue format, in the form of printed 'playlets' in which topical issues were aired through fictional exchanges between two or more characters and often illustrated with woodcuts, became popular in Britain when the theatres were closed down in 1641.

As Fielding also stated in his 1s. pamphlet published at the same time, *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain*, ‘the Legislature of the kingdom have unanimously declared against any such Principle (of divine right). The Reverse of it is Law, a Law as firmly established as any other in this Kingdom; nay, it is the Foundation, the Corner-Stone of all our Laws, and of this Constitution itself’.[63]

The signs of misrule under an absolute monarch are shown in *The Rebellion Displayed* as the destruction of the most prized symbols of Britain’s constitutional arrangement: Acts of Parliament; common and statute law; the Toleration Act; Habeas Corpus and Magna Carta. All these are included as papers being devoured by monstrous animals beneath the throne. The consequence for the population if these should be abolished by an arbitrary monarch is shown to be enslavement, represented by the prostrate and manacled figure at the king’s feet (fig.35a). The religious aspect of an absolute monarch’s power features here in the form of architectural props surrounding the throne. The Catholic Church is represented by a decaying obelisk, identified as ‘The Foundation of the Roman Hierarchy’, above a list of much that was believed by Protestants to be rotten about it (‘Implicit Faith’, ‘Apostolic Succession’, ‘Infallibility’, ‘Pardons and Indulgences’, ‘Decrees of Council, ‘Massacres’ etc. - fig.35b). A title, in the form of an inscription on the column behind, is given to the scene, stating, ‘A Dream of Power inspir’d at St. Germains in the Month of August by the Genii of France Rome and Hell’, alluding to the involvement of the French (St. Germain was where the exiled Jacobite Court had been located, when based in France). In addition, the Pope is seen encouraging Charles with the words: ‘Hereditary indefeasible Right and my Bull to Sanctify thy Claim’.

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[63] Fielding, *Serious Address.* Ronald Paulson, *The Life of Henry Fielding: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2000), p.186, notes Fielding also hurriedly wrote a third pamphlet in October 1745, Henry Fielding, *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland* (London, M. Cooper, 1745).

On the opposite side of the print, George II appears a rather understated figure (fig.35c). This seems to be a visual indication of the altered basis on which the monarch ruled after 1689, that is, for the good of the people and accountable to them, their will being expressed through Parliament. This had been set out by Viscount Bolingbroke in a tract written in 1738 (but not published until 1740) addressed to George II's son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, *The Idea of a Patriot King*, in which Bolingbroke states: 'The Spring from which this legal reverence … arises is *national*, not *personal*'.[64] The small depiction of George II is perhaps intended to epitomise these ideas. It may also reflect the fact that the king himself was not an especially popular figure, partly due to his support for his native Hanover, frequently perceived to be to the detriment of British interests. Moreover, George was in Hanover when the rebellion began, and there had been some criticism of the fact that he did not return to London until the end of August (although he had been back for some time when this print was published on 1st November 1745). It may well, therefore, have been difficult to hold him out as a key figure to inspire the loyalty or enthusiasm needed to defeat the Jacobites and it is noteworthy how infrequently he appears in anti-Jacobite graphic satire. In the case of *The Rebellion Displayed*, he is pictured inviting classical personifications of Liberty, Mercy, Religion, Justice, Trade, Arts and Sciences to 'retire … into this safe calm Retreat till British Courage all our Foes defeat'. There is an aura of calm and decorum about this scene, bathed in bright sunlight, compared to the dark, disorderly one opposite, lit only by the torches of two furies. It would seem to suggest both a 'polite' regime and ideal

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[64] Henry St, John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Idea of a Patriot King: with Respect to the Constitution of Great Britain. By a person of quality* (London, T. C., 1740). Isaac Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.33-4, 100. For general background, see Dickinson, 'British Constitution', pp.3-18.

governance under a Hanoverian monarchy in comparison with the 'hellish' one anticipated under the Stuarts.[65]

The Rebellion Displayed is evidently not a full exposition of the Hanoverians' right to rule, but it does accord with contemporary perceptions of the issues that were disseminated in pamphlet literature. Jacobite political argument was frequently boiled down by their opponents to the concepts of absolute monarchy and indefeasible hereditary right, becoming metaphors for all the associated evils of, as well as everything that would be unacceptable about, a Stuart monarchy. The print makes reference to various theoretical principles in a visual shorthand, combined with mottos, inscriptions and labelled papers, books and artefacts, as do other contemporary engravings. Returning to *The Procession*, though, it is noticeable that the allusions to resistance and passive obedience in the earlier prototype, *The Jacobites Hopes*, have not been retained. This partly reflects the fact that this aspect of Jacobite thinking had been allowed to lapse. The Jacobites persistently affirmed their belief in the sanctity of monarchy, which the Glorious Revolution had, in effect, unravelled, but any right of resistance was not extended as far as changing the line of succession. They were, however, prepared to contemplate limitations on the power of the crown as attitudes against non-resistance and passive obedience hardened. The Jacobite stance on this changed in the 1720s to one of upholding the rights of the people against injustice on the part of the monarchy in an attempt to find a more widely-acceptable balance between the notion of justifiable resistance and the sanctity of monarchy. The idea had been to bring Jacobite ideology partially into line with Whig thinking because it was likely to enhance their appeal. It also helped to frustrate attempts by the Hanoverian-Whig regime to claim that it had a

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[65] Champion, 'Decoding the *Leviathan*', pp.262-4: he is discussing the meaning of swords in relation to mid-seventeenth-century images, but the iconography endured.

distinctive platform as the sole guardian against tyranny.[66] 'Passive Obedience' and 'Non-Resistance', certainly, are still present in *The Invasion*, where they appear as named horses drawing the carriage driven by the Pope and Louis XV, as a reminder to viewers of one of the more illiberal strands of Jacobite ideology, albeit one from the past, but this print was published by Mary Cooper, whose output, as we have already seen, tended to be aggressively anti-Jacobite.

3.2.3 *Liberty and the law*

The British were frequently urged, through the press and in pamphlet literature, to think of themselves as enjoying a degree of liberty unsurpassed elsewhere in Europe. The peculiar liberty of Britons was presented as a consequence of the Glorious Revolution and the re-ordering of the monarchy. Not only did the Revolution Settlement ensure that the position of the Church of England was secured by requiring the monarch to be a Protestant, but it was also supposed to preserve the well-being of the population through the obligation of the monarch to abide by the constitution. Besides these provisions, other historic pieces of legislation and the Parliament which had passed them were seen as crucial indicators of the liberty of British subjects. It was most obviously embodied in: Magna Carta, the ultimate symbol of the subject's rights; in Habeas Corpus and Britain's legal system (which provided for trial by jury); and in a Parliament which had met for several months each year since 1688. These key aspects of the constitution were frequently held out in the prints produced towards the end of 1745 as the reason why British subjects were deeply fortunate in their freedoms, particularly when compared to the French.

[66] Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.32.

Various Whig administrations of the House of Hanover attempted to curb dissent, and used times of heightened security concerns, as in 1745, to justify some of their more illiberal actions. Resistance to James II in 1688 had been legitimate, but resistance to a Whig government in the mid-1740s was rather more problematic, as Ian Gilmour has discussed.[67] Hanoverian attempts to contain dissent amongst the general populace, however, did not go unchallenged and the concept of liberty proved to be contested terrain. The evidence of anti-libertarian measures included the occasional suspension of Habeas Corpus, repressive legislation such as the Riot Act (1715), the Black Act (1723, introducing the death penalty for over fifty criminal offences), the harassment of printers and publishers who produced undesirable material, and the administration of oaths of loyalty.[68] All of these were exploited by those at odds with the regime - not necessarily just Jacobite sympathisers - to portray the government in a less than favourable light, when it came to the upholding of liberty. Opponents became adept at using the political calendar (with public demonstrations mounted on significant anniversaries), the press, theatre (though the 1737 Licensing Act reduced the scope available here) and 'such pointed instruments of accountability' as instructions to MPs in order to generate a counter-narrative that portrayed those who opposed the government as the true champions of the people's liberties and the national interest.[69] This can be seen in many oppositionist publications which attempted to present the Whig regime as subverting the much vaunted freedom of Britons, and to show that the boasts of the self-proclaimed defenders of liberty were hollow.[70] The government had made efforts to suppress printed material which questioned its claim to be an effective guardian of the hard-won liberties

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[67] Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, p.15.

[68] Monod, *Jacobitism*, pp.11, 347; Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, pp.156-9, 206-13.

[69] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.132.

[70] For a discussion of opposition rhetoric and the newspapers and other places in which it was published in the 1720s and 1730s, see Wilson, *Sense of the People*, pp.110-7.

enjoyed by British subjects. In contrast, the idea that Britons were fortunate when it came to their freedoms, particularly when compared to the French, became an especially notable feature of a number of prints produced towards the end of 1745.

In the context of the rebellion, the print which makes most prominent reference to Britain's legal framework as a means of highlighting the superior liberty that her subjects benefitted from under the existing regime, and which would be lost in the event of a Jacobite victory, is *The Ballance* (fig.36). Giant scales of justice are featured in the foreground: they are used to weigh Jacobitism, represented by Charles Stuart, papal bulls and indulgences, against Liberty and Protestantism, represented by Magna Carta and the Bible. This emblem, in which the critical element of Protestantism, the Authorised Version of the Bible, is placed on one side of the scales and weighed against symbolic artefacts associated with Catholicism, is one that had been used repeatedly (with varied symbols for each religion) since the sixteenth century.[71] Here, the scales are presided over by three judges who have been identified by Dorothy George as the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice Lee and Archbishop Potter, respectively the holders of the two most senior legal offices (of the day), and the Church of England's most senior cleric.[72] Hardwicke and Lee were close legal colleagues (Hardwicke had nominated Lee for his old post of Lord Chief Justice when the former had become Lord Chancellor in 1737) and Potter would have sat in the House of Lords alongside them.[73] There is, however, little evidence to support George's identifications. Their names are not specified in the print and the figures are too small and ill-defined to be taken as

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[71] Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England, An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2010), p.158. The earliest version Jones knows of was printed in 1572.

[72] M. D. George, *English Political Caricature: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda to 1792* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1959), p.530 .

[73] David Lemmings, 'Lee, Sir William (1688-1754)', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/articleHL/16315?anchor=match, accessed 18th October 2016.

recognisable portraits of these individuals. Furthermore, Potter did not tend to concern himself in secular matters and, indeed, attracted criticism for his lack of involvement and leadership at the time of the invasion threat in 1743 and the rebellion in 1745.[74] The King of France, the Queen of Spain and the Pope, as well as a number of Scottish Highlanders, are all presented as the backers of the rebellion, alarmed to see their side decisively outweighed despite the surreptitious efforts of a monk to pull down this pan of the scales. Ranged against them are the allegorical figures of Britannia and Religion accompanying those of Liberty and Justice, presented together as the key elements of the Hanoverian regime.

There is, however, another layer of interpretation. The balance motif in this print is so large, and in such a prominent position in the foreground, that it seems to hold a significance beyond being a device by which to make a basic comparison of the Hanoverian and Jacobite lines of argument. The scales may also be seen as a reference to contemporary political discourse surrounding the workings of government and, in particular, the notion of a balanced constitution. Before the Revolution, the king could, in theory, govern alone, this authority balanced only by the Commons' power to raise revenue and impeach officials and the Lords' power to administer justice. The Revolution, the principles of which were at stake in 1745, had resulted in the relationship between the three institutions, each of which had its own peculiar privileges and distinct functions, being altered significantly. Post-1688 government entailed the king, Lords and Commons sharing sovereign legislative power, in a manner thought to combine better the virtues of each, while avoiding their respective drawbacks.[75] As Isaac Kramnick has observed, 'praise of the virtuous British government and her matchless

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[74] Rebecca Warner, 'Potter, John (1673/4-1747), Archbishop of Canterbury', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/articleHL/22612?docPos=4&anchor=match, accessed 18th October 2016.

[75] For general background on this see Dickinson, 'British Constitution', pp.6-7.

mixed government and balanced constitution is found in virtually all Augustan writings on politics'.[76]

Political thinkers of the first half of the eighteenth century were frequently inspired by ancient ones, particularly Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero, who had set out the notion that it was a judicious mix of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy that would create the constitutional equilibrium needed to ensure that abuse was prevented. Kramnick has also discussed the influence of Isaac Newton:

> Newton's thought was another powerful intellectual force shaping Augustan concern with balance. The mechanistic spirit that had so pervaded seventeenth-century thought was powerfully reinforced in the eighteenth century by the Newtonian picture of the world. The play of balance and checks in the political world corresponded, it was believed, to the fundamental harmony and balance in the universe.[77]

The critical balance of the three 'estates' that emerged after 1688 had supposedly resulted in stable government under the Hanoverian dynasty and liberty being upheld by the rule of law. This is suggested by the prominence of the balance motif in the print and the three judges who preside over it. Given how emphatically the balance comes down in favour of the Hanoverian side, and the shocked look on the faces of many of the Jacobite contingent, the print implies the overwhelming strength of the Hanoverian case.

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[76] Isaac Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle*, p.137. In chapters 5 and 6, Kramnick cites Bolingbroke and his writing in *The Craftsman* as the most important, but also discusses how Walpole's political principles were set out in the extensive writing he commissioned. See also Holmes and Szechi, *Age of Oligarchy*, p.82 for an overview of Bolingbroke's involvement in *The Craftsman*. H. T. Dickinson, 'St. John, Henry, styled 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751)', http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/24496?docPos=1, accessed 17th October 2016.

[77] Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and his Circle*, p.138.

Other prints, meanwhile, tended to rely heavily on text to indicate matters relating to liberty and the law in order to convey a general impression of the exceptional freedoms of Britons, and the possible fate of those freedoms if the rebellion were to succeed. Labelled documents were used as an easy method of denoting crucial pieces of legislation and the various systems of law that comprised Britain's constitutional arrangements. For example, in *The Procession*, papers named 'Magna Charta', 'Civil Law', 'Statute Law', 'Habeas Corpus', 'Act of Toleration' and 'Acts of Parliament' are all strewn on the ground, trashed under the hooves of the animals drawing the carriage (fig.27d). Parliamentary legislation would naturally have been preserved in manuscript and printed form, but the ephemeral nature of the bundles of paper, and the disrespectful treatment shown to them in the print, serve to indicate how readily Britain's legal system and the liberty of her subjects would be swept away if George II were to be overthrown. A judge, representing another vital component of Britain's legal system, and the means by which the laws made by parliament were administered, is also to be seen crushed under the speeding carriage to demonstrate how indiscriminately Britain's 'laws must be overturned by a Popish Government', as the text below explains. Judges, juries and Parliament are depicted as labelled spokes, circumscribed by the wheel of absolute monarchy to indicate that these would all be constrained under a Stuart monarchy (fig.27d). Similarly, in *The Pope's Scourge*, Charles tramples on ribbons marked 'Li-ber-ty' and 'Property' (fig.31). *The Plagues of England* has a slightly different angle on the matter (fig.32). Here, the French people are portrayed as prisoners incarcerated in a castle, in order to imply the contrasting freedom of Britons, and the prison itself is labelled as 'an Emblem of France'.

3.2.4 *The economy*

Sir Robert Walpole, during his long term of office from 1721 to 1742, had sought to associate the Tories and other disaffected groups with Jacobitism. He had also sought to weaken the Tories' popular appeal by avoiding the religious controversies that had so dominated the previous decades, and by maintaining public order in Britain, as well as by his taxation policy.[78] Most importantly for Britain's economic wellbeing, Walpole's policy of maintaining peace with France as far as possible had helped bring about the secure conditions which allowed the economy to grow.[79] Not only did this policy help limit the tax burden, with less need to finance costly wars, but it also enabled trade with Europe and the expansion of colonial trade to carry on unimpeded. Agriculture, which accounted for approximately 40% of national income, had seen rising levels of productivity in the 1730s and 40s, partly aided by a long series of successful harvests.[80] Peter Borsay has also noted that, while the rural economy remained of great importance, 'the British Isles became the most dynamic area of urban development in Europe' in the eighteenth century.[81] Linda Colley has summarised the range of reasons why many Britons sensed themselves to be more prosperous than their European neighbours: 'in terms of the freedom of its trade, the rate of urban expansion, the geographical mobility of its inhabitants and the range of its communications, Britain's economic experience in this period (1707-1837) was genuinely distinctive'.[82] Even the poor,

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[78] For a summary of Walpole's regressive tax policy of reducing land tax in favour of indirect taxes, such as a salt duty, which fell mainly on the poor, i.e. those who were unable to register their objections at elections see Brian Hill, 'Parliament, Parties and Elections (1688-1760)' in Dickinson, *Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p.65 and Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, p.231.

[79] See Michael Jubb, 'Economic Policy and Economic Development', in Jeremy Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1984), pp.121-44 for an overview of economic matters.

[80] Jubb, 'Economic Policy and Economic Development', p.122 and Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, p.110.

[81] Peter Borsay, 'Urban Life and Culture', in Dickinson, *Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p.196.

[82] Colley, *Britons*, p.37.

who did not experience the benefits of Britain's economic growth so noticeably, seemed, nonetheless, able to absorb this idea because, by the mid-eighteenth century, 'a cult of trade', as Colley has described it, had developed in Britain, trade being a symbol of liberty as well as the source of prosperity.[83] Economic health, though, was dependent on peace and law and order being maintained. A foreign invasion, or significant levels of unrest at home, were bound to have a negative effect on Britain's financial fortunes, at least in the short term while commercial activity was disrupted and confidence in the banking system was threatened. London's newspapers tended to be dominated by news of shipping movements, commercial opportunities and advertisements for goods and services. Such information and advertising were useful to those involved in international trade, but also served as indicators of the capital's strategic importance to the economy as a whole and to the life of the nation as a major trading power. Apart from the case of *Publick Credit*, short-term considerations did not tend to be addressed in printed imagery produced in the autumn of 1745 (fig.3). Rather, anti-Jacobite graphic satire seems to have focussed on the possible longer-term economic consequences for the nation, if the rebellion was eventually to restore the Stuart dynasty. It was not possible with any certainty to predict the effects on Britain's economy, but it was assumed by Hanoverian supporters that Britain would be forced to submit to controls, imposed at the behest of France, which would, in the end, lead to her impoverishment.

As noted above, *Publick Credit* was published in response to concerns that the financial markets were in danger of suffering catastrophic falls in the wake of the defeat at Prestonpans on 21st September. Urgent action was needed once news of the battle reached London and a run on the Bank of England was only averted by instructing clerks to work

[83] Colley, *Britons*, p.60.

slowly.[84] The sponsors of the print published their names in the *London Gazette* of 24th-28th September, presumably in order for the offer to take effect on market sentiment as rapidly as possible, but the print is dated 18th October.[85] By this time, the propaganda function of the print would have been less critical, although, most probably, still meaningful. This print is distinctive in that it focusses on economic concerns and uses, as a symbol for the financial health of the Bank of England, the figure of a reputable, unflustered and solvent-looking gentleman. He is seen against a background of a calm sea, an analogue of more ordered times to which it was hoped the financial markets would return, with two ships on the horizon representing both Britain's trading interests and her naval prowess. It is significant that Bickham was chosen as the engraver of this print. Although he has been suspected of having Jacobite sympathies, this print was clearly intended to prop up a financial institution closely associated with the post-Revolution economic order and, by this time, with the Whig oligarchy. Whilst Bickham may have been motivated primarily by the prospect of making a profit from the venture, the merchants who commissioned the print presumably sought out a printer who could maximise sales, thereby enhancing the propaganda value of the project. This would most probably have been best achieved by a print business not perceived to be run by a 'disaffected' (as Bickham was later described) publisher.[86]

Commercial activities and colonial trade were more usually encapsulated in short speech bubbles or labelled papers in graphic satire. The imagery tended, most often, to present a disastrous, longer-term outlook for Britain's commercial and economic wellbeing if the Jacobites were to triumph. For example, in *The Procession*, a French and Spanish rabble

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[84] Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p.77. Clapham, *Bank of England*, pp.233-4, refers to promissory notes being cashed in sixpenny pieces to stem the outflow and possibly also to reduce the risk of guinea coins being taken out and used to assist the Jacobites.

[85] *London Gazette*, London, 24th-28th September 1745. The print was first advertised in *General Advertiser*, London, 23rd and 24th October 1745.

[86] Chapter One, pp.83, 87-8.

is depicted running beside the carriage, shouting such things as ‘The Trade of the World is Ours’, ‘English Wool by Treaty’, ‘No Navigation in the West Indies’ and ‘Cape Breton restor’d’ (an island off Nova Scotia that had recently been wrested from French control), indicating that France and Spain between them would appropriate all these lucrative interests (fig.27d).[87] The emphasis here is on international commercial concerns, though papers entitled ‘Bank’ and ‘Exchequer’, symbolic domestic institutions, are also to be seen being crushed under the carriage wheels. These last two appear in the same manner in *The Invasion*, but they do so here along with ‘Mortgages’ and ‘Leases’, examples of the types of innovative financial instruments that had been used increasingly since the Glorious Revolution and signs of Britain’s commercial sophistication (fig.29a).[88] British industry was, furthermore, seen as another potential casualty of a Stuart restoration. In *The Plagues of England* this is portrayed as a gaunt, desperate female figure, sitting beside her idle spinning wheel, looking on as Britannia, encouraged by Louis XV, has her head turned by the apparently false appeal of Jacobitism (fig.32).

The prints also frequently make broad general references to the poverty that was perceived to be the lot of the average Frenchman, a condition to which a Jacobite regime would supposedly consign all Britons. The images under consideration here are consistent with William Hogarth’s depictions of the French and their penurious condition in his prints, such as *O The Roast Beef of Old England* (otherwise known as *The Gates of Calais*), published later in 1749 (fig.37). In this print, two Frenchmen clothed in rags and shod in clogs are depicted carrying a vat of their pauper’s diet of *soupe maigre*, some of which has been doled out to a scrawny French soldier and his miserable companion. They hungrily

[87] For a discussion of trade and its links with foreign policy see Holmes and Szechi, *Age of Oligarchy*, pp.59-66.
[88] For discussion of the financial sector after 1688 see Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp.77-9 and Holmes and Szechi, *Age of Oligarchy*, pp.148-53.

consume it in the street as they ogle a large rib of beef intended for an English inn in the background. Amongst the prints published in the autumn of 1745, a pair of clogs, subtitled with the word ‘slavery’, had been used for the emblematic flag under which the band of Highlanders march, on the left side of *The Invasion* (fig.29a). The clogs can here be read as a satirical sign that poverty is a source of pride for the Jacobites. In another example, the blindfolded figure of Ignorance, acting as the postilion urged on by the French king as coachman in *The Procession*, is seen carrying a pair of clogs as well as a noose, implying that the Jacobites will bring poverty with them, along with injustices at the hands of an arbitrary government (fig.27d). The economy and the potential setbacks to it that would apparently result from the rebellion succeeding were part of a greater concern that Britain would become a satellite state of France.

3.2.5 *French and Spanish involvement in the rebellion*

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, it was generally agreed that the rebellion was unlikely to succeed without the backing of a major foreign power. France had undoubtedly been involved in the invasion attempt of 1744, and was strongly suspected of involvement in the present rebellion, though it seems that Charles set off for Scotland without informing Louis XV of his plans. The print makers frequently suggested that the Pope and France (and occasionally Spain also, because Catholic and aligned with France in the European war) were colluding with the prince, as well as giving him practical assistance.[89] *The Procession*, *The Invasion* and *The Ballance* all feature the French king and the Pope as the masterminds behind the rebellion, while the Queen of Spain appears in *The Ballance* as another of its promoters. In *The French Expedition into Scotland, or, the Lamentations of*

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[89] Spain had backed the abortive Jacobite rebellion of 1719, but was not actively involved in the ’45. For details of the 1719 plot see Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.107-11.

Louis, published on 8th October 1745, Louis XV is shown sitting up in bed raving (according to the broadside text below), about sending Charles to Scotland in order to remove George II from the throne, and laying waste to Britain, his motive in this instance being to avenge his defeat at Dettingen (fig.38).[90] He asks his doctors and ministers, led by Cardinal Tencin, to give him their advice, but they are said in the print to be afraid to do so because they think he is in the throes of a fit of madness. Not only is Louis presented as the instigator of the rebellion in the text, but he is also bent on overseeing all manner of torture and cruelty to Britons (the purported practices of Continental inquisitors are outlined in the broadside text below the image). This plan is supposedly madness because George II was 'a warlike and a valiant King' who had 'put himself at the Head of the Battle, and exposed himself unto the very Death for the sake of his People'; 'a Father unto his People, and he doeth that which is right in the Sight of the Lord'.

Neither France nor Spain had a counterpart to the figure of Britannia at this stage. That France was normally represented by the person of Louis XV is perhaps a good visual indication in itself of the perceived difference between his constitutional status and that of George II. Louis was held up as an absolute monarch, whose unfettered power allowed him to reduce his subjects to a state of poverty and slavery. The entire population of Britain, on the other hand - not just the king, nor even just the governing elite - were often represented by Britannia, implying that all were able to contribute to national life, and to benefit from the country's general prosperity. Britons were not at the mercy of an absolute monarch as the French were perceived to be, and these ideas echo the advantages claimed for the more limited authority of the British monarchy, as portrayed in *The Rebellion Displayed* (fig.35).

[90] The image is included in another broadside, surrounded by further added images, in the National Library of Scotland collection.

It did not appear to matter that there was little definite sign of active French (or Spanish) assistance in the autumn of 1745, a fact that was acknowledged in a contemporary pamphlet, *Remarks on the Pretender's Eldest Son's Second Declaration*.[91] That did not, however, stop this line being used consistently in printed imagery or literature at this time to discredit the Jacobite project in a way likely to play on widespread prejudice. Indeed, as Lord Hardwicke pointed out: 'One thing I have always observed is: that representing the Pretender as coming (as the truth is) under dependence upon French support; I say, stating this point, together with Popery, in a strong light, has always the most popular effect'.[92] Insinuating foreign support for the 1745 rebellion, as well as reminding viewers of previous ones in which France and Spain were known to have been involved, was thus a key method of undermining the Stuarts' current campaign.

3.3 *Loyal associations - 'where hearts are right, let hands unite'*

By September 1745 the Archbishop of York had become extremely anxious to impress on the government the need for urgent action given the level of the danger posed by Charles Stuart and his advancing army, not least because York might be on Charles's route south. Writing to the Lord Chancellor, he asked:

> Is it not time for the Pulpits to sound the Trumpet against Popery and the Pretender? … I own I am frighted at our present situation, and it looks like a demonstration to me, that we are now, as to the health of the Body Politic, in the condition of a man

[91] Anon., *Remarks on the Pretender's Eldest Son's Second Declaration* ... (London, E. Say, 10th October 1745), p.6: 'the young Pretender being disappointed of the Assistance of Troops he expected from France and Spain …'.

[92] Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke', Lord Hardwicke to Archbishop Herring, 12th September 1745.

> who does not ask his doctor whether he may recover, but how long he thinks he can hold out.[93]

Herring then took the lead in organising some of the first practical defensive measures against the Jacobite army in England by seeking to raise subscriptions to finance volunteer loyal associations.[94] The traditional mechanism of the militia, used in the past to augment the regular army had, to a considerable extent, fallen into disuse. Some areas were unable to raise the militia due to the lack of a local lord lieutenant (legally required to lead one) or encountered problems associated with legal technicalities concerning funding. Besides this, the Disarming Act of 1716 meant that even those loyal to the Hanoverians could find themselves on the wrong side of the law if they took up arms in certain parts of Scotland.[95]

The formation of loyal associations prompted the publication of a number of prints, augmenting the propaganda value of the fact that volunteers were prepared to come out to defend George II and the Hanoverian establishment. It is possible that subscription monies were used to commission prints commemorating the creation of a particular association, as were two medals, but there is no evidence of this.[96] The prints are significant for the fact that they include details relating to actual events, for the first time since the battle of Prestonpans and the panic-induced stock market falls. Supporters of the Hanoverian regime at last had something worth drawing attention to and celebrating, which made a change from a succession of dismal failures that were virtually impossible to present in a positive light. Print makers were also working with the benefit of more reliable information regarding the

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[93] Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke', Archbishop Herring to Lord Hardwicke, 7th September 1745.

[94] Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, *Life and Correspondence*, 3 vols. (New York, Octagon Books, 1977), Vol.1, p.462: some £30,000 was raised.

[95] Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, pp.107-9.

[96] Woolf, *Medallic Record*, pp.94-5.

measures taken to organise defensive forces. This was in contrast to the uncertain, less detailed understanding of the movements and intentions of the Jacobite army, which deliberately put out misinformation for their own purposes.[97]

Archbishop Herring, staunchly loyal to George II and eventually rewarded with the Archbishopric of Canterbury for his support, organised and publicised a meeting of the local elite of Yorkshire held on 24th September 1745, intended to launch the mustering of loyal associations. He had been at pains to ensure that he engaged with all shades of opinion, including Tories as well as opposition and Court Whigs, and his speech, reproduced in print for widespread public distribution, helped to 'capture the patriotic imagination'.[98] By the end of the year, fifty-seven such associations had been established in nearly three-quarters of English and Welsh counties. Recruits to these associations were normally clothed and paid for out of subscription monies, but armed by the government. Importantly, the loyal associations were a means of demonstrating that the Hanoverian dynasty ruled with the active consent of its subjects.[99] They were, as W. A. Speck has noted, 'regarded as an index of loyalty to the regime'.[100] This was one way of binding people into the Hanoverian cause in a manner more approved of by the ruling classes, rather than letting the mob take action on its own initiative.[101] The associations were of doubtful practical use, however, and the regular

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[97] Details of the information dispersed by quartermasters designed to disguise the Jacobite army's planned route in England, for example, can be found in Riding, *Jacobites*, p.211-2.

[98] Herring, *Speech made ... at the Castle of York, Sept. 24., 1745*; Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, pp.202-3.

[99] For background on the loyal associations see: Speck, *Butcher*, pp.55-64, 69-70; Langford, *Polite and Commercial People*, p.203; and Colley, *Britons*, p.81.

[100] Speck, *Butcher*, p.59.

[101] Speck, *Butcher*, pp.69-70, cites an instance of the mob adopting its own measures when sentiment boiled over at Whitby on rumours that local Catholics had been celebrating the defeat at Prestonpans.

army was needed to quash the rebellion, as Herring indeed acknowledged.[102] They also proved somewhat controversial, their formation seen in opposition circles as a political gesture designed to divert criticism away from the government, and as of questionable constitutional legitimacy. Some also felt pressurised into contributing for fear of being denounced as a Jacobite.[103]

Archbishop Herring featured in a print entitled *The Mitred Champion: or, the Church Militant* (fig.39). It shows the Archbishop as he proclaims, 'Religion! Liberty! My Country!', while heading a band of clergyman. In a possible allusion to instances of previous Archbishops of York taking action to defend England from Scottish incursions, Herring is dressed partly in clerical garb, but is armed with a sword. For example, in 1346, William de la Zouche organised forces to defend England against Scottish invaders while Edward III was away fighting in France. More recently, in 1642, John Williams had been shown in ecclesiastical attire and armed with a musket in an etching by Wenceslas Hollar satirising Williams's defence of his castle in Wales.[104] The sword may be seen as that of justice and righteousness, rather than suggesting that Herring and his band of clerics were about to demonstrate any real military might; Herring did not take up arms himself. The text below exhorts the populace to rise in defence of the king, Protestantism and the country. One of Herring's band of supporters shouts, 'King George & ye Church of England forever', a mantra encapsulating the loyalist mission to preserve the British monarchy and the established church as embodied by the House of Hanover. Towards the end of October, Herring wrote to the Lord Chancellor:

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[102] Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke', Archbishop Herring to Lord Hardwicke, 27th September 1745.

[103] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.170.

[104] For details of the Hollar print see Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, pp.130-1.

> I find I must get into regimentals in my own defence, in a double sense; for an engraver has already given me a Saracen's head, surrounded with a Chevalier in chains, & all ye instruments of war, & ye hydra of Rebellion at my feet; and I see another copperplate is promised, where I am to be exhibited in ye same martial attitude, with all my clergy with me. By my troth, as I judge for' applications made to me every day, I believe I co'd raise a regiment of my own order … Well, I hope in God we shall one day laugh at these things at full leisure.[105]

The print in which in which Herring is 'to be exhibited in ye same martial attitude, with all my clergy with me' may well be *The Mitred Champion*, the letter implying that this print was not published until November 1745. However, I have been unable to locate one which matches Herring's description of him with 'a Saracen's head, surrounded with a Chevalier in chains, & all ye instruments of war, & ye hydra of Rebellion at my feet'. In any event, Herring appears not to have minded excessively that he had been the target of the graphic satirists' wit, despite his serious concern that many in England had not yet woken up to the dangers posed by the Jacobite army. Indeed, he was surely wise to the possibility that publicity generated by the prints could help his cause.

Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls, published by George Bickham on 21st October 1745, involves imagery related to the wider context of the rebellion, but this is combined with comment on the loyal associations (fig.40). It makes reference to Catholicism in a manner similar to the pro-Hanoverian prints discussed above. On the left side of the River Tweed (which marks the border between Scotland and England), in the shadow of Edinburgh Castle (in reality some distance from the Tweed), we see the Pretender with the devil above him attempting to control several bulls snorting several customary evils:

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105 George Harris, *The Life of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, with selections from his correspondence, diaries, speeches and judgments*, 3 vols. (London, Edward Moxon, 1847), Vol.2, p.180.

'Confessions, 'Absolutions', 'Excommunications', 'Indulgences', 'Massacres', etc.[106] A note below explains that 'these bulls will roar & spit & belch & piss & fart & drivle (sic) out fire till you give them gold which makes them quiet as lambs'. Cardinal Tencin, seated astride a bull reading a Mass, would have been recognisable from another recent print published by Bickham, *The Cardinal in the Dumps* (fig.42).[107] Charles Stuart, while attempting to control another bull, stands over the nine of diamonds card, a symbol of the so-called 'Curse of Scotland', used again in later anti-Jacobite prints (see Chapter Four).[108] On the right of the river sits Britannia, with a blazing sun behind her, and the crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland resting in the clouds, as if to denote that the Union had been divinely blessed. Britannia speaks of the associators as embodying 'the true spirit of liberty', as she surveys the group of volunteers before her and Neptune offers her a palm of victory, declaring: 'you gall the enemy'. The rising sun is an appropriation of Stuart symbolism: it had been used to represent the hoped-for new dawn of a Stuart restoration in earlier Jacobite medals and had since been incorporated into Charles's iconography.[109] On the turret to the right of the image, the legend 'In hoc signo vince' (in victory under this banner) has been added to the royal standard above to suggest a positive final outcome from George II's viewpoint. This glorification of the Hanoverian cause is tempered, however, by the expression of some rather ambivalent statements from the English volunteers about the prospect of fighting the Scots: 'I won't go out of ye parish'; 'Agod, I'd go five miles to fight'; and 'I wish they'd go to Dinner'. Some of the rebels are pictured similarly: one says 'I'll go home', as the devil

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[106] The depiction of Edinburgh castle appears to have been copied from a 1740 print etched by Charles Mosley, *The State Pack-Horse*. See fig.41a.

[107] Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999), p.158, identifies the depiction of Tencin as modelled on a 1739 image by Hubert Gravelot.

[108] George, *English Political Caricature*, Vol.1, p.529.

[109] As discussed, for example, in Neil Guthrie, '*Unica Salus* (1721): A Jacobite Medal and its Context' in *Georgian Group Journal*, Vol. 15 (2006), p.93.

suggests he has been betrayed, and will report this to ‘France, Spain and the Pope’. This suggests a reluctance to go to any great lengths to fight on the part of some, both north and south of the border, perhaps because of apathy, or perhaps implying that some had only joined associations through fear of being accused of Jacobite sympathies.

The Loyal Associators in the Year of Our Lord MDCCXLV shows serried ranks of infantrymen above a description which makes the purpose of the association explicit: it was raised ‘to Defend the Person of His Most Sacred Majesty, KING GEORGE, together with the Rights and Liberties of a Free Born People’ (fig.43). This print was not published until 23rd December, by which time the Jacobite army had already begun its retreat from Derby. The neat lines of smartly-dressed and well-armed soldiers imply that this association is well supported. They signify an ordered society, a central tenet of Jacobite ideology being portrayed here as an attribute of the Hanoverian regime. The large numbers of volunteers pictured in the image also suggest a high level of enthusiasm for the associations, indicating that the British government ruled with the active consent of the people. The association badge consists of two hands clasped together and surrounded by a serpent with its tail in its mouth forming a symbolic circle of eternity, a sign that the association is an inseparable band of brothers, who will fight to the end ‘For King and Country’. The text below explains that it had been assembled by a range of middling sorts involved in trade:

> An Unnatural Rebellion being rais’d in Scotland, in favour of the Popish Pretender, several Worthy Gentleman, Eminent Merchants, tradesmen &c. Form’d an Association … In Commemoration of which Glorious and Loyal Act, This Plate is Engraved and is most Humbly Inscribed to all true Lovers of Liberty and Property, by their most obedient Servt. Jno. English.

The fact that the print gives the impression that associations were formed and joined by quite well-to-do businessmen calls to mind the importance of commerce to Great Britain and the economic arguments for the Hanoverian regime discussed above. It also raises the question of whether this print was commissioned, as *Publick Credit* had been, by a group of merchants for propaganda purposes.

The Loyal Associators is notable for the evidence it provides of cross-referencing between prints and medallic art, again demonstrating that the anti-Jacobite prints need to be understood as part of an inter-medial dialogue. As Danielle Thom has stated, medals ‘existed within the same iconographic nexus as prints’.[110] This particular print includes imagery similar to that seen in a medal produced slightly earlier in 1745, signed by ‘T. Pingo’ (fig.44). It shows a rearing equestrian figure leading tidy ranks of infantry soldiers below the motto: ‘Pro caesare pro aris & pocis’ (for our king, our altars and hearths). This medal is dated 4th November 1745, and is thought to have been struck to commemorate one of the loyal associations.[111] Another medal produced in 1745, this one signed by John Kirk, also deploys the symbolic gesture of the handshake along with a motto, ‘Where hearts are right, let hands unite’, suggesting it to have been a well-recognised signifier (fig.45).[112] Before the 1730s, the vast majority of medals had been struck at the Royal Mint in London, responsible primarily for coinage. The commemorative medal industry was, therefore, still in its infancy in the mid-eighteenth century, the production of medals becoming commercialised only once the monopoly enjoyed by the Mint had become obsolete, and those involved in allied metal

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[110] Danielle Thom, ‘“William, the Princely Youth”: The Duke of Cumberland and Anti-Jacobite Visual Strategy, 1745-6’, *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol.16, No.3 (2015), p.253.

[111] Christopher Eimer, *The Pingo Family and Medal Making in Britain* (London, British Art Medal Trust, 1998), pp.44-5.

[112] Woolf, *Medallic Record*, p.95.

trades, such as button making, were allowed to acquire the machinery to produce them.[113] They remained, though, essentially official political objects, because they tended to be identified with a state-sanctioned record of honour. Commemorative medals were, however, amongst the range of media available as a source of allusion. Importantly, they also broadened the opportunities for the viewing public to familiarise itself with the visual imagery, and therefore the iconography, associated with the rebellion.

It is doubtful whether the loyal associations served any genuinely useful military purpose in the end. The Prime Minister, Henry Pelham, and his cabinet colleagues, as well as the Duke of Cumberland, preferred to rely on the tried and tested soldiers of the regular army, many of whom had to be brought back to England so that the rebellion could be dealt with conclusively.[114] Much as the government would have liked the public to believe that the creation of the associations represented a widespread and spontaneous expression of nationalistic fervour and patriotism across the political spectrum, the reality was less promising than this.[115] There were areas where enthusiasm for these associations was distinctly lacking (apart from in Highland areas of Scotland), such as Oxfordshire, the West Country and Wales.[116] A counter image to *The Mitred Soldier*, *The* (mitred) *Soldier, or the* (church) *Militant*, was produced in Paris and may have been part of the Jacobite propaganda effort, designed to fuel any disinclination to defend George II (fig.46). Using a similar image of the Herring to that in *The Mitred Champion*, the Archbishop is mockingly identified with a fish above his head, and his speech bubble here reads: 'my (Mitre), My Lands, My Gold …

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[113] Eimer, *Pingo Family*, pp.7-8.

[114] Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.95-6.

[115] Bob Harris, 'England's Provincial Newspapers and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6', *History*, Vol.80, No.258 (February 1995), pp.5-21: his study includes discussion of regional newspapers' coverage of the loyal associations, which, he states, usually didn't mention what he describes as the 'often bitter local debates about the organisation of loyal associations and how funds raised should be spent'.

[116] Colley, *Britons*, pp.81-2, 85.

Church'. Some of the clergymen following, meanwhile, express a lack of willingness to associate. Given the proximity of York to Scotland, Herring was also suspected by some of being most concerned to protect his own property.

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Print makers not only drew on common elements of visual vocabulary and grammar from their own medium, they also referred to relevant material to be found in other formats, creating prints that were both sophisticated and attractive. As Helen Pierce has remarked: 'The satirical print, both then and now, becomes richer and more suggestive when considered not in isolation, but in dialogue and exchange with related material.'[117] The appropriations, adaptations and echoings discussed above were intended to produce appealing aesthetic objects that would also discredit the Jacobite project. A range of stock figures sourced from contemporary and earlier images was used to construct a forceful critique of the Jacobite agenda. That critique tended, up to this point in the rebellion, to focus on underlying ideological issues, though a few did relate to some more specific events.

As we have seen, the simple and the more elaborate were frequently brought together in the treatment of the complex abstract concepts underpinning the Hanoverian cause. However, the fundamental mission of Jacobitism to reinstate the Stuart dynasty was nearly six decades old in 1745, and many of the underlying counter arguments against it were longstanding, even if some aspects of the Jacobite ideology had shifted by that date to take account of circumstances. The fact that imagery dating from earlier periods was reworked

[117] Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, p.132.

suggests that certain motifs were recycled precisely because they were still relevant and, especially, because they would have been intelligible to a relatively large audience and therefore convey their embedded political content successfully. The level of visual literacy required to interpret imagery varied with each print, but most involved some form of text. This mingling of the visual and the verbal has the effect of complicating our understanding of the potential market and audience for such prints. However, with the output of prints related to the rebellion increasing rapidly as the threat level rose, it seems likely that the more aware people became of the danger to the Hanoverian regime, the more interest would have been shown in the imagery produced in response to it. By and large, text helped to expand on or elucidate imagery which might not otherwise have been entirely clear. And, just as ballad sheets increasingly included imagery, so the verse content was a component added to many prints to broaden their appeal. Importantly, verse, easier to memorise than prose, could be set to music and sung, enhancing its potential reach and capacity to counteract Jacobite propaganda.

As James II and his heirs were forced to remain in exile on the continent from 1688, they were obliged, if they had any chance of keeping hopes of a restoration alive, to maintain interest in their cause. Through a regular supply of propaganda, the Stuarts aimed to present themselves as the only safeguard against usurpation and tyranny and as the true defenders of religious toleration. Propaganda material sent over to Britain included medals, prints and copies of portraits, with Stuart births, birthdays and marriages, as well as the deaths of Queen Anne and George I, used as an opportunity to ensure that the imagery was constantly updated.[118] At the same time, Jacobite sympathisers also used a wide variety of visual media and artefacts, such as embroidery, jewellery, snuff boxes, garters, memorial plaques, fans,

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[118] Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1996), pp.2-26. In his study Sharp cites 757 prints published between 1688 and 1773.

glass and plasterwork incorporating a variety of iconographic detail, to indicate where their allegiances lay and to point to the various strands of Jacobite ideology.[119] Prints without titles, or with obscure titles, helped publishers and sympathisers sidestep the authorities if challenged and whilst poems, ballad sheets and broadsides taking the Stuart line were also printed, their authors had to be extremely careful for fear of government reprisals, and to rely heavily on the reader's ability to unpick literary allusions and the conventions of Jacobite coded symbolism.[120]

Visual imagery tended to provide a safer medium for expressing dangerous anti-establishment ideas, rendering it somewhat less incriminating for the artist, publisher or owner, due to its relatively less specific nature, compared to text. The government attempted to make the production of both prohibitive, especially when the Jacobite threat was heightened.[121] The flight of James II did not presage the end of print production on behalf of the Stuart cause in England, but the fact that very few examples of graphic satire promoting this side of the conflict survive suggests either that only a limited number were published because of the risks involved, or those that were produced were suppressed effectively. Such prints as do still exist overwhelmingly consist of portraits of members of the Stuart family, Jacobite leaders or clergymen who were sympathetic to the Jacobite movement.[122]

[119] Murray Pittock, 'The Culture of Jacobitism' in Jeremy Black, ed., *Culture and Society in Britain 1660-1800* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1997), pp.137-9.

[120] Sharp, *Engraved Record*, p.2.

[121] Atherton, *Political Prints,* pp.76-81.

[122] Of the 757 prints listed in Sharp, *Engraved Record*, only seventeen are listed as satires covering the period c.1688-1773. Of these, nine relate to the '45 and all appeared after the rebellion was quashed. Six of these nine were not published until 1749 and most made unfavourable comparisons between the Duke of Cumberland and Charles Stuart.

Under Walpole's administration, propaganda in the form of the printed word was placed in government-sponsored newspapers as part of a well-organised operation.[123] However, it appears that, under Henry Pelham and his Broad Bottom administration, created in 1744, there was no similar propaganda effort. Whether printers were to any extent paid to publish the wealth of loyalist material that appeared in the newspaper press in the mid-1740s or felt obliged to do so is uncertain, but, as Bob Harris has stated, 'however it came to be published the coverage realised the maximum propaganda potential, which the ministry appreciated was its primary value'.[124] There is even less evidence to support the idea that graphic satire was sponsored by the government. Although William of Orange is known to have made use of printed visual propaganda in Holland, this tactic was not adopted by his successors in Britain. Sheila O'Connell has thus stated that there is 'no evidence of a pro-active propaganda role in print propaganda before the 1790s'.[125] That is not to say that the government did not recognise that imagery could communicate its political messages skilfully and efficiently, as can be seen in its willingness to restrict the circulation of prints which it found unacceptable. The fact that the prints associated with the Hanoverian cause were not, as far as is known, directly state sponsored, and were not part of a systematic or orchestrated campaign, also does not mean that they cannot be viewed as having a propaganda function or be classed as propaganda in its looser sense. To the extent that propaganda is designed to sway the opinion of the viewer, it seems that the imagery discussed in this chapter was intended to help convince the public that, far from heralding a romantic second restoration of the Stuart dynasty, the reality of the rebellion's success would be a

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[123] For a summary of Walpole's operations see Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.44-5.

[124] Bob Harris, *A Patriot Press: National Politics and the London Press in the 1740s* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993), p.200.

[125] Antony Griffiths (with the collaboration of Robert A. Gerard), *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London, British Museum Press, 1998), p.282; Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, British Museum Press, 1999), p.83.

return of all the evils associated with Catholicism and absolute monarchy as found in France or Spain. The inclusion of some fictitious content, as in *The Procession*, tends to strengthen this case, as does the persistent suggestion, explored above, of active French and Spanish involvement in the rebellion, whether or not it was true. There is also evidence that members of the government were keen to see sentiment in favour of George II boosted, even if primarily in the form of scare-mongering about the Jacobites. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, wrote the following to Archbishop Herring in connection with the possibility that the French were about to send troops to Britain:

> the only doubt I have heard made is whether the certainty of the Intelligence of a foreign Invasion is not rather too strongly expressed in your printed paper (calling for the raising of loyal associations). But if it shall only tend to awaken and animate the friends of the Government to a greater degree of vigour in its defence and support, the effect will be good'.[126]

Hardwicke's reference to the *effect* of Herring's initiative shows the recognised importance of perceptions, particularly in the period when events were not going well for the government. Ultimately, while material may not have been commissioned or authorised by the state *per se*, or taken the form of a slick, sophisticated and co-ordinated campaign in the modern sense, it may, nonetheless, have functioned as propaganda.

Herbert Atherton has stated that the effect of prints, 'taken in the context of the contemporary moment, may have given them the value of propaganda, especially when the tempo of polemic quickened or national crises arose', as it did in 1745. The prints only operated at their full capacity, however, if viewers also had some access to associated texts,

[126] R. Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke', Lord Hardwicke to Archbishop Herring, 17th September 1745.

or their level of education allowed them some understanding of the issues covered. Access to the latter was made more widely available through a range of pamphlets, where the process of making complex ideas more intelligible involved 'isolating and coarsening parts of larger patterns of thought', to use Baxandall's words again.[127] It was this process which also enabled print makers to produce imagery which summarised the essential case for the Hanoverian regime for wider consumption and absorption, yet interweave it with sophisticated referencing and allusions to produce images that would be appreciated by a relatively exclusive audience interested in deciphering multiple layers of meaning. There are a number of prints published in the mid-1740s which appear to have addressed both high and low audiences at the same time. Moreover, whilst the reach of any particular print may have been quite limited, the effect of the volume of prints, accompanied as it was with the even greater volume of overtly loyalist pamphlets and newspaper coverage of a compelling issue of national importance, would suggest that the core Hanoverian messages would have reached many in England. In such circumstances, prints are likely to have performed a propaganda role, even if not officially promoted.

Once Charles and his army crossed the border into England on 9th November, they made their way down the west side of the country to avoid Field Marshal George Wade's forces, then based at Newcastle. After a short siege they took Carlisle on 15th November 1745, an event that Wade described as 'very scandalous and shameful, if not treacherous'.[128] The town's authorities had prided themselves on the resistance offered to the Jacobite army compared with that of Edinburgh, but the loss of this historically important northern garrison town caused much dismay to loyalists. The Jacobite army then continued on southwards, reaching Penrith on 21st November and Preston on 26th November. Preston had been the most

[127] Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, p.77.

[128] Speck, *Butcher*, p.81.

southerly point reached by the Jacobites during the 1715 rising and, conscious of the psychological impact which the town might hold, Lord George Murray, Charles's senior military commander, moved the rebel troops swiftly onwards towards Manchester. The Duke of Cumberland was at this point heading northwards in an attempt to intercept the Charles's forces. He was, however, misled into thinking that they were heading for Wales to meet up with reinforcements there, because the Jacobite army had split into two groups: one under Murray heading westwards for the Welsh border; the other, under Charles, going straight to Leek. Murray, however, turned to rejoin the prince at Leek, before both made for Derby, arriving there on 4th December.[129] A number of the aristocracy and gentry fled for safety before the advancing Jacobites, which only served to heighten the rising panic amongst the general population. In sum, the Jacobite army had managed to inflict a major blow to English pride in having out-marched and out-witted government forces up to this point, and in having reached Derby, only 120 miles from London. Amidst these events, rumours were swirling in the capital that the French were about to launch an invasion, news having reached the Duke of Newcastle that French forces might be about to embark from Dunkirk. Emergency plans were made to defend the capital by sending troops to Finchley Common, an event, of course, later commemorated by William Hogarth (as seen at the beginning of this thesis). When he heard of all this, Horace Walpole was moved to dub 6th December 1745 'Black Friday'.[130]

Nonetheless, on the same day styled 'Black Friday' by Walpole, Charles was persuaded by his close advisers, at a full council meeting called to discuss Jacobite strategy, to turn back for Scotland. His forces were dangerously overextended at Derby and he had failed to attract a significant number of new recruits in England. However, news of the arrival of a contingent from France at Montrose, though exaggerated beyond the actual numbers of

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[129] Details of the advance covered in Speck, *Butcher*, pp.78-89 and Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.227-51, 269-74.

[130] Speck, *Butcher*, p.89.

about 800, was enough to convince the Jacobite high command that all was not lost if their army returned to Scotland.[131] By this time the government had amassed sizeable forces to oppose the Charles's army: troops which had returned from Flanders, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, had reached Staffordshire and Field Marshal Wade's forces were heading south from Newcastle in an attempt to close in on the Prince from opposite directions. The tide was beginning to turn in favour of George II.

[131] Speck, *Butcher*, p.93; Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.259-61. Amongst the troops arriving at Montrose were Lord John Drummond's *Royal Ecossais* with a detachment of Irish soldiers in the service of France.

Chapter 4

The Rebellion Unravels: January 1746 - December 1747

> Being come to recover the King our Father's just Rights for which we are arrived with all His Authority, we are sorry to find yt you should prepare to obstruct our passage.[1]

Bruce Lenman has noted that 'George II had a remarkably sane understanding of the extreme weakness of the Jacobite army. He knew their grip on Scotland was uncertain and like Lord George Murray, the Jacobite army's senior military commander, he regarded the absence of any English rising as fatal to Charles Stuart.'[2] On hearing intelligence that the Jacobite army had started to head northwards from Derby, the Duke of Cumberland wrote 'of the Panick that has got among the Rebels which increases to such a degree that they are throwing away their Arms'.[3] Nonetheless, it was to prove no simple matter to expunge the threat that the Jacobites posed in 1745-6. British forces had not only to chase Charles and his troops out of England where recruitment had proved disappointing, but also to root them out of the Highlands, where the rising had begun, precisely because that was where the most committed support for the Stuart dynasty arose. All the while there remained a possibility that

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[1] From a proclamation issued by 'Charles P. R. (Prince Regent)' shortly after his forces laid siege to Carlisle on 10th November 1745, quoted in Andrew Henderson, *The History of the Rebellion, 1745 and 1746, containing ...* (2nd ed., London, R. Griffiths, 1748), p.55.

[2] Bruce Lenman, *Jacobite Risings in Britain: 1689-1746* (Dalkeith, Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), p.259.

[3] Quoted in Jacqueline Riding, *Jacobites: A New History of the '45 Rebellion* (London, Bloomsbury, 2016), p.314.

France would exploit the situation for her own ends by sending over an invasion force to assist Charles.

Whilst the threat still loomed large at the beginning of 1746, once the Jacobite army had turned back from Derby on 9th December 1745 and then Carlisle was retaken by the British army, and despite a Jacobite victory at the battle of Falkirk in January 1746, it became easier to imagine that the rebellion would eventually be seen off. As confidence grew stronger that order would be restored to Britain and that the future of the House of Hanover would be secured, so prints reflected this more positive outlook. In this chapter I will discuss how graphic imagery engaged with the unfolding of these events, dividing it into five sections. I will look first at the prints which were produced as British forces went in search of Charles's army. They continued to paint a disparaging picture of the Jacobites, France and Catholicism, rather than making much reference to precise current events, but also included features which looked forward to a time when the rebellion might be quelled. The final outcome remained uncertain for some while, but events were clearly following a more positive trajectory from the Hanoverian perspective. In the second section I will focus on the final defeat of the Jacobite rising. The retaking of Carlisle provided the first significant Hanoverian success over the Jacobite army, but it was the victory at the battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746 that proved decisive. This gave rise to a flood of printed imagery. Prints related to the battle involved elements of reportage which elaborated on the coverage of events to be found in newspapers and periodicals, but also provided a particular opportunity to mock the Jacobite cause and its adherents aggressively, once they had been safely conquered. The Duke of Cumberland became the popular hero of the hour and the focus of an outpouring of patriotic ardour once the threat had been overcome. I will consider the use of his image in print, which, for the most part, relied on two sources: a portrait of the duke commissioned in the early 1740s, before the rebellion had begun, and an image used on

commemorative medals following the success at Carlisle. In the fourth section I will explore the prints published in the months after the victory at Culloden, in which the imagery tends to take an historical perspective on the failed Jacobite campaign, with retrospective views of events used as a means of providing a moralising message for the future. Finally, I will examine the printed imagery related to the fate of those Jacobite supporters who did not manage to escape the Hanoverian justice system. The concluding events of the rebellion, comprising the trials and public executions of Jacobite leaders, and their grisly fate, were also the subject of a large quantity of prints.

4.1 *The Duke of Cumberland's pursuit of the Jacobite army*

Charles Stuart and the Jacobites faced an ultimately fateful problem in that, despite the apparently enthusiastic response of many onlookers, very few men were actually prepared to join the Jacobite army in England, and even the vast majority of Catholics declined to participate. While in Manchester, Lord George Murray recorded that: 'The Chevalier got on horse back in the afternoon, and rode through the Town to view it by way of amusement, attended by the principle (sic) officers of his Army, when he was followed by vast Crowds of people with loud huzzas and all demonstrations possible of their zeal for his Success'.[4] This was not enough to stir sufficient support to carry the rising through to a successful conclusion. In the end, no English gentlemen came out for the rising and no more than about 200-300 men volunteered in Lancashire, an area known for its concentration of Catholics. The band of recruits who did join Charles's army between Carlisle and Derby came to be called the Manchester regiment, which was led by Colonel Francis Townley, a Catholic from

[4] R. F. Bell, *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton Sometime Secretary to Prince Charles Edward 1740-7* (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1898), p.247.

a Lancashire family, who had earlier served in Louis XV's army.[5] Participation in the rebellion was simply too great a risk to life and property for most Jacobite sympathisers in England. As James Ray, who enlisted in the British army after the battle of Prestonpans, expressed it: 'Upon the Whole, it may be said of the English Jacobites, no People in the universe know better the Difference between drinking and fighting', a reference to those Stuart sympathisers who were prepared to toast 'the king over the water', but not to engage in armed rebellion against George II.[6] Crucially, the large scale reinforcements which Charles had assured his commanders were to arrive imminently from France and were essential for drawing substantial support in England, had failed to materialise.

Once it was known that Charles and his troops had turned back from Derby, the British forces pursued their target with fresh vigour. There was some optimism on the part of Hanoverian loyalists that Cumberland would be able to catch up with the Jacobite army and destroy it while it remained exposed in England, but this was tempered by a very real concern at the time that Charles might yet receive assistance from abroad, fundamentally altering the situation. Moreover, to Cumberland's intense frustration, Charles managed to evade the government's forces for the time being as his and Field Marshal Wade's large contingents of men were unable to move as swiftly as the prince's troops. In fact, the two armies were not to meet in full-scale battle on English soil, thus ruling out a speedy conclusion of the rising. As Charles's forces retreated northwards, however, Cumberland was able to recapture Carlisle. Most of the Manchester regiment, which had been left there to slow the advancing British,

[5] For further details of the Manchester regiment see: W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.91; and Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.235-6, 250.

[6] James Ray, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion, from its First Rise …* (York, s.n., 1749), p.172.

capitulated on 30th December, bringing to an end one of the most inglorious episodes of the rebellion as far as England was concerned.[7]

Immediately after Cumberland had retaken Carlisle he was obliged to return to London. His presence there was thought necessary to help shore up defences amid renewed concern that the French were about to mount an invasion.[8] These fears proved unfounded, but, in the meantime, Charles and the main body of his troops had been able to slip back across the Esk into Scotland on 20th December. Cumberland's retaking of Carlisle, the loss of which had been especially embarrassing, provided the first tangible success for the Hanoverian side and was an event of particular satisfaction for the government. As Cumberland wrote, 'now we may have the happiness to say, that this part of the kingdom is clear from all rebels'.[9] Whilst the Jacobite army did not appear to be in a strong position, chasing it out of England was only a partial solution. For some Jacobites, nationalistic ideals and securing independence from England again were the principal objectives of the campaign, to restore the Stuarts to the Scottish throne alone, as opposed to Charles's more ambitious plan to remove George II from all three of Britain's thrones. For the established regime, the threat needed to be removed more thoroughly, so Cumberland headed north again on 25th January 1746 with the aim of bringing about a conclusive defeat of Charles's army and seeing off the last vestiges of rising from his father's realm.

Those who wished to demonstrate their support for the Hanoverian monarchy and the existing order made use, in the meantime, of a range of channels of expression. Paul Monod

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[7] For a detailed account see Jonathan Oates, *The Last Siege on English Soil: Carlisle, December 1745* (reprinted from Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Vol. 3, s.l., s.n., 2003), pp.169-84.

[8] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.204, notes Louis was set on sending help early in October and this was ratified on 24th of that month.

[9] Oates, *Last Siege on English Soil*, p.181.

has outlined how the theatre in particular became the focus of pro-Hanoverian sentiment in the late autumn of 1745, with loyal prologues or afterpieces added to productions and the revival of anti-Jacobite works such as Colley Cibber's *The Non-Juror*.[10] One performance of Shakespeare's *Henry V* was advertised as 'Containing, the Memorable Battle of Agincourt with the Total Overthrow of the French Army', rousing loyalist feeling by reminding the audience of England's iconic fifteenth-century victory over the French.[11] Similarly, *A Loyal Song*, incorporating a familiar array of the supposed consequences of a Stuart restoration, was performed by John Beard at the Drury Lane Theatre and then printed for wider distribution (fig.55 and fig.56).[12] In addition, Covent Garden Theatre put on three benefit performances of the perennially popular *Beggar's Opera* to raise funds for London's defences.[13] Many newspapers devoted considerable space to Cumberland's progress or reported on various public demonstrations of loyalty. In November 1745, Henry Fielding, previously a fierce critic of some government ministers, began to publish in a weekly journal entitled *The True*

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[10] Paul Monod, 'Pierre's White Hat: Theatre, Jacobitism and Popular Protest in London, 1689-1760', in Eveline Cruikshanks and Jeremy Black, eds., *By Force or By Default: The Revolution of 1688* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1989), p.176. See also G. W. Stone, *The London Stage 1747-1776, A Critical Introduction* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), p.xxvii for details of performances of loyalist pieces at this time. The *General Advertiser*, London, 7th November 1745 carried an advertisement for a performance of *The Non-Juror*, a play written in 1720 in favour of the Hanoverian succession, which was put on 'at the particular Desire of Several Persons of Quality' (i.e. probably at the behest of or subsidised by prominent loyalists) with an afterpiece by Henry Fielding, *The Debauchees, or the Jesuit Caught*.

[11] *General Advertiser*, London, 18th November 1745.

[12] Mary Cooper advised readers that she sold 'a New Loyal Song' in the *True Patriot*, London, 19th November 1745. Otherwise known as 'Over the hills far away', the song was originally popularised following the removal of James II and sung to the tune known as 'Lilliburlero'. W. A. Speck, 'Religion, Politics and Society', in Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, *The Age of William III and Mary. II: Power, Politics and Patronage, 1688-1702* (Williamsburg, VA, The College of William and Mary, 1989), p.50, notes that the composer 'boasted of whistling a king out of three kingdoms'. Lilliburlero became an anti-Jacobite anthem (it can be heard on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4pWwpaLlcQ, accessed 8th May 2017) and is still played at Orange Order parades in Northern Ireland.

[13] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.286.

Patriot; and History of Our Own Times, a combination of news, reports from other newspapers and letters purportedly from loyal readers, as well as editorial comment in support of the king and the government.

Once the Jacobite army was known to have turned back from Derby and retreated north out of England, the print makers of London produced new material which reflected the more promising circumstances for the Hanoverian regime. In this section I will discuss three prints - *The Rebells in a Panick: or, Shakespeare's Ghost in the North*, *The Parcae: or, the European Fates*, and *The Highland Chace: or, The Pursuit of the Rebels* - which were published at a time when the Jacobite army was in retreat, but before any decisive victory had been achieved by the British army, exploring how their imagery differed from what had gone before (fig.47, fig.48 and fig.49). Most importantly, their tone appears to indicate a greater sense of confidence that the government's efforts to deal with the rising might in the end succeed. The emblematic mode still predominated in many of these prints, as it had done in the recent past, but more naturalistic elements also began to enter the imagery, through references to particular events, places or specific personalities.

The Rebells in a Panick: or, Shakespeare's Ghost in the North is a broadside without a publication date (fig.47). The title, however, together with the verse beneath the image, suggests that it was published at some point after the Jacobite army had turned back from Derby and before it was finally crushed at Culloden:

> Fly to your Highlands, Rebels - sue for Peace
>
> If not and Treason dares to wait Chastisement.
>
> …
>
> For hark, the English Drum, a warning Bell,
>
> Sings heavy Musick to you timorous Souls,

And soon shall ring your dire Departure out.

In the middle section of the image, a familiar assortment of emblematic motifs is deployed. Charles Stuart is depicted as a wolf wearing a papal tiara on its head and with a cockerel and a devil on its back. He is seen facing George II in the guise of a crowned lion. The lion oversees a group of cubs, implying that the king and his subjects share the same positive characteristics of strength and fierceness (fig.47a). The wolf is supported by a band of French cockerels sporting either papal tiaras or cardinals' hats, foxes and hounds, reiterating the well-worn propaganda line associating the Jacobite project with the French and Catholicism. Both animals carry standards describing the attributes which were supposed to encapsulate these leaders' current or prospective regimes: in the case of George II that involves 'Liberty & Property, Protestantism, Prosperity', whilst Charles's will purportedly entail 'Slavery, Wooden Shoes, Popery, Fire & Faggot & Beggary'.

The image is surrounded by a border of text, and that inscribed in the left-hand side clarifies the scene: 'Rome's French ridden Pretender, with proper Colours, spurr'd on by the Devil his attendants Gallic Crowers Popish foxes and Blood Hounds'. The text inscribed on the bottom edge explains the visual content placed just above. To the left is a regiment of soldiers dressed in tartan, 'Highland Plunderers', who appear to be a more orderly group than the written account would suggest, while to the right are the lion and unicorn from the royal coat of arms and two ships representing Britain's naval power and the source of her wealth, described as 'Great Britain & Great George's strength'. In between is a cartouche in which several horsemen, armed with swords are seen chasing their animal quarry, a fox and a wolf both wearing papal tiaras, in a partly naturalistic and partly symbolic representation of current events, described as 'Royal Hunters, English Hussars & c. driving Popery and Charles linked together out of the Kingdom'. The Hussars and the Royal Hunters were known to be amongst

Cumberland's troops chasing the Jacobite army, this having been reported in the press.[14] The purpose of the presence of a large figure seen holding a tablet marked 'Preston' is made clear in the text in the right-hand border: 'ye Ghost of Shakespeare animating ye English & intimidating ye Rebells'. A phantom of the iconic English playwright serves to remind viewers of the defeat suffered by the Jacobites in 1715, after which that rising collapsed.[15]

Much of this is stock imagery promoting the Hanoverian agenda, already seen elsewhere. It is, however, augmented by sketches of two instantly recognisable architectural features. At the top of the image, we can see images of the Tower of London and Temple Bar, the latter adorned with severed heads displayed on poles. These buildings are placed either side of a gallows complete with hanging bodies, presented as 'a distant prospect of the future fate of the rebellious Crew'. They are not part of a topographical 'prospect' *per se*, the word here apparently sliding into its sense as an outlook on the future. The Tower and Temple Bar are the most striking symbols of the awesome power of the British judicial system, intended to warn of the consequences for those who commit treason, be they aristocrats, who were usually beheaded at the Tower, or commoners, whose severed heads were by tradition exposed on Temple Bar.

The image in this broadside therefore includes some of the by now customary references to the popularly perceived negative aspects of Jacobitism to remind viewers that it remained a meaningful threat: the poverty, Catholicism and potential loss of liberty that would supposedly attend a restoration of the Stuarts are all spelled out in Charles's banner. For those loyal to George II, however, the image also delivers a more positive message that the rebellion will eventually be overcome. It refers back to the battle of Preston, the occasion

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[14] This information was available, for example, in the *General Advertiser*, London 17th December 1745.

[15] Ghosts appear in a number of Shakespeare plays, including *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. It is unclear which, if any, is specifically referred to here, but all presage some disaster.

when the previous Jacobite incursion into England had been convincingly crushed, and looks forward to the events which usually concluded any successfully defeated armed uprising: the execution of the principal offenders who do not manage to escape.

Whilst this broadside illustration presents a fairly straightforward graphic version of Hanoverian rhetoric, it does also include some text in Latin which would have been comprehensible only by viewers with classical education, thereby mingling more popular imagery with some less readily accessible content. First, a Latin inscription has been placed within the border of the cartouche: '*pro patria aris focisque*' (for country, altar and home). The second instance involves not just text, but also appears to make reference to medallic art. Two similar depictions of Britannia, circumscribed with Latin inscriptions and presented as if opposite sides of a coin or medal, have been placed between the columns of verse (fig.47b). One is the right way up, encircled by the legend 'Georgius Secundus Mag: Brit: Rex. 1727-1745 & c.' (the '& c.' suggesting that his reign will continue on into the future). The other, upside down, is labelled 'Jacobus Secundus Mag: Brit: tyrannus 1684-8', providing an echoing, but contrasting inscription. A two-dimensional version of the high cultural mode of the medal has been inserted into the lower status medium of graphic satire, in order to make a pithy political point.

A print which appears to be addressed exclusively to a more elite audience because of its reference to classical mythology is *The Parcae: or, the European Fates*, published by George Bickham and first advertised by him on 12th March 1746 (fig.48).[16] In contrast to *The Rebells in a Panick*, this print is more concerned with the broader European situation, referring particularly to international issues related to trade and commerce. The War of the Austrian Succession was still rumbling on in 1746. By this time, Maria Theresa had manged

[16] *General Advertiser*, London, 12th March 1746.

to save the heart of her Habsburg lands, despite losing some territory to Frederick II's Prussia under the terms of the December 1745 Peace of Dresden in exchange for Frederick recognising Maria Theresa's husband, Francis I, as Holy Roman Emperor. Frederick II, however, faced the possibility that Austria might yet go on the offensive again, especially if given support by Russia, Hanover and perhaps others; the Spanish still had ambitions in Italy; and, most importantly from the British perspective, France was threatening to advance into the United Provinces, with which Britain was allied.[17] The print addresses the anxiety that the French were, at the same time, planning to move against Britain as part of a long-term strategic ambition to control colonial trade.[18] As well as needing to be conversant with details of the war and international trade in order to be able to understand its narratives, viewers of the print also required a reasonably advanced knowledge of classical mythology in order to unpick its commentary on contemporary economic and political affairs.

The title, *The Parcae*, refers to the three personifications of destiny in Roman mythology, known in English as the Fates. The print draws an analogy between their relationship and that between George II, Louis XV of France and Louis's Minister of State, Cardinal Tencin. The Greek equivalents of the Fates, the Moirae, are named Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos.[19] In the print the French king is given the role of Lachesis, who was supposed to decide how much life time should be allocated to each individual by measuring out the thread

[17] The situation is explained more extensively in M. S Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748* (London, Longman, 1995), pp.152-66.

[18] As late as mid-February 1746, several newspapers still carried the information that 'The Government has ordered a Battery to be erected in every Town onto the Sea Coast between Hull in Yorkshire and Portsmouth in Hampshire as a Security from Foreign Invasion', as in the *Daily Post*, London, 8th February 1746 and the *Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal*, London, 18th February 1746.

[19] Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, translated by A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1985), p.294; William Hansen, *Classical Mythology: A Guide to the Mythical World of the Greeks and Romans* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), p.153.

of life with her rod. Louis appears in the print holding the fate of Britain and the Netherlands in his left hand and the measuring rod in the other. The verse below explains that, 'while envious, proud and vaunting of his strength, LEWIS, like Lachesis, winds off each Length'. The thread of life currently being decided, specified in the print as 'English Wool', is supplied by Cardinal Tencin who takes the role of Atropos, the operator of the spinning wheel labelled 'universal monarchy'. Atropos was supposed to choose a person's destiny.[20] Again the verse explains: 'While Tencin spins, like Atropos, his Thread, And English Wool supports his scheming Head'. George II is allocated the role of Clotho, the sister who has ultimate control, because it is Clotho who cuts the thread of life and who was supposed to determine the time and manner of a person's death. The king is thus seen wielding a large pair of scissors. Once again, Charles Stuart is equated with the fifteenth-century pretender, Perkin Warbeck, as the verse below assures the reader that Britain will ultimately prevail: 'In vain the Pope may pray, or Perkin plead' (presumably for French backing to restore the Stuarts and Catholicism in Britain), 'Against this Isle they never can succeed'.

The fact that English wool is treated as the 'thread of life' for Britain indicates its vital significance to her prosperity. In the mid-eighteenth century, woollen and worsted cloths accounted for fifty percent of Britain's domestic exports and the wool trade was second only to agriculture in its contribution to the economy.[21] Woollen cloth-making remained the most important of Britain's manufacturing industries throughout the century, supported by the

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[20] The image of Tencin is recognisable from earlier Bickham prints, *Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls* (fig.40) and *The Cardinal in the Dumps* (fig.42). George II appears as in another Bickham print, *The H[anove]r Bubble* (fig.10), whilst it is unclear if Louis XV is drawn from an identifiable source.

[21] John Rule, 'Manufacturing and Commerce', in H. T Dickinson, ed., *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2006), p.129.

government through a number of protectionist measures.[22] Indeed, sums raised from a subscription among the city's merchants organised by the Lord Mayor of London were used to buy clothing and blankets for soldiers in Scotland, deliberately sourced from manufacturers and traders in the north of England and lowland Scotland in order to shore up support in areas directly affected by the rebellion.[23] The implication in the print appears to be that Tencin is in charge of the planning details in the 'operations room' of the French monarchy, with particular designs on Britain's lucrative wool trade, while Louis, as the head of state, takes on a more regal role of ordering the carving up of his rivals' sources of wealth.

Meanwhile, the Pope is seen praying, and Charles creeps out from behind a curtain in the background. They are both placed in partial shadow, suggesting that they are accessories to France's grander quest for power in Europe as they scheme in the background; the current Jacobite campaign was just one strand of the wider set of circumstances, in which the struggle for domination over colonial trade is the most important. Familiar anti-French rhetoric is still in evidence, even if it does not involve more popular concerns, particularly the anticipated dangers to liberty and Protestantism in Britain which had hitherto dominated the printed satire associated with the rebellion. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Dutch were perceived in Britain as reluctant participants in the Pragmatic Alliance, only willing to take military action against France when it was in her interests to do so. In this print, the point is pursued further as Holland is depicted as a headless man, a reference to the fact that there was no Stadholder at the time, but also indicating that the country, in the absence of a head of state, is directed by no principles other than mercenary considerations, represented here as

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[22] John Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: the English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1999), p.11; Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, *1688-1783* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave, 2001), p.69.

[23] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London, BCA, 1992), p.82.

seven arms engaged in the general traffic in various goods between Britain, Europe and beyond.[24] The arms appear to be going busily back and forth with bags labelled 'Two India Ships', 'Brandy' (a *fleur-de-lys* is used to identify the brandy as French), 'Smuggling' and 'English', beneath the image of what may be a cow (perhaps a reference to England's agricultural sector). On the floor, other major components of world trade are presented in the form of a box of 'Dutch Tea' and a bale of 'English Wool', as the Low Countries, 'To make the most of all Things - neutral stands'.[25]

Overall, *The Parcae* gives a confident impression that Britain will be able to hold her own in the struggle against France. The verse asserts that George II 'defeats each dark Design, And when he please, cuts the laboured twine'. It accords with *The Rebells in Panick* in this respect, but the symbolism at the heart of the image is not without difficulties which impact on the essential message contained in the print. First, the print shows two of the Fates, Lachesis and Atropos, to be decidedly at odds with the third, Clotho, whereas they might normally be thought of as acting in concert, or engaged in a joint enterprise when deciding the fate of each individual. This detracts somewhat from the aptness of the metaphor. Another possible tension is to be found in the exchange of the female Fates of ancient mythology for the male personalities of eighteenth-century Europe; the political leaders involved in a violent struggle are thus satirically linked with graceful and feminine ancient goddesses.

Fully understanding the narrative deployed in *The Parcae* requires a familiarity with a relatively obscure set of mythological characters, which only those who had benefitted from a classical education would most probably have had. They did not feature in many other

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[24] I am grateful to Professor Bob Harris for identifying the symbolism of the headless man.

[25] Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p.71, notes that smugglers were beneficiaries of protectionist legislation and tended to supply non-essentials such as brandy and lace to British buyers, their services used by many of the elite.

contemporary media. I have also not found any other mid-eighteenth-century prints in which they appear. In another context, Matthew Craske has pointed out that they do not often appear in eighteenth-century tomb sculpture; Louis-François Roubiliac's tomb for Mary, Duchess of Montagu at Warkton, Northamptonshire, completed in 1753, is a notable exception. Craske links this to the fact that Joseph Spence in *Polymetis*, the standard contemporary source concerning the visual language of classical antiquity, mentioned that the three Fates were 'very uncommon' in Roman sculptural monuments, though they do appear in the poetic imagery of classical death, as well as on an ancient medal he had seen.[26] Furthermore, Bickham's print and the Montagu tomb do not appear to have a shared vision of the three goddesses. All this suggests that this print's imagery was meant as a novel witticism which only a certain number of people would have appreciated. The contents of *The Parcae* make a serviceable, rather than a perfectly apt analogy, based on the underlying relationships between the three protagonists, and despite a cast of supporting characters being needed to give a fuller picture of the European scene in the early months of 1746. Fairly extensive knowledge of classical mythology is thus an essential prerequisite for reading *The Parcae*: it is not possible to attempt to read this print without knowing who the Fates are. For *The Rebells in a Panick*, on the other hand, the viewer requires only a fairly basic level of visual literacy to begin accessing the contents of the image. The Latin text included in the form of a motto and two connected small, secondary motifs are used only to add extra detail to the print. This conforms to the common practice of interspersing popular imagery and allusions with more erudite ones, a range of devices helping to broaden appeal.

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[26] Matthew Craske, *The Silent Rhetoric of the Body: A History of Monumental Sculpture and Commemorative Art in England, 1720-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2007), p.291-2, notes Spence mentions allusions to the Fates in Lucian, Catullus and Virgil's poetry.

Eirwen Nicholson has argued that the exclusive nature of some iconography in prints such as *The Parcae* has been down-played, and is concerned to understand its use.[27] Unlike *The Rebells in a Panick* and many of the other images which I have discussed so far, *The Parcae* certainly involves symbolism of an exclusive character, and does not contain much of the more commonplace referencing that so often appeared in printed satire to make it reasonably widely legible. This print provides an analysis of the situation with respect to international trade, rather than addressing the principal domestic concerns provoked by the rising which seem to have preoccupied much of the general population, judging by the contents of the prints discussed in the previous chapter and the contents of much cheap literature produced at the time.[28] A grasp of the matters referenced in *The Parcae* would have required the viewer to be well-informed and, most probably, an assiduous reader of the press, most likely encompassing only a limited section of society. However, as George Bickham was one of the most prominent publishers and sellers of graphic satire, and as his business catered to a full range of tastes (as demonstrated in Chapter Two), he surely must have believed he could sell such a high-end print, if not to all customers, then at least to enough of his clientele for the venture to be commercially worthwhile. It is difficult to evaluate what the general response to such an exclusive print might have been.

Returning to the more immediate events of the rebellion, another print which conveyed a sense of greater optimism is *The Highland Chace, or the Pursuit of the Rebels*, etched by Charles Mosley and published on 21st February 1746 (fig.49). This print is significant because it includes an early, identifiable image of the Duke of Cumberland. The

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[27] Eirwen Nicholson, 'English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument c.1640-c.1832: A Study of Historiography and Methodology' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994), p.186.
[28] Kathleen Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England 1715-1785* (Cambridge, Cambridge University, 1998), pp.167-8.

likeness appears to have been based on an equestrian portrait of the duke painted after the battle of Dettingen (fought in June 1743) for Frederick, Prince of Wales. The portrait is attributed to Thomas Hudson and John Wootton and was subsequently engraved by John Faber and others (fig.50).[29] The duke is seated inside a carriage decorated with his coat of arms, being driven at the back of a neat column of infantry and cavalry regiments marching over the hills and stretching far into the distance. The carriage is not deployed here as an emblematic device as it was in *The Invasion* and *The Procession*, discussed in the previous chapter, but to show the duke as he would have travelled. The riders appear eager to drive the carriage on and, by implication, to hunt down Charles Stuart and his army. The carriage is cheered on by a group of farmers on its far side. Viewers of the print are situated in the place of virtual bystanders on the near side, implying that we are similarly enthusiastic supporters of the duke. The print was published following the duke's return from Europe and when, to the relief of many, he was in the process of pursuing the Jacobite army. The verse below the image again points to a more encouraging outlook for the Hanoverian regime, the duke likened to an eagle about to swoop on its prey:

> If but the Shadow of the Duke appear,
>
> To their own Hill the Rebels scud thro' Fear,
>
> The Eagle, thus, will trembling small Birds scare,

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[29] See Oliver Millar, *Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London, Phaidon, 1963), pp.182-3; https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/407465/william-augustus-duke-of-cumberland-1721-65-at-the-battle-of-dettingen, accessed 13th March 2017, 'the joint attribution to Wootton and Hudson (who can only have executed the head) derives from John Faber's print after this image, which also reports that it hung at Leicester House'. It is also possible that the image is based on a portrait miniature attributed to Christian Friedrich Zincke and executed in 1743-5, which is one of the earliest adult portraits of the duke according to the National Portrait Gallery records (fig.51). However, the miniature is unlikely to have been widely known through the circulation of printed copies, whereas the Hudson and Wootton painting certainly was.

As, fierce, He drives them thro' the boundless Air.

The duke had become a popular figure due to his exploits on the Continent. George II had promoted him after Dettingen and, despite suffering a defeat when in charge of British forces at Fontenoy in May 1745, the respect gained for his bravery when wounded at Dettingen, and for his general conduct in the field, contributed to his wider reputation as a military commander. Horace Walpole observed after Fontenoy that Cumberland 'will be as popular with the lower class of men as he has been for three or four years with the low women. He will be the soldiers' "Great Sir" as well as theirs.'[30] As W. A. Speck has noted, 'he had somehow managed to turn the military setback (at Fontenoy) into a personal triumph'.[31] Cumberland's stock was therefore high when he was called back to England and only enhanced by the recapture of Carlisle, accounting for the appearance of his likeness in *The Highland Chace*. At this point, he embodied the hopes of many loyalists, a representative of the Hanoverian dynasty who could plausibly lead a successful campaign against Charles and the threatened restoration of the Stuart dynasty. He was also a more youthful and promising prospect than the aging General Sir John Cope, General Sir John Ligonier and Field Marshal George Wade, the three commanders who had been in charge of the various contingents of the British army during the previous failed attempts to thwart the Jacobite army.

4.2 *Victory at last*

As Cumberland renewed his pursuit of Charles's forces towards the end of January 1746, the newspapers appeared keen to stress that he was making good progress in his

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[30] W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols, (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1937-83), Vol.19, p.52, Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 24th May 1745.

[31] Speck, *Butcher*, p.82.

mission to track them down. One report claimed: ‘All Accounts from Scotland agree that the rebels are flying before the Duke of Cumberland like hunted Hares’.[32] The *True Patriot* of 11th-18th February 1746, meanwhile, reported: ‘All our Accounts from Scotland are full of the Gallantry of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.’[33] It was, however, no simple task to corner the Jacobite foe, especially in the appalling winter weather, but, by spring 1746, it became clear that the Jacobites were likely to face the British army in battle near Inverness. The *General Advertiser* of 12th March 1746, the same issue in which *The Parcae* was advertised, reported:

> The last and best Accounts we had of the Rebels, were … the Main of their Body, which they call 2000, is on the other Side of that River (the Spey), making a Show of Retrenching themselves, though they have but two Pieces of Cannon with them … The Pretender’s Son is still in Inverness, with 3 or 4000 of the Clans, according to their own reckoning, so that if a Stand is made at all, it will probably be there.[34]

It was not long after this that Cumberland met the Jacobite army and inflicted a comprehensive defeat on Charles’s forces at the battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746. The news was first publicised in a special edition of the *London Gazette*, on 23rd April, prompting a rapid response from the print publishers.[35]

Battle plans were often produced after significant military engagements, and a number were published in the wake of Culloden. For example, Charles Corbett advertised one such battle plan on 10th May 1745, while another was printed in the May edition of the

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[32] *George Faulkner the Dublin Journal*, Dublin, 11th -15th February 1746. This is an embellished version of a report in *London Gazette Extraordinary*, London, 5th February 1746, which merely stated that the rebels were ‘flying before him’.

[33] *True Patriot, and History of Our Own Times*, London, 11th-18th February 1746.

[34] *General Advertiser*, London, 12th *March 1746.*

[35] *London Gazette Extraordinary, London, 23rd April 1746.*

Gentleman's Magazine (fig.53).[36] Such plans provided a means of understanding the layout of a battle field and the major features of the terrain on which the combat had taken place. Their diagrammatic format was designed to communicate accurately information about the specific disposition of the opposing troops as they had lined up before the action began, but they could give little impression of how the battle had unfolded. They could, nonetheless, enhance a reader's ability to create a mental picture of events when consulted in conjunction with a written description of the battle's progress.

When it came to graphic satire, my main concern here, previous images contrasting the benefits of the Hanoverian regime with the supposed drawbacks of a potential Stuart regime, and the subsequent prints anticipating a time when the Jacobite army would be subdued, were replaced at a stroke by triumphalist prints celebrating the victory at Culloden. For the most part, they showed battle scenes, emphasising the critical moment when the Highlanders were forced to turn and flee for their lives as they succumbed to the overpowering might of the British army. Most also include images of the British army's leader on the field, the Duke of Cumberland.

The first print to be published after the victory at Culloden was *The Highlanders Medley, or the Duke Triumphant*, an anonymous medley print of the type that George Bickham senior had done much to popularise earlier in the century (fig.54). Indeed, it is the only medley print associated with the rebellion, perhaps a means of catching the attention of the buying public when a string of many similar images concerning the battle were being produced. The print, originally advertised by its publisher, Peter Brookes, on 5th May 1746, encouraged readers to 'behold the Royal Youth, 'Tis he Who Fights the Battles, sets your

[36] *Westminster Journal, or New Weekly Miscellany*, London, 10th May 1746. I'm not sure to which plan this refers, but see fig.52, for an example. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.16 (London, May 1746), p.240.

Country free'.[37] At its centre is a half-length portrait of the Duke of Cumberland holding his sword across his body, surrounded by a combination of emblematic and more naturalistic *trompe l'oeil* prints within the print. A group of printed objects, the portrait of Cumberland, a playing card, a song sheet, and several printed images, have been engraved to look as if left in a disorderly pile. They have, however, been deliberately placed so as to create a sophisticated reading structure through the careful overlap and juxtaposition of the component parts. Eight lines of verse have been set in a cartouche which forms part of the frame for the pile of prints.

An image of the key moment of British troops chasing off Scottish Highlanders is placed at the bottom of the medley, overlaid by a print showing Liberty directing Britannia's gaze towards a land of peace and plenty, symbolised by a bee hive. Indicating the relative strengths of the rival armies, the Hanoverian soldiers are mounted on healthy, well-fed horses, while the Highlanders ride scrawny-looking beasts, described in the explanatory verse as 'Carrion Horses'. The fleeing Jacobites look back anxiously, not towards Cumberland's army, but instead to the serene and far from war-like Britannia. She represents an idealised Britain which is, by implication, the natural consequence of order being restored to the nation by Cumberland's victory, of which the Jacobites appear to be, ultimately, most afraid.

Beneath this print and that of Cumberland is a further image, which seems to have had the bottom left hand corner torn off, to reveal more of the print below. The middle part is obscured, but the right side shows a group of Highlanders following Charles Stuart's standard of three crowns and a coffin, signifiers of his avowed intention to fight to the death to recover the three British thrones. However, the Highlanders have, unwittingly, as suggested by the break in the picture, been caught up in a net by the devil on the left hand side of the print. In a visual pun, the cross hatching of this net echoes the standard visual method used to delineate

[37] *General Advertiser*, London, 5th May 1746. I have been unable to find biographical information on Peter Brookes.

tartan cloth. The devil is seen dragging his load towards the trap that is a gallows at the top of a hill in the distance, baited with the crowns of England, Ireland and Scotland placed at the corners.

At the top right of the medley is another image, possibly a representation of Cumberland's other significant success: his entry into Carlisle after having retaken the town. Several dignitaries watch rows of soldiers marching past, part of a triumphal procession. The configuration of British soldiers placed at diagonally opposite corners of the print gives the impression of the Jacobite army being caught in the middle of a pincer movement. To the left of Cumberland's portrait is a playing card, the significance of which I will return to below, together with a popular anti-Jacobite 6d. song sheet, a printed version of a song performed by John Beard at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1745, referred to above. The text includes the lines:

> Regardless whether Wrong or Right,
>
> For Booty (not for Fame they fight,
>
> Banditti-like, they storm, they slay,
>
> They plunder rob and run away.

This verse implies that the Jacobites should be viewed as common criminals, intent only on looting and pillaging.

Mark Hallett has drawn attention to the fact that one of the principal aims of a medley print was to offer a dialogue between 'ready-made' and fictional images.[38] *The Highlanders Medley* appears to conform to this pattern, with the portrait of Cumberland and the transcript of the loyal song taken from printed products that had earlier been published, reproduced here alongside other images which, as far as I have been able to establish, were invented for the

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[38] Mark Hallett, 'The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London', *Art History*, Vol.20, No.2 (June 1997), p.218.

benefit of the medley print. Cumberland's half-length portrait appears to be after that painted by Hudson and Wootton for Frederick, Prince of Wales (fig.50). Meanwhile, the loyal song sung by Beard at Covent Garden was published in the two printed versions mentioned above: one including the tune; the other illustrated with an image of a mounted Duke of Cumberland, although neither is exactly reproduced in the medley (fig.55 and fig.56).[39] Hallett sees such mixing of the 'real' and the imaginary as 'a strategy designed to demonstrate the skill of the engraver', indicating a concern with 'pictorial *effects* rather than the underlying pictorial narratives', but pictorial narratives are crucial in the instance under scrutiny here. The fact that this print consists of some 'real' printed objects serves to reinforce the narratives contained within the medley, the 'reality' of these objects implying the corresponding 'truthfulness' of the events depicted in the specially invented objects.

The Highlanders Medley was shortly followed by *Tandem Triumphans, Translated by the Duke of Cumberland, With the Point of his Sword*, published by Charles Corbett on 7th May 1746 (fig.57). Corbett had inherited his father's shop and publishing business 'at Addison's Head' near Temple Bar and was, primarily, a publisher of pamphlets in the 1730s and 1740s.[40] The title of the image, as Danielle Thom has noted, is an ironic appropriation of the Stuart motto 'triumphant at last', usually seen emblazoned on Charles Stuart's standard.[41] An accurate depiction of any battle is difficult to produce, but, in the case of Culloden, eyewitness accounts differed markedly, while later versions tend to be heavily influenced by

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[39] The score was also printed in the *London Magazine, and Monthly Chronologer* (London, December 1745), p.616.

[40] Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), p.11.

[41] Danielle Thom, '"William, the Princely Youth": The Duke of Cumberland and Anti-Jacobite Visual Strategy, 1745-46', *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol.16, No.3 (2015), pp.249-66 .

which side the author had fought for or supported.[42] An advertisement placed by Corbett for this image in the press described it as 'showing the Scene of Action, with the most considerable Persons concerned in it, particularly the Duke and Lord Albemarle pursuing the Pretender … being a lively Representation of that glorious Action, and a proper Present for the Country, to hand down to Posterity'.[43] The wording 'a lively Representation' suggests that the print involves a true picture of the battle, but it is actually a stylised image combining a number of salient details along with representations of many of the leading participants, identified in a key below. They have been fitted into a scene which accords with the description incorporated into the advertisement, and which might otherwise be taken as a somewhat amateurish prospect of the battlefield site. Importantly, the image would almost certainly have been based on reports culled from the newspapers.[44]

The background of *Tandem Triumphans* draws attention to the essential fact that the Jacobite army was forced to flee the battle on 16th April 1746: Cumberland's cavalry chase off a mass of Highlanders who are seen running in terror, the point at which victory over Charles Stuart's forces was beyond question. Charles and one of his inner circle of advisers, Colonel John O'Sullivan, are seen galloping away with their troops, looking back fearfully.[45] Charles shouts, 'Ruin'd & Defeated Save yr Selves', whilst O'Sullivan is seen carrying the

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[42] For analysis of the battle and contemporary accounts of it, see Speck, *Butcher*, pp.139-7 and Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.413-27.

[43] *General Advertiser*, London, 8th May 1746 and *Westminster Journal, or New Weekly Miscellany*, London, 10th May 1746.

[44] An early description of the battle, as opposed to the basic facts of the defeat and lists of those killed or injured, was contained in a letter written by the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle on 16th April. A transcript of a dispatch dated 18th April, with or without an attribution to Cumberland, was published, for example, in the *General Advertiser*, London, 28th April 1746; *True Patriot, and History of Our Own Times*, London, 22nd-29th April 1746; and *London Evening Post*, London, 3rd-6th May 1746.

[45] Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.39-40, O'Sullivan was an Irishman who had been a staff officer in the French army and had accompanied Charles Stuart from the outset of the 1745 campaign.

Prince's standard, the rip across the crown serving as another pointer to the shattering of Stuart ambitions. Charles is referred to in the key as 'The Young Chevalier' rather than 'the Pretender', this more polite title perhaps suggesting that he no longer represents a meaningful threat to George II.[46] Cumberland is depicted to the right of the image, seen in a conventional military pose, mounted astride a rearing horse with his sword raised. This type of military leader imagery can be traced back to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, seen more recently in Anthony van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback* (c. 1638). Cumberland, accompanied by his *aide de camp*, Lord Albemarle, and a number of infantrymen, is not shown in the thick of the fighting or coordinating it, but is rather presented as a successful commander, in accordance with his reputation. He appears with three dying Highlanders prostrate before him with several swords and shields abandoned around them. Nearest the viewer is the Earl of Kilmarnock, seen begging, 'Spare me my Lord, I'm your Relation', while Lord Ancram points a gun at him, exclaiming: 'better be shot than hanged'.[47] Kilmarnock was the most high profile Jacobite leader to be taken prisoner at the time of the battle, while Charles was able to escape.[48] The battle was an extremely bloody one, but this aspect of it has been sanitised in the print. It includes just the three representative Jacobite soldiers on the point of being killed by their British foes, one of the latter of whom is identified as 'General Howard'.[49]

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[46] See my introduction for the circumstances in which Charles was referred to as 'the Chevalier'.

[47] Ancram commanded Cumberland's cavalry and it is quite possible that, as a fellow Scot, Kilmarnock was related to Ancram, but I have not been able to establish how.

[48] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.482, the information that Kilmarnock surrendered to Ancram became more widely known at the time of Kilmarnock's trial when he stated that he could have escaped after Culloden, but opted instead to surrender to Ancram.

[49] For an outline of the battle see Murray Pittock, *Culloden* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016), pp.97-109. Cumberland's dispatch of 18th April 1746, mentioned above, includes the information that 'Lieutenant Colonel Howard killed an officer who appeared to be Lord Strathallan'.

At the bottom left hand corner of the print are four women, two of whom are identified in the key as 'Lady Ogilvy' and 'Lady Murry', looking horrified as they attempt to defend themselves against an British soldier. They are described as 'lamenting their fortunes' in Corbett's advertisement for the print. This vignette may have been based on the widely available information, derived from Cumberland's dispatch of 18th April, that 'Four of their principal Ladies are in Custody, viz. Lady Ogilvie, Lady Kinloch, Lady Gordon and the Laird of M'Intoshes wife'. However, it had been known, from an intelligence report received by General Ligonier as early as November 1745, that 'Lady Ogilvie and Secretary Murray's lady' had been accompanying the Jacobite army as it had marched into England, which may well explain the fact that these two are mentioned specifically in the print.[50] Lady Ogilvy is portrayed brandishing a sword, her skirts raised above her knees to reveal that she is wearing men's riding boots, suggesting that she had engaged in the singularly unfeminine activity of direct involvement in fighting against Cumberland's army. I will return in the next chapter to the subject of how the supposedly 'unnatural' behavior of some leading Jacobite women was used to discredit the Stuart cause in general.

The Duke of Cumberland is yet again at the centre of a Culloden battle scene in *The Victory, or, The New C[our]t Th[an]ksg[ivi]g*, produced in the unusual format of a small folding card (fig.58).[51] One side bears the engraved image and fourteen lines of verse (fig. 58a and fig.58b). On the other side is the title, together with two lines of verse: 'Of old Things like these were done at St. P[aul's], Now our Praises resound at H[a]y M[a]rk[e]t Balls'. Here, we also find the imprint, 'Sold at May's Buildings Covent Garden May 15th 1746', and the nine of diamonds playing card (fig.58c and fig.58d). This printed card was

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[50] Margaret Murray was the wife of Charles Stuart's secretary, John Murray of Broughton and the print probably refers to her rather than Lady Amelia Murray, wife of Lord George Murray.

[51] When folded, the card measures 70x100mm.

first advertised by George Bickham four days after its publication date.[52] *The Victory*, along with *The Parcae*, was part of Bickham's pro-Hanoverian output, adding to the evidence that he was more concerned to capitalise on the commercial opportunities presented by events than to follow any Jacobite leanings he may have had.

The Duke of Cumberland is depicted in *The Victory* in a manner very similar to that in *Tandem Triumphans*, but here carries a commander's baton rather than a sword (fig.58a). He appears closer to the action than in the previous print, due to the fact that he is depicted nearer to the picture plane, the effect augmented by the viewer seeming to be closer to the horizontal level of the battlefield. Immediately behind Cumberland is a violent battle scene, contrasting with the more muted references to Jacobite casualties in *Tandem Triumphans*. A mounted British soldier, his horse rearing in the heat of the moment, is about to crash his sword down onto a Highlander. Another soldier is preparing to hurl himself onto two more Highlanders lying on the ground, whilst a third is seen being blasted off his horse. Around these figures is a haze of battle, the action receding into the distance behind what is presumably Culloden House. The fighting appears to be at its height and not yet past the point where the Highlanders have turned tail and run - though there is no sense that Cumberland is other than in control of the situation.

As in *Tandem Triumphans*, a number of women appear in *The Victory*, but here all are attired in tartan. Again they are close enough that they might almost be involved in the fighting and, once again, at the front of the group, one woman is shown with a raised sword and holding up her dress to expose long riding boots. Although none of these women is specifically identified in the image, the verse opposite is an ironic invitation, as if issued by a polite society hostess. It reads:

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[52] *General Advertiser*, London, 19th May 1746.

Lady Anne makes her compliments on ye Occasion,

Of our martial young Hero's deliv'ring the Nation,

From Irish and Scotch, Nonjurors and Papists,

All Parties and Sects, save Free Thinkers and Atheists.

And begs in th'Evening you'll not fail to come,

T'an Assembly so proper at this time - A Drum.[53]

These lines imply that the booted woman is Lady (Anne) MacKintosh. Despite her husband being a loyal supporter of George II, Lady MacKintosh had gathered together a regiment of her clansmen in time to join the Jacobite forces at the Battle of Falkirk on 17th January 1746 (during the retreat northwards and before the final defeat at Culloden). This led to her being nicknamed 'Colonel Anne', though she did not accompany her regiment into action and, as noted above, she was amongst the four prominent Jacobite women who were arrested immediately after Culloden.[54] The 'invitation' continues with some sexual innuendo, implying a degree of over-familiarity with large numbers of men:

She's engaged ev'ry Officer now about Town,

What M[e]mb[e]rs she can & the Smarts of the Gown.

And some from the City before never seen

With Squires ne'er at Court since the Reign of the Queen.

The Windows enlightned (sic) the Fireworks prepar'd,

And a swinging large Bonfire to blaze in the Yard

Be precise then at nine she'll take no Denial,

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[53] As drums were used to issue commands during a battle, 'A Drum' in this context may mean a request to join the celebrations, also indicated by the drums at the bottom left of the image.

[54] Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.338, 372, notes that shortly before Culloden she sheltered Charles at her family house, Moy Hall, and prevented his capture by scaring off a force of 1500 Hanoverian troops under Lord Loudon.

For who's sober to night can never be loyal. [55]

These lines appear to mock Tories (who had been out of office since the rule of Queen Anne) for being obliged to show enthusiastic support for the Whig government, and to make merry following the victory over the Jacobites for fear of being accused of disloyalty, or worse.

The battlefield scenes seen in the three prints above surely bear only a passing relationship, at best, to actual events, or an approximation to certain defining moments, but they involve, nonetheless, elements of naturalism and reportage, in contrast to the emblematic imagery that was previously ubiquitous. However, two of these prints feature another form of printed product, playing cards, which are used as emblematic devices. Playing cards were a means of communicating meaning symbolically, especially relating to notions of chance and luck. The nine of diamonds, which featured as one page of *The Victory*, had already appeared in another of Bickham's prints discussed in the previous chapter, *Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls*, where that card is seen between Charles Stuart's feet (fig.40). The publisher's advertisement for *The Victory* contains the information that 'a Card of the 9 of Diamonds' is 'Card the 2nd to the Ace of Hearts, & no other'.

The nine of diamonds was known as 'the Curse of Scotland', the origin of which could be found in *The British Apollo*, a book first published in 1711, and reprinted in 1718 and 1726. This volume explains that diamonds, because they were used to embellish crowns, were a 'mark of royalty', then claiming: 'for SCOTLAND's *kings* for many ages were observ'd each *ninth* to be a *tyrant*, who by civil wars, and all the fatal consequences of intestine discord, plunging the divided kingdom into strange disorders'.[56] Including the nine

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[55] Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, p.126, describes her as 'the beautiful Lady MacKintosh', suggesting her good looks may have been the cause of the sexual frisson attached to her.

[56] Anon., *The British Apollo: Containing Two Thousand Answers to Curious Questions in Most Arts and Sciences, ... Vol.2* (3rd edition, London, Theodore Sanders, 1726), p.533.

of diamonds on the reverse of *The Victory* image suggests to the viewer that the Jacobite campaign of 1745-6 was just one more miserable episode in Scotland's bedevilled history and of a piece with its eternal bad luck. The meaning of the ace of hearts, meanwhile, can be explained as representing the cavalry, the interpretation derived from a seventeenth-century French game, *Le Jeu de la Guerre*.[57] It was known shortly after the battle of Culloden that, having been pounded by sustained firing from the British front line, it was the cavalry that had played the most significant part in overwhelming the Jacobite army, running down Jacobite combatants all the way to Inverness: 'The Cavalry, which had charged from the Right from Left, met in the Centre, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in pursuit of the Runaways', as the Duke of Cumberland put it.[58] Bickham's advertisement suggests that the Jacobite uprising was merely the latest manifestation of the age-old curse that hung over Scotland, a force only trumped by the British cavalry.

The Highlanders Medley also includes a playing card, in this case the knave of clubs. Early eighteenth-century medley prints frequently included depictions of this card to indicate knavery, as well as more generally to highlight the mechanical skill of the engraver in being able accurately to mimic different types of printed material. Here, the playing card is placed so that the knave is seen warily eyeing the Jacobites' nemesis, the Duke of Cumberland.[59] The verse indicates, however, that this look is one of jealousy: 'Ch[arle]s with Envy, eyes his rising Fame'. A 'knave' had, in the past, meant a male servant of royalty, but, by the

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[57] S. W. Singer, *Researches into the History of Playing Cards, with Illustrations …* (London, R. Triphook, 1816), pp.233-4.

[58] Cumberland's dispatch of 16th April 1746.

[59] Rodney P. Carlisle, *Encyclopedia of Play in Today's Society* (Los Angeles and London, Sage, 2009), p.290, the term 'jack' was in usage in relation to playing cards, but only became entrenched in the nineteenth century.

eighteenth century, it was widely understood to be someone 'tainted with wickedness'.[60] The card in this image not only functions as a sign of the knavery of Charles himself, but also of all who actively supported the Jacobite campaign, deploying as it does a standard knave image, rather than a particularised portrait of the prince. Appropriately, the knave, as was customary in playing cards, wears a bonnet which can be interpreted as a visual pun, due to its resemblance to the headwear typical of Highland dress.

4.3 *The hero of Culloden*

The possibility of a French-backed attempt to restore the Stuart dynasty, which had begun to emerge from 1743 onwards, did much, as Kathleen Wilson has stated, to 'galvanise the apparatus of extra-parliamentary political culture to loyalist ends'.[61] The reaction of the general population to the Jacobite threat had, however, been difficult for the government to estimate, because the intensity of disaffection in Britain and the possible level of active support for the rising in England were unknown. The underlying causes of dissent and opposition to the Whig government were not removed with the defeat of the Jacobite army at Culloden, but those who had supported the rising tended to keep their subversive thoughts to themselves after the defeat, while loyalists were able to celebrate the victory openly. Historians have debated as to whether the Jacobites came closer to realising their hopes in 1745 or in the earlier rising of 1715, but the exuberance of the celebrations following the battle of Culloden was probably a reflection of how close the English public believed the

[60] Dr Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1755 includes the word 'knave' along with 'tainted with wickedness' under the entry for 'corrupt', http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?page_id=7409&SearchValue=knave, accessed 7th March 2017.

[61] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.167.

country had come to another civil war.[62] The celebrations were no doubt an expression of a huge sense of relief that such an outcome had been avoided. The Duke of Cumberland became the focus of an ardent outpouring of patriotic fervour, expressed most emphatically in the press, but also in other media, on the streets and in the theatre. Based on his recapturing of Carlisle and the final triumph at Culloden, the duke was lionised as the hero of the hour, and though questions were later asked about the brutality with which the rebellion had been put down, this did not seem to affect the appetite of the buying public for printed images of him. In the wake of the victory at Culloden, more than twenty different prints featuring a portrait of the duke were published, including profile heads, half-length images (usually in uniform) and full-length portraits on horseback.[63] Cumberland does not appear to have been the subject of much printed imagery prior to 1746. This was partly because Jacobite propagandists had successfully developed a romantic and attractive persona for Charles Stuart (of which more in the next chapter), which the Hanoverian side had found difficult to counter effectively. The potential of the superficial similarities between the two young men, their similar ages and their royal lineage, was only realised after Culloden.

Cumberland's popularity arose out of his performance on the Culloden battlefield, presenting print publishers, along with manufacturers of other consumer objects such as medals, pottery and fans, with an exceptional commercial opportunity. This came a few years after that afforded by Admiral Vernon's exploits in capturing the Spanish colonial possession of Porto Bello in 1739. That feat, however, had been linked with opposition to the government: Sir Robert Walpole had been criticised for not having defended Britain's

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[62] Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2006), *passim* and Bruce Lenman, *Jacobite Risings in Britain: 1689-1746* (Dalkeith, Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), *passim*, have both argued that the 1715 rising came closer to succeeding.

[63] See appendix to this thesis.

interests as vigorously as many Patriot Whigs would have liked, and Vernon himself had been a stern critic of the administration's domestic and foreign policy.[64] Cumberland, on the other hand, was not tainted by such associations and was self-evidently, as the king's son, a standard bearer for the Hanoverian dynasty. The duke's portrait was reproduced to such an extent that Horace Walpole wrote the following on the subject of inn signs: 'I observed how the Duke's head had succeeded almost universally to Admiral Vernon's'.[65]

Danielle Thom has recently suggested that Cumberland's persona was represented in three distinct modes, each contributing to 'his development as a locus of anti-Jacobite demonstration'.[66] The three categories she has identified are an outstanding military leader; a royal prince who, as the representative of the ruling house of Hanover, was able to transcend and negate the discontent that was often attached to his father's Whig government; and the archetypal embodiment of such praiseworthy qualities as strength, valour and patriotic pride. Thom goes on to suggest that the memorabilia produced during and immediately after the rebellion was 'designed with the strategic representation of the duke in mind'.[67] Taken over the whole period of the rebellion, I would not disagree, but I would add that, in the aftermath of Culloden, print publishers were in part governed by the need to produce material as rapidly as possible. Tight time constraints were a key element of the competitive demands of this business, ensuring that printers keen to take advantage of a buoyant market were inclined to rely on the few representations of the duke readily available. Thus, print makers tended to copy or rework imagery of the duke that was both ready to hand and likely to be recognised. They elaborated on the basic portrait types concerned, placing them within new background

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[64] Wilson, *Sense of the People*, p.142.

[65] Lewis, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Vol.37, Horace Walpole to the Hon. Henry Conway, 16th April 1747.

[66] Thom, "William, the Princely Youth", p.250.

[67] Thom, "William, the Princely Youth", p.249.

settings and the accompanying iconographic schemes intended to emphasise the Hanoverian propaganda line.

In Chapter Two we saw how, in *Court and Country United*, the image of George II was probably based on a very recent portrait by Thomas Hudson, and/or engravings after it, which had significant implications for the meaning of the print (fig.12 and fig.19). The images of the king's two sons in this scene, however, are not particularised portrayals as far as I am aware. This may have been because the inclusion of these figures was primarily intended to demonstrate that George II was secure on the throne and had guaranteed the future of the Hanoverian dynasty by producing two potential heirs who had already reached adulthood. The prints of Cumberland that were produced after 16th April 1746, however, can be grouped according the likenesses from which they were drawn. The first are those that appear to have been based on medals struck to commemorate the retaking of Carlisle at the end of December 1745, which included an up-to-date profile bust of the duke.[68] The second are variants of, or partial appropriations from, the Hudson and Wootton portrait of Cumberland.

Printmakers who looked to the corpus of medals when depicting Cumberland had a number of examples from which to choose: Noel Woolf lists seven medals that were produced specifically to commemorate the retaking of Carlisle and a further six that were struck as the Jacobite army retreated to Scotland, produced by such noted medal artists as the Kirk brothers and Thomas Pingo.[69] Eight of these medals feature a similar profile portrait of the duke, in uniform and bare-headed, which also appeared on tokens produced as theatre tickets, but the identity of the original designer of this image is unclear (fig. 59, fig.60 and

[68] On a medal, two images are included in one artefact, usually related - a portrait of the person being celebrated found on the obverse and associated allegorical imagery found on the reverse.
[69] Noel Woolf, *The Medallic Record of the Jacobite Movement* (London, Spink and Son, 1988), pp.96-9.

fig.61). The battle of Culloden was also commemorated in medals, but they would have taken a while longer than prints to be produced. Several of those Culloden medals include a similar profile bust of the duke, however.[70] The fact that many of these medals carried legends in English rather than in Latin, and were struck in cheap metals, suggests that there was a fairly extensive market for them in 1746. In Chapter Two I noted that prices for medals struck in copper, rather than more expensive ones struck in silver or gold, were comparable with those for cheap prints.[71]

As Thom has stated, medals were intrinsically political, a vehicle for pure iconography as they lacked the space for much text or complex compositions; 'their function was one of simplification as well as glorification'.[72] This simplification was taken to an extreme in some printed versions of Cumberland's image, such as that produced by Charles Grignion, a London engraver of Huguenot extraction (fig.62). In this print the duke is presented in armour with his hair tied in military fashion, and set against a plain circular background. It has the appearance of a printed version of a medal obverse, with the portrait identified as 'William Duke of Cumberland', although the lettering does not surround the image as it would on a medal. The duke's Christian name is fortuitous reminder to Hanoverian loyalists that it was his namesake, William III, who had forestalled the possibility of arbitrary government and the re-imposition of Catholicism in Britain in 1688. Interestingly, there has been no attempt here to disguise the duke's rather chubby physique and jowly chin, despite these not conforming especially well to idealised figures of martial

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[70] Two of the Culloden medals include profile images of George II rather than his son. For details of these see Woolf, *Medallic Record*, pp.103-6.

[71] Christopher Eimer, *The Pingo Family and Medal Making in Britain* (London, British Art Medal Trust, 1998), pp.8-9.

[72] Thom, "William, the Princely Youth", p.253.

prowess. They were by this stage, more importantly, Cumberland's immediately recognisable attributes.

Use of the medal profile portrait, which had originated in the ancient world, encouraged print designers to expand on classicising themes in connection with the Duke of Cumberland. In many of the pro-Hanoverian prints discussed in this thesis, Rome was alluded to because of its association with Catholicism. This connection was played on in anti-Jacobite graphic satire for its disparaging implications. However, references to antiquity held connotations of heroic virtue when applied to the duke. A more elaborate print which makes use of the medal-type portrait is *Ars & Exercitium solent praestare Victoriama* (fig.63). Here the duke's profile image is reproduced as the obverse of a coin, his Latinised name inscribed round the edge. The medal is held above what appears to be a cloud of cannon fire, implying that the duke merits elevation to divine status given the classical figures surrounding it. A winged Victory holds a laurel wreath above the duke's head, and Fame blows her trumpet in the direction of the soldiers seen in the distance. These two figures are accompanied by Athena, the goddess of war, who looks up appreciatively at Cumberland and points to the British troops he has commanded below. Mythology had it that Athena was an astute companion of heroes, the patron goddess of heroic endeavour, and she is seen here leaning on her traditional attribute of a shield decorated with the head of Medusa.[73] She also stands in front of a cannon and all the paraphernalia needed to fire it, a symbol of the British army's modern firepower as opposed to the relatively antiquated dirk, broadsword and targe (a shield made of wood, covered with leather and studs) with which many Highlanders were thought to fight.[74] The legend below the image reinforces the message concerning Britain's advanced military methods. It is a quotation taken from Vegetius, the fourth-century Roman author of a

[73] Grimal, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, pp.123-4.

[74] Colley, *Britons*, p.86, discusses the superiority of Britain's military technology at the time of the rebellion.

treatise on the art of warfare, and may be translated as ‘technique and practice are accustomed to provide victory’.[75] At the foot of the scene, three cherubs play with a plan of a castle whilst, in the distance, a fortified town can be seen. This suggests that the print refers to the retaking of Carlisle rather than Culloden (particularly as Edinburgh castle did not fall to the Charles despite the rest of the city doing so), but the focal point of the print is the heroic status of Cumberland and his military prowess.[76]

The second group of images of Cumberland produced after Culloden are based on Hudson and Wootton’s 1744 equestrian portrait of the duke at Dettingen. This likeness was used, for example, in a print published by Thomas Bakewell on 1st May 1746, *An exact representation of ye army passing over the River Spey …* (fig.64). The duke appears here in a more dynamic pose than in the Hudson and Wootton portrait, astride a frisky horse ready for action, but very similar to that seen in *Tandem Triumphans*. He is on some high ground with a group of his senior officers, as his forces, in two long, well-ordered columns, are about to cross the last major geographical hurdle before facing the Jacobite army in battle. The duke has here been placed in a naturalistic setting, depicted at a particular moment during his pursuit of Charles.

In other images based on this portrait, the duke is set within frames resembling the visual language and tropes of monumental sculpture. In a print published by R. Forrest on 29th September 1746, the Hudson and Wootton painting has been cut down and adapted so that we see a half-length image of the duke in his uniform and tricorn hat, his garter sash and star prominently displayed (fig.65).[77] Situated within an oval frame, his body is at an angle as in the portrait, but here he looks directly out at the viewer. Liberty, sporting a large pendant

[75] I am grateful to Sam Eidinow for identifying the source.

[76] For details of the rebels’ occupation of Edinburgh see Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.183-4.

[77] Thomas Kitchen put his name to another edition of this print.

adorned with the union flag, and a winged Victory support the image of the duke, while a prostrate, dying Highlander lies beneath it. This vanquished foe is dressed in plaid, his broken weaponry strewn around him, and a motto draped across the scene reads: ‘Thus to Expire be still the Rebells Fate, While endless Honours on brave William wait’.

In another, similar print, the image of Cumberland is again set in a frame, but this time as part of a faux architectural setting that incorporates a sculptural depiction of Athena and a Culloden battlefield scene (fig.66). This includes a small version of the equestrian portrait, allowing the duke to be linked with the particular circumstances of his heroic deeds through the legend, ‘Veni, Vidi, Vici’, a phrase popularly attributed to Julius Caesar, and often used to refer to a quick, decisive victory. The duke’s sword is, this time, not in his hand, but instead rests on a plinth inscribed with a patriotic verse which suggests that Cumberland may be likened to the Duke of Marlborough, the hero of the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies, both fought during the earlier eighteenth-century Europe-wide conflict, the War of the Spanish Succession. This depiction resembles closely the so-called ‘Houbraken heads’, a set of images designed for the extra-illustration (the fashionable pastime of collecting printed images to illustrate published texts) of Paul de Rapin de Thoyras’s *History of England* (1725), published by John and Paul Knapton in 1743. The Dutch engraver Jacob Houbraken had modelled his subjects’ portraits in the fashionable manner, setting them within decorative rococo frames interlaced with imagery epitomising their lives and achievements.[78] That this print echoes one of Houbraken’s recent engravings conveys the suggestion that the duke is worthy of a place amongst the most illustrious figures of British history.

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[78] Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain 1769-1840* (San Merino, California, The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017), pp.19, 22.

According to Horace Walpole, the duke's famous soubriquet, 'the butcher', originated when it was 'lately proposed in the City, to present him (the duke) with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, "then let it be of the *Butchers*!"'.[79] Whatever the strengths of the claim that Cumberland's treatment of Charles's troops on the battlefield and afterwards warranted the title 'the butcher', he became the new model of a successful British military commander in the immediate aftermath of Culloden. He clearly appealed to the patriotic fervour of many English people in a way not seen since Admiral Vernon's triumphs in the West Indies the previous decade. As such, Cumberland's image was reproduced in a variety of prints intended to exploit the popularity his victory at the battle of Culloden had inspired, designers drawing on one or other of the two main portraits of the duke available. The prints proved so popular that they were frequently recycled, adapted, copied, and re-issued, and it seems that new variants were produced for some considerable while after the events in question had taken place.[80] Sheila O'Connell has discussed an image first published in c.1750, showing a print of the duke of Cumberland displayed above the fireplace of a humble cobbler (fig.67).[81] Some more negative imagery of the duke did, however, appear in 1746, attacking him for the level of violence which he had inflicted on the Jacobite army at Culloden and on disaffected clansmen and their families in the aftermath of the battle, for example a print entitled *The Butcher*.[82]

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[79] Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 1st August 1746, quoted in Riding, *Jacobites*, p.483.

[80] Many of what I assume are subsequent reprints with images of Cumberland (i.e. those not specified as published 'By Act of Parliament') are undated, but a new print concerning his victory published as late as 1754.

[81] Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, British Museum Press, 1999), pp.81-2.

[82] *The Butcher, Taken from ye Sign of a Butcher in ye Butcher Row*, London, George Bickham jun.?, 19th December 1746.

4.4 *The aftermath of the rebellion*

We have seen the type of imagery that was published immediately after the battle of Culloden, designed to meet the pressing demand of the buying public and to take advantage of the desire to celebrate the decisive victory over the Jacobite army. The market, however, remained strong in the following months. A widespread sense of relief that there was to be no repeat of the protracted civil war of the seventeenth century is likely to have pervaded public consciousness for some considerable time, particularly as the details of the later stages of Cumberland's mission to root out those who had participated in the rebellion, and the ongoing measures to pacify the Highlands, continued to be publicised during the summer of 1746. Because the final outcome had been in the balance until quite late on, the victory was all the more worth celebrating, even though Britain remained at war with France. Grateful as many may have been that the Protestant succession appeared now to be safe, the government was anxious to ensure that there was no repetition of such attempts to restore the Stuart dynasty as had occurred in 1715 and 1745. However, whilst several leading Jacobites were apprehended, Cumberland failed to locate Charles, who eventually made his way back to France.[83]

The type of imagery that was produced shifted as 1746 progressed. In broad terms, the battle imagery was superseded by more moralising prints that either sought to summarise the import of the defeat at Culloden or took a retrospective overview of the rising as a whole. Up until the retaking of Carlisle there had been little if anything to be proud of in the British government's handling of events, characterised as it was by a series of military and intelligence failings. These setbacks were not dwelt on later in 1746, although some unfortunate events did become less difficult to acknowledge in the imagery, or at least could

[83] For details of events after 16th April 1746, see Speck, *Butcher*, Chapter 7.

be depicted within a more positive context, once the rebellion had been successfully overcome, as we shall see.

A simple image, which sums up the quashing of the rising, was included in *A Memorial for Britons*, an illustrated broadside incorporating verse extracts from four editions of the *London Courant* (fig.68). The first of these is a reprint of an address to readers, calling on them to rally to the Hanoverian cause, and to defend Protestantism and the liberty and laws of the country. The second encourages the Duke of Cumberland as he was about to set off from London to chase down the Jacobite army, with a prayer for his victory.[84] The third extract gives thanks for Cumberland's success, while the last mocks the Jacobites for supporting James Stuart's claim to the throne, hailing the conquering hero.[85] These extracts from the *London Courant* present the literate with a brief rationale for opposing the Jacobite cause and a truncated narrative of Cumberland's campaign, imparting a sense of historical progression not present in the accompanying, single image. The illustration above, designed and etched by 'H. Burgh', shows a group of Highlanders doffing their bonnets and offering to surrender their swords in a submissive gesture towards a mounted British officer, presumably the victorious Duke of Cumberland. Behind this central scene is a mass of British soldiers looking on, one carrying the union flag, and in the distance we can see what may be intended as a depiction of Culloden House. There is no sign here of the violence of the battle of Culloden, or the retribution exacted afterwards. Instead, the image depicts a ceremonial

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[84] These two are dated 10th September 1745 (a date when the Jacobite army was about to occupy Edinburgh) and 17th January 1746 respectively. The British Library Burney Collection has a large gap in its collection covering most of 1745 and all of 1746 and the Bodleian Library has a few issues from 1745 and 1746, but none in which these extracts appear, so I have been unable to check the verses or find other contextual information in the *London Courant* which might shed some light on the image.

[85] These are dated 17th April (the day after the battle of Culloden) and 26th July 1746 (coinciding with the Duke of Cumberland's return to London after defeating the rebel army), suggesting the print was published after this date.

moment of final capitulation, an event which did not actually occur in this way, primarily betokening the crushing of the Jacobite cause that had given rise to the rebellion. The verse is used to outline some of the most significant elements of Hanoverian rhetoric while the title emphasises that the rebellion is now consigned to history.

The final extract from the *London Courant* included in *A Memorial for Britons* contains the lines:

> Ye fond abettors of a Tyrant's Claim
> Now hide your conscious Heads, and blush for Shame:
> Growl that you're curs'd with hated Freedom still
> And forc'd to Happiness against your Will.

The tenor of this extract is that, once beaten, the rebels should think themselves lucky that their venture had foundered and show contrition for their misguided attempt to remove George II, much as criminals were customarily expected to acknowledge their guilt on the scaffold.[86]

The theme of commemoration that underpins *A Memorial for Britons* is expanded on in *The Fate of Rebellion; or a Monumental Warning to Rebels* and, indeed, the last four lines of verse from the *London Courant* printed in the former are repeated in the latter print (fig.69).[87] *The Fate of Rebellion*, however, comprises a visual summary of the '45 in five scenes, showing a loyalist narrative of the rising which encompasses its beginnings in

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[86] Daniel Szechi has described the pattern of execution speeches of non-Jacobites in 'The Jacobite Theatre of Death', in Eveline Cruickshanks and Jeremy Black, eds., *The Jacobite Challenge* (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1988), pp.57-73.

[87] The publication date of the print must be after 26th July 1746, the date of the publication of the *London Courant* verse.

Scotland, the Jacobite army's progress southwards and, crucially, its ending, in a way that would not have been possible while the outcome was still in the balance.

At the base of the memorial pyramid we see a prospect of 'The rebels Gathering in ye Highlands of Scotland, 1745', with Charles addressing the clans which, to the embarrassment of the British government, had been able to congregate on the British mainland without being detected. In the next scene, above, the Jacobite army is portrayed engaged in an orgy of looting and pillaging at some unspecified location, as if this had been the norm along its journey into England. The awkward truths of such Jacobite successes as the battle of Prestonpans, the fall of Carlisle and the Charles's march deep into England, remained too difficult to portray. The battle of Culloden forms the subject of the next image, with the British troops depicted in now familiar fashion, charging forward as they are urged on by their leader and the Highlanders just seen escaping between the mountains at the left side of the picture. The top two scenes focus on the concluding events of the rebellion; the executions carried out after the rising had been put down and the judicial process had come to its climax.[88] The lower image shows the beheading of an aristocrat at Tower Hill. This is a reference to the executions of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, who went to the block on 18th August 1746. The upper scene features the hanging of 'common' rebels, such as Francis Townley and several officers of the Manchester regiment who were executed at Kennington Common on 30th July.[89] If the top-most tier is intended to refer to the Kennington executions, however, the monument is not in strict chronological order. Both these final vignettes include large crowds of spectators, and they are supported by the often-paired

[88] The fact that the executions are included would suggest that the print was published after the rebel lords were beheaded on 18th August 1746, but I have not been able to established a firm publication date.

[89] Some lesser rebels were also executed later in 1746, eg Thomas Coppock and others were executed in Carlisle in October 1746.

personifications of Justice and Prudence, the latter thought to have the ability to judge between virtuous and vicious actions. These figures are surrounded by prisoners in chains, gallows with hanged victims of the post-Culloden trials, and decapitated traitors' heads to warn traitors of their likely fate. Finally, four *trompe l'oeil* commemorative medals are displayed as if pinned to the paper plane, presented as tokens of the Jacobite agenda. They are used to ridicule that agenda by suggesting that its adherents are advocates for slavery, and averse to liberty.

At the base of the memorial, we find the Pope, with the devil creeping round his robes, and Louis XV, along with a shadowy crowned figure who is perhaps intended to represent James Stuart (as previously mentioned, recognised by the Pope as James III). The plinths on which they stand carry appropriate armorial symbols: the crossed keys of the papacy and the *fleur-de-lys* of France. These figures support the edifice of the memorial and, by implication, the rebellion also. This repeats a standard element of anti-Jacobite rhetoric which, as we have seen in previous chapters, had been incorporated into various printed satires: that the Pope and Louis XV had orchestrated the Jacobite campaign, largely in order to further their own respective aims of reducing Britain to a satellite state of France and restoring Catholicism to Britain. The Pope and Louis had previously appeared together, for example in both *The Procession, or the Pope's Nursling Riding in Triumph* and *The Invasion, or Perkins Triumph*, as the drivers of coaches speeding over the traditional rights of Britons and Protestantism (fig.27 and fig.29). In *The Rebellion Displayed* they are presented as the 'Sons of Rome', intent on subverting Britain's constitution, and in *The Ballance* they look on as Jacobitism is weighed against the Hanoverian regime (fig.35 and fig.36). In these prints they had been portrayed as enthusiastic supporters of the plan to restore the Stuart dynasty. In *The Fate of Rebellion*, however, they eye 'The Rebel Robbers', in the second-from-bottom tier of the monument, and seem to be comparing this scene of mayhem with the ordered and

civilised gathering of the clans below, to which they point. Both the Pope, in his papal tiara and carrying his triple cross, and Louis, in his coronation robes and crown, are depicted much as viewers were used to seeing them from earlier images - but here, if their faces are closely inspected, they appear to be predominantly confused by the actions of the Jacobite troops. Reading across both scenes and the supporting cast of characters, it is as if the Pope and Louis have been surprised by the turn of events. They are, perhaps, concerned that the Jacobites might not be totally under their control.

A number of architectural framing devices have been used to augment the contents of the five tiers. The two lowest scenes are both framed by a single black line, so that the viewer can understand these episodes, in tandem, as the opening chapters of the historical narrative of the rebellion. The thin black line gives a sense of tight-lipped distaste for the events contained within, suggesting the viewer should move on swiftly to the more edifying ones above. The scene of the battle of Culloden has, contrastingly, been given a fashionable decorative frame of scrolled leaves, complementing and amplifying the heroic image of the British army's famous victory over the Jacobites. The penultimate image, however, has been given a frame made out of what appear to be heavy wooden beams. The uprights and the extended top edge of the beheading scene have been deployed to form two sets of gallows, complete with hanging bodies on either side, as a grim reminder, reinforcing the message concerning the ultimate penalty for rebellion within the frame. The gallows emblem, in the scene in the top tier of this print, had appeared in the distance in *The Rebells in a Panick* and *The Highlanders Medley* (fig.47 and fig.54). These all echo images by William Hogarth, who used the sign of the gallows repeatedly in his work: for example, as graffiti on the shutter of Bridewell prison in Plate 4 of *The Harlot's Progress* (1732); in Plate 3 of *Marriage a la Mode* (1743-5), where a model of a gallows sits on top of a cupboard housing a skeleton; and in *A Just View of the British Stage* (1724), where a number of nooses are used as set props.

The hanging scene at the top of *The Fate of Rebellion* is, furthermore, viewed through an arch similar to the one that runs through Temple Bar, with three severed heads mounted on poles above it, alluding to the site where traitors' heads were traditionally displayed. That the image of an elite execution is enclosed by the apparatus of the more plebeian one above, together with their related subject matter, again invites the viewer to read the two images together.

The secondary title of the print, *a Monumental Warning to Rebels*, signals its references to eighteenth-century tomb design and the main point of the print: the death of the Jacobite campaign. Involving a sophisticated dialogue between the 'high' art of sculpture and the 'low' genre of satire, the print makes witty references to contemporary monuments by inverting certain of their typical sculptural details to create yet another layer of symbolism. The Pope and Louis XV, for example, are satirised versions of the virtues and mourning figures often used to adorn monuments in the first half of the eighteenth century, intended to signify the merits of the deceased. Examples include Dr Hugo Chamberlain's tomb in Westminster Abbey (1731) by Peter Scheemakers and Laurent Delvaux and John Michael Rysbrack's monument to the 1st Duke of Marlborough in the chapel at Blenheim Palace (1736, fig.18), while L. F. Roubiliac's monument to the Duke of Montagu at St. Edmund Warkton, Northamptonshire (1752) incorporates the figure of the mourning Duchess, as well as Charity. Justice and Prudence have been translated in the print to a satirical context, brandishing their attributes - a sword and a set of scales in the case of Justice; a snake and a mirror for Prudence - towards the Jacobite medals at either side, a further note of warning to sympathisers of the cause. Rather than lamenting the executions beside which they sit, they are presented as supporting the final acts of the judicial process portrayed in the two top scenes and, by logical extension, this essential plank of Britain's constitution.

The Jacobite project, meanwhile, has been condensed into four simple images, akin to low relief commemorative medals which, as mentioned above, provided a useful mechanism, due to limited space, for displaying concentrated iconography. Their project is reduced to a desire to forsake liberty in favour of slavery through these four medals, the three dimensionality of which is denoted most obviously by the nails from which they hang, and the chain loops between them, rather than any perspective depth given to the objects themselves. In the top left medal a Highlander looks, according to the inscription, to 'Fight for Slavery' as he approaches a chained pauper in wooden clogs, while, in the contrasting medal opposite, he can be seen running away from Britannia and her staff of liberty. The medal form was also used in eighteenth-century funerary monuments, most often, however, to carry portraits of the deceased.[90] The motifs and devices of funerary sculpture, enhanced through the ironic use of framing details and sculptural forms, are thus used in the transmission of a shorthand history of the ill-fated rebellion, providing a menacing caution for opponents of the Hanoverian regime, and delivering a moral tale for those who might still be tempted to support the Jacobite cause in future.

Matthew Craske has described printed satire as the polar opposite of funerary monuments: the former was supposed 'to expose uncomfortable truths of personal and collective behaviour'; the latter was 'a frame in which to construct obliging impressions of the physical form and moral character of the deceased'.[91] He considers sculptural monuments as providing 'an archaeology of ideal types', serving a similar function to portraits, and has proposed that there is no better register of shifting notions of correct behaviour, in life and

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[90] For examples of this, see Michael Rysbrack (designed by James Gibb), Monument to Catherine Bovey, Westminster Abbey, London, 1728 and L. F. Roubiliac, Monument to Field Marshal George Wade, Westminster Abbey, London, 1752.

[91] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric*, p.2.

death, than these tombs. However, *The Fate of Rebellion* appropriates the device of the monument, bringing the two forms together, making a new contribution to the long tradition of prints which employed emblematic devices associated with the rituals of death - the funeral procession, the monument, the death notice - in order to transmit its moral message. This satire takes framing, iconography and its basic architecture from contemporary tombs, and combines those elements with a naturalistically presented history of the rebellion in five episodes, along with four emblematic medals, to warn potential rebels of the possible repercussions.[92] It subverts the conventions of idealised sculpture to present its antithesis, ridiculing the pretensions of Charles Stuart's supporters, whilst also making the serious point that the end of the rebellion had sounded the death knell for the Jacobite movement as a whole. Far from celebrating the 'life' of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745/6, the print has the viewer consider, yet again, the crux of the case against Jacobitism: its threat to liberty and its reliance on Britain's arch enemies, the Pope and Louis XV. It simultaneously encapsulates its most telling episodes: the military defeat at Culloden and the ultimate fate of its leaders. The Jacobites are presented as the archetype of evil and the absurd, in a format normally reserved for trumpeting the laudable and virtuous.

Another print produced after the rebellion had been crushed, also proffering a moralising message with the benefit of hindsight, is *Rebellion Rewarded, or The Ordination of Keppoch B[isho]p of C[arlis]le by ye D[evi]l the Pope and ye Pretender* (fig.70). This anonymous print was published on 31st October 1746. The Jacobite Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock and Cromarty are depicted with their fingers caught in a trap baited with various offices of state such as 'Prime M[iniste]r', 'Sec[re]t[ary] of State' and L[or]d H[ig]h

[92] Craske, *Silent Rhetoric*, p.149: another eighteenth-century satire which uses this device is Heroman van der Mijn, *To the Immortal Memory of Madame Geneva: A Satire on the Role of the Gin Trade in the Erosion of English Society*, London?, s.n., 1736.

T[reasure]r '. The image suggests that all three had been bribed with the promise of high office in order to persuade them to participate in the rising. Balmerino and Kilmarnock were beheaded on Tower Hill two months before the print was published. Lord Lovat, also depicted, was in custody. William Hogarth had taken Lovat's likeness while he was on his way to London for trial, and had used this as the basis for a print published on 25th August (fig.71). This is thought to have sold as many as 10,000 copies, ensuring that Lovat would have been eminently recognisable to many. *Rebellion Rewarded* reproduces Hogarth's image of Lovat, with his large frame, neck ribbon and plain coat, and includes the detail of his finger counting. He has been placed near the main group, having avoided the trap, and is accompanied by a fox, a reference to the nickname he earned through his duplicitous dealings with both the Hanoverian and Jacobite sides. He was thought by many to have been motivated primarily by what was best for his clan and his ancestral estates, rather than political preferment, a view recently endorsed by Sarah Fraser, which might explain his not being placed alongside the other Jacobite peers.[93] The final outcome of the rising is only referred to by the gallows seen on the hill in the far distance. The print offers a retrospective assessment of the method used by Charles Stuart to get his campaign in Britain off the ground. It suggests that the leading lights of the rebellion had been seduced into thinking they would rise to the highest positions by joining Charles, and simultaneously proposes that the hierarchies of church and state would have been riddled with such rogues if the rebellion had succeeded.

The print's general suggestion that the leaders of the rebellion were a group of ambitious charlatans is extended to the movement as a whole through the specific circumstances of one Thomas Coppock. Notwithstanding the different spelling of his name in

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[93] Sarah Fraser, *The Last Highlander: Scotland's Most Notorious Clan Chief, Rebel and Double Agent* (London, Harper Press, 2012), pp.211-4.

the subsidiary title (*Keppoch*), this print almost certainly relates to the exploits of Coppock, whose notoriety was at its height in the autumn of 1746.[94] This had been brought about by the publicity surrounding his trial and execution, the subject of two pamphlets published around this time, again illustrating how text and visual print industries fed off each another.[95] Coppock was reputedly the reprobate son of a humble tailor who had managed to gain a degree from Brasenose College, Oxford, because he had an uncle there. He was said to have had a chequered career as a quack doctor and as a curate in Kent, the latter position gained on the basis of a forged testimony and then lost when the forgery had been discovered. In November 1745 he had joined the Jacobite army, becoming both the chaplain and quartermaster of the Manchester regiment. He had been taken prisoner when Carlisle fell to the Duke of Cumberland, and sentenced to a traitor's death at his subsequent trial. Coppock was hanged, drawn and quartered near Carlisle, along with other Manchester rebels, on 18th October 1746, his head displayed at Carlisle, only two weeks before the print was published. He had gained some prominence as the 'rebel bishop of Carlisle', partly through the two pamphlets, which both included a fictitious story of his nomination for the post by 'the Stuart pretender'.[96] The print thus shows Charles Stuart emerging from the gates of Carlisle with a band of Highlanders, including one carrying his standard. Charles, the devil and the Pope each have a hand placed on the head of Coppock as part of a bogus, open-air ordination, Charles giving him a writ for the bishopric of Carlisle. Charles is another target of this satire,

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[94] Frank McLynn, *The Jacobite Army in England*: *the Final Campaign* (John Donald, Edinburgh, 1983) pp.18, 20. Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch raised his clan for Charles, but the contents of the print appear to refer to Thomas Coppock.

[95] Anon., *An Authentic History of the Life and Character of Thomas Cappoch, (the Rebel-Bishop of Carlisle)*, (London, J. Thompson, 1746); Anon., *The Genuine Dying speech of the Reverend Thomas Coppock, Pretended Bishop of Carlisle* ... (London, Thomas Harris and J. Robinson, 1746).

[96] Anon., *Authentic History of ... Thomas Cappoch*, pp.8-10; Christoph van Ehrenstein, 'Coppock, Thomas (bap.1719, d.1746)', http://oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/6280?docPos=1, accessed 22nd March 2017.

as it implies he had been obliged to offer inducements to all manner of disreputable characters, such as Coppock, in order to recruit supporters to his cause. At the same time, the notorious Coppock is held up to viewers as typical of the type of villain who had joined the Jacobite campaign, to demonstrate that the cause was rotten to the core.

4.5 *Justice and retribution*

Shortly after the battle of Culloden, Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke of Cumberland's secretary, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle expressing the view that 'The dispersed members [of the Jacobite army] will by degrees be quite picked up, so that nothing may remain of that Fury let loose from Hell upon us to disturb these kingdoms any more.'[97] Many in the government shared this hope and were determined to ensure that such a rising could not occur again. The leniency which Jacobite leaders had met with after the 1715 rising was not to be repeated, and many loyalists in 1746 thought the Jacobites should, this time, be taught an unforgettable lesson. The eighteenth-century principles of war between regular armies called for it to be waged in a 'gentlemanly' manner. In particular, victors were supposed to treat their prisoners with generosity and compassion. However, this code did not apply in the case of rebellion or civil war, and the government wanted to make an example of leaders of the '45.[98] The Duke of Cumberland set about trying to root out as many of Charles's soldiers as he could after Culloden, and his forces were encouraged in the looting and burning of suspected Jacobite sympathisers' property.[99] Once Cumberland returned to London towards the end of July 1746, the job of supervising the pacification of the Highlands was handed on

[97] Quoted in Speck, *Butcher*, p.164.

[98] Pittock, *Culloden*, pp.99-101.

[99] For discussion of the aftermath of Culloden see Pittock, *Culloden*, pp.107-8 and Allan Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp.210-7.

to Lord Albemarle. In the meantime, the trials of those captured and imprisoned during the rebellion were set in train.

Next to the leaders of the rebellion, it was those recruits to the Manchester regiment who were the subject of greatest interest at this time, their crimes deemed especially pernicious and therefore worthy of harsh punishment, because they were English rather than Scottish. Loyalty to George II was automatically expected in England in the way that it was not in Scotland, particularly following the 1707 Act of Union. It was widely known that the Union had been bitterly opposed by many Scots and the promise of Scottish independence had been duly incorporated into the official Jacobite programme specifically to bring supporters of the Jacobite and Scottish patriot causes together.[100] Following the battle of Culloden, the law was hurriedly changed to allow the trials of Jacobite soldiers to take place wherever the king wished, so as to avoid trying those captured at Culloden in Scotland, where it was thought local sympathies might have led to undue leniency. This measure also allowed the government to make well-publicised examples of the Englishmen who had participated in the rebellion at trials and executions held in London.[101] The most senior officer of the Manchester regiment, its colonel, Francis Townley, along with several of its other officers (captured when Carlisle fell to Cumberland), were tried at Southwark on 15th July 1746. Amongst the judges was Lord Justice Willes, the ardent Hanoverian loyalist who had commissioned the portrait of George II discussed in Chapter Three, and who had raised a regiment of volunteers from the legal profession to guard the royal family at St. James's Palace.[102] All the accused were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn and

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[100] Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe: 1688-1788* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994), p.32.

[101] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.471 and Speck, *Butcher*, p.179. Trials were held in York, Carlisle and London.

[102] Speck, *Butcher*, p.90.

quartered. Townley was amongst the first nine to undergo execution on 30th July at Kennington Common.[103]

Public executions were a regular feature of life in eighteenth-century London, taking place at Tyburn on eight 'hanging days' a year, and attended by men and women of all classes.[104] They also represented another significant commercial opportunity for broadside and ballad publishers, one admitting, 'The more horrible we make the affairs, the more sale we have'.[105] Of all capital crimes, murder normally aroused the most interest, but the execution of traitors was a rare occurrence and, as a result, the focus of extraordinary levels of curiosity. The trials and executions of the Jacobites who had been involved in the '45 became the subject of much lurid newspaper coverage, as well as discussion in several pamphlets. Benjamin Cole first advertised his pamphlet, entitled *An Authentick Narrative of the Whole Proceedings of the Court at St. Margaret's Hill ...* , describing the trials of Townley and eight others, on 29th July, stating that he 'took the Whole down in Court in Short Hand', so as to emphasise the authenticity of his text.[106] A second edition was advertised as soon as 6th August 1746, with a section describing 'the Behaviour, Confession and Dying Words of those Nine' added in.[107]

The demise of the Manchester rebels was also, inevitably, the subject of printed imagery. At the cheap end of the market was an illustrated broadside, *A Genuine Account of the Trials, Behaviour after Sentence of Death, and Execution of Francis Townley …* , which

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[103] Riding, *Jacobites*, chapter 56.

[104] Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, p.155.

[105] Quoted in Vic Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People 1770-1868* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p.174. The printer quoted was talking at a later date, but it seems likely his observation would have applied throughout the eighteenth century.

[106] *General Advertiser*, London, 29th July 1746; B. Cole, *An Authentick Narrative of the Whole Proceedings of the Court at St. Margaret's Hill ...* (London, B. Cole, 1746).

[107] *General Advertiser*, London, 6th August 1746.

gave a vivid account of the hanging, drawing and quartering of those first nine to be executed in London (fig.72).[108] The text conveys the sense of theatre and spectacle that was involved: it includes descriptions of the parties of dragoons and foot guards who accompanied the condemned from gaol to Kennington Common, and their transfer from 'sledges' to 'a wagon which had boards laid across to exalt them higher', presumably so that the crowd could see them better. After speaking together for the last time, it recounts how the prisoners threw their hats - some 'laced with Gold' - into the air, along with prayer books and papers, which were 'their Resolutions of dying bravely in the Cause … and that if it was to do again, and they could, they would do it'. They were, apparently, defiant to the end, though the broadside notes that, 'when the halter was put about (Tom) Syddall, he was observ'd to tremble very much'.[109]

The broadside is illustrated with three small images beneath the title. The first depicts a building which may be the 'New Gaol', where the condemned were held after their trial, whilst the other two scenes depict the dismembering process. In one, a naked body has been cut down from the gallows, and the executioner, wielding a large knife, with an axe also available beside him, is about to set to work, watched by guards (fig.72a). In the background, a lighted fire is ready to burn the dead man's entrails. In the second scene, the victim's head has been removed, and the executioner continues with his gruesome job of removing the innards (fig.72b). The broadside account below goes into great detail about what is pictured here:

> When he had hung for about five Minutes, The Executioner cut down the Body of Mr. Townley, and laid it on a Stage for the Purpose. The Body being stript, and laid at

[108] Anon., *A Genuine Account of the Trials, Behaviour after Sentence of Death, and Execution of Francis Townley …* (London?, s.n., 1746).

[109] Anon., *A Genuine Account of the Trials*, *passim.*

> Length, having some signs of Life it, the Executioner struck it …[obscured], after which he cut off his Head, took out his Bowels, and flung them into the Fire near the Gallows.[110]

Such detail could also be found in the newspaper press, with one paper including a piece that tells how Townley had ‘a Suit of black Velvet making for him against his Execution’.[111] This suit may have been a coded gesture of loyalty to the Jacobite cause, ‘the little Gentleman in Black Velvet’ being a reference to the molehill which had allegedly led to the riding accident which had killed William III.[112]

What is particularly noteworthy about the woodcut images in the broadside is that they appear to have been recycled from a much earlier period. It has not been possible to ascertain their age with any accuracy, but the guards’ dress of doublet and hose suggest that the woodblocks used may have dated from the seventeenth century, possibly even from the sixteenth. The illustration of another broadside, this time concerning the execution of Lord Lovat in 1747, similarly appears to have been printed from an earlier woodblock, indicating that this was not an unusual practice (fig.73).[113] Vic Gatrell has discussed the re-use of old blocks in relation to execution broadsides, persuasively arguing that ‘what drew purchasers was … the fact that execution sheets were totemic artefacts. They were symbolic substitutes for the experiences signified or the experiences watched. They were mementoes of events

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[110] Gilmour, *Riot, Risings and Revolution*, p.169, notes victims usually died from slow strangulation, the quick ‘long drop’ method not generally used until the second half of the eighteenth century.

[111] *General London Evening Mercury*, London, 29th - 31st July 1746 and *Westminster Journal or New Weekly Miscellany*, London, 2nd August 1746 carried descriptions very similar to the one in the broadside and *George Faulkner the Dublin Journal*, Dublin, 29th July - 2nd August 1746 mentions Townley’s new suit.

[112] Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.69.

[113] O’Connell, *Popular Print*, p.92, mentions that this woodcut was originally made at the time of Charles I’s execution and may have been re-used to remind viewers indirectly of the consequences Charles I’s death held for the sovereignty of parliament and Britain’s rejection of absolute monarchy.

whose psychic significance was somehow worth reifying.'[114] He has outlined how execution broadside images, such as those being discussed here, were explicitly intended to be simple. Although Gatrell is concerned with a slightly later period (1770-1868), his discussion is still relevant: in his view, the re-cycling of old woodblocks, far from being a problem for those who bought or viewed them, created what he calls 'ideograms'. This was not merely about keeping down production costs, or the aesthetic tastes of the audience (though either/both could have had some bearing), rather they were popular because they 'drew on the cultural codes' of people who trusted in 'the mystical power of images'.[115] These iconic images allowed the viewer to relive the disturbing sensations and emotions of the actual events, so that they 'materialised a way of experiencing'.[116] Furthermore, Gatrell connects such cheap execution images with the emblematic mode which, as I have shown, was still in regular use in the mid-eighteenth century: 'such images resonated with ancient associations, drawing on the medieval to early modern rhetoric of the emblem which had long furnished print culture with a repertoire of motifs.'[117] These factors may well explain why such execution broadsides sold in vast quantities.

To this analysis, I would add that the situation in 1746 was highly emotive, given the scale of the danger the rebellion had unleashed. It was also framed by the fact that this bloodthirsty spectacle was amongst the last of its kind to be held in London, and Townley and his fellow recruit to the Manchester regiment, George Fletcher, were the last to have their heads exposed at Temple Bar, their skulls remaining there till they were blown off by musket

[114] Gatrell, *Hanging Tree*, p.175.

[115] Gatrell, *Hanging Tree*, p.176-7.

[116] Gatrell, *Hanging Tree*, p.177, quoting Clifford Geertz.

[117] Gatrell, *Hanging Tree*, p.175-7.

fire in 1766.[118] The gory medieval practice of hanging, drawing and quartering, its centuries-old origins reflected in the re-use of antiquated imagery, was in stark contrast to prevailing notions of 'politeness'. The general topic of capital punishment was, though, becoming a matter of increasing public debate. Henry Fielding's contribution to that debate, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers, &c.*, was published only a few years later in 1751.[119] In this text, Fielding advocated less extensive use of capital punishment and doing away with the staged processions to the gallows in favour of private executions, on the grounds that this would improve the deterrent effect. Meanwhile, Hogarth's response to the issue can be seen in his *Four Stages of Cruelty*, in Plate 3: *The Reward of Cruelty* (fig.74).[120] This shows the highwayman, Tom Nero, being dissected, his bones about to be boiled as part of a cautionary tale against cruel and criminal behaviour.[121] There is also a grisly irony in the uncompromising depictions of the punishments meted out by the Hanoverian regime to participants in the rebellion and the attempts to demonise the mission to restore the Stuart dynasty through the reimaging of Marian burnings, as seen, for example, in *The Invasion, or Perkin's Triumph* and *The Pope's Scourge* (fig.29 and fig.31).

The published details of the executions at Kennington Common testify to their ritualised ceremony, the solemn majesty of the law meant to demonstrate the awesome consequences of treason. The 'aggravated deaths', as Gatrell calls them, of the victims and

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[118] O'Connell, *London 1753* (London, British Museum Press, 2003), p.177. Dr Archibald Cameron was the last to be sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered for his part in the '45, in 1753.

[119] Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers, &c.,* (Dublin, G. Faulkner, P. Wilson, R. James, and M. Williamson, 1751).

[120] See Gilmour, *Riots, Risings and Revolution*, pp.163-76 for attitudes to the death penalty as a means of social control in the eighteenth century.

[121] For example, Henry Fielding, *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain. In which the Certain Consequences of the Present Rebellion are Fully Demonstrated, etc.* (London, M. Cooper, 1745), pp.24-32, carries details of the persecution of Protestants, including full descriptions of torture and execution methods used in various European countries since the Reformation.

the desecration of their corpses afterwards also played on contemporary perceptions of how human bodies should be treated.[122] Execution procedures and customs were intended to bring disgrace on both the traitors and their families. Importantly, for those who believed in life after death, the body's integrity was essential for its resurrection. Thus, the dismembering of traitors put them beyond hope of redemption, with punishment inflicted on all parts of the body because all were deemed to have had some responsibility for the misdeeds of the traitor.[123]

The final act of Townley and Fletcher's execution drama was the display of their severed heads on Temple Bar, commemorated in an untitled image (fig.75).[124] 'On Saturday the Heads of Francis Townley and George Fletcher, the former Colonel (as he was call'd) of the Manchester Regiment and the latter a Captain in the same, were affixed on two Poles on Temple-Bar by the common Hangman, pursuant to an Order from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle', as one newspaper reported it.[125] The print shows an accurate topographical view of Temple Bar, including the heads displayed above it, and the nearby buildings, all seen through an arch which echoes that under Temple Bar itself. Joseph Monteyne has set out fully the significance of this London landmark, also featured in other prints, such as *Rebells in a Panick* and *The Fate of Rebellion* (fig.47).[126] Incorporating four recessed statues of James I and his queen, Anne of Denmark, Charles I and Charles II, and commissioned by Charles II to commemorate the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, Temple Bar was an

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[122] Gatrell, *Hanging Tree*, p.299.

[123] Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999), p.159; Gatrell, *Hanging Tree*, pp.87, 315.

[124] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.476, the heads of the others executed on 30th July 1746 were sent to Manchester and Carlisle for similar display.

[125] *London Evening Post*, London, 2nd-5th August 1746.

[126] Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London: Urban Spaces, Visual Representation and Social Exchange* (Farnham and Vermont, Ashgate, 1988), pp.163-5.

architectural monument loaded with associative properties. First, it was situated at a symbolic site at the entrance to the City of London; a strategic point representing the division between the jurisdictions of the Crown (Westminster and Whitehall) and the City of London, a boundary which had been clarified by Charles II, although civic rights 'had for many years been ritually asserted' here by London's government.[127] Temple Bar was, moreover, situated close to the home of the legal profession, autonomous from royal and civic interference, and in the seventeenth century largely in favour of excluding James II from the throne.[128] It was likewise close to many printers' businesses: at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the structure on the site had been the shop of an apprentice of William Caxton's, putting it in the centre of early modern London's literary and print culture. The printing trade's freedoms had been granted by the Crown, generating an industry that grew to oppose 'control over the commodification of discourse', as Monteyne has noted.[129] Finally, Temple Bar was emphatically endowed with anti-Catholic overtones as it was here that the pope-burning processions of the 1680s had terminated.

Besides the accurate representation of the area around Temple Bar, this print includes naturalistic depictions of the executioners' tools, their axes and nooses, as well as the battered and bloodied heads of Townley and Fletcher on poles, delineated in macabre detail. Emblematic imagery, nonetheless, has been deployed again to convey a Hanoverian overview of the rebellion. A fury can be seen farting at Charles's standard, implying that even this creature is scornful of the mission to restore the Stuart dynasty, reiterating the scatological nature of some of the visual attacks that had been directed at the Catholic Church in the

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[127] Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p.163.

[128] Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p.164.

[129] Monteyne, *Printed Image*, p.163.

sixteenth century.[130] A Scottish lion, meanwhile, has been incorporated into the devil's wings, as a means of suggesting that Scotland as a whole is his work. The verse below summarises the moralising intent:

> Observe the Banner which would all enslave,
>
> Which ruined Traytors did so proudly wave,
>
> The Devil seems the project to despise,
>
> A Fiend confused from off the trophy flies,
>
> While trembling Rebels at the Fabrick gaze,
>
> And dread their fate with horror and amaze,
>
> Let Britons Sons the Emblematic view,
>
> And plainly see what is Rebellion's due.

Several newspaper reports of the executions at Kennington Common make reference to the large crowds that came to watch. One mentions that the condemned were brought to the site 'amidst a vast multitude of people', whilst another makes more of the point, stating that 'there were there present the greatest Number ever seen together in the Memory of Man, some several Thousands who had waited in the Rain several Hours to see the Execution of these unhappy Men'.[131] Although there is no sign of these crowds in the two prints concerning the commoners executed at Kennington, discussed above, they are a conspicuous feature of most prints related to the executions of the aristocratic Jacobites, accorded the traditional privilege of being beheaded at Tower Hill.

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[130] For discussion of the earlier imagery see Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2008), pp.51-7.

[131] *General London Evening Mercury*, London, 29th - 31st July 1746; *London Evening Post*, London, 29th -31st July 1746.

Two prints appear to have survived of the executions of Lord Balmerino and the Earl of Kilmarnock on Tower Hill on 18th August 1746 (fig.76 and fig.77). That of Lord Lovat, the last person to be judicially beheaded on Tower Hill, on 9th April the following year, prompted the publication of three prints (fig.73, fig.78 and fig.79).[132] Two further prints of Balmerino and Kilmarnock's execution were also published in 1747. Most of these images show topographical views of the area where the executions took place, including three representing the Tower of London, a symbol of the power of the monarchy since the eleventh century. With the exception of the Lovat execution broadside, illustrated with a re-cycled woodcut, noted above, all show vast crowds of undifferentiated spectators surrounding the execution platform, kept back from it by large contingents of guards, to show the widespread interest in the rebel lords' demise. In *A Perspective View of Tower Hill*, curious spectators can also be seen crammed into all the windows and parapets of the surrounding buildings, attempting to get a glimpse of the action (fig.76a). The prints involve naturalistic depictions of real events and places, even if the crowd numbers appear to be exaggerated to suggest the strength of feeling in favour of the Hanoverian regime, as well as morbid fascination with public executions. Also, as Nicholas Rogers has observed: 'Within the conventions of political commemoration, crowds were critical in that they were emblematic of the community at large, despite not being full political citizens'.[133]

Lord Balmerino, the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and Lord Lovat were the four most prominent Jacobites to be arrested and tried by the government. Kilmarnock had been a supporter of George II, persuaded to support Charles when he ran out of money. Cromartie had equivocated for some time before deciding to join the rising, but Balmerino had always been a committed supporter of the Jacobite cause. The first two men expressed

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[132] For details of Lovat's execution see O'Connell, *London 1753*, p.114.

[133] Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), p.23.

profound regret at their trial for their treasonable actions, but Balmerino remained unrepentant. All were sentenced to death and forfeiture of their estates, although Cromartie was in the end reprieved. At this point, public sentiment was moving somewhat in their favour, as it was becoming clearer at this time that Cumberland's hard-line attitude had resulted in much wanton bloodshed both during and after the battle of Culloden.[134] Lord Lovat's trial did not begin until 9th March the following year and he also generated some sympathy at the time of his execution, partly on account of his age, and partly because of his stoical attitude as he was about to die.[135] Tickets to Lovat's trial were produced in printed form, as they had been for the trial of Balmerino, Kilmarnock and Cromartie.[136]

In the execution prints, the crowds are seen in the foreground, while the protagonists are placed in the background. The execution scenes do not include any recognisable likenesses of the condemned peers, which seems to conform to convention. Cheap likenesses of the rebel lords, costing as little as 1d. each, were published separately, and in quantity, usually carrying only biographical details.[137] One exception to this is *The Effigies of the Late Earl of Kilmarnock and the Late Lord Balmerino* … , which includes a pared down execution scene beneath two portraits, but even here the crowds are signified by the depiction of two witnesses, just to the side of the platform (fig.80).

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[134] Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.445, 481-4 and Murray Pittock, 'Mackenzie, George, styled 3rd Earl of Cromartie (c.1703-1766), http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/article/17582?docPos=5, accessed 5th April 2017.

[135] Speck, *Butcher*, p.178.

[136] The ticket in the British Museum collection is numbered 1148, providing another source for the size of print runs: in this case the run is likely to have depended on the capacity of the House of Lords.

[137] Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1996), p31. The printed portraits of the rebel lords produced in 1746 differed notably from those produced after the 1715 rising in that they were not accompanied by dying speeches; by this time the government presumably would not tolerate the dissemination of Jacobite propaganda that rebels' dying speeches tended to contain.

The most detailed of the 'wide-angle' execution prints is entitled *The Beheading of the Rebel Lords on Great Tower Hill*, published by Mary Cooper only three days after Balmerino and Kilmarnock met their deaths (fig.77). This speed suggests that it must have been in preparation before the event. It is particularly interesting for its emphasis on the incidents taking place amongst the crowd in the foreground, prefiguring Hogarth's 1747 image of the crowd in Plate 11 of his *Industry and Idleness* series, *The Idle 'Prentice Executed at Tyburn* (fig.81). Hogarth was to include, in this scene, a woman selling the 'prentice's dying speech and a street vendor with a barrow of oranges (fig.77, fig.77a, fig.81 and fig.81a). Hogarth's crowd was to be largely made up of lower sorts, many with disabilities or looking destitute, and it accords with a description of the people at a hanging at Tyburn in a contemporary pamphlet, *A Trip from St. James's to the Royal Exchange*: 'All the way from Newgate to Tyburn, is one continual fair for whores and rogues of the meaner sort'. Mingling with the crowd along the route were vendors of gin and other cheap goods, these people 'commonly the very rubbish of the creation … It is incredible what a sense of confusion this often makes, which grows worse near the gallows.'[138] In contrast, Cooper's image shows a probably more representative mix of well-to-do men and women and lower sorts, along with children, several street traders offering their wares and a number of dogs. Among the traders, interestingly, is a seller of what appear to be illustrated broadsides, situated next to another hawker with a barrow-load of fruit, providing yet further evidence that this type of printed imagery was quite widely available and accessible to a plebeian audience. She provides an interestingly reflexive image of an important aspect of the eighteenth-century print distribution system. The image suggests that street hawkers of printed material were a regular sight at such outdoor gatherings of large numbers of people,

[138] Anon., *A Trip from St James's to the Royal-Exchange. With Remarks Serious and Diverting …* (London, Edward Withers, M. Cooper and J. Jolliffe, 1744), pp.47-8.

and accords with a popular contemporary practice of invoking urban spaces as a context for social satire. As Hallett has argued: 'the graphic inter-referentiality … was a self-conscious form of exchange that is often signalled in the internal workings of the images themselves'.[139]

A further significant facet of these prints showing the executions of the Jacobite peers is the sense of theatre involved. I have already mentioned how the theatre was used for the demonstration of loyalist sentiments with the performance of suitably patriotic pieces, and have noted that the executions at Kennington Common involved significant elements of theatricality. Paul Monod's discussion of the expression of Jacobite sentiments engages with theatre in its widest sense, from productions in the patent theatres, through the street theatre of processions, fairs, ballad singing and public demonstrations, to what he has called 'the great theatre of the law', in the form of court proceedings and executions.[140] Monod has explained that theatricality was an important element of Jacobite protest, the theatre having long been associated with the Stuarts and the Cavaliers and providing a link between elite and popular culture. The Hanoverian regime also made use of theatre in this broad sense. Not only were large crowds drawn to the executions, but two of the prints also clearly show raked seating, specially erected for the occasion, so as to give paying spectators a good view (fig.77 and fig.79). The dramatisation of the process of public execution appears to have been highly deliberate, part of the state's attempts to ensure that the penalty for treason would be widely understood. And that dramatisation was all the more effective for being reproduced in print, for ongoing contemplation.

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[139] Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999) p.171.

[140] Monod, 'Pierre's White Hat', p.161.

The decision by Charles Stuart to retreat to Scotland from Derby, as it turned out, heralded the beginning of the end of the 1745 rising. This could not have been known at that moment by the British government, but, after 9th December of that year, events would go inexorably in favour of the Hanoverian regime. The path to the decisive victory at Culloden was not altogether smooth, and there remained a constant concern that France might intervene in time to alter the outcome. However, the prints produced once the Jacobite army had turned back increasingly took into account the more positive outlook for George II and his regime. Mounting confidence that the rebellion would be overcome was manifested in the images published from January 1746 onwards. They continued to make use of some well-worn strategies to articulate ever more assured Hanoverian narratives. References to other media continued to be made in order to convey a range of anti-Jacobite sentiments to those who were able to make the inter-medial associations. Importantly, the market for prints grew rapidly as the British army closed in on and then defeated Charles's forces, although the graphic satirists' methods evolved in the light of particular circumstances.

Though the prints discussed in this chapter form a rather disparate group, there are some key themes that can be traced across them. First is the increasing use of naturalistic imagery. Certainly, the emblematic mode remained a valuable tool for the creators of graphic satire related to the rebellion, most probably because it was a visual language with which its audiences were familiar, which they were accustomed to deciphering, and which they continued to find entertaining. Greater use of naturalism and an expanded element of visual reportage, however, is evident, seemingly a function of the dwindling need to avoid the most embarrassing truths of the early phases of the rebellion: that Charles had been able to land in Britain, raise an army of several thousand men, inflict a serious defeat on George II's troops at Prestonpans, and get to within striking distance of London with astonishing ease, before the government could offer any meaningful resistance. By the beginning of 1746 it was

possible for the imagery to show some more specific engagement with both the immediate, more positive events, and the military leader who embodied Hanoverian loyalists' hopes that the rebellion would, in the end, be crushed: the Duke of Cumberland. The greater use of naturalism suggests that Britons loyal to the Hanoverian regime were less fearful about the final outcome.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the printed imagery related to the rebellion evolved from the Hanoverian low point. The complex matters that were at the heart of the ideological clash between the Hanoverian and Jacobite causes were still referred to in prints, but, once the Jacobite army had turned back, and then been defeated, it became easier to mock them and their campaign more aggressively. This involved such tactics as deriding the Jacobite army for fleeing at Culloden and drawing attention to the part played by Jacobite women in the rising. This could be seen as a sign of the underlying insecurity of the Hanoverian regime, but, when the Jacobite threat was at its height, there appears to have been little, if any scope, for humour, while, later on, the ridicule directed at Charles and his mission indicates that loyal Hanoverians had a greater sense of confidence about their chances of success. After the final defeat of the Jacobite army, printed imagery concentrated on offering moralising messages about the campaign as a whole and the terrible consequences for those who had taken part. At this stage graphic satirists invoked analogies with the rituals of death and commemoration to present the Jacobite project as now defunct.

The execution of Simon, Lord Lovat on 9th April 1747 brought the events of the rebellion to a close. It was he who was to become the arch villain of the piece in the eyes of many, rather than Charles. The would-be Prince of Wales managed to return to France, depriving the government of the propaganda coup that the capture of the rebellion's leader would have presented. For many in Britain, however, Charles had merely been pursuing an

arguably just cause, whereas Lovat was an altogether more dangerous prospect, not only due to his own perfidy, but also as the most notorious example of the malign power wielded by clan chiefs in Scotland. The imagery related to Lovat formed part of the more generalised depiction of the Jacobite adherents as a horde of savages who would spell disaster for Britain if they succeeded in removing George II, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The Jacobites: Image and Identity

> There is the same difference betwixt opposition and rebellion as there is betwixt wholesome medicine and deadly poison.[1]

Up to this point I have been concerned primarily with how engravers and printmakers responded to the often fast moving developments in the years 1743-47, considering their pictorial appraisals of the chain of events in chronological order. Anti-Jacobite graphic satire tended to highlight only those events which went well for George II, celebrating the achievements of the professional soldiers involved in quelling the rebellion, as well as the supporting role played by volunteers who joined loyal associations. At the same time they functioned as a platform for promoting the benefits of the Hanoverian regime, most often contrasting it favourably with the supposed perils that would attend a victorious Jacobite campaign. In doing so they often looked to make capital out of commonly-held views about those who were thought to be behind the bid to the restore the Stuart dynasty. Anti-Jacobite prints appear to have appealed consistently to widely shared prejudices around which sentiment was readily rallied, seeking to feed and exacerbate long-held fears about Jacobitism and its adherents and often fudging the difference, described by one observer in the quotation above, between legitimate opposition and those who sought regime change through violent means. In this chapter I will consider how pro-Hanoverian prints characterised the 1745

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.15 (London, October 1745), p.545.

uprising, some of the leading Jacobite lights and those who supported the rebellion more generally to create a coherent sense of the 'enemy'.

Ever since 1689, William III and those who had succeeded him had had to contend with the fact that there were alternative claimants to the throne; Britain was faced with the possibility that attempts could be made to restore James II or one of his heirs until such time as the threat was extinguished. An integral part of generating and sustaining sympathy towards George II and the Hanoverian regime in the mid-1740s involved developing a suitably negative aura around the Jacobites, their agenda and their leaders as objects for loyalist antipathy. Those who sought to justify the removal of James II, the Glorious Revolution and the expedient of inviting George I to take the throne in 1714 took account of shifting circumstances, but advocates frequently relied on core themes, persistently repeated and recycled in printed imagery. Britain's main international rival, France, and the Catholic Church, both of which were assumed to be conspiring with the Jacobites in the rebellion, had been demonised in print media over a long period. Because Britain was frequently at war with France, that country and its people were regular targets of hostility in printed media in the decades following the 1688 Revolution. In this, France, as discussed in Chapter Three, was usually represented in graphic satire by her king, rather than any French equivalent of Britannia. Anti-Catholic imagery, meanwhile, had been used as a propaganda tool since the Reformation, initiated by a royal injunction of 1538 calling for a vernacular bible, including an iconographically loaded frontispiece, to be placed in every parish in the kingdom for all to view.[2] Turning to the Scots, they had for centuries been deemed suspect for their bellicose tendencies as well as the subject of long-term English ethno-cultural chauvinism. The Scots were viewed as threatening, poverty-stricken and backward, the Gaelic language being a

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[2] Greg Walker, *Persuasive Fictions: Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1996), pp.86-7.

further indicator of the difference between the two nations (although Gaelic-speakers, who came mostly, but not necessarily, from the Highlands, were not distinguished from anglophone Lowlanders). The 1707 Act of Union had only served to heighten this tension between the English and nationalist Scots.[3] Nationalism gained ground after 1707 due to what was seen as the misrule of Scotland from London, with Scotland unable to safeguard its own key interests in the face of much larger English representation at the Westminster parliament. One of the main aims of the 1715 rebellion had been to 'restore the Kingdom to its ancient free and independent state … with a free and independent Scottish parliament', as Murray Pittock has stated.[4] Linda Colley has discussed how many English also had misgivings about the Union, the Scots being seen as poor relations unwilling to shoulder their share of taxes (as evidenced by such events as the 1725 Malt Tax riots in Glasgow), yet keen to enjoy the benefits such as the boost to trade and jobs.[5] The effect of the stream of imagery produced in the years in which the Jacobite threat reached its high point in the mid-1740s, therefore, was to consolidate, as well as expand on and update, general perceptions of these traditional adversaries, built up over a considerable length of time.

On top of longer-term rancour between the Scots and the English, and coming after more than sixty years in which Jacobitism had been a live issue, following the Glorious Revolution, the crushing of the 1745 rebellion proved to be the decisive blow to both Charles Stuart's attempt to overthrow George II and Scottish nationalist ambitions. From an English perspective, it was necessary not only to avoid the possibility of Scotland seceding from the

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[3] For events in Scotland leading up to the Union see Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1994), pp.66-73.

[4] Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1998), p.35. For discussion of the part nationalism played in the Jacobite project, see Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.31-3 and Pittock, *Jacobitism*, pp.31-5, 95-6.

[5] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London and New York, BCA, 1992), pp.12-5. For more background on attitudes of the English to the Scots see Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.3-7, 20-31.

Union, and becoming a potentially hostile neighbour undermining England's security on Britain's northern fringe, but also to prevent the Jacobites from taking control of Britain in its entirety. Fears surrounding the possible return of the Stuart dynasty had provided fodder for the print makers for some time, especially when the threat intensified. The most emotive occasion in the early eighteenth century appears to have been the controversy of 1709-10 surrounding the High Church Dr. Sacheverell's incendiary sermons against Dissenters and the Whig government, taken by many as evidence of his Jacobite leanings. Interestingly, the 1715 rebellion did not prompt a major response from the print publishers, perhaps because George I and his new regime were little known or understood, making comparisons with the Jacobite alternative difficult. However, the rising in 1745 was a watershed moment, spawning the most vehement, sustained attack in print on those who sympathised with or were involved with the Jacobite project in Britain.

A significant problem for the British government had been that it was not easy to gauge the strength and depth of support for the rebellion, especially as the Whigs, with their virtual monopoly on power since 1714, had generated a good deal of resentment and disaffection amongst various groups. A further consideration is that George II was none too popular a monarch. Grievances included the fact that he had been born abroad and frequently acted with what was perceived to be excessive favouritism towards his native Hanover at the expense of Britain's interests. In the early stages of the 1745 rebellion, the 'enemy' was potentially an amalgamation of various, alienated constituencies. Opposition to the regime tended to come from the following parties: many Scots, because of ongoing bitterness arising from the provisions of the 1707 Act of Union and apparent lack of interest in their concerns at Westminster; Scottish Episcopalians, because they had lost control of the Kirk to the Presbyterians under William III's post-Revolution ecclesiastical settlement in Scotland; many Tories, because of their long-term exclusion from positions of power and influence; those

who objected to a corrupt Whig government and its illiberal measures; Catholics, who were subject to discriminatory legislation and intolerance; and non-jurors and others who could not accept the shattering of the principles of monarchical succession that were inherent to the rule of the House of Hanover.[6] None of these factors necessarily guaranteed active support for the rebellion, although the Jacobite court in exile did assiduously solicit various disaffected groups.[7] For the purposes of the print designers and others, however, these various camps were inevitably aggregated as a common 'enemy'. They were lumped together by charges of Jacobite sympathy, strategically linked with their opposition to the government.[8]

Characterising this elusive and diverse enemy in visual terms involved rather different strategies from those used to represent successive events of the rebellion. This was a longer-term process that ran alongside the immediacy of the visual commentary on topical situations. Above all, the rebellion was most often broadly branded as 'unnatural', and we will see how this epithet developed into an ongoing theme running through anti-Jacobite imagery, whether concerning the Jacobite adherents in general, or prominent Jacobite personalities in particular. I intend to deal first with two key Jacobite personalities, opening the chapter by considering how Charles Stuart, as the leader of the rebellion who styled himself Prince Regent, was portrayed in print in the mid-1740s, and the visual tactics involved in building a damning impression of the man who would, after his father, succeed to the throne if his campaign were successful. It was, however, Simon, Lord Lovat, leader of the Frasers of

[6] For background on the causes of disaffection see Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.17-24 and Bruce Lenman, *Jacobite Risings in Britain: 1689-1746* (Dalkeith, Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), chapter 1 and pp.231-6.

[7] Szechi, *Jacobites*, p.21.

[8] Brian Hill, 'Parliament, Parties and Elections (1688-1760), in H. T. Dickinson, ed., *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2006), p.64, describes how Sir Robert Walpole had been adept at associating dissident Whigs and the Tories with Jacobitism.

Beaufort who, above all others, became the most prominent object of anti-Jacobite contempt in the prints, and I will examine examples featuring him in the second section of the chapter.

Active participants in the rebellion came mainly from Scotland, with very few recruited in England. Defeat at Culloden meant the end of Charles's plan for a return of the Stuart dynasty, but the rising highlighted the ongoing difficulties associated with Episcopalianism and the 1707 Union between Scotland and England, the latter originally intended to ward off the possibility that Scotland might reject the Hanoverian succession and both being significant causes of many clan chiefs' backing for Charles. As Linda Colley has noted, 'the Scots retained their distinctive religious organisation and social structure, as well as their own legal and educational systems', but this was not enough to assuage concerns over the loss of the parliament in Edinburgh.[9] Importantly, Scotland's noble magnates still wielded considerable power and could persuade, inveigle and even force their clansmen into joining the rising. Traditional clan structure and relationships enabled chiefs to bring men out under arms for what were essentially private armies - Allan Macinnes describes military recruitment and leadership as 'an incidental management function for tacksmen' - while landed gentlemen in England could only direct the votes of their tenants.[10] The fact that Charles's army was initially raised in Scotland, Jacobite clan chiefs rallying much of its manpower, meant the spotlight of graphic satire was frequently trained on the Scots, generally regarded by George II's supporters as the 'enemy', albeit heavily reliant on France and the Pope if they were to prevail. In the final section of this chapter, therefore, I will explore the imagery which set out in visual form a broad impression of the Highland Scots who made up a

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[9] Colley, *Britons*, p.11.

[10] Allan Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 1996), p.23. For a summary of the Highland clan system, see Szechi, *Jacobites*, pp.15-6. For more detailed analysis of the clan system and mobilisation of troops see Macinnes, *Clanship*, pp.1-24, 163-73..

significant percentage of the Jacobite army, relying on the shibboleths and clichés common in the period.

5.1 *The villains of the piece*

5.1.1 *Charles Edward Stuart*

Charles Stuart led the rebellion, automatically making him a focus of attention in graphic satire, but images of him tended to be infused with long-established conceptions of Jacobite identity. Indeed, his life story provided ample material which could be used to good effect to discredit the Jacobite project as a whole. He seemed to embody much of what was feared by the English, being Catholic and having spent his life in France, close to the court of Louis XV, and in Rome, under the protection of the Pope.

Before moving on to consider images of Charles, it should be noted that pro-Hanoverian representations were devised in the knowledge that the Jacobite court in exile made extensive use of art as a means of promoting their cause. Occasions such as the marriage of James Stuart to Princess Clementina Sobieska and the birth of their two sons, for example, were celebrated in paint. With the fall of Sir Robert Walpole and the death of Cardinal Fleury, resurgent Jacobite optimism was the catalyst for the commissioning of paintings in which Charles Stuart appeared in heroic fashion, often dressed in military garb. Imagery based on these works was then incorporated into prints produced or distributed in Britain, but often without identifying titles or disguised through the use of cryptic mottos or

verse, and published anonymously, as noted in Chapter One.[11] Medals and so-called ‘tongue pieces’ were also commissioned and sent over to Britain for propaganda purposes.[12]

Despite the government’s attempts to suppress it, Jacobite propaganda featuring Charles had created an attractive, romantic and, above all, regal persona for him. As a baby, Charles had been projected as ‘spes Britanniae’ (the hope of Britain) and, when he matured, this was augmented through his portrayal as a dashing royal warrior. He was frequently depicted dressed in armour, overlain with a garter sash and the star of the order of St Andrew, accompanied by the new star which, as previously mentioned, was supposed to have appeared at his birth: a mystical sign he was supposed to have shared with Christ.[13] Paul Monod has cited this as ‘one of the first English examples of an orchestrated campaign to publicise the political character of an individual’.[14] Monod has outlined how Jacobite apologists worked round British government strictures limiting the scope of such visual propaganda material. In essence, they based their imagery of Charles on the conceit that viewers did not need to be familiar with pictorial conventions or the full array of iconography and symbolism associated with him, but had only to see his face, ‘even in effigy’, in order to appreciate his royal status and legitimacy. This was, moreover, believed to be sufficient to persuade those who had not previously been sympathetic to his cause to support him; what Monod has called the ‘look, love, follow’ principle.[15] This idea pervades portraits of Charles,

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[11] Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, Scolar, 1996), pp.19, 40, 61. Sharp states that engraved portraits of the Stuart family ‘circulated extensively in Britain for at least two generations after 1688’.

[12] Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.35, ‘tongue-pieces’ were so-called because they could be hidden under the tongue.

[13] Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.79-80; Sharp, *Engraved Record*, pp.112-5.

[14] Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.80.

[15] Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.70-3, derived the term from the later so-called ‘Look Love Follow’ medal of 1750. See also Neil Guthrie, *Material Culture*, pp.8, 69, 96 for his discussion of this medal.

in which 'the themes of lineage and sovereignty were … paramount', and which, in turn, filtered through to printed imagery.[16]

So as to counter this Jacobite narrative, pro-Hanoverian printed images of Charles Stuart sought to distort and turn the lore associated with him against him. He tended to be depicted in print as a Scot, the key aim being to emphasise his connections with the much-scorned kingdom sometimes referred to as North Britain.[17] Charles is certainly known to have sported Highland dress on certain occasions, for strategic purposes. Much depended on his likely audience, and he was also careful to ensure that the orders he wore were aligned with his attire, the garter star with Lowland or modern dress, the order of St Andrew with Highland dress.[18] The *Caledonian Mercury* of 9th September 1745, for example, reported that Charles wore Highland dress the morning after he arrived in Perth, while Lord Elcho observed: 'The Prince rode through the town of Preston with his guards dress'd in Lowland cloaths ... Usualy (sic) he wore the highland habit'.[19] This change of apparel was intended to avoid antagonising the inhabitants of certain areas of Scotland (mainly in the Lowlands) and England who may have been less well disposed towards him. On arriving in Manchester, however, where support was thought to be stronger, he again wore Highland garb, a fact reported on in the London press.[20]

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[16] Monod, *Jacobitism*, p.79.

[17] An early use of 'North Britain' for Scotland was made by James I and VI in a Proclamation of 1606. At the time of the 1745 rebellion, the term is used in a number of English newspaper articles and advertisements, for example in *General Evening Post*, London, 10th-12th September 1745, for Scotland, but sometimes also for northern England.

[18] Jacqueline Riding, '"His Little Hour of Royalty": The Stuart Court at Holyroodhouse in 1745', in David Forsyth, ed., *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites* (Edinburgh, NMS Enterprises Ltd., 2017), p.109.

[19] *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh, 9th September 1745. David Wemyss, Lord Elcho, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746*, ed. Evan Charteris (Edinburgh, David Douglas,1907), p.329.

[20] *London Gazette*, London, 30th November-3rd December 1745; *St James's Evening Post*, London, 30th November-3rd December 1745.

In most of the images encountered so far in this thesis, Charles is shown clad in full Highland dress. This was to take advantage of disparaging and damaging associations with the Highland Scots and their homeland, the distinction between active Jacobites and loyal Scots generally ignored by print artists. The prince is depicted in this costume, for example, in *The Chevalier's Market, or Highlander Fair* (probably 1745, fig.5), in which he is seen buying an indulgence from a Catholic monk. He also wears this garb in *The Plagues of England* (probably 1745, fig.32), where he is in the company of the devil and the Pope as one of 'the Images of Devotion', and in *The Ballance* (18th November 1745, fig.36), where, with a handful of indulgences, he is weighed against the Bible and Magna Carta (fig.82). In all three of these prints the prince wears a traditional 'Scotch' bonnet embellished with a white cockade, the symbol of Jacobite allegiance, but this has been combined with various signs evincing Charles's Catholicism, to show that the Stuarts were irretrievably wedded to and propped up by the Catholic Church.[21] Even when Charles appears in *The Pope's Scourge* (1745, fig.31) dressed as a Roman soldier, with a winged cap marked 'Error' to denounce his Catholic faith, the Scottish connection is indicated by his tartan leggings and cloak. This image parodies Jacobite printed propaganda depictions of Charles in armour, showing him as an intrepid royal leader with obvious overtones of the classically heroic - as, for example, in two prints after a Domenico Dupra portrait of the prince, both published in the 1740s (fig.83 and fig.84). The classical military dress seen in *The Pope's Scourge* is mixed bizarrely with tartan, in order to make Charles appear ridiculous rather than heroic.

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[21] Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.79-80, tells us the white rose was the badge of the Stuarts, hence the colour of the cockade, but white cockades carried a connotation of Scottishness as well as Jacobitism. Blue was the colour most closely associated with English and Welsh, rather than Scottish or Irish Jacobitism, and a loyal Jacobite was sometimes referred to a 'true blue'.

Some images do show Charles Stuart in Lowland dress, that is, in modern European costume with some form of tartan accessory. In *Rebellion Rewarded* (1st October 1746, fig.70), for example, Charles appears in modern dress with a tartan sash. Most of those accompanying him are similarly dressed. Departing further from the norm, *The Procession, or the Pope's Nursling Riding in Triumph* (15th October 1745, fig.27) and *The Invasion, or Perkins Triumph* (September 1745, fig.29) both show Charles clad in modern European dress with a tricorn hat. In the latter, however, the coach in which he rides is still accompanied by a large group of explicitly Highland followers, to emphasise the association with Scotland and the Scots.

A marked feature of *The Pope's Scourge* and *Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls* (21st October 1745, fig.40a), in which Charles is seen in full Highland dress as he struggles to control a (papal) bull, is that the prince is presented in a feminised contraposto pose, and has a particularly girlish face. The notion that Charles was less than manly, or unnaturally effeminate, was increasingly exploited in anti-Jacobite printed satire after he arrived in Edinburgh in September 1745. At this time, aware that perceptions were vital, he attempted to demonstrate that he represented a credible alternative to George II by making particular efforts to 'shew himself to the people'.[22] As he rode into Edinburgh he was able, for example, to show off his skilled horsemanship, which, as Jaqueline Riding has noted, was a recognised metaphor for statecraft.[23] At one point he dismounted and, as Lord Elcho later described it, 'the Mob out of Curiosity, and some out of fondness to touch him or kiss his hand, were like to throw him down', estimating that some 60,000 people had come out to see him. However, Elcho also expressed the opinion that the prince had the demeanour of 'a

[22] John Home, *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745* (London, s.n., 1802), pp.99-100.

[23] Riding, 'His Little Hour of Royalty', p.99.

gentleman of fashion, but not a hero or conqueror'.[24] It was, furthermore, reported that many women flocked to pay court to him at the palace of Holyrood, while less elite women were keen to catch sight of him in the streets.[25] Such overt displays of support were possibly easier for women to engage in than men because, as subjects supposedly outside formal politics, they were less likely to face the legal consequences of such treasonable behaviour. But, as Riding has demonstrated, Charles's purported appeal to women was targeted as a means of belittling the man and his mission.[26]

In *Scotch Female Gallantry*, for example, Charles is seen being fawned over by a gaggle of admiring women in a private chamber at Holyrood (fig.85). He is depicted wearing tight fitting clothes over his feminised torso and thighs, the image directly based on the more masculine one of him in the so-called 'Wanted' poster (fig.26). Effeminacy, as is implied in *Scotch Female Gallantry*, was deemed, according to the social codes of the period, to be something to avoid, by engaging in the sorts of activities which maintained both physical and intellectual masculine vigour, rather than spending time in the company of women, as depicted here.[27]

Interestingly, Charles appears to be notably tall in comparison with the women around him in the print. Although he was indeed taller than average, the image also thus perhaps hints at an affinity with Italian *castrati*. These singers, noted for their feminine vocal range, were typically very tall, and also thought to be especially attractive to impressionable young

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[24] Elcho, *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, pp.258-9.

[25] Riding, 'His Little Hour of Royalty', pp.108-9.

[26] Riding, 'His Little Hour of Royalty', pp.112-5.

[27] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995), p.94. For a discussion of effeminacy within an eighteenth-century context, see also G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1992), chapter 3.

women. As Riding explains, the black 'domino' capes worn by some of the women in the print are, significantly, reminiscent of those worn at Italian carnival balls, another nod to Charles's faith and his connections with Rome and the papacy. The prince is thereby likened here to a preening, Italian fop, mocked for being the object of young girls' admiration. This unflattering satire of Charles also draws on the prevailing notion that women were, by definition, irrational beings unqualified to participate in political affairs, supposedly the natural domain of 'independent' gentlemen.[28] The young women of Britain are warned against consorting with the prince in the verse below, partly because they cannot see the danger he poses:

> But while these foolish Females take
> And to their Bosoms clasp the Snake
> Let English Nymphs the Pest beware
> For Poison lurks in Secret there.

They are, thus, also symbolic of the irrational devotion to Charles which is implied, from the Hanoverian perspective, by the 'look, love, follow' Jacobite narrative.

In an untitled print Charles Stuart is depicted dressed as his Irish maid, Betty Burke, the disguise he was supposedly encouraged to adopt by Flora MacDonald while trying to flee after the battle of Culloden (fig.86).[29] He is shown in full female eighteenth-century dress, but with the slightly awkward air of a man attired in women's clothing. In particular, his very direct, almost challenging gaze towards the viewer does not fit well with contemporary ideas concerning the way in which women should comport themselves. His demeanour does not

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[28] For discussion of the concept of 'independence' and the role of men in politics see Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005), pp.35-52.

[29] This image was executed in mezzotint, a medium often used for portraits because of its tonal range.

suggest the 'decent Humility and a submissive Air' recommended by François Nivelon in his *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour*.[30] Although dressed as a woman, the likeness of Charles is recognisable from prints based on the Dupra portrait, mostly produced in France and likely to have been available at the time, despite government attempts to check their sale and distribution (fig.83 and fig.84). The text in the print of Charles disguised as Betty elaborates: 'Routed, o're the Hills the young Adventurer flies, And in a Cottage sinks to this Disguise'. The crucial word here, as Riding has pointed out, is 'sinks', used to imply Charles's degeneracy. The text goes on to emphasise his effeminacy by suggesting that he needed to make a concerted effort to think like a man: 'By manly Thoughts He'd charm his Woes to Rest'.

To these two images discussed by Riding, I would add a further example, an untitled print of c.1746 (fig.87).[31] In this image, Charles appears not merely to be attired in women's clothing, or even shown as an effeminate man, but could actually be taken for a woman, particularly in the depiction of his youthful face. This print is possibly based on one of his childhood portraits (fig.88 and fig.89). Shown in a format taken from Court art, again intended to parody Jacobite propaganda imagery, Charles is set against luxuriously draped curtains held aside by a winged cherub. He looks out sideways at the viewer, wearing a fashionable dress overlain with an ermine tipped cloak, one lower leg exposed provocatively, giving the impression that this is not only a woman, but a loose woman to boot. Instead of a more traditionally regal prop, Charles holds a large warming pan, a domestic appliance usually wielded by a housemaid. It is open to reveal a portrait of his father, the 'Old Pretender', a reference to James's reputedly illegitimate birth, ensuring the viewer

[30] François Nivelon, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour* (London?, s.n., 1737), pages not numbered.

[31] This print has been attributed by the British Museum to George Bickham jun., but I have not so far found any evidence for this.

understands the main subject of the image to be Charles.[32] Anti-Jacobite legend had it that James was smuggled into Mary of Modena's bedchamber in a warming pan and, therefore, had no true claim to the throne, and this late seventeenth-century story had been revived to counter Jacobite attacks on George II's right to rule, the issue of legitimacy being central to the division between supporters of the Hanoverian and Stuart dynasties.[33]

Once the rebellion had been crushed, Charles Stuart was compared unfavourably with the Duke of Cumberland in terms of masculine virtue. In *The Agreeable Contrast between the British Hero and the Italian Fugitive*, for instance, Charles is again seen with a somewhat feminine demeanour, wistfully reading a book, opposite the commanding, uniformed presence of a more blatantly masculine Cumberland, who declares: 'Britain gave me Life, For her Safety I'll readly (sic) risk it' (fig.90). Charles appears in Highland dress again, his bonnet hung up on the wall behind him, but the title conveys his 'otherness', as well as his Catholicism, by describing him as an 'Italian' fugitive. A contented Britannia looks on as she dubs Charles a 'Vain Tool' (presumably of the Pope and France), while a printed image depicting Cumberland above the field of Culloden rests on the floor. Finally, in *The True Contrast* a frightened Charles is seen looking to make good his escape from the duke, the sort of behaviour associated with the less than truly manly (fig.91).

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[32] Sharp, *Engraved Record*, p.2, states James Stuart was reputedly the son of a brickmaker's wife.

[33] The story was recounted, for example, in Henry Fielding, *A Serious Address to the People of Great Britain. In which the Certain Consequences of the Present Rebellion are Fully Demonstrated, etc.* (London, M. Cooper, 1745), p.4 and in Anon., *A Compleat View of the Birth of the Pretender …* (London, T. Gardner and M. Cooper, 1744), p.5.

5.1.2 *Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat*

Charles was spirited back to France, despite the Duke of Cumberland's attempts to track him down. However, the government in London did have the satisfaction of apprehending a number of other leaders towards the end of the rebellion, most notably the so-called rebel lords discussed in the previous chapter, enabling the Hanoverian regime publicly to demonstrate the consequences of promoting armed insurrection from within Britain. Out of these, it was Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, who captured the imagination of the English public as the epitome of much that was thought objectionable about the disloyal and untrustworthy Scots. Print publishers took advantage of the public's appetite for imagery of Lovat, although it was not exclusively related to the rebellion, this particular clan leader having an enduring impact on popular memory well after the Jacobite threat had been overcome.

Lovat had become infamous mainly for his political manoeuvring, and certain notorious episodes related to his mission to recover his clan titles and lands in the years leading up to the rising. Before 1745, he had spent most of his adult life trying to gain control of the Lovat title and estates also laid claim to by the neighbouring Mackenzies, thanks to a secret marriage between a female member of that family and Hugh Fraser, a cousin of Simon's, in the late seventeenth century.[34] The long-running dispute between the two clans at one point saw Simon Fraser force Hugh Fraser's widow to marry him, reputedly raping her in order to consummate the marriage.[35] Lord John Murray, later Earl of Tullibardine, a powerful Mackenzie relation and ally, was able to have Simon declared an outlaw for rising in open rebellion against the Crown, as well as for the forced marriage. Lovat had, therefore, left for France in 1702, where he sought to gain a position at the exiled Stuart court at St. Germain,

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[34] Sarah Fraser, *The Last Highlander: Scotland's Most Notorious Clan Chief, Rebel and Double Agent* (London, Harper Press, 2012), chapter 2.

[35] Fraser, *Last Highlander*, pp.52-3, 69.

converting to Catholicism to advance his cause.[36] When that plan had failed, Lovat had returned to Scotland and, in a dramatic switch of allegiance, had brought his loyal clansmen out for the Hanoverian side during the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, a move which ultimately enabled him to secure a pardon from George I, as well as the return of the Lovat estates in 1716.[37] Lovat had continued to ingratiate himself with the Hanoverian regime, but he did not show any active support for the king when Charles landed in Scotland in 1745. At last the government grew tired of Lovat's prevarication, judging that he must be involved in assisting the prince in his attempt to oust George II.

Lovat's arrest in June 1746 was a significant prize for the British establishment because he was a powerful magnate, legally able (before such feudal rights were abolished following the rebellion) to muster a considerable numbers of troops from amongst his clan.[38] He was also, to an extent, a known personality as he had been at court in London, and his support for Charles was particularly galling because he had duped several British ministers.[39] At least six pamphlets devoted to the history of his life were published in 1746 and 1747, containing many of the salacious details outlined above, and he actually became a more popular target for producers of prints sympathetic to the Hanoverian cause than Charles.[40] They were able to capitalise on Lovat's notoriety, depicting him as the supreme exemplar of the wickedness of the Jacobite project.

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[36] Fraser, *Last Highlander*, pp.57-61, 75-81.

[37] Fraser, *Last Highlander*, pp.136-41.

[38] Fraser, *Last Highlander*, p.212, notes James Ferguson, a guest of Lovat's, remarked that he 'moved like a king' at his seat of power, Dounie Castle.

[39] Fraser, *Last Highlander*, pp.336-7.

[40] Lovat pamphlets include: Anon., *A Free Examination of a Modern Romance Entitled Memoirs of the Life of Lord Lovat* (London, W. Webb, 1746); Anon., *Genuine Memoirs of the Life of Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat* (London, M. Cooper, 1746); and Anon., *A Genuine Narrative of the Life Behaviour and Conduct of Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat* (London, B. Cole, 1747).

After the defeat at Culloden, Lovat managed to avoid capture for several weeks, partly because he, like Charles, is supposed to have disguised himself as a woman. There is no evidence for Lovat being arrested while in female garb, but the myth appears to have stuck, probably due to the fact that certain print makers seem to have alighted on a newspaper report of 28th June 1746:

> by Letters from Scotland we have Advice, that Lord Lovat was actually taken in a little Cabbin, dress'd in an old Woman's Habit a Spinning … and that he was taken by an Officer who had received Intelligence of his Lodging and Habit at a little distance from where he was found.[41]

Casting Charles as effeminate was a ploy used to mock his pretensions to royal status, but, in the case of Lovat, printmakers exploited the possibilities associated with this tale of cross-dressing as a means of accentuating his supposedly extreme venality, thereby tainting the Jacobite project more broadly. Two undated prints of featuring Lovat were published which play on this idea: *The Beautifull Simone* and *L[or]d L[ova]t a S[pi]n[nin]g* (fig.92 and fig.93). In neither is Lovat recognisable from William Hogarth's extraordinarily popular and much reproduced portrait, published on 25th August 1746, of which more below. Hogarth's likeness of Lovat very much dominated the imagery produced following its publication, suggesting that the two prints under scrutiny here may well have been published at some point in the two months prior to this, but following his arrest.

In *The Beautiful Simone*, Lovat's name has been simultaneously feminised and Frenchified, and he is shown dressed as a woman with a monkey peeping out from behind his skirts. Ronald Paulson, in discussing the second plate of William Hogarth's *A Harlot's Progress*, has noted that the symbolism of the monkey was widely understood, in part thanks

[41] *Westminster Journal*, London, 28th June 1746.

to the 1709 translation into English of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. In this well-known emblem book, the monkey is shown with a mask as a signifier of the animal's capacity for deception due to its 'aptitude for imitating man with its gestures'.[42] Lovat's flair for duplicity, as implied by the monkey, is reinforced through the reference to his purported attempts to hide from Cumberland's men by posing as a woman.

Lord Lovat a Spinning appears to be another instance of a print directly inspired by information gleaned from the press, in that the *Westminster Journal* article of 28th June 1746, cited above, mentions that he was 'a Spinning' when arrested. This print shows Lovat seated at a spinning wheel carrying on with the task in hand alongside a female assistant, while a number of British soldiers are searching the room. Lovat wears a tartan jacket over a dress, but under his bonnet he is engaged in the masculine habit of pipe smoking, while winking conspiratorially at the viewer. Importantly, in both this print and *The Beautiful Simone*, Lovat is emphatically depicted as a man dressed in a woman's garb, his broad sturdy frame highly conspicuous beneath his female costume. There is no implication of effeminacy here, the dissimulation of donning women's clothing instead referring to Lovat's reputation for double-dealing and the ruthless pursuit of his clan interests. This contrasts with those images of Prince Charles which sought to undermine his masculinity in order to suggest that he was altogether unkingly.

That Simon, Lord Lovat was to enter the consciousness of many as the arch villain of the '45, while providing confirmation of certain stereotypical perceptions of the Scots in general for others, was partly due to the large quantity of pamphlet literature given over to his life story, but also, in no small measure, because Hogarth took Lovat's likeness during his removal to London for trial. Lovat was in the care of a Dr. Webster at St Albans for a few

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[42] Ronald Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding* (Notre Dame and London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), p.118.

days from 12th August 1746 onwards, while on his journey to London, and it was to St Albans that Hogarth went to get ‘a fair view of his Lordship before he was locked up’.[43] The print was published less than two weeks later, on 25th August 1746, and priced at one shilling. This was a more modest sum than that asked for most of Hogarth’s other productions, making it relatively affordable (fig.71).[44] Hogarth is thought to have sold some 10,000 copies of this etching, and to have earned over £300 from it.[45]

Lovat’s capacity for calculated scheming is suggested in Hogarth’s print by his finger counting, and his knowing half smile. The empty book of as-yet unwritten memoirs on the desk beside him hints at his moral turpitude, as it waits for him to reveal the awful secrets of his life - or however much of the tale he chooses to tell - before meeting his fate. And Hogarth has also captured a sense of Lovat’s powerful character through his hooded eyes, broad wizened face, and imposing, thick-set body. The artist himself remarked that ‘the muscles of Lovat’s neck appeared of unusual strength, more so than he had ever seen’, indicating that his physique made a striking impression.[46] This, combined with his great age (eighty-two) and worldly experience, also apparent in Hogarth’s image, contrast strongly with the youthful appearance of the prince (born fifty years after Lovat) and the romantic idealism conveyed in the formal portraits of Charles. Hogarth’s *Lovat* is a potent image for which there is no equivalent for Charles.

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[43] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, 3 vols.: (Cambridge, Lutterworth Press, 1991), Vol.2, *High Art and Low, 1732-1750*, p.275.

[44] Paulson, *Hogarth*, Vol.2 , p.276.

[45] Paulson, *Hogarth*, Vol.2, p.276.

[46] Paulson, *Hogarth*, Vol.2 , p.276, according to a letter written by the Rev. James Harris, ‘it really is an exact resemblance of the person it was done for - Lord Lovat - as those who are well acquainted with him assure me’.

Hogarth's etching of Lovat was much copied, to the extent that his likeness must have been eminently recognisable to many in London and beyond.[47] Indeed, as Faramerz Dabhoiwala has argued, it was precisely such plagiarised versions of Hogarth's works that enabled them to have their full cultural impact.[48] As noted previously, prints of the trials and executions of the rebel lords, with their respective graphic iconographies, were produced in quantity, but those prints in which Lovat appears were more varied than the portraits and execution scenes of Lord Balmerino and the Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock. Apart from printed satires, discussed below, a watch paper was produced of the head and shoulders from Hogarth's image of Lovat (fig.94). This watch paper, in turn, was reproduced in Peter Griffin's trade card, along with a medal-type image of the Duke of Cumberland (fig.95).[49] A contemporary verse summarises the popular attitude to this villain:

> Pity'd by gentle minds Kilmarnock dy'd;
> The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side;
> Radcliffe, unhappy in his crimes of youth,
> Steady in what he mistook for truth,
> Beheld his death so decently unmov'd,
> The soft lamented, and the brave approv'd.
> But Lovat's end indiff'rently we view,
> True to no King, to no religion true:
> No fair forgets the ruin he has done;
> No child laments the tyrant of his son;

[47] I have so far traced nine different copies of the portrait.

[48] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Appropriation of Hogarth's Progresses', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.75, No.4 (Winter 2012), pp.577-595.

[49] The fact that the watch paper appears in Griffin's trade card suggests that his business may have been responsible for both.

No tory pities, thinking what he was;

No whig compassions, for he left the cause;

The brave regret not, for he was not brave;

The honest mourn not, knowing him a knave.[50]

The verse makes Lovat's greatest crime clear: that he was committed to nothing other than his own self-interest. It was this trait which apparently made him meaningfully more reprehensible than Charles, whose unwavering belief in his cause at least had a measure of honour about it. In essence, Lovat was apparently primarily motivated by the welfare of his clan and his ancestral inheritance and title, and perceived to be shockingly ready to betray his king and country in pursuit of these concerns.

A spoof invitation to Lovat's funeral, most probably published by George Bickham, given that the address of his business is included in the print, was published on the day he was sentenced to death, and some five weeks before he was executed on 9th April 1747 (fig.7). This print has been adapted from an earlier image, *The Glory of France*, as I noted in Chapter One (fig.6). The principal point of this earlier image had been to attack Louis XV for his treachery in regularly abandoning French treaty obligations in his relentless pursuit of his goal to dominate Europe. The verses below the image, in both French and English, consist of sarcastic advice to a French court painter as to how to represent Louis and the happiness of his subjects and allies accurately: 'Painter, display, in honour of the state, A monarch only in appearance great, Swoln with ambition, let the tyrant stand: With Pride and Treach'ry place'd on either hand … '. For *The Funiral Ticket*, the original plate has been modified by the addition of a *trompe l'oeil* paper in the top right hand corner inviting viewers to the funeral, as if to a performance at the theatre, another pointer to the theatrical nature of public

[50] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.17 (London, April 1747), p.194.

executions. The vignette at bottom centre has been replaced with a direct transcription of Hogarth's image of Lovat, in the same pose and clothing, and similarly seated beside a desk. The condemned peer has also been given a speech bubble: 'the above King to make Jack (the average Englishman) a Dupe of us'. He contemplates the severed heads of the rebel Lords Derwentwater (executed 1715), Balmerino and Kilmarnock, and is watched by several female devotees. The print would have been timed to take maximum advantage of Lord Lovat's trial, reaching its climax on the day he was convicted and the death sentence handed down. The words put into the mouth of Lovat suggest that, while Louis had used the Jacobites to fool the British, by distracting them from the war in Europe, the Jacobites had, in turn, been duped into participating in what was merely a diversionary tactic. It was Lovat, the supposedly prime practitioner of deceit and duplicity, and the other rebel leaders who had been out-played in this respect.

Lovat's Ghost on Pilgrimage is another print in which Hogarth's image of the peer has clearly been redeployed (fig.96). Hogarth is named as the designer of this plate, but it is almost certainly by another hand who used Hogarth's image as the model for Lovat's severed head. The well-known visage of the peer is tucked under his own arm, and he is seen wearing a monk's habit and rosary as he wanders past his father's tombstone. The text warns the viewer that, for his appalling sins, Lovat is doomed to wander aimlessly in perpetuity, his destiny dictated by justice - though whether this is divine justice or that meted out by the British legal system is not specified. This print was re-issued in 1788, more than forty years after Lovat had been executed and, significantly, the year of Charles's death, marking the extinction of the direct line of the Stuart dynasty. This was, perhaps, designed to remind viewers of Lovat's misdeeds at a time when interest in the Jacobite cause was, if only fleetingly, resurrected.

Finally, Hogarth's portrait was also incorporated into *Squire Ketch in Horrors or The Sneering Apparitions*, an undated print sold at 'E. Griffins Map and Printshop next ye Globe Tavern, in Fleet Street' (fig.97).[51] This print provided a comment on the penal code, probably indicating that it was published c.1750 when the issue was a subject of keen public debate (as mentioned in Chapter Four). It refers to an executioner of Charles II's era, Jack Ketch, who was famous for botching his job. He is shown shackled in irons, sitting in a cell, horrified by the appearance of the executed Jacobite leaders who, time strangely warped, seem to have returned to haunt him - even though Ketch died some sixty-two years before the rebel lords were executed. The execution of the Manchester rebels is indicated by a set of gallows labelled 'Kenington' pasted on the wall behind Ketch. The verse refers to 'noble heads', although Lovat is the only identifiable rebel peer, pictured at the front of the group, and makes the point that the executioner was doing a job set out by the law for both common criminals and traitors. However, it also notes that Lovat was their 'Head Man' - in other words, the most infamous of criminals. The author, though, suggests that it is the executioner who will 'wth. proper Vengeance meet', perhaps because of what was increasingly seen as the excessive cruelty involved in the executions of traitors.

While the prints discussed here indicate that Hogarth's image of Lord Lovat was not appropriated solely for the production of anti-Jacobite propaganda, it is clear that as it was a useful device, because well known to a large number of people, able to be referred to productively for some considerable period of time. Lovat was not only depicted as the most treacherous, and therefore most dangerous, of those who supported the 1745 rebellion, but also, subsequently, as the ultimate malefactor. He represented, for many, much that was wrong with the ancient clan system and Scotland as a whole.

[51] The print was sold by Elizbeth Griffin, mother of Peter Griffin.

5.2 *'A most unnatural rebellion'*

The adjective used most frequently about the 1745 rebellion was that it was 'unnatural'. A search of the British Library's Burney Collection of newspapers between September 1745 and April 1746 reveals some 133 references to the rising as an 'unnatural rebellion'. It was, of course, also described in the London press by other terms, such as 'horrid', 'wicked' and 'abominable', but 'unnatural' appears to have become particularly commonplace. The appellation appeared, for example, in *The Loyal Associators in the Year of Our Lord MDCCXLV*, the text referring to 'An Unnatural Rebellion being rais'd in Scotland, in favour of the Popish Pretender' (fig.43). In a proclamation issued by Field Marshal Wade on his arriving in Newcastle, it was claimed that had those who joined the rising had 'been seduced, by Menaces and Threatnings of their Chiefs and Superiors, to take Arms, and enter into a most unnatural Rebellion'.[52] Likewise, in his 1745 satirical pamphlet, *A Dialogue Between the Devil the Pope and the Pretender*, Henry Fielding used the same word to describe the attitude of the papacy to Britain's parliamentary arrangements. In imagined conversation with the Pope, Charles says he will defer to Rome in all matters if he is restored. The Pope replies:

> The Doctrine of Princes governing any other Laws than those we give them, is impious and heretical. *By me* (that is by this Chair) *Princes govern*, (says the text) not by Laws made by the Subject. The very Notion of a People's making Laws to govern themselves, is absurd and unnatural.[53]

Above all, the word 'unnatural' was used to characterize the rebellion because it was treasonous, and thus the most heinous of all crimes, as the extreme penalties meted out to the

[52] The proclamation is dated 10th October 1745 and is quoted in Riding, *Jacobites*, p.223.

[53] Henry Fielding, *A Dialogue Between the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender* (London, M. Cooper, 1745), p.28.

guilty indicate. Portraying Charles Stuart as unduly feminine and picturing Lord Lovat disguised as a woman to highlight his duplicity are signs that the rebellion was deemed perverse. However, the involvement of Jacobite women in the rising also assisted Hanoverian propagandists in their attempts to define the rebellion as contrary to the natural order of things. Several women actively assisted Charles's campaign, assuming roles which they would not normally have undertaken, such as managing their family estates while their menfolk were away, or more directly supporting the Jacobite army. Murray Pittock estimates that up to 2,000 women may have been amongst the followers of Charles's army as it made its way into England, carrying out a variety of non-combat tasks, and a number were later imprisoned.[54] There appears to be a considerable amount of exaggeration and fabrication in the imagery for propaganda purposes, although it drew in part on the real exploits of Jacobite women in the mid-1740s.

We have seen in the previous chapter that women were, significantly, included in two prints, *Tandem Triumphans* and *The Victory, or, The New C[our]t Th[an]ksg[ivi]ng* (fig.57 and fig.58). The first shows four women, two of whom are named as 'Lady Ogilvy' and 'Lady Murry'. Both these women accompanied the Jacobite army into England. Margaret Murray was the wife of Charles's secretary and is thought to have helped the cause by commandeering money and horses for the Jacobite army. Lady Ogilvy was with her husband, David, Lord Ogilvy, an ardent Jacobite who was leading his Forfarshire Regiment when he proclaimed Charles Prince Regent at Mercat Cross in Coupar, Angus in September 1745, on his way to meeting up with the prince at Edinburgh. Eye-witnesses later testified that Lady Ogilvy was seen carrying a drawn sword at Coupar, and she is duly shown in *Tandem Triumphans* in the unfeminine act of holding a sword aloft while a British soldier attempts to

[54] Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1998), pp.80-2.

grab her arm.[55] In *The Victory*, Lady Mackintosh, who raised a regiment in support of Charles in January 1746 (though she did not travel with the Jacobite army), and another unspecified lady are both seen brandishing swords at the British soldiers close by. In none of these cases do the women concerned display the type of modest attitude then deemed appropriate.[56] In fact, the wielding of a sword was so far removed from the type of behaviour expected of 'polite' women as to indicate to the viewer that these women are freakish. As Robert Shoemaker states, 'women were rarely involved in riotous protests concerning political issues at Westminster', and even less supposed to take an active part in an armed conflict.[57] As the Countess of Carlisle advised later in the eighteenth century, women were to 'assume no masculine airs; to support necessary fatigue is meretricious, but real robustness and superior force is denied you by nature: its semblance, denied you by the laws of decency'.[58] The lack of femininity of these Jacobite women in the prints inverts Charles's portrayal in female guise; masculinised femininity is opposed to feminised masculinity as a satirical device designed to ridicule Jacobitism in general, and its leader in particular. But all this imagery sustains and furthers the general characterisation of the rebellion as 'unnatural'.

Lady Mackintosh, moreover, along with all the other ladies in *The Victory*, is depicted in a tartan riding habit. Pittock has interpreted Jacobite women dressing in riding clothes as part of their 'refusal to bow to the code of eighteenth-century politesse'.[59] It is worth mentioning, however, that riding habits were quite often used by women as out-of-doors wear

[55] Pittock, *Jacobitism*, p.81; Maggie Craig, *Damn Rebel Bitches: the Women of the '45* (Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing Co., 1997), pp.19-20.

[56] As advocated by Nivelon in his *Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour*, *passim*.

[57] Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York, Longman, 1988), p.233.

[58] Isabella Howard, Countess of Carlisle, *Thoughts in the Form of Maxims to Young Ladies on their First Establishment in the World* (London, T. Cornell, 1789), p.38.

[59] Pittock, *Material Culture*, p.87.

in this period, even though this was thought ‘very eccentric’ when worn by English travellers to Europe in the early years of the eighteenth century.[60] The detail of men’s riding boots worn by Lady Ogilvy in *Tandem Triumphans*, and Lady Mackintosh in *The Victory*, is a more obvious sign of cross-dressing, but is, unlike the tartan riding habits, probably an invention of the graphic satirists, serving to convey more powerfully the impression of unladylike or ‘unnatural’ behaviour.[61] Jonathan Faiers has noted that tartan was thought of, to some degree, as gendered male and hence the wearing of tartan by women was, in itself, ‘an act of textile subversion regardless of its political signification’.[62] Pittock suggests that Jacobite women dressing in men’s riding clothes could be a symbol of their patriotism, so, when made from what Faiers has dubbed the ‘cloth of insurrection’, this could be ‘a telling intensifier of tartan’s radical message’.[63] In other words, the wearing of tartan riding habits could be regarded as a wilfully defiant gesture on the part of Jacobite women, one for which there was, usefully, no penalty under the law at this stage.[64]

5.3 *Scotland and the Scottish*

To secure the backing of a major foreign power, Charles Stuart needed to demonstrate that Jacobites ‘at home’ were willing to commit themselves to an armed uprising, in order to offset some of the risks of launching an invasion. In the first place, the prince looked to raise armed men for his restoration bid in Scotland, where support was likely to be strongest.

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[60] Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789* (London, B. T. Batsford, 1984), p.105.

[61] Jonathan Faiers, *Tartan* (Oxford, Berg, 2008), p.87, mentions that ‘Jacobite ladies evidently did not stop at tartan dresses; … riding habits were fashioned from tartan …’.

[62] Faiers, *Tartan*, p.88.

[63] Pittock, *Material Culture*, p.87.

[64] The wearing of tartan and highland dress was later banned except by the army under the 1746 Act of Proscription.

Amongst the arguments he used to win over the doubtful was, as Bruce Lenman has pointed out, that it would be relatively easy to seize control of Scotland, few government troops being available there to thwart a rising in its critical early phase.[65] Charles thus landed in a remote part of the north-west Highlands where he hoped the Jacobite leaders would be able to gather their clansmen undisturbed.

Emphasising connections between Jacobitism and both France and the Catholic Church had served to highlight the connotations of 'foreignness' or 'otherness' of Charles and his project, and helped to make the point that there were far-reaching consequences that might arise from an armed insurrection in Scotland. As we have seen, print makers regularly pictured Jacobites in company with Louis XV, or alongside well-known symbols of Frenchness such as *fleur-de-lys* or paupers shod in wooden clogs. They similarly showed them together with the Pope and familiar symbols of Catholicism, such as the keys of St Peter's and triple crosses, or associated evils, such as indulgences and papal bulls. However, it was in Scotland that the rebellion was fomented and achieved critical mass. As the Jacobite army made its way south into England, and especially whenever there was little in the way of positive news for loyalist sympathisers to focus on, graphic satirists seized on the simple visual method of stereotyping Charles's army as expressly Scottish.

Furthermore, for all the support that the rising supposedly received from France, the Pope and possibly Spain, the Jacobite army came to be held out as primarily made up of marauding Scottish Highlanders. Certainly, Charles's active supporters were more likely to come from the Highlands (those whose homeland was roughly north of the Clyde-Firth of Forth line), although he also had significant support from the Lowlands of north east Scotland, while support for the Hanoverian regime came mainly from lowland areas of

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[65] Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, p.249.

Scotland, and in the north-east of England.[66] However, that not all Scots supported the rebellion, and that not all Jacobite sympathisers were Highland Scots, did not matter for propaganda purposes.[67] Indeed, Highlanders and Lowlanders were often thought of as one and the same thing in the minds of many English. Prints with imagery sympathetic to the Hanoverian regime, therefore, tended to appeal to traditional English prejudices against the Scots in general, the origins of which were rooted in the regular incursions and territorial disputes between England and Scotland that had taken place before James VI of Scotland became King James I of England in 1603, on the death of Elizabeth I.

As noted above, Charles most often appeared in prints in full Highland dress, but when he was occasionally depicted in Lowland dress, as in *Rebellion Rewarded*, a tartan sash and Scotch bonnet was enough to indicate the connection with Scotland (fig.70). At the time of the 1745 rebellion, non-aristocratic Scots were typically depicted wearing full Highland dress of tartan kilt and socks, and bonnets with a white cockade.[68] Cross hatching could be used by engravers to achieve a simple diagonal grid pattern that readily denoted tartan. Highlanders in these anti-Jacobite prints usually appeared as they had done in recent images, such as *The State Pack-Horse*, a 1740 satire concerning the Duke of Argyll's opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, accusing the prime minister of bribing various Scots MPs in order to bring them into line, or *The Wheel of Fortune, or the Scots Step*, a 1742 image related to the

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[66] For details of Jacobite support in Scotland see Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, chapter 6.

[67] Riding, *Jacobites*, pp.110, 157, discusses Scots fighting on opposing sides. Colonel Gardiner (see Chapter Three) and Lord Ancram (see Chapter Four) are notable examples of Scots who fought against the Jacobite army.

[68] Faiers, *Tartan*, p.79, the traditional dress of the male Highlander took the form of a great kilt (*fhéilidh-Mor*), i.e. a long piece of tartan woollen cloth wrapped round the body and belted at the waist with the spare length thrown over the shoulder.

Duke of Argyll's role in Walpole's downfall (fig.41b and fig.98a).[69] However, as Gordon Pentland has discussed, there were relatively few representations of Scots in print before the 1740s and they were often betokened merely by a 'Scots blue bonnet'.[70] The attire of Jacobite soldiers was often less well defined than that of their leaders, partly because they were often shown in relatively large undifferentiated groups, but there is usually enough suggestion of tartan kilts and socks to ensure that the viewer understands them to be Scottish Highlanders. *The Invasion* and *Tandem Triumphans* are good examples (fig.29 and fig.57).

Tartan, however, carried more than a general connotation of Scottishness. Initially, the fabric had held patriotic associations, but, during the seventeenth century, it had become politicised. Pittock has explained its semiotic evolution:

> it began to become (in particular, at the time of the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-81) more broadly available for adoption as the property of the Stuart party: it was on its way to becoming the rebel and not just the patriot cloth, the mark of the Jacobite who supported the ancient royal line and (after 1707) opposed to the Union.[71]

Symbolic of both elite and popular protest for those who opposed the relinquishing of the Stuart dynasty, Scottish independence and Episcopalianism, it could be used to signal even more specific political allegiances, depending on the way it was draped.[72] Furthermore, tartan had been used to dress the Jacobite army in both 1715 and 1745 and so was, as Pittock has noted, 'seen as a uniform rather than an ethnic identifier when it came to gathering evidence

[69] The Dukes of Argyll, chiefs of the extended Campbell clan, had been prominent loyal supporters of Whig governments in London for much of the first half of the eighteenth century.

[70] Gordon Pentland, '"We Speak for the Ready": Images of Scots in Political Prints, 1707-1832', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.90, No.229, Part 1 (April 2011), pp.68-71.

[71] Pittock, *Material Culture*, p.85.

[72] Pittock, *Material Culture*, p.84. Pittock does not give particular examples of draping signification.

(of involvement in the rebellion)'.[73] Ultimately, tartan came to be perceived as the fabric and attire of Jacobitism by both its supporters and its detractors, not solely a signifier of Scottishness, and was used to indicate Jacobitism in English prints from the 1730s onwards.[74]

Tartan also carried, for the English, a strong implication of Scottish cultural inferiority. Traditional Highland costume was deemed a sign of backwardness, compared with modern European dress. The visual tactic of depicting all Jacobite soldiers as tartan-wearing Highlanders enabled the engravers to exploit a range of what were supposedly typical characteristics. Captain Edward Burt, for instance, opined that the plaid was 'calculated for the encouragement of an idle Life in lying about upon the Heath in the Day-time, instead of following some lawful Employment … it serves to cover them in the Night then they lie in wait among the Mountains to commit their Robberies and Depredations …'.[75] A 1745 pamphlet entitled *The Highlander Delineated* had more to say on this subject, suggesting that Highland clothing was so inadequate that its wearers 'go naked from below the knee to Mid-Thigh', adding a description of supposed basic living conditions: 'they endure all the Rigours of the Seasons, and sometimes sleep all cover'd with Snow. At Home, they lie upon the Ground, having under them Fern or Heath'.[76]

Scottish Highlanders were thus often also depicted as starving and scrawny, the most obvious sign of their poverty, itself thought to be a product of a backward economy. In *The Highlanders Medley*, a group of lanky Jacobite soldiers are shown fleeing from Cumberland's army on 'Carrion Horses', their steeds similarly ill-fed (fig.54). In another

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[73] Pittock, *Material Culture*, pp.83, 88, notes that in 1745 it was decided that all members if the Jacobite army would wear at least one plaid item.

[74] Pittock, *Material Culture*, p.90.

[75] E. Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London*, 2 vols. (London, S. Birt, 1754), Vol.1, p.188.

[76] Anon., *The Highlander Delineated …* (London, J. Roberts, 1745), pp.1-3.

print celebrating the Duke of Cumberland's victory, *His Royal Highness Duke of Cumberland &c. &c.*, a symbolic, gaunt-looking Highlander is shown prostrate beside his broken weaponry (fig.65). There does not appear to have been a long history of the Scots being depicted in graphic satire as especially poor, but the perceived greater affluence of the English had taken hold with the economic development of the first half of the eighteenth century.[77] In addition, the general population of France, presumed backers of the Jacobites, was perennially thought to be impoverished, a condition blamed on the tyrannical rule of its monarchy. Hogarth accordingly included, a few years later, two miserable-looking French soldiers along with a similarly underfed Highland veteran of the rebellion begging nearby, in *O The Roast Beef of Old England* (1749, fig.37).

The Scots were, in addition, perceived to be wholly uncivilised. *Sawney in the Bog-house*, published at the time the rebellion was about to be launched, is an example of the type of print designed to appeal broadly to anti-Scots sentiment, but particularly to the stereotype that this was a barbarous, primitive people (fig.99). Sawney, by this time a generic term for a Scot (not just a Highlander), is represented as such an uncouth bumpkin that he is unable use a privy properly, his pee running onto the floor.[78] With his coarse features and straggly, unkempt hair, he appears to be confused about how he should use one of the basic facilities of eighteenth-century life. In a subsequent pirating of this print, Sawney looks to be in an even more desperate state, with a large bulbous nose, pock-marked face and wild hair, his grotesque appearance bringing the image further into the realm of caricature (fig.100).[79]

[77] The economic progress seen in England when Sir Robert Walpole was in power, associated with his policy of maintaining peaceful relations with European neighbours, is summarised in Chapter Three.

[78] Pittock, *Celtic Identity*, p.31. Pentland, '"We Speak for the Ready", p.70, outlines how 'Sawney' evolved into a general term for a Scot based on the purported exploits of Sawney Bean, a murderous cannibal who came to widespread attention through a popular collection stories of notorious criminals published in 1726.

[79] A further cheap copy was also produced.

These cheap prints (the first version was priced at 6d., the second at only 3d.) did not require the viewer to have any in-depth understanding of the intricacies of Hanoverian ideology. Their vulgar humour would, however, have ensured that they appealed to a wider audience than many of the more complex prints, even allowing for the inclusion of a verse in the original.

During the rebellion, the supposed backwardness of the Scots was also signposted by their weaponry. Again drawing on typical stereotypes, Highland soldiers were usually depicted carrying the traditional dirk, broadsword and targe, as seen in *Tandem Trumphans* and *The Pope's Scourge* (fig.57 and fig.31).[80] The government's forces, in contrast, were usually shown in orderly ranks, bearing modern firearms. In *Ars et Exercitium*, for example, the latest type of cannon is shown off in the forefront of the image, and specifically referenced in the title (fig.63). This image was published after the victory at Culloden, when it was easy to suggest, with the benefit of hindsight, that the British army was a modern fighting force that had every chance of prevailing on the field of battle, overlooking the difficult early weeks of the rising when the outcome had been distinctly less certain. However, the Jacobite side *did* have fewer cannon at Culloden than their opponents, and it was indeed Cumberland's superior firepower, from cannons and muskets, which caused the Charles's soldiers to turn and run soon after the battle had begun, so image was in this case rooted in reality, if exaggerated to make a point.[81] However, even local volunteers tended to be shown in well-drilled lines armed with muskets, as in *The Loyal Associators*, although

[80] For discussion of weapons used by the Jacobite army see Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: the Jacobite Army in 1745* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2009), chapter 5.
[81] W. A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.144.

there were legal obstacles to arming them (fig.43). Here, image and reality once again part company.

A number of prints refer to the Scots' supposed criminal tendencies, often associated with their Highland costume. *Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls*, for instance, shows several Jacobite soldiers plotting to plunder once they have crossed the Tweed into England (fig. 40). In *The Fate of Rebellion*, the second from bottom panel of the monument depicts a band of what are labelled as 'The Rebel Robbers' (fig.69). This accords with a description found in *The Highlander Delineated*, stating that 'they (Highlanders) live chiefly by hunting, poching (sic) and stealing'.[82] This, however, was at the milder end of general perceptions concerning the propensity of Highlanders to violence; to many, they were bloodthirsty savages intent on brutality. The same pamphlet includes 'An Account of the Violences committed by the Highlanders in the Reign of King James the First', suggesting a long history of gratuitous bloodshed. Elsewhere, it claims that 'they are desperate in Fight, fierce in conversation, apt to quarrel, mischievous, and even Murderers in their Passion'.[83] Archbishop Herring saw reports of the battle of Prestonpans as 'a plain proof of the savageness of the rebel Highlanders, and that their leader is a man of blood' and was keen for those reports to be publicised, 'that the natural indignation may run like wildfire'.[84] Indeed, 'The Rebel Robbers' scene in the *The Fate of Rebellion* shows Scots Highlanders involved in a considerable amount of killing, as well as plundering.

In another pamphlet, *Great Britain's Memorial against the Pretender and Popery*, the writer describes Highlanders as 'wild and uncultivated Banditti, all bred up in Popish

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[82] *Highlander Delineated*, p.4.

[83] *Highlander Delineated*, pp.3,5.

[84] R. Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.19, No.75 (July 1904), Herring to Lord Hardwicke, 27th September 1745.

Principles, and prepared by Nature and Education, and Religion, to commit all Sorts of Outrages upon your Persons, Families and Estates'. They have, apparently, 'murthered many in the Wantonness of their Insolence, even in cool Blood, and committed Rapes on the Wives and Daughters of others, without Fear and Punishment'. [85] Lord Hardwicke, in a letter to Archbishop Herring, also remarked that 'it is writ that the rebels have begun to commit devastations and cruelties' as they marched south towards England. He was clearly aware of the propaganda value of the reported behavior of the Jacobite army, adding, 'I pity the poor sufferers, but the fame of it will do good'.[86] An extreme example of the kind of alarmist story that abounded during the rebellion can be found in a report by Colonel O'Sullivan, a biased source as he was a member of Charles's inner circle, but nevertheless insightful. O'Sullivan complained that one female resident of Moorhouse whom he encountered, as the Jacobite army passed through the town, was so terrified that she believed her child 'wou'd be set upon a Spit, as there was not much (for his troops) to eat in her house'.[87] A print which fully illustrates such exaggerated views of the Scots, and which helped to spread the 'fame' of them, is *The Highland Visitors* (fig.101). This outlines the sort of behaviour which English townsfolk should apparently expect if the invaders should come their way in the autumn of 1745, also implying what the fate of society in England will be should the rebellion succeed.

In *The Highland Visitors*, the invaders are presented as a terrifying, undisciplined horde, engaging in some of the worst of war-time excesses, their poor diet not appearing to affect their capacity for pillage and slaughter. Jacobite soldiers, all in kilts and bonnets, are shown forcing their way into houses to carry off food and possessions, rummaging through some of their plunder, and then loading what they want to keep onto a cart for removal, as

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[85] Anon., *Great Britain's Memorial against the Pretender and Popery* (London, J. Roberts, 1745), p.2

[86] Garnett, 'Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke', Lord Hardwicke to Archbishop Herring, 3rd October 1745.

[87] Riding, *Jacobites*, p.213.

well as stealing sheep and cattle. A man in the street is about to be killed by a Highlander. Several terrified women are seen at the windows and doors of their houses, while two small, but graphically delineated scenes of rape take place on the far right of the image (fig.101a and fig.101b). The sign at the inn, out of which a looting Scotsman strides, displays a crown and loyalist message: ‘the Old Crown kept by George King with ye best of usage’.

W. A. Speck has discussed how the leaders of the Jacobite army were careful to try and ensure that their men did not unduly upset people during the march into England, and how little evidence there was of misbehaviour, whilst conceding that discipline was harder to maintain in the bitter conditions of the retreat back into Scotland.[88] Even the *London Gazette*, the government’s official newspaper, admitted quite early on that ‘the rebels behaved tolerably well in their march southwards’.[89] However, scaremongering was clearly more broadly indulged in in printed imagery, as well as in contemporary newspapers and pamphlets.

Despite their fearsome reputation, once the Jacobite army had finally been defeated at Culloden, they were portrayed as a frightened, and even cowardly rabble as they attempted to save themselves from the Duke of Cumberland’s unassailable forces. In *Tandem Triumphans*, Charles’s troops are shown running away as the duke’s cavalry rushes towards them, many with their arms in the air and horrified expressions on their faces, while one of the duke’s soldiers sarcastically asks of a fallen Highlander, ‘where’s yr Sword and Target now’ (fig.57). A print at the bottom of the pile in *The Highlanders Medley* also shows terrified Jacobite troops fleeing in the face of the British advance (fig.54). In the later image, *The True Contrast*, comparing ‘The Royal British Hero’ with ‘The Fright’ned Italian Bravo’, Charles is specifically accused in a caption ribbon of ‘pusillanimity & cowardice’ at Culloden, while

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[88] Speck, *Butcher*, p.89.

[89] *London Gazette*, London, 12th December 1745.

watching the battle from a safe distance (fig.91). Charles is seen looking over his shoulder with dread at the duke, a verse beneath the image making the point that 'at Culloden see the Blust'rer fly, Trembling at Distance he the Onset Views, Then Scuds away for Cumberland pursues'. This was perhaps an easy charge to make in light of the fact that Charles had fought under a banner of three crowns and a coffin, his professed determination being to pursue his claim until death or victory. The printmakers had represented Highlanders as a terrifying murderous mob in the early phases of the rebellion; it was only later, when it was safe to do so, that they could be derided in this way for alleged cowardice.

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The characterisation of the mission to restore the exiled line of the Stuart dynasty, its leaders and adherents was a long-term process that did not need to rely on the availability of up-to-date information regarding the progress of the rising. Charles Stuart and Lord Lovat were the highest profile Jacobite personalities and, because of this, they became prime targets of the graphic satirists. But the prints sympathetic to the Hanoverian regime also appealed to long-standing prejudices, making reference to national stereotypes of the Scots and building on pre-existing perceptions about those who were thought to be the most active participants in the uprising. Certain details and episodes that emerged during the rebellion proved useful to printmakers, as they set about creating as damning a picture as possible of the Jacobites. The armed uprising that was set in train in Scotland in the summer of 1745 self-evidently went against the law of the land, but, in portraying Charles Stuart, Lord Lovat and the Jacobite army, as well as some leading Jacobite ladies who assisted them, as 'unnatural' in

various ways, those seeking to undermine the Jacobite project as a whole could present the rebellion as also contrary to the laws of nature.

Perceptions about the enemy coalesced round tartan-wearing Scottish Highlanders, whose lifestyle and political allegiances were strongly associated with their traditional and readily delineated costume. Whilst the Scots may not have featured much in graphic satire earlier in the eighteenth century, they were a nation which the English were encouraged to think of in the mid-1740s as the antithesis of the 'polite' ideal. They were, according to the prints issued in 1745 and 1746, ungovernable, diseased (commonly accused of having 'the itch' due to lice in their dirty clothing, and being unhealthy on account of their poor diet of oats, which many in England classed as animal fodder) and licentious barbarians, devoid of all social graces.[90] Indeed, they were summed up as 'the Dregs of Mankind' in one newspaper report, and by one pamphleteer as 'eminently … the people of God's wrath'.[91]

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[90] The diet of the Scots and their supposed tendency to 'the itch' are described in *Highlander Delineated*, pp.1-2. In *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.15 (London, October 1745), p.547, a correspondent mentions that 'my hall so stunk of their itch and other nastinesses'.

[91] *Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser*, London, 30th December 1745-1st January 1746; Anon., *An Antidote against the Infectious Contagion of Popery and Tyranny* ... (Edinburgh, 1745), p.9.

Conclusion

> Let all of us be valiant for the Truth, and shew ourselves Men. *Then we may justly hope (to speak in the Language of Holy Writ) that God* will purge out the Rebels from among us, remove far off the *Northern* Army, and drive it into a Land barren and desolate.[1]

Publishers of prints and illustrated broadsides seized the chance afforded by the last Jacobite rebellion of 1745 to produce a stream of images, the level of output increasing rapidly as the crisis came to a conclusion. The battle of Culloden was the defining moment of the rising, decisively scuppering Charles's mission to restore the Stuart dynasty to the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland and, as the contemporary pamphlet quoted above, *The Highlander Delineated*, makes clear, some in England hoped to erase all trace of Charles and his sympathisers. The battle, its aftermath and the final acts of retribution meted out on the scaffold were the subject of the most intense phases of the printers' activity as they sought to capitalise on the pro-Hanoverian fervour that gripped much of England. The victory at Culloden allowed the very real fear that had been generated around the possible overthrow of George II to be released, the outcome having been uncertain until quite late on, and for the energies of the print designers to be focused on celebrating the triumph over the Jacobites.

Over the course of the rebellion, printers interested in publishing material broadly sympathetic to the Hanoverian regime set about presenting the issues at stake using a range of

[1] Anon, *The Highlander Delineated* ... (London, J. Roberts, 1745).

visual languages and tactics in order to convey sometimes complex political arguments effectively. This entailed a mix of the traditional emblematic mode with more naturalistic imagery, as well as some experimentation with the grotesque, then in its infancy in Britain, as suited specific purposes. Anti-Jacobite prints, in common with those related to other eighteenth-century political matters, need, as Mark Hallett has argued, 'to be understood as pictorial as well as political constructs whose mediation of different graphic vocabularies was a critical part of their role as vehicles of extra-parliamentary polemic'.[2] Graphic satirists did not make consistent use of a particular artistic idiom, in part because their images were directed at various audiences, those loyal to George II coming from all sections of society. That said, during the course of the rebellion there was a broad, general shift away from the emblematic mode towards a greater use of naturalism, involving credible depictions of personalities and episodes, which seems to have been dictated, for the most part, by the turn of events. The short-lived French invasion threat of 1744 gave rise to only a limited number of prints, but those that were produced during this period primarily involved emblematic imagery, largely because this was the conventional visual language of political graphic satire. When a rebellion began in earnest in 1745 and the Hanoverian regime found itself in real danger, the emblematic mode proved still to be the most appropriate tool, as printmakers delineated the more abstract ideological concepts that were at the heart of the Jacobite-Hanoverian divide. These underlying concerns were the focus of their attention while Britain appeared to be on the back foot in the autumn of 1745. At that time, there was little to be proud of in the government's management of the situation and consequently little in the way of particular events, or the actions of those who were in a position to influence those events, that Hanoverian propagandists were keen to picture. It was only when the possibility of

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[2] Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1999), p.132.

facing down the Jacobite challenge emerged after December 1745 that more naturalistic imagery was used to articulate the Hanoverian perspective. More promising circumstances gave apologists for the regime openings to make direct pictorial references to the Duke of Cumberland, in whom Hanoverian hopes for victory over the rebels were concentrated, as well as to unfolding military successes on the ground.

We have seen in this thesis the diverse nature of the imagery used to present the multi-faceted arguments in favour of the Hanoverian regime, but certain core themes remained notably constant, and commonplace imagery associated with them was persistently reworked and refined. For example, the army which Charles Stuart amassed as he marched first on Scotland's capital and then into England was consistently portrayed as made up of Highland Scots. This tactic was designed to play on and fuel traditional prejudices about the Scots, judged wholly uncivilised by nature and upbringing in English eyes, and indicated by images of their supposed poverty, backwardness and capacity for treachery, lawlessness and violence. All this helped in portraying the enemy as somehow 'other', or alien. Moreover, drawing attention in printed imagery to the role of women involved in the rebellion, showing them as in contravention of accepted gender norms, was a means of signalling that the rebellion was, in essence, unnatural. This general characterisation of the rising was also expressed through the somewhat contradictory charges of abnormal barbarity amongst Jacobite adherents, and the perverse effeminacy of their leader, turning the romantic and regal persona devised by Jacobite propagandists for Charles on its head. When combined with his Catholic faith, and his dependency on support from France, designers of loyalist-leaning prints had plenty of ammunition with which to try to undermine Charles's ambitions to wrest the throne away from George II.

Anti-Catholic and anti-French rhetoric also pervaded the prints, with Britain's traditional enemies, the Pope and France, frequently presented as the guiding forces behind

the rebellion, intent on furthering their own selfish objectives. Despite the implication of rampant Scottish nationalism in the imagery, the Jacobites could thus be portrayed as pawns in the wider struggle for power and influence in Europe, as well as over colonial trade. Prints frequently exploited widely held fears about the possible Jacobite alternative to George II's rule, emphasising the risks to Protestantism, parliament, liberty and the economy by presenting the disadvantages that would result if the rebellion were to restore the exiled Stuart dynasty. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the prints under discussion is their attempts to interpret, through the deployment of metaphor, allegory and symbolism, the ideological questions and ideas at the heart of contemporary debates. However, the prints often deliberately made fairly short work of convoluted issues concerning the sources of legitimacy to Hanoverian rule, and the associated implications. They streamlined Hanoverian political argument so as to offer clear, concise and readily understood popular messages, designed to resonate with commonplace anti-Jacobite narratives likely to have been already encountered in other visual material and/or derived from texts and popular songs.

The inherent constraints of graphic art mitigated against the full exposition of complex issues, most obviously because of the difficulty of capturing the more arcane or abstract principles associated with Hanoverian political argument and condensing it into single images. Nonetheless, the process of reducing the arguments down to the essentials meant that some of the imagery could have widespread appeal. The sophisticated graphic invention involved in this process, as well as some of the allegorical and metaphorical referencing designed to communicate a range of readings, suggest that these satires were intended to engage the more educated and politically aware as well as the less erudite, with both able to appreciate and enjoy the more basic humour that occasionally featured. The constant repetition of certain key propaganda lines is also likely to have maximised their reach through society. In the 1730s, some years before the rebellion started, Lord Orrery had

been moved to observe that Britons were taught that it was ‘the duty of every Englishman to hate the King of France’ as if it were ‘the eleventh commandment’, suggesting that certain central ideas were assimilated by many.[3] Based on the corpus of prints discussed in this thesis, it would appear that this general antipathy towards France only hardened during the Jacobite rising of the following decade. The relentless condemnation of France and the French king was conveyed at a simple level, as in *Slavery in Miniature* (1745, fig.13), but also rendered in more complex terms, incorporating allusions to political history, the theoretical underpinning of monarchical power and the relative fortunes of the French and British populations, as in *The Rebellion Displayed* (1st November 1745, fig.35) and *A Funiral Ticket for Lord Lovet* (19th March 1747, fig.7). The cumulative impact of large numbers of prints devoted to the same central messages supportive of George II and the existing order, many using traditional emblematic symbolism familiar from inexpensive chapbooks or other readily accessible media, is likely to have advanced the promulgation of Hanoverian propaganda, even if prints were not a mass medium. Crucially, when it came to the rebellion, it is likely that the related prints would have been of interest to, and viewed by, considerably more people than the male, urban and relatively affluent cohort which was likely to have made up the principal print market.

The prints associated with the rebellion form a disparate group, but an important feature of many of these images is their witty and telling engagement with other media. The narratives contained within them frequently relied on adaptation, referencing, parody and appropriation of both high and low, popular and more polite genres and formats. This inter-textual and inter-medial dialogue was a significant aspect of the appeal and entertainment value of the prints, as well as crucial for their political content. In what Faramerz Dabhoiwala

[3] Orrery Papers I, pp.105-6, quoted in Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the ’45* (London, Duckworth, 1979), p.13.

has called ‘the new universe of communication’, the general trend was towards ever-increasing levels of interaction between media, facilitated particularly by the rapid expansion of the printing industry in the eighteenth century.[4] The constant interplay between graphic satire and other media ensured that the meanings contained within any single image could be elaborate and varied, but for viewers to access fully the contents of the more intricate prints they needed to be conversant with a wide range of the eighteenth-century culture, as well as that of earlier periods.

Given the inter-connections between media, it is tempting to think that it was the cheaper end of the print market, well known for the copying and plagiarism rife in this sector of the industry, that was the principal beneficiary of such a flow of ideas. However, this would be to underplay the originality of many of these images. Dabhoiwala has noted that it is important that the cheap copies of Hogarth’s prints should not be regarded simply as ‘parasitical ephemera’, but instead viewed as contributing to a general proliferation of culture whilst actively enriching it, and this applies more broadly to the political prints produced in Hogarth’s era.[5] The appropriation, adaptation, allusion and cross-referencing that was such an intrinsic part of the creative process in print design could give rise to an array of new meanings, variations of emphasis or subtly distinctive messages. It made graphic satire an ideal vehicle for independent comment on the overall set of ideas and events that surrounded the 1745 Jacobite rising. This was particularly true if the commentary involved content that it was difficult to express in textual form, as when it included criticism of powerful people involved in the government’s efforts to deal with the rebellion, the less specific nature of imagery allowing meanings to be conveyed through insinuation and innuendo.

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[4] Faramerz Dabhoiwala, ‘The Appropriation of Hogarth’s Progresses’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol.75, No.4 (Winter 2012), pp.592-3.

[5] Dabhoiwala, ‘Appropriation of Hogarth’s Progresses’, p.583.

What began with a mere seven men landing on a remote island off Scotland developed into a national emergency of which it is difficult to imagine many people in Britain could have been unaware, even in quite remote parts of the country, not least given how close the rebel army got to London. As Archbishop Herring put it, 'it was some time before it was believed … but now every child knows it, that the Pretender's son is in Scotland … is in possession of the capital city there; has defeated a small part of the king's forces … these commotions in the North are but part of a great plan concerted for our ruin'.[6] The evident thirst for accurate, recent news of the progress of the rebellion is understandable and can be seen in the quantity of newspaper print devoted to the crisis, while the large number of pamphlets also produced at the time indicates concern to understand the underlying issues. This is likely to have ensured that the associated printed imagery would similarly have been of interest to a relatively large proportion of the population. The fact that there was such a proliferation of visual printed material devoted to the rebellion suggests that the print and broadside publishers were responding to unusually strong market demand. The market for prints as a whole has been aligned by various scholars with that for a range of eighteenth-century consumer goods and services. Paul Langford has drawn an analogy with the market for other 'Grub Street' products; Roy Porter has suggested that they were addressed to the politically articulate metropolitan middle classes, the best comparison being with the theatre; Hallett has argued that they competed with the gamut of urban entertainments advertised in the newspaper press; and Sheila O'Connell has identified the market for popular prints with that for other cheap manufactured goods. All of these have their merits. In Chapter One, I discussed how Eirwen Nicholson has made the most extensive attempt to quantify the market for prints, suggesting that we should 'think in terms of' 100-600 for an initial print run, and I outlined the difficulties associated with the various methodologies generally used by those

[6] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.15 (London, September 1745), pp.471-2.

seeking to describe it.[7] Nicholson, for example, based her estimates on the technical limitations of printing from engraved and etched plates, together with some specific instances where the size of a print run was recorded, but the latter are very few in number and much depended on particular circumstances. During the course of my research, I have only been able to add one further incidence in which the partial size of a print run was recorded, to those already known. One can also consider, of course, the price of a print as a factor which would have had a bearing on its possible purchaser, but ultimately the market is neither easy to define nor describe, and efforts to do so necessarily involve a substantial element of speculation.

Importantly, as Nicholson has noted, the market for printed imagery is not the same thing as the total audience. Those who could not afford to buy prints would have had opportunities to view them in such public spaces as shops, coffee houses and inns, as well as amongst the wares sold by street vendors. O'Connell has cited Hogarth's *March to Finchley* (1746), in which a woman is depicted carrying a basket of prints for sale (including one of the Duke of Cumberland), as demonstrating the kind of circumstances in which the cheapest prints could have been seen and acquired (fig.102).[8] That cheap printed imagery was probably available for passers-by from all walks of life to scrutinise at large public events (and buy on a whim, for those with the means) is also indicated by one of the execution prints published by Mary Cooper, *The Beheading of the Rebel Lords on Great Tower Hill*, discussed in Chapter Four (fig.77a). In the foreground of Cooper's print we can see a female hawker crying an illustrated broadside which she holds up for potential customers to view. This type of self-reflexive imagery is given still more prominence in Charles Mosley's

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[7] Eirwen Nicholson, 'Consumers and Spectators: The Public of Political Print in Eighteenth Century England', *History*, Vol.81 (1996), pp.5-21.

[8] Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London, British Museum Press, 1999), pp.167-8.

Sawney in the Boghouse (17th June 1745), which shows a number of prints and illustrated broadsides serving as decoration for the walls of the privy being used by the Highlander (fig.99). Although we should be very wary of assuming that this privy is a typical one, the print does imply that even the meanest (and in this case, the viewer is invited to think, the most uncivilised) sections of society might have had some access to printed imagery.[9] Margaret Spufford has noted anecdotal evidence that unwanted cheap printed material was used as lavatory paper in the seventeenth century, and, indeed, some can be seen in a box on the left-hand wall of 'Sawney's' privy.[10]

While prints may have been displayed in various locations where they could have been seen by a range of spectators, the question of how easily they could be understood by the lower orders is critical to understanding their potential influence. Certainly many contained commonplace imagery, likely to have been intelligible to a broad section of society. But, as a large number of prints included text along with visual imagery, the viewer would have required both visual and verbal literacy to access *all* the embedded messages. Furthermore, several prints, such as *The Parcae* (March 1746), were clearly designed with a classically educated audience in mind, requiring the viewer to unravel complex reading structures, as well as to decipher some relatively esoteric symbolism, in order to access key points (fig.48). In presenting the relative merits of the Hanoverian argument, the textual content of most prints was in English, but some was in Latin, often quoting from or referring

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[9] I have not been able to identify any of the prints as they are rendered rather indistinctly. On the left-hand wall are two prints which may be related to the war: one involves drum-playing soldiers and cannons and the other a cannon above a text headed 'I'll Take ye Wars'. Between these two is a third print which includes a gibbet and a hanged corpse, and behind Sawney's sword hilt is a broadside with a border of several skulls and a set of crossbones. Of the other prints, one includes a horse and its groom and another appears to be a ballad illustrated with a domestic murder scene.

[10] Margaret Spufford, *Small Books Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp.48-9.

to classical texts, and some was in French. Text was often added to clarify imagery, or to help viewers grasp the intended meaning of the imagery as rapidly as possible, but text was also intended to add to the entertainment value of a print for a better educated viewer, well-informed about the progress of the rebellion and its international dimension, and familiar with classical literature. In addition, the text included with the prints was sometimes supplemented by advertisements placed in the press, and I have shown how this somewhat neglected source can throw additional light on how images such as *The Court Fright* (February 1744) were supposed to be understood (fig.9).

Prose text within a print tended to be more directly related to the imagery than any verse featured, but the fact that verse was regularly included in anti-Jacobite prints and broadsides suggests that it was devised with contemporary oral culture in mind. Verse could be listened to, learned and then recited or sung to a well-known anti-Jacobite tune, ensuring its content could be more readily absorbed by the illiterate. Some verse thus appears to have been composed in a metre specifically intended to fit the anti-Jacobite tune known as 'Lilliburlero'. This was not a new phenomenon. Adam Fox has explored the practice of using songs and ballads, initially disseminated in printed versions, as a means of communicating political messages amongst a largely unlettered audience in the sixteenth century, noting that Thomas Cromwell made use of this medium at the time of the Reformation.[11] Furthermore, some prints included multiple readings intentionally pitched at different levels of verbal and visual literacy, as a means of addressing a relatively wide range of viewers - as seen in *The Ballance*, for example (18th November 1745, fig.36). The emblematic weighing of the principal attributes of George II's regime against those of Charles Stuart's threatened one in this print is spliced with a more complex referencing to Britain's balanced constitution.

[11]Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2000), pp.384-6.

However, as I have discussed in this thesis, we should not, in general, think of the visual and the verbal as two independent means of communication. These two expressive modes were interwoven in order to relay the anti-Jacobite message most persuasively. Helen Pierce has considered this issue in her study of seventeenth-century prints, noting that 'the frequent integration of word and image, whether explored through the marriage of title page and pamphlet text, intricate engraving and explanatory captions or the literal "drawing out" of an image through words … compromises the modern boundaries established between the literary and the aesthetic'.[12] Ultimately, the combination of imagery with multiple forms of text was a stock format in the mid-1740s which served a valuable purpose in diffusing Hanoverian polemic.

The work that Nicholson and others have done generally seeks to identify the market for an individual print or to establish the reach of a particular image. Scholars have not tended to consider the impact of a large number of images as a thematic body of material related to a single political issue, such as the Jacobite threat in the years 1743-7, especially not one with such grave possible consequences for Britain.[13] The influential work of Pierce and Hallett has certainly included discussions of prints related to particular political issues in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, analysing how new imagery tended to feed off and reference imagery and other media which preceded it. They have both observed that political and religious controversies frequently stimulated a rise in output, citing such episodes as the Exclusion Crisis and the Sacheverell Riots as examples.[14] However, the actual impact of a

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[12] Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2008), p.206.

[13] An example, however, is John Brewer's discussion of the abuse directed against Lord Bute in a range of media, in '"The Misfortunes of Lord Bute: A Case-Study in Eighteenth-Century Political Argument and Public Opinion', *The Historical Journal*, Vol.16, No.1 (March 1973), pp.3-43.

[14] Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, chapter 5, considers imagery related to the Civil War and the religious conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century. Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, pp.29-37, 60-71, discusses the prints associated

large body of prints, devoted to a single topic, is persistently difficult to establish with any certainly due to lack of contemporary evidence, but it seems that, as a group, they would have popularised Hanoverian political arguments, in turn helping to bolster loyalty to the regime.

The anti-Jacobite prints under consideration in this thesis were not part of a state-sponsored propaganda effort. However, despite the government not actively promoting the production of anti-Jacobite imagery, the fact that it was prepared to censor pictorial material which it deemed suspect would indicate that it was aware of the propagandistic potential of graphic satire. That ministers were not oblivious to the possible impact of imagery during the ’45 can amply be seen from the 1752 court case against George Bickham junior for publishing a ‘treasonous’ map and pamphlet, explored in Chapter One. This episode demonstrates that the government remained highly sensitive to the Jacobite threat for quite some time after the rebellion had been quashed, although other factors were involved in that instance.

The volume of pro-Hanoverian material produced in this period does indicate its function as propaganda, but in a looser sense of the concept than the strict dictionary definition of ‘strategic, co-ordinated material intended to persuade …’, even if not directly orchestrated from within government. The arguments for the existing regime were set out in visual form, often with explanatory text, in a manner apparently designed to sway or influence opinion in its favour. The prints as a group also had a consistent purpose: namely, to highlight the benefits of Hanoverian rule, whilst warning viewers of the many negative implications of the threatened Stuart alternative. The prints and broadside illustrations produced in the mid-1740s thus do seem to have been a useful vehicle for the dissemination of Hanoverian propaganda, though their effectiveness, as well as their reach, remain, to a

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with such episodes as the Sacheverell riots and the South Sea Bubble, and the party political conflicts of the first half of the eighteenth century.

considerable degree, a matter of conjecture. It is also difficult to know to what extent, if any, they might have impinged on the thinking of those involved in Westminster politics.

The healthy appetite for anti-Jacobite graphic satire in the mid-eighteenth century, which print publishers aimed to satisfy as rapidly as possible, has been apparent throughout this thesis. Print entrepreneurs were, in large measure, guided by commercial imperatives, although some did have distinct ideological leanings. Mary Cooper, as we have seen, was a fervent supporter of the Hanoverian regime, while the preponderance of Tory notables amongst Thomas Bowles's output of printed portraits (discreetly) implies his Jacobite sympathies. The disaffection engendered by Hanoverian Whig governments found a ready channel of expression in graphic satire, especially during Sir Robert Walpole's tenure of office. As Herbert Atherton has observed, 'the genesis of the English print was coeval with the beginning of an organised, constitutional, and parliamentary Opposition', so that 'political opposition spawned in a variety of ways, a journalism of protest'.[15] The fact that printed imagery was used extensively to present the arguments in favour of an incumbent regime in the mid-1740s was unusual at the time, though it was in keeping with the coverage of the rebellion found in the press, also largely supportive of George II and his government.

I have considered the close connection between prints, newspapers and the pamphlet press, as developing alongside each other in the first half of the eighteenth century. Various scholars have attempted to characterise the role of printed imagery in eighteenth-century political discourse. Prints are seen by Atherton and Paul Langford as the visual equivalent of Grub Street journalism.[16] Diana Donald has maintained that, because political cartoons and

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[15] Herbert M. Atherton *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study in Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1974), p.260.

[16] Atherton, *Political Prints*, p.82; Paul Langford, *Walpole and the Robinocracy* (Cambridge, *The English Satirical Print, 1600-1832*, Chadwyck-Healey series, 1986), p.2.

satirical texts were often issued together in periodicals, broadsides and collections until the 1770s, 'no conceptual distinction was made between graphic and verbal satirists'.[17] Both satirical prints and texts, depending on mockery, sarcasm and derision, had been potent weapons in the hands of those wishing to attack what were perceived to be the corrupt and self-serving Whig ministries which had been in power since the accession of George I, but when Britain was in a situation of extreme danger in the mid-1740s, they were pressed into service for loyalist ends.

The sometimes severe criticism of Jacobitism and its supporters seen in prints was frequently achieved through ridicule. The 'raillery' seen in graphic satire can be viewed as one register of the unusual liberty enjoyed by the English print industry when compared with many of its Continental counterparts. It went some way towards creating an impression of light-heartedness, whilst adding greatly to the entertainment value. Thus ridicule, normally aimed at the establishment, was here directed at Charles Stuart, his followers and the Jacobite cause. The House of Hanover may have struggled to gain the affections of many Britons, with the Whig stranglehold on government leading to significant levels of discontent, but Hanoverian sympathisers were also able to exploit the weaknesses of their foes through satirical printed imagery. Certain of the prints may have been a reflection of some deep seated insecurities that the rebellion might just have succeeded, resulting in Britain reverting to Catholicism and becoming a dependent state of its arch rival for political and colonial supremacy, France. At the same time, along with attempts actively to inspire support for the existing regime, it may, in addition, have served usefully to divert attention away from some of the serious frailties of the Hanoverian case.

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[17] Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996), p.23 and related footnote, p.205.

That prints have been viewed by scholars primarily as a medium of opposition has often led to the marginalisation of exceptions to this rule, such as the pro-Hanoverian prints produced around the time of the 1745 rebellion. Up to this point, little attention has been paid to the mid-1740s imagery which expressed the concerns and aspirations of those who were sympathetic to the Hanoverian regime as the upholders of Protestantism and Britain's constitutional and economic order, and averse to the risks of a civil war which a return of the Stuart dynasty would probably have entailed. Scholars have instead generally focused on Jacobite visual culture, with its interesting connotations of sedition and treason, its design, production, and distribution circumscribed as it was by British government censorship, offering plentiful scope for research.[18] This thesis has shown, however, that a wealth of printed imagery was also produced by the other side, as an unprecedented pictorial response in support of an established regime driven to a political crisis point. The pro-Hanoverian prints published at the time of the last Jacobite rebellion demonstrate the breadth of material available for interested buyers and viewers and the range of the creative exploits of mid-eighteenth-century graphic satirists seeking to express the advantages of George II's continued reign.

The output associated with the rebellion was part of the wider world of eighteenth-century print culture and, as with other politically inspired satires, anti-Jacobite prints had a somewhat questionable identity within that market. They did not aspire to the status of high art, though some did make reference to high-status art forms such as architecture and monumental sculpture, as in *The Invasion or Perkins Triumph* (September 1745, fig.29) or *The Fate of Rebellion* (1746, fig.69). They may have been on what Hallett has called 'the fringes of aesthetic decorum', but what marked them out and made them desirable for

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[18] Amongst others Neil Guthrie, Sarah Heaton, Jennifer Novotny, Gordon Pentland, Murray Pittock, Geoffrey Seddon and Richard Sharp have researched Jacobite visual culture. See Bibliography for further details.

consumers was their combination of vibrant and elaborate visual plays and allusions, providing a commentary on, and interpretation of, the most important issue of the day, as well as their relatively affordable aesthetic appeal.[19]

The prints produced in the mid-1740s which were, broadly speaking, sympathetic to George II used a variety of pictorial tactics to communicate their meanings, the output developing into a sustained polemical attack on the Jacobites and their mission, designed to inspire patriotic sentiment in favour of his rule. I have been concerned primarily with the imagery produced between 1743, when the threat of an invasion backed by France first emerged (thereby taking in the build-up to the rebellion led by Charles Stuart), and 1747, which saw the trial and beheading of Lord Lovat, the last of the rebel leaders to be executed. This has involved referring back to printed imagery produced in earlier periods when Jacobitism threatened, as well as significant episodes associated with the religious and political strife which had plagued Britain over several centuries. Hanoverian apologists attempted to paint as negative an impression as possible of all that a successful Jacobite campaign would mean for the religious, political and social order of Britain and set this against a more optimistic one of life under George II. Ultimately, the prints expressed much about what loyal Hanoverians were supposed to value most about their existence. As one anonymous pamphleteer encapsulated it, they lived under

> a constitution founded in the very nature of society; a constitution capable of answering all the ends of government; and of securing for ever our native invaluable privileges. This is the liberty of Britons, the glorious liberty transmitted to us by our fore-fathers. Our laws are made by our representatives; our property is secured beyond the reach of villainy and lawless power; which even the king himself cannot

[19] Hallett, *Spectacle of Difference*, p.19.

> invade. He has the honour of reigning over a brave and FREE people; and we the unspeakable happiness of enjoying at the same time, the uninterrupted possession of all our religious and civil rights.[20]

The anti-Jacobite printed visual images published at the time of the last rebellion in 1745 encompassed the full array of Hanoverian rhetoric and narratives. They provide a fascinating insight into loyalist attitudes, perceptions and sentiment at a time when the House of Hanover faced one of its severest challenges.

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[20] Anon., *The Liberty of Britons, the Noblest Motive to Loyalty and Courage …* (London, Joseph Collyer, 1744), p.11.

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APPENDIX

	Title	Date Pub'd	Publisher/Seller	Designer/ Engraver	Address	Act of Parl	Price	Size mm	Where Held	Technique
1	Samuel MacPherson Corporal in his Highland Regimentals: the most Active in his Desertion	1743		G. Bickham jun.				320x200	NLS	
2	Faction Display'd	1st Oct 1743				Y	6d	221x247	BM	etch
3	George's Combat	1743?		'A & M invt'		Y			NLS	
4	The Court Fright	1744	W. Webb		near St. Paul's			165x309	BM, NLS	etch
5	Court and Country United against the Popish Invasion 1744	6th Mar 1744	Mary Cooper			Y		255x321	BM, LWL, NLS	etch
6	Carolus Edwardus Primogenit Praetendentis Magnae Brittaniae natus Romae d. 31 Dec 1720	c.1744		G. Bodenehr after D. Dupra	German?	Y		402x275	BM, NLS	mezzo't & etch
7	Slavery in Miniature: A Fable	1745						286x150 image 74x143	NLS	
8	The Chevaliers Market, or Highland Fair	1745	G. Bickham jun.		May's Buildings, Covent Garden			307x387	BM, LWL, PML	etch
9	Sawney in the Bog-house	17th June 1745		C. Mosley			6d	241x191	BM	etch
10	Sawney in the Bog-house	c.1745		after Mosley			3d	105x71	BM	etch
11	Sawney in the Bog-house	c.1745		after Mosley				125x80	BM	etch
12	The Invasion or Perkins Triumph - A Protestant Print …	Sep 1745		C. Mosley		Y	6d	223x325	BM, LWL, NLS	etch
13	Perkins Triumf	1745		after Mosley	Amsterdam	Y		242x190	BM	etch
14	Des Praetendenten Triumph oder Die Rebellion in Schottland …	1745		after Mosley		Y		243x358	BM, NLS	etch
15	The Procession, or the Popes Nursling riding in Triumph	15th Oct 1745	J. Collyer		Ludgate Street	Y		253x276	BM	etch & engr

16	Publick Credit	18th Oct 1746	G. Bickham jun.	G. Bickham jun.	May's Buildings, Covent Garden	Y		330x203	BM, LWL	etch & engr
17	Publick Credit (broadside)	18th Oct 1745	James Mechell	G. Bickham jun.				531x423	BM	etch, engr & l'press
18	The Lurchers	c.1745			The Plow in St Martin's Lane	Y	6d	225x264	BM	etch & engr
19	Gilder Roy in his Genuine	c.1745	S. W. Fores		No.3, Piccadilly			233x166	NLS, Abdn	
20	Scotish Highland Bagpiper	c.1745						232x172	NLS	
21	A New and Accurate Chart of the Coasts of Great Britain and Ireland with a view of Scotland and the Track of the Rebels	26th Sep 1745	G. Bickham jun.		May's Buildings in Covent-Garden			235x320	BL, Bodleian	engr
22	Briton's Association against the Pope's Bulls	21st Oct 1745	G. Bickham jun.			Y		197x330	BM, NLS	etch
23	The Loyal Associators in the Year of our Lord MDCCXLV	23rd Dec 1745				Y		209x208	Abdn, BM, NLS	etch
24	The Mitred Champion: or, The Church Militant	2nd Nov 1745			May's Buildings, Covent Garden		6d	286x199	BM, LWL	etch & engr
25	The French Expedition into Scotland, or, the Lamentations of Louis (broadside)	8th Oct 1745	F. Jackson					510x240 image 153x240	LWL, PML	etch & l'press
26	The French Expedition into Scotland; or, The Lamentations of Louis (broadside)	c.1746						490x403	NLS	w'cut & l'press
27	The [mitred] Soldier, or the [church] Militant	c.1745	C. N. Cochin fils?		Paris			225x217	BM	etch
28	The Rebellion Displayed: Most Humbly Inscribed to his Sacred Majesty King George	1st Nov 1745	J. Collyer		Ludgate Street	Y	6d	251x347	BM, LWL, NLS	etch
29	A Race from Preston Pans to Berwick	1745	G. Bickham jun.?					198x334	BM, NLS	etch
30	The Ballance	18th Nov 1745	J. Collyer		Ludgate Street	Y		207x287	PML	etch & engr?
31	The Benefit of Neutrality	26th Dec 1745	C. Goodwin			Y	6d	221x297		etch

32	A View of the Royal Hunters and of the Gentlemen Independents	1745		John Haynes	Minster Yard, York			230x365	NLS	
33	A Hint to the Wise or the Surest Way with the Pretender	1745					6d	209x328	BM, NLS	etch
34	The Pope's Scourge, or an Exact Portraiture of a Popish Pretender	1745		CPG Inv/GB Sc				220x190	NLS	
35	The Pope's Scourge, or an Exact Portraiture of a Popish Pretender (broadside)	1745	James Mechell	CPG Inv/GB Sc	Kings Arms in Fleet Street		3d	381x295	BM	etch
36	The Plagues of England, or the Jacobites Folly	1745	T. Ewart		St Martin's Lane near Long Acre			180x299	BM, NLS	etch
37	A Portraiture of King Charles the First, on Horseback	c. 1745		William Dicey	Bow-Church-Yard			580x434	BM	w'cut
38	Britlands Processi of het Gevaardes Pretendent	c.1745			Holland?			368x341	BM, NLS	etch
39	A Papist, with his Jacobite Footman	1st Jan 1746	G. Bickham jun.		May's Buildings, Covent Garden			199x327	BM, LWL, NLS	etch
40	The Highland Visitors	1st Jan 1746	I. (or J.) Dubois	van Guzzel & van Duivel kind	ye Golden Head, near Cecil Street, in ye Strand	Y	6d	252x407	BM	etch?
41	Scotch Female Gallantry	8th Jan 1746		Pierre Canot		Y		210x280	BM, LWL	etch
42	The Highland Chace, or the Pursuit of the Rebels	21st Feb 1746		C. Mosley		Y	6d	207x334	BM, NLS	etch
43	The Rebells in a Panick: or, Shakespeare's Ghost in the North	c.1746				Y	6d	250x385	NLS	etch
44	The Parcae: or, the European Fates	12th Mar 1746			May's Buildings, Covent Garden			226x212	LWL, PML	etch
45	An Exact Representation of ye Army Passing the River Spey …	1st May 1746	Thomas Bakewell		Cornhill			408x482	BM	etch & engr?
46	A Plan of the Battle of Preston Panns	6th Nov 1745				Y		513x408	BM	etch & l'press
47	Plan of the Battle of Culloden	c.1746				Y			NGS	etch & engr?
48	Plan of the Battle of Culloden	c.1746	Edward Cave		London				Abdn, BL	l'press

49	Plan of the Battle of Culloden, 16 April 1746	c.1746	G. Bickham Jun.		May's Buildings, Covent Garden	Y		59x446	LWL	etch & engr
50	Untitled emblematic print of the battle of Culloden	c. 1746						382x256	BM, LWL, NLS	etch & engr?
51	An Exact View of the Battle of Culloden	2nd May 1746	John King & Mary Overton	C. Mosley?	The Golden Head in Hart-street		6d plain		online - JISC	
52	A Map of the Countries Adjacent to Carlisle showing the Route of	c.1746		G. Smith				201x265	Abdn	
53	The Highlanders Medley, or the Duke Triumphant	5th May 1746	Peter Brookes		Castle-Court, near Lebeck's Head, in the Strand	Y	6d	350x250	LWL, NLS	etch & engr
54	Tandem Triumphans	7th May 1746	Charles Corbett			Y		266x300	BM, NLS	etch
55	The Victory, or, The new C[our]t Th[an]ksg[ivin]g	15th May 1746			May's Buildings, Covent Garden			70x100	LWL, PML	etch & engr
56	William Duke of Cumberland	c.1745		G. Johnson				375x265	BM	mezzo't
57	William Duke of Cumberland	8th Jul 1746		The Head Engraved by M. Scotin'			6d	258x163	NLS	
58	William Duke of Cumberland Veni Vidi Vici	c.1746		after Hudson & Wootton				338x208	NLS	
59	William Duke of Cumberland	15th Jan 1746	M. Cooper	after Hudson & Wootton	Paternoster Row	Y		348x212	NLS	
60	William Duke of Cumberland	23rd Jan 1746		after Hudson & Wootton		Y		354x220	NLS	
61	His Royal Highness Duke of Cumberland &c. &c.	29th Sep 1746	R. Forrest	after Hudson & Wootton	ye Plume of Feathers in Windmill Street	Y	6d	233x165	NLS	
62	William Duke of Cumberland Ecce Homo	c.1746		T. Jeffreys after Hudson & Wootton				192x112	Abdn	
63	Ars & Exercitium solent praestare Victoriam	c.1746						175x235	NLS, Abdn	
64	Untitled print of Duke of Cumberland profile supported by Liberty and Victory	c.1746		after Grignion				80x160	Abdn	

65	The Rebels Surrender Themselves Prisoners to the Duke of Cumberland	c. 1746						90x72	NLS	etch?
66	His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland	c.1746		Nixon Del et Sculp'				85x78	Abdn	etch & mezzo't
67	William Duke of Cumberland - Behold Admire your Great Deliverer Greet	c.1746							BM	etch
68	Duke of Cumberland watch paper	c.1746	R. Forrest						NLS	
69	Son Altesse Royale Guillaume Duc de Cumberland	Jan 1747		G. Scotin after 'J. Gracieux inv. Et del.'		Y		298x215	NLS, LWL	etch & engr
70	Look here upon this Picture and on this the Conterfeit Presentment of Two P[rince]s	1746						157x256	BM, NLS	etch
71	The Butcher, Taken from ye Sign of a Butcher in ye Butcher Row	19th Dec 1746	G. Bickham Jun?					316x197	BM	etch
72	The Stature Dress and Likeness of the Rebel Lords	1st Aug 1746	G. Bickham jun.		May's Buildings, Covent Garden			200x327 image 68x306	BM, LWL	etch &engr
73	The Stature Dress and Likeness of the Rebel Lords together with the Speech … (broadside)	1746							NLS	w'cut & l'press
74	The Form and Manor of the Court for the Trying of the Rebel Lords in Westminster Hall	5th Nov 1746	J. Cole		Kirby Street in Hatton Garden			260x230	NLS	etch & l'press
75	The Beheading of the Rebel Lords on Great Tower Hill	21st Aug 1746	M. Cooper		Paternoster Row	Y	6d	264x383	NLS, BM	etch
76	A Perspective View of Tower Hill and the Place of Execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino	1746		I. or J. M.		Y		245x417	BM	engr

77	A True Representation of Tower Hill as it appeared from a rais'd point of View, Augt. Ye 18th 1746 …	1747		Pierre Canot after George Budd	No.2 Maiden Lane Cheapside	Y		378x603	BM, NLS	etch & engr
78	De Onthoofding van de Rebellige Lords op Groot Tower hill	1747						305x475	BM	etch
79	Untitled satire on the executions of Townley & Fletcher	c.1746					2d	191x145	BM, Abdn	etch
80	Townley and Fletcher execution broadside	c.1746							online - JISC	w'cut
81	The Temple of Rebellion	10th Dec 1746				Y	6d	227x267	BM	etch
82	A Memorial for Britons	1746	Thomas Bakewell	H. Burgh	Birchin-Lane, Cornhill	Y		424x266	BM, NLS	etch & l'press
83	Truth Triumphant	4th Aug 1746	Thomas Ewart		St Martin's Lane	Y	6d	200x178	BM	etch & engr

93	Lord Lovat watch paper	1746/7?		after Hogarth				75x72	NLS	etch
94	Lovat to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland Sends Greeting	c.1746		after Hogarth				397x260	LWL	engr
95	The Proceedings on the Trial of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat (broadside)	1747		after Hogarth				552x432		w'cut & l'press
96	A Representation of the Tryal of Lord Lovat in Westminster-Hall	1747						191x245	LWL	engr
97	The Glory of France	14th Feb 1747	D. Fournier			Y	6d	393x300	BM, PML	etch & l'press
98	A Funiral Ticket for Lord Lovet	19th Mar 1747			May's Buildings	Y	6d	210x310	LWL, NLS, PML	etch
99	The Whole Execution and Behaviour of Simon Lord Lovat, who was Beheaded …	1747						276x155	BM	w'cut & l'press
100	A Representation of the Execution of Lord Lovat	1747						110x190	BM, LWL	etch
101	The North West Prospect of the Tower of London	1747		J. H. Bunck			4s	349x480	BM	etch
102	Lovat's Ghost on Pilgrimage	15th Jun 1747	T. Jefferys & W. Herbert	after Hogarth	Corner of St Martin's, Charing Cross & the Golden Globe on London Bridge	Y		235x340	BM, NLS	mezzo't & etch
103	The Agreeable Contrast between the British Hero and the Italian Fugitive	1746						230x296	LWL	etch & engr
104	Charles Edward Stuart dressed as Betty Burke	c.1746		J. Williams fecit				290x226	SNPG	mezzo't
105	Untitled print of Charles Edward Stuart with a warming pan	c.1746		G. Bickham jun.				346x245	BM	etch & engr
106	How Happy Could I be with Either, Were t'other Dear Charmer away.	1747	R. Baldwin					110x180	NLS, LWL	etch
107	Rebell Gratitude	14th Jan 1747						203x264	BM, NLS	engr

108	The Pretender's Flight	18th Sep 1747	J. Cole		Great Kirby Street, Hatton Garden	Y		418x334	NLS	
109	Great Britain's Union; or Litchfield Races Transpos'd: a new print, and ballad, to the tune of the First of August …	1747						348x221	BM, LWL	etch & l'press
110	An Exact Representation of the Banging-Bout at Litchfield	1747						392x309	BM	w'cut & l'press
111	The Orator Versus Culloden & E	c.1747				Y	6d	214x244	BM	etch & engr
112	Frontispiece to the Jacobite's Journal	5th Dec 1747						113x186	BM	w'engr
	Abreviations									
	Abdn - Aberdeen University	NLS - National Library of Scotland			etch - etching	w'cut - woodcut				
	BL - British Library	PML - Pierpont Morgan Library			engr - engraving	w'engr - wood engraving				
	BM - British Museum	SNPG - Scottish Natioinal Portrait Gallery			l'press - letterpress	mezzo't - mezzotint				
	LWL - Lewis Walpole Library									