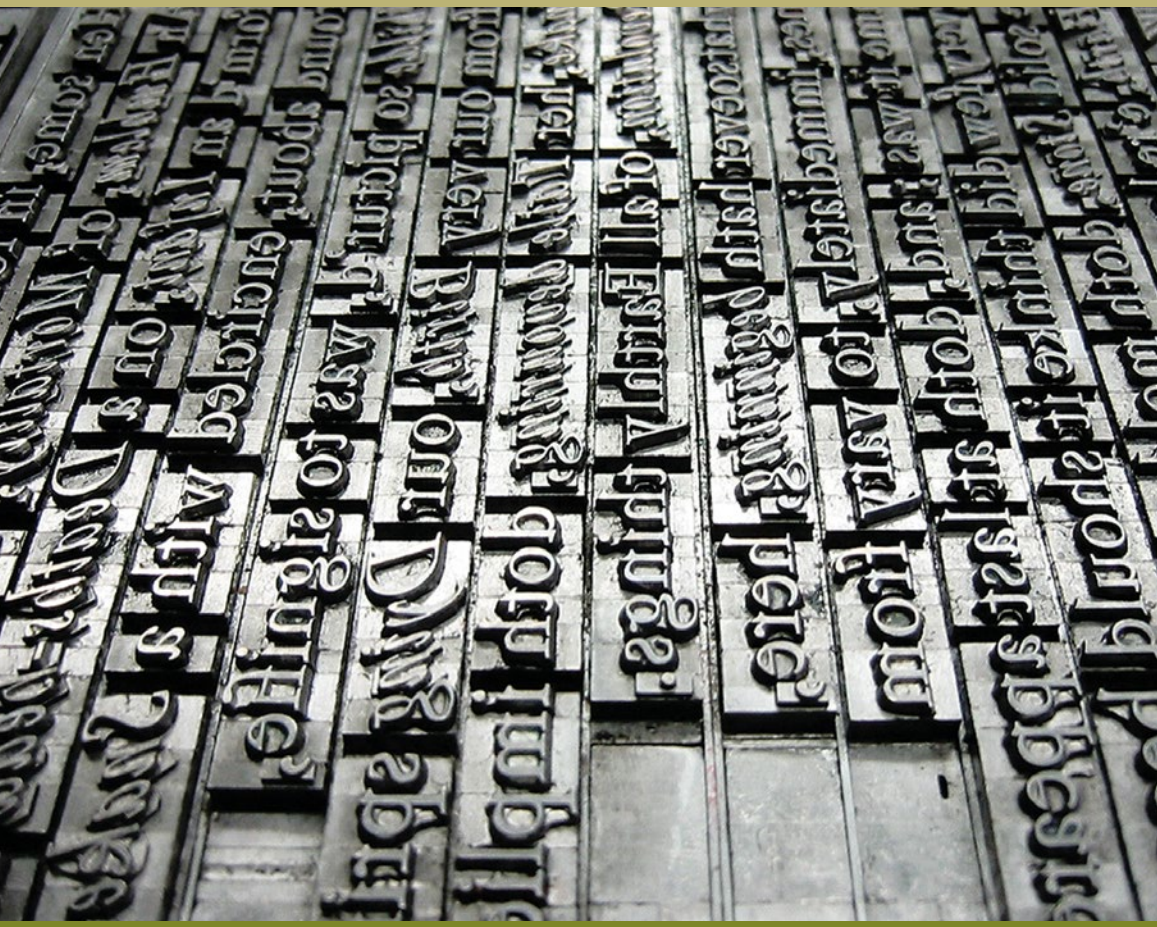
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media



Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714

Suzanne Forbes

Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media

"Suzanne Forbes's groundbreaking book shows how the politics of the emergent Protestant Ascendancy can only be fully understood when placed within the context of the dynamic world of newspapers, pamphlets and sermons of early eighteenth-century Ireland. *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714* convincingly shows how the presentation and performance of political debate in Ireland was shaped by an increasingly vibrant and disputatious public sphere."
—Patrick Walsh, *Trinity College Dublin, Ireland*

Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media publishes original, high-quality research into the cultures of communication from the middle ages to the present day. The series explores the variety of subjects and disciplinary approaches that characterize this vibrant field of enquiry. The series will help shape current interpretations not only of the media, in all its forms, but also of the powerful relationship between the media and politics, society, and the economy.

More information about this series at
http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14578

Suzanne Forbes

Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714

palgrave
macmillan

Suzanne Forbes
The Open University
Milton Keynes, UK

Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media
ISBN 978-3-319-71585-8 ISBN 978-3-319-71586-5 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017964587

Cover credit: © Evan Izer/Getty Images

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

For my family

Preface and Acknowledgements

This book is the product of research carried out for my PhD which was conducted at University College Dublin. I am grateful to the UCD School of History and Archives for awarding me the Albert Lovett Tutorial Scholarship which supported the first year of my PhD research. The remainder of my research was supported by an Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences Postgraduate Scholarship.

A project of this nature would not have been feasible without the use of digital repositories, but I am also obliged to the following institutions for the use of material in their collections: Alexander Turnbull Library, Armagh Public Library, British Library, Folger Shakespeare Library, Huntington Library, Lilly Library, Newberry Library, Marsh's Library, National Library of Ireland, Oireachtas Library, Religious Society of Friends Library (London), Royal Irish Academy, Trinity College Dublin Library, and University College Dublin Library. I am particularly grateful to Eugene Roche in UCD Special Collections for all of his assistance.

I am also indebted to all those who have assisted with this research, or otherwise provided support, including: Prof. James McGuire, Prof. David Hayton, Prof. James Kelly, Prof. Alexander Wilkinson, Dr Declan Downey, Dr Patrick Walsh, Dr Marie Léoutre, Dr Frances Nolan, Dr Emma Lyons, Dr John Bergin, Dr Eoin Kinsella, Dr Lisa Marie Griffith, and my colleagues at The Open University. I am particularly grateful to Dr C. I. McGrath, for all of the guidance that he provided as supervisor of my PhD research, and in the years since. Finally,

I wish to thank Liz, Gary, Patrick, Audrey, Peter Edwards, and John Park. I am also grateful to Cathal, who very kindly waited until after the manuscript submission date to arrive.

Milton Keynes, UK Suzanne Forbes

Contents

List of Figures

Editorial Note

Unless otherwise stated, all dates are given in Old Style, although the year is taken to begin on 1 January, rather than 25 March, which was the formal convention during this period.

In quotations from contemporary sources in the text, the original spelling, punctuation and capitalisation have been maintained. Italicisation, except where clearly used for emphasis, has not. The use of 'sic' has been limited to occasions where the meaning of the sentence might be misunderstood.

Titles of contemporary publications referenced in the footnotes and bibliography are, in most cases, heavily truncated but otherwise correspond with the spelling recorded in the *English Short Title Catalogue*.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This book will examine political publishing in Ireland during the period 1689–1714. At this time demand for news and political print was stimulated by two major European wars, the War of the Grand Alliance (1688–1697) and the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1713), and the political instability caused by the polarisation of British and Irish politics along whig and tory party lines. Whereas numerous historians have elucidated the ways in which printed publications might have contributed to escalating whig and tory divisions evident in Britain during the reigns of King William III (1689–1702) and Queen Anne (1702–1714), the issue has never been systematically treated in an Irish context. This book will do just that, establishing the extent to which the unprecedented quantity of printed material circulating in Ireland from the 1690s fed into, and reflected, the development of party sentiment in Ireland. On the basis of the overall increase in political print output evident during the years 1689–1714, and, more importantly, changes to the nature of printed publications produced in Ireland at this time, this book will also argue that the period was a particularly important one in terms of the development of the Irish print trade and its influence on political culture in Ireland in the years that followed.

There are two quite distinct issues that require introduction here. First of all, it is necessary to consider the emergence of partisan

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_1

sentiment in both Ireland and Britain in the wake of the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689). Although partisan sentiment in Ireland was heavily influenced by developments in Britain, there were significant differences between the parties as they emerged in each kingdom. Secondly, in terms of assessing the significance of the period 1689–1714 for the development of the eighteenth-century Irish print trade, it is useful to consider its developmental progress in the years immediately preceding the period under consideration in this book, the market for printed works in Ireland, and the regulatory framework in which printers and publishers operated. To set this study in wider context, it is also useful to reflect on the size and significance of the Irish print trade during the period under consideration here. The final section of this Introduction will explain the approach taken to source material considered in this book.

Party Politics in Britain and Ireland

In 1688, the Roman Catholic king of England, James II, fled London in the wake of an unopposed invasion led by his nephew, Prince William of Orange, the Protestant Stadholder of the Dutch Republic. To fill the vacancy on the throne, William and his wife Mary, James II's Protestant daughter, were crowned as joint-sovereigns. During the course of his short reign, James II had alienated his subjects by advocating a policy of religious toleration; using his prerogative powers to admit Catholics to civil and military office; and relying on financial assistance from his cousin, Louis XIV of France, to rule without consulting parliament. The king's actions had caused widespread alarm and for most represented a significant enough threat to the established church and constitution to justify an alteration to the line of succession. While this 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688–1689 had been a bipartisan affair, once the immediate threat to the constitution, laws and established church had been removed, political divisions began to resurface, ushering in two-and-a-half decades of whig and tory political strife, frequently described as 'the rage of party'.[1]

Conflicting attitudes to the 1688–1689 Revolution lay at the heart of the party divide. Whigs in England could look back on it as a 'glorious'

[1] J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675–1725* (London, 1967).

triumph, compatible as it was with concepts of contractual kingship and constitutionally based liberties. In contrast, the displacement of James II was more difficult for tories to reconcile with principles of passive obedience and indefeasible divine right. This crisis of conscience was particularly evident amongst the clergy of the Church of England: six bishops and approximately 400 clergymen refused to take the oaths recognising William and Mary as joint sovereigns.[2] Others who regarded James II's son, James Francis Edward Stuart, as 'suppositious', could argue that Mary was James II's daughter and heir. However, tory ideology was tested again in 1701 when parliament concluded the act of settlement confirming that William III would be succeeded by Princess Anne of Denmark, the younger daughter of James II. Anne was heir presumptive and, like Mary, had Stuart blood in her veins. However, if she failed to leave an heir (a likely outcome by 1701) the line of succession would be significantly altered in favour of the next Protestant candidate, Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and her heirs. Although this outcome posed difficulties for tories, so too did the alternative: supporting the Jacobite restoration. When Anne's health began to fail after 1710 and the prospect of a parliament-appointed monarch succeeding her became a reality, this dilemma threatened the cohesion of the tory party.

In the years preceding the Succession Crisis of 1713–1714, more immediate issues had fuelled partisan divisions in England. Chief amongst them was the changed relationship between the English parliament and executive. The 1689 bill of rights limited the powers of the monarch by affirming the English parliament's right to make laws and raise taxes. Annual parliamentary sessions took place after 1689 and the 1694 triennial act stipulated that no parliament should exceed three years' duration. As a result, general elections took place with greater regularity than ever before, and a greater proportion of those elections were contested.[3] These developments served to intensify political divisions in society as candidates on both sides of the party divide courted public support whilst simultaneously highlighting the faults of their opponents. Meanwhile, the court became increasingly reliant on members of

[2] G. V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, ed. G. S. Holmes (London, 1989), 159–62.

[3] Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2006), 11.

parliament (MPs) to ensure the passage of legislation. By demonstrating their ability to secure a majority in the House of Commons, leaders of the competing factions in the English parliament could place pressure on the monarch for ministerial positions.

Changes to the financial system in the wake of the 1688–1689 Revolution also served to give English MPs a more prominent role in political affairs. Sustained warfare in Europe between 1689 and 1713 necessitated significant changes to the financial system, including the establishment of the Bank of England, expansion of the tax regime, and the introduction of novel credit instruments to raise the funds necessary to pursue the war effort. This 'Financial Revolution' meant that the administration was now financed to a greater degree than ever before by merchants and the middling sorts. These new government financiers looked to their representatives in the English parliament to protect their interests by scrutinising the public accounts.[4] Some feared that this development undermined the traditional role of the landed gentry as the governing class, and allowed the mercantile, financial and commercial classes—amongst them foreigners, Jews and dissenting Protestants—to wield a pernicious influence over the government's actions through their representatives in parliament.[5] Diverging attitudes towards financial innovations were closely connected to opinion about England's aggressive foreign policy. For example, tory antipathy towards the national debt, the Bank of England and high taxes was accompanied by reservations about the extent of the kingdom's involvement in William III's European wars. On the other hand, whigs tended to have greater enthusiasm for the king, his European strategy, and the financial innovations necessary to fund it.

The two parties evident in the English parliament were also divided on religious matters. Whereas tories were associated with defending the interests of the established church, whigs generally advocated the interests of dissenting Protestants. Following the passage of the toleration act (1689) affording freedom of worship to dissenting Protestants, whigs in the English parliament supported calls for the abolition of the test and corporation acts, which were intended

[4] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Oxford, 1999), 62; Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 14.

[5] B. G. Carruthers, *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution* (Princeton, 1996), 85.

to exclude nonconformists from holding public office.[6] Outside of parliament, the clergy of the Church of England can also be seen to have been divided between 'high' and 'low-churchmen', or 'latitudinarians'. During the period under consideration here, high-churchmen grew increasingly concerned that dissenting Protestants, and their abettors, the whigs, sought to ingratiate themselves with more moderate, or low-church, clerics, in order to undermine the established church. High-churchmen in England had rallied in support of the tories in the Westminster parliament, whose slogan, 'the Church in Danger', captured their sentiments. The obsession of high-churchmen in England with the threat posed to the established church by Protestant dissent, rather than that posed by Catholicism, came to be closely associated with Jacobitism by whig pamphleteers and journalists. Meanwhile, whig support for the cause of Protestant dissent was associated with dangerous democratic or republican ideas by proponents of the tories.

The Irish experience of the 1688–1689 Revolution had been very different to that of England. In the three years preceding that event, the Irish Protestant community had witnessed the creation of a predominantly Catholic administration in the kingdom. Nonetheless, Irish Protestant reaction to the dethronement of James II had initially been mixed. Whilst some, fearing unrest or reprisals, had joined 'a hurried exodus' from the kingdom, many others hesitated to oppose the legitimate monarch.[7] Then, in March 1689, James II landed at Kinsale hoping to secure the kingdom of Ireland as part of an attempt to recover his lost English throne. Protestant opinion seems to have hardened against James II only after his arrival in Ireland, partly in reaction to his failure to maintain law and order, and partly as a result of his agreement to reverse the Restoration land settlement, and in so doing raising the possibility that many Protestants would lose their lands at the behest of the 'Patriot' or Jacobite parliament that convened in Dublin in May

[6] Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), 21–22.

[7] J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–1691* (Dublin, 2000), 49; Raymond Gillespie, 'The Irish Protestants and James II', *Irish Historical Studies* 37 (1992): 129; S. J. Connolly, 'Reformers and Highflyers: The Post-Revolution Church', in *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, ed. James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (Dublin, 1995), 153.

1689. Thereafter, the Williamite-Jacobite War of 1689–1691 served to underline the vulnerable position of the Irish Protestant community as a minority significantly outnumbered by a hostile Catholic or Jacobite majority.[8] Faced with complete destruction of their property and religion at the hands of James II and his Catholic supporters, the 1688–1689 Revolution had not posed much of a dilemma for the vast majority of Irish Protestants. In contrast to England, only a 'handful' of non-jurors were exposed in the kingdom in its aftermath and there is little evidence of Irish Protestant Jacobitism in the years that followed.[9] Nonetheless, partisan divisions did emerge in Ireland, and even if those divisions were somewhat slower to manifest in Ireland than in Britain, by the end of Queen Anne's reign these divisions had become 'clear-cut' and 'emotive' in the eyes of contemporaries who identified their own behaviour, and that of those around them, with the principles espoused by one or the other British party.[10]

In the past, party conflict that emerged in Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne has been attributed to a variety of insular factors including Protestant fears regarding the long-term security of the Williamite land settlement; the role of familial loyalties and long-term political allegiances; or even an embryonic form of colonial nationalism.[11] These approaches have tended to undermine the extent to which more immediate developments and ideas genuinely influenced the identity and behaviour of the Protestant community in Ireland at this time. Part of the reason for this assessment is the observation that Irish tories were in no position to question the validity of the Revolution, or to indulge consciences troubled by the challenge that event had posed for doctrines of

[8] S. J. Connolly, 'The Glorious Revolution in Irish Protestant Political Thinking', in *Political Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. S. J. Connolly (Dublin, 2000), 28; Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788* (Manchester, 1994), 260.

[9] D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge, 2004), 119.

[10] S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1999), 79.

[11] F. G. James, *Ireland in the Empire 1688–1770. A History of Ireland from the Williamite Wars to the Eve of the American Revolution* (London, 1973), 50; E. M. Johnston, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin, 1974), 54; J. G. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714', in *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, ed. T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (Oxford, 2009), 1.

divine right and passive obedience.[12] Indeed, as differing attitudes about the validity of the Revolution and the alteration of the line of succession in favour of the House of Hanover were important points over which the two parties in Britain could be distinguished, some historians have commented that the whig–tory divide in Ireland was 'riddled with ideological contradictions' and a more 'sophisticated model' is required to explain the phenomenon of party conflict in an Irish context.[13] However, it is important to note that in both Ireland and Britain, being a tory, high-churchman or even a non-juror did not necessarily involve active support or sympathy for Catholicism or the Jacobite cause, any more than being a whig automatically entailed support for republican ideas or Protestant dissent.[14]

In recent years, the work of D. W. Hayton, Charles Ivar McGrath and others has definitely challenged more insular explanations for the emergence of partisan conflict in Ireland, and clarified some of the major differences between the Irish and English parties. Their research has shown that although the Irish experience of the 1688–1689 Revolution was different to that of England, there were some notable similarities between the two kingdoms at this time. For instance, Ireland had experienced nearly three years of war from 1689 to 1691, and after the conclusion of the War of the Grand Alliance in 1697, disbanded regiments that had fought in William III's war in Europe were sent to Ireland to be maintained at a cost to the Irish establishment. The costs incurred by the war in the kingdom and the additional burden of maintaining a standing army after 1697 meant that the perpetual sums granted to support the cost of the administration in existing customs and excise legislation were no longer sufficient to cover expenditure. Short-term additional taxation was used to meet these increased costs, and MPs asserted their role in the preparation of the relevant legislation. In so doing, the House of Commons gained an unprecedented level of control over the public purse-strings and parliamentary sessions in Ireland took place more

[12] Connolly, 'Reformers and Highflyers', 153; Patrick McNally, 'The Hanoverian Accession and the Tory Party in Ireland', *Parliamentary History* 14, no. 3 (1995): 264.

[13] McNally, 'Hanoverian Accession', 264; Joseph Richardson, 'Archbishop William King (1650–1729): "Church Tory and State Whig"', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 15 (2000): 75.

[14] See C. D. A. Leighton, 'The Non-Jurors and Their History', *Journal of Religious History* 29, no. 3 (2005): 242–57.

frequently than ever before.[15] As in England, the increased number of parliamentary sessions, and the increased role that MPs now played in overseeing government expenditure, ensured that the executive became more dependent on leading politicians to manage the passage of legislation in the House of Commons.[16]

Of course, some important differences between Ireland and Britain were discernible. No measure commensurate to the 1694 triennial act was introduced in Ireland at this time.[17] Without any statutory obligation to dissolve parliament on a regular basis, only four general elections took place in the kingdom in the years between the 1688–1689 Revolution and the accession of George I in 1714. Whereas the frequency of English parliamentary elections after the Revolution has been identified as a factor exacerbating tensions between the two parties there, the infrequency of such elections in Ireland during the same period may explain, in part, why partisan tensions took longer to intensify in the kingdom. It is also notable that the major financial innovations evident in a British context were not yet evident in Ireland and, consequently, conflicting attitudes on these issues did not become a significant feature of the Irish partisan divide at this time.[18] Furthermore, Irish whigs in parliament demonstrated little sympathy for the plight of dissenting Protestants or their calls for freedom of worship or access to public office. Nonetheless, one of the most significant ways in which English parties divided (their assessment of the relative threats that Protestant dissenters and Catholics posed to the constitution in church and state) was certainly recognisable in an Irish context. Irish tories, a group that included the overwhelming majority of Anglican churchmen, were preoccupied with the dangers posed by Protestant dissent. Irish whigs, like their British counterparts, were more concerned with the threat posed

[15] See C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714* (Dublin, 2000); C. I. McGrath, 'Parliamentary Additional Supply: The Development and Use of Regular Short-Term Taxation in the Irish Parliament, 1692–1716', *Parliamentary History* 20, no. 1 (2001).

[16] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 106–30.

[17] An Octennial Act was passed in 1768.

[18] See P. A. Walsh, *The South Sea Bubble and Ireland: Money, Banking and Investment, 1690–1721* (Woodbridge, 2014); S. D. Moore, *Swift, the Book, and the Irish Financial Revolution: Satire and Sovereignty in Colonial Ireland* (Baltimore, 2010).

by Catholicism.[19] Overall, party conflict in Ireland is now understood to have been an extension of the conflict that raged in England, albeit with substantial local differences.

While the approach taken in this book broadly complements the existing narrative of whig and tory party conflict in Ireland, at times the interpretation of particular episodes and incidents presented here diverges. Generally speaking, concerns about political print, or, more precisely, the publicity that printed publications might afford certain parliamentary proceedings, appear to have played a more significant role in the actions of MPs than previously appreciated, particularly during the 1692, 1703–1704, and 1713 parliamentary sessions. A number of incidents that have hitherto been cited as evidence of Irish Protestant Jacobitism, notably the Swan Tripe Club presentment of 1705, and the decision of the University of Dublin to strip Edward Forbes of his degree in 1708, are better categorised as whig smears based on new evidence presented here.[20] Furthermore, the interpretation of proceedings in Irish convocation (the representative body of the Anglican clergy) presented here differs somewhat from that of D. W. Hayton and Seán Connolly. Whereas it is generally agreed that no significant low-church, latitudinarian or Erastian group of churchmen emerged in Ireland at this time, Hayton and Connolly have described a high-church party that became evident amongst the Irish Anglican clergy, who in turn clashed with 'reforming' bishops such as William King.[21] Whilst drawing a distinction between 'high-flyers' and 'reformers' has its uses as an analytical tool, it is not one employed here. As this account of developments during the period considers the ways in which the clergy of the Church of Ireland were described in print, and efforts on their part to refute charges that they were high-flyers, describing them as such is problematic. In terms of the relationship between the upper and lower houses of convocation, this account is in keeping with that of Gerald Bray who has observed that there was no significant political division between the bishops and lower clergy in convocation in Ireland, particularly when their behaviour is compared to that of their

[19] D. W. Hayton, 'A Debate in the Irish House of Commons in 1703: A Whiff of Tory Grapeshot', *Parliamentary History* 10 (1991): 152.

[20] See Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2004), 169, 177.

[21] Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, 79; Connolly, 'Reformers and Highflyers', 155, 160–61; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 139–44.

counterparts in England.[22] Overall, however, this book endorses the view that by the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, party divisions had come to have a significant impact on Irish political culture.[23] What this book will add to the existing narrative is an understanding of the ways in which printed publications contributed to this process.

Print Trade and 'Public Sphere'

The role of the press in contributing to partisan conflict as it emerged in Britain in the wake of the 1688–1689 Revolution has received a great deal of attention to date, notably in the work of scholars such as Geoffrey Holmes, J. A. Downie and H. L. Snyder.[24] More recently, discussions of 'public opinion', the press and the 'public sphere' in Britain, particularly during the reigns of William III and Anne, have been enhanced by debate about the work of the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas. In his book, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, first published in English in 1989, Habermas argued that the rise and spread of mercantilist-capitalist ideas, the development of a national debt, and the emergence of certain institutions which provided a space wherein 'rational-critical' debate could take place—specifically the press, journals of opinion and coffee houses—created the conditions necessary for the emergence of a 'bourgeois public sphere' in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England. This may be described as a conceptual space where private individuals came together, forming a 'public', to exchange political information and ideas, free from the interference of state authority. More recently still, the work of historians of

[22] See Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*, vol. XVII (Woodbridge, 2006); Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVIII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 2. Lower House: 1703–1713; Both Houses: 1714–1869*, vol. XVIII (Woodbridge, 2006).

[23] Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, 79.

[24] See, for example, Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 2nd ed. (London, 1987); Geoffrey Holmes, *The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London*, vol. 72 (1976); Alan Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe* (London, 1979); J. A. Downie, 'The Development of the Political Press', in *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680–1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, ed. Clyve Jones (London, 1987); H. L. Snyder, 'The Circulation of Newspapers in the Reign of Queen Anne', *The Library*, 5, 23, no. 3 (1968): 206–35.

early modern Britain, such as Joad Raymond, Steven Pincus and Brian Cowan, amongst others, has definitively challenged aspects of this 'bourgeois public sphere', including its timing, the extent to which it might be regarded as 'rational', the exclusive domain of men, or a counterweight to government authority.[25] Nonetheless, Mark Knights has noted that there is 'clearly something of value in the notion of a new force of public opinion emerging in the early modern period and acquiring a new status under the later Stuarts'.[26]

In particular, Knights has emphasised the significance of the lapse of licensing legislation, a form of pre-publication censorship, in England in 1695. In contrast to earlier lapses in licensing, after which print output had contracted, the growth of the print industry after 1695 was sustained and numerous presses were established outside of London for the first time.[27] Furthermore, many new newspaper titles were launched, providing a greater range of information to their readers on a more regular basis than ever before. Party-political journalism emerged and politicians became more adept at manipulating the press for their own ends. Furthermore, by the later Stuart period the audience for print had expanded significantly, due to improvements in literacy and infrastructure.[28] Institutions of sociability, particularly coffee houses, facilitated the circulation of print as they provided their patrons with access to copies of newspapers, pamphlets and other publications.[29] Of course, it must be noted, that even after the lapse of licensing in 1695, the state was not without means to

[25] Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006): 270; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2006); Brian Cowan, 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004a): 345–66; Brian Cowan, 'What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 51 (2001): 127–57.

[26] Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 51.

[27] Knights, 15–16.

[28] Ian Atherton, 'The Press and Popular Political Opinion', in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward (Oxford, 2003), 94–98; Dan Bogart, 'Did the Glorious Revolution Contribute to the Transport Revolution? Evidence from Investment in Roads and Rivers', *Economic History Review* 64, no. 4 (2011): 1073–112.

[29] Steven Pincus, '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (1995): 813–15; Cowan, 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere', 345–66; Brian Cowan, 'The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered', *Historical Journal* XLVII, no. 1 (2004b): 21–46.

suppress unwelcome commentary on political matters. Prosecutions for seditious libel became more frequent after the 1690s, and by 1714 the law had been developed, through use, to encompass almost any form of disaffection towards the state or public officials, including irony and satire.[30] Legislation introduced during Queen Anne's reign further restricted the newfound 'freedom' enjoyed by the press—most notably the copyright act of 1710 and the stamp act of 1712. Despite such restrictions, party-political tensions helped to fuel the growth of the British press at this time.

Although there is no coherent historiography of the role that partisan politics might have played in contributing to political ferment in Ireland during the period under consideration in this monograph, secondary literature on aspects of the Irish print industry and its output provides the background information necessary to undertake a study of this nature. Various contributions to *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800* (2006), most significantly James Kelly's chapters on political publishing, address the period under consideration in this book. Older research into the Irish print industry has also been particularly valuable, most notably Mary Pollard's *Dublin's Trade in Books, 1550–1800* (1989) and *Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800* (1989) and Robert Munter's *History of the Irish Newspaper* (1967).[31] Newer surveys of print culture in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ireland such as Raymond Gillespie's *Print, Reading, and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (2005), Toby Barnard's *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784* (2017), and Niall Ó Ciosáin's *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* (2010) also provide important insights into the role of print in Ireland during the period under consideration in this monograph, notably the experiences of readers, authors and publishers. Drawing together observations from this body of secondary literature, it is possible to sketch out, in broad

[30] Philip Hamburger, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review* 37, no. 3 (1985): 682, 733–38; P. B. J. Hyland, 'Liberty and Libel: Government and the Press during the Succession Crisis in Britain, 1712–1716', *English Historical Review* 101, no. 401 (1986): 864.

[31] Other important works include J. W. Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin: A Bibliographical Enquiry* (Dublin, 1998); R. R. Madden, *The History of Irish Periodical Literature, from the End of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century*, vol. 1, 2 vols (London, 1867); W. G. Wheeler, 'The Spread of Provincial Printing in Ireland up to 1850', *Irish Booklore* 4, no. 1 (1976): 363–78; E. R. McClintock Dix, 'The Crooke Family', *Bibliographical Society of Ireland* 2 (1921): 16–17.

strokes, the state of the Irish print industry in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and the market for print in Ireland at this time.

Whereas, in England, the lapse of licensing legislation might be regarded as a precursor to the emergence of the partisan print culture of Queen Anne's reign, Irish printers had always operated free of the licensing restrictions evident in that kingdom. While the parliament, privy council and law courts played an important role in detecting and punishing sedition, legislation regulating the press was not introduced to Ireland until the latter decades of the eighteenth century.[32] The relative freedom of the Irish print industry can be partially attributed to its size in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ireland's first press was established in Dublin in 1551 and thereafter the Irish print trade developed slowly, remaining heavily dependent on government patronage until the 1690s.[33] Indeed, there was rarely more than one press in operation in the kingdom at any one time. This was due, in part, to the total monopoly that the king's printer patentee held over printing and related trades such as bookbinding and bookselling. In theory, this monopoly lasted from 1604 to 1731 but in practice it was broken by the organisation of Dublin's printers and stationers into the Guild of St Luke in 1670 and, more significantly, by Joseph Ray's challenge to it in 1681.[34]

In 1660, the English bookseller and printer John Crook had successfully procured the king's printer patent for life. When he died in 1669, his wife Mary took over this role, although the patent was held in trust by her brother, Benjamin Tooke.[35] Mary and John's son Andrew subsequently became assignee of Tooke, but when he came to apply for full possession of the patent in 1681, Ray, a Dublin bookseller, petitioned

[32] Mary Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800* (Oxford, 1989), 1–11, 19. See also Gerard O'Brien, 'The Unimportance of Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 8 (1993): 121.

[33] Colm Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700–1800', in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*, ed. Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (Oxford, 2006), 61; Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), 55.

[34] Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 1.

[35] Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin* (London, 2000), 128–29; Dix, 'The Crooke Family', 16–17.

against its terms.[36] The terms of the patent were not changed at that time, but some sort of compromise appears to have been reached, evident in Ray's appointment as printer to the City of Dublin in 1681. When Crook had attempted to renew his patent in 1685, Ray submitted another petition against it to the lord lieutenant. The terms of the patent remained unchanged once again, but Crook's monopoly over printing and all related trades appears to have been 'largely ignored' thereafter.[37] As such, Mary Pollard recognises 1681 as a year marking 'a general liberation of the trade' in Dublin, evident in the steady increase in the number of printers operating in the city in the years that followed.[38] Where the lapse of licensing in England in 1695 may have been a crucial moment in the expansion of the press there, Ray's challenge to the king's printer's monopoly may be seen as something of an Irish parallel, even if its impact on the industry was slower to manifest.

As was the case in Britain, the market for print in Ireland appears to have expanded significantly by the later seventeenth century. Exact literacy figures for Ireland are difficult to determine. Back-projection of data from the 1841 census (the first reliable source for Irish literacy) suggests a male literacy rate of approximately 50% for those born from 1766 to 1775; and a rate of 55% for those born from 1786 to 1795.[39] However, it can be said that literacy skills improved dramatically over the course of the seventeenth century. Existing research has indicated the likelihood of an acceleration of literacy skills amongst Protestants from the 1670s to 1720s and it has been observed that the ability to sign one's name was 'nearly universal' amongst middle classes in urban centres such as Dublin by 1700.[40] There is also evidence to suggest that by the late seventeenth century the native Irish were being 'increasingly drawn into a textual culture' and that literacy skills amongst members of this community were

[36] Ray had been sworn free of the London Stationers Company in 1675 and two years later sworn into the Guild of St Luke. See Pollard, *Dictionary*, 480; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 2–11.

[37] Pollard, *Dictionary*, XV.

[38] Pollard, 480.

[39] See Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* (Dublin, 2010), 38.

[40] Raymond Gillespie, 'Circulation of Print in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Studia Hibernica*, no. 29 (July 1995): 32; T. C. Barnard, 'Print Culture, 1700–1800', in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*, ed. Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (Oxford, 2006), 43.

increasing.[41] For example, it has been demonstrated that between 1653 and 1697 two-thirds of native Irish tenants could sign their names on leases for the Herbert estate in Co. Kerry.[42] Of course, literacy was a skill 'usually acquired in English' and therefore closely reflected the spread of that language.[43]

It must be acknowledged that language and literacy barriers meant that a significant proportion of the population was effectively excluded from the market for print. Furthermore, those barriers affected the ability of Catholics to access print to a far greater degree than Protestants. However, it is important not to infer from such observations that Catholics did not consume printed publications. Based on such an inference are assertions that the output of the Irish press was largely confined to Dublin, in terms of its circulation, and, even then, further limited to the upper and middling sorts of the English-speaking Protestant minority.[44] Certainly, the metropolis would have provided the best market for print in the kingdom as it uniquely contained more Protestants than Catholics and held a particular attraction for Protestant professionals and gentry as the cultural, economic and administrative centre of the kingdom. Furthermore, the vast majority of publications produced in Ireland were printed in Dublin. While presses had been established outside of Dublin for the first time in the 1640s (in Waterford, Cork and Kilkenny), this provincial growth was not sustained. By the last decade of the seventeenth century some press activity was evident in Cork and a press was established for the first time in Belfast in 1696.[45] Overall, however, approximately 96% of the country's publications were printed in Dublin during the seventeenth century and Dublin presses produced approximately 91% of all publications printed in eighteenth-century Ireland.[46] Although the vast majority of

[41] Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*, 36, 40.

[42] Gillespie, 'Circulation of Print', 32–33.

[43] Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850*, 154.

[44] Sabine Baltes, *The Pamphlet Controversy about Wood's Halfpence (1722–1725) and the Tradition of Irish Constitutional Nationalism* (Munster, 2002), 23–24; Robert Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper* (Cambridge, 1967), 68.

[45] Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 5–8; Wheeler, 'The Spread of Provincial Printing in Ireland up to 1850', 7–19.

[46] Based on figures from the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). This was not a unique situation: London and Edinburgh also dominated the print output of their respective countries. Based on figures from the ESTC, London maintained a 94% share

printed publications might have originated in Dublin, there is evidence to suggest that they were circulated throughout the kingdom. For example, Raymond Gillespie has shown that in the 1690s the printer, bookseller and almanac maker John Whalley had agents based in Kilkenny, Clonmel, Mitchelstown, Mallow, Bandon, Kinsale, Cork, Galway, Limerick, Loughrea, Athlone, Mullingar, Drogheda, Newry, Armagh, Lisburn, Belfast, Antrim, Coleraine and Derry. Travelling chapmen and pedlars also played an important role in spreading printed works beyond the capital, and booksellers were active in various urban centres around the kingdom.[47]

When considering the content and bias of Irish publications during the period, it may be said that Dublin's printers targeted their output at the English-speaking Protestant minority at this time, but it is not clear that they were exclusively targeting an upper-class or middle-class audience.[48] While such an audience was more likely to have had the financial capacity to purchase printed publications, various forms of cheap, ephemeral print, such as broadside songs and poems and short quarto, octavo or duodecimo pamphlets, were produced by the Irish press. Furthermore, as Gillespie has demonstrated in an Irish context, it was not always necessary to purchase printed publications in order to read them. Communal reading strategies meant that a single copy of a publication could be consumed by multiple readers and hearers.[49] Many Irish Catholics could speak and read English and there is no reason to doubt that news and other information carried by the English-language publications was of interest to them. Indeed, there is some evidence for Catholic consumption of printed publications during the period under consideration in this book. For example, the Gaelic Irish scholar Tadhg Ó Neachtáin recorded translated

of the English print trade in the seventeenth century, declining to approximately 87% in the eighteenth century. Edinburgh produced some 90% of Scotland's print output in the seventeenth century, declining to 80% in the century that followed. See also, R. B. Sher, 'Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective', *Book History* 1 (1998): 33.

[47] Gillespie, 'Circulation of Print', 38, 41–43, 58.

[48] See James Kelly, 'Regulating Print: The State and Control of Print in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 23 (2008): 142–74.

[49] Gillespie, 'Circulation of Print', 33, 37.

snippets of English-language newspapers in his commonplace books in the early eighteenth century and John Whalley was the subject of two hostile Irish-language compositions, one by the Jacobite priest Conchubhar Ó Briain in 1690 and another by Feardorcha Ó Dálaigh in 1701.[50] It is also notable that some English-language publications were directed towards a Catholic audience, even if those publications generally sought to inform such an audience of the errors of their religion.[51] The extent to which dissenting Protestants might have been interested in Irish newspapers has also been called into question on the basis that the newspaper press 'concerned itself little' with their 'activities, hopes, or disputes'.[52] While that may have been the case, it must be noted that the early newspaper press tended to relay short snippets of information about developments in Europe, and to a lesser extent Britain. As a result, it concerned itself little with the activities, hopes or disputes specific to any particular confession of Protestantism on the island during the period under consideration here.[53]

Overall then, in terms of understanding the development of the print trade in Ireland by the 1690s, it may be observed that, thanks to Ray's challenge to the king's printer monopoly in 1681, the stage had already been set for further expansion, at a time when the audience for print in Ireland was growing. Recent historical research on eighteenth-century Ireland has also concerned itself with aspects of the eighteenth century 'public sphere', evident in publications on topics such as print culture, consumerism, salons and Irish-language poetry.[54] Generally speaking,

[50]Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Seacaibíteachas Thaidhg Uí Neachtain', *Studia Hibernica*, no. 26 (1992): 31–64; Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause*, 151.

[51]See Hugh Fenning, 'Dublin Imprints of Catholic Interest: 1701–1739', *Collectanea Hibernica* 39–40 (1998): 106–54.

[52]Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 69.

[53]Munter, 68. Irish newspapers were not unique in this regard. For discussion of the style of newspaper reports in English newspapers and the reasons for the lack of religious content in such publications, see Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, 2011), 18–19, 174–75.

[54]For example, Padhraig Higgins, *A Nation of Politicians: Gender, Patriotism, and Political Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Madison, 2010), For example; Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork, 2017); Amy Prendergast, *Literary Salons Across Britain and Ireland in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2015).

this work has tended to focus on the later eighteenth century, but it is clear that during the period under consideration here, institutions of sociability, such as coffee houses, were well established in Ireland. At least one coffee house, the Cock Coffee House on Cook Street, was in operation in Dublin by the reign of Charles II.[55] As early as 1672, the Irish privy council issued a proclamation promising that the authorities would proceed with all severity against any persons making 'bold or unlawful speeches' at coffee houses or other meeting places.[56] By the late seventeenth century there were several coffee houses in Dublin, concentrated in the relatively small area adjacent to the Tholsel, Dublin Castle and Chichester House—the same area that housed the majority of the city's printing presses.[57] Outside of Dublin, little concrete evidence has been found for the existence of coffee houses during the period, with the exception of one such establishment in Cork.[58] That said, in 1698 John Dunton claimed to have circulated free copies of his auction catalogue to coffee houses in Limerick, Cork, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Wexford, Galway and elsewhere.[59] Although historians have been able to provide some insight into the religious confession, political sympathies, social status, gender and behaviour of those who patronised coffee houses in Britain, there is little information available for Ireland in this regard. However, from the evidence available it can be said with some certainty that these institutions fulfilled a similar role in Ireland as they did in Britain in terms of facilitating the spread of printed publications and providing a public space in which political ideas might be discussed. Evidence for early eighteenth-century associational culture is also very thin during this period. Social groups such as the Dublin Philosophical Society had emerged by the 1680s, and religious societies, notably the societies for the reformation of manners, had appeared by the 1690s.[60] There is also some evidence for the emergence of political clubs and

[55] Pincus, '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', 813; Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*, 14.

[56] P. A. Walsh, 'Club Life in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Ireland', in *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. James Kelly and Martyn Powell (Dublin, 2010), 25.

[57] See Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 2016), 240–47.

[58] David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630–1830* (Cork, 2005), 122.

[59] John Dunton, *Dublin Scuffle*, ed. Andrew Carpenter (Dublin, 2000), 19.

[60] Walsh, 'Club Life', 41.

associations in Dublin during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. As the following pages will demonstrate, in the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, Irish whigs came to be associated with the Rose Tavern, and a group of Irish high-churchmen were said to have met at the Swan Tavern. However, much of what went on at these venues remains obscure.[61] Although this monograph will address many relevant topics, rather than attempting to 'hunt the public sphere' in an Irish context, it will focus on one facet of it: the development of the print trade and the impact its output had on political culture in Ireland during the period 1689–1714.[62]

Wider Context

Focusing on a particular period of time and a particular set of publications, as this book does, might serve to overemphasise their overall significance. For that reason, it is useful to consider briefly the development of the Irish print trade and its output over a longer period of time. Of course, the size of the Irish print trade can be measured in a variety of ways, most of which demonstrate accelerated growth in the last few decades of the eighteenth century. For instance, *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC) figures show that Ireland's print output reached its highest point in the 1790s when about 5,400 titles were produced over the course of the decade (see Fig. 1.1).[63] While this was comparable to Scotland, which produced 5,800 titles for the same period, England's press output for the 1790s amounted to some 48,000 titles.

Looking at the number of titles produced in Ireland over the course of the eighteenth century certainly suggests that the early eighteenth-century print trade was very small in size when compared to that of the last few decades of the century. It is not surprising then that it has sometimes been described as 'small scale', 'insignificant' and its newspaper press dismissed as 'puny'.[64] In contrast, something approaching an

[61] See Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment*, 225; Walsh, 'Club Life', 43.

[62] Atherton, 'The Press and Popular Political Opinion', 98.

[63] Figures from ESTC.

[64] S. J. Connolly, *Divided Kingdom: Ireland, 1630–1800* (Oxford, 2008), 163; Alastair Mann, *Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton, 2000), 7–8; Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 71; T. C. Barnard, 'Athlone 1685; Limerick 1710: Religious Riots or Charivaris?', *Studia Hibernica* 27 (1993): 67–68.

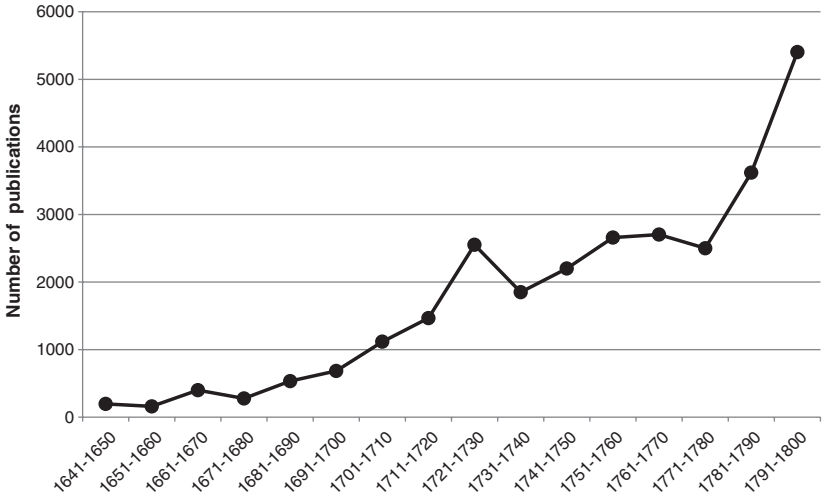


Fig. 1.1 Irish print output per decade, 1641–1800

'explosion of print' is understood to have occurred in the latter decades of the century.[65] The Irish print industry also appears to have been rather insignificant in size when compared to that of Britain. However, looking at the number of publications produced does not take into account the size of the market for print. In order to better understand the size and significance of the Irish print trade over time, and how it might have compared to those of England and Scotland, it is useful to consider print output relative to population size (see Fig. 1.2).[66]

From 1600 to 1687, the Irish population appears to have doubled from approximately 1 to 2 million. Impressive growth in the latter half of the eighteenth century meant that the Irish population stood at

[65] See e.g. Ian McBride, 'The Harp without the Crown: Nationalism and Republicanism in the 1790s', in *Political Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. S. J. Connolly (Dublin, 2000), 173.

[66] For discussion of some of the issues interpreting figures derived from the ESTC see Peter Blayney, 'STC Publication Statistics: Some Caveats', *Library*, 7, 8, no. 4 (2007): 387–97; Stephen Tabor, 'The ESTC and the Bibliographical Community', *Library*, 7, 8, no. 4 (2007): 367–86.

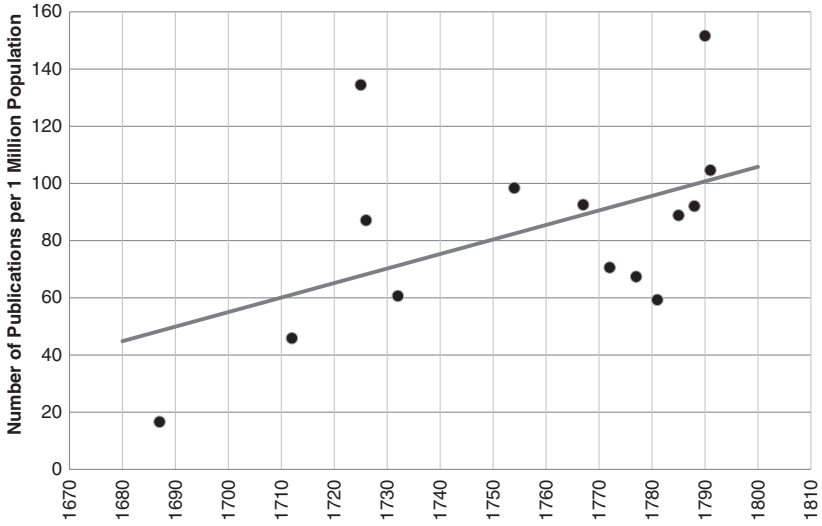


Fig. 1.2 Irish print output relative to population size, 1680–1800

approximately 5 million by 1800.[67] From a population of approximately 5.5 million in 1656, population growth in England was fairly stagnant until the mid-eighteenth century. However, from 1751, the population grew rapidly from 5.9 to 8.7 million by 1801. In 1691, the Scottish population stood at approximately 1.2 million and by the 1790s it stood at approximately 1.5 million.[68] Relative to population size then, the

[67]The Irish population figures used in Fig. 1.2 are drawn from K. H. Connell, *Population of Ireland, 1750–1845* (Westport, 1975). These figures provide a better spread of estimates throughout the eighteenth century than those calculated more recently in Stuart Daultrey, David Dickson, and Cormac Ó Gráda, '18th Century Irish Population: New Perspectives from Old Sources', *Journal of Economic History* 41, no. 3 (1981): 601–28. See also R. E. Tyson, 'Contrasting Regimes: Population Growth in Ireland and Scotland during the Eighteenth Century', in *Conflict, Identity, and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1939*, ed. S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston, and R. J. Morris (Preston, 1995), 86.

[68]For population figures for England and Scotland see E. A. Wrigley, 'British Population during the "Long" Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840', in *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol. I, Industrialisation, 1700–1860*, ed. Roderick Floud and P. A. Johnson (Cambridge, 2004), 57–95; H. O. Engelmann and R. A. Wanner, 'Population Size and Industrial Technology', *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 28, no. 3 (1969): 249–56.

output of the Irish print industry was around four times smaller than that of England and less than half the size of that of Scotland for the period 1700–1749.[69] For the second half of the eighteenth century, Irish print output was closer to three times smaller than that of Scotland and remained four times smaller than that of England.[70]

While the Irish print trade was certainly a good deal smaller than those of England or Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, Fig. 1.2 suggests that the early eighteenth-century print industry in Ireland compared quite well, in terms of size, to that of the latter decades of the century. This is particularly clear when output in relation to population size is compared for the years 1725 and 1790, dates that corresponded with the Wood's Halfpence dispute and activities of the United Irishmen respectively. Only eighteen more titles were printed per million people in 1790 than had been produced in 1725. This suggests that the 'spring tide of handbills', or the 'flood of radical pamphlets', produced in 1790 had a less significant impact on the overall size of the Irish print industry when its output is considered alongside remarkable population growth.[71]

Of course, it may well be assumed that print runs lengthened throughout the eighteenth century, which would not be accounted for in the figures used here. However, where the example of the 1791 edition of Wolfe Tone's *Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland* (which had a print run of 10,000 copies) might be provided in support of such an assumption, well over a century earlier Charles II's 'Gracious Declaration' had had a print run of 9,000 copies which failed to meet demand.[72] Toby Barnard has observed that print runs of 3000 copies were normal for material produced by the societies for the reformation of manners in the 1690s, while a similar organisation in the 1790s, the Association for Discountenancing Vice, published first editions of 5000 copies. Indeed, Barnard notes that this was an increase that 'hardly matched' population

[69] Figures from Connell produced a ratio for Ireland, Scotland and England of 1:2.5:4. Daultrey, Dickson and Ó Gráda's figures result in a ratio of 1:2:3. The latter figure is probably more reliable for the period 1700–1750.

[70] The ratio of 1:3:4 for 1750–1800 is based solely on Connell's figures.

[71] David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800* (Dublin, 2000), 217.

[72] Barnard, 'Print Culture', 231; McBride, 'The Harp without the Crown: Nationalism and Republicanism in the 1790s', 174; Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*, 84.

growth.[73] Generally speaking, it is difficult to find reliable figures for Dublin's normal edition size and much of what evidence exists, as Pollard points out, relates to 'particularly impressive' print runs.[74] Other evidence also depends heavily on exceptional circumstances. For example, an edition of the *New Testament* comprising 400 copies was seized by order of the lords justices in 1698, while a seditious publication, with a print run of 500 copies, was investigated by the House of Lords in 1703. Stronger evidence from later in the century suggests the endurance of shorter print runs. In 1785, a contributor to the *Hibernian Journal* observed that 'in Ireland we seldom exceed 500 [copies], and are tedious in the sale of them'.[75] Based on an examination of subscription lists for the period 1740–1749, Pollard tentatively concludes that '500 and, less frequently, 750 copies seem reasonable numbers to suggest for the average Dublin edition'.[76]

Meanwhile, the survival rate of print appears to have improved only marginally as the century progressed, and, if anything, would suggest that more material has been lost for the earlier part of the eighteenth century. For 1690, an average of 2.8 copies survive for each edition published that year, an average of 4.8 copies per edition survive for 1730, 5.1 for 1760 and 4.5 copies per edition for 1790.[77] These rather low figures may reflect the type of material being produced by the Irish press, as the survival of print depends heavily on the attitudes and tastes of its collectors. For example, the archbishop of Dublin, Narcissus Marsh, complained in 1706 that the booksellers' shops were not well furnished with books other than 'new trifles and pamphlets and not well with them also'.[78] Of course, 'trifles and pamphlets' and other such popular works that Marsh had complained of tend to have a lower survival rate than lengthier tomes as they were often used to the point of destruction.[79]

[73] Barnard, 'Print Culture', 41.

[74] Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 116–17.

[75] Pollard, 118.

[76] Pollard, 119–20.

[77] Data from the ESTC. Similar survival rates are also evident for Scotland; an average of 3.9 copies survive for editions published in 1690, an average of 4.8 copies per edition survive for 1750 and 3.9 for 1790.

[78] Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*, 84.

[79] See John Barnard, 'The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, ABCs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationers' Stock, 1660–1700', *Library*, 6, 21, no. 2 (1999): 148–50.

Even if print runs did lengthen over time, it is important to remember that literacy rates improved over the course of the eighteenth century, and the use of the English language was becoming more widespread. Indeed, Irish was the language of approximately two-thirds of the population in the early eighteenth century, but by the last decades of the century it has been estimated that 'something approaching half' of young people could speak Irish.[80] Overall, the Irish market for print in the early eighteenth century was a good deal smaller than the population estimates alone would suggest. Furthermore, the eighteenth century also saw a number of significant changes to the nature of printed material being produced in Ireland. It has been suggested that as early as the 1720s a culture of Anglo-Irish political print was yielding to 'a culture that was manifestly Irish'.[81] Catholic publishers were openly active in the print industry by the 1740s, by the 1760s propertied Catholic families were being reincorporated into Irish politics, and by the 1770s moves to repeal the penal code were also under way.[82] With the presence of a 'new pool of Anglophone literates' throughout rural Ireland by the 1790s, printers in the late eighteenth century were catering for a quite different market than their counterparts working a century earlier.[83] Overall, when the expanding market for print towards the end of the eighteenth century is taken into account, the size of the Irish print trade in the earlier part of the century was much less 'puny' in comparison than hitherto understood.[84]

[80] Brian Ó Cúiv, 'Irish Language and Literature, 1691–1845', in *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, ed. T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (Oxford, 2009), 383; Garret FitzGerald, 'Estimates for Baronies of Minimum Level of Irish-Speaking amongst Successive Decennial Cohorts: 1771–1781 to 1861–1871', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C 84, no. 273 (1984): 383.

[81] Barnard, 'Print Culture', 213.

[82] Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 186, 191; Eamon O'Flaherty, 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Dismantling of the Penal Laws in Ireland, 1774–1782', *Irish Historical Studies* 26, no. 101 (1998): 33.

[83] Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*, 217; J. S. Donnelly, 'Propagating the Cause of the United Irishmen', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 69, no. 273 (1980): 5–23.

[84] Pollard has pointed out that 'The increased demand for books between 1760 and 1800 can only have been due to the growing prosperity and literacy of a growing population'. However this could not be quite so clearly demonstrated without the benefit of the completed *English Short-title Catalogue* (Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 125, 214, 196).

Approach

While it is useful to have a sense of the number of publications produced, and the size of the market for print in Ireland at different points in time, quantitative approaches provide limited insight into the ways in which print output reflected interest in political affairs, or how political concerns impacted on the overall growth of the trade. Careful examination of changes in the nature and content of the publications produced is far more useful in this regard, and entirely possible to achieve for the relatively short period of time under consideration in this book. According to the ESTC, over 2,700 publications were produced by Irish printers during the reigns of William III and Anne. As a result, it has not been necessary to limit the scope of this study to particular formats or genres of material. However, as the aim of this book is to reveal the ways in which print reflected and fed into political ferment along whig and tory party lines during the period, publications unlikely to yield such information (notably bibles, psalters, almanacs, histories, educational material and sensational works, which together represent approximately 10% of overall output) have been excluded on the basis of title alone. The majority of printed cases and petitions, amounting to roughly ninety items produced over the period 1690–1714, have also been omitted from this study. Most of those particular titles do not appear to have been produced for public consumption and deal with the private concerns of the individuals putting them forward.[85]

By considering a variety of different types of publication, this book provides new insight into the multiplicity of ways in which news and opinion about political affairs reached Irish readers. However, it cannot elucidate *all* of the ways news and opinion reached Irish readers. Messages conveyed by manuscript, through the spoken word, or by images and objects have not been the subject of this research. It must also be noted that printed publications produced by the Irish press served to supplement the circulation and consumption of material imported from Britain and elsewhere. Despite evidence of increasing book imports to Ireland in the last decade of the seventeenth century (and there is evidence to suggest that such imports doubled in the 1690s), it is difficult to envisage how this material might be selected for study in a cohesive manner in the absence of detailed inventories to

[85] Barnard, 'Print Culture', 39.

provide insight into the titles and types of material being imported.[86] By focussing on domestic print output and how it changed over time, this book aims to give a comprehensive account of the nature of printed material that can be said with some certainty to have been available to Irish consumers of print. Finally, it is important to point out that while the issue of reception is addressed here at times, particularly the ways in which those in authority reacted to controversial publications, this book does not provide a great deal of insight into the various ways in which individual readers responded to political print. As Toby Barnard has recently observed, gauging reception is a particularly difficult task for the types of publications—various forms of cheap print—that are the primary focus of this study.[87]

The first part of the book will analyse several categories of printed material that were focused outward, on Britain and Europe. Chapter 2 focusses on news periodicals and news-sheets. The bulk of the copy of these publications was made up of reprinted reports drawn from British newspapers, and in terms of content was primarily concerned with political, military and diplomatic developments in Europe. Thereafter, Chapter 3 will consider publications that offered readers commentary and opinion on topical political developments, for the most part pamphlets and other forms of cheap print. During the period under consideration in this book, a significant proportion of this kind of material was reprinted from British originals and provided a great deal of insight into developments in that kingdom. To conclude the first part of the book, Chapter 4 will deal with the ways in which the established church and state communicated political messages to the public. Although the publications considered in this chapter originated in Ireland, this material can be seen to have played an important role in communicating information about British and European affairs, historical and current, to Irish audiences. All of this material played an important role in communicating to Irish readers ideas about religion, politics, history and the escalating party divide in Britain, in turn shaping the ways in which domestic political developments were perceived and portrayed. Those issues are

[86] Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*, 33, 41; Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield, eds., *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800* (Oxford, 2006), 24.

[87] See T. C. Barnard, *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784* (Dublin, 2017), 44, 332.

explored in the second part of this book, focussing in detail on political developments in Ireland and related publications.

References

Atherton, Ian. 'The Press and Popular Political Opinion'. In *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, edited by Barry Coward, 88–110. Oxford, 2003.

Baltes, Sabine. *The Pamphlet Controversy about Wood's Halfpence (1722–1725) and the Tradition of Irish Constitutional Nationalism*. Munster, 2002.

Barnard, John. 'The Survival and Loss Rates of Psalms, ABCs, Psalters and Primers from the Stationers' Stock, 1660–1700'. *Library*, 6, 21, no. 2 (1999): 148–50.

Barnard, T. C. 'Athlone 1685; Limerick 1710: Religious Riots or Charivaris?' *Studia Hibernica* 27 (1993): 61–75.

———. *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784*. Dublin, 2017.

———. 'Print Culture, 1700–1800'. In *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield, 34–60. Oxford, 2006.

Bennett, G. V. 'Conflict in the Church'. In *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, edited by G. S. Holmes. London, 1989.

Black, Jeremy. *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. Abingdon, 2011.

Blayney, Peter. 'STC Publication Statistics: Some Caveats'. *Library*, 7, 8, no. 4 (2007): 387–97.

Bogart, Dan. 'Did the Glorious Revolution Contribute to the Transport Revolution? Evidence from Investment in Roads and Rivers'. *Economic History Review* 64, no. 4 (2011): 1073–112.

Bray, Gerald, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*. Vol. XVII. Woodbridge, 2006.

———, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVIII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 2. Lower House: 1703–1713; Both Houses: 1714–1869*. Vol. XVIII. Woodbridge, 2006.

Brown, Michael. *The Irish Enlightenment*. Cambridge, 2016.

Carruthers, B. G. *City of Capital: Politics and Markets in the English Financial Revolution*. Princeton, 1996.

Connell, K. H. *Population of Ireland, 1750–1845*. Westport, 1975.

Connolly, S. J. *Divided Kingdom: Ireland, 1630–1800*. Oxford, 2008.

———. 'Reformers and Highflyers: The Post-Revolution Church'. In *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, edited by James McGuire and Kenneth Milne, 152–65. Dublin, 1995.

———. *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760*. Oxford, 1999.

———. 'The Glorious Revolution in Irish Protestant Political Thinking'. In *Political Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by S. J. Connolly. Dublin, 2000.

Cowan, Brian. 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere'. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004a): 345–66.

———. 'The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered'. *Historical Journal* XLVII, no. 1 (2004b): 21–46.

———. 'What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England'. *History Workshop Journal*, no. 51 (2001): 127–57.

Daultrey, Stuart, David Dickson, and Cormac Ó Gráda. '18th Century Irish Population: New Perspectives from Old Sources'. *Journal of Economic History* 41, no. 3 (1981): 601–28.

Dickson, David. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800.* Dublin, 2000.

———. *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630–1830.* Cork, 2005.

Dix, E. R. McClintock. 'The Crooke Family'. *Bibliographical Society of Ireland* 2 (1921): 16–17.

Donnelly, J. S. 'Propagating the Cause of the United Irishmen'. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 69, no. 273 (1980): 5–23.

Downie, Alan. *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*. London, 1979.

Downie, J. A. 'The Development of the Political Press'. In *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680–1750: Essays Presented to Geoffrey Holmes*, edited by Clyve Jones. London, 1987.

Dunton, John. *Dublin Scuffle*. Edited by Andrew Carpenter. Dublin, 2000.

Engelmann, H. O., and R. A. Wanner. 'Population Size and Industrial Technology'. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 28, no. 3 (1969): 249–56.

Fenning, Hugh. 'Dublin Imprints of Catholic Interest: 1701–1739'. *Collectanea Hibernica* 39–40 (1998): 106–54.

FitzGerald, Garret. 'Estimates for Baronies of Minimum Level of Irish-Speaking amongst Successive Decennial Cohorts: 1771–1781 to 1861–1871'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C 84, no. 273 (1984).

Gillespie, Raymond. 'Circulation of Print in Seventeenth-Century Ireland'. *Studia Hibernica*, no. 29 (July 1995): 31–58.

———. *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland*. Manchester, 2005.

———. 'The Irish Protestants and James II'. *Irish Historical Studies* 37 (1992).

Gillespie, Raymond, and Andrew Hadfield, eds. *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800.* Oxford, 2006.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society.* Translated by Thomas Burger. Oxford, 1999.

Hamburger, Philip. 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press'. *Stanford Law Review* 37, no. 3 (1985): 661–765.

Hayton, D. W. 'A Debate in the Irish House of Commons in 1703: A Whiff of Tory Grapeshot'. *Parliamentary History* 10 (1991): 151–63.

———. *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties.* Woodbridge, 2004.

Higgins, Padhraig. *A Nation of Politicians: Gender, Patriotism, and Political Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Ireland.* Madison, 2010.

Holmes, Geoffrey. *British Politics in the Age of Anne.* 2nd ed. London, 1987.

———. *The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London.* Vol. 72, 1976.

Horwitz, Henry. *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III.* Manchester, 1977.

Hyland, P. B. J. 'Liberty and Libel: Government and the Press during the Succession Crisis in Britain, 1712–1716'. *English Historical Review* 101, no. 401 (1986): 863–88.

James, F. G. *Ireland in the Empire 1688–1770. A History of Ireland from the Williamite Wars to the Eve of the American Revolution.* London, 1973.

Johnston, E. M. *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.* Dublin, 1974.

Kelly, James. 'Regulating Print: The State and Control of Print in Eighteenth-Century Ireland'. *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 23 (2008): 142–74.

Knights, Mark. *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture.* Oxford, 2006.

Lake, Peter, and Steven Pincus. 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England'. *Journal of British Studies* 45 (2006): 270–92.

Leighton, C. D. A. 'The Non-Jurors and Their History'. *Journal of Religious History* 29, no. 3 (2005): 242–57.

Lennon, Colm. 'The Print Trade, 1700–1800'. In *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield. Oxford, 2006.

Madden, R. R. *The History of Irish Periodical Literature, from the End of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century.* Vol. 1. 2 vols. London, 1867.

Mann, Alastair. *Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland.* East Linton, 2000.

McBride, Ian. 'The Harp without the Crown: Nationalism and Republicanism in the 1790s'. In *Political Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by S. J. Connolly, 159–84. Dublin, 2000.

McGrath, C. I. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714.* Dublin, 2000.

McGrath, C. I. 'Parliamentary Additional Supply: The Development and Use of Regular Short-Term Taxation in the Irish Parliament, 1692–1716'. *Parliamentary History* 20, no. 1 (2001).

McNally, Patrick. 'The Hanoverian Accession and the Tory Party in Ireland'. *Parliamentary History* 14, no. 3 (1995).
Moore, S. D. *Swift, the Book, and the Irish Financial Revolution: Satire and Sovereignty in Colonial Ireland*. Baltimore, 2010.
Morley, Vincent. *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*. Cork, 2017.
Munter, Robert. *History of the Irish Newspaper*. Cambridge, 1967.
Ó Buachalla, Breandán. 'Seacaibíteachas Thaidhg Uí Neachtain'. *Studia Hibernica*, no. 26 (1992): 31–64.
Ó Ciardha, Éamonn. *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment*. Dublin, 2004.
Ó Ciosáin, Niall. *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850*. Dublin, 2010.
Ó Cúiv, Brian. 'Irish Language and Literature, 1691–1845'. In *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, edited by T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan. Oxford, 2009.
O'Brien, Gerard. 'The Unimportance of Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland'. *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 8 (1993).
O'Flaherty, Eamon. 'Ecclesiastical Politics and the Dismantling of the Penal Laws in Ireland, 1774–82'. *Irish Historical Studies* 26, no. 101 (1998): 33–50.
Phillips, J. W. *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin: A Bibliographical Enquiry*. Dublin, 1998.
Pincus, Steven. '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture'. *Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (1995): 807–34.
Plumb, J. H. *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675–1725*. London, 1967.
Pollard, Mary. *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin*. London, 2000.
———. *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*. Oxford, 1989.
Prendergast, Amy. *Literary Salons Across Britain and Ireland in the Long Eighteenth Century*. Basingstoke, 2015.
Raymond, Joad. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge, 2006.
Richardson, Joseph. 'Archbishop William King (1650–1729): 'Church Tory and State Whig''. *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 15 (2000): 54–76.
Sher, R. B. 'Corporatism and Consensus in the Late Eighteenth-Century Book Trade: The Edinburgh Booksellers' Society in Comparative Perspective'. *Book History* 1 (1998): 32–93.
Simms, J. G. *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–91*. Dublin, 2000.
———. 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714'. In *New History of Ireland, Iv, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, edited by T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan. Oxford, 2009.

Snyder, H. L. 'The Circulation of Newspapers in the Reign of Queen Anne'. *The Library*, 5, 23, no. 3 (1968): 206–35.

Szechi, Daniel. *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788*. Manchester, 1994.

Tabor, Stephen. 'The ESTC and the Bibliographical Community'. *Library*, 7, 8, no. 4 (2007): 367–86.

Tyson, R. E. 'Contrasting Regimes: Population Growth in Ireland and Scotland during the Eighteenth Century'. In *Conflict, Identity, and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1939*, edited by S. J. Connolly, R. A. Houston, and R. J. Morris. Preston, 1995.

Walsh, P. A. 'Club Life in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Ireland'. In *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by James Kelly and Martyn Powell. Dublin, 2010.

———. *The South Sea Bubble and Ireland: Money, Banking and Investment, 1690–1721*. Woodbridge, 2014.

Wheeler, W. G. 'The Spread of Provincial Printing in Ireland up to 1850'. *Irish Booklore* 4, no. 1 (1976): 363–78.

Wrigley, E. A. 'British Population during the "Long" Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840'. In *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain, Vol. I, Industrialisation, 1700–1860*, edited by Roderick Floud and P. A. Johnson, 57–95. Cambridge, 2004.

PART I

External Influences

CHAPTER 2

News

The development of the news press in Ireland was heavily influenced by its English counterpart. There, news-books, typically carrying news of a single event, had been produced from the sixteenth century. Meanwhile newspapers, serial publications with stable titles carrying a digest of news on various matters, had been produced from the early seventeenth century. Both categories of publication had initially carried foreign rather than domestic intelligence, due in part to the threat of state censorship. Licensing acts were the primary means by which the state controlled the press, while post-publication censorship, through prosecutions for treason, blasphemy or seditious libel, provided another, less effective means for state authorities to suppress publications that offered information or opinion about their activities. When pre-publication censorship had lapsed in England in the early 1640s, it had resulted in the single greatest outpouring of printed material ever produced there. Furthermore, domestic news had appeared in print for the first time.[1] A brief lapse of licensing legislation in the midst

[1] Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), 104–5; Jason Peacey, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 1 (2007): 4; Thomas Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1990): 187–215; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2006), 151, 163–65.

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_2

of the Exclusion Crisis (1679–1681) had resulted in another flurry of publications providing insight into English political affairs. It was only in 1695 that licensing legislation in England was allowed to lapse permanently. This development occurred at a time when improvements to literacy, the postal system and transport infrastructure, as well as the expansion of associational culture, were fuelling the growth of the British print trade more generally.[2] In terms of news publications, Mark Knights has suggested that 'a step-change' in periodical production was evident by Queen Anne's reign, as newspaper issues became more frequent and provincial newspaper titles began to appear.[3]

The history of the newspaper press in Ireland is somewhat shorter than that of England. In the 1640s, the first news periodicals were produced in the kingdom for consumers in England, due to increased demand for Irish news there in the wake of the 1641 Rebellion.[4] This brief increase in news production was not sustained. It was only after 1660 that news periodical production became evident in Ireland again when *An Account of the Chief Occurrences of Ireland*, a short-lived weekly journal, was produced by the king's printer. A similar publication, *Mercurius Hibernicus*, was produced a few years later in 1663. Both of those publications were closely scrutinised by the administration and were published in response to immediate political concerns.[5] It was not until the 1680s and 1690s that the first independent news periodicals aimed at an Irish audience were produced in the kingdom. The development of the Irish newspaper from the 1640s was first delineated by scholars such as R. R. Madden and J. W. Phillips, working in the nineteenth century and 1950s respectively.[6] Further insight has been provided by the work of E. R. McClintock Dix and Mary Pollard, as well as new work emerging in

[2] Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2006), 15–16; Michael Harris, 'London Newspapers', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Michael Suarez and Michael Turner (Cambridge, 2009), 414–18.

[3] See also, Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation*, 15–16; Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, 2011).

[4] Robert Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper* (Cambridge, 1967), 5–6.

[5] Munter, 6–9.

[6] R. R. Madden, *The History of Irish Periodical Literature, from the End of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century*, vol. I, 2 vols (London, 1867); J. W. Phillips, *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin: A Bibliographical Enquiry* (Dublin, 1998).

recent years.[7] However, Robert Munter's *History of the Irish Newspaper*, first published in 1967, remains the only focussed account of newspaper production in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ireland.

As was the case in England, European news dominated the pages of the early Irish serials at this time. Pre-publication censorship does not explain this in the Irish case as the minute size of the print industry had always rendered such legislation unnecessary. While the threat of post-publication censorship may have been a factor, the main reason for the emphasis on European news in the Irish papers was its prevalence in their source material, the English newspapers. Even after licensing legislation had lapsed in 1695, European news continued to feature prominently in these publications. Indeed, as various historians have argued, international intelligence was of intense interest, not only to early modern British people, but to people living throughout early modern Europe.[8] Irish readers were no exception. Indeed, throughout the 1690s and first two decades of the eighteenth century, the future security, prosperity and power of both Protestants and Catholics in Ireland appeared to rest on developments overseas. As a result, news of English losses and victories in Europe, of Jacobite plots and French invasion attempts, was undoubtedly of interest to Irish readers regardless of their ethnic or religious background.[9]

Although European news remained a constant feature of Irish news publications throughout the entire period considered in this book, in the years that followed the final lapse of licensing legislation in England, Irish

[7] Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin* (London, 2000); Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Society: The Changing Role of Print—Ireland (to 1660)', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol. I. Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford, 2011). Some consideration of newspapers is also evident in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield, eds., *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800* (Oxford, 2006).

[8] Joad Raymond, 'Newspapers: A National or International Phenomenon?', *Media History* 18, no. 3–4 (2012): 253; Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, 2014); F. J. Levy, 'How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550–1640', *Journal of British Studies* 21, no. 2 (1982): 11–34; Richard Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present* 112, no. 1 (1986): 60–90.

[9] See John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution (Seminar Studies in History)*, 2nd ed. (London, 1997); C. I. McGrath, 'Securing the Protestant Interest: The Origins and Purpose of the Penal Laws of 1695', *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996): 25–46.

news publications also began to carry more and more details of British political affairs. Meanwhile, domestic affairs received little attention for most of the period, only becoming a more regular feature of the news periodicals towards the end of Queen Anne's reign. By tracing the development of news publications in Ireland over the course of the 1690s and first decade-and-a-half of the eighteenth century, this chapter will assess the extent to which these publications served to communicate ideas about politics and political parties to an Irish audience.

False Starts

In 1689, the output of the Irish press reached over one hundred publications for the first time in its history. This can be partly attributed to an increase in the production of news publications in response to developments surrounding the Revolution of 1688–1689 and the ensuing Williamite-Jacobite War in Ireland. The *News-Letter*, a title for which copies are extant for a seven-month period between July 1685 and February 1686, has been described as the first true 'ancestor' of the eighteenth-century periodical press. This half-sheet folio format periodical, published by the Dublin-based bookseller Robert Thornton, in collaboration with the printer Joseph Ray, appeared approximately three times a week and each issue was sold for three half-pence, a fraction of the price of manuscript news-letters at the time.[10] Presented in the form of a letter from a London correspondent, the *News-Letter* conveyed intelligence from that city and elsewhere in Europe. For instance, surviving issues addressed the aftermath of the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685 and news of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the same year, an event that marked the culmination of a number of accounts, sometimes gruesome, conveying the deteriorating treatment of Protestant communities in France. No Irish news is evident in the surviving issues of the *News-Letter* with the exception of occasional reports of appointments made in London to Irish offices.

Munter claimed that once the *News-Letter* had ceased publication, Ireland was without a domestically produced news periodical until September 1690. In doing so, he dismissed speculation by R. R. Madden that James Malone, the Catholic publisher who was appointed as king's

[10] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 9–12.

printer when James II arrived in Dublin in 1690, had produced a periodical.[11] Munter must have been unaware of the survival of one unnumbered issue of Malone's *Dublin Gazette* from March 1690. Reference to this title can also be found in a London-printed news-sheet of 1689 wherein a Dublin-based correspondent complained that the packet boats (small boats that conveyed post, passengers and other goods from Britain to Ireland) arriving into the city were being censored by the Jacobites and that there was 'no publick News Letter, nor Gazette, suffered to be in any Coffee-House, only the Dublin Gazette, which is a Legend of their own Composition'.[12] Although Malone only served as printer general until his patron was defeated at the Boyne in July 1690, he managed to publish a second periodical during this time, entitled *The Abhorrence, or, Protestant Observations in Dublin*. This publication seems to have been less a conduit for news than Jacobite propaganda.[13] The one surviving issue of the periodical, dated 1 February 1690, promised the reader that it would 'Weekly demonstrate our Loyalty to the King, whom you have most barbarously Abdicated'. The rest of the content offered a defence of divine right doctrine, making copious references to sermons by prominent Anglican clergymen.[14] Other evidence suggests that more issues of the *Abhorrence* were printed: William King's 1691 pamphlet, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland*, identified the author of the periodical as one John Yalden, 'a Convert, Councellor at Law' whom the Jacobites had 'set up' to write a weekly paper 'to blacken and abuse all Protestants, and to vent his Spite in a more peculiar manner against the Clergy'.[15] This reference to a weekly publication schedule was reinforced by testimony from Nathaniel Foy, then minister of the parish of St Bride in Dublin, complaining that he had inspected a particularly offensive copy of the *Abhorrence* at a Dublin coffee house on 11 March 1690.[16]

Once the Jacobites had retreated from Dublin in the aftermath of their defeat at the Battle of the Boyne (1690), Andrew Crook was restored to his former position as king's printer. Crook had quickly

[11] *News-Letter*, 10 Oct. 1685, 20 Oct. 1685; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 395.

[12] *An Account of the Present, Miserable, State of Affairs in Ireland* (London, 1689).

[13] Pollard, *Dictionary*, 395.

[14] *The Abhorrence, or, Protestant Observations in Dublin* (Dublin, 1690).

[15] William King, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government* (London, 1691), 222–23.

[16] Pollard, *Dictionary*, 395; King, *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, 404–5; T. Cooper, 'Foy, Nathaniel (1648–1707)', *ODNB*.

launched a news serial entitled *The Dublin Intelligence*.[17] The first issue was dated 30 September 1690 and was printed by Joseph Ray on College Green. All subsequent issues were printed by Crook at their Majesties' Printing House on Ormond Quay. Although the *Intelligence* was 'Published by Authority', Munter states that it 'is not known' whether this publication was subject to correction from Dublin Castle.[18] An advertisement published in the 1–22 April 1693 issue would suggest that it was not. In it, Nicholas Fitz-Gerald refuted allegations in an earlier advertisement which asserted that he had been involved in an attempt to assassinate Sir Theobald Butler, a Catholic lawyer.[19] The 29 April–11 May issue of the paper carried a notice from Henry, Viscount Sydney, then lord lieutenant, explaining that Butler had made a complaint to the privy council regarding 'a Scandalous Advertisement' which had 'under the Colour of Publick Authority' been published in the 22 April edition of the newspaper, 'thereby Insinuating as tho' the same had been Lycensed by us the Lord Lieutenant, or one of our Secretaries'. Denying that this was the case, the viceroy reassured the public that the printer of the advertisement had received 'such Marks of our Displeasure as may for the future deter him from Committing the like Offence'.[20] While this shows that issues of the *Dublin Intelligence* may not have been subject to prior government inspection, it is worth noting that the content of this newspaper was typically innocuous and unlikely to invite negative attention from authorities.

Immediately after its launch, the *Dublin Intelligence* dealt primarily with Irish news, specifically details of the ongoing war in the kingdom.[21] A digest of reports from places such as Cork, Carrickfergus, Mullingar, Waterford, Kinsale, Cashel, Kilkenny, Youghal, Longford, Roscrea and Clonmel consumed most of its one or two-page, two-column format. In terms of domestic political activities, from time to time, the periodical provided news that the Irish parliament was being convened or prorogued, snippets of information about important political figures,

[17] Pollard, *Dictionary*, 395; J. T. Gilbert, ed., *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol. VI, 1889, 177–78.

[18] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 14.

[19] *Dublin Intelligence*, 22 Apr. 1693; H. Maynard, 'Butler, Sir Theobald (Toby)', *DIB*.

[20] *Dublin Intelligence*, 11 May 1693.

[21] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 14.

or brief reports that thanksgivings and other state occasions had taken place. For instance, in February 1691, the newspaper provided a detailed account of the 'great expressions of Joy' evident in Dublin on the occasion of the anniversary of William and Mary's coronation, reporting that 'a very splendid Entertainment' had been held in the Tholsel 'at the charge of several Loyal Persons' and thereafter 'a Ball at Night concluded the Solemnity'.[22] Between March 1691 and April 1693 there is a gap in the record of extant copies of the *Dublin Intelligence*. During that time the articles of Galway and Limerick were concluded in July and October 1691 respectively, bringing an end to hostilities in Ireland. By April 1693, when the record of newspaper issues resumes, a major shift in the focus of coverage was evident. Now, reports from The Hague, Paris, London and beyond made up most of the copy of the newspaper. Very occasionally events in Dublin featured, usually taking up a few sentences at the end of the publication. Despite the patchy evidence, it seems clear that once Ireland was no longer the centre of the European war, the newsworthiness of events outside the capital city had decreased dramatically. This is not really surprising. The clash between two contenders for the English throne on Irish soil was, in effect, 'European news', and a relatively rare occasion when the flow of news from Europe to Ireland, a kingdom firmly on the periphery of the international news network, was reversed.

In the absence of extant issues to suggest otherwise, after 1693, Ireland was left temporarily without a domestically produced news periodical. Nonetheless, news-books, or as Munter described them, newssheets or 'occasionals', continued to be produced.[23] These one-off publications usually dealt with a particular event, or series of events, as circumstances warranted. Domestic news featured prominently for as long as the war in Ireland had continued and was often presented in the form of letters or accounts from reputable eyewitnesses. For instance, in 1691, *A Letter from Major Wood* gave a straightforward account of a clash between Williamite and Jacobite forces on 4 May that year near Castlecuffe in the Queen's County. In the letter, Major Cornelius Wood recalled setting forth from his quarters at Mountmellick 'having under me 300 Foot' before encountering two 'bodies of the Enemies Army,

[22] *Dublin Intelligence*, 17 Feb. 1691.

[23] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 75.

consisting in every bodies judgment of 400 each'. Despite the odds, the Jacobites fled, inflicting only one mortality on the Williamite side.[24] By and large news-sheets tended to relay information to the reader without overt attempts to sway opinion but, as was the case here, it was usually quite clear that the Jacobites were regarded as the enemy. Similarly, a half-sheet publication from 1691 carried a speech addressed to the Jacobite army on the eve of the Battle of Aughrim given by their commander, Charles Chalmont, marquis de St Ruth, which was allegedly found among the papers of his dead secretary following the engagement. In the speech St Ruth had referred to the Protestants as 'poor deluded Souls', from whom his troops were to recover their 'lost Honour, Priviledges, and Fore-Fathers Estates' with the full support of James II and Louis XIV.[25] Although no commentary on St Ruth's speech was provided, its inflammatory content could only have served to reinforce Protestant joy at the news of the Williamite victory on that occasion. Indeed, many of these publications had some level of official endorsement. For instance, an account of the taking of Ballymore on 8 June 1691 was 'printed by order', and the following month an account of the 'routing the whole Irish army at Aghrim' was published 'by authority' by Crook.[26]

As was the case with the *Dublin Intelligence*, Irish news featured less frequently in news-sheets produced after the conclusion of the war in the kingdom. Instead, details of major and minor engagements in the War of the Grand Alliance predominated. This intelligence was primarily drawn from British news sources. For instance, on 4 June 1692, Crook produced an account of the destruction of the French fleet in naval battles that took place at Barfleur and La Hogue from 19 to 24 May 1692. In that publication, Crook commented that a delay in the arrival of the packet boats had meant that news of the victories in Europe had initially reached Dublin 'by Passengers in Vessels to several

[24] Cornelius Wood, *A Letter from Major Wood, Giving an Account of the Action near Castle-Cuffe; the Fourth of May, 1691* (Dublin, 1691).

[25] C. Chalmont, Marquis de St Ruth, *Speech to the Irish Army* (Edinburgh, 1691). This Edinburgh print is a reprint of a Dublin original which is no longer extant.

[26] *An Account of the Taking of the Fort of Ballymore […] on Monday the 8th Day of June, 1691* (Dublin, 1691); *A Particular and Full Account of the Routing the Whole Irish Army at Aghrim, upon Sunday the 12th of July, 1691* (Dublin, 1691).

parts of the Kingdom'; however, the arrival of three packets that day had allowed him to publish 'a more certain Account' of those events.[27] A bias in reporting in favour of the allies was also evident in news-sheets relevant to the European war. For instance, a news-sheet that contained two reprinted accounts of the humiliating English defeat at the Battle of Landen in the Netherlands on 29 July 1693 came to the rather unlikely conclusion there was 'no doubt' that the enemy had suffered 'a great deal more' losses than the allies.[28] That news-sheet also included a list of French officers wounded or dead after the battle which would have been of particular interest to Irish readers. Listed amongst the dead was Patrick Sarsfield, 1st Earl of Lucan, commander of the Irish Jacobite army that had left for France according to the terms of the articles of Limerick.[29]

A decline in the production of news publications appears to have set in hereafter. An account of the capture by the Venetians of the frontier fortress of Ciclut in Dalmatia was published in 1694 but no news-sheets appear to be extant for 1695.[30] The following year, a news-sheet gave an account of an English ship, the *Wymouth*, that had captured three enemy ships and weathered a 'grievous storm' and was, at the time of printing, being towed to port in Kinsale.[31] In 1697, an anonymous letter dated 'Ardmagh, July 17' provided an account of one Captain Machlin with some of his company and townsmen pursing a group of rapparees led by Captain McNally the prior afternoon. McNally and another rapparee called McShane were captured and it was reported that their heads 'were presently fix'd upon the Sessions-House; these two were the chiefest of those Rogues that Robbed fourteen or fifteen Persons on Wednesday last, and Murdered Captain Groves'.[32] These two accounts illustrate the still appreciable impact of the Irish and wider European struggle in some parts of the kingdom. Meanwhile, in late October 1697, the Irish weather also proved newsworthy, with two publications relaying details

[27] *An Account of the Signal Victory Obtained by Their Majesties and the Dutch Fleet against the French* (Dublin, 1692).

[28] *A Relation of the Battel of Landen* (Dublin, 1695).

[29] L. Irwin, 'Sarsfield, Patrick, 1st Earl of Lucan', *DIB*.

[30] *An Account of the Siege of Ciclut* (Dublin, 1694).

[31] *A Letter from Kinsale to a Gentleman in Dublin* (Dublin, 1696).

[32] *A Letter from a Gentleman in Ardmagh, to His Friend in Dublin, Giving an Account of the Rapparees That Kill'd Capt. Groves* (Dublin, [1697]).

of the destruction of the town of Athlone due to 'Strange and wonderful Showers of Fire and Rain that Fell'.[33] While news production in Ireland appears to have contracted significantly in the years immediately before and after the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the prospect of the outbreak of a new war on the continent—the War of Spanish Succession—provided the subject matter of a resurgence in printed news publications at the turn of the century.

Expansion

Partition treaties concluded in 1698 and 1700 stipulated that Spain, and Spanish territories elsewhere in Europe, would be divided between France and Austria in the event of the death of the Spanish king, Carlos II. However, Carlos II named Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV, as his heir and stipulated that if Anjou did not accept, the Spanish throne would go to the Habsburg claimant, the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI. When the Spanish king died in November 1700, Louis XIV opted to disregard the partition treaties and uphold his grandson's claim to the throne. As French forces moved into the Spanish Netherlands, treaties for a defensive alliance against France in support of the Austrian-Habsburg claimant for the Spanish throne were concluded between England, the Holy Roman Empire and United Provinces. Then, as Europe was preparing for war, the security of the English succession was thrown into doubt. The only surviving child of Princess Anne of Denmark died in July 1701, prompting the passage of the 1701 act of settlement which would see Electress Sophia of Hanover and her heirs succeed Anne in the event of her death without further issue.[34] A few months later, on 16 September 1701, James II died, and in a direct violation of the terms of the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick, Louis XIV proclaimed his son James Francis Edward Stuart as James III of England. Not long thereafter, in February 1702, William III was thrown from his horse whilst hunting in Richmond Park, an event that ultimately led to his death on 8 March. Queen Anne succeeded him and within days of

[33] *The Dismal Ruine of Athlone, Giving an Account of Strange and Wonderful Showers of Fire and Rain That Fell upon It, and Also of the Slain and Wounded* (Dublin, 1697), 1–2 quoted in Isaac Weld, *Statistical survey of the County of Roscommon* (Dublin, 1832), 531–33; *A True Narrative of the Prodigious Storm of Wind* (Dublin, 1697).

[34] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 2nd ed. (London, 1987), 82–83.

her accession, England, the Dutch Republic and Holy Roman Empire declared war on Spain. The outbreak of a new war in Europe once again renewed the possibility that Louis XIV might yet triumph in Europe and that the Stuart claimant would be restored to the English throne.

The primary conduit for the dissemination of news regarding the war in Europe throughout the period was the recently revived newspaper press. Cornelius Carter, active as a printer in Ireland from the mid-1690s, had started publishing *The Flying Post: or, the Post-Master* from at least March 1700.[35] From 1702, Francis Dickson began publishing the *Dublin Intelligence*.[36] Although Carter produced some early issues of that title, Dickson published the paper thereafter and was often described as its 'author' in the imprint of the publication.[37] Following the launch of the *Dublin Intelligence* and *Flying Post*, the expansion of the Irish newspaper press was rapid. From 1703, Dr John Whalley, an astrologer and almanac printer, had started publishing a serial entitled *The Present state of Europe: or, Monthly Mercury*, and the following year he launched *Whalley's Flying-Post*.[38] Whalley had also been responsible for printing issues of the *Flying Post: or, the Post-Master* for at least three years after 1705, and several variants of the title, *The Dublin Post-Man*. From 1704, Edward Lloyd and Richard Pue collaborated to produce *Impartial Occurrences*, a title subsequently continued as *Pue's Occurrences*. From 1705, Edwin Sandys, who had worked primarily as an engraver and copperplate printer, began printing the *Dublin Gazette*.[39] Although a proclamation of 1705 indicated that the *Gazette* was to be published by authority, Sandys appears to have been primarily responsible for its content without oversight or input from the government, a task his widow Ann fulfilled after his death in 1708.[40] Edward Waters, an

[35] The extent to which the title *Flying Post* referred to a collaborative venture between a number of printers or competing editions of entirely separate newspapers is unclear. Cataloguing individual issues of these early papers would likely clear up some of these ambiguities. See Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 35; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 470. See also Robert Munter, *A hand-list of Irish newspapers, 1685–1750* (London, 1690); Suzanne Forbes, 'Print, Politics and Public Opinion in Ireland, 1690–1715' (Ph.D. thesis, University College Dublin, 2012), 28, 315–321.

[36] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 111.

[37] See e.g. *Dublin Intelligence*, 20 Sept. 1707, 7 Dec. 1708, 27 May 1710.

[38] Pollard, *Dictionary*, 469.

[39] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 112; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 508.

[40] *Dublin-Castle*, 25 Oct. 1705; Seán Murphy, '300 Years of Irish Gazetteering', *History Ireland*, 2006, 11.

Irish-born printer, bookseller and papermaker, began circulating his own version of the *Dublin Intelligence* from 1708, continued under the titles the *Protestant Dublin Intelligence* and the *Dublin Weekly Intelligence*. A host of other titles were also launched at this time, including *The Dublin-Castle*; *The Dublin Post*; *The Dublin Courant*; *The Dublin Mercury*; *The Dublin Weekly Mercury*; *The Dublin Weekly Intelligence*; and *The Diverting Post*. Few issues of these particular titles are extant. Although it is difficult to determine how long these newspapers were in circulation for, or to draw conclusions about their content or impact, the launch of so many titles in such a short space of time suggests that the printers involved felt that there was sufficient demand in the market to sustain these ventures. In this regard, it is also notable that several printers (such as Dickson, Whalley and Carter) were successful in publishing more than one newspaper concurrently.

While no newspapers were established outside of Dublin until the launch of the *Cork Idler* in 1715, it has been observed that both Dublin and London newspapers were circulated by post to country towns by the late seventeenth century.[41] Outside of Dublin, there is also little concrete evidence for the existence of coffee houses during the period, with the exception of one such establishment in Cork.[42] However, the proliferation of coffee houses in the capital meant that the readership of the newspapers probably vastly outnumbered the amount of copies sold in the city.[43] Indeed, many of the prominent newspaper publishers were also coffee house proprietors. Dickson was involved in four different coffee houses at various times, including The Oxmantown Coffee House; Dickson's Coffee House on Church Street; the Queen Anne's Head, which he had renamed the Four Courts Coffee House; and the Union Coffee house on Cork Hill.[44] Lloyd had also been involved in the Oxmantown Coffee House in partnership with Pue, and had leased the

[41] Máire Kennedy, 'Eighteenth-Century Newspaper Publishing in Munster and South Leinster', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 103 (1998).

[42] David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630–1830* (Cork, 2005), 122.

[43] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 17, 90. Munter's comment that John Dunton observed nine weekly newspapers and parliamentary votes in Dublin's coffee houses in 1696 is inaccurate. See John Dunton, *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London* (London, 1818), XVI–XVII.

[44] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 50.

Union Coffee House from Dickson from 1708.[45] Pue was also proprietor of Dick's Coffee House, an institution which remained in operation until the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

The rapid expansion of the newspaper press after 1700 ensured that European news was conveyed to Irish readers on a regular basis, and in great detail, throughout Queen Anne's reign. Occasional news-sheets, often identified as 'expresses', also continued to circulate alongside the newspapers, particularly in the early years of the eighteenth century. These publications relayed details of major and minor battles in the European war. For example, a reprint of *An Account of the Landing in Spain of the Forces under the Command of His Grace the Duke of Ormond*, first printed in London 'by Authority', provided details of the failed Anglo-Dutch attempt to seize Cádiz and open a campaign in Spain in August 1702.[46] An express from John Churchill, 1st duke of Marlborough, related the capture of the town and fortress of Huy in the Spanish Netherlands on 27 August 1703.[47] Other allied victories, notably Blenheim in 1704, and Ramillies in 1706, as well as details of the indecisive campaign that followed, received comprehensive coverage in both the newspapers and news-sheets.[48] Indeed, these publications were not solely concerned with military or naval engagements. Diplomatic activity was covered in immense detail, including major and minor negotiations, the movements of envoys and ambassadors, and speculation over strategies that would be pursued by the belligerents in the war.[49] For example, a news-sheet dated 16 February 1708 asserted that Louis XIV was holding meetings with his generals in Paris and that he planned to act offensively in the Netherlands and Spain but 'stand on the defensive

[45] D. B. Rees, 'Lloyd, Edward (Fl. 1703–1736)', *ODNB*; Robert Munter, *Dictionary of the Print Trade in Ireland, 1550–1775* (New York, 1988), 82.

[46] *An Account of the Landing in Spain of the Forces under the Command of His Grace the Duke of Ormond* (Dublin, 1702).

[47] *An Express from the Duke of Marleborough with an Account of the Taking of Huy* ([Dublin?], 1703).

[48] *The Order of Battle of the Confederate Army at the Camp of Meldert, June 26th, 1707.n.s.* (Dublin, 1707).

[49] See also Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1987), 155–66.

in other Parts' during the forthcoming campaign.[50] Detailed accounts of preparations being made in advance of the campaigning season or particular engagements were also provided to news readers. For example, *An Express from the King of Portugal* in July 1703 explained that ships were being fitted in Lisbon and that 'Preparations for War are exceeding great, and we are Baking Bread for 40,000 Men; who are all to take the Field by the last of August'.[51] The minutiae of troop movements around Europe were also furnished to Irish readers, often through letters from participants in the various campaigns.[52] A few publications even offered maps and diagrams to assist the reader in visualising events overseas.[53] Although favour for the allies was evident in all of this reporting, allied losses were afforded coverage alongside their victories. For this reason, it is difficult to imagine that these publications would fail to appeal to those Catholics in Ireland who hoped for news of French successes and ultimately a Jacobite restoration.

Like their predecessors of the 1680s and 1690s, the copy of all of the Irish newspapers and news-sheets relied heavily on publications originating in Britain.[54] Munter noted that the arrival of the packet boats from Great Britain dictated the publication schedule of Irish newspaper ventures at this time, and it was the 'freshness' of news that gave Irish newspaper proprietors a competitive edge in an increasingly crowded market.[55] For instance, when advertising a new title in June 1708, Stephen Powell and Dickson claimed that they had set up a press specifically dedicated to printing news 'soon after the Arrival of any British Pacquet' and had 'Provided a sufficient number of Hands for the dispatch of the same'.[56] Although Irish newspaper proprietors relied heavily on material originally published elsewhere for copy, they did exercise

[50] *Dublin, February 16th, 1708/7. This Day Arrived Three Packets from Great-Britain, Which Brought 3 Oftend and 4 Holland Mails* (Dublin, 1708).

[51] *An Express from the King of Portugal Giving an Account of the Arrival of the English and Dutch Fleet* [Dublin, 1703].

[52] *Dublin, September 7th, 1708. This Morning a Ship Arriv'd in 18 Hours from Whitehaven* (Dublin, 1708).

[53] *The Order of Battle of the Confederate Army at the Camp of Meldert, June 26th, 1707.n.s.*; *Tour[nay] a Strong Town in the Netherlands* ([Dublin], 1709).

[54] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 117.

[55] Munter, 76–77.

[56] *Flying Post*, 28 June 1708.

some control over content by selecting reports that they wished to reprint, and excluding material deemed irrelevant or controversial.[57] Local sources of information were also used at times; for instance, news from Lisbon that 3,000 troops under the command of the duke of Anjou had been killed in battle in June 1707 was relayed from Portugal to Ireland via a merchant ship bound for Cork before being reported to the Dublin press.[58] From time to time, these publications also captured the impact of the greater European war on the kingdom. In May 1707, an express from Ross gave an account of the arrival of a French privateer with about a hundred men, mostly Irish and Scottish, on board. Eighty men had disembarked and plundered the town of 'Feather'.[59] It was asserted that some of the 'Irish-Papists' had assisted the plunderers; that no damage had been done to the 'Romans Houses'; and that some of the Irish residents had even left with the ship.[60] A few months later, another news-sheet reported that the Holyhead packet boat had probably been taken by a French privateer. The news was based on accounts from passengers arriving on 'the Yatch' who had seen the packet boat being chased by a small ship.[61] The examples provided here are not exhaustive but serve to demonstrate the tangible effect that the war in Europe continued to have on Ireland.

While the 'freshness' of news was a selling point for the Irish newspapers, the accuracy of the information contained therein also appears to have been important to consumers of print. Squabbling between the Irish newspaper proprietors about the veracity of certain stories was evident at times. For instance, Dickson published a notice in his *Dublin Intelligence* of 3 May 1709 asserting that Waters had been responsible for publishing 'a Sham and Lying Paper' under the title 'The Postscript', which had reported the burning of Wicklow by '600 Men landed from on board 2 French men of War'. Dickson used the opportunity to attack Waters, describing him as 'a late Protestant Printer to the Pretender' and a few days later followed up with a report that the printer Edward Lloyd

[57] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 117.

[58] *An Express from Lisbon. Brought by a Merchant Ship to Cork* (Dublin, 1707).

[59] Probably Fethard in Co. Wexford.

[60] *An Express from Ross Giving an Account of a French Privateer That Landed 80 Men* (Dublin, 1707).

[61] *Messengers That Came over Yesterday in the Yatch* (Dublin, 1707) [n.p.].

had been indicted for producing the 'sham Postscript'.[62] While the falsity of a report on the burning of Wicklow might have been of particular interest to Irish readers, the newspaper proprietors also highlighted inaccuracies relevant to events much further away from home. For instance, in 1712, Dickson complained that Pue had accused him of turning '700 horse belonging to [James Butler, duke of] Ormonde into 600 Imperial horse' in one of his newspapers. Wondering whether it was 'Impudence, Ignorance, or Malice' that had led Pue to make such a 'Foolish' remark, Dickson defended himself by appealing to 'all Gentlemen and others that has perus'd the English Prints', asking them to confirm for themselves whether or not the paragraph in question had been inserted 'Verbatim, as it came from England, without any Addition or Reflection', and pointing out that the same news had been mentioned in 'some of the London Manuscripts of the same date'.[63] While such bickering about the accuracy of certain news items, as well as rather gleeful accounts of legal proceedings being taken against rival publishers for sedition or circulating false news, did feature in the Irish papers from time to time, this kind of editorial commentary remained the exception throughout the period.

Shifting Focus

European news continued to make up the bulk of the copy of the newspapers throughout Queen Anne's reign, but news from Great Britain and Ireland came to feature more regularly, and in more detail, as time went by. In terms of domestic news, sensational events occasionally received a mention. For instance, in July 1710 the *Weekly Dublin Intelligence* reported that an upholsterer and his companion 'were kill'd in the County of Catherlough by a Thunder-bolt', and in April 1711 the same publication reported that eight women at the Carrickfergus Assize had been accused of bewitching a 'young Gentlewoman'.[64] By and large, these kinds of reports remained rare throughout the period. In contrast, an increasing amount of information about the activities of the government, parliament and other state institutions was becoming evident in Irish newspapers. For instance, official notices, proclamations

[62] *Dublin Intelligence*, 7 May 1709.

[63] *Dublin Intelligence*, 19 July 1712.

[64] *Weekly Dublin Intelligence*, 29 July 1710.

or addresses to the monarch from Irish petitioners were summarised or reprinted in full. More information about the proceedings of the Irish parliament was also provided in Irish periodicals as Queen Anne's reign progressed. For instance, addresses made by the Lords, Commons, convocation or the City of Dublin were often summarised or reprinted in full. By the middle of Queen Anne's reign, some newspaper proprietors even began to provide details of proceedings in the Irish parliament, most notably Pue and Dickson. Through reports from London, the periodical press also conveyed details of rumours and news regarding the progress of Irish heads of bills submitted to the English privy council for approval according to Poynings's Law procedure. For instance, in August 1704 the *Flying Post* reported that 'We have an Account from London that most of the Bills prepared by our Parliament were agreed to, but that the Bill for the Encouragement of Tillage in this Kingdom, and the Bill, to Prevent the Ingrossing and Monopolizing of Coals Imported into the Port or City of Dublin, were Thrown out'.[65]

Of course, decisions regarding appointments to the Irish executive were also made in London at this time. This meant that Irish newspaper proprietors were able to provide details of these appointments via letters from London, Whitehall and St James's. For instance, the *Flying Post* of 11 February 1704 reported 'On Thursday last the Queen was graciously pleased to declare the duke of Ormond for his great and signal Service Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom of Ireland, and his Grace kissed her Majesty's Hand for the same'.[66] Sometimes further snippets of information regarding vice regal appointments were reported. For instance, after Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was appointed as lord lieutenant on 30 April 1707, the *Flying Post* provided several updates on his plans to travel to Ireland.[67] The pageantry surrounding the arrival of new vice regal appointees to Ireland, typically involving a procession to meet the arriving dignitary and escort them back to the capital, also received attention.[68] For instance, having already reported on Thomas, Lord Wharton's appointment as lord lieutenant in November 1708, Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* provided details of preparations under way for his

[65] *Flying Post*, 4 Aug. 1704.

[66] *Flying Post*, 11 Feb. 1704.

[67] *Flying Post*, 21 May 1708.

[68] *Dublin Intelligence*, 7 July 1711.

arrival in Ireland, specifically the sending of 'several Pieces of Cannon […] to Rings-End and Lazey-Hill (as is usual) to fire on the Arrival of our Lord Lieutenant'. The reception that Wharton received once he had arrived in the kingdom 'by the Standing Army, and our Militiea, &c. as is usual on such Occasions' was also covered.[69]

These appointments to Irish offices were typically reported alongside news and rumours of other ministerial changes in London. As a result, the increasing amount of copy dedicated to British political developments in Irish newspapers over the course of Queen Anne's reign served to provide readers with more insight than ever before into the wider political context in which appointments to the Irish executive were made. Of course, the changing composition of Queen Anne's ministries reflected the growing partisan divide in English society. Like William III before her, Queen Anne sought to keep her ministry above the influence of the leaders of either party. In the early years of her reign she relied on her leading ministers and old friends, the lord treasurer, Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, and the captain-general of her armies, the duke of Marlborough, to help achieve this end. However, the queen's aspiration for mixed ministries jarred with political realities at a time when party identities were hardening. Her first attempts to form a non-party ministry had ultimately led to the exclusion of the whig Junto lords who had dominated the English executive from 1693.[70] However, by 1704, tory opposition to the foreign and religious policies advocated by the queen and her close advisors saw a number of prominent tory office-holders removed from office. Thereafter, Godolphin and Marlborough found it increasingly necessary to court the support of the whigs due to their unequivocal enthusiasm for the war, their command of the Commons, and their support for the Anglo-Scottish Union.[71] While the whigs briefly gained the upper hand from 1708 to 1709, a firmly tory ministry was in place during the last years of the queen's reign. Although the succinct reports of ministerial changes in the Irish newspapers did not elucidate the political significance of particular appointments or removals, they did serve to convey to Irish readers the basic information necessary

[69] *Dublin Intelligence*, 30 Nov. 1708, 25 Apr. 1709, 3 May 1710, 9 May 1709.

[70] F. Watson, *Daniel Defoe* (London, 1952), 102.

[71] J. H. Plumb, 'The Organisation of the Cabinet in the Reign of Queen Anne', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th, no. 7 (1957): 324; R. A. Sundstrom, 'Godolphin, Sidney, First Earl of Godolphin (1645–1712)', *ODNB*.

to understand the shifting balance of power between the parties in the British ministry.

Irish news publications also came to offer more coverage of other political developments in Britain, again serving to provide some insight, albeit limited, into escalating political divisions there. For instance, in late December 1707, William Greg, one of the clerks employed by Robert Harley, speaker of the Commons and secretary of state, was arrested for selling state papers to the French. Greg was subsequently convicted of high treason, damaging Harley's standing and ultimately leading to his resignation.[72] The news that Harley's clerk had been 'Examined Three times by a Committee of Council, and was committed to Newgate' had been reported in the *Dublin Intelligence* in early January 1708 and thereafter the case was followed closely by the Irish papers.[73] Indeed, by the end of February 1708, the archbishop of Dublin, William King, observed that 'the great cry' in Dublin was 'that this was H[arle]y's plott'.[74] Although the newspapers did not spell out the significance of Harley's resignation, as a moderate tory and committed advocate of non-party government, the Greg affair was beneficial to the British whigs.[75] So too was detailed news coverage, evident shortly thereafter, of a Jacobite invasion attempt. Having attained pledges of Scottish Jacobite support in 1707, the French court had agreed to support a plan that would see thirty ships sail from Dunkirk along the eastern coast of Scotland to the Firth of Forth. The expedition was to be led by Claude, comte de Forbin, while James Edward Stuart, 'the Pretender', would participate in it. The French flotilla departed Dunkirk on 23 March 1708, but by then the British government had received intelligence regarding the planned invasion and had plenty of time to round up suspected Jacobites in Scotland. Without their support, Forbin had refused to land in Scotland and insisted that the flotilla

[72] Geoffrey Holmes and W. A. Speck, 'The Fall of Harley in 1708 Reconsidered', *English Historical Review* 80, no. 317 (1965): 673, 680; Clayton Roberts, 'The Fall of the Godolphin Ministry', *Journal of British Studies* 22, no. 1 (1982): 72.

[73] *Dublin Intelligence*, 6 Jan. 1708; *Flying Post*, 4 May 1708.

[74] William King to Jonathan Swift, 28 Feb. 1708, in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. David Woolley, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 180.

[75] Holmes, *British Politics*, 346.

return to Dunkirk.[76] Irish newspapers and expresses conveyed information regarding arrests made in Scotland whilst also providing details of sightings of the French fleet as it had approached, and later retreated from, its intended destination.[77] Irish Catholic delight at the prospect of a Jacobite invasion of Scotland was also evident in the press: in late April 1708 it was reported that a *Te Deum* had been sung and 'great Rejoycings' had been made in Limerick for the success of the Pretender in his expedition.[78] Irish Protestant reaction to the plot was also captured in the newspapers. For instance, the *Flying Post* of 15 April 1708 carried an address from the City of Dublin to the queen assuring her that news of the intended invasion had kindled in them 'the firmest Zeal' to assert her title to the crown against all of her enemies, and further expressing their willingness to expend their fortunes and expose their lives to resist the 'Popish Pretender and his Abettors'.[79] Of course, fears surrounding the attempted Jacobite invasion of Scotland, and French espionage at the heart of the British ministry, contributed to the decisive whig victory in the wake of the first British general election of 1708.[80] These developments, so closely followed in the Irish papers, provided the context for the rumours and reports of ministerial changes in favour of the whigs, and the news of Wharton's appointment as lord lieutenant of Ireland in December 1708.

The subsequent downfall of the whig ministry was also followed closely in the Irish news periodicals. On 5 November 1709 the high-church cleric Dr Henry Sacheverell delivered a furious sermon at St Paul's Cathedral in London warning of the perils posed by dissenters, latitudinarians and all those who did not adhere to the principles of divine right and passive resistance. The controversial sermon had quickly become a bestseller in England, achieving eleven editions within a few

[76] Edward Gregg, 'France, Rome and the Exiled Stuarts, 1689–1714', in *A Court in Exile, the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*, ed. Edward Corp (Cambridge, 2004), 64.

[77] For example, *An Express, Arriv'd Yesterday from Donaghadee, Dated March 26* (Dublin, 1708); *Edinburgh March 25th. This Day the Following Express Came to a Gentleman Here* ([Dublin?], 1708).

[78] *Dublin Intelligence*, 27 Apr. 1708.

[79] *Flying Post*, 15 Apr. 1708.

[80] H. L. Snyder, 'Queen Anne versus the Junto: The Effort to Place Orford at the Head of the Admiralty in 1709', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (1972): 326; Elizabeth Hamilton, *The Backstairs Dragon: A Life of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford* (London, 1969), 130–31.

months. By mid-December, a committee of the whig-dominated House of Commons had been appointed to draw up articles of impeachment against the cleric but this initiative backfired as the preacher gained widespread sympathy in Britain against the backdrop of growing hostility to the War of Spanish Succession.[81] This 'popular Toryism' was probably best manifested in the riots that swept London on the night before the prosecution presented its case.[82] Reports on all of these proceedings were evident in the Irish press from at least December 1709. Over time, the space dedicated to coverage of the Sacheverell affair increased, an indication that the story was proving popular with Irish newspaper readers.[83]

In the wake of the Sacheverell trial, the queen had seized the opportunity to regain control of her cabinet from the whigs.[84] On 19 July, the *Flying Post* reported that Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland had resigned as secretary of state and that 'several other Alterations in the Ministry, and in Offices Civil and Military', were to be made but were 'not yet declar'd'.[85] By mid-August the Irish press reported that Godolphin had 'resign'd his Staff' and further ministerial changes were afoot.[86] These events had facilitated the return of Robert Harley to government. He was appointed chancellor of the exchequer and was elevated to the peerage as Earl of Oxford in May, thereby securing his position as the queen's leading minister.[87] The political significance of all of these ministerial appointments and removals was never explained to readers. However, other snippets of news provided some limited insight into the nature of partisan tensions in Britain. For instance, the *Dublin Intelligence* carried reports of the 'outragious', 'scandalous and rascally' behaviour of the mob in London during the 1710 British general

[81] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London*, vol. 72, 1976, 60.

[82] Holmes, 72:55, 61–67; Lee Horsley, 'Vox Populi in the Political Literature of 1710', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 38 (1975): 335.

[83] *Dublin Intelligence*, 24 Dec. 1709; Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 123.

[84] A. D. MacLachlan, 'The Road to Peace 1710–1713', in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes (London, 1989), 197.

[85] *Flying Post*, 19 July 1710.

[86] *Dublin Intelligence*, 15 Aug. 1710.

[87] Holmes, *British Politics*, 346.

election.[88] By explaining that those involved were 'so insolent as to beat off the Constables that came to disperse them with Firebrands from their Bonfires, Clubbs, &c. Damming the Low Church and Dissenters, and Crying up Sacheverell and High Church all the while', some sense of the political inclinations of this 'mob' and the issues that animated them were conveyed to readers.[89]

Of course, it is well established in secondary literature on the subject of the Irish print trade that Francis Dickson, the proprietor of the *Dublin Intelligence*, in which this report about a tory 'mob' had appeared, was a whig partisan. John Whalley, proprietor of *Whalley's News-Letter*, was another notorious whig printer operating in Dublin. Meanwhile, Cornelius Carter, Richard Pue, Edward Waters and Edward Lloyd were all tory partisans and had particularly flourished between 1711 and 1713 when the tories were in the ascendant in both Britain and Ireland, although the nature of their relationship with the Irish government at this time is not clear.[90] While the partisan sympathies of certain Irish newspaper proprietors were apparent when their overall print output is considered, such sympathies were not clearly, or at least consistently, apparent in their newspapers. In the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, a subtle bias in favour of one party or the other came to be evident in reports on certain topics at times, but overt expressions of partisan sentiment or attempts to persuade readers of the merits of one party or the other were largely absent. Of course, rivalries between the newspaper proprietors escalated in the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, most notably between Carter and Whalley. For example, in one 1714 publication, Carter had described Whalley as 'A Tool, a Cobler, a Senseless Hackney Scribe, Who Sedition Belloweth thro' his Cursed Hide' and Whalley had responded in his newspaper by calling Carter a 'Jacobite Toole'.[91] However, these outbursts tended to relate to professional and personal rivalries between the printers, rather than reports on political developments. All of the Irish newspaper proprietors endeavoured to maintain a veneer of partiality in their periodical output, although by 1714 Andrew Welsh and Thomas Cotton clearly felt there was a gap in the market for impartial news when

[88] *Dublin Intelligence,* 21 Oct. 1710, 24 Oct. 1710.

[89] *Dublin Intelligence*, 24 Oct. 1710.

[90] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 126.

[91] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 4 Sept. 1714.

they launched their bi-weekly *Impartial and Historical Weekly Mercury*. They reassured potential consumers that they were 'no Party-Men' and aimed to cater for 'all People that are desirous and Curious in having the Choice and Best Collection of News that is stirling'.[92] With only one issue of this title extant however, it seems reasonable to conclude the venture was not very successful.

By the last years of Queen Anne's reign, up to nineteen newspaper titles were evident in Ireland. Although eight of those titles appear to have been short-lived ventures, the others were sufficient to provide detailed coverage of a wide range of developments in Britain and Europe. Information pertinent to the escalating party divide in Britain was conveyed to Irish readers through numerous reports on divisive issues, such as the British House of Commons investigation into the conduct of the duke of Marlborough as commander-general during the war, diplomatic activity leading to the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht in April 1713, Oxford's struggle to maintain control of the tories in the British House of Commons, Queen Anne's deteriorating health from late 1713, and the resulting unrest and uncertainty surrounding the succession in Great Britain. By and large, however, commentary and opinion on these issues remained absent in Irish news periodicals.

Overall, the 1690s had been a period of slow and, at times, unsteady expansion for the Irish news press. Despite the absence of regularly published newspapers after 1693, news-sheets had served to provide patchy coverage of the European war and, less frequently, details of developments in Britain and Ireland. However, with the revival of the newspaper press in the late 1690s, news production in Ireland became reliable and regular, with titles such as the *Dublin Gazette*, *Dublin Intelligence* and *Flying Post* becoming eighteenth century staples. Due to the rapid expansion of the press from the turn of the century, far more material relevant to European affairs was published in Ireland throughout Anne's reign than had been available during that of her predecessor. However, in terms of communicating ideas about politics and political parties to Irish audiences, the most significant new departure was the steady increase in news pertaining to British political developments. This meant that Irish news publications were able to provide their readers with the

[92] *Impartial and Historical Weekly Mercury*, 29 May 1714.

information necessary to keep abreast of major political developments in Britain, which in turn provided important insight into the wider political context in which appointments to the Irish executive took place. Domestic political news did not feature regularly, and when it did appear, it was generally confined to a few brief sentences at the end of a newspaper issue. By 1709–1710 this situation had changed somewhat and snippets of information about Irish parliamentary affairs were provided on a more frequent basis.

While some sense of the nature of political divisions in Britain and Ireland could be gleaned from Irish newspapers at times, by and large, reporting on all matters was succinct, matter-of-fact, and largely devoid of both commentary and opinion. Considered in isolation then, these publications appear to have played a limited role in communicating partisan ideas to Irish readers, or persuading them to support one political party or the other. Indeed, despite the increasing number of newspaper titles in circulation at this time, these publications very rarely attracted negative attention from the authorities due to their innocuous content. However, news publications did not exist in a vacuum. The increasing numbers of pamphlets, broadsides and other forms of cheap print produced in Ireland over the course of the 1690s and Queen Anne's reign, provided Irish readers with much deeper insight into European, British and even Irish political developments.

References

A Letter from a Gentleman in Ardmagh, to His Friend in Dublin, Giving an Account of the Rapparees That Kill'd Capt. Groves. Dublin, [1697].

A Letter from Kinsale to a Gentleman in Dublin. Dublin, 1696.

A Particular and Full Account of the Routing the Whole Irish Army at Aghrim, upon Sunday the 12th of July, 1691. Dublin, 1691.

A Relation of the Battel of Landen. Dublin, 1695.

A True Narrative of the Prodigious Storm of Wind. Dublin, 1697.

An Account of the Landing in Spain of the Forces under the Command of His Grace the Duke of Ormond. Dublin, 1702.

An Account of the Present, Miserable, State of Affairs in Ireland. London, 1689.

An Account of the Siege of Ciclut. Dublin, 1694.

An Account of the Signal Victory Obtained by Their Majesties and the Dutch Fleet against the French. Dublin, 1692.

An Account of the Taking of the Fort of Ballymore […] on Monday the 8th Day of June, 1691. Dublin, 1691.
An Express from Lisbon. Brought by a Merchant Ship to Cork. Dublin, 1707.
An Express from Ross Giving an Account of a French Privateer That Landed 80 Men. Dublin, 1707.
An Express from the Duke of Marleborough with an Account of the Taking of Huy. [Dublin?], 1703.
An Express from the King of Portugal Giving an Account of the Arrival of the English and Dutch Fleet. [Dublin, 1703].
An Express, Arriv'd Yesterday from Donaghadee, Dated March 26. Dublin, 1708.
Black, Jeremy. *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. Abingdon, 2011.
Brown, Michael. *The Irish Enlightenment*. Cambridge, 2016.
Chalmont, Marquis de St. Ruth, C. *Speech to the Irish Army*. Edinburgh, 1691.
Cogswell, Thomas. 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s'. *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1990): 187–215.
Cooper, T. 'Foy, Nathaniel (1648–1707)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
Cust, Richard. 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England'. *Past & Present* 112, no. 1 (1986): 60–90.
Dickson, David. *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630–1830*. Cork, 2005.
Dublin Intelligence.
Dublin, February 16th, 1708/7. This Day Arrived Three Packets from Great-Britain, Which Brought 3 Oftend and 4 Holland Mails. Dublin, 1708.
Dublin, September 7th, 1708. This Morning a Ship Arriv'd in 18 Hours from Whitehaven. Dublin, 1708.
Dublin-Castle.
Dunton, John. *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London*. London, 1818.
Edinburgh March 25th. This Day the Following Express Came to a Gentleman Here. [Dublin?], 1708.
Flying Post.
Gilbert, J. T., ed. *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*. Vol. VI. 19 vols, 1889.
Gillespie, Raymond, and Andrew Hadfield, eds. *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*. Oxford, 2006.
Gillespie, Raymond. *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland*. Manchester, 2005.
Gregg, Edward. 'France, Rome and the Exiled Stuarts, 1689–1714'. In *A Court in Exile, the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*, edited by Edward Corp. Cambridge, 2004.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. *The Backstairs Dragon: A Life of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford*. London, 1969.
Harris, Michael. 'London Newspapers'. In *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by Michael Suarez and Michael Turner, 413–33. Cambridge, 2009.
Hattendorf, J. B. 'Churchill, John, First Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
Holmes, Geoffrey, and W. A. Speck. 'The Fall of Harley in 1708 Reconsidered'. *English Historical Review* 80, no. 317 (1965): 137–57.
Holmes, Geoffrey. *British Politics in the Age of Anne*. 2nd ed. London, 1987.
———. *The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London*. Vol. 72, 1976.
Horsley, Lee. 'Vox Populi in the Political Literature of 1710'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 38 (1975): 335–53.
Impartial and Historical Weekly Mercury.
Irwin, L. 'Sarsfield, Patrick, 1st Earl of Lucan'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
Kennedy, Máire. 'Eighteenth-Century Newspaper Publishing in Munster and South Leinster'. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 103 (1998).
King, William. *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the Late King James's Government*. London, 1691.
Knights, Mark. *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture*. Oxford, 2006.
Levy, F. J. 'How Information Spread among the Gentry, 1550–1640'. *Journal of British Studies* 21, no. 2 (1982): 11–34.
MacLachlan, A. D. 'The Road to Peace 1710–13'. In *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, edited by Geoffrey Holmes, 197–215. London, 1989.
Madden, R. R. *The History of Irish Periodical Literature, from the End of the 17th to the Middle of the 19th Century*. Vol. I. 2 vols. London, 1867.
Maynard, H. 'Butler, Sir Theobald (Toby)'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
McGrath, C. I. 'Securing the Protestant Interest: The Origins and Purpose of the Penal Laws of 1695'. *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996): 25–46.
Messengers That Came over Yesterday in the Yatch. Dublin, 1707.
Miller, John. *The Glorious Revolution* (Seminar Studies in History). 2nd ed. London, 1997.
Munter, Robert, *A Hand-list of Irish Newspapers, 1685–1750*. London, 1690.
———. *History of the Irish Newspaper*. Cambridge, 1967.
Munter, Robert. *Dictionary of the Print Trade in Ireland, 1550–1775*. New York, 1988.
Murphy, Seán. '300 Years of Irish Gazetteering'. *History Ireland*, 2006.
News-Letter.
Ohlmeyer, Jane. 'Society: The Changing Role of Print—Ireland (to 1660)'. In *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol. I. Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, edited by Joad Raymond. Oxford, 2011.

Peacey, Jason. 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800'. *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 1 (2007): 1–16.
Pettegree, Andrew. *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself*. New Haven, 2014.
Phillips, J. W. *Printing and Bookselling in Dublin: A Bibliographical Enquiry*. Dublin, 1998.
Plumb, J. H. 'The Organisation of the Cabinet in the Reign of Queen Anne'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th, no. 7 (1957): 137–57.
Pollard, Mary. *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin*. London, 2000.
Raymond, Joad. 'Newspapers: A National or International Phenomenon?' *Media History* 18, no. 3–4 (2012): 249–57.
———. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge, 2006.
Rees, D. B. 'Lloyd, Edward (Fl. 1703–1736)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
Roberts, Clayton. 'The Fall of the Godolphin Ministry'. *Journal of British Studies* 22, no. 1 (1982): 71–93.
Snyder, H. L. 'Queen Anne versus the Junto: The Effort to Place Orford at the Head of the Admiralty in 1709'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (1972): 323–42.
Sundstrom, R. A. 'Godolphin, Sidney, First Earl of Godolphin (1645–1712)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
The Abhorrence, or, Protestant Observations in Dublin. Dublin, 1690.
The Dismal Ruine of Athlone, Giving an Account of Strange and Wonderful Showers of Fire and Rain That Fell upon It, and Also of the Slain and Wounded. Dublin, 1697.
The Order of Battle of the Confederate Army at the Camp of Meldert, June 26th, 1707.n.s. Dublin, 1707.
Tour[nay] a Strong Town in the Netherlands. (Dublin), 1709.
Watson, F. *Daniel Defoe*. London, 1952.
Weekly Dublin Intelligence.
Whalley's News-Letter.
Wood, Cornelius. *A Letter from Major Wood, Giving an Account of the Action near Castle-Cuffe; the Fourth of May, 1691*. Dublin, 1691.
Woolley, David, ed. *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D*. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1999.

CHAPTER 3

Commentary and Opinion

This chapter will consider the wide variety of publications produced in Ireland during the period 1689–1714 that offered readers commentary and opinion on topical developments. In terms of the format of publications to be considered here, it is well established that the pamphlet was *the* primary vehicle for political opinion and controversy throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century; however, other forms of cheap print, notably broadside ballads, songs and poems, and, perhaps surprisingly, official publications (such as parliamentary speeches, or treaties of war or peace) all played a role in conveying ideas of a political nature to readers. Most of these publications focussed on events overseas, largely because the majority of them were reprints of material originating outside of Ireland. Indeed, during the period 1689–1714, a sizeable proportion of all titles produced in Ireland, at least 20% of overall print output, were reprints of British publications. These reprints were often identified as such on their title page with a formula of words such as 'London printed, and reprinted in Dublin by' or 'Dublin reprinted by'.[1]

[1]An ESTC search for all Irish publications containing the term 'reprinted' for the period 1689–1714 suggests that 519/2672 or 19% of all titles produced were reprints. However, this is a very crude measure and the actual number of reprinted publications is a good deal higher. It is also notable that the proportion of material reprinted in Ireland rose over time, from 11% from 1689–1700, to 19% for 1701–1710, to 28% for the period 1711–1714.

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_3

The large proportion of reprinted publications produced in eighteenth-century Ireland has sometimes been interpreted as a symptom of the conservatism, pusillanimity, or even 'commercial hard headedness' of Irish publishers.[2] Rather than taking risks publishing new titles, it has been argued that they limited themselves to the production of material that had already been commercially successful elsewhere and was therefore likely to be profitable. Of course, this strategy was not unique to Irish publishers. The reprinting of titles for which there was proven demand was a common way for printers in Britain and elsewhere to 'maximize profits while minimizing risk'.[3] Such was the extent of the practice in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Britain that a copyright act was introduced in 1710.[4] No such legislation was introduced to Ireland and the country's printers remained free to reprint whatever they wished throughout the eighteenth century.[5] This may have had some benefits for Irish publishers, in some cases allowing them to reprint publications for export with a view to undercutting their British competitors.[6] However, as Mary Pollard has noted, the situation also had some significant drawbacks, not least that ownership of literary property in Ireland was not recognised. It is also notable that the export of reprinted copyrighted publications to Britain was implicitly prohibited after 1710, and from 1739 explicitly banned. As a result, the legitimate Irish export trade in books to Great Britain during the period under consideration here was 'barely perceptible' and limited to material that had originally been published in Ireland.[7] The illegitimate export trade cannot be accounted for but Pollard concluded that 'smuggling was certainly not

[2] See T. C. Barnard, *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784* (Dublin, 2017), 699.

[3] T. F. Bonnell, 'The Reprint Trade', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. M. F. Suarez (Cambridge, 2009), 699.

[4] Andrew Murphy, 'The History of the Book in Britain, c.1475–1800', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. M. F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen (Oxford, 2010).

[5] Bonnell, 'The Reprint Trade', 231–32.

[6] See Colm Lennon, 'The Print Trade, 1700–1800', in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*, ed. Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (Oxford, 2006), 77; Barnard, *Brought to Book*, 364.

[7] Mary Pollard, *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800* (Oxford, 1989), 67.

profitable enough' to supplant the importance of the domestic market for reprints to Irish publishers.[8]

Although the argument that reprint production was attributable to the cautious nature of Irish publishers may well have some merit when considering the eighteenth-century book trade in isolation, the vast majority of reprinted publications produced in Ireland during the period under consideration here were not books, but various forms of 'cheap print' such as pamphlets or broadsides. Most of these publications were concerned with topical developments so, much like the newspapers, the timely circulation of this material would have been an important factor in its appeal to readers. As a result, it is most likely that this material was aimed, in the first instance, at the domestic market. Furthermore, publishing any information whatsoever, particularly commentary and opinion on political matters, left publishers vulnerable to charges of sedition or breach of privilege from state authorities. Therefore, the decision to reprint pamphlets and other forms of cheap print addressing political concerns should not be regarded as evidence of Irish publishers' risk-averse nature, but rather the opposite.

By considering the content of various forms of cheap print offering commentary on political developments during the 1690s, the first section of this chapter will demonstrate that Irish publishers may well be characterised as cautious or risk-averse at that time. From the turn of the century, however, Irish publishers proved themselves increasingly willing to take the risks necessary to develop and cater for a growing market for political print in Ireland. This was particularly evident in the production of increasing numbers of reprinted titles offering conflicting views on British political developments. Of course, this body of material is also crucial to understanding one of the most important ways in which information and ideas about the whig and tory party divide in Britain were communicated to Irish readers.

Experimentation

During the 1690s relatively few publications offering commentary and opinion on topical affairs were produced in Ireland. In those publications that do survive, developments surrounding the 1688–1689 Revolution and William III's ongoing war in Europe featured heavily in terms of

[8] Pollard, 67–109, esp. 87.

content. For instance, at the outset of the decade, several reprints of British publications are extant, offering commentary on the 'Ailesbury Plot' (1691–1692), a conspiracy instigated by John Drummond, Earl of Melfont, James's secretary of state at St Germain, and co-ordinated in England by Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, to bring about a Jacobite invasion of England supported by Louis XIV.[9] Although dealing with topical matters, these publications served to provide Irish readers with a glimpse of the more extensive debate on the nature of the 1688–1689 Revolution and legitimacy of the Williamite regime then under way in the British press. Irish reprints reflecting on the Ailesbury Plot had included *The Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers*, a pamphlet written by the prominent Church of England clergyman William Sherlock.[10] In this publication, Sherlock sought to win over readers who might have considered supporting James II's invasion attempt by arguing that God had set William III upon the throne by conquest and consent. Another reprinted response to the plot, written by the Anglican clergyman William Lloyd, demonstrated a similar concern to convince readers of the legitimacy of the Williamite regime. In this case, the Revolution was justified on the basis that James II had left his subjects 'in Anarchy' and they had been left with no choice but to offer the throne to the Prince of Orange.[11] A conflicting interpretation of those events, written by the whig cleric Samuel Johnson, was evident in another 1692 reprint. Johnson argued that 'all Civil Power is originally in the People' and that James II had been dethroned by his subjects in accordance with the laws and constitution of the kingdom.[12]

[9] Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788* (Manchester, 1994), 55.

[10] W. E. Burns, 'Sherlock, William (1639/40–1707)', *ODNB*.

[11] William Lloyd, *The Pretences of the French Invasion Examined; for the Information of the People of Great Britain and Ireland. May 25. 1692. Let This Be Printed, Nottingham* (Dublin, 1692), 4; See also John Miller, 'The Glorious Revolution: "Contract" and "Abdication" Reconsidered', *Historical Journal* 25 (1982): 541–55; Thomas P. Slaughter, '"Abdicate" and "Contract" in the Glorious Revolution', *The Historical Journal* 24, no. 2 (1981): 323–37; J. P. Kenyon, 'The Revolution of 1688: Resistance and Contract', in *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb*, ed. Neil McKendrick (London, 1974), 43–69; Michael Mullett, 'Lloyd, William (1627–1717)', *ODNB*.

[12] Samuel Johnson, *An Argument Proving, That the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Regal Throne […] Was According to the Constitution of the English Government, and Prescribed by It* (Dublin, 1692), 16, 58.

Irish publishers appear to have been conscious that printed material offering controversial ideas and opinions about the nature of the 1688–1689 Revolution was likely to invite negative attention from state authorities. A number of different strategies to avoid censure were pursued as a result. For the most part, publishers simply refrained from producing controversial titles. For example, while Sherlock's *Case* had raised a storm of debate in England, it is notable that none of the published responses to it were reprinted in Dublin.[13] Johnson's 'contractual' interpretation of the Revolution had also proven controversial and it is notable that its Irish printer, Joseph Ray, had used a false London imprint for his edition of the title, a strong indication that he feared reprisal for the publication.[14] Similarly, a pamphlet written by John Humfrey in 1696, commenting on the failure of one-fifth of members of the English House of Commons to take an association affirming William III's sovereignty, was reprinted in Dublin anonymously.[15] Humfrey had argued that temporal rulers had certain powers granted to them by God, but powers that were not so granted, such as James II's use of his dispensing power during the 1680s, could be legitimately resisted. As such, the people could rise up 'not against the Government', but to restore the 'Powers that are of GOD'.[16]

Throughout the 1690s, developments in Europe continued to inspire the reprinting of publications that served to remind readers of the lingering Jacobite threat. For instance, one reprinted pamphlet was clearly aimed at readers who would welcome the news of the allied victories in the naval battles of Barfleur and La Hogue in May 1692. The *Hue and Cry after the Shatter'd French Fleet* celebrated these victories and reminded readers of the Jacobite threat on the Continent through a humorous address from a 'distressed' French man to English Jacobites

[13] C. F. Mullett, 'A Case of Allegiance: William Sherlock and the Revolution of 1688', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1946): 88.

[14] Johnson, *Argument*, 58; Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin* (London, 2000), 481.

[15] Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), 175.

[16] J. Humfrey, *The Association for King William Design'd* (Dublin, 1696).

bemoaning his involvement in their struggle.[17] The English Jacobites responded with empathy, expressing their own shock at their defeat, and their desire for violent revenge if 'all our *Pope-Land* Hopes and *Wafer-Cake* prove Dough'.[18] Other topical developments also inspired commentary in print. For example, by the winter of 1695–1696, another Jacobite plot to restore James II to the English throne was under way. By February 1696, an invasion force of 16,000 had assembled at Normandy and Brittany, but Louis XIV insisted that dispatch of this force was contingent on a general rebellion against William III in England. Hoping to instigate the necessary rebellion, a small body of men conspired to capture and kill the king in London. However, their plan to ambush William III at Turnham Green was discovered and they were rounded up and put on trial.[19] Andrew Crook was responsible for reprinting an account of the trial of three of the Jacobite conspirators, Robert Charnock, Edward King and Thomas Keys.[20] Copies of the last words of two other conspirators before their execution at the Old Bailey, acknowledging their loyalty to James II, were also reprinted in Dublin, along with one hostile response pointing out that the two men had shown no sorrow for their actions.[21] Not long thereafter, Crook was also responsible for reprinting a British response to an 'ill-written and ill-considered' manifesto that was published by James II shortly after the peace conference at Ryswick had opened in May 1697, calling on the Catholic princes of Europe to unite and restore him to his throne.[22] Crook's publication included the full text of James II's manifesto and a series of animadversions, written by an anonymous

[17] *An Hue and Cry after the Shatter'd French Fleet, with the Distress'd French-Mans Complaint against the English Jacobites* (Dublin, 1692).

[18] *Hue and Cry*, 1.

[19] Edward Gregg, 'France, Rome and the Exiled Stuarts, 1689–1714', in *A Court in Exile, the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*, ed. Edward Corp (Cambridge, 2004), 48; Jane Garrett, *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696* (Cambridge, 1980), 83–99.

[20] Robert Charnock, *The Tryals and Condemnation of Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keyes* (Dublin, 1695).

[21] *A True Copy of Papers Delivered by Sir John Friend, and Sir William Parkyns, to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, at Tyburn* (Dublin, 1696).

[22] Gregg, 'France, Rome and the Exiled Stuarts, 1689–1714', 51; *The Late King James's Manifesto Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph. Wherein the Weakness of His Reasons Is Plainly Demonstrated* (Dublin, 1697), 3.

British author, detailing examples of the late king's 'Treacherous designs against the Nation'.[23] By way of conclusion, the author commented that if James II's manifesto served any purpose, it would be to 'open the Eyes of our Protestant Jacobites, and convince them of the late King's ill designs against our Church and our Nation'.[24] When James II had subsequently issued a second manifesto, this time addressed to the Protestant princes of Europe, another critical response was reprinted in Dublin.[25]

Whereas developments in Europe, and various Jacobite plots, received a good deal of attention in Irish print output, little by way of commentary or opinion on political developments in England was published in Ireland throughout the 1690s. Notable exceptions included coverage of Queen Mary's death from smallpox on 28 December 1694, an event that had precipitated the production of a number of reprints lavishing praise on the late queen, amongst them poems by George Stepney, William Congreve and an essay by Gilbert Burnet.[26] Several reprinted sermons were also produced in Ireland, notably the funeral sermon preached by Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, emphasising the queen's wisdom, learning and piety, and mourning the sad loss of 'one who could Administer with the entire Confidence of all the People'.[27] Whereas some Jacobite pamphleteers in Britain at that time had framed the queen's death as a judgment from God, it is notable that no such sentiment was expressed in publications printed or reprinted in Ireland.[28] Indeed, material in any way critical of the Williamite regime had failed to manifest itself in domestically produced print throughout the 1690s, with the sole exception of *A Song. On His Majesties Birth-Day*, published in 1694 by the largely inactive Catholic printer William Weston, formerly printer to the Jacobite lord deputy of Ireland, Richard

[23] *King James's Manifesto Answer'd*, 23.

[24] *King James's Manifesto Answer'd*, 22.

[25] *The Late King James's Second Manifesto, Directed to the Protestant Princes, Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph* (Dublin, 1697).

[26] William Congreve, *The Mourning Muse of Alexis* (Dublin, 1694); Gilbert Burnet, *An Essay on the Memory of the Late Queen by Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum* (Dublin, 1695).

[27] *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of […] Queen Mary II* (Dublin, 1695); Thomas Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her Late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory* (Dublin, 1695).

[28] W. A. Speck, 'Mary II (1662–1694)', *ODNB*.

Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell.[29] Details of William III's struggle to maintain moderate, or mixed, ministries in the early years of his reign, his growing dependence on the whigs thereafter, and the resurgence of the tories from 1697, are all topics notable by their absence in the surviving record.

If Irish publishers had been cautious about producing political commentary and opinion during the 1690s, they grew much bolder at the turn of the century, as evident in a remarkable outpouring of reprinted publications related to the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession in 1701. Prominent amongst those publications were reprinted governmental or official documents originating in both Britain and Europe. Of course, material of this nature had been produced in Ireland in the preceding decades. To give just one example, John Brent, John Brocas and Stephen Powell (three printers who had all served their apprenticeships in London and whose business was described by the English bookseller John Dunton in 1698 as the 'top printing-house in all Dublin') reprinted the articles of the peace of Ryswick in 1697.[30] However, the quantity of reprinted official documents produced in Ireland in the run up to the War of Spanish Succession was simply unprecedented. These publications included copies of the treaties for the partition of Spain; copies of Carlos II's will; speeches and letters from Louis XIV and his envoys justifying the decision to uphold the duke of Anjou's claim to the Spanish throne and to proclaim James III as king of England; copies of the French declaration of war with England, Germany and Holland of 12 December 1701; and the articles of alliance later concluded between those states.[31] Yet more reprints of official publications took notice of

[29] Two editions are extant. *A Song. On His Majesties Birth-Day* (Dublin, 1694); D. Carney and John Abell, *A Song. On His Majesties Birth-Day* ([Dublin], 1694); See also, Pollard, *Dictionary*, 602–3.

[30] *Articles of Peace between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince William the Third, King of Great Britain, and the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Lewis the Fourteenth* (Dublin, 1697); John Dunton, *Dublin Scuffle*, ed. Andrew Carpenter (Dublin, 2000), 102.

[31] *Two Letters to a Friend Concerning the Partition Treaty* (Dublin, 1702); *The Late King of Spain[']s] Will, and the Treaty for the Partition of the Kingdom of Spain* (Dublin, 1700); Gabriel de Briord, *The French Ambassador's Speech to the States General of Holland* (Dublin, 1700); *The French King's Letter to the States of Holland* (Dublin, 1701); *The French King's Declaration Relating to a War* (Dublin, 1701); *Articles of Alliance, between the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and States-General, against France and Spain* (Dublin, 1702).

King William III's death in March 1702 and Queen Anne's coronation the following month.[32] The English declaration of war against France and Spain was issued from the court at St James's immediately after the coronation had taken place, and was reprinted for sale in Dublin by Francis Dickson and William Smith 'over against the Pellican on Wine-Tavern-Street'.[33] Whilst some of this material, notably the speeches and letters of prominent individuals involved in those developments, offered a range of interesting opinions and ideas to readers, it is hard to imagine that some of the other documents reproduced at this time, such as the articles of alliance, would have been particularly appealing to the reading public. Nonetheless, in many cases multiple editions of these documents were produced, indicating healthy demand for this kind of material.

Alongside these reprinted official documents, numerous reprinted pamphlets offering commentary and opinion on the merits of the partition treaties of 1698 and 1700, the wisdom of entering into international alliances, and strategies that England might pursue with regard to any future commitment on the continent, were also reprinted in Dublin.[34] Some of the most controversial titles produced at this time addressed the deaths of James II and William III. For instance, one London edition of John Tutchin's *The British Muse: Or Tyranny Expos'd* (sold by 'the Williamite book-sellers of London and Dublin, who are haters of tyranny and slavery') called on the English to rejoice at the news of James II's death: 'thy slavish Fears are past;/The Tyrant's dead'.[35] Remarkably, other publications were rather more sympathetic to the Stuart monarch. The author of one such pamphlet complained that it was not becoming to a man or Christian 'to heap on the Dead disgraceful disdainful Reproaches or Raileries'.[36] Similarly, the anonymous author of a reprinted poem, *The Generous Muse*, defended those who expressed sorrow at the death of James II, claiming that bewailing 'the

[32] *Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday the Eleventh Day of March 1701* (Dublin, 1702).

[33] *Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech* [n.p.].

[34] George Stepney, *An Essay upon the Present Interest of England* (Dublin, 1701).

[35] [John Tutchin], *The British Muse: Or Tyranny Expos'd* (London, 1702), 3.

[36] *An Impartial Account of the Life and Actions, of James the Second, Late King of England, &c.* (London, 1701), 13–16; *An Impartial Account of the Life and Actions, of James the Second, Late King of England, &c.* (Dublin, 1701).

Dead's no Treasonous Crime,/Ev'n William's great Example gives us leave,/To mourn an Uncle, and a Father grieve'.[37] Conflicting attitudes to William III were also evident amongst reprints produced in Ireland in the immediate aftermath of his death. Brocas was responsible for a sympathetic reprint of *A Compleat History of the Glorious Life and Actions of that most Renowned Monarch, William the Third*, which provided a brief account of William III's 'younger years', before focussing on his relationship with England, the Revolution, his campaign in Ireland, and the 'unhappy Accident' that had led to his death.[38] Although illustrations were extremely rare in Irish print output at this time, the title page of this publication was adorned with a crude woodcut image of the king, offering Irish readers a very poor substitute for that of the London original. Meanwhile, Cornelius Carter reprinted and sold *The Loyalist: A Funeral Poem in Memory of William III*, apparently written by the same author as *The Generous Muse*. It discussed how Stuart blood had 'more than half Adorn'd' William's veins and meditated on the dilemmas that the 1688–1689 Revolution had posed. For instance, reflecting on the Battle of the Boyne and the relationship between the two combatants, the author wrote: 'An Uncles, and a Father's Arms were there./If one is prais'd, thou t'other must disgrace./An Act unworthy of Celestial Race'.[39] While the vast majority of publications offering commentary on developments in Europe and Britain at this time were reprinted from British originals, some Irish responses to these events were also evident in print. For example, Richard Daniel, later dean of Armagh, wrote an elegiac poem on the subject of William III's death, describing him as a hero, a 'Godlike Prince', for whom Brittania, Mars, Jupiter and Apollo mourned.[40]

While it is notable that this body of material offered conflicting opinions about James II and William III, it is also significant that these titles provided some insight into political debate in England at this time. For instance, *The Loyalist* had offered a distinctly anti-war message to its

[37] [W. Pittis?], *The Generous Muse* (London, 1701), 2, 9; [W. Pittis?], *The Generous Muse* (Dublin, 1701).

[38] [Gilbert Burnet?], *Compleat History of the Glorious Life and Actions Of […] William the Third* (Dublin, 1702), 5–15.

[39] *The Loyalist: A Funeral Poem in Memory of William III* (Dublin, 1702), 1, 4.

[40] Richard Daniel, *A Dream; or, an Elegiack Poem, Occasion'd by the Death of William III. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland* (Dublin, 1702), 8, 11–12, 15, 20.

readers, indirectly addressing debate then under way in England about the merits of entering into another European war.[41] Whereas the whigs had supported the partition treaties, and thereafter William III's desire to pursue another war in Europe, tories had raised objections on both fronts. Partisan tensions in England over these issues were evident again in two reprinted Irish editions of Daniel Defoe's *The Mock Mourners. A satyr by way of elegy on King William*, one produced anonymously, and the other for Matthew Gunne. The elegy reprimanded the king's unappreciative subjects, a reference to the tories in parliament, who had 'Reproach't the Author of their Liberty' and nourished faction and disorder at home while the king had faced the 'hazards of the War' abroad on their behalf.[42] Two versions of a poem reflecting on William III's death, one printed anonymously and the other for Gunne, also provided insight into the growing partisan divide in Britain. In this case, the final verse of each edition of the poem differed. In the anonymous edition, William III was praised and his enemies condemned, whereas Queen Anne's accession to the throne was the focus of the final verse of Gunne's edition.[43] Arguably, the former would have had greater appeal to those with whig sympathies, whereas the latter would have been more pleasing to tories. These publications perhaps indicate that some Irish publishers were already attempting to cater for these two distinct audiences for print in Ireland.

Overall, certain developments in England during the 1690s had invited more attention than others, notably the Jacobite invasion scares of 1692 and 1696, and Queen Mary's death in 1694. Those topics had inspired the reprinting of a more diverse range of material (including official publications, last-speeches, and sermons) offering much deeper insight than the standard snippets of information on offer in newspapers and news-sheets. While conflicting views about the nature of the 1688–1689 Revolution had been evident in Irish print output at the start of the 1690s, commentary on partisan divisions as they were emerging in England remained largely absent

[41] *The Loyalist*, 4–6.

[42] The only appreciable difference between the two editions is the imprint on the title page. *The Mock Mourners* (Dublin, 1702), 5, 7, 10; *The Mock Mourners* ([Dublin], 1702); M. E. Novak, *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions: His Life and Ideas* (Oxford, 2001), 170–71.

[43] *Upon the Glorious Memory of King William the III. Who Dy'd the 8th of March, 1701/2* (Dublin, 1702); *Upon the Glorious Memory of King William the III. Who Dy'd the 8th of March, 1701/2.*

throughout the decade. However, some insight into divisive figures such as James II, William III, and Queen Anne, and divisive issues, most notably the merits of pursuing another war in Europe, had become evident in Irish print output by the turn of the century. Reprinting publications can be seen to have allowed Irish publishers to test the market for political, and even controversial, printed material. Reprints also allowed Irish publishers to test the willingness of state authorities to pursue them for producing political print. Indeed, it is no coincidence that Irish publishers experimented with the production of this kind of material during a lengthy period of time (January 1699 to September 1703) when the Irish parliament was not meeting. There was clearly a market for political commentary and opinion in Ireland and once parliament had convened in 1699, Irish publishers seized the opportunity to cater for it.

Consolidation

While commentary and opinion on developments in Europe generally, and the War of Spanish Succession in particular, continued to be printed after 1703, the most significant new departure in terms of Irish print output was the steady increase in the number of reprinted titles offering insight into British political affairs. After 1710, a sharper rise in the production of publications concerned with British affairs was evident as a variety of publications, ranging from official documents to pamphlets, poems and songs, provided coverage of the Sacheverell trial; the subsequent downfall of the whig ministry; and partisan debate about strategies to be pursued in the European war.[44] The first major political development to receive focused coverage across a range of formats was the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707, an issue over which the two parties in the English parliament were deeply divided. Whereas the whigs generally favoured an 'incorporating' or full economic and political union, the tories, and many Scottish politicians, favoured a federal model that would retain the Scottish parliament.[45] These divisions were not immediately apparent in Irish newspaper and

[44] This observation is based on analysis of ESTC records for the period.

[45] P. W. J. Riley, 'The Union of 1707 as an Episode in English Politics', *English Historical Review* 74 (1969): 499; Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 2nd ed. (London, 1987), 84–85.

news-sheet coverage but reprinted publications did provide Irish readers with a flavour of debate on the matter under way in Britain.

As had been the case with publications produced in the run-up to the outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession, official documents were prominent amongst reprints on the subject of the Anglo-Scottish Union. Reprinted copies of such material conveyed the progress of the negotiations and debates in both the English and Scottish parliaments, and included: a letter from the queen to the Scottish parliament in June 1705 advising the assembly to appoint commissioners to negotiate a treaty of union; a journal of the proceedings of those commissioners; quarto and octavo editions of the articles of the treaty as they were concluded in July 1706; and a copy of the amended articles ratified by the Scottish parliament in January 1707.[46] The latter publication was sold for twopence at the Four Courts Coffee-house on Winetavern Street.[47] The following year, the act for 'rendring the union of the two kingdoms more intire and complete' was also reprinted.[48] Furthermore, a range of colourful speeches on the subject of the union by English and Scottish representatives were also reprinted for Irish consumers. For example, the speeches of the English MP John Thompson, Baron Haversham, critical of an incorporating union, appear to have been particularly popular in an Irish context, as evident in the reprinting of multiple editions of certain titles, and the reprinting of some of the relevant responses.[49]

[46] *Her Majesties Most Gracious Letter to the Parliament of Scotland* (Dublin, 1705), 1–2; *An Abstract of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Lords Commissioners of Both Nations, in the Treaty of Union* (Dublin, 1706); *Articles of the Treaty of Union, Agreed on by the Commissioners of Both Kingdoms, on the 22nd of July, 1706* (Dublin, 1706).

[47] *The Articles of the Union as They Pass'd with Amendments* (Dublin, 1707).

[48] *Anno Sexton Annæ Reginæ. An Act for Rendring the Union of the Two Kingdoms More Intire and Complete* (Dublin, 1708).

[49] John Thompson Baron Haversham, *The Lord Haversham's Speech in the House of Peers, on Saturday, February 15, 1706/7* (London, 1707), 2; John Thompson Baron Haversham, *The [L]ord Haversham's Speech in the Committee of the Whole House of Peers, on Wednesday the Nineteenth of November* (Dublin, 1707); *A Modest Vindication of the Present Ministry* (Dublin, 1707), 3, 7; John Thompson Baron Haversham, *The Lord Haversham's Vindication of His Speech* (Dublin, 1706); See also P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *Defoe De-Attributions: A Critique of J. R. Moore's Checklist* (London, 1994), 33; K. R. Penovich, 'From "Revolution Principles" to Union, Daniel Defoe's Intervention in the Scottish Debate', in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, 2006), 230–31.

Other reprinted speeches on the topic also went into multiple Dublin editions, including that of William Seton, delivered before the Scottish assembly in November 1706, dismissing the 'Fashionable concept' of a federal union.[50] There is also some evidence that this kind of reprinted material was circulating outside of Dublin. For example, in September 1705 a correspondent in Carrickfergus sent the lord lieutenant, James Butler, 2nd duke of Ormonde, a copy of a Dublin reprint of a speech presented by John Hamilton, Lord Belhaven, in favour of a commercial treaty rather than incorporating union with England.[51]

These reprinted speeches are particularly noteworthy as they set out the opposing views of a range of interested parties on the subject of the Anglo-Scottish Union, and, by extension, gave Irish readers a sense of the stance taken by the two English parties on the issue. Of course, this was something also evident in a number of reprinted pamphlets, including an anti-union tract by James Hodges, two editions of John Arbuthnot's 1706 'sermon' presenting an economic argument in favour of union, and an anonymous letter warning Scottish merchants that failure to agree terms with England would see 'Restrictions and Prohibitions' put on their trade faster than they could retaliate.[52] At least one printer appears to have specialised in the sale of material relevant to the topic of the union at this time. Matthew Gunne advertised in one pamphlet that 'the several speeches and papers relating to the union of England, Scotland and Ireland, may be had' from him.[53] Indeed, Gunne was involved in the publication of the curious tract *The Queen an Empress. And Her Three Kingdoms One Empire*, which proposed that Ireland, England and Scotland be brought into a complete political, economic and

[50]William Seton, *A Speech in Parliament the Second Day of November 1706* (Dublin, 1706).

[51]HMC, *Ormonde MSS*, vol. 8, N.S., 184; John Hamilton Baron Belhaven, *The Lord Belhaven's Speech in the Parliament of Scotland: On the 17th Day of July Last Past, 1705* (Dublin, 1705); Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699–1707* (Woodbridge, 2007), 78.

[52]James Hodges, *War Betwixt the Two British Kingdoms Consider'd* (Dublin, 1705); [John Arbuthnot], *A Sermon Preach'd to the People, at the Mercat-Cross of Edinburgh* (Dublin, [1707?]), 3; E. R. Davis, 'The Injured Lady, the Deluded Man and the Infamous Creature', in *Anglo-Irish Identities, 1571–1845*, ed. David Valone and Jill Marie Bradbury (New Jersey, 2008), 128–29.

[53][Arbuthnot], *Sermon Preach'd to the People* [n.p.].

religious union.[54] Francis Dickson also capitalised on topical interest in the subject of political unions, publishing another tract recommending an Anglo-Irish union in 1708.[55] Once the Anglo-Scottish Union had been concluded, a number of celebratory poems and sermons marking that event were also reprinted in Dublin.[56] At least one positive response to the news, of Irish origin, also found its way into print at this time. The poem, written by 'C. N.', condemned the tory position on the matter, referring to them as the 'mistaken' or 'Factious Brood'. Whereas the publication was primarily concerned with political developments in Britain, the final verses were particularly applicable to Irish affairs as they offered commentary on the appointment of Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, as lord lieutenant in April 1707. Hibernia, who was depicted as a woman in mourning, was instructed to rejoice at news of this appointment: 'this is thy Relief,/Pembroke my Darling Son shall calm thy Grief'.[57]

The trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell in 1710 proved to be another popular topic for Irish publishers. Yet again, reprinted official documents made up a significant proportion of Irish print output on the subject, and this material provided details of the articles of impeachment against the cleric, proceedings in the British parliament, and even included a list of peers who sat in judgment on the case.[58] Two editions of Sacheverell's speech at his trial on 7 March 1710 were reprinted, one anonymously and the other by Ann Sandys.[59] The *Dublin Intelligence* also advertised

[54] *The Queen an Empress. And Her Three Kingdoms One Empire* (Dublin, 1706), 5–11, 13–16, 27–32; Colin Kidd, 'Religious Realignment between the Restoration and Union', in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, 2006), 165.

[55] [Thomas Knox], *Some Thoughts Humbly Offer'd towards an Union between Great-Britain and Ireland* (Dublin, 1708).

[56] Daniel Defoe, *Caledonia, a Poem in Honour of Scotland. And the Scots Nation* (Dublin, 1707); John Edwards, *One Nation, and One King* (Dublin, 1707).

[57] C. N., *A Poem on the Happy Union between England and Scotland Perfected May the First, 1707* (Dublin, 1707), 23.

[58] *Further Arguments and Debates in the House of Lords* (Dublin, 1710); *A True List of the Names of the Peers Who Gave Judgment in Dr. Sacheverel's Tryal* (Dublin, 1710); *The Speeches of Four Managers upon the First Article of Dr. Sacheverell's Impeachment* (Dublin, 1710); Gilbert Burnet, *The Bishop of Salisbury His Speech in the House of Lords, on the First Article of the Impeachment* (Dublin, 1710).

[59] Henry Sacheverell, *The Speech of Henry Sacheverell, D.D […] on Tuesday, March 7* (Dublin, 1710).

to its readers that subscriptions were being taken for a reprint of the official account of the trial from named booksellers in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Galway, Sligo and other major towns.[60] Meanwhile, the tory-inclined printer Edward Lloyd reproduced *An Impartial Account* of Sacheverell's trial.[61] Over hundred pages in length, it provided a chronological account of the relevant parliamentary proceedings, for the most part extracted from official sources. However, an anonymous author offered some commentary on that information, explaining that the judgment against Sacheverell had given 'great Satisfaction' to whigs, deists, atheists and some dissenters.[62] Other reprints favourable to Sacheverell included a pamphlet that provided a recipe for dressing and cooking a 'fat Parson' which warned its readers that it had recently taken the 'Can[niba]ls of the whole Nation' (an allusion to the whigs) a month to prepare and cook one such individual, although he was likely to 'choke 'em' before he was fully digested.[63] Of course, hostile publications were evident too. One such pamphlet, sold for a penny at the Union Coffee House, provided an unfavourable comparison of the speech Sacheverell had made at his trial on 7 March and the sermon he had delivered at St Paul's.[64]

Amidst the reprints offering insight into the Sacheverell trial, there is some evidence that material of British origin was being adapted for Irish audiences. According to its imprint, *A Character of Don Sacheverellio* was 'Dublin: printed and sold by Francis Higgins, bookmaker; and to be had of A. Baldwin, in London'.[65] The pamphlet was, in fact, a reprint of a London original published under the title *Quixote Redivivus*.[66] Whilst no publishers by the name Francis Higgins were operating in Dublin at the time of publication, it is notable that Francis Higgins was the name of a

[60] *Dublin Intelligence*, 24 June 1710; Henry Sacheverell, *The Tryal of Doctor Henry Sacheverell* (Dublin, 1710).

[61] *An Impartial Account of What Pass'd Most Remarkable in the Last Session of Parliament* (Dublin, 1710).

[62] *Impartial Account*, 43.

[63] *A Receipt to Dress a Parson after the Newest Fashion* ([Dublin?], 1710).

[64] *A True Answer; or, Remarks, upon Dr. Sacheverell's Speech* (Dublin, 1710), 2–3.

[65] J. Distaff, *A Character of Don Sacheverellio, Knight of the Firebrand; in a Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; Censor of Great Britain* (Dublin, 1710).

[66] Jack Touchwood, *Quixote Redivivus* (London, 1710).

particularly well-known Irish 'high-flyer'.[67] Other references to Ireland, Dublin specifically, were also evident in this edition. For example, mention was made of an edict against insipid publications which had ensured that 'half the People' of Dublin were laid up 'under ground' and the grass was growing 'Six Foot high before the deserted Doors of Dick's, Darby's, and Lucas's Coffee-houses'.[68] The final lines of the publication also made reference to the Dublin-based whig printer John Whalley, referred to here as the 'Ingenious Dr Whaley, Philomath, Student in Phisick and Astrology'.[69] Due to references of this nature, the pamphlet must have had a particular appeal to consumers of print in Dublin who were likely to be familiar with the locations and characters discussed. While it is not entirely clear where the *Character of Don Sacheverellio* was reprinted, one response to the Sacheverell controversy can be said to have originated in Dublin with certainty—an anonymous sermon entitled *The Innocency of the Royal Martyr K Charles the I.* In a dedication addressed to Sacheverell and dated at Dublin on 28 January 1711, the author explained that they had a personal connection to Sacheverell's father before going on to complain about a 'scandalous Pamphlet now Crying about this City, Printed by an Enemy of our Church', which sought to stain Sacheverell's character. The sermon itself was a response to a book that reflected negatively on the established church and the memory of Charles I, which the author had seen hanging in open view in a Dublin shop before demanding that it was 'pull'd down'.[70]

Considering the level of coverage afforded the subject in domestic print output, the Irish reading public were clearly interested in both news and opinion on the Sacheverell trial. Presumably eager to capitalise on this public interest in British political developments, Irish publishers appear to have abandoned any remaining reservations that they might have had about printing relevant material. Indeed, from 1710 onwards, a greater quantity and variety of Irish reprints offering commentary and opinion on major and minor political developments in Britain were produced. Whereas the newspapers had offered succinct reports of rumoured and confirmed ministerial changes made between June

[67] Pollard, *Dictionary*, 287.

[68] Distaff, *Character of Don Sacheverellio*, 16.

[69] Distaff, 16.

[70] *The Innocency of the Royal Martyr K. Charles the I. Vindicated* (Dublin, 1711), 14–16.

and September 1710, other publication formats offered readers insight into the political significance of those developments, and made overt attempts to persuade them of the merits of one party in the British parliament or the other. Tory triumphalism and optimism for the future were particularly evident in Irish reprints at this time. For instance, an anonymous Irish edition of Jonathan Swift's squib *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod* ridiculed the lord treasurer, Sidney, Earl of Godolphin in verse, while a reprinted pamphlet, published by Carter, expressed satisfaction at 'some very good Ins' recently made at court and asserted that the Sacheverell trial had shown the nation that the 'Whiggish Party' struck at the doctrines of the Church of England.[71] Indeed, months of anti-whig propaganda and political unrest in Britain combined to ensure that the British general election, held in the winter of 1710, resulted in a landslide tory victory.[72] Two lists of the members returned to serve in the new British parliament were reprinted in Dublin, one of which provided details of members who had 'voted for and against the Doctor in the late Parliament' and had been returned after the general election.[73]

Until this time, regular reports on European affairs in the newspapers and news-sheets had been only occasionally supplemented by other forms of cheap print, typically celebratory poems offering approving responses to allied victories.[74] However, the quantity of Irish reprints produced on the subject of the war in Europe increased significantly after 1710. By this time, British whigs and tories had come to be deeply divided over strategy in Europe. Whereas whigs were determined to remain involved

[71] [Jonathan Swift], *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod* (Dublin, 1710); *Some in, and Some out: Or, Old Turning about* (Dublin, [1711?]); Ezekiel Sanford and Walsh, eds., *The Works of the British Poets: With Lives of the Authors*, vol. 45 (Philadelphia, 1822), 86–89.

[72] Holmes, *British Politics*, 56–57.

[73] *A Compleat List of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Parliament of Great-Britain* (Dublin, 1710); *A New List of the Honourable the House of Commons in Great Britain* (Dublin, 1710).

[74] J. Philips, *Blenheim: A Poem* (Dublin, 1705); *Marlborough: A Poem; Occasion'd by the Exploits of That Famous General* (Dublin, 1706); R. Ormsbye, *Carmen Heroicum* (Dublin, 1708); Heinz-Joachim Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession 1710–1713* (Munich, 1997), 31–35.

in the War of Spanish Succession until Archduke Charles of Austria became king of Spain (a policy summed up in the slogan 'No peace without Spain'), by 1710 tories in Britain were calling for an end to hostilities on the Continent. Of course, whigs had tended to support the financial innovations used to fund the war in Europe, while tories were critical of them. As the 'Peace debate' escalated in Britain after 1710, the opposing views of the British parties on the subject of the war and the ways in which it was financed came to be clearly reflected in Irish print output. Of particular note in this regard were ideas and opinions conveyed through the medium of reprinted British periodicals, in this case 'journals of opinion' rather than news serials. Extracts from several British periodicals at the heart of partisan debate on the subject were evident amongst the Dublin reprints, including the whiggish *Observator* (1702–1712) and Daniel Defoe's *Review* (1704–1713).[75] More importantly, some British periodicals were reprinted in full. From August 1710, Carter and the bookseller, printer and copperplate engraver Daniel Tompson were responsible for publishing reprinted issues of the tory-orientated *Examiner*.[76] Satirical responses to it were available in Gunne's reprints of *The Medley*. From April or May 1710, Ann Sandys began reprinting the popular whig periodical *The Tatler* thrice weekly. The same year, Edward Waters even attempted to launch an Irish journal of opinion. The first, and only, surviving issue of the periodical, the *Dublin Spy. By Tom Tatler*, informed its readers that the journal would be issued twice weekly and would contain humorous essays on a variety of topics. Furthermore, it would be printed in the same format as the English *Tatler* 'for the Conveniency of binding them in Volumes'.[77]

Of course, other publication formats also provided insight into the war and its financial management. For instance, all four parts of a pro-war publication, *The History of the Management of the War* (written by the former chaplain-general to Marlborough's army, Francis Hare) were

[75] E. Ward, *The Religious Turn-Coat, or, the Trimming Observator* (Dublin, 1711); [H. St John Viscount Bolingbroke], *A Letter to the Examiner* (Dublin, 1710); [Daniel Defoe], *Extracts from Several Mercators; Being Considerations on the State of the British Trade* (Dublin, 1713); B. Cowan, 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004): 358.

[76] Holmes, *British Politics*, 31; Pollard, *Dictionary*, 570.

[77] *The Dublin Spy. By Tom Tatler* (Dublin, 1710).

reprinted in Dublin in 1711.[78] Meanwhile, Jonathan Swift's influential pamphlet *The Conduct of the Allies* was reprinted three times in Dublin in 1712.[79] In it, Swift had argued that the war had been perpetuated by Marlborough and the whigs for personal profit.[80] Government bonds and the public debt were portrayed as Dutch innovations, while England had only become involved in the war because their Dutch king, William III, was willing to sacrifice English interests for those of his countrymen.[81] Of course, questions raised in *The Conduct of the Allies* over Marlborough's behaviour during the war undermined his already precarious position in government, leading the British House of Commons to launch an investigation into his conduct, which ultimately forced him from office.[82] Augmenting regular newspapers reports on the subject, a variety of reprinted publications conveyed the details of Marlborough's downfall to Irish readers, including a speech he had presented to the British House of Lords on 8 December 1711 asserting his innocence of the charges recently cast on him 'by a sett of Giddy-headed Men'.[83] Reprinted pamphlets attacking and defending the former captain-general were also produced. For example, seizing the opportunity to associate tories and Jacobitism, the author of one such publication, the whiggish pamphlet *Great-Britain's Champion*, asserted that it was Marlborough's success in breaking 'the Neck of Universal Monarchy' and scuppering the hopes of the Pretender that explained why the tories, described as the 'Malignant Party at Home', now raised objections against him.[84]

[78] [Francis Hare], *The History of the Management of the War* (Dublin, 1711); Alexander Pettit, 'Hare, Francis (1671–1740)', *ODNB*.

[79] [Jonathan Swift], *The Conduct of the Allies, and of the Late Ministry* (Dublin, 1712).

[80] J. B. Hattendorf, 'Churchill, John, First Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)', *ODNB*.

[81] J. K. Clark, 'Swift and the Dutch', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1954): 353–54.

[82] Alan Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe* (London, 1979), 140–44.

[83] John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, *The Duke of Marlborough's Speech to the Right Honourable the House of Lords* (Dublin, 1711).

[84] *Great-Britain's Champion: Or, a Just and True Character of That Renowned Hero* (Dublin, 1711) [n.p.].

Following Marlborough's dismissal, the ongoing debate in Britain regarding negotiations for a peace in Europe was well represented in Irish reprints. In 1712 Carter reprinted *Britain's Palladium*, which celebrated the return of 'Nobel Bolingbroke' from preliminary peace negotiations in France. It asserted that peace would improve the kingdom's wealth and trade 'Imbezzel'd lately, or purloin'd by Stealth'.[85] Henry St John, viscount Bolingbroke, was the tory secretary of state who led the peace negotiations. Another tory, or pro-peace, pamphlet asserted that 'true English Patriots' wished to be freed of the burden of 'an Unnecessary, Expensive, and Bloody War', whilst also referring to the whigs as the 'Plunderers of the Nation' and men who 'delight in blood and confusion'.[86] Some pamphlets went further, associating the whigs and 'Modern Low Churchmen' with Oliver Cromwell and parliamentarians of the 1640s.[87] In 1712, a prominent Irish whig, Alan Brodrick, recorded hearing a pro-peace pamphlet, *The Queen's Peace; or, A New War*, 'cryed in the Courts' in Dublin but he could not discern from the title alone whether it was a 'paper in fashion or a Seditious one'.[88] A flurry of reprinted broadsides also conveyed the progress of the peace conference that had commenced at Utrecht in January 1712, led by Bolingbroke. The queen's various speeches to the British parliament on the progress of those negotiations were also reprinted, often in multiple editions.[89] In April 1713, fifteen months of negotiations for a peace reached a successful conclusion. While Philip V remained king of Spain, Britain gained international recognition of the Hanoverian succession and attained significant territorial and

[85] Joseph Browne, *Britain's Palladium: Or, My Lord Bolingbroke's Welcome from France* (Dublin, 1712), 5–8.

[86] *Peace, or Poverty* (Dublin, 1712), 1–2; *The Miserable Case of Poor Old England, Fairly Stated* (Dublin, 1712), 3, 5–16; [Edmund Stacy], *The Parliament of Birds, with an Account of the Late and Present Ministry* (Dublin, 1713).

[87] *Some Arguments for War Dissected and Laid Open* (Dublin, 1712); *A Vindication of Oliver Cromwell and the Whiggs of Forty One* (Dublin, 1712), 5, 9; Müllenbrock, *The Culture of Contention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession 1710–1713*, 107.

[88] *The Queen's Peace; or, a New War* (Dublin, 1712).

[89] *The Queen's Message to Both Houses of Parliament, Delivered by Mr. Secretary St. John, the 27th Day of January, 1711–1712* (Dublin, 1712); *Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Friday the Sixth Day of June, 1712* (Dublin, 1712).

commercial concessions from France and Spain.[90] Celebratory publications reprinted in Dublin included two editions of Alexander Pope's *Windsor-Forest*; William Waller's *Peace on Earth. A Congratulatory Poem*; and a broadside attacking the whigs entitled *What Sort of a Peace Is This? Or, a Rod in Piss for Some Body*.[91] Stephen Powell reprinted a copy of the peace treaty and a celebratory poem, dedicated to Bolingbroke.[92]

By 1713–1714, reprinted publications were also reflecting escalating concerns in Britain about the security of the Hanoverian succession, particularly after December 1713 when Queen Anne suffered an acute bout of ill-heath. Rumours of her impending death provided the basis for a run on the Bank of England, which was only halted by reports of her recovery and plans to open parliament in early February 1714. Meanwhile, the tory party was beginning to disintegrate into rival factions of Hanoverians and Jacobites.[93] Bolingbroke sought to exploit the situation, courting the support of the Jacobite wing of the party in order to undermine the position of the staunchly Hanoverian Lord Chancellor. As the struggle between Bolingbroke and Oxford played out, British political affairs continued to be followed closely in the Dublin newspapers, which were now supplemented by unprecedented numbers of publications offering a variety of opinions on those developments, including reprinted addresses, speeches and other proceedings of the British parliament.[94]

[90] B. W. Hill, 'Oxford, Bolingbroke, and the Peace of Utrecht', *Historical Journal* 16, no. 2 (1973): 241; P. Monod, *Imperial Island: A History of Britain and Its Empire, 1660–1837* (Oxford, 2008), 119.

[91] Alexander Pope, *Windsor-Forest* (Dublin, 1713); William Waller, *Peace on Earth. A Congratulatory Poem* (Dublin, 1713); F. G., *What Sort of Peace Is This? Or, a Rod in Piss for Some Body* (Dublin, 1713).

[92] *Treaty of Peace and Friendship between […] Concluded at Utrecht the 2/13 Day of July, 1713* (Dublin, 1714); [Joseph Trapp], *Peace. A Poem: Inscribed to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* (Dublin, 1713), 3.

[93] W. A. Speck, *Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701–1715* (London, 1970), 8; Monod, *Imperial Island: A History of Britain and Its Empire, 1660–1837*, 120.

[94] See e.g. *Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the Ninth Day of April, 1713* (Dublin, 1713); *The Humble Address of the House of Commons to the Queen* (Dublin, [1713]); *The Humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords, 3 Mar. 1714* (Dublin, 1714); *The Humble Address of the […] Lords, 8 April 1714* (Dublin, 1714).

Reaction

A surge in the production of reprinted material offering a range of opinions on British political developments, particularly after 1710, distinguished print output of Queen Anne's reign from that of William III. Not only were more publications produced in Ireland offering commentary and opinion on British political affairs, but those publications exposed Irish readers to the language of partisan discourse, to claims, counter-claims, slogans, slander, satire, polemic and mud-slinging, or as Mark Knights put it, the 'railing, abusive nature' of partisan print in Britain.[95] For precisely that reason, reprinted publications, particularly pamphlets and other forms of cheap print offering opinion and commentary on political matters, became a growing cause for concern on the part of the Irish administration and parliament.

Material deemed to be in any way sympathetic to Jacobitism was particularly susceptible to censure. This was evident when parliament met in September 1703 and one of the many reprinted pamphlets published in response to the death of James II came to the attention of the Irish House of Commons. An investigation revealed that the Catholic bookseller James Malone had hired the Protestant printer John Brocas, to print 500 copies of *The Memoirs of King James the Second*, a publication sympathetic to the late king.[96] Brocas defended his decision to print the book on the basis that it had already been published in London.[97] Nonetheless, the Commons ordered it be burnt by the common hangman.[98] Years later, the whig printer John Whalley took credit for bringing the *Memoirs* to the attention of the Commons, explaining that Malone had been foreman of the jury that had found him guilty of reporting the 'False and Seditious' news that William of Orange had landed at Torbay in November 1688.[99] According to Whalley, Malone had been punished for the *Memoirs* with a fine of '2 hundred Marks' and

[95] Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2006), 248.

[96] *CJI*, 2:370.

[97] *CJI*, 2:379.

[98] *CJI*, 2:390.

[99] *A Collection of Several Printed Papers, Articles of Impeachment and Complaints Made against John Mercer, for His Ingrossing, Monopolizing and Forestalling Coals, &c.* (Dublin, 1712), 2–3.

a six-month prison sentence, although details of Brocas's punishment remain unclear.[100] More remarkable than the fate of the *Memoirs*, however, was the fact that the vast majority of publications that had appeared between 1699 and 1703 offering commentary on the deaths of James II and William III, and other developments in Europe, had escaped censure altogether.

Concerns about the negative influence that both reprinted and imported British publications were having on Irish political culture were raised at various times in the years that followed. For instance, during the 1705 parliamentary session, the House of Commons and convocation published resolutions condemning printed material illustrative of divisions between high-churchmen and low-churchmen in Britain. In 1708 members of the lower house of convocation raised concerns about such publications again, noting that 'the Press was open to both sides, and the Booksellers of Dublin were able to procure any of these Books for such as desired them'.[101] Subsequent chapters will discuss these, and other, examples in more detail; however, as the following cases will demonstrate, the increased quantity of reprinted material offering insight into British political affairs evident in the wake of the Sacheverell trial seems to have had a knock-on effect in terms of proceedings for sedition against publishers, printers and other individuals in Ireland.

In a rare example of censorship outside of the capital, in August 1710 the *Flying Post* reported news from Cork (relayed via the English *Flying Post*) that a reprinted sermon, originally preached by Mr Tilly of Oxford, had been publicly burnt at the Exchange by order of the mayor. The crier had apparently received orders to say 'that if there was any of Sacheverell's Friends by, let 'em take the Book out of the Fire'.[102] The preacher in question was almost certainly William Tilly, a student of Christ Church in Oxford. The only sermon by Tilly to have been reprinted in Dublin that year was a copy of one of the many Oxford editions of a sermon entitled *A Return to Our Former Good Old Principles*

[100] *Collection of Several Printed Papers*, 3.

[101] [William Percevale], *A Reply to a Vindication of the Letter Published in a Pamphlet Called Pa[r]tiality Detected* (Dublin, 1710), 63–64; Edward Synge, *Dr. Synge's Defence of Himself* (Dublin, 1711), 9.

[102] *Flying Post*, 4 Aug. 1710.

and Practice, preached at the university on 14 May 1710.[103] Not long after that incident, the whig publisher Patrick Campbell was tried at the court of queen's bench for publishing a reprint of *Queries to the New Hereditary Right-Men*, a whiggish pamphlet that condemned all those who had recently referred to the queen's title to the Crown as 'hereditary' instead of the 'Revolution Stile' of 'Rightful and Lawful'. The pamphlet had particularly condemned the clergy of the Church of England and members of Oxford University for engaging in such practices.[104] Another whig publisher, Francis Dickson, used the *Dublin Intelligence* to defend Campbell, asserting that it was 'known to every Body in Dublin, and elsewhere' that he was well affected to the government, and the publications for which he was being investigated were 'publickly Sold in London, without being question'd'.[105] As it transpired, Dickson's defence of Campbell had been less than altruistic. It was subsequently revealed that he had printed 300 copies of an English edition of the *Queries* on Campbell's behalf.[106] Thereafter, Campbell had sold the entire edition, 'except twenty odd', which were seized from his shop. During his trial Campbell did not deny selling the book but, echoing Dickson's comments, claimed that he 'knew no harm' in publishing it because it was already publicly available in London.

This however was not an effective legal argument. In seditious libel cases at this time, it had to be shown that the content of a publication was defamatory and that the defendant had intended on publishing it with a 'knowing and malicious state of mind'.[107] On that basis, Campbell's counsel, Alan Brodrick, had argued that while the *Queries* may have been libellous, by selling the pamphlet, Campbell had only been 'acting in the way of his trade'. Without express proof that he had been acquainted with its contents, there was not sufficient evidence to find the bookseller guilty of having knowingly and maliciously published a libel. As a result, the jury did not find Campbell guilty of sedition.[108]

[103] William Tilly, *A Return to Our Former Good Old Principles and Practice* (Dublin, 1710).

[104] [Daniel Defoe], *Queries to the New Hereditary Right-Men* (Dublin, 1710), 9.

[105] *Dublin Intelligence*, 2 Dec. 1710.

[106] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 13 Feb. 1711 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/41-2).

[107] Philip Hamburger, 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press', *Stanford Law Review* 37, no. 3 (1985): 700.

[108] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 13 Feb. 1711 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/41-2).

Dickson had continued to follow the story in the *Dublin Intelligence*, reporting on 6 February that Campbell had been acquitted the day before 'for Causing to be Re-Printed and Publishing a (English Printed) Pamphlet'.[109]

Whereas reprinting controversial British sermons and pamphlets might have been a risky business, the reprinting of official documents also held some dangers. In February 1712 Cornelius Carter, Richard Pue and Matthew Gunne were examined at the council board for printing and publishing some resolutions of the British House of Lords. Pue's deposition revealed that an attorney, Richard Nuttall, had given him a copy of the resolutions in question, on the condition that he reprint them in his newspaper. Pue had agreed to do so if they 'were sterling' and were confirmed by the next packets. However, Pue claimed that it had actually been Edward Waters who printed the edition of the resolutions under investigation on behalf of Gunne. He in turn claimed that he had acquired his copy of the resolutions from one 'Mr Gibbons a Clergyman' and, acquiescing with the cleric's request that he publish them, had sent them to Waters for printing.[110] While the outcome of the investigation, and even the precise content of the resolutions in question, is unclear, the incident demonstrates that individuals with an interest in publicising the contents of particular documents played a role in bringing them to the attention of publishers.

The same year, the tory-inclined publisher Edward Lloyd was presented by the grand jury of Cork City for publishing 'several libels in and about that City'. The presentment particularly complained that Lloyd had undertaken the 'Fatieging and Expensive Journey' to Cork to dispose of unsold copies of his reprint of *The Memorial of the Church of England*, and pointed out that this title had been condemned by proclamation in England.[111] The first English edition of the high-flying *Memorial* had appeared in 1705 and had attacked the policy of 'moderation' then

[109] *Dublin Intelligence*, 6 Feb., 3 Mar. 1711.

[110] E. R. McClintock Dix, 'Three Depositions by Dublin Printers, &c. in 1712', *Irish Book Lover* 17 (1929): 33–35.

[111] [Alan] to Thomas Brodrick, 25 Oct. 1711 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/58-9); *The Memorial of the Church of England* (Dublin, 1711); *The Presentment of the Grand Jury of the City of Cork* (Dublin, 1711).

being pursued by the Godolphin ministry.[112] Despite the publication of numerous London editions over the preceding six years, no Dublin edition appears to have been produced until 1711, when Lloyd had printed it as part of a longer publication that included 'An Impartial Account' of Sacheverell's trial and a 'Defence of the Church & Doctor' made by Sacheverell's attorney Sir Constantine Phipps, who was, by that time, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.[113] Proceedings against Lloyd for the publication commenced in the Commons in 1711, but were cut short when the assembly was prorogued that November.[114] While Lloyd escaped censure on that occasion, by September of 1712, Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* reported that Lloyd's decision to seek subscriptions for a reprint entitled 'An Abridgement of the Life of James the Second' and his involvement with another title, 'Memoirs of the Chevalier', had led the lords justices and privy council to order his arrest.[115] Lloyd was subsequently indicted by the court of queen's bench but escaped to England. From there, he petitioned the tory lord lieutenant, the duke of Ormonde, against his indictment on the basis that the 'Life of James II' and 'Memoirs of the Chevalier' were publicly available in London, and that in proposing to reprint them he was only acting 'in his way of livelihood'.[116]

Lloyd had used the same defence as Campbell, although Ormonde's decision in 1713 to order a stop to proceedings against him was seen by many to have been politically motivated. Meanwhile, the tory-inclined privy council at the time had vehemently pursued one Dudley Moore, brother of the whig MP John Moore, for sparking a riot before a performance of Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane* held at the Queen's Theatre in Dublin on 5 November 1712 by climbing on stage to read Samuel

[112] Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*, 80–81.

[113] Some responses to the 1705 edition had been reprinted in Ireland in 1705–1706, which suggests it may have been in circulation at the time; see: [Daniel Defoe], *The Dyet of Poland, a Satyr* ([Dublin?], 1705); [John Toland], *The Memorial of the State of England* (Dublin, 1706); Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*, 80–102.

[114] C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714* (Dublin, 2000), 262.

[115] *Dublin Intelligence*, 23 Sept. 1712.

[116] Transcript [by Alan Brodrick] of 'The Papers Relating to Loyde's Affair' (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/183-4).

Garth's *Prologue for the 4th of November*. The *Prologue* had been reprinted in Dublin in 1704 and 1711, and several hostile responses to it had been published in the city over the years.[117] However, when Moore had read it aloud at the theatre in 1712, he had defied government orders prohibiting the recitation of the whiggish composition.[118] The proceedings against Lloyd and Moore will receive further attention in subsequent chapters as they featured prominently in an attempt on the part of the Commons to have Lord Chancellor Phipps removed from office during the 1713 parliamentary session. Indeed, further examples of proceedings against publishers and authors for disseminating controversial ideas will be provided in the following pages. What is notable in all of the cases discussed here, however, is that each one involved an Irish reprint of a British publication. As a result, these cases provide an indication of the disruptive influence that these publications were having in the kingdom by the latter years of Queen Anne's reign.

During the 1690s relatively little by way of commentary and opinion on topical affairs was produced in Ireland. At the outset of the decade, some controversial ideas about the nature of the 1688–1689 Revolution had been evident in Irish reprints of British publications, but thereafter printed commentary on British and European affairs had tended to be innocuous, and broadly supportive of the Williamite regime. By the turn of the century, however, Irish publishers had started to experiment with the production of a wider variety of reprinted material offering a range of opinions on developments leading up to the War of Spanish Succession. In a sense, those reprints were used to test the market for political opinion and controversy in Ireland, and to test the ability of the state to curtail such publications. Clearly, this experiment was a success and reprinted publications offering commentary and opinion on European and British affairs were produced in ever greater numbers in

[117] [Daniel Defoe], *The True-Born Englishman* (Dublin, 1704); Samuel Garth, *A Prologue for the 4th of November, 1711. Being the Anniversary for the Birth-Day of the Late K. William, of Glorious and Immortal Memory* ([Dublin?], 1704), 3–4; *The Shortest Way to Peace: Or, an Answer to a Prologue That Was to Be Spoke at the Queen's Theatre in Dublin, on Monday the 5th of November* (Dublin, 1711).

[118] St John to Thomas Brodrick, 6 Nov. 1712 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/93–4).

the years that followed. Indeed, the Sacheverell trial of 1710 appears to represent something of a turning point, and thereafter, a range of publications offering commentary and opinion on all manner of British political developments were produced. As a result, all of the major points of contention between British tories and whigs were clearly communicated to Irish readers through reprints. Proceedings against various printers and publishers for producing reprints of British publications provide some indication that those in authority believed that this material was having a divisive impact on political discourse in the kingdom. Indeed, overall, the pamphlets, poems, songs, periodicals and other forms of cheap print offering commentary on British affairs can be seen to have played an important role in communicating partisan ideas to Irish audiences. Furthermore, those publications served to equip readers with the knowledge necessary to interpret even the most banal snippets of British news reproduced in the Irish news press as exciting gains or losses for one party or the other.

References

A Collection of Several Printed Papers, Articles of Impeachment and Complaints Made against John Mercer, for His Ingrossing, Monopolizing and Forestalling Coals, &c. Dublin, 1712.

A Compleat List of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Parliament of Great-Britain. Dublin, 1710.

A Modest Vindication of the Present Ministry. Dublin, 1707.

A New List of the Honourable the House of Commons in Great Britain. Dublin, 1710.

A Receipt to Dress a Parson after the Newest Fashion. [Dublin?], 1710.

A Song. On His Majesties Birth-Day. Dublin, 1694.

A True Answer; or, Remarks, upon Dr. Sacheverell's Speech. Dublin, 1710.

A True Copy of Papers Delivered by Sir John Friend, and Sir William Parkyns, to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, at Tyburn. Dublin, 1696.

A True List of the Names of the Peers Who Gave Judgment in Dr. Sacheverel's Tryal. Dublin, 1710.

A Vindication of Oliver Cromwell and the Whiggs of Forty One. Dublin, 1712.

An Abstract of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Lords Commissioners of Both Nations, in the Treaty of Union. Dublin, 1706.

An Hue and Cry after the Shatter'd French Fleet, with the Distress'd French-Mans Complaint against the English Jacobites. Dublin, 1692.

An Impartial Account of the Life and Actions, of James the Second, Late King of England, &c. London, 1701.

An Impartial Account of the Life and Actions, of James the Second, Late King of England, &c. Dublin, 1701.

An Impartial Account of What Pass'd Most Remarkable in the Last Session of Parliament. Dublin, 1710.

Anno Sexton Annæ Reginæ. An Act for Rendring the Union of the Two Kingdoms More Intire and Complete. Dublin, 1708.

[Arbuthnot], [John]. *A Sermon Preach'd to the People, at the Mercat-Cross of Edinburgh.* Dublin, [1707?].

Articles of Alliance, between the King of England, the Emperor of Germany, and States-General, against France and Spain. Dublin, 1702.

Articles of Peace between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince William the Third, King of Great Britain, and the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Lewis the Fourteenth. Dublin, 1697.

Articles of the Treaty of Union, Agreed on by the Commissioners of Both Kingdoms, on the 22nd of July, 1706. Dublin, 1706.

Barnard, T. C. *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784.* Dublin, 2017.

Baron Belhaven, and John Hamilton. *The Lord Belhaven's Speech in the Parliament of Scotland: On the 17th Day of July Last Past, 1705.* Dublin, 1705.

[Bolingbroke], [H. St John, Viscount]. *A Letter to the Examiner.* Dublin, 1710.

Bonnell, T. F. 'The Reprint Trade'. In *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, edited by M. F. Suarez. Cambridge, 2009.

Bowie, Karin. *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699–1707.* Woodbridge, 2007.

Briord, Gabriel de. *The French Ambassador's Speech to the States General of Holland.* Dublin, 1700.

Browne, Joseph. *Britain's Palladium: Or, My Lord Bolingbroke's Welcome from France.* Dublin, 1712.

Burnet, Gilbert. *An Essay on the Memory of the Late Queen by Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum.* Dublin, 1695.

———. *The Bishop of Salisbury His Speech in the House of Lords, on the First Article of the Impeachment.* Dublin, 1710.

[Burnet?], [Gilbert]. *Compleat History of the Glorious Life and Actions Of […] William the Third.* Dublin, 1702.

Burns, W. E. 'Sherlock, William (1639/40–1707)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

Carney, D., and John Abell. *A Song. On His Majesties Birth-Day.* [Dublin], 1694.

Charnock, Robert. *The Tryals and Condemnation of Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keyes.* Dublin, 1695.

Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough. *The Duke of Marlborough's Speech to the Right Honourable the House of Lords.* Dublin, 1711.

Clark, J. K. 'Swift and the Dutch'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1954): 345–56.

Congreve, William. *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*. Dublin, 1694.
Cowan, B. 'Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere'. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004): 345–66.
Daniel, Richard. *A Dream; or, an Elegiack Poem, Occasion'd by the Death of William III. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland*. Dublin, 1702.
Davis, E. R. 'The Injured Lady, the Deluded Man and the Infamous Creature'. In *Anglo-Irish Identities, 1571–1845*, edited by David Valone and Jill Marie Bradbury. New Jersey, 2008.
Defoe, Daniel. *Caledonia, a Poem in Honour of Scotland. And the Scots Nation*. Dublin, 1707.
[Defoe], [Daniel]. *Extracts from Several Mercators; Being Considerations on the State of the British Trade*. Dublin, 1713.
———. *Queries to the New Hereditary Right-Men*. Dublin, 1710.
———. *The Dyet of Poland, a Satyr*. [Dublin?], 1705.
———. *The True-Born Englishman*. Dublin, 1704.
Distaff, J. *A Character of Don Sacheverellio, Knight of the Firebrand; in a Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; Censor of Great Britain*. Dublin, 1710.
Dix, E. R. McClintock. 'Three Depositions by Dublin Printers, &c. in 1712'. *Irish Book Lover* 17 (1929).
Downie, Alan. *Robert Harley and the Press: Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Age of Swift and Defoe*. London, 1979.
Dublin Intelligence.
Dublin Spy. By Tom Tatler. Dublin, 1710.
Dunton, John. *Dublin Scuffle*. Edited by Andrew Carpenter. Dublin, 2000.
Edwards, John. *One Nation, and One King*. Dublin, 1707.
Flying post.
Furbank, P. N., and W. R. Owens. *Defoe De-attributions: A Critique of J. R. Moore's Checklist*. London, 1994.
Further Arguments and Debates in the House of Lords. Dublin, 1710.
G., F. *What Sort of Peace Is This? Or, a Rod in Piss for Some Body*. Dublin, 1713.
Garrett, Jane. *The Triumphs of Providence: The Assassination Plot, 1696*. Cambridge, 1980.
Garth, Samuel. *A Prologue for the 4th of November, 1711. Being the Anniversary for the Birth-Day of the Late K. William, of Glorious and Immortal Memory*. [Dublin?], 1704.
Great-Britain's Champion: Or, a Just and True Character of That Renowned Hero. Dublin, 1711.
Gregg, Edward. '*France, Rome and the Exiled Stuarts, 1689–1714*'. In *A Court in Exile, the Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*, edited by Edward Corp. Cambridge, 2004.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger. Oxford, 1999.

Hamburger, Philip. 'The Development of the Law of Seditious Libel and the Control of the Press'. *Stanford Law Review* 37, no. 3 (1985): 661–765.

[Hare], [Francis]. *The History of the Management of the War*. Dublin, 1711.

Hattendorf, J. B. 'Churchill, John, First Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Her Majesties Most Gracious Letter to the Parliament of Scotland. Dublin, 1705.

Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the Ninth Day of April, 1713. Dublin, 1713.

Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday the Eleventh Day of March 1701. Dublin, 1702.

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Friday the Sixth Day of June, 1712. Dublin, 1712.

Hill, B. W. 'Oxford, Bolingbroke, and the Peace of Utrecht'. *Historical Journal* 16, no. 2 (1973): 241–63.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Ormonde MSS*.

Hodges, James. *War Betwixt the Two British Kingdoms Consider'd*. Dublin, 1705.

Holmes, Geoffrey. *British Politics in the Age of Anne*. 2nd ed. London, 1987.

Horwitz, Henry. *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III*. Manchester, 1977.

Humfrey, J. *The Association for King William Design'd*. Dublin, 1696.

Johnson, Samuel. *An Argument Proving, That the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Regal Throne […] Was According to the Constitution of the English Government, and Prescribed by It*. Dublin, 1692.

Kenyon, J. P. 'The Revolution of 1688: Resistance and Contract'. In *Historical Perspectives: Studies in English Thought and Society in Honour of J. H. Plumb*, edited by Neil McKendrick, 43–69. London, 1974.

Kidd, Colin. 'Religious Realignment between the Restoration and Union'. In *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, edited by John Robertson, 145–70. Cambridge, 2006.

Knights, Mark. *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture*. Oxford, 2006.

[Knox], [Thomas]. *Some Thoughts Humbly Offer'd Towards an Union between Great-Britain and Ireland*. Dublin, 1708.

Lennon, Colm. 'The Print Trade, 1700–1800'. In *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield. Oxford, 2006.

Lloyd, William. *The Pretences of the French Invasion Examined; for the Information of the People of Great Britain and Ireland. May 25. 1692. Let This Be Printed, Nottingham*. Dublin, 1692.

Marlborough: A Poem; Occasion'd by the Exploits of That Famous General. Dublin, 1706.

McGrath, C. I. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714*. Dublin, 2000.

Miller, John. 'The Glorious Revolution: "Contract" and "Abdication" Reconsidered'. *Historical Journal* 25 (1982): 541–55.

Monod, P. *Imperial Island: A History of Britain and Its Empire, 1660–1837*. Oxford, 2008.

Müllenbrock, Heinz-Joachim. *The Culture of Contention: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Public Controversy about the Ending of the War of the Spanish Succession 1710–1713*. Munich, 1997.

Mullett, C. F. 'A Case of Allegiance: William Sherlock and the Revolution of 1688'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1946): 83–103.

Mullett, Michael. 'Lloyd, William (1627–1717)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Murphy, Andrew. 'The History of the Book in Britain, c.1475–1800'. In *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, edited by M. F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen. Oxford, 2010.

N., C. *A Poem on the Happy Union between England and Scotland Perfected May the First, 1707*. Dublin, 1707.

Novak, M. E. *Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions: His Life and Ideas*. Oxford, 2001.

Ormsbye, R. *Carmen Heroicum*. Dublin, 1708.

Peace, or Poverty. Dublin, 1712.

Penovich, K. R. 'From "Revolution Principles" to Union, Daniel Defoe's Intervention in the Scottish Debate'. In *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, edited by John Robertson. Cambridge, 2006.

[Perceval], [William]. *A Reply to a Vindication of the Letter Published in a Pamphlet Called Pa[r]tiality Detected*. Dublin, 1710.

Pettit, Alexander. 'Hare, Francis (1671–1740)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Philips, J. *Blenheim: A Poem*. Dublin, 1705.

[Pittis?], [W]. *The Generous Muse*. London, 1701.

———. *The Generous Muse*. Dublin, 1701.

Pollard, Mary. *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin*. London, 2000.

———. *Dublin's Trade in Books: 1550–1800*. Oxford, 1989.

Pope, Alexander. *Windsor-Forest*. Dublin, 1713.

Riley, P. W. J. 'The Union of 1707 as an Episode in English Politics'. *English Historical Review* 74 (1969): 498–527.

Sacheverell, Henry. *The Speech of Henry Sacheverell, D.D […] on Tuesday, March 7.* Dublin, 1710.
———. *The Tryal of Doctor Henry Sacheverell.* Dublin, 1710.
Sanford, Ezekiel, and Walsh, eds. *The Works of the British Poets: With Lives of the Authors.* Vol. 45. Philadelphia, 1822.
Seton, William. *A Speech in Parliament the Second Day of November 1706.* Dublin, 1706.
Slaughter, Thomas P. '"Abdicate" and "Contract" in the Glorious Revolution'. *The Historical Journal* 24, no. 2 (1981): 323–37.
Some Arguments for War Dissected and Laid Open. Dublin, 1712.
Some in, and Some out: Or, Old Turning about. Dublin, [1711?].
Speck, W. A. 'Mary II (1662–1694)'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
———. *Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies, 1701–15.* London, 1970.
[Stacy], [Edmund]. *The Parliament of Birds, with an Account of the Late and Present Ministry.* Dublin, 1713.
Stepney, George. *An Essay upon the Present Interest of England.* Dublin, 1701.
Surrey History Centre. Midleton Papers. MSS 1248/1–3.
[Swift], [Jonathan]. *The Conduct of the Allies, and of the Late Ministry.* Dublin, 1712.
[Swift], [Jonathan]. *The Virtues of Sid Hamet the Magician's Rod.* Dublin, 1710.
Synge, Edward. *Dr. Synge's Defence of Himself.* Dublin, 1711.
Szechi, Daniel. *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788.* Manchester, 1994.
Tenison, Thomas. *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her Late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory.* Dublin, 1695.
The Articles of the Union as They Pass'd with Amendments. Dublin, 1707.
The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of […] Queen Mary II. Dublin, 1695.
The French King's Declaration Relating to a War. Dublin, 1701.
The French King's Letter to the States of Holland. Dublin, 1701.
The Humble Address of the […] Lords, 8 April 1714. Dublin, 1714.
The Humble Address of the House of Commons to the Queen. Dublin, [1713].
The Humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords, 3 Mar. 1714. Dublin, 1714.
The Innocency of the Royal Martyr K. Charles the I. Vindicated. Dublin, 1711.
The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. 4th series. Vol. 2. 20 vols. Dublin, 1753–1800.
The Journals of the House of Lords of the Kingdom of Ireland. Vol. 2. 8 vols. Dublin, 1763–1801.
The Late King James's Manifesto Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph. Wherein the Weakness of His Reasons is Plainly Demonstrated. Dublin, 1697.
The Late King James's Second Manifesto, Directed to the Protestant Princes, Answer'd Paragraph by Paragraph. Dublin, 1697.

The Late King of Spain[’s] Will, and the Treaty for the Partition of the Kingdom of Spain. Dublin, 1700.
The Loyalist: A Funeral Poem in Memory of William III. Dublin, 1702.
The Memorial of the Church of England. Dublin, 1711.
The Miserable Case of Poor Old England, Fairly Stated. Dublin, 1712.
The Mock Mourners. [Dublin], 1702.
The Presentment of the Grand Jury of the City of Cork. Dublin, 1711.
The Queen an Empress. And Her Three Kingdoms One Empire. Dublin, 1706.
The Queen’s Message to Both Houses of Parliament, Delivered by Mr. Secretary St. John, the 27th Day of January, 1711–12. Dublin, 1712.
The Queen’s Peace; or, a New War. Dublin, 1712.
The Shortest Way to Peace: Or, an Answer to a Prologue That Was to Be Spoke at the Queen’s Theatre in Dublin, on Monday the 5th of November. Dublin, 1711.
The Speeches of Four Managers upon the First Article of Dr. Sacheverell’s Impeachment. Dublin, 1710.
Thompson, John, Baron Haversham. *The Lord Haversham’s Speech in the House of Peers, on Saturday, February 15, 1706/7*. London, 1707.
———. *The Lord Haversham’s Vindication of His Speech*. Dublin, 1706.
———. *The [L]ord Haversham’s Speech in the Committee of the Whole House of Peers, on Wednesday the Nineteenth of November*. Dublin, 1707.
Tilly, William. *A Return to Our Former Good Old Principles and Practice*. Dublin, 1710.
[Toland], [John]. *The Memorial of the State of England*. Dublin, 1706.
Touchwood, Jack. *Quixote Redivivus*. London, 1710.
[Trapp], [Joseph]. *Peace. A Poem: Inscribed to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke*. Dublin, 1713.
Treaty of Peace and Friendship between […] Concluded at Utrecht the 2/13 Day of July, 1713. Dublin, 1714.
[Tutchin], [John]. *The British Muse: Or Tyranny Expos’d*. London, 1702.
Two Letters to a Friend Concerning the Partition Treaty. Dublin, 1702.
Upon the Glorious Memory of King William the III. Who Dy’d the 8th of March, 1701/2. [Dublin], 1702.
Waller, William. *Peace on Earth. A Congratulatory Poem*. Dublin, 1713.
Ward, E. *The Religious Turn-Coat, or, the Trimming Observator*. Dublin, 1711.

CHAPTER 4

Church, State and Pulpit

Printed publications produced in Ireland by church and state authority played an important role in communicating information and ideas of a political nature to Irish audiences. Arguably, this material had a greater reach than other forms of print because it was circulated around the kingdom and in some cases delivered to intended audiences orally. For example, proclamations printed by government order were distributed around the country and often displayed in prominent public places, or read aloud in public at busy times of day.[1] Similarly, the *Book of Common Prayer* and other printed liturgies or 'forms of prayer' were distributed around the kingdom for use in Anglican Church services. Representatives of the Church of Ireland also used their sermons to elaborate on themes evident in the liturgies for the benefit of those attending their services. Some of those sermons were subsequently printed and published, thereby making them available to the wider reading public. The church and state also communicated political messages to the public when marking important events, such as days of national thanksgiving or prayer. Those events might involve the ringing of bells, firing of guns, bonfires, fireworks, processions of the nobility and gentry, lavish

[1] Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), 106–7; D. B. Quinn, 'Government Printing and the Publication of the Irish Statutes in the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C 49 (1941): 48–63.

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_4

banquets and other entertainments, in turn inspiring commentary that appeared in Irish newspapers and other publication formats.

The first section of this chapter will look at political messages conveyed to the public by church and state authority, focussing on the courtly 'publicity campaigns' of the 1690s. As Tony Claydon has demonstrated in a British context, this decade was remarkable for the revitalisation of annual Protestant commemorations, the intensification of occasional fasts and thanksgivings, and the emergence of the movement for the reformation of manners. While existing research, notably that of Toby Barnard and James Kelly, on the reformation of manners and annual Protestant commemorations has provided a great deal of information about these developments in an Irish context, this chapter will also consider the role of occasional days of state-appointed public worship and the ways in which relevant printed publications conveyed messages about political affairs to the public.[2] Printed sermons will also receive attention in the first section of this chapter. Whereas consistent, cohesive messages were conveyed to the public in the printed proclamations, liturgies and sermons of William III's reign, the second section of this chapter will demonstrate that this was not the case during Queen Anne's reign.

Tackling the Sins of the Nation, 1689–1701

The reformation of manners and the reinvigoration of annual and occasional fasts and thanksgivings that took place in both Ireland and England during the 1690s have been described as courtly 'publicity campaigns', different aspects of an overall strategy pursued by the English court to promote the legitimacy of the Williamite regime.[3] The divisive nature of William III's accession and the king's ongoing need to 'sell

[2]T. C. Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s', *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 4 (1992): 805–38; T. C. Barnard, 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations', *English Historical Review* 106, no. 421 (1991): 889–920; James Kelly, '"The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660–1800', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C 94, no. 2 (1994): 484–96.

[3]Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996), 90.

his war' in Europe, to both the legislature and the taxpayer explain the court's motivation for this strategy.[4] Portraying William III as a 'godly prince', a royal defender of the true religion and a divinely appointed purger of false beliefs was a means to help soothe the consciences of those left uneasy by events of 1688–1689, and to foster support for the regime in a wider sense.[5] Alongside a providential interpretation of the Revolution that emerged at this time was an emphasis on individual virtue, piety and moral reform to guard against the perversion and corruption that had brought about the miseries of the previous reign. These ideas were communicated to the wider public from the pulpit, through liturgies spoken at Anglican services, through government proclamations disseminated in print and orally, through legislation, and instances of public display.

The campaign for the reformation of manners had first emerged in England in the 1690s. Although the movement had originated with private individuals, the Williamite court soon associated itself publicly with their efforts.[6] As Barnard has demonstrated in an Irish context, by 1695 a number of religious societies in Dublin, following the example set in Britain, began to focus their attention on tackling blasphemy, impiety and lewd behaviour.[7] Members of the established church had pioneered the campaign but dissenting Protestants were soon active participants in it.[8] The efforts of the religious societies were also supported by the Irish executive and legislature. In 1695 an act for encouraging church attendance on Sundays was passed, imposing fines and punishments on those found working or engaged in other prohibited activities, such as sports, on the Lord's Day.[9] During the same parliamentary session another relevant act was passed, this time for the more effectual suppressing of profane cursing and swearing. That act put into place a series of fines and punishments for any person who swore or cursed either in the presence of a local official or was reported for so doing by a witness. It also sought

[4] Claydon, 7.

[5] Claydon, 32–38.

[6] Claydon, 113–15.

[7] Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', 811–12.

[8] See Barnard, 815–16.

[9] *Acts and Statutes Made in a Parliament begun at Dublin, the Fifth Day of October, Anno Dom. 1692 […] Until the Twenty Seventh Day of August, Anno Dom. 1695* (Dublin, 1713), 32–35.

to ensure that magistrates were diligent in enforcing the law against cursing and swearing by introducing fines for failures to do so, and offering rewards to those who reported cases of negligence.[10] As ministers were also required to read the act aloud four times a year at designated Sunday services, a copy of the relevant text was included in the Irish *Book of Common Prayer*.

While these laws, and the associated fines and punishments, give us some indication that state authorities took seriously their efforts to encourage churchgoing on Sundays and to discourage cursing and swearing, the extent to which these laws were enforced remains open to question. In that regard, it is notable that additional efforts were required to ensure the enforcement of these laws at times. For example, in August 1699 a proclamation for encouraging the enforcement of the law against profanity was issued. It explained that the judges of assize had been instructed to vigorously execute the law in their respective circuits and that army officers and soldiers ought 'to pay strict observance to the same'.[11] Regardless of the efficacy with which the relevant laws were enforced, sermons preached before the societies for the reformation of manners do provide some insight into the success, or perceived success, of the movement. For instance, members of the Dublin societies were reassured by various preachers that they were not just the 'happy Reformers' of one city, but the 'whole nation'.[12] Some preachers offered statistics to suggest that efforts to curtail immoral and profane behaviour were having a major impact. For example, in a 1698 sermon, Joseph Boyse, minister of the Presbyterian congregation of Wood Street church in Dublin, referred to 'near 3000 Convictions' for profanity.[13] Later the same year, Thomas Emlyn, another dissenting minister,

[10] *Acts and Statutes*, 22–23.

[11] *By the Lords Justices General, and General Governors of Ireland, a Proclamation* (Dublin, 1698); Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', 813.

[12] See Alex Sinclare, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Societies for Reformation of Manners in Dublin, 11 Apr. 1699* (Dublin, 1699), 5–7; Thomas Emlyn, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Societies for Reformation of Manners in Dublin, 4 Oct. 1698* (Dublin, 1698), 17. For similar sentiments see *A Discourse Concerning Prophane Swearing and Cursing* (Dublin, 1697), 1; Thomas Pollard, *A Sermon Preached before the Religious Societies, in St. Michael's Church Dublin, 25 Sept. 1698* (Dublin, 1698); Joseph Boyse, *A Sermon Preach't before the Societies for Reformation in Dublin, 6 Jan. 1698* (Dublin, 1698), 5–6.

[13] Boyse, *Sermon, 6 Jan. 1698*, 22.

referred to 'several thousand Convictions of Swearers and Cursers' which had led to a 'sensible alteration in mens dialect'.[14] Based on the same anecdotal evidence, efforts to improve church attendance on Sundays were far less successful. Preaching in Cork in 1702, Walter Neale, an Anglican minister, commented: 'how unfrequented is the publick Liturgy, and how empty are our Churches, on all those days, on which there is not the Novelty of a Harangue to gratify the Curiosity'.[15]

Sermons preached before the societies for the reformation of manners also conveyed messages of a political nature. In this body of material, the role of the English court and Irish authorities in supporting the movement for the reformation of manners was frequently acknowledged and praised.[16] For example, the Presbyterian minister Nathaniel Weld commented in 1698 that it had been a 'matter of great Incouragement and ground of hope' that the legislative powers had 'own'd and succoured the languishing Cause of religion'.[17] In 1706, William King, then archbishop of Dublin, generously praised the mayor and magistrates of the City in the preface to a printed sermon which had reminded them of their duty to 'effectually, diligently and speedily' punish crimes.[18]

By reminding audiences of the role that the Williamite court, Irish government and local officials played in supporting the reformation of manners, sermons such as these served to reinforce, or create, goodwill towards the state. Furthermore, while the movement for the reformation of manners and the laws supporting it were very much focussed on reforming the behaviour of individuals, including 'Lewd Women, Panders, Cheats, Adulterers, Swearers and Blasphemers' and other such 'Pests', it is significant that the relevant sermons presented the behaviour of such individuals as a danger to the welfare of the nation as a whole.[19] For example, in his 1698 sermon, Boyse pointed out that 'when Profaneness and Immorality become National, (by being Universal and

[14] Emlyn, *Sermon, 4 Oct. 1698*, 15–16.

[15] Walter Neale, *A Sermon Preached in St. Mary Shandon-Church, Cork, in the Kingdom of Ireland, 29 Mar. 1702* (Dublin, 1702), 15.

[16] Nathaniel Weld, *A Sermon before the Societies for Reformation of Manners in Dublin, 26 Apr. 1698* (Dublin, 1698), 17; Boyse, *Sermon, 6 Jan. 1698*, 12–13.

[17] Weld, *Sermon, 26 Apr. 1698*, 17.

[18] William King, *The Mischief of Delaying Sentence against an Evil Work, 24 Dec. 1706* (Dublin, 1707), 9.

[19] King, 29.

Uncontroll'd) they usually bring the heavy Judgments of God upon the Place and People'.[20] Sometimes specific events were interpreted as examples of such divine intervention and attributed to immoral behaviour evident in society. In 1700, for example, Daniel Williams, referring to the Williamite-Jacobite War, enquired of his audience, 'can you be so *stupid* as to think God called you not to Reformation when he exposed you to the Brink of Ruine for former Sins?'[21] Preaching in March 1702, shortly after William III's death, Walter Neale explained that the sins of the people had provoked God to take the king's life in spite of his 'special Intercession for the Reformation of Manners'.[22] This concern, that the sins of numerous individuals might coalesce into a 'Deluge of Vice' and incite a visitation of divine wrath upon the Protestant nation, was repeatedly evident in the church services and sermons pertinent to two other manifestations of the 'Godly Revolution': the annual and occasional days of state-appointed public worship.[23]

Four annual state-appointed days of public worship were observed throughout the reigns of both William III and Anne. Three of those occasions were observed by Irish and English Protestants alike: the 5 November thanksgiving, which commemorated the discovery of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, a Catholic plan to assassinate King James I and blow up the House of Lords at Westminster; a day of fasting and prayer on 30 January, which commemorated the execution or 'martyrdom' of Charles I in 1649; and 29 May thanksgiving for the restoration of monarchy in 1660. Then, on 23 October each year, Irish Protestants also offered their thanks to God for the discovery of the Irish Catholic plot to capture Dublin Castle on 23 October 1641. In addition to the four annual days of public worship commemorating past events, occasional days of fasting, prayer and thanksgiving were appointed by state authority in response to an array of exceptional circumstances. During the 1690s and first two decades of the eighteenth century, most of these occasional days of state-appointed prayer were connected to warfare in Ireland and Europe. For example, during the Williamite-Jacobite War in Ireland, occasional fasts and thanksgivings took place on a regular basis,

[20] Boyse, *Sermon, 6 Jan. 1698*, 6, 8.

[21] Daniel Williams, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Societies for Reformation of Manners, 18 July 1700* (Dublin, 1700), 19–21.

[22] Neale, *Sermon, 29 Mar. 1702*, 3–4, 14.

[23] King, *Sermon, 24 Dec. 1706*, 30; See Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', 808.

with a day of prayer and fasting appointed at the outset of each campaigning season, and thanksgivings appointed at the close of the season, or in response to major victories. Thereafter, at least one summer fast day and one winter thanksgiving day were appointed annually until the conclusion of the War of the Grand Alliance in 1697. The frequency of fast and thanksgiving days declined in Anne's reign, but all of those occasions were associated with the War of Spanish Succession, with the sole exception of the thanksgiving appointed for the conclusion of the Anglo-Scottish Union in 1707.[24] In the cases of both annual and occasional days of public worship, church attendance on the part of the laity was expected and encouraged by legislation.[25]

There were some notable differences in the way that annual and occasional fasts and thanksgivings were organised. For annual commemorations, the services to be read aloud in church by ministers on the appointed days were included in the Irish *Book of Common Prayer*. Furthermore, both the 23 October and 5 November observances had been instituted by laws enacted in the 1660s and the text of both acts was included in the *Book of Common Prayer* to be read at the relevant services annually. As occasional days of prayer or thanksgiving were appointed in response to more immediate circumstances, notification of the date and purpose of each event was provided to the public by proclamation. Much like the statutory obligation to read the text of the acts appointing the 23 October and 29 May observances annually at church services, ministers were frequently instructed to read the proclamations appointing an occasional feast or fast at Sunday services preceding an upcoming day of occasional worship. These proclamations also made clear that punishments might be imposed for any failure to attend or conduct church services on the part of the laity and their ministers respectively. In addition to these proclamations, special liturgies, or 'forms of prayer', were prepared, printed and circulated for use in Anglican Church services. These 'forms of prayer' were not wholly original compositions, but were instead modified as appropriate to make reference to events that were the focus of the occasion, or to include

[24] See Suzanne Forbes, '"Publick and Solemn Acknowledgements": Occasional Days of State-Appointed Worship in Ireland, 1689–1702', *Irish Historical Studies* 38, no. 152 (2013): 559–75.

[25] *Acts and Statutes*, 30–32.

pertinent prayers or psalms.[26] Overall, the proclamations and forms of prayer can be seen to have served the same function as the laws and liturgies in place for the four annual commemorations—communicating particular messages about the event in question to the wider public.

Naturally, the church services related to the four annual days of commemoration focussed on the historical events that had inspired each occasion, often in strong language. For example, the prayers for 5 November described the 'unnatural conspiracy' of 1605 which would have seen the royal family, nobility, clergy and commons slaughtered 'in a most barbarous and savage manner' due to 'Popish treachery'. The prayers for 23 October described how God had snatched the Protestants of Ireland 'as brands out of the fire' from the 'horrid Massacre' planned by 'men of blood'. On 30 January, the prescribed liturgy discussed how the royal 'martyr', Charles I, had been 'barbarously' murdered by 'violent, and blood-thirsty men'. On 29 May, the 'Usurpation and Tyranny of ungodly and cruel Men' who had initiated 'THE GREAT REBELLION' and all the 'Miseries and Oppressions consequent thereupon' were condemned.[27] God's role in bringing about all of those events, as a means of punishing the people of the nation for their sins, or pulling them back from the brink of destruction in order to encourage moral reform, was further elucidated in the services relevant to each occasion. The proclamations and forms of prayer associated with occasional days of state-appointed worship tended to provide less background detail on the events that had inspired them. Nonetheless, as most of those occasions responded to military activity, links between the nation's sins and particular military successes or failures were repeatedly emphasised in this body of material. For instance, the proclamation appointing a day of prayer and fasting to mark the beginning of a new season of campaigning in the summer of 1691 expressed hope for further Williamite gains 'if the progress and continuance of these blessings be not obstructed by the impiety and prophaneness of the people'.[28] The form of prayer issued for the same occasion reinforced those sentiments, emphasising a sense of communal responsibility for the success of the king's forces: 'And we are yet so far from being wrought

[26] Forbes, 'Publick and Solemn Acknowledgements', 565–66.

[27] *Book of Common Prayer* (Dublin, 1700) [n.p.].

[28] *By the Lords-Justices and Council. A Proclamation, 15 June 1691* (Dublin, 1691); Forbes, 'Publick and Solemn Acknowledgements', 568–69.

upon, by the late signal deliverance which thou hast afforded us by thy servant king William, that we have relapsed into those sins that have brought thy judgements upon us, and are daily provoking thee.'[29]

Of course, the reach of the messages conveyed to the public through liturgies, laws, and proclamations used in services on annual and occasional days of state-appointed worship, were largely limited to church-going members of the Anglican Communion. The use of the *Book of Common Prayer* and state-appointed liturgies in general were contentious issues for nonconformist Protestant congregations.[30] Furthermore, in contrast to the four annual days of commemoration, awareness of occasional days of public worship was dependent on the timely distribution of the relevant proclamations and forms of prayer to churches around the kingdom. This process was not always straightforward. For instance, in 1691 William King, then bishop of Derry, complained of various delays in the arrival of this material to his diocese.[31] On balance, however, it is probable that some information related to these occasions, if only the central purpose of each event, reached those who did not attend Anglican Church services. In this regard, it is notable that all of the laws, proclamations and liturgies associated with the annual and occasional feasts and fasts were printed and made available to the public for purchase.[32] More importantly, after 1705 proclamations related to occasional days of prayer came to be reprinted in full in the *Dublin Gazette*.[33] The periodical press regularly provided insight into the observance of days of state-appointed worship in Ireland, particularly the instances of public display that accompanied them, such as the ringing of bells, bonfires, processions, fireworks and other public entertainments.[34] Sermons delivered on these occasions were also regularly printed and published,

[29] *A Form of Prayer to Be Used on Friday the Third Day of July* (Dublin, 1691).

[30] Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), 49; [Ralph Lambert], *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Entitl'd A Vindication of Marriage* (Dublin, 1704), 26.

[31] King to Foley, 10 July 1691 (TCD, MSS 1995-2008/152).

[32] Forbes, 'Publick and Solemn Acknowledgements', 562.

[33] See e.g. *Dublin Gazette*, 18–22 Mar. 1706/7, 21–24 Aug. 1708, 22–26 Feb. 1708/9, 2–6 June 1713.

[34] Raymond Gillespie, ed., *Scholar Bishop: The Recollections and Diary of Narcissus Marsh, 1638–96* (Cork, 2002), 36; Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', 893, 916–18; Kelly, 'Commemoration and Protestant Identity', 25–52.

serving to provide further insight into the ways in which the four annual state days, and occasional days of fasting and thanksgiving, were interpreted by contemporaries.

The vast majority of these printed sermons were originally preached in Dublin before the government and House of Lords at Christchurch Cathedral, or at St Andrew's Church before the House of Commons. The two houses of parliament were primarily responsible for ordering the publication of these sermons, but this material was sometimes published by order of the executive or at the initiative of the preacher. In surviving annual commemoration sermons from the 1690s, preachers discussed, explained and interpreted the relevant historical, political and religious themes raised by a particular commemoration for their audience, typically picking up on ideas conveyed through the laws and liturgies related to those events.[35] For example, the thanksgivings for the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot and 1641 Rebellion provided obvious opportunities for preachers to discuss the ongoing dangers of Catholicism to the constitution, reformed religion and security of the nation.[36] Although more removed, historically and geographically, from the experience of Irish Protestants, by the 1690s the 5 November commemoration had become 'twice Memorable' as it coincided with the date on which William III had landed at Torbay in 1688. As a result, this event encouraged discussion of the 'most happy Revolution' of 1688–1689.[37] Fewer sermons for the fast days commemorating the martyrdom of Charles I in 1649 or the restoration of monarchy in 1660 are extant, but those occasions lent themselves to discussion of the benefits of monarchical rule, and the pernicious political and religious principles that had brought about the Wars of the Three Kingdoms of the seventeenth century. Again, throughout all of these sermons, the idea that God used particular events and individuals as instruments to punish his 'faithfullest Servants' for their sins, only to pull them back from the brink of destruction in order to provide them with an opportunity to reform their behaviour, was a common theme.[38] Indeed, each sermon offered advice on how best to achieve that end. For

[35] See Barnard, 'Irish Protestant Celebrations', 894.

[36] Barnard, 894.

[37] John Travers, *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church in Dublin, 5 Nov. 1711* (Dublin, 1711), 9.

[38] Edward Wetenhall, *A Sermon Setting Forth the Duties of the Irish Protestants, 23 Oct. 1692* (Dublin, 1692), 3–6.

example, on 23 October 1692 Edward Walkington asked his audience to 'countenance the practice of Religion' and to condemn atheistical discourse, profanity, lewdness and intemperance.[39] In a 23 October sermon in 1698 John Travers, chaplain to the House of Commons, highlighted the importance of engaging in inner and sincere thanksgiving to God, to be reflected in everyday behaviour and diligent worship rather than just taking part in 'common rejoycing of Guns, Bells, Feasts, and Illuminations'.[40]

If the annual state-appointed commemorations provided preachers with particularly good opportunities for 'burnishing memories' of well-established examples of historical deliverances, occasional days of state-appointed worship offered opportunities to incorporate more immediate events into the grand narrative of God's providential intervention in favour of the faithful.[41] During the 1690s, most of these events responded to military activity in Ireland and Europe, so many of the relevant sermons seized the opportunity to endorse the policies being pursued by the Williamite regime, or to praise William III himself. For example, a 1697 sermon given on the occasion of the thanksgiving for the conclusion of the War of the Grand Alliance, preached by Edmund Arwaker, rector of Drumglass and chaplain to James Butler, 2nd duke of Ormonde, amounted to a panegyric to William III, 'in whom 'tis Evident God Delighted, to set him on his Throne; and whom, because he loved us, he made King over us'.[42] In addition to reflecting on immediate events that inspired the occasion, many preachers used their sermons to provide some historical background on relevant events, sometimes touching on British and Irish history, but more frequently addressing aspects of European history, particularly examples of Protestant persecution at the hands of Catholics, including the Schmalkaldic War (1545–1547), the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), the Spanish Inquisition, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and the treatment of Protestant communities in Piedmont, the Vaudois, Germany, Bohemia and Hungary. Of course, in all of these

[39] Edward Walkington, *A Sermon Preached […] In St. Andrews Church, 23 Oct. 1692* (Dublin, 1692), 18.

[40] John Travers, *A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church Dublin, 23 Oct. 1698* (Dublin, 1698), 11–12.

[41] Barnard, 'Irish Protestant Celebrations', 891.

[42] Edmund Arwaker, *God's King the People's Blessing, Oct. 1698* (Dublin, 1698), 13–14.

sermons, preachers discussed topical and historical events as evidence of God's providential intervention in the world. For example, during a thanksgiving sermon for the allied victories at Blenheim (1704) and Ramillies (1706), Edward Smith explained to his audience that because the precise details of those events were so 'fresh in all our Memories' and 'the subject of Mens daily Discourse and Observation', he would focus his sermon on elucidating the role that the 'Hand of GOD' had played in bringing those events about.[43]

Overall, then, the movement for the reformation of manners and the renewed emphasis on annual and occasional fasts and thanksgivings that took place in both Ireland and England during the 1690s were intended to reinforce the legitimacy of the Williamite regime, and a providential interpretation of the events that had brought it into being. Relevant messages were conveyed in the liturgies, laws and proclamations associated with these events, both in print and through the spoken word. Although illustrative of the views of individual preachers, sermons preached before the societies for the reformation of manners, and on days of state-appointed public worship, had overwhelmingly endorsed the messages conveyed in the liturgies, laws and proclamations prepared by church and state authorities.

The Rage and Violence of Parties, 1702–1714

The movement for the reformation of manners was waning in popularity by the start of Queen Anne's reign and few sermons directly relevant to it were published after 1702.[44] Sermons preached on annual days of state-appointed public worship continued to be printed on a regular basis, while sermons pertinent to occasional fasts and thanksgivings appeared only sporadically. Surviving evidence suggests that annual days of commemoration became more politically charged as partisan tensions deepened. Indeed, the strong anti-Catholic sentiment of the liturgies, laws and sermons relevant to the 23 October and 5 November commemorations saw the whigs celebrate those events with particular gusto; whereas negative references to dissenting Protestants and positive

[43] Edward Smith, *A Sermon Preached before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices at Christ-Church, 3 Dec. 1702* (Dublin, 1703), 4.

[44] Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners', 806; Kelly, 'Commemoration and Protestant Identity', 157.

commentary on the monarchy meant that the 29 May and 30 January commemorations became particularly important to tories. Meanwhile, sermons relevant to occasional days of state-appointed prayer came to reflect a range of opinions about divisive topics, most notably the War of Spanish Succession. Indeed, across all categories of printed sermon literature, the overriding concern of preachers in the 1690s to reform impious or immoral behaviour in order to prevent the combined sins of the nation necessitating a future visitation of divine wrath gave way to concerns about the impact that divisive political and religious ideas were having on Irish society. For example, as early as 1704, preaching before the House of Commons on 30 January, Dillon Ashe attacked contractual theories of government, stressing the necessity of continuing to 'Abominate' all republican principles.[45] He also emphasised the importance of expressing 'just indignation' against those who engaged in 'Impious Mock-feasts' on the occasion of the martyrdom of Charles I and those who believed that the only way to express sufficient zeal for William III was 'by Reviling and Railing at his Predecessor', James II.[46] Whereas Ashe's comments can be seen to have contributed to escalating partisan divisions by condemning whigs, other preachers were more conciliatory in their approach. For instance, a month after Ashe had delivered his sermon, Samuel Synge preached a sermon entitled *Unity among Brethren* which reflected on the misery of a nation in 'perpetual Skirmishes one with another'.[47]

Many preachers used their sermons to reflect on the nature and origin of partisan tensions in Irish and British society, often identifying religious divisions within Protestantism as an important factor in this regard. For most preachers, regardless of political persuasion, Catholics were ultimately responsible for sewing such divisions amongst Protestants. For example, preaching on the occasion of a thanksgiving in 1702, Edward Smith had claimed that emissaries from Rome had first broken the reformed religion into 'Schisms and Factions' with a view to defeating Protestant strength 'by turning it upon our Selves'.[48] On 30 January 1706 Benjamin Hawkshaw asserted that it was not possible to

[45] Dillon Ashe, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons, At St. Andrew's Church, 31 Jan. 1704* (Dublin, 1704), 4–5, 6–8.

[46] Ashe, 18–19.

[47] Samuel Synge, *Unity among Brethren, 27 Feb. 1704* (Dublin, 1704), 5–6, 8, 11.

[48] Smith, *Sermon, 3 Dec. 1702*, 5.

lay all of the blame for the martyrdom of Charles I on the 'Sectaries', and instead pointed to the role that the Church of Rome had played in that regard.[49] Hawkshaw even offered documentary evidence to support this claim, reading a letter from 1654 which referred to an order from Rome that 'above an Hundred of the Romish Clergy' be sent to England to enlist in the Parliamentarian army.[50] Of course, attributing divisions amongst Protestants to Catholics was a line of argument that could result in negative reflections on dissenting Protestants. In 1704 Dillon Ashe discussed the results of regicide and rebellion in the 1640s and linked Catholic principles with those of dissenting Protestants by referring to men possessed of 'King-killing Principles' such as 'Independent Jesuits', 'Romish Quakers' and Catholick Sectarians'.[51] The idea that Catholics were the cause of more recent political divisions was also evident at times. For instance, in a 1715 sermon Nicholas Forster, bishop of Killaloe, discussed the 'unwearied Diligence, and Application' of the Church of Rome since the Reformation to overthrow the church, and went on to credit Catholics with spiriting up new sects and creating a 'variety of Opinions, both in Religion and Politicks'.[52] The same year Anthony Lowcay claimed that if they were to 'dive to the Bottom' of political divisions so evident in society at the time, it would be clear that they derived their source from papal emissaries 'veil'd and unseen, and lurking in their Secret Holes and Corners to ruin and destroy us'.[53] Whereas Ashe and others argued that political divisions in society were attributable to Catholics and, in turn, dissenting Protestants, Forster and Lowcay attributed such divisions to Romish intrigues that had led tories or high-churchmen to oppose the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover.

Attacks on those who might adhere to either republican or 'Romish' principles were relatively common in sermons produced throughout Anne's reign; however, those under attack were rarely identified by terms such as 'whigs', 'tories', 'high-flyers' or 'Jacobites'. One notable

[49] Benjamin Hawkshaw, *A Sermon Preach'd before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Ireland, at Christ-Church Dublin, 30 Jan. 1706* (Dublin, 1706), 16.

[50] Hawkshaw, 16.

[51] Ashe, *Sermon, 31 Jan. 1704*, 9–10, 11–12.

[52] Nicholas Forster, *A Sermon Preach'd before the Lords Justices of Ireland, at Christ's Church, 1 Mar. 1715* (Dublin, 1715), 5–7.

[53] Anthony Lowcay, *Obedience to the Supreme Power* (Dublin, 1715), 15.

exception, an attack on tory or high-church principles, was evident in the preface to a printed sermon, first preached at Christchurch by William Stoughton, the prebendary of St Patrick's Cathedral, on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Charles I in 1709. Stoughton's treatment of that event in his sermon had proven controversial for good reason. He claimed to regret the regicide personally, attributing the king's misfortunes to 'Faithless Sycophant Knaves' who sought to stretch regal authority so far that they had broken it, leaving the king exposed to 'the mad Rage of an incens'd People'.[54] Thereafter, he offered a qualified condemnation of the regicide, suggesting that there may have been some justification for it if those involved had sought to install a prince of more virtue instead of the most 'Infamous, Canting, Hipocritical Villains, that ever God suffer'd to Turmoil a noble Nation'.[55] In the preface to the printed sermon, Stoughton explained that he had published it precisely because it had met with great opposition from 'a sort of Men' who could not 'dissemble or disguise their Disgust' for his attack on the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance.[56] Indeed, he claimed to have been misrepresented 'all over this Kingdom, as well as into the next, as a Person of Dangerous Principles', as a republican, and as a sower of rebellion on the basis of the sermon. Stoughton admitted, however, that he would have been 'very sorry' to have written a sermon that would 'have pleas'd any High-Flyer' and was also heartily sorry that there were men in Ireland who espoused 'those Pernicious Doctrines' of passive obedience and non-resistance so prevalent in England. Whatever the politicians made of the difference between whig and tory or high-church and low, in Stoughton's view the real distinction was 'no more than Williamite and Jacobite'.[57]

Although the strength of the sentiments expressed in Stoughton's sermon, and the preface to the printed edition, were exceptional by any standard, increasingly explicit language was used to discuss the nature of political divisions in Ireland and Britain in the years that followed. This shift in tone was particularly evident in the wake of the dramatic changes to the composition of the British ministry in 1710–1711 in favour of

[54]William Stoughton, *A Sermon Preach'd before the State in Christ-Church, 31 Jan. 1709* (Dublin, 1709), 6.

[55]Stoughton, 7.

[56]Stoughton [n.p.].

[57]Stoughton [n.p.].

the tories. Thereafter, commentary on political developments in Britain, and political developments in Ireland was particularly evident in printed sermon literature produced in Ireland. For example, preaching on 29 May 1711 in Christchurch, a little over a week since Robert Harley had become lord treasurer in Britain, Joseph Trapp asserted that the queen was now 'serv'd and assisted by wise, faithful, and religious Counsellors, and Senators', who had done more to strengthen the church than any efforts made since the Reformation.[58] The sermon particularly condemned members of the established church who sought to 'enervate its Discipline, dilute its Doctrines, lessen its Authority, [and] betray its Interest' all in order to 'defend the Cause of the most unreasonable Set of Schismaticks that ever yet appear'd in the World'.[59] Trapp also complained that, in an Irish context, church authority had lately been ridiculed and its ministers insulted and abused even though the Anglican clergy had often demonstrated their support for the Revolution and the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover; both events he regarded as 'entirely consistent' with the constitution and 'strictest Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures'.[60]

Whereas Trapp aimed to undermine the whigs and their supporters at a time when partisan tensions were soaring, some preachers called for calm. On 23 October 1711 Edward Synge put the House of Commons in mind of recent disputes concerning the origins of civil government that had led men to 'brand one another with odious Names and Distinction' and had rendered the church and state 'into Parties', thereby giving their enemies 'no small Advantage' over them.[61] Synge also warned against the spread of maxims that were not 'according to the Frame of our Laws' and the dangers posed 'If Schism and Separation and sometimes even Popery are not only connived at in tender Consciences' but permitted to 'Out-brave the Established Church'.[62] A few weeks later, on 5 November, John Travers expressed many of the same sentiments as Trapp in an aggressive attack on dangerous political and religious principles. He observed that 'ill uses' had been made of the

[58] Joseph Trapp, *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 29 May 1711* (Dublin, 1711), 23.

[59] Trapp, 14.

[60] Trapp, 15–16.

[61] Edward Synge, *Thankfulness to Almighty God for His More Ancient and Later Mercies and Deliverances, 23 Oct. 1711* (Dublin, 1711), 24–26.

[62] Synge, 24–26.

1688–1689 Revolution by 'Licentious and Factious Men' who wished to claim that it was lawful to resist a prince.[63] However, he also argued that there were exceptions to the 'general Doctrine of Obedience' in cases of extreme necessity, into which category the Revolution undoubtedly fell.[64] By this definition, the doctrine of the established church was consistent with support for the Revolution, leading Travers to ask his audience why it was that the institution was 'continually exposed and railed at' and its defenders 'marked out and Stigmatized as Papists, Jacobites, Pensioners of France, Friends to the Pretender, &c'.[65]

Travers's sermon was notable for offering direct commentary on recent events in Ireland. He claimed that churchmen had '*actually*' abjured the Pretender during the Jacobite invasion scare of 1708, unlike 'certain People', a reference to non-juring dissenting Protestants.[66] Other preachers commented on the recent behaviour of Irish whigs. For instance, on 29 May 1713 Jonathan Wilson mocked whig anti-Catholic alarmism, explaining that now that the ministry 'which they liked' was no longer in power, the persons 'they like' were no longer consulted in governmental affairs and they themselves were out of places and favour, 'every thing goes wrong; the Church and State are in the utmost Peril, dangerous Designs are on Foot to ruin the Constitution of them both, Even to the Exclusion of the Protestant Succession, and the bringing in Popery and the Pretender'.[67] Condemnation of republican principles and the whigs was also evident outside the metropolis. Preaching on 17 July 1713 at the Carrickfergus assize, Edward Mathews condemned the 'Fiction of a wild and imaginary State of Nature' and described a recent time when it had been 'much safer to speak or vend Treason against Living Majesty, than to affront, not the Glorious MEMORY, but barely the Image of the Dead'.[68] It is also notable that Mathews was specifically targeting a local audience. The preface of the printed sermon explained

[63] Travers, *Sermon, 5 Nov. 1711*, 24–26.

[64] Travers, 8–9, 10.

[65] Travers, 11–12.

[66] Travers, 13, 16–18.

[67] Jonathan Wilson, *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 29 May 1713* (Dublin, 1713), 22.

[68] Edward Mathews, *The Divine Original of Civil Government: A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Carrickfergus, 17 July 1713* (Dublin, 1713), VII, 10–11, 17–19, 25–26.

that he had felt it necessary to defend the 'best of Queens' in a place 'where some Mens dangerous, or at least mistaken Principles, rendred such a Task but too necessary'.[69] The following year, Stephen Radcliffe, the vicar of Naas and first canon of the cathedral church of Kildare, gave a sermon at the Naas assize and similarly condemned those who adhered to 'Principles of Resistance' and gave 'much greater and higher Expressions of Gratitude to the Memory of a Dead Prince, than of Respect and Duty to our Living Sovereign'. Radcliffe explained that these were men who 'delight in War', thereby associating them with British whig enthusiasm for the continuation of the War of Spanish Succession.[70]

Commentary on the war, and the 'peace debate', was evident in a number of other printed sermons. In a 1713 sermon Edward Mathews had asserted that it was not acceptable to raise objections against Queen Anne's decision to displace 'a Great Man'—a reference to Marlborough's removal in late 1711. He also argued that those who objected to the conclusion of the war really sought to imply that the queen was involved 'in a Plot to ruin her Kingdoms'.[71] Preaching in Christchurch on 30 January 1713, John Echlin asserted that the war had been prolonged to 'Impoverish the Publick' and to raise the interest of 'a few private Subjects'.[72] On the thanksgiving day appointed for the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht on 16 June 1713, Patrick Delany, preaching before the tory Lord Chancellor, Constantine Phipps, complained that the war had been 'Tedious, and Cruel, and Expensive', while the 'Glorious' peace concluded the previous April had restored the British nation to its 'Greatest antient renown'.[73]

Perhaps the clearest expression of anti-whig sentiment was evident in a sermon preached on two occasions by John Winder in the tense months leading up to Queen Anne's death in August 1714. In the sermon, preached in Dublin on 30 May and Kilroot in Co. Antrim on 20 June,

[69] Mathews, III.

[70] Stephen Radcliffe, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Naas, for the County of Kildare, 6 Apr. 1714* (Dublin, 1714), 3, 5–6.

[71] Mathews, *Sermon, 17 July 1713*, 29.

[72] John Echlin, *The Royal Martyr. A Sermon Preached before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, 30 Jan. 1713* (Dublin, 1713), 19–21.

[73] Patrick Delany, *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 16 June 1713* (Dublin, 1713), [13–14], [18]–[19].

Winder asserted that faction and schism were to be found amongst all degrees of people and all professions 'from the highest to the lowest'.[74] He complained that adherence to the established church was 'nicknamed, a High-flying Violence' at a time when rebellious ideas were gaining widespread currency and were misleadingly labelled with the term 'Christian Moderation'.[75] What was more, a 'poysonous Hatred and Detestation of the Bishops' was prevalent in society and they were being reviled with epithets of 'Popish' and 'Anti-Christian', or called 'Pluralists, Dumb-dogs, and Antiscriptural-Bishops'.[76] If churchmen were bold enough to stand up to any of it, they were styled 'High-flyers, Jacobites, and vile Incendiaries' and the authorities solicited to 'clap Padlocks upon their Lips'.[77] Winder also complained that the whigs sought to characterise the queen's current ministry as 'the most odious Characters their Envy and Malice can Invent' in order to convince the elector of Brunswick that they 'and they only, are his best Friends'. Furthermore, the whigs endeavoured to 'frighten men almost out of their Wits' with the idea of a 'sudden Invasion by the Pretender' and having their throats cut 'by the bloody Irish, whose Numbers, by the help of their multiplying Glasses they raise some times to Eight, some times to Seventeen to one of the Protestants in the Kingdom'.[78]

After news of the queen's death had reached Ireland, some preachers claimed that allegations about the Jacobite sympathies of the clergy had been repudiated by their recent behaviour. William Hamilton preached a sermon on 15 August 1714 expressing his hope that the 'Animosities and Violence of Party among us' would soon abate but noted that it had become clear that the party who had been 'most severely censur'd' on the question of their adherence to the succession had since 'in the best manner vindicated themselves' by appearing so 'Zealous and Active' in their support of the new king.[79] The following month,

[74]John Winder, *The Mischief of Schism and Faction to Church and State, 30 May 1714* (Dublin, 1714), 3, 8, 9.

[75]Winder, 9.

[76]Winder, 10–11. The term 'Antiscriptural-Bishops' was a reference to a sermon by Joseph Boyse, discussed in Chapter 7.

[77]Winder, 13.

[78]Winder, 2–4.

[79]William Hamilton, *The Comforts and Advantages Arising from the Belief and Consideration of God's Governing Providence, 15 Aug. 1714* (Dublin, 1714), 18.

George Vesey, preaching on the first occasion that the government had attended Christchurch after the death of the queen, asserted that if allegations of Jacobitism made against the clergy had been true, 'nine Parts in ten' of them, along with 'a considerable Majority of the Laity', would have been perjuring themselves when they had taken the oath of abjuration.[80] His sermon focussed on the nature and impact of divisions between 'those of the same Communion, who are Partakers at the same Altar', who had of late 'invented such odious Names of Distinction', 'scandalous Nick-names' and 'Party-Distinctions' that had 'not a little contributed to the Confusions that are among us' and divided 'Those, whom Blood, and Alliance, and *[…]* Friendships' had formerly united.[81] He also took a swipe at the British whigs, describing them as a 'Stubborn Faction' who had shortened Anne's life.[82] Of course, not everyone was convinced by such arguments. In March 1715, on the occasion of the thanksgiving appointed for the peaceable accession of George I, Nicholas Forster, commented with approval on those men who had in late parliaments in Ireland opposed the 'bold Attempts that were made amongst us in favour of the Pretender'.[83] On 23 October 1715 another preacher, Moore Booker, asserted that the church was 'Infested' with false brethren who declared for its enemies, yet confessed its faith.[84] Although Hamilton and Vesey demonstrated tory sympathies, while Forster and Booker were catering for the whigs, it is notable that all of these sermons suggested that George I's peaceful accession to the throne was evidence of God's endorsement of his reign. Indeed, all of these sermons concluded with calls for an end to political divisions or, as Forster put it, the 'Rage and Violence of Parties. Which have filled our Mouths with continual Reproaches and Complaints'.[85]

Whereas the printed sermons of the 1690s had been focussed on the sins of individual Protestants, the sermons of Queen Anne's reign betrayed significant concerns about divisions amongst Protestants.

[80] George Vesey, *A Perswasive to Peace and Unanimity. In a Sermon Preach'd at Christ's-Church in Dublin, 5 Sept. 1714* (Dublin, 1714), 12–13.

[81] Vesey, 3–4, 11, 13.

[82] Vesey, 13–14.

[83] Forster, *Sermon, 1 Mar. 1715*, 10.

[84] Moore Booker, *A Sermon, Preach'd on Sunday, 23 Oct. 1715* (Dublin, 1715), 22.

[85] Forster, *Sermon, 1 Mar. 1715*, 19–20.

Overtly partisan printed sermons had remained exceptional up until 1711 when, encouraged by political developments in favour of the tories, a number of prominent churchmen started to express their grievances with the former whig administrations in Ireland and Britain. It is important to note here that the messages and language of the liturgies, proclamations and laws pertinent to the occasions on which these sermons were preached cannot be identified as a factor in bringing about this shift in focus. Indeed, that material was cited by some tory-inclined preachers as evidence that the doctrine of obedience had been the official line of the established church for quite some time. For example, in 1711 John Travers claimed that the four annual commemoration days, 'kept all King William's Reign, and ever since', had endorsed the doctrine of passive obedience and were specifically intended to discourage disobedience and 'wilful Rebellion'.[86] This doctrine had also been supported, in his view, by the actions of the Lords and Commons of England since the Revolution 'by their Voting Thanks to the Preachers of it, and ordering the Discourses to be Publish'd to the World in Print'.[87] The same year, Trapp defended the language he had used in condemning the regicides in a recent 29 May sermon by referring his audience to the language of the laws commanding the observation of the day and 'the Prayers which We have this Morning been offering up to Almighty God', which were, he argued, composed of as 'severe Expressions' as any he had used in his sermon.[88] In 1714 Edward Mathews, condemning contractual theories of government, pointed out that the queen's divine authority was acknowledged in all public devotions, referring particularly to the offices for 29 May and 30 January.[89]

If the ideas creating divisions amongst Protestants could not be attributed to the laws, liturgies and proclamations relevant to Anglican worship, many preachers had firm opinions as to where those ideas had originated. In 1705, raising concerns about pernicious religious principles, Edward Wetenhall made reference to the proliferation of 'Pestilent Books' in Ireland.[90] In 1709 Benjamin Pratt argued that it was 'a

[86] Travers, *Sermon, 5 Nov. 1711*, 10.

[87] Travers, 11.

[88] Trapp, *Sermon, 29 May 1711*, 19.

[89] Mathews, *Sermon, 17 July 1713*, 17.

[90] Edward Wetenhall, *Invisibilia, 20 May 1705* (Dublin, 1705), V.

damnable Sin' to resist higher powers and to oppose the laws of the land, whether that was in private discourse 'or Publishing Libels against our Rulers, and their Legal Commands'.[91] References to the impact of divisive ideas in print became more frequent thereafter. In 1711 Joseph Trapp asserted that anti-clerical sentiment in Irish society was attributable to the continual blaspheming of God 'in the most open and impudent manner, in Publick Conversation, in Print, [and] in a great variety of wicked Books and Pamphlets' which were dispersed 'with uncommon Care and Industry'.[92] In 1713 two preachers reflected (from the pulpit at Christchurch on 30 January 1713 and 29 May, respectively) on parallels between the 'infamous Pamphlets' dispersed in the 1640s and present circumstances.[93] After the queen's death in 1714, John Winder attributed divisions in Irish society to 'the many scandalous Libels, and most blasphemous Pamplets daily fluttering about the Streets, and industriously spread about the Land'.[94] Clearly, many preachers believed that the increasing availability of news, information and opinion in print was having a divisive impact on Irish society. Of course, rather than conveying a coherent message approved of by the administration, as had been the case in William III's reign, by reflecting on a range of historical and topical issues pertinent to the escalating whig and tory divide and relating them to Irish circumstances, the printed sermons of Queen Anne's reign also had a divisive impact.

References

A Discourse Concerning Prophane Swearing and Cursing. Dublin, 1697.

A Form of Prayer to Be Used on Friday the Third Day of July. Dublin, 1691.

Acts and Statutes Made in a Parliament Begun at Dublin, the Fifth Day of October, Anno Dom. 1692 […] Until the Twenty Seventh Day of August, Anno Dom. 1695. Dublin, 1713.

Archbishop King's correspondence (Lyons Collection). Trinity College Dublin. MSS 1995–2008.

[91] Benjamin Pratt, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, 29 May 1709* (Dublin, 1709), 15–16; John Bergin, 'Pratt, Benjamin', *DIB*.

[92] Trapp, *Sermon, 29 May 1711*, 18.

[93] Echlin, *Sermon, 30 Jan. 1713*, 17, 19–21; Wilson, *Sermon, 29 May 1713*, 21.

[94] Winder, *Sermon, 30 May 1714*, 3, 8, 9.

Arwaker, Edmund. *God's King the People's Blessing, Oct. 1698.* Dublin, 1698.
Ashe, Dillon. *A Sermon Preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons, At St. Andrew's Church, 31 Jan. 1704.* Dublin, 1704.
Barnard, T. C. 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s'. *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 4 (1992): 805–38.
———. 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations'. *English Historical Review* 106, no. 421 (1991): 889–920.
Bergin, John. 'Pratt, Benjamin'. *Dictionary of Irish Biography.*
Book of Common Prayer. Dublin, 1700.
Booker, Moore. *A Sermon, Preach'd on Sunday, 23 Oct. 1715.* Dublin, 1715.
Boyse, Joseph. *A Sermon Preach't before the Societies for Reformation in Dublin, 6 Jan. 1698.* Dublin, 1698.
By the Lords Justices General, and General Governors of Ireland, a Proclamation. Dublin, 1698.
By the Lords-Justices and Council. A Proclamation, 15 June 1691. Dublin, 1691.
Claydon, Tony. *William III and the Godly Revolution.* Cambridge, 1996.
Delany, Patrick. *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 16 June 1713.* Dublin, 1713.
Dublin Gazette.
Echlin, John. *The Royal Martyr. A Sermon Preached before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, 30 Jan. 1713.* Dublin, 1713.
Emlyn, Thomas. *A Sermon Preach'd before the Societies for Reformation of Manners in Dublin, 4 Oct. 1698.* Dublin, 1698.
Forbes, Suzanne. '"Publick and Solemn Acknowledgements": Occasional Days of State-Appointed Worship in Ireland, 1689–1702'. *Irish Historical Studies* 38, no. 152 (2013): 559–75.
Forster, Nicholas. *A Sermon Preach'd before the Lords Justices of Ireland, at Christ's Church, 1 Mar. 1715.* Dublin, 1715.
Gillespie, Raymond. *Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland.* Manchester, 1997.
———. *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland.* Manchester, 2005.
———, ed. *Scholar Bishop: The Recollections and Diary of Narcissus Marsh, 1638–96.* Cork, 2002.
Hamilton, William. *The Comforts and Advantages Arising from the Belief and Consideration of God's Governing Providence, 15 Aug. 1714.* Dublin, 1714.
Hawkshaw, Benjamin. *A Sermon Preach'd before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Ireland, at Christ-Church Dublin, 30 Jan. 1706.* Dublin, 1706.
Kelly, James. '"The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660–1800'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C 94, no. 2 (1994): 484–96.

King, William. *The Mischief of Delaying Sentence against an Evil Work, 24 Dec. 1706.* Dublin, 1707.

[Lambert], [Ralph]. *An Answer to a Late Pamphlet, Entitl'd A Vindication of Marriage.* Dublin, 1704.

Lowcay, Anthony. *Obedience to the Supreme Power.* Dublin, 1715.

Mathews, Edward. *The Divine Original of Civil Government: A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Carrickfergus, 17 July 1713.* Dublin, 1713.

Neale, Walter. *A Sermon Preached in St. Mary Shandon-Church, Cork, in the Kingdom of Ireland, 29 Mar. 1702.* Dublin, 1702.

Pollard, Thomas. *A Sermon Preached before the Religious Societies, in St. Michael's Church Dublin, 25 Sept. 1698.* Dublin, 1698.

Pratt, Benjamin. *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, 29 May 1709.* Dublin, 1709.

Quinn, D. B. 'Government Printing and the Publication of the Irish Statutes in the Sixteenth Century'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C 49 (1941).

Radcliffe, Stephen. *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Naas, for the County of Kildare, 6 Apr. 1714.* Dublin, 1714.

Sinclare, Alex. *A Sermon Preach'd before the Societies for Reformation of Manners in Dublin, 11 Apr. 1699.* Dublin, 1699.

Smith, Edward. *A Sermon Preached before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices at Christ-Church, 3 Dec. 1702.* Dublin, 1703.

Stoughton, William. *A Sermon Preach'd before the State in Christ-Church, 31 Jan. 1709.* Dublin, 1709.

Synge, Edward. *Thankfulness to Almighty God for His More Ancient and Later Mercies and Deliverances, 23 Oct. 1711.* Dublin, 1711.

Synge, Samuel. *Unity among Brethren, 27 Feb. 1704.* Dublin, 1704.

Trapp, Joseph. *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 29 May 1711.* Dublin, 1711.

Travers, John. *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church in Dublin, 5 Nov. 1711.* Dublin, 1711.

———. *A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church Dublin, 23 Oct. 1698.* Dublin, 1698.

Vesey, George. *A Perswasive to Peace and Unanimity. In a Sermon Preach'd at Christ's-Church in Dublin, 5 Sept. 1714.* Dublin, 1714.

Walkington, Edward. *A Sermon Preached […] In St. Andrews Church, 23 Oct. 1692.* Dublin, 1692.

Weld, Nathaniel. *A Sermon before the Societies for Reformation of Manners in Dublin, 26 Apr. 1698.* Dublin, 1698.

Wetenhall, Edward. *A Sermon Setting Forth the Duties of the Irish Protestants, 23 Oct. 1692.* Dublin, 1692.

———. *Invisibilia, 20 May 1705.* Dublin, 1705.

Williams, Daniel. *A Sermon Preach'd before the Societies for Reformation of Manners, 18 July 1700.* Dublin, 1700.
Wilson, Jonathan. *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 29 May 1713.* Dublin, 1713.
Winder, John. *The Mischief of Schism and Faction to Church and State, 30 May 1714.* Dublin, 1714.

PART II

Domestic Affairs

CHAPTER 5

Towards a Two-Party System, 1689–1699

The previous chapters have examined the ways that news, commentary and opinion relevant to the growing whig and tory party divide in Britain came to be reflected in Irish print output. The second part of this book will focus on the extent to which the growing partisan divide in Ireland was reflected in domestic print output, and, in turn, on the extent to which these publications fed into political tensions in the kingdom. Of course, party divisions were much slower to emerge in Ireland than in Britain, and Irish partisans were often concerned with different issues and incidents than their British counterparts. In order to understand these differences, it is necessary to trace developing tensions between the parties in the Irish parliament, between representatives of Anglican and dissenting Protestant communities, and amongst the Irish Anglican clergy, represented in convocation after 1704.

This chapter focusses on developments in Ireland during the 1690s. Rather than applying the labels 'tory' or 'whig' to the groups evident in the Irish parliament at this time, historians have described divisions within the assembly in terms of a 'two-party system in embryo'.[1] The origins of the Irish whig party have been traced to the 'country' interest

[1] D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge, 2004), 94.

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_5

in the 1692 parliament, the first to meet in the kingdom for some twenty-five years (excluding James II's 'Patriot' parliament). During this short parliamentary session, country MPs asserted the 'sole right' of members of the House of Commons to draft supply legislation. In so doing, they challenged Poynings's Law (1495), which saw to it that the Irish privy council prepared the legislative programme and transmitted the relevant 'heads of bills', or draft bills, to London for the approval of the English privy council. These bills were then returned to the Irish parliament to be approved or rejected. The country opposition also attempted to limit the duration of supply legislation to one year, a move that would necessitate annual parliamentary sessions. Such efforts to expand the role of the Commons in drafting legislation, and to bring about more frequent parliamentary sessions, were tactics associated with English whiggism. While, tory sentiment in the Irish parliament is harder to delineate, such sentiment is attributable to MPs who expressed reservations about condemning the behaviour of certain members of the administration that had been in place during the Williamite-Jacobite War, and raised concerns about proposed alterations to the articles of Limerick and Galway.

Having provided an outline of some of the key issues at the heart of the emerging divide between the parties in parliament during the 1692, 1695, 1697 and 1698–1699 parliamentary sessions, the second part of this chapter will consider the extent to which those developments were communicated to the wider public in printed publications, taking the attitudes of MPs towards political print and the role of parliament as a publisher into consideration. Finally, debate between Anglican and dissenting Protestant ministers regarding religious toleration and the sacramental test, both contentious political issues, will be addressed.

Parliamentary Proceedings, 1692–1699

Henry, Viscount Sydney, was appointed as lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1692 and would preside over the brief parliamentary session that took place that year. Even before the session commenced, there were signs that members of the House of Commons might prove troublesome once parliament met. Shortly after his arrival in Ireland on 25 August 1692, Sydney noted that the Irish Protestant community hated and despised Irish Catholics for the rebellion 'to the greatest degree

imaginable'.[2] This was due, in part, to a widespread perception that the terms of the articles of Limerick and Galway, the treaties that had brought the Williamite-Jacobite War to a close, had been too favourable to Ireland's Catholic community. While Irish Protestant anger in this regard was primarily directed towards Catholics, a portion of it was reserved for members of the former administration who had agreed the terms of the treaties in question.[3] Some prominent members of that administration were still a presence in Irish political life in 1692, notably the Lord Chancellor, Charles Porter, and Sir Thomas Coningsby, who had both served as lords justices since 1690 and been signatories to the articles of Limerick.[4] Sydney had also served as lord justice in 1690 and had received a grant of forfeited Jacobite land in the aftermath of the war.[5]

Ostensibly oblivious to the full extent of Protestant hostility towards the executive, Sydney oversaw the preparation of the bulk of the government's legislative programme after his arrival in Ireland. Eleven heads of bills were transmitted to London in accordance with Poynings's Law procedure shortly before parliament was due to meet.[6] These bills had not been returned to Ireland by the time the session commenced on 4 October, leaving members with just 'three bills to entertain them'.[7] With little to divert their attention, Irish Protestant anger soon manifested as hostility towards the court. At the outset of the session, a group of opposition MPs called for investigations into the administration of the revenue and forfeited estates during the war, and asserted their 'undoubted Right and privilege' to free postage while Parliament was in session.[8] Conscious that the latter motion was inflammatory, opposition MPs attempted to soften the blow by limiting any publicity it might receive by

[2] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 195–96, 200–201, 205.

[3] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 205; See James McGuire, 'The Irish Parliament of 1692', in *Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish History*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and D. W. Hayton (Dublin, 1979), 3–4.

[4] McGuire, 'Parliament of 1692', 10.

[5] McGuire, 9–10.

[6] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 207–8.

[7] McGuire, 'Parliament of 1692', 209.

[8] *CJI*, 2:12, 14–15; *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 209–13; C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714* (Dublin, 2000), 81; McGuire, 'Parliament of 1692', 5, 8.

omitting mention of it from the printed *Votes of the House of Commons*.[9] This gesture had the intended effect. Sydney later wrote that he had taken no notice of the postage resolution 'because, on second thoughts, they ordered the vote not to be printed'.[10] Nonetheless, opposition MPs continued to undermine the court's position in the Commons.

On 15 October, a committee of the whole house considering the question of supply reached the unanimous conclusion that they would only grant enough money to support the administration for one year.[11] If this measure was successful and a precedent set, it would necessitate annual meetings of parliament to renew the legislation in question.[12] As far as Sydney was concerned, the Commons were now behaving 'like a company of madmen', talking of 'freeing themselves from the yoke of England, of taking away Poynings' law'.[13] Thereafter, the committee investigating allegations of corruption in the revenue and forfeited estates produced a report deeply critical of the former administration and, in another blow to the court, members of the Commons exercised their power under Poynings's Law to reject a government bill. These developments led Sydney to warn members on 22 October that they were 'not to sit long'.[14] Despite this warning, members made clear that they were committed to their investigation into the revenue and forfeited estates, and rejected yet another government bill.[15] This marked the beginning of what McGrath has described as an 'all-out attack' on the government's legislative programme culminating in a series of dramatic resolutions of 27 October which saw the Commons assert their right 'to prepare and resolve the Ways and Means of raising Money' and their 'sole and undoubted right' to prepare the heads of bills to this end.[16] The following day, the Commons rejected one of two

[9] *CJI*, 2:18.

[10] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 217.

[11] *CJI*, 2:17; McGrath, *Constitution*, 81.

[12] McGrath, *Constitution*, 81; *An Account of the Sessions of Parliament in Ireland, 1692* (London, 1693), 9.

[13] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 213–14.

[14] *CJI*, 2:20–22; *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 214–15.

[15] *CJI*, 2:22, 24–25.

[16] *CJI*, 2:28; McGrath, *Constitution*, 83.

government supply bills on the basis that it had not originated in the Commons.[17]

Sydney did not react to the controversial votes of 27 and 28 October for nearly a week.[18] During the intervening period, further resolutions regarding official corruption and mismanagement of the forfeited estates and revenue were agreed, leading to the appointment of a select committee in the Commons to prepare charges against those involved.[19] A government militia bill was rejected on 31 October but once again, to placate the court, the vote was not recorded in the Commons *Journal*.[20] On 3 November, another government bill was rejected by the Commons.[21] According to Sydney, it was the rejection of the latter bill and the printing of the 'sole right' resolutions of 27 and 28 October that finally motivated him to act:

> When I saw this, and that the votes were printed by which they asserted these pretended rights, I thought I could do not less than shew that these assertions in prejudice of the crown of England were not allowed by me, and therefore I sent for the House of Commons, and having told them of their error I caused my protest to be entered in the journal of the Lords, and then prorogued parliament till the 6th of April.[22]

Sydney's 'protest' or prorogation speech of 3 November defended 'the undoubted right of the crown' to prepare legislation in accordance with established Poynings's Law procedure.[23] The speech was published in Dublin and reprints were produced in London and Edinburgh.[24]

[17] *CJI*, 2:28.

[18] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 218.

[19] *CJI*, 2:30, 34–35.

[20] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 218; *An Account of the Sessions of Parliament in Ireland, 1692*, 21.

[21] *CJI*, 2:34.

[22] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 218.

[23] *LJI*, 1:477–78.

[24] No Dublin edition is listed on the ESTC but the Edinburgh edition refers to Dublin as the original place of publication. For further evidence of the existence of an earlier published Dublin copy see *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 21; Henry Sydney, *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech […] On Thursday the Third of November* (London, 1692); Henry Viscount Sydney, *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech […] On Thursday the Third of November* (s.l., 1692); Henry Sydney, *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech […] On Thursday the Third of November* (Edinburgh, 1692).

As James McGuire has observed, Sydney's decision to prorogue parliament was most likely an attempt to prevent the committee of grievances from continuing their investigation into the conduct of the previous administration.[25] This makes perfect sense in terms of explaining the timing and motivation of the prorogation. It is worth noting, however, that the lord lieutenant seems to have been genuinely irritated that opposition MPs planned on publishing the 'sole right' resolutions, even if it was not the most important factor in his decision to prorogue parliament. After all, it is possible that he had initially expected the Commons to suppress the publication of the resolutions as they had done in the cases of the postage dispute and militia bill. What is more, once Sydney heard that the resolutions were to be published, he took steps to counteract any publicity they might receive.[26]

One London printed pamphlet, clearly sympathetic to the opposition in the Irish Commons, highlighted discrepancies between the prorogation speech that Sydney had presented orally on 3 November and the version that was subsequently recorded in the *Journals* and printed for public consumption.[27] The anonymous pamphleteer argued that the 'precise Expressions' of Sydney's original speech had left 'too deep an Impression in the Minds of those who heard them, to be easily forgotten' and the printed version was 'not in so severe Terms'.[28] Furthermore, the original speech had made reference to the 'printed Votes' of 27 October but the version subsequently printed and recorded in the Commons' *Journals* had not. The author also commented that the last 'publickly seen' issue of the *Votes* had been that of 25 October, thereby implying that Sydney had suppressed the 27 October issue of the *Votes* which contained the controversial resolutions. Although the pamphlet in question was a hostile source, these accusations are entirely plausible. Indeed, a version of Sydney's speech matching this description was recorded in the Lords' *Journals*.[29]

[25] McGuire, 'Parliament of 1692', 22.

[26] McGuire, 21–23; McGrath, *Constitution*, 89.

[27] This pamphlet was likely published in the context of the subsequent enquiries made by both houses of the English Parliament into the governance of Ireland in late February 1693.

[28] *An Account of the Sessions of Parliament in Ireland, 1692*, 26.

[29] *LJI*, 1:477–78.

Suppressing the *Votes* and publishing an altered version of the prorogation speech were certainly actions in line with Sydney's behaviour in the weeks that followed. During this time, the lord lieutenant complained of 'seditious meetings' and 'factious and riotous assemblies' conducted in Dublin by those disgruntled with recent developments.[30] He also oversaw the removal of several opposition MPs from their offices.[31] The conclusion of a report from the Irish judges vindicating Sydney's stance on the 'sole-right' claim, but confirming parliament's power to exercise their veto in order to reject government bills, did little to resolve the impasse.[32] Meanwhile, in England, both houses of the Westminster parliament launched investigations into Irish affairs.[33] The results were reported in two separate addresses to the king, both setting forth 'the great abuses and mismanagement' of affairs in Ireland.[34] In the summer of 1693, Sydney was replaced by a commission of lords justices and not long thereafter the Irish parliament was dissolved.[35]

The actions of the opposition, or country, MPs during the 1692 session, notably their attempt to assert authority over the executive with the 'sole right' resolutions and their attempt to limit the duration of supply in order to instigate annual parliamentary sessions, were tactics that can be associated with the English whigs. However, the existence of widespread Irish Protestant dissatisfaction with the previous administration and the terms of the articles of Limerick means that it is not possible to conclude that all those who had voted against the court during the 1692 session identified with the whig cause.[36] However, alignments with the English parties became somewhat clearer in the run-up to the 1695 session when one of the newly appointed lords justices, Henry, Lord Capel, a firm whig, succeeded in brokering a compromise with the leaders of

[30] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 219.

[31] Alan to [St John Brodrick], 6 May 1693 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/259–60).

[32] *CSPD 1693*, 55–56; McGuire, 'Parliament of 1692', 24.

[33] Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), 111.

[34] *CSPD 1693*, 55–56, 69.

[35] *CSPD 1693*, 193–96, 234; *By the Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governour of Ireland. A Proclamation, 26 June 1693* (Dublin, 1693).

[36] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 44–45.

the 1692 opposition.[37] This compromise would see the Commons acknowledge the crown's prerogative to initiate supply legislation by passing a government supply bill for an additional inland excise, while members would determine the 'ways and means' of raising the remainder of funds and prepare the heads of bills to this end.[38] Capel also secured permission to make changes to the judiciary, privy council and army in order to create a court party in the Commons led by members of the 1692 opposition.[39] Notably, Thomas Brodrick, an MP who had taken a leading role in negotiations on the 'sole right' compromise with Capel, was appointed to the Irish privy council, and his brother Alan was appointed solicitor general. The Brodrick brothers played an important role in leading Capel's new 'court' party in the Commons. With his own appointment as lord deputy in May 1695, Capel was in a strong position to resolve the 'sole right' dispute.[40]

When parliament met again in August 1695, the introduction of two anti-Catholic bills, one for disarming and dismounting Catholics and the other for prohibiting them from keeping schools or travelling abroad for educational purposes, helped to foster widespread goodwill towards the court in the House of Commons.[41] By early September, Capel's compromise with the 1692 opposition appeared to be working when six bills were given the royal assent, including a government supply bill for an additional duty of excise on beer, ale and other liquors.[42] Thereafter members unanimously resolved to provide more funds towards clearing government pay arrears and a committee of the whole house was appointed for deciding the 'Ways and Means' of raising the remaining money, and preparing the heads of a supply bill to that end.[43]

[37] *CSPD 1694–1695*, 236; HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, vol. 2, 63–64, 81–82, 99–115, 152, 159–60; D. W. Hayton, Eveline Cruickshanks, and Stuart Handley, eds., *The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 2002), 458; C. I. McGrath, 'English Ministers, Irish Politicians and the Making of a Parliamentary Settlement in Ireland, 1692–5', *English Historical Review* 119, no. 482 (2004): 593, 599, 601–5; McGrath, *Constitution*, 94; Horwitz, *Parliament*, 114–19.

[38] HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:161, 165, 169; McGrath, 'English Ministers', 606–8.

[39] *CSPD 1694–1695*, 461–62, 472–73.

[40] *CSPD 1694–1695*, 475, 500; *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 2, 12, 19.

[41] HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:161, 165, 169; *CJI*, 2:50, 52.

[42] *CJI*, 2:54.

[43] *CJI*, 2:55; HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:225.

Although the supply legislation progressed without hindrance, dissatisfaction over the articles of Limerick and Galway resurfaced in the House of Commons and found a focus in attacks on Sydney, Porter and Coningsby. While Capel intervened on behalf of Sydney and Coningsby, attaining promises from 'most of the leading men' not to 'meddle' with them, Porter was left to fend for himself.[44] Articles of 'High Crimes and Misdemeanors' were introduced against him alleging that he had exercised 'arbitrary and illegal Power', had 'notoriously favoured' Irish Papists against Protestants, and had been 'disaffected to his Majesty's Government and a great Favourer of the late King James'.[45] Despite the severity of the charges against him, Porter's supporters were evident in both Houses of parliament. The House of Lords demonstrated their reluctance to co-operate with the Commons' investigation into Porter's conduct, and in the Commons a retaliatory attempt was made to have articles of high crimes and misdemeanours introduced against Capel's chief secretary.[46] Porter's opponents suggested that his support in the Commons could be attributed to Catholic influences. Thomas Brodrick noted that 'wherever the Irish could influence elections, my Lord Chancellor's friends were chosen', and Capel later observed that 'The Commissioners of the Revenue and their collectors are all on his side; many gentlemen likewise that have suits depending in his Court, and all the Irish and Jacobite interest are entirely at his devotion'.[47]

Although the majority of members of the House of Commons had demonstrated their support for the court during the session, the personal attack on the lord chancellor was a step too far for many MPs. The articles against him were rejected on 25 October.[48] Thomas Brodrick noted that the proceedings had aroused sympathy for Porter outside of parliament too:

> [O]ur Bishops espoused his cause heartily, and made it the subject of several sermons, even before my Lord Deputy, and the inferior clergy failed not following the example of their diocesans. From the pulpit the dangerous consequence of this matter got into coffee-houses and became

[44] HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:229, 233, 235.

[45] *CJI*, 2:76–77, 82; HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:233–34.

[46] *CJI*, 2:90–91.

[47] HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:229, 233, 235.

[48] *CJI*, 2:102–9; HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:248–49; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 57.

> the subject of table-talk, that the Church was struck at in this great Churchman, and that nobody could tell where this might end.[49]

In mid-November, Capel observed that:

> The other party, by great assemblies in public houses, and by illuminations in taverns and great feastings express an unbecoming joy in a matter wholly Parliamentary and [which] consequently ought not to appear out of the walls of that assembly.[50]

In early December, the lord deputy further reported that the 'Lord Chancellor's party continue to have great and frequent meetings' despite preventative measures taken by 'the King's servants and officers of the Army'.[51]

By the end of the session, it was clear that the executive, led by a whig lord deputy, had resumed a positive working relationship with the legislature with the help of a group in the Commons comprised of MPs who had opposed the court during the 1692 session. Nonetheless, the failure of the articles of impeachment against Porter in the Commons, and the support he had received within the House of Lords and amongst the clergy, hints at the existence of a significant 'tory-inclined' interest within parliament and without.[52] That said, it is important to point out that this group do not appear to have had any doubts about the legitimacy of the Williamite regime. This was clear when the Irish parliament met in March 1696 for an adjournment and, in response to news of the Jacobite plot to assassinate the king, and following the lead of the English parliament, members unanimously agreed to prepare an association acknowledging William III as the 'right and lawful king' and promising to support and defend him against 'the late King James, the pretended Prince of Wales, and all their Adherents'.[53] A copy of this association was forwarded to London in May 1695, signed by every member of the house who had been present, with only one exception.[54] In

[49] HMC, *Buccleuch MSS*, 2:248–50.

[50] HMC, 2:257.

[51] HMC, 2:272.

[52] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 62; David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800* (Dublin, 2000), 46.

[53] *CJI*, 2:145–46.

[54] *CSPD 1696*, 208.

the aftermath of the parliamentary session, political tensions eased following Capel's and Porter's deaths in May and December 1696 respectively. Although the terms 'whig' and 'tory' were almost never used in contemporary correspondence at this point in time, commenting on Porter's death, Thomas Brodrick expressed his wish that the lord chancellor would be replaced with 'anything but a Tory. For if the division and distinction that is crept in among us, be continued, we must inevitably be ruined at last'.[55]

Capel was replaced by a commission of lords justices composed of Henry de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, Charles Powlett, marquis of Winchester, and Edward, Lord Villiers. While Villiers never went to Ireland, Galway and Winchester presided over the 1697 parliamentary session, which commenced on 27 July.[56] Both lords justices had ties to the English whigs, and with the support of the 'Brodrick' or whig faction in the House of Commons, the session proved to be a successful one for the court.[57] However, tensions between the Commons and House of Lords did threaten to disrupt proceedings. The Commons had prepared a draft bill of association for William III, and their deliberations about the inclusion of a clause abjuring James II reportedly gave 'great alarm' to many 'great churchmen'.[58] Although the contentious oath was abandoned and the bill was passed on a division in the Commons, it fell in the Lords.[59] Another bill, initiated by the Commons to prevent Protestants from 'being prejudiced' by the act confirming Jacobite outlawries and attainders, had also struggled in the upper house, indicative of a more sympathetic (or at least less hostile) attitude amongst members of the Lords towards the Catholic community.[60] The bill for confirming the articles of Limerick also faced stiff opposition in the Lords due to amendments made to the original articles by the Commons. It passed by a narrow majority on 23 September, and 14 peers registered their protest against it.[61] These developments demonstrated a significant division

[55] *CSPD 1696*, 459.

[56] *CSPD 1697*, 181.

[57] McGrath, *Constitution*, 132.

[58] *CSPD 1697*, 286–87, 290; *CJI*, 2:156, 166–67, 299, 306–7.

[59] *CJI*, 2:328–29, 492–93.

[60] *CJI*, 2:170.

[61] *CJI*, 2:186, 195–96; *LJI*, 1:635–37; *CSPD 1697*, 393; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 31.

between the more tory-inclined upper house, and whig-inclined lower house.

A number of economic issues had also emerged during the 1697 session that were of great concern to all Irish MPs, regardless of their political inclinations. Most notably, the Irish linen and woollen industries had come to the attention of parliament during the session as a result of developments in Westminster. Tory MPs there were calling for sanctions to be imposed on the profitable Irish woollen industry to protect the interests of British producers and merchants. They proposed that legislation to promote the Irish linen industry be introduced as a compensatory measure. These were difficult proposals for Irish MPs to deal with. Not only was Ireland's woollen industry to be curtailed in the interest of British producers and merchants, thereby undermining the kingdom's economy and constitutional status, the linen industry was the preserve of Presbyterians in the north of the kingdom so the compensatory measure on offer did not have much appeal for Ireland's predominantly Anglican MPs. While the heads of a linen bill were reluctantly prepared by Irish MPs during the session, it was not sufficient to subdue tory agitation on the issue and was not returned by the English privy council.[62] After the parliamentary session in Ireland had been prorogued in early December, developments in Westminster came to pose a further threat to Ireland's economic stability. The conclusion of the war in Europe had prompted tory MPs to push for the disbanding of William III's army. A bill was concluded by the English parliament to this end which provided that a significant number of those disbanded regiments be sent to Ireland where they would be maintained at a cost to the Irish establishment. The financial burden that this would place on the kingdom necessitated the 1698–1699 session of the Irish parliament.

At the outset of the new parliamentary session, which commenced in September 1698, MPs in the Commons had requested leave to initiate their own bill to impose regulations on the woollen trade. However, members had failed to make any progress in this regard by the mid-session recess so a government woollen bill was presented to the Commons thereafter.[63] Opposition to it quickly emerged on the basis that it was a money bill and, echoing the 'sole right' claim of 1692, claims were made

[62] *CJI*, 2:158, 177, 205.

[63] *CJI*, 2:246; McGrath, *Constitution*, 139–40; H. F. Kearney, 'The Political Background to English Mercantilism, 1695–1700', *English Historical Review* 11, no. 3 (1959): 491–93.

that it ought to have originated in the lower house. While the government woollen bill was passed, a related government bill to promote linen and hempen manufactures was lost with the prorogation of the assembly on 26 January 1699.[64] Galway expressed concern at the time that the English House of Commons would resent the 'unceremonious way in which our Commons dealt with the Linen Bill'.[65] This concern proved well founded when the English parliament responded by legislating directly for Ireland, passing a bill that completely prohibited Irish woollen exports.[66] Not long thereafter, in another humiliating encroachment on the constitutional status of the Irish parliament, the English House of Lords denied the appellate jurisdiction of their Irish counterpart when they overturned a 1697 ruling in favour of William King in a dispute with the Irish Society of London, on the basis that it was *coram non judice*.[67] These issues would dominate political discourse in Ireland in the years that followed.

By the end of the 1690s, Irish MPs had found common ground in their opposition to Westminster's encroachments on the kingdom's constitutional status. However, over the course of the decade, divisions along whig and tory party lines had been evident. Tactics pursued by MPs opposing the court in the House of Commons in 1692, most notably efforts to secure more control of the kingdom's finances and to secure annual parliamentary sessions, can be associated with the English whigs. However, due to widespread frustration amongst Irish Protestants regarding the conduct of the previous administration and the terms of the articles of Limerick and Galway, it is not possible to conclude that all of the MPs who had voted against the court in 1692 did so because they identified with the whig cause. The association between the 1692 opposition and whiggism was however strengthened in 1695 by the compromise on 'sole right' hammered out between leaders of the 1692 opposition and Lord Deputy Capel, a prominent whig. Yet once again, it

[64] *CJI*, 2:298; *LJI*, 1:751.

[65] *CSPD 1699–1700*, 35.

[66] Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*, 51; F. G. James, 'Irish Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 20 (1963): 577–78; Horwitz, *Parliament*, 256.

[67] *LJI*, 1:605, 636; T. W. Moody and Simms, eds., *The Bishopric of Derry and the Irish Society of London, 1602–1705*, vol. II (Dublin, 1983), 192–204, 230–36; M. S. Flaherty, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Annesley v. Sherlock and the Triumph of Imperial Parliamentary Supremacy', *Columbia Law Review* 87, no. 3 (1987): 604.

is not possible to conclude that all those who supported the court during that session were whigs, particularly as the majority of MPs in the lower house had demonstrated support for Lord Chancellor Porter when they had voted against his impeachment. Tensions between the Commons and the more tory-inclined House of Lords were also evident throughout the decade, in proceedings with regard to anti-Catholic legislation, in the support of the Lords for Porter in 1695, their rejection of the bill of association for William III and the division on amendments to the articles of Limerick in 1697.

Political Print

While political divisions in the Irish parliament were starting to crystallise by the end of the 1690s, this process was not yet being clearly communicated to readers in domestically produced printed publications. This is not entirely surprising. Regular reporting of the proceedings of the Irish and English parliaments did not take place until the 1760s.[68] In the latter case, although some information about parliamentary affairs in England had been made available to the public when licensing legislation had lapsed in the early 1640s, by the end of the decade the House of Commons prohibited unauthorised accounts of its proceedings from appearing in print. By 1660, Charles II proscribed the publication of any material pertinent to parliamentary affairs and, some twenty years later, the *Votes* of the English House of Commons became the only account of parliamentary proceedings made regularly available to the public.[69] Of course, by the later Stuart period, this began to change and electoral advice for voters and campaigns to influence legislation were increasingly evident in print along with growing numbers of publications offering commentary and opinion on political affairs.[70]

[68] Sheila Lambert, 'Printing for the House of Commons in the Eighteenth Century', *The Library*, 5, 23 (1968): 32; James Kelly, *Proceedings of the Irish House of Lords, 1771–1800*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 2008), XV.

[69] Jason Peacey, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 1 (2007): 3–9; Mark Knights, 'Parliament, Print and Corruption in Later Stuart Britain', *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 1 (2007): 49; Thomas Cogswell, 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1990): 187–215.

[70] Peacey, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', 5; Knights, 'Parliament, Print and Corruption in Later Stuart Britain', 50; Lambert, 'Printing for the House of Commons in the Eighteenth Century', 25.

The situation in Ireland was more restrictive. Throughout the seventeenth century, up to and including the 1690s, most publications pertinent to Irish political affairs were published by order of parliament or the executive. Throughout the entire period under consideration in this book, these authorised or official publications were usually printed by Andrew Crook, the king's printer. In 1692, material of this nature included: a list of MPs sitting in both Houses; Sydney's opening speech to parliament; the formal response of the House of Commons to Sydney's speech; and Sir Richard Levinge's speech upon his election as speaker of the Commons.[71] More material was published in connection to the 1695 session, including: a list of MPs sitting in the Commons; Capel's opening speech to parliament; the new speaker's acceptance speech; and two summarised versions of the poll act.[72] Although this material was generally innocuous, it sometimes offered readers a glimpse of tensions within the assembly. Sydney's printed prorogation speech of 1692 is a notable example in this regard, revealing as it did divisions between the tory-inclined executive and the whiggish country party in the Commons. A partisan 'spin' on certain matters was also discernible in other parliamentary publications at times. For instance, during the 1695 session, opposition, or 'tory-inclined', MPs in the Commons had tried and failed to have the words referring to Lord Deputy Capel as 'our excellent Governor' removed from the text of an address professing their loyalty to the king. This address was subsequently printed.[73] While it is difficult to imagine that the use of the word 'excellent' to describe the

[71] Henry Sydney, *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday the Fifth of October. 1692* (Dublin, 1692); *A True and Compleat List of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Together with the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, of the Present Parliament* (Dublin, 1692); *To His Excellency Henry, Lord Viscount Sidney […] the Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled* (Dublin, 1692); *CJI*, 2:13–16; *LJI*, 1:451.

[72] *The Names of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses Returned to Serve in the Parliament Begun and Held at Dublin on Tuesday the 27th of August, 1695* (Dublin, 1695); Henry Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, *His Excellency Henry Lord Capell His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, on Tuesday the 27th of August, 1695. Published by Authority* (Dublin, 1695); *The Substance of an Act of Parliament, Made in Ireland, in the Seventh Year of the Reign of King William the Third, for Raising a Tax for His Majesty, by Way of Poll, and Otherwise* (Dublin, 1695); *The Poll-Act Abridged and Methodized* (Dublin, 1695).

[73] *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament* (Dublin, 1695); *CJI*, 2:143–44.

lord deputy in a single publication would lead to a significant shift in public opinion in favour of the whigs, the incident suggests that Irish MPs believed that parliamentary publications had some impact on the reading public.

The most significant development of the 1690s, in terms of communicating information about political affairs to the wider public, was the resolution of the House of Commons at the outset of the 1692 parliamentary session to permit the regular publication of their proceedings, the *Votes of the House of Commons*, subject to prior authorisation by the Speaker of the House.[74] At the outset of the 1695 parliamentary session, the Commons again resolved that the *Votes* be printed, and that order appears to have been understood to apply to the 1697 session of parliament.[75] Thereafter, the order to print the *Votes* was made at the outset of every parliamentary session until the end of Anne's reign.[76] This order was not necessarily automatic. For example, in 1702, English MPs had neglected to issue the order and their *Votes* for that session went unpublished.[77] In terms of audience, while the printed *Votes* undoubtedly served a practical purpose of providing MPs with information about past parliamentary proceedings, the serial appears to have had some impact on the wider public.[78] The decision of opposition MPs in 1692 to prevent certain resolutions from appearing in the publication, and Sydney's hostile response to the publication of the controversial 'sole right' resolutions, suggests that both parties believed that there was an audience outside of parliament for the printed *Votes*, although in this case it is possible that both sides were more concerned with the reaction of English politicians than the Irish reading public. There is, however, some evidence that the *Votes* were of interest to those who were not involved in politics. During the 1697 parliamentary session, George Stephenson, deputy-marshal of the Four Courts, was reprimanded for describing members of the Commons as taking 'Matters into their Consideration inconsiderately, being led only by Faction' and also of 'being a Parcel of

[74] *CJI*, 2:13; *Votes of the House of Commons, in Ireland* (London, 1692).

[75] *CJI*, 2:45.

[76] *CJI*, 2:243, 318, 346, 493, 577, 645, 695, 747.

[77] Peacey, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', 5; H. H. Bellot, 'Parliamentary Printing, 1660–1837', *Historical Research* 11, no. 32 (1933): 86.

[78] See for example, Alan to St John Brodrick, 3 May 1705 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/197–8).

ignorant young Fellows for the most Part'.[79] Stephenson's outburst had occurred when a prisoner had accused him of overcharging him for his bed, citing resolutions that he had seen in the *Votes* of the Commons.[80] On another occasion, during the 1698–1699 session, a man who had been condemned in the Commons as a 'Common Gamester' petitioned the house requesting that they prevent the publication of the proceedings against him in the printed *Votes*.[81] The petitioner in this case was clearly concerned that the *Votes* had the potential to damage his reputation outside of parliament where his crime was already known and documented. Toby Barnard has also found evidence that the printed *Votes* formed the basis for discussions 'among gentlemen in Waterford and Lismore' and that copies were made available in the public coffee houses at this time.[82]

With the exception of officially authorised publications, little else on the subject of Irish parliamentary proceedings, or domestic political affairs more generally, was produced by Irish printers and publishers during the 1690s. Indeed, it is notable that the two general elections that took place during the period, in 1692 and 1695, received no notice whatsoever in Irish print output. This situation appears to be attributable to sensitivity on the part of both MPs and the executive towards unauthorised commentary on their activities, evident on occasions when they exercised their power to censor material for sedition, blasphemy or breach of parliamentary privilege. This was particularly clear during the 1692 parliamentary session when Sydney had made his opposition to the publication of certain parliamentary proceedings known, and in rumours that he had suppressed the printed *Votes* of 27 October which contained the controversial 'sole right' resolutions. A hostile attitude to political print was also evident in subsequent sessions. For instance, in 1695, the House of Lords had demanded that a sentence be 'struck out' of both the *Journals* and the *Votes* of 26 October 1695.[83] During the same session a paper (not necessarily a printed paper) entitled 'Several Useful Queries humbly offered to the Honourable House of Commons'

[79] *CJI*, 2:222–23.
[80] *CJI*, 2:218, 224.
[81] *CJI*, 2:281.
[82] T. C. Barnard, *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784* (Dublin, 2017), 49–50.
[83] *LJI*, 1:551–52, 555–56.

was denounced on the basis that it contained a number of 'groundless and malicious' allegations which were 'derogatory to the Honour of the Commons'.[84] During the 1698–1699 session, the Commons denounced as false, scandalous and seditious a pamphlet that touched on the 'woollen issue', and another pamphlet that reflected on the decision to disband the Londonderry and Enniskillen garrisons.[85] Meanwhile, the House of Lords had supported the inclusion of a clause against malicious writing in the association bill, although the bill itself was ultimately rejected.[86] Simply put, there was good reason for Irish publishers to be hesitant about publishing material that offered any information about domestic political affairs.

Nonetheless, Irish publishers did attempt to cater for demand for political news, albeit in ways that were unlikely to attract negative attention from the authorities. In this regard, it is notable that throughout the decade, some titles tangentially related to developments in the Irish parliament were produced. For instance, in 1692, Andrew Crook had printed, at the request of Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, *Modus Tenendi Parliamenta in Hibernia* and Henry Scobell's *Rules and Customs* to be sold together as a single publication.[87] The latter title had first been published in England in 1656 and dealt with procedures to be observed in parliament there, while the former emphasised the antiquity of the Irish parliament and its comparability with that of England.[88] As James McGuire has noted, the timing of the 1692 reprint was significant. As the 1692 parliament was the first such assembly to meet in the kingdom for two decades, Crook's publication could be regarded as a response to the novelty of the occasion, perhaps even an attempt to

[84] *CJI*, 2:127, 84–85. There is no ESTC record but the publication was referred to as a 'paper' and was not necessarily printed.

[85] *CJI*, 2:248; *By the Lords Justices and Council, a Proclamation. Winchester, Gallway. Whereas a Scandalous and Seditious Libel, Intituled, The Injured Protestant Vindicated, from False and Unjust Aspersions of Papists and Jacobites, or, an Answer by a French Officer in Cork, to a Letter Sent from an English Officer in Dublin, 19 Oct. 1698* (Dublin, 1698). There is no ESTC record for the pamphlet touching on the 'woollen issue', see TNA, SP 63/360/11–12.

[86] *LJI*, 1:664.

[87] *Modus Tenendi Parliamenta in Hibernia* (Dublin, 1692).

[88] Henry Scobell, '"Rules and Customs"', in *Modus Tenendi Parliamenta in Hibernia* (Dublin, 1692), 48.

provide information of interest to a new generation of MPs who had no previous parliamentary experience.[89] The publication may also be seen as an attempt to cater for a growing interest on the part of Irish Protestants generally, and the embryonic whig interest in particular, in the constitutional position of the Irish parliament in the aftermath of the 1688–1689 Revolution.[90]

As the 1690s progressed, reprints of publications originating in Britain also provided a means for Irish publishers to furnish their readers with material relevant to domestic political affairs. These reprints were typically copies of official documents originating in Westminster that addressed Irish affairs. For instance, in 1693 Crook had published the addresses of the English House of Lords and Commons pursuant to their investigations into the management of the revenue and forfeited estates as a single publication.[91] This reprint publicised allegations that Lord Chancellor Porter had favoured Catholics and was a supporter of James II. During the 1695 session, an Irish bill of rights had been prepared and sent to the English privy council.[92] That year, Richard Wilde had reprinted two copies of the 1689 English bill of rights, one bound with the 1694 triennial bill which provided for elections to take place in England every three years.[93] Much like Crook's 1692 reprint of the *Modus*, Wilde's publication was likely intended to appeal to those with an interest in the constitutional position of the Irish parliament, and specifically those who sought to secure more frequent parliamentary sessions in Ireland.

Although commentary and opinion on Irish political affairs was not a feature of domestic print output for much of the 1690s, this began to change during the 1697 and 1698–1699 sessions when a number of publications relevant to economic and constitutional matters appeared

[89] McGuire, 'Parliament of 1692', 11.

[90] Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*, 43.

[91] *The Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, Touching the State of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1692).

[92] *CJI*, 2:85, 105; W. N. Osborough, 'The Failure to Enact an Irish Bill of Rights: A Gap in Irish Constitutional History', *Irish Jurist* 33 (1998): 392–416.

[93] *Anno Regni Gulielmi et Mariæ Regis et Reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Primo. On the Sixteenth Day of December, Anno Dom. 1689. In the First Year of Their Majesties Reign, This Act Passed the Royal Assent* (Dublin, 1695); *Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown* (Dublin, 1695); *Two Acts of Parliament* (Dublin, 1695); *An Act against Corresponding with the Late King James* (Dublin, 1698).

in print. For instance, in 1697, a pamphlet of Irish origin was printed, touching on a failed attempt to fix the Irish coin. It contained a speech presented by the anonymous author 'in the Committee of the whole House of Commons, when it Sat on Ways and Means, August the 30th, 1697', as well as a series of 'Quæres' conveying concerns that a proposed English act would cause inflation in the kingdom and damage the Irish export trade.[94] For the most part, however, reprinted British pamphlets that made reference to Irish affairs were the primary means by which Irish publishers delivered political commentary and opinion to their readers. This was particularly evident in publications pertinent to the 'woollen issue'. English tory calls to suppress the Irish woollen industry had incited a great deal of debate on both sides of the Irish Sea, and this meant that there were many British publications touching on the matter available for reprinting. For instance, the bookseller Patrick Campbell had the pamphlet *A Letter from a gentleman in the Country, to a Member of the House of Commons of England* reprinted in 1697 and again in 1698. The anonymous author argued that the Irish woollen trade should be repressed because Ireland was the 'most dangerous' rival to English trade, and also suggested that the Irish parliament ought to be prevented from meeting altogether.[95] An anonymous response, also originating in England, was reprinted in 1698, setting forth the various limitations already placed on Irish trade and arguing that 'all the yearly Exports of Ireland, amount not to the Value of one East-India Ship's Cargoe'.[96]

Of course, William Molyneux's well-known pamphlet, *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated*, was also pertinent to this debate. It appears to have been first printed in Dublin

[94] *An Abstract of the Act for Remedying the III State of the Coyn of England* (Dublin, [1696?]); *The Case of the Coin Fairly Represented* ([Dublin], 1697); see also Louis Cullen, 'Economic Development 1691–1750', in *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, ed. T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan, vol. IV (Oxford, 2009), 137; Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*, 49.

[95] F. B., *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, to a Member of the House of Commons in England* (Dublin, 1698), 4, 8. F. B. may have stood for Francis Brewster, a member of the Irish Commons. However, Brewster published a response to the *Letter* entitled *A Discourse Concerning Ireland* (London, 1698). See Patrick Kelly, 'Recasting a Tradition: William Molyneux and The Case of Ireland […] Stated', in *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony*, ed. Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge, 2000), 87–88; Patrick Kelly, 'A Pamphlet Attributed to John Toland and an Unpublished Reply by Archbishop William King', *Topoi* 4 (1985): 81–90.

[96] *An Answer to a Letter from a Gentleman in the Countrey* (Dublin, 1698).

by Joseph Ray in two editions, one to be sold at his own shop in Skinner Row and the other for sale in London.[97] Molyneux's treatise drew on historical and legal precedent to demonstrate that Ireland was a kingdom distinct from England under the crown. On that basis, Westminster had no right to legislate for Ireland.[98] While the *Case* was not formally condemned in Ireland, a committee of the English House of Commons resolved that Molyneux's publication was 'of dangerous Consequence to the Crown and People of England'.[99] Two addresses to the king were prepared on the subject, the first condemning attempts on the part of his Irish subjects to 'shake of[f] their Subjection to England' and the second complaining about the reluctance of Irish MPs to co-operate with the proposed prohibition of the woollen industry and promotion of linen.[100] Although several printed responses to Molyneux's *Case* were produced in Britain, Irish publishers appear to have been reluctant to reproduce anything else connected to the controversial publication.[101] Nonetheless, other reprinted publications continued to provide Irish readers with a sense of the wider debate under way regarding the economic and constitutional implications of the proposed prohibition of Irish woollen exports. Indeed, other publications of Irish origin also sparked responses in London. This was the case with two Dublin editions of a 1698 pamphlet addressed to the English House of Lords which was written by Sir Richard Cox, a tory-inclined judge and former Irish privy councillor.[102] Cox had argued that the bill before the Lords for prohibiting Irish woollen manufactures was 'detrimental to the interest of both England and Ireland'.[103] Asserting that Ireland was a 'Colony for Empire' rather

[97] William Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated* (Dublin, 1698).

[98] See Kelly, 'Recasting a Tradition: William Molyneux and The Case of Ireland […] Stated', 83–106; Patrick Kelly, 'William Molyneux and the Spirit of Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988): 133–48; J. G. Simms, 'The Case of Ireland Stated', in *The Irish Parliamentary Tradition*, ed. Brian Farrell (Dublin, 1973), 128–38.

[99] *CJ*, 12:327, 336–38.

[100] *CJ*, 12:336–38; *The Humble Address of the House of Commons to the King* (Edinburgh, 1698).

[101] See Kelly, 'William Molyneux and the Spirit of Liberty', 136–48.

[102] [Richard Cox], *Some Thoughts on the Bill Depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords* (Dublin, 1698).

[103] [Cox], 3.

than trade, Cox suggested that the woollen industry could be suppressed in a 'Gentler way' by permitting the Irish parliament to discourage the industry itself.[104] A hostile response written by the tory merchant and diplomat Simon Clement was published in London and later reprinted in Dublin. Clement suggested that the Irish gentlemen could not 'hold long in so moody a Temper', but even if they did, they ought to be ignored for the sake of the English trade.[105]

Printed material published by order of the Irish government and parliament during the 1690s, most notably the printed *Votes* of the House of Commons, provided readers with much more insight into domestic political affairs than had been available hitherto. Although Irish publishers had remained cautious about publishing anything that overtly reflected on domestic political affairs for much of the 1690s, they did publish some titles indirectly related to Irish political developments, as well as reprinted British publications of obvious relevance to Irish affairs. Initially these were reprints of official publications originating in the English parliament, which were, over time, supplemented by material that offered various shades of opinion on political developments of Irish interest. While commentary and opinion on the 'woollen issue' can be seen as particularly significant in terms of the development of a culture of political print in Ireland at this time, these publications did little to communicate to readers a sense of growing tensions between the Irish parties.

Religious Print

Although printed material touching on Irish political affairs may have done little to elucidate or contribute to partisan divisions in Irish society during the 1690s, the heated interdenominational pamphlet exchanges that took place during the decade can be seen to have played a more significant role in this regard. It is already well established that during the 1690s the clergy of the Church of Ireland were thoroughly preoccupied with the threat that dissenting Protestants, particularly Presbyterians, posed to the established church. This position had been informed by several recent developments. The 1690s saw the already substantial dissenting community in the north of Ireland strengthened

[104] [Cox], 8, 14.

[105] Simon Clement, *The Interest of England, as it Stands with Relation to the Trade of Ireland, Considered* (London, 1698), 22–23.

by a large influx of Scottish Presbyterian immigrants.[106] Anglican leaders feared for the security of the established church in Ulster as the Scottish settlers 'retained an innate self-confidence and firm hostility to the Church of Ireland and the claims of the state'.[107] Furthermore, recent events in Scotland provided further justification for the hostility of the Anglican bishops towards Presbyterianism. Popular violence directed against the episcopal clergy in Scotland, particularly during the winter of 1689–1690, had seen many Anglican clerics illegally dispossessed of their livings. In June 1690, when the episcopacy was abolished in favour of a Presbyterian system of church government, those deprivations of Anglican clergy had been generally upheld.[108] Meanwhile, recent developments in England also appeared to threaten the position of the established church. There, the 1689 toleration act had effectively legalised dissenter worship. Thereafter, dissenters in England had, with the support of the whigs in parliament, called for the abolition of the test and corporation acts, measures that required public office holders in England to take a 'sacramental test', or in other words, to receive the sacrament of communion according to the rites of the established church at least once a year. This theoretically excluded nonconformists, both Catholic and dissenting Protestant, from holding public office, although some of the latter group 'occasionally conformed' to the established church in order to do just that.[109] Meanwhile, tories in the English parliament defended the test and corporation acts, and the interests of the established church more generally.

There was no equivalent to the test, corporation or toleration acts in Ireland, and Irish nonconformists were able to take an amended oath or affirmation permitting them access to public office.[110] Although the

[106] See R. L. Greaves, *God's Other Children: Protestant Nonconformists and the Emergence of Denominational Churches in Ireland, 1660–1700* (Stanford, 1997), 147–48; J. G. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714', in *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, ed. T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan (Oxford, 2009), 23.

[107] Alan Ford, 'Review: Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660–1714 by Phil Kilroy', *English Historical Review* 111, no. 444 (1996): 1289.

[108] Tim Harris, 'The People, the Law, and the Constitution in Scotland and England: A Comparative Approach to the Glorious Revolution', *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 1 (1999): 34–37.

[109] Horwitz, *Parliament*, 21–22.

[110] Greaves, *God's Other Children*, 151.

situation in Ireland was somewhat different to that of England, the position of Irish Anglican churchmen on the issues of toleration and the sacramental test came to be easily associated with that of the tories in the English parliament. Indeed, throughout the 1690s, Irish Anglican churchmen were primarily concerned with preventing the introduction of toleration to the kingdom. In the event that such a measure was to be introduced, this group generally supported the introduction of a sacramental test to Ireland. This had been evident during the 1692 parliamentary session when a government toleration bill had been introduced to the House of Lords. Anticipating substantial resistance to the measure, Sydney had written to England recommending the addition of a test clause as a reasonable measure for maintaining the security of the Church of Ireland because 'the dissenting party of this kingdom (in which there are so many Scots) is so very considerable'.[111] Unaware that Sydney had already made this request, the committee for religion in the Lords had set about redrafting the bill, insisting upon various provisos including the imposition of a sacramental test along English lines—changes that Sydney approved and subsequently transmitted to England.[112] However, due to the early prorogation of the 1692 parliamentary session, further debate on the matter had been put on hold.

As many historians, most notably Raymond Gillespie, have noted, in the interval between the 1692 and 1695 parliamentary sessions, the bishop of Derry, William King, published a controversial pamphlet, *A Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, which served to highlight, in a very public manner, simmering tensions between conformist and nonconformist clergy in Ireland. The pamphlet outlined the scriptural precedents for 'principle parts of worship' (praising God; public prayer; reading of the Bible; postures to be used in church; and the observation of the Eucharist), the ways in which Church of Ireland practices conformed with those precedents, and the ways in which the practice of dissenting Protestants differed. Overall, the pamphlet amounted to a comprehensive condemnation of many of the most obvious manifestations of Presbyterian worship. Although King may have

[111] *CSPD 1695 & Add.*, 214.

[112] *LJI*, 1:465; Philip O'Regan, 'William King as Bishop and Parliamentarian, 1691–7', in *Archbishop William King and the Anglican Irish Context*, ed. Christopher Fauske (Dublin, 2003), 78–81; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 188; Philip O'Regan, *Archbishop William King, 1650–1729 and the Constitution in Church and State* (Dublin, 2000), 69.

sought to limit circulation of the *Discourse* to his diocese, even before it was printed, rumours circulated that it would be 'a most furious book full of bitterness and railing', thereby bolstering widespread demand for the publication. By March 1694, King was planning the publication of a second edition aimed at a wider audience to be published in the less costly octavo format.[113] Of course, King's publication inspired responses from a number of dissenting ministers in Ireland. There is evidence that the presbytery of Down asked John McBride, the Presbyterian minister of Belfast from 1694, to prepare a response to King, and Robert Craghead, a dissenting minister based in Donegal, also published several replies to King.[114] However, the most notable extant response was penned by Joseph Boyse, who published his *Remarks on a Late Discourse of William Lord Bishop of Derry* in late April 1694, sparking a pamphlet war with King that continued well into 1695. While King's pamphlet and the ensuing debate did not explicitly address the 'political' issues of religious toleration and the sacramental test, King believed that his *Discourse* had made a considerable popular impression by empowering Anglicans who had previously 'endured the scoffings and continual disputations of the dissenters' to better defend their religion and modes of worship.[115] King and his supporters suggested that the debate had even won over some dissenters to the established church, but Craghead and others asserted that it had confirmed many more in their prior beliefs.[116] The Irish executive, meanwhile, feared that King's open hostility towards the dissenters would arouse sympathy for their cause in England where

[113] Gillespie suggests that King initially intended to limit distribution of the book to his diocese, but the second edition was aimed at the popular market: Raymond Gillespie, 'Irish Print and Protestant Identity: William King's Pamphlet Wars, 1687–1697', in *Taking Sides? Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland: Essays in Honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer*, ed. V. P. Carey and U. Lotz-Heumann (Dublin, 2003), 240; William King, *A Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God […] The Second Edition Reviewed by the Authour* (Dublin, 1694).

[114] Gillespie, 'Irish Print and Protestant Identity', 240–41.

[115] Gillespie, 245; William King, *A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King, D.D., 1650–1729: His Autobiography, Family, and a Selection from His Correspondence*, ed. C. S. King (London, 1908), 38–39.

[116] Gillespie, 'Irish Print and Protestant Identity', 246; [Robert Craghead], *A Modest Apology Occasioned by the Importunity of the Bishop of Derrie* (Glasgow, 1696) [n.p.]; Robert Craghead, *An Answer to a Late Book, Intituled, A Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God* (Edinburgh, 1696), 141.

the whigs were in the ascendant. Indeed, in order to take advantage of the favourable political circumstances, a delegation of Irish Presbyterians had been sent to London to lobby in support of a new Irish toleration bill.[117]

Boyse also seized the opportunity to make an appeal for toleration in print, publishing a concise argument in favour of the measure, entitled *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland*.[118] In it, Boyse asserted that dissenters had two desires: 'full security for the free Exercise of Religion according to their Consciences' and that no clauses should be attached to any future bill of indulgence 'as may disable 'em from serving their King and Countrey'.[119] On the latter point, he argued that the sacramental test had never been thought 'proper or needful' for Ireland as it would divide the already small Protestant interest there.[120] Furthermore, from a religious perspective, introducing the test would debase the Eucharist, not only by 'making it the Engine of a State-Party', but also by encouraging unworthy communicants who would prefer to 'profane that H. Table, then want Bread at their own'.[121] Church of Ireland representatives responded in kind. For instance, Tobias Pullen, bishop of Dromore, asserted that that 'few or none' would agree to toleration for dissenters, as it would lead to 'the multiplicity of Sects' and the advancement of the 'Popish Interest'.[122] Pullen also dismissed Boyse's suggestion that dissenters would 'desert the publick Service' in the event of any future Irish rebellion, pointing out that they could hardly expect better treatment from a Catholic regime.[123] Anthony Dopping, although not opposed to the idea of granting of an indulgence to dissenters, warned of the dangers of granting them unrestricted access to public office, arguing that 'No State did ever yet put its Subjects, into Places of Trust and Power, that thought themselves

[117] O'Regan, *Archbishop William King*, 77.

[118] [Joseph Boyse], *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, Represented and Argued* ([Dublin], 1695).

[119] [Boyse], 1.

[120] [Boyse], 2.

[121] [Boyse], 3.

[122] [Tobias Pullen], *An Answer to a Paper Entituled The Case of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, Represented and Argued* (Dublin, 1695), 1.

[123] [Pullen], 4.

obliged in Conscience to overturn its Constitutions'.[124] Both Dopping and Pullen made reference to the behaviour of dissenting Protestants during the English Civil Wars to support these allegations. In response, Boyse published a vindication of his *Case*, reasserting his earlier arguments and condemning Dopping and Pullen for their references to the Civil Wars, accusing them both of raking such matters 'out of the Grave of Oblivion'.[125] Although Pullen responded once again, this time Boyse did not.[126] Once parliament met on 27 August 1695 it became clear that appeasing the church interest for the sake of a peaceful session was a priority for the executive and the anticipated government toleration bill would not be introduced.

In the run-up to 1697 session, however, Anglican fears regarding the introduction of a government toleration bill resurfaced. Edward Synge published his *Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Non-Conformists* days before parliament was due to convene.[127] The pamphlet encouraged dissenters to enter into communion with the established church, thereby rendering a toleration bill unnecessary.[128] Nonetheless, Synge used the opportunity to take a swipe at the loyalty of dissenting Protestants by asserting that their opposition to occasional conformity was based on their desire to 'lay a foundation for the overthrow of the Established Church, and to get, in time, the whole Ecclesiastical and Civil Power into your own hands, as is already done by those of your persuasion in Scotland'.[129] John McBride's *Animadversions* responded to Synge's *Friendly Address* by condemning the publication as a libel against dissenters, which depicted them as schismatics in an attempt to keep them 'under the lash of penal Laws for Non-Conformity'.[130] Echoing Boyse,

[124] Anthony Dopping, *The Case of the Dissenters of Ireland Consider'd, in Reference to the Sacramental Test* (Dublin, 1695), 3.

[125] [Joseph Boyse], *The Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, Vindicated from the Exceptions Alledg'd against It, in a Late Answer* (Dublin, 1695), 10–11, 12.

[126] [Tobias Pullen], *A Defence of the Answer to a Paper Intituled the Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland* (Dublin, 1695), 22.

[127] [Edward Synge], *A Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Non-Conformists* (Dublin, 1697).

[128] [Synge], 8.

[129] [Synge], 8.

[130] John McBride, *Animadversions on the Defence of the Answer to a Paper, Intituled, the Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland* ([Belfast], 1697), 95.

he asserted that the denial of full toleration would 'weaken the most industrious profitable Subjects of the Kingdom', render it impossible to unite with them in case of future troubles and cause the 'alienating of the affections of all sober men from the Church-men, who are known to be the chief, if not sole opposers of this desire'.[131]

McBride's *Animadversions* also included a systematic defence of Boyse's contributions to the pamphlet exchange with Tobias Pullen in 1695. While McBride raked over the issues already discussed in that debate, he was also responsible for introducing some notable innovations. Crucially, McBride asked Pullen why, if he was so concerned with alerting the nation to the dangers of Scottish immigration, he 'doth […] not also, as a Faithful Watchman warn it of his Jacobitish Brethren, who swarms hither daily, and notwithstanding their publickly declar'd Contempt of His Majesty's Government and Authority, in denying Allegiance to him in Scotland, are entertain'd as bosom Friends by some Clergy-men in Ireland'.[132] Here McBride was, quite correctly, pointing out that the Scottish bishops had refused to accept William III as king, a decision which had led directly to the abolition of prelacy there. This allowed McBride to question Pullen's motivation for defending them, suggesting that he was either 'grossly impartial, or a Jacobite in heart'.[133] In so doing, McBride was the first contributor to these pamphlet exchanges to explicitly associate Jacobite sentiment with the Irish Anglican clergy.

While it may be observed that participants on both sides of these pamphlet debates hoped to influence public opinion in Ireland in the run-up to the parliamentary sessions of 1695 and 1697–1698, they were also conscious that the changing balance of power in the English ministry in favour of the whigs might increase the likelihood of a government toleration bill being introduced to the Irish parliament at those times. However, the political significance of the issues discussed was in no way communicated to the public through the course of these debates, which remained focussed on the legitimacy of dissenter worship and the implications of granting dissenters unrestricted access to public office, with reference to historical rather than current events, such as the Wars of the

[131] McBride, 117.

[132] McBride, 36, 43.

[133] McBride, 56–57, 73, 90.

Three Kingdoms and the abolition of prelacy in Scotland. If the authors of these publications were careful to avoid tackling political or topical issues in order to avoid running foul of the authorities, it is notable that the publishers of this material also exercised a degree of caution in this regard. Whereas those involved in producing Church of Ireland contributions to the debate were happy to identify themselves in the imprints of the relevant publications, that was not the case for any of the contributions written by dissenting ministers as those publications were more likely to attract negative attention from the authorities. Contemporaries were well aware of this situation. Indeed, when King had asserted in his *Admonition* that he had only ever seen two or three printed dissenter sermons that dealt with the 'most necessary Subjects' of religion, Boyse had retorted that 'if the Conformists have Printed more,'tis no wonder, when the Press has been more open to them, and they have had greater advantages for appearing in publick'.[134]

Through these interdenominational pamphlet debates, Anglican anxieties regarding the threat of Presbyterianism to the status of the established church, so frequently expressed in private, were eventually disseminated to a wider public through the medium of print.[135] Of course, Anglican opposition to Presbyterianism, religious toleration, and calls for the introduction of the sacramental test, were positions easily associated with the English tory or 'church' interest. In the years that followed, conflicts between dissenters and Anglicans continued to be played out in print on these issues, as well as a range of other matters including the validity of dissenter marriages, and the payment of tithes and other maintenance payments legally due to the established church.[136] Both Anglican and dissenting polemicists continued to raise questions about the loyalty of their opponents to the government. Indeed, dissenting Protestants were increasingly represented by their opponents as crypto-republicans, agitating for toleration and

[134] Joseph Boyse, *A Vindication of the Remarks on the Bishop of Derry's Discourse about Human Inventions* (Dublin, 1695), 12. For discussion of similar claims, see also Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), 110.

[135] See e.g. O'Regan, *Archbishop William King*, 71–79.

[136] Edward Synge, *Defence of the Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Non-Conformists An Essay Concerning Liberty of Conscience by a Friend to the Estadlish'd Church, in a Letter to His Brother, J. H.* (Dublin, 1699).

access to public office as part of their larger design to abolish the monarchy and prelacy. Meanwhile, Anglican clergymen were represented as crypto-Jacobites or Roman Catholics, hostile to the Hanoverian succession. These issues had all been touched on in the pamphlet debates of the 1690s, even if the primary emphasis had been on matters of fact, statistics and scriptural exegesis.

By the end of the 1690s, a 'whig' party was coming into clearer focus in the Irish parliament. The group that had opposed the court during the turbulent parliamentary session of 1692, came to be more closely associated with the whig interest over time due to their co-operation with the court during the sessions presided over by the whig Lord Deputy Capel, and Lords Justices Galway and Winchester. In terms of 'policies', this whig-inclined party can be associated with attempts to limit the duration of supply legislation to one year in order to bring about annual parliamentary sessions, and asserting the right of members of the House of Commons to draft that legislation. A 'tory' interest, closely aligned with the interests of the Church of Ireland, was also coming into clearer focus by the end of the decade. The failure of attempts during the 1695 session to impeach Sir Charles Porter, and tensions between the Commons and Lords, where the Anglican clergy were well represented on the bishops' bench, pointed to the existence of a significant tory-inclined interest within parliament. Outside of parliament, too, it was also clear that certain sections of Irish society had supported Porter's cause and were concerned about dangers posed to the established church by Protestant dissent.

While Irish print output relevant to parliamentary proceedings and religious debate may have provided some basic insight into growing tensions in Irish society, by and large, publishers had remained cautious about what they produced. Little by way of news and information on Irish political developments was evident, and aside from reprints of British publications, little effort was made to produce commentary or opinion on domestic affairs. After the dissolution of parliament in 1699, however, the atmosphere changed. The Irish parliament would not meet again for nearly five years. In the interim, proceedings in England with regard to the disposal of the remaining Jacobite estates served to deepen divisions amongst Irish Protestants.

References

A True and Compleat List of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Together with the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, of the Present Parliament. Dublin, 1692.

Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settling the Succession of the Crown. Dublin, 1695.

An Abstract of the Act for Remedying the Ill State of the Coyn of England. Dublin, [1696?].

An Account of the Sessions of Parliament in Ireland, 1692. London, 1693.

An Act against Corresponding with the Late King James. Dublin, 1698.

An Answer to a Letter from a Gentleman in the Countrey. Dublin, 1698.

Anno Regni Gulielmi et Mariæ Regis et Reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Primo. On the Sixteenth Day of December, Anno Dom. 1689. In the First Year of Their Majesties Reign, This Act Passed the Royal Assent. Dublin, 1695.

B., F. *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, to a Member of the House of Commons in England*. Dublin, 1698.

Barnard, T. C. *Brought to Book: Print in Ireland, 1680–1784*. Dublin, 2017.

Bellot, H. H. 'Parliamentary Printing, 1660–1837'. *Historical Research* 11, no. 32 (1933): 85–98.

Boyse, Joseph. *A Vindication of the Remarks on the Bishop of Derry's Discourse about Human Inventions*. Dublin, 1695.

[Boyse], [Joseph]. *The Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, Vindicated from the Exceptions Alledg'd against It, in a Late Answer*. Dublin, 1695.

———. *The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, Represented and Argued*. [Dublin], 1695.

By the Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governour of Ireland. A Proclamation, 26 June 1693. Dublin, 1693.

By the Lords Justices and Council, a Proclamation. Winchester, Gallway. Whereas a Scandalous and Seditious Libel, Intituled, The Injured Protestant Vindicated, from False and Unjust Aspersions of Papists and Jacobites, or, an Answer by a French Officer in Cork, to a Letter Sent from an English Officer in Dublin, 19 Oct. 1698. Dublin, 1698.

Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, 1685–1704. 15 vols. London, 1895–1972.

Clement, Simon. *The Interest of England, as it Stands with Relation to the Trade of Ireland, Considered*. London, 1698.

Cogswell, Thomas. 'The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s'. *Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 3 (1990): 187–215.

[Cox], [Richard]. *Some Thoughts on the Bill Depending before the Right Honourable the House of Lords*. Dublin, 1698.

[Craghead], [Robert]. *A Modest Apology Occasioned by the Importunity of the Bishop of Derrie*. Glasgow, 1696.

Craghead, Robert. *An Answer to a Late Book, Intituled, A Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*. Edinburgh, 1696.

Cullen, Louis. 'Economic Development 1691–1750'. In *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, edited by T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan, IV: 123–58. Oxford, 2009.

Dickson, David. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*. Dublin, 2000.

Dopping, Anthony. *The Case of the Dissenters of Ireland Consider'd, in Reference to the Sacramental Test*. Dublin, 1695.

Flaherty, M. S. 'The Empire Strikes Back: Annesley v. Sherlock and the Triumph of Imperial Parliamentary Supremacy'. *Columbia Law Review* 87, no. 3 (1987): 593–622.

Ford, Alan. 'Review: Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland, 1660–1714 by Phil Kilroy'. *English Historical Review* 111, no. 444 (1996): 1288–1289.

Gillespie, Raymond. 'Irish Print and Protestant Identity: William King's Pamphlet Wars, 1687–1697'. In *Taking Sides? Colonial and Confessional Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland: Essays in Honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer*, edited by V. P. Carey and U. Lotz-Heumann, 231–51. Dublin, 2003.

———. *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland*. Manchester, 2005.

Greaves, R. L. *God's Other Children: Protestant Nonconformists and the Emergence of Denominational Churches in Ireland, 1660–1700*. Stanford, 1997.

Harris, Tim. 'The People, the Law, and the Constitution in Scotland and England: A Comparative Approach to the Glorious Revolution'. *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 1 (1999): 28–58.

Hayton, D. W. *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties*. Woodbridge, 2004.

Hayton, D. W., Eveline Cruickshanks, and Stuart Handley, eds. *The House of Commons, 1690–1715*. Vol. 2. 5 vols. Cambridge, 2002.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Buccleuch MSS*.

Horwitz, Henry. *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III*. Manchester, 1977.

James, F. G. 'Irish Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century'. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3, 20, no. 4 (1963): 574–84.

Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. 12. London, 1547–.

Kearney, H. F. 'The Political Background to English Mercantilism, 1695–1700'. *English Historical Review* 11, no. 3 (1959): 484–96.

Kelly, James. *Proceedings of the Irish House of Lords, 1771–1800*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Dublin, 2008.

Kelly, Patrick. 'A Pamphlet Attributed to John Toland and an Unpublished Reply by Archbishop William King'. *Topoi* 4 (1985): 81–90.

———. 'Recasting a Tradition: William Molyneux and The Case of Ireland […] Stated'. In *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony*, edited by Jane Ohlmeyer, 83–106. Cambridge, 2000.

———. 'William Molyneux and the Spirit of Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Ireland'. *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 3 (1988): 133–48.

King, William. *A Discourse Concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God […] The Second Edition Reviewed by the Author*. Dublin, 1694.

———. *A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King, D.D., 1650–1729: His Autobiography, Family, and a Selection from His Correspondence*. Edited by C. S. King. London, 1908.

Knights, Mark. 'Parliament, Print and Corruption in Later Stuart Britain'. *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 1 (2007): 49–61.

Lambert, Sheila. 'Printing for the House of Commons in the Eighteenth Century'. *The Library*, 5, 23 (1968): 25–46.

Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, Henry. *His Excellency Henry Lord Capell His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, on Tuesday the 27th of August, 1695. Published by Authority*. Dublin, 1695.

McBride, John. *Animadversions on the Defence of the Answer to a Paper, Intituled, the Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland*. [Belfast], 1697.

McGrath, C. I. 'English Ministers, Irish Politicians and the Making of a Parliamentary Settlement in Ireland, 1692–5'. *English Historical Review* 119, no. 482 (2004).

———. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714*. Dublin, 2000.

McGuire, James. *'The Irish Parliament of 1692'*. In *Penal Era and Golden Age: Essays in Irish History*, edited by Thomas Bartlett and D. W. Hayton. Dublin, 1979.

Modus Tenendi Parliamenta in Hibernia. Dublin, 1692.

Molyneux, William. *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated*. Dublin, 1698.

Moody, T. W., and Simms, eds. *The Bishopric of Derry and the Irish Society of London, 1602–1705*. Vol. II. Dublin, 1983.

O'Regan, Philip. *Archbishop William King, 1650–1729 and the Constitution in Church and State*. Dublin, 2000.

———. 'William King as Bishop and Parliamentarian, 1691–7'. In *Archbishop William King and the Anglican Irish Context*, edited by Christopher Fauske, 73–105. Dublin, 2003.

Osborough, W. N. 'The Failure to Enact an Irish Bill of Rights: A Gap in Irish Constitutional History'. *Irish Jurist* 33 (1998): 392–416.

Peacey, Jason. 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800'. *Parliamentary History* 26, no. 1 (2007): 1–16.

[Pullen], [Tobias]. *A Defence of the Answer to a Paper Intituled the Case of the Dissenting Protestants of Ireland*. Dublin, 1695.

———. *An Answer to a Paper Entituled The Case of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, in Reference to a Bill of Indulgence, Represented and Argued*. Dublin, 1695.

Scobell, Henry. '"Rules and Customs"'. In *Modus Tenendi Parliamenta in Hibernia*. Dublin, 1692.

Simms, J. G. 'The Case of Ireland Stated'. In *The Irish Parliamentary Tradition*, edited by Brian Farrell, 128–38. Dublin, 1973.

Simms, J. G. 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691–1714'. In *New History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland, 1691–1800*, edited by T. W. Moody and W. E. Vaughan. Oxford, 2009.

Surrey History Centre. Midleton Papers. MSS 1248/1–3.

Sydney, Henry. *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech […] On Thursday the Third of November*. London, 1692.

———. *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech […] On Thursday the Third of November*. s.l., 1692.

———. *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech […] On Thursday the Third of November*. Edinburgh, 1692.

———. *His Excellency Henry Lord Viscount Sydney, His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday the Fifth of October*. Dublin, 1692.

[Synge], [Edward]. *A Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Non-Conformists*. Dublin, 1697.

Synge, Edward. *Defence of the Peaceable and Friendly Address to the Non-Conformists an Essay Concerning Liberty of Conscience by a Friend to the Estadlish'd Church, in a Letter to His Brother, J. H*. Dublin, 1699.

The Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, Touching the State of the Kingdom of Ireland. Dublin, 1692.

The Case of the Coin Fairly Represented. [Dublin], 1697.

The Humble Address of the House of Commons to the King. Edinburgh, 1698.

The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. 4th series. Vol. 2. 20 vols. Dublin, 1753–1800.

The Journals of the House of Lords of the Kingdom of Ireland. Vol. 1. 8 vols. Dublin, 1763–1801.

The Names of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses Returned to Serve in the Parliament Begun and Held at Dublin on Tuesday the 27th of August, 1695. Dublin, 1695.

The National Archives, UK. State Papers, Ireland. SP 63.

The Poll-Act Abridged and Methodized. Dublin, 1695.
The Substance of an Act of Parliament, Made in Ireland, in the Seventh Year of the Reign of King William the Third, for Raising a Tax for His Majesty, by Way of Poll, and Otherwise. Dublin, 1695.
To His Excellency Henry, Lord Viscount Sidney […] the Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. Dublin, 1692.
To the King's Most Excellent Majesty. The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament. Dublin, 1695.
Two Acts of Parliament. Dublin, 1695.
Votes of the House of Commons, in Ireland. London, 1692.

CHAPTER 6

Moderate Schemes and Rising Tensions, 1699–1708

Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester was lord lieutenant for much of the lengthy interval between parliamentary sessions from 1699 to 1703. His successor, James Butler, 2nd duke of Ormonde, presided over the 1703–1704 and 1705 parliamentary sessions, and Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was lord lieutenant when the 1707 session took place. While Rochester and Ormonde were easily identifiable with the tory interest in the English parliament, and Pembroke can be regarded as a moderate whig, all three strove to form moderate or 'mixed' ministries. Nonetheless, partisan tensions in Ireland continued to harden during the period. The growing confidence of the Irish whigs was particularly evident in the House of Commons at this time. Meanwhile, the influence of the tory or 'church' interest was more evident in the proceedings of the House of Lords and in convocation, which convened alongside parliament from January 1704.

In terms of print culture, as Chapters 2 and 3 have demonstrated, Irish printers and publishers had seized the opportunity presented by the adjournment of parliament in 1699 to take new risks, evident in the increased output of newspapers and other categories of cheap print addressing political unrest in both Britain and Europe at this time. The first part of this chapter will consider an increase in the production of publications relevant to domestic political developments that was also

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_6

evident at this time. However, by 1703 production of this material dropped off once again, indicative of concerns on the part of publishers that politically sensitive material might be censored once parliament reconvened. Such concerns were not without foundation as printed publications received a great deal of attention during the 1703–1704 parliamentary session. Nonetheless, some titles tangentially related to political proceedings in the kingdom, as well as anonymously published items directly addressing Irish parliamentary proceedings, were produced. In terms of communicating partisan divisions to Irish audiences, however, perhaps the most significant development during this period was the emergence of a body of publications concerned with 'high-church' sentiment in the kingdom.

Rochester's Administration and the Resumption Act, 1699–1703

Although the Earl of Rochester did not preside over any meetings of the Irish parliament, divisions of a partisan nature sharpened significantly during his time in office. The primary reason for this had been the decision on the part of the English parliament to 'resume' and sell Jacobite estates deemed forfeit in the wake of the Williamite-Jacobite War. As early as 1697, the tory-led opposition in the English House of Commons had started denouncing as exorbitant grants of forfeited Jacobite land that William III had made to his supporters and creditors before the articles of Limerick had been ratified. These MPs argued that the land should be resumed by the crown, sold, and the proceeds put toward the reduction of the public debt. By April 1699, a supply bill, which included a clause establishing a parliamentary commission to determine the value of the forfeited estates in Ireland, was agreed by the English parliament.[1] By mid-November 1699 four of the seven commissioners appointed to lead the inquiry had agreed a report valuing the forfeited estates at £1.5 million and condemning the administration of the forfeitures to date.[2] Although three of the forfeitures commissioners had refused to consent to the report, the English

[1] *CSPD 1699–1700*, 150, 152–53; Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977), 255–56.

[2] *CSPD 1699–1700*, 150, 152–53; J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland, 1690–1703* (Westport, 1976), 99; Horwitz, *Parliament*, 262–63.

House of Commons unanimously agreed to bring in a bill to resume all grants the king had made since the beginning of his reign in 1689, and to place those estates in the hands of trustees for sale.[3] Despite efforts to amend the bill in the House of Lords, which had prompted the House of Commons to retaliate by publishing the commissioners' report, the forfeitures resumption bill was ultimately passed, leading to the appointment of thirteen trustees tasked with resolving outstanding claims on the land deemed forfeit and selling the remainder.[4]

The trustees arrived in Dublin in June 1700. Based at Chichester House, it took them two years to deal with over 3000 claims on the forfeited estates. Of course, many Irish Protestants who had purchased or leased land from the king's original grantees now stood to lose their estates, including a number of prominent 'whig' MPs such as Alan Brodrick and William Conolly. These 'Protestant purchasers' initiated a campaign for counties and boroughs around the kingdom to address the king expressing their dissatisfaction with these developments.[5] The response to the campaign was positive and twenty-five addresses were returned. However, Brodrick noted that the clergy had in many places opposed the campaign and speculated that this may have been attributable to a 'fondnesse' on the part of Irish churchmen for the English tories, who had promoted the forfeitures resumption act, or for the provisions in that act which would see impropriate tithes granted to the church.[6] In either case, support for the forfeitures resumption act in both England and Ireland was associated with the tory cause, whereas whigs in both countries opposed the measure. This distinction was reinforced by reprinted publications touching on proceedings in both countries.

[3] Simms, *Williamite Confiscation*, 105; D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge, 2004), 75. Francis Annesley, John Trenchard, James Hamilton and Henry Longford subscribed their names to the report.

[4] Simms, *Williamite Confiscation*, 106; Horwitz, *Parliament*, 267–68.

[5] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 82; S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1999), 56–57.

[6] Alan to St John Brodrick, 20 Jan. 1702 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/51–2). Clerical opposition to the campaign appears to have been widespread. See Alan to Thomas Brodrick, [28] Jan. 1702 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/59–60); Simms, *Williamite Confiscation*, 105; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 82.

Numerous publications may be connected with the activities of the forfeitures trustees and the English legislation that had necessitated their work. Reprints of official material emanating from the English parliament on the matter included four editions of the 1698 resumption act, and a Dublin reprint of the 1699 *Report* of the forfeitures commissioners which had been published by order of the English House of Commons.[7] Perhaps capitalising on increased public interest in the proceedings of the Westminster parliament, in June 1702 Cornelius Carter's *Flying Post* advertised that the *Votes* of the English Commons 'for the last parliamentary session' were to be had 'in Setts' from him.[8] The reprinting and sale of this kind of official material, particularly the production of four Irish editions of the 1698 resumption act in different formats, suggests that there was high demand for this material. As the act presented a challenge to the monarch's prerogative to dispose of forfeited land, the issue had also been the subject of a good deal of commentary in England which was reflected in Irish reprints. Daniel Defoe's *You True-Born Englishmen* is a notable example in this regard. The satirical poem, which proved immensely popular and had 'rocketed' Defoe to fame, attacked English xenophobia and ingratitude directed towards William III, of which the resumption act was just a prominent example.[9] The poem was published anonymously in Dublin in 1701, in an edition that included 'A dialogue between the old horse at Charing-Cross, London, and the young one over against the Trustee's Court on Colledge-Green, Dublin', likely adding to its appeal for an Irish readership.[10] Imported material on the subject of the resumption act also appears to have been circulating in Ireland at this time. For example, the tory pamphleteer Charles Davenant had instigated debate in Britain with his pamphlet entitled *Discourse of Grants and Resumptions*.[11] Although this pamphlet debate is not reflected in

[7] *The Report of the Commissioners Appointed by Parliament to Enquire into the Irish Forfeitures* (Dublin, 1700).

[8] *Flying Post*, 29 June 1702.

[9] P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, *A Political Biography of Daniel Defoe* (London, 2006), 14–15; William Lee, *Daniel Defoe: His Life, and Recently Discovered Writings* (London, 1869), 45.

[10] [Daniel Defoe], *You True-Born Englishmen Proceed Some Trifling Crimes Detect* ([Dublin?], 1701).

[11] *Jus Regium: Or, the King's Right to Grant Forfeitures, and Other Revenues of the Crown* (London, 1701), 13; [Charles Davenant], *Discourse of Grants and Resumptions* (London, 1700); Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 79.

extant Irish reprints, Brodrick noted in private correspondence that one response to Davenent's pamphlet, entitled *Jus Regium*, while critical of the resumption act, had omitted 'very many' instances of the pressure the trustees and the 'vipers employed by them' were placing on Irish Protestants.[12] Of course, as an MP and 'Protestant Purchaser', and moreover, a man of means with strong connections to Britain, it is not surprising that Brodrick was able to procure such publications. However, in a letter to his brother the following year, he suggested that Irish Catholics were also paying close attention to British publications on the subject, commenting that 'The Irish brag [that] Dr Davenant is writing some thing much to the service of the Trustees & them [the Irish], & in our prejudice'.[13] These comments suggest that imported copies of the publications in question were circulating in the kingdom, or if they were reprinted, copies are no longer extant.

Although it was not unusual by this time to see Irish publishers using reprinted material to cater for public interest in domestic political affairs, in the case of the forfeitures resumption act, there is some evidence that Irish publishers were also producing original material using false London imprints in an effort to avoid prosecution. For instance, three London editions of a pamphlet condemning the behaviour of the forfeitures trustees, entitled the *Secret History of the Trust*, are extant, but one anonymously printed response to it suggested that the publication had originated in Ireland.[14] Another pamphlet with a London imprint, *The Several Addresses of Some Irish Folkes to the King and the House of Commons*, which attacked the campaign of the 'Protestant purchasers', was almost certainly printed in Dublin.[15] An extremely hostile response to it, entitled *A Letter from a Soldier*, condemned the four forfeitures commissioners who had concluded the 1699 *Report* which had led to the resumption act. The *Letter* also complained that the forfeitures trustees were exercising 'Arbitrary and Unlimited' powers, traits easily associated with Jacobitism, Roman

[12] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 13 May 1701 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/20–21).

[13] Alan to [St John Brodrick], 10 Mar. 1702 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/56r-s).

[14] [John Trenchard], *The Secret History of the Trust* (London, 1702); Lewis Moore, *Mr. Moore of Ballyna's Deposition, Relating to the Paragraph for in the Six Penny Secret History of the Trust* ([Dublin?, 1702?]).

[15] [John Trenchard], *The Several Addresses of Some Irish Folkes to the King and the House of Commons* ([London?], 1702), 1.

Catholicism and, in turn, toryism.[16] It was further alleged that *Several Addresses* had been the work of the trustees themselves and had been printed by their Dublin-based publisher Patrick Campbell, transcribed by one of their clerks, proofread by their secretary, and first published by one of the trustees, John Trenchard. Indeed, Trenchard was accused of circulating the pamphlet in the first instance by delivering it to a man in 'the publick Coffee-House the day before it was made Publick'.[17] These allegations appear to have some basis in truth as Campbell, Trenchard and their clerk were subsequently indicted for their part in the publication pursuant to an investigation initiated by the recorder of Dublin City.[18]

In terms of the development of the Irish parties, as D. W. Hayton has observed, the controversy surrounding the forfeitures resumption act had played an important role in contributing to the 'mapping' of English party cleavages to Irish affairs.[19] The act was clearly an initiative of the English tories but appears to have garnered some support amongst the tory or 'church' interest in Ireland. Meanwhile, the campaign against the act had been led by prominent members of the 'whig' party in the Irish parliament, notably Alan Brodrick.[20] In terms of the development of a culture of political print in Ireland, this episode is a notable one as Irish publishers had produced a good deal of controversial commentary and opinion on the subject, both through the reprinting of material originating in England, and the production of original material, albeit using false London imprints, or no imprints whatsoever. This material would have served to make readers aware of the wider political context in which the forfeitures resumption act had been introduced.[21]

[16] [Trenchard], 2–3, 6, 11.

[17] *A Letter from a Soldier, Being Some Remarks upon a Late Scandalous Pamphlet* ([Dublin?, 1702?]), 2.

[18] Alan to St John Brodrick, 7 Feb. 1702 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/55–6). Brodrick made reference to the rage of the trustees over the campaign of addresses and the bill of indictment against their printer 'one Camell', their clerk and William Trenchard, their secretary, for printing 'a libel made to ridicule the addresse'. No publishers by the name Camell operated in Dublin but it is safe to assume that he was referring to Patrick Campbell. See Alan to St John Brodrick, 22 Feb. 1702 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/56a–b); William Trenchard to 'Mr Recorder' (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/53–4); Simms, *Williamite Confiscation*, 126.

[19] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 72–74.

[20] Hayton, 87.

[21] Hayton, 72–74.

Ormonde's Administration, 1703–1707

By 1702 the estates in the care of the forfeitures trustees that were still considered forfeit were put up for sale.[22] By then, land values had dropped considerably and the proceeds raised only amounted to half the initial estimates. Simmering discontent amongst Irish Protestants in response to Westminster's decision to legislate directly for Ireland with regard to the forfeited estates and Irish woollen exports was evident in the behaviour of MPs when parliament reconvened. Ormonde had replaced Rochester as lord lieutenant in early February 1703, and would preside over the 1703–1704 parliamentary session.[23] Despite hopes that his strong Irish connections would translate into widespread support for the court, Ormonde's well-established reputation as a tory partisan meant that his appointment was not universally welcomed.[24] While Ormonde made a number of administrative changes to fortify the position of the court party in the Commons, he did attempt to maintain a moderate or 'mixed' ministry which included some prominent whigs, notably Brodrick who remained in place as solicitor-general. Furthermore, once Brodrick had offered assurances that he would act in the government's interest, Ormonde also supported his candidacy for the Commons' speakership.[25] Following a general election that does not appear to have inspired any printed publications, the Irish parliament met on 21 September 1703.

It soon became clear that Ormonde's concessions to the whig-inclined interest in the Commons did not have the intended effect. Both Ormonde and Edward Southwell, chief secretary of Ireland and MP for Kinsale, noted the presence of two opposition groups in the Commons: a 'Scotch' or 'Northern' faction, and the speaker's faction.[26] By 9 October, Ormonde warned the secretary of state for the southern

[22] For example, *Forfeitures under Mentioned in the County of Kilkenny, Consisting of Farms and Lands Following Will Be Expos'd to Sale at Chichester-House, Dublin, on Tuesday the 20th Day of April, 1703. Cant to the Best Bidder* (Dublin, 1703).

[23] *Flying Post*, 11 Feb. 1703.

[24] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 883.

[25] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 27, 91–92; C. I. McGrath, 'Alan Brodrick and the Speakership of the Irish House of Commons, 1703–4', in *People, Politics and Power: Essays on Irish History 1660–1850 in Honour of James I. McGuire*, ed. James Kelly, John McCafferty, and C. I. McGrath (Dublin, 2009), 70–93.

[26] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 150–51.

department, Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, that there was 'a very violent party that is for opposing everything that is for her Majesty's service, and are positively resolved to grant the supply for the supporting of the Government but for one year'.[27] While Brodrick led agitation for a one-year supply bill, a measure that can be firmly associated with the Irish whig interest, frustration with the resumption act was not limited to the whigs, and this sentiment served to disrupt proceedings when members targeted a number of relevant printed publications.

Significantly, the Commons unanimously resolved that a paragraph in the Dublin reprint of the 1699 *Report* of the forfeitures commissioners had 'falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused' the Protestant freeholders of Ireland.[28] Although the reprinted Dublin edition had been specifically identified and targeted by MPs, in effect, members of the Irish House of Commons were here condemning a report published by order of the tory-dominated House of Commons in England.[29] One of the forfeitures commissioners, Francis Annesley, was expelled from the House for his part in the publication on a division of 131 to 59, and two more of the commissioners were found to have attempted to create 'a Misunderstanding and Jealousy between the People of England, and the Protestants of this Kingdom' through their involvement in the paragraph.[30] Another notable publication censored by the House of Commons was a religious work written by John Asgill, which had first appeared in London in 1700. Asgill was a lawyer, and newly elected MP for Enniscorthy, who had amassed a significant fortune as a result of the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland. In his controversial *Argument*, he had attempted to demonstrate that those who had faith would not die but would instead go directly to heaven, a claim quickly condemned in print as blasphemous by representatives of the Church of Ireland.[31] Although Asgill's *Argument* was not relevant to the forfeitures resumption act, the 'many wicked and blasphemous Doctrines' it contained, had provided members of the Commons with a convenient excuse

[27] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 150–51.

[28] *CJI*, 2:317.

[29] *CJI*, 2:317; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 90.

[30] *CJI*, 2:321; *CSPD 1703–1704*, 141.

[31] John Asgill, *An Argument* ([London], 1700); Edward Nicholson, *An Answer to Mr. Asgill's Book* (Dublin, 1702); John Stearne, *The Death and Burial of John Asgill, Esq.* (Dublin, 1702).

to expel its author, a prominent beneficiary of forfeited land, from the House.[32]

Other printed publications also came to the attention of MPs in the Commons during the session. In mid-November, members took into consideration a book entitled 'The Million Project', which discussed the value of the forfeited Jacobite estates in Ireland.[33] The publication in question can be identified as *Proposals for Raising a Million of Money out of the Forfeited Estates in Ireland*, likely written some years earlier by Thomas Brodrick.[34] Although many of those present during the Commons' debate on the 'Million Project' criticised its contents, the court party declined the opportunity to go after Brodrick on this occasion due to concerns that such an action might bolster support for the Broderician whigs.[35] The Commons had also ordered that James Malone's edition of *The Memoirs of King James the Second* be burnt, and immediately afterwards had agreed a resolution expressing their opinion that the Catholics of Ireland still retained hopes of a Stuart restoration.[36] Although the *Memoirs of King James* and Asgill's *Argument* would likely have invited censure under normal circumstances, for showing sympathy to the Jacobite cause and blasphemy respectively, the attention given to the 1699 *Report* of the forfeitures commissioners and the 'Million Project' during the session had nothing to do with protecting the public from their controversial content and everything to do with the political capital that might be gained by investigating them.

While it is notable that members of the Commons were using their power to censor publications in order to express frustration with the administration of the country, during the 1703 session they also attempted to exercise their authority to publish material to the same end. Most notably, the Broderician faction were behind a controversial address,

[32] *CJI*, 2:317, 333–34; *CSPD 1703–1704*, 130–32, 156–57. For reaction to Asgill's condemnation in London see *Egmont MSS*, II, 213.

[33] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 198.

[34] *Proposals for Raising a Million of Money out of the Forfeited Estates in Ireland* (Dublin, 1704).

[35] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 198.

[36] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 198; *CJI*, 2:390.

or representation, to the queen outlining a number of Irish economic grievances, including restrictions on foreign trade, the cost of the disbanded regiments on the Irish establishment, corruption in the revenue and neglect of officials in 'considerable civil employments'.[37] This representation also proposed that Irish grievances would be resolved if the queen restored her Irish subjects 'to a full enjoyment' of the constitution, something that might be achieved if the 'want of frequent parliaments' was remedied, or 'a more firm and strict union with your Majesty's subjects of England' was promoted.[38] Historians have been divided as to whether this call for an Anglo-Irish union was genuine.[39] If the representation is seen as a tactical move on the part of the whig opposition in the Commons hoping to disrupt the passage of the two-year supply bill, as C. I. McGrath has argued, further examples of such manoeuvring were evident over the months that followed in repeated whig efforts to have the representation published despite intense opposition from the executive.[40] The entire episode demonstrates that both sides of the political divide believed that publishing the representation would bring attention to Irish parliamentary proceedings 'out of doors', even if they were diametrically opposed as to whether that would be beneficial to the kingdom.

By and large, it had been a very difficult session for the executive in terms of procuring the two-year supply bill due to agitation for annual supplies led by the Broderician whigs.[41] The court also had a difficult task managing embarrassing expressions of Irish Protestant resentment directed towards the English parliament and Irish administration,

[37] *CJI*, 2:341–42.

[38] *CJI*, 2:341–42.

[39] See C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714* (Dublin, 2000), 172; C. I. McGrath, 'The "Union" Representation of 1703 in the Irish House of Commons: A Case of Mistaken Identity?', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 23 (2008): 11–35; J. G. Simms, 'The Treaty of Limerick', in *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649–1730*, ed. D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien (London, 1987), 259; James Kelly, 'The Origins of the Act of Union: An Examination of Unionist Opinion in Britain and Ireland, 1650–1800', *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 99 (1987): 237; Jim Smyth, '"Like Amphibious Animals": Irish Protestants, Ancient Britons, 1691–1707', *Historical Journal* 36, no. 4 (1993): 788.

[40] McGrath, *Constitution*, 172; McGrath, 'The "Union" Representation of 1703 in the Irish House of Commons: A Case of Mistaken Identity?', 11–35.

[41] McGrath, *Constitution*, 181.

particularly evident in the condemnation of the *Report* of the forfeitures commissioners and the content of the Commons' representation ostensibly seeking an Anglo-Irish union. However, perhaps the most important development during the 1703–1704 session was the preparation and passage of a bill to prevent the further growth of popery in the kingdom, a measure that helped to create goodwill towards the court and unite MPs in the Commons.[42] Although the draft popery bill was prepared and transmitted to London without incident, it was returned with five significant amendments, the most controversial of which would introduce the sacramental test to Ireland.[43] These amendments had resulted from English tory calls from the outset of Queen Anne's reign to have the practice of occasional conformity prohibited and Protestant dissenters denied access to public office altogether. While their attempts to pass bills to that end in England had failed, tories in the English parliament were successful in their efforts to tack an occasional conformity clause onto the Irish popery bill in 1703.[44] While any amendment to the heads of a bill prepared by the Irish parliament might have been expected to garner a hostile response in Dublin, Irish Protestant enthusiasm for the popery bill ultimately outweighed constitutional concerns on this occasion. The bill was passed by both houses of the Irish parliament in February 1704.[45] Although, members of the Commons had then granted leave for the preparation of the heads of a bill giving Irish dissenters 'such Toleration' as was allowed to their English counterparts, there was little real appetite amongst MPs, even whig MPs, to introduce such a measure.[46] As Hayton has demonstrated, Irish whig disinterest in the cause of dissent had been evident earlier in the session, when those MPs had offered little by way of resistance to proposals from Ormonde's court party that the *regium donum*, a grant of £1,200

[42] See James Kelly, 'Sustaining a Confessional State', in *Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland and Europe, 1689–1800*, ed. James Kelly, John Bergin, and D. W. Hayton (Dublin, 2010), 51–52.

[43] See Kelly, 52; Philip O'Regan, *Archbishop William King, 1650–1729 and the Constitution in Church and State* (Dublin, 2000), 139.

[44] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 2nd ed. (London, 1987), 99; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 188–89.

[45] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 542; *CJI*, 2:76.

[46] *CJI*, 2:401.

provided annually for the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers from the establishment, was unnecessary.[47]

In terms of parliamentary publishing, no major developments took place during the 1703 session. The order to print the *Votes* was renewed as usual, and a list of the members of both houses of parliament was published.[48] The opening addresses of the Commons to the lord lieutenant and the queen were not ordered into print, but those of the Lords were. This pattern is evident throughout the remainder of the sessions of the period, and likely resulted from the inclusion of the relevant speeches and addresses of the Commons in the printed *Votes*.[49] In terms of censorship, MPs appear to have been more concerned about political point-scoring than protecting the public from controversial material. This was evident in the flurry of investigations into printed publications relevant to the forfeitures trustees at the outset of the session, and again in the struggle between the court and opposition with regard to the printing of the controversial representation seeking a political union with England. Whig MPs had also raised concerns in the Commons about a rising tide of Jacobite sentiment in the kingdom, evident in discussions surrounding a bill 'to make it High Treason in this Kingdom, by Word or Writing, to impeach the Succession of the Crown'.[50] However, the House of Lords had rejected a motion to hear that bill, and later prepared their own bill to the same end which received the royal assent on 4 March 1704, the date on which parliament was prorogued.[51]

Although there was good reason for Irish publishers to maintain a cautious approach with regard to coverage of domestic political affairs, a number of political developments of Irish interest did receive some attention in print, including further proceedings in England regarding the prohibition on Irish woollen exports and the 1704 Irish popery act.

[47] *CJI*, 2:341, 401; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 93; D. W. Hayton, 'A Debate in the Irish House of Commons in 1703: A Whiff of Tory Grapeshot', *Parliamentary History* 10 (1991): 151–63.

[48] *CJI*, 2:4; *CJI*, 2:318; *A True List of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Together with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of This Present Parliament* (Dublin, 1703).

[49] For example, *Votes of the House of Commons, in Ireland* (Dublin, 1703), 8–9, 12–13.

[50] *CJI*, 2:319, 329.

[51] *CJI*, 2:18, 21, 26, 87.

In particular, reprints of English publications served to provide insight into the bitter divisions between the English parties on the issue of the sacramental test. For example, in 1702 Matthew Gunne reprinted a pamphlet often attributed to Defoe, entitled *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*.[52] It complained that the Church of England party had branded dissenters as men who sought to 'disturb Government' and 'kill kings' in order to prohibit them access to public office.[53] Meanwhile, a reprinted edition of Defoe's *The Paralel: Or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to Prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland* provided detail on Irish political developments.[54] In that pamphlet, Defoe sought to emphasise the role that the English ministry had played in having the test clause tacked onto to the Irish popery bill. With the exception of Archbishop William King, Defoe exonerated the Irish Anglican clergy for any involvement in promoting the measure but warned that 'Scandal' would forever lie on them if they advocated its rigorous execution.[55] Meanwhile, the tory side of the debate was articulated by the Irish non-juror Charles Leslie, whose pamphlet *New Association* charged low-church or latitudinarian clergymen with placing the established church in danger by seeking comprehension for dissenters.[56]

A number of publications originating in Ireland had also offered commentary on the progress of the popery bill. Remarkably, the opinion of Irish Catholics on the issue was represented in this body of

[52][Daniel Defoe], *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty* (London, [1702?]); See also Gilbert Burnet, *The Bishop of Salisbury's Speech in the House of Lords* (Dublin, 1704); Benjamin Hoadly, *The Reasonableness of Constant Communion with the Church of England* (Dublin, 1704).

[53][Defoe], *A New Test*, 8.

[54][Daniel Defoe], *The Paralel: Or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to Prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland* (Dublin, 1705). The ESTC suggests that the imprint, 'Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1705', may be false. In 1712, Tisdall asserted that the *Paralel* may have been printed in Belfast but was definitely circulated there 'with great Caution and Secrecy' ([William Tisdall], *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland* (Dublin, 1712), 75–76).

[55][Defoe], *Paralel* [n.p.] 19, 23–26.

[56]See William Kolbrener, 'The Charge of Socinianism: Charles Leslie's High Church Defense of "True Religion"', *Journal of the Historical Society* 3, no. 1 (2003): 7.

material. These publications included three editions of a protest against the bill entitled *The case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland*, two printed before the bill had been returned from England in accordance with Poynings's Law and one after the bill had been presented to parliament.[57] The *Case* argued that the bill would be a violation of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and such a breach of public faith that it would represent an insult to 'King William's honour'.[58] Another Dublin printed pamphlet condemning the popery bill offered the unusual argument that denying Catholics the right to purchase, take mortgages, or lease land would pose a threat to the economy and security of the kingdom on the basis that it left their money readily accessible for treasonous ends.[59] Of course, material in support of the popery bill was also printed in Ireland. One comprehensive account of proceedings in the Irish parliament on the measure was published in Dublin. It included an account of arguments against the bill put forward by Sir Theobald Butler and Sir Stephen Rice, representatives of Roman Catholics comprehended by the articles of Limerick and Galway, before both houses of parliament. They had argued that the bill was a violation of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and was a comparable 'Breach of Publick Faith' to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).[60] The publication provided details of the subsequent debate amongst members of the Commons, and a brief account of proceedings in the House of Lords on 28 February when the Catholic representatives were heard there.[61] The text of the articles of Limerick, an abstract of the Irish act confirming and amending them, and an abstract of the 1704 popery act were all appended to the publication.[62] Although the publication clearly endorsed the popery act, it is notable that both the author and publisher

[57] The absence of an imprint on one edition suggests that it was printed for circulation to MPs. See *The case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland* (Dublin?, 1703?) (ESTC no. N40315). Another edition of the *Case* did have an imprint stating 'Dublin: reprinted, 1703' (ESTC no. T213893). The third edition referred to the bill by its full title (ESTC no. N40723).

[58] *CSPD 1703–1704*, 180–82. The articles of Limerick were appended to the first two editions of the *Case*. See also *The Articles of Limerick, Ratified under the Great Seal of England. William Rex* (Dublin, [1703?]).

[59] *The State and Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland* (Dublin, [1705?]), [2]–4.

[60] *An Impartial Relation of the Several Arguments of Sir Stephen Rice, Sir Theobald Butler, and Councellor Malone, at the Bar of the House of Commons of Ireland, Feb. 22. and at the Bar of the House of Lords, Feb. 28th. 1703* (Dublin, 1704), 14–15; *CSPD 1703–1704*, 542.

[61] *Impartial Relation*, 21–29; *CJI*, 2:73; *CSPD 1703–1704*, 542.

[62] *Impartial Relation*, 47.

involved remained anonymous, a sign that publishing material offering so much insight into domestic political proceedings was still regarded as a risky venture. Indeed, on the whole, commentary and opinion on Irish political developments was quite muted once the Irish parliament had convened in 1703.

As the court had maintained a small majority in the Commons during the 1703–1704 parliamentary session, new elections were not deemed necessary and the assembly reconvened in February 1705.[63] Nonetheless, the whiggish 'country' interest had posed a challenge to the court in 1703–1704. As a result, a number of appointments were made in advance of the 1705 session to strengthen the position of the executive in parliament, including the replacement of Brodrick as solicitor-general by the tory Sir Richard Levinge. These changes proved effective, and despite some agitation to limit the duration of the supply bill to one year, ten days after the session had commenced, Southwell observed that there was 'a very great harmony' in the House.[64]

By the end of the session Ormonde's supporters in the Commons were so confident of their position that they were able to antagonise their opponents with an address to the lord lieutenant committing the House to provide additional funds if there was any overspend on fortifications, arms and ammunition. It is also notable that a motion put forward on the day parliament was prorogued to thank Brodrick for his services as speaker during the session was rejected.[65] Furthermore, members of the Commons demonstrated their widespread reluctance to revisit the issue of the test clause in their reaction to a petition seeking its repeal, submitted by the dissenting Protestants of the north of Ireland. Southwell observed that there were 'many warm speeches upon it' but members had eventually resolved to leave it on the table and order that 'no notice' be taken of it in the printed *Votes*.[66] Although MPs in the Commons were not interested in advocating the cause of Protestant dissent, they were not particularly enthusiastic about defending the interests of the established church either. During the session, the Commons had clashed with convocation and the House of Lords over a bill to limit the tithe

[63] McGrath, *Constitution*, 181.

[64] Edward Southwell to Sir Charles Hedges, 20 Feb. 1705 (TNA, SP 63/365/83)

[65] *CJI*, 2:151; Southwell to Hedges, 16 June 1705 (TNA, SP 63/365/344); Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 18 June 1705 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/211–12).

[66] Southwell to Hedges, 14 Mar. 1705 (TNA, SP63/365/122–3).

on flax and hemp. When convocation had questioned the authority of MPs to pass such a measure, the Commons had asserted that they were the only public representatives 'intrusted with the Civil Rights and Properties of all the Commons in Ireland, as well Clergy as Laity'.[67] When the contentious bill finally came before the Lords thereafter, four bishops had entered a protest against it on the basis that it halved the tithe payable on hemp and flax for a term of three years when the clergy were entitled to the full amount 'by Divine Right, which no human Law can set aside'.[68]

Convocation had been meeting alongside parliament from January to March 1704, and again from February 1705. Some tension between the upper and lower houses of convocation in Ireland was evident during the 1704 and 1705 sessions. This arose from frustration on the part of the clergy with the bishops about the progress of a number of measures. Members of the lower house had referred a good deal of business to the upper house, including recommendations for censoring the theatre, resolving abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, tackling the growth of Roman Catholicism in the kingdom, and propositions for canonical reform.[69] However, by April 1705 none of that business had been concluded, a situation entirely attributable to inaction on the part of the upper house of the assembly. With a view to spurring the bishops into action, some members of the lower house started to make preparations to publish their proceedings, but Archbishop King laboured to suppress the publication, fearing the detrimental effect of revealing to the world that the bishops had done nothing whatsoever to show that they had 'ecclesiastical affairs in their minds'.[70]

Overall, however, there is relatively little evidence to suggest that there were serious divisions between the two houses of convocation

[67] S. J. Connolly, 'Reformers and Highflyers: The Post-Revolution Church', in *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, ed. James McGuire and Kenneth Milne (Dublin, 1995), 156; *CJI*, 2:447.

[68] *CJI*, 2:148.

[69] Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVIII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 2. Lower House: 1703–1713; Both Houses: 1714–1869*, vol. XVIII (Woodbridge, 2006), 69. Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*, vol. XVII (Woodbridge, 2006), 9–12.

[70] William King to John Vesey, archbishop of Tuam, 17 Apr. 1705, quoted in Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. 2 (London, 1840), 177.

at this time, or that high-church sentiment was prevalent in the lower house. The clergy had demonstrated their support for the bishops in 1704 when a distinctly whiggish or low-church pamphlet, deeply critical of the episcopacy, had been brought to their attention.[71] They had unanimously agreed that the publication in question, entitled *A Timely Caveat of the Inferior Clergy of Ireland*, was a scandalous libel and declared its author an 'inveterate enemy' to the established church, its clergy and particularly the episcopal order.[72] Furthermore, the resolutions condemning the *Timely Caveat* were ordered into print and instructions issued that they 'be dispersed through the kingdom' at the charge of the House.[73] It is also notable that when allegations were made that William Tisdall, proctor for Kilmacduagh, had spoken 'very injurious words' against the bishops of Limerick, Ossory and Killaloe and again, when Ralph Lambert, precentor and dean of Down, was accused of making comments disrespectful of episcopal authority, the lower house upheld the innocence of their members.[74] As Gerald Bray has pointed out, this was an unlikely response if high-church sentiment was running rampant in the assembly at this time.[75]

While divisions along high-church and low-church lines do not appear to have been disrupting proceedings in either parliament or convocation at this time, divisions of this nature were having some impact 'out of doors'. When both assemblies had convened for a mid-session recess in May 1705, Alan Brodrick complained that 'We swarm with pamphlets' and that it was 'incredible how a certain principle spreads in this Kingdome; if it be not the wish of some people elsewhere to have it doe soe methinks some method should be taken to prevent it'.[76] Here Brodrick was referring to an escalation of tory or high-church sentiment in the kingdom, and hinting that this development might be in the interest of English tories or high-churchmen. In contrast, Edward Wetenhall, now bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, expressed concern about low-church sentiment, complaining of the recent 'Deluge of Atheism' and deism evident in the proliferation of 'Pestilent Books' in

[71] *A Timely Caveat of the Inferiour Clergy of Ireland, against a Bill Entituled, an Act for Purchasing Glebes, &c.* (London, 1704). No Dublin edition appears to be extant.

[72] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVIII:51–52.

[73] Bray, XVIII:51–52, 60, 61.

[74] Bray, XVIII:64, 71; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 136.

[75] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVIII:64, 71; Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:8.

[76] Alan to St John Brodrick, 8 May 1705 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/201–2).

the kingdom.[77] Both of these complaints seem to refer to the impact of imported publications as there is no evidence for a 'swarm' or 'deluge' of domestically printed or reprinted material to fit with this description. Parliament had only published a few items relevant to its proceedings, including the usual speeches at the opening of the session. A handful of other items related to domestic political proceedings had appeared in print, but nothing particularly controversial in nature survives. Similarly, publications emanating from convocation can only be characterised as innocuous.[78] Indeed, with the exception of the *Timely Caveat*, which had been the subject of an investigation in the House of Lords, no publications were censored by parliament during the 1705 session. Nonetheless, a number of resolutions passed by the Commons and convocation when both assemblies reconvened after the recess serve to substantiate contemporary claims that there was an escalation of partisan sentiment 'out of doors' at this time.

On 25 May 1705 the Commons unanimously agreed 'that endeavouring to create or promote Misunderstandings betwixt the Protestants of this Kingdom' and 'writing, or dispersing Pamphlets or otherwise to insinuate Danger to the established Church' were activities of 'dangerous Consequence' to the government and succession and as such tended to 'promote Popery and the Interest of the pretended Prince of Wales'.[79] Those resolutions were mitigated somewhat on 1 June when the House agreed that it was false and malicious to suggest that the established Church was 'not well affected to the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line […] or any Way inclined to countenance Popery'. As if to reinforce those resolutions, on 2 June the clergy assembled in convocation issued a declaration affirming their affection for William III, the present government and succession. If any clergyman should by word or writing declare otherwise, they would be considered to be 'a Sower of Divisions among the Protestants of the Established Church, and as an Enemy to our Constitution'.[80] It is not clear what exactly prompted all of these resolutions. A correspondent of William

[77] Edward Wetenhall, *Invisibilia, 20 May 1705* (Dublin, 1705), V.

[78] See e.g. John Stearne, *Concio Habita Ad Reverendissimos Archiepiscopos* (Dublin, 1704).

[79] *CJI*, 2:468.

[80] No ESTC record. However, one copy of the printed resolutions is located in the Oireachtas Library. See *Die Sabbati, 2do Die Mensis Junij, 1705. Resolutions of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Clergy in Convocation Assembled* (Dublin, [1705]), 1–2.

King suggested 'a clergyman, had said something in a coffee-house that fired the Commons, and that obliged the convocation to concur', although King expressed his doubts that 'coffee-house talk' would have such an influence on the two assemblies.[81] Nonetheless, the lower clergy had admitted to being 'deeply sensible' that some members of the established church had been accused of being 'persons disaffected' to the late king and succession when they had first referred the matter of the 2 June declaration to the upper house.[82] These resolutions, alongside private correspondence, indicate that debate about political affairs 'out of doors' was more vigorous than extant records for domestic print output would suggest.

Quite some time after parliament and convocation were prorogued on 16 June, the impact, and possibly the intent, of the resolutions of 25 May in the Commons became clear. In November 1705 the Dublin grand jury presented a group that met at the Swan Tavern and other places in the city as seditious and unlawful on the basis that its members were attempting to create misunderstandings between Protestants in the kingdom through their 'groundless suggestions of danger to the established Church'.[83] The presentment also described how it had once been Ireland's 'peculiar happinesse to have scarce any distinction known among us but that of a Protestant in opposicion to a Popish interest' until this club had been established. Those particular sentiments were echoed in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The Swan Tripe-Club in Dublin. A Satyr*, which circulated in Dublin in January 1706.[84] Its author, possibly the English writer William King, described the Swan Tavern as a place where the 'Sons of Zeal' met, giving some account of the 'High flying Thoughts' and words of various characters that gathered there, of whom some were identifiable as prominent members of the Irish clergy, including Francis Higgins, a Church of Ireland

[81] William King to John Vesey, 4 July 1705, in Mant, *History*, 2:179.

[82] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:188. A preamble to an early draft of the declaration stated that it had been occasioned by aspersions 'which they are informed have in common conversation been cast upon some of the clergy of the established church' (Bray, XVII:191, 193–95).

[83] *Ormonde MSS*, vol. 8, N.S., 197–98; *The Grand Jury of the City of Dublin's Presentment* (Dublin, 1705).

[84] [William King], *The Swan Tripe-Club in Dublin. A Satyr* (Dublin, 1706), 3–5; *Ormonde MSS*, 8:210–11.

cleric and member of the lower house of convocation in Ireland.[85] Rumours circulated in both Dublin and London that club members had been drinking healths to the Pretender and confusion to all dissenters.[86]

The wording of the 25 May Commons resolutions had afforded the Dublin grand jury an opportunity to equate the circulation of high-church ideas with the promotion of popery and support for Jacobitism in this case. However, members of the club were not *actually* accused of doing anything that specifically promoted either popery or Jacobitism in the text of the presentment.[87] Some contemporaries regarded the whole affair as a whig intrigue initiated by Brodrick, who had, as one commentator put it, taken it upon himself to create 'by a word of his mouth only, a High Church and Low Church in this kingdom'.[88] The timing of the presentment, just as the English House of Lords was debating tory allegations that the established church was in danger, could not have been unwelcome news to the English whigs. More importantly, the incident served to suggest that there was an association between high-church sentiment and Jacobitism in a very public manner, and in an Irish context.

This association was reinforced by the actions of Francis Higgins, who had travelled to England in the wake of the Swan Tripe Club controversy and, whilst there, delivered a controversial sermon in various churches around London.[89] In the sermon he condemned the toleration act, arguing that removing penalties for dissent did not make dissenters

[85] [King], *Swan Tripe-Club*, 5, 7; D. W. Hayton, 'Irish Tories and Victims of Whig Persecution: Sacheverell Fever by Proxy', *Parliamentary History* 31, no. 1 (2012): 85–86.

[86] Alan to St John Brodrick, 1 Dec. 1705 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/234–5).

[87] See e.g. Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2004), 169.

[88] *Ormonde MSS*, 8:XLVI, 197–98, 201–2. It is notable that Brodrick felt it necessary to explain to his brother in London that the Irish whigs had in 'our votes of the 25th of May last' pre-empted their English counterparts 'in making it treason here by writing or advised speaking to maintain the right of the pretended prince of Wales'. If his brother had any doubts that Irish proceedings had pre-empted the 'Church in Danger' debate in England, Brodrick assured him that 'a friend' of his had seen a draft of the presentment several weeks before it was actually brought into the court. See Alan to St John Brodrick, 1 Dec. 1705 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/2/234–5).

[89] *Ormonde MSS*, 8:206–7; *The Church of England Not in Danger* (London, 1707), 4–6.

any less guilty of the sin of schism.[90] Furthermore, he called for his audience to rally behind the cause of the established church in spite of resolutions made by the queen and parliament 'over and over again, that the Church is in no Danger'.[91] The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, summoned Higgins to account for his inflammatory sermon but the meeting did not deter Higgins from preaching it again in the Royal Chapel at Whitehall on Ash Wednesday, 26 February 1707. At least five London editions of the sermon were produced that year, garnering many hostile responses overtly accusing Higgins of harbouring Catholic and Jacobite sympathies. Many of those publications made reference to the Swan Tripe Club affair. For instance, one pamphlet described Higgins as 'one of [the] Chiefs, or Leading Members of the Tripe-Club, that frequently met at the Swan Tavern in Dublin, and entertain'd one another (after the Tripes and Muggets were Devour'd,) with frightful Scenes of immaginary Dangers, that were falling upon the Church; and bold Invectives against their Superiors in Church and State'.[92]

Considering Higgins's prominent profile, his activities in London at that time must have been of considerable interest in Ireland. However, few of the British publications relevant to those proceedings were reprinted. Perhaps it was precisely because of Higgins's public profile, and the fact that he was a prominent member of convocation, an assembly that had the authority to condemn printed publications, that Irish publishers were hesitant to reproduce material touching on the subject. One notable exception, however, was an Irish reprint of *A Postscript to Mr Higgins's Sermon*, sometimes attributed to Charles Leslie.[93] It contained a fictional account of the interview that had taken place between Higgins and the archbishop of Canterbury. In it, Tenison had warned Higgins that 'such furious Men as you, by your Preaching, and Talking in Coffee-Houses, and saying the Church is in Danger, bring it into Danger', and had also commented, on the basis of reading one of his earlier sermons, that Higgins had once been 'as great a Williamite as any

[90] Francis Higgins, *A Sermon Preach'd at the Royal Chappel at White-Hall; on Ash-Wednesday, 26 Feb. 1707* (London, 1707), 10.

[91] Higgins, 12, 14.

[92] *The Church of England Not in Danger*, 4–5.

[93] *A Postscript to Mr. Higgins's Sermon, Very Necessary for the Better Understanding It. In a Dialogue* (London, 1707).

in the Kingdom'.[94] The sermon in question had originally been preached in Dublin in August 1705, and reprinted in London in 1707, specifically to clear Higgins of 'some Misrepresentations the Author has labour'd and suffer'd under of late'.[95] Higgins had responded to these comments by saying that he had always been thankful for the Revolution and it was 'a Scandal on King William's memory to say, when a Man Preaches or Talks against the Enemies of Christianity, and our Constitution in Church and State, that he ceases to be a Williamite'.[96] Despite such arguments in Higgins's defence, the controversial sermon and condemnation it received in print helped to cement his reputation as a high-flyer in both Ireland and England. The episode would receive even more attention in Ireland when the *Postscript* became the subject of separate investigations conducted by convocation and parliament in 1707.

Pembroke's Administration, 1707–1709

In the interval between the 1705 and 1707 parliamentary sessions, Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had replaced Ormonde as lord lieutenant. He was instructed to form a mixed administration, and charged with the difficult task of securing the repeal of the test clause of the 1704 popery act. Before the session commenced, Pembroke oversaw the appointment of a number of whigs to government office, including the appointment of Alan Brodrick as attorney general. He also gained the support of leading whigs for a supply bill of one-year-and-three-quarters' duration.[97] However, once the parliamentary session commenced in July 1707, the whig leadership attempted to renegotiate their agreement with Pembroke when it became clear that some of their adherents were reluctant to abandon their commitment to attaining annual supplies. The court was able to rely on tory support in the Commons to secure the passage of the bill but thereafter the whigs were able to make a series of rather petty gains over the court party.[98]

[94] *Postscript*, 1.

[95] Francis Higgins, *A Sermon Preach'd before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, at Christ-Church, Dublin, 28 Aug. 1705* (London, 1707) [n.p.].

[96] Higgins, 2.

[97] McGrath, *Constitution*, 198; Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 117.

[98] McGrath, *Constitution*, 201.

Early in the session, members of the Commons had endorsed a report from the committee on the state of the nation, condemning the former lord chancellor, the tory Richard Cox, for failing to issue writs for the appointment of a new lord justice to replace John Cutts following his death in January 1707. The report asserted that this action had left the kingdom 'destitute of a governor' until Pembroke's arrival.[99] The delay had been the result of fears that appointing a replacement lord chancellor would vacate Ormonde's commission, an outcome not entirely disagreeable to the whigs, or as one contemporary described them, 'the hasty faction of the Brodricks'.[100] In this context, then, Cox's condemnation by the committee on the state of the nation can be interpreted as political point-scoring on the part of the whigs. Proceedings in parliament with regard to the Swan Tripe Club controversy can be seen in much the same light. A grievances committee in the Commons determined that the Swan Tripe Club presentment had been legal and a 'seasonable and just Discharge' of the Dublin grand jury's duty, and instructed the attorney general to prosecute anyone guilty of practices similar to those of the club members.[101]

Meanwhile, an effort on the part of Pembroke's chief secretary, George Dodington, to secure the repeal of the test clause in the 1704 popery act served to reveal some common ground between the parties in the Irish parliament. In an address to congratulate the queen on the conclusion of the Anglo-Scottish Union, Dodington had included a paragraph that suggested members were willing to consider 'any expedient her Majesty should think of for the union of her subjects', a veiled reference to the divisive nature of the test.[102] The controversial paragraph was rejected by the Commons on a division of 93 to 73.[103] It was then replaced by an alternative on a very close division of 75 to 72. The wording of the new paragraph had a distinctly tory flavour, asserting that the 'Glories' of Queen Anne's reign outshone 'the most memorable Actions of former Ages'.[104] Only a few days earlier, the Lords presented an address on behalf of themselves and the lower house of convocation,

[99] *CJI*, 2:512.

[100] *Egmont MSS*, vol. 2, 215–16.

[101] *CJI*, 2:506; *Ormonde MSS*, 8:302–3.

[102] *Ormonde MSS*, 8:304–5.

[103] *CJI*, 2:514.

[104] *CJI*, 2:514–15.

thanking the queen for the bill to prevent the further growth of popery and clauses in it for the greater security of the church—a pointed reference to the test clause.[105] Overall, Dodington had concluded, rather hysterically, that repeal of the test clause in Ireland would be impracticable 'soe long as this parliament continues which is made upp of two thirds of as high churchmen [as] any in England; you would hardly believe there should be such a creature as an Irish Protestant Jacobite and yet it is most certain there are a great many such Monsters'.[106]

After the mid-session recess, the whigs made further gains in the Commons. The lower house rejected a bill to amend the 1704 popery act on the basis that it had been altered by the English privy council in order to accommodate the concerns of Catholic lobbyists.[107] Another bill for the relief of prisoners, drafted by the Lords, was thrown out on the basis that it was a money bill and ought to have originated in the lower House.[108] The growing confidence of the whig-led opposition was evident again when the committee on the state of the nation prepared an address to the queen, complaining that the alteration of heads of bills by the Irish privy council, or failure on the part of the privy council to transmit heads of bills to England, was prejudicial to the kingdom. However, as the address posed the potential for constitutional conflict, the executive made every effort to dissuade MPs from adopting it, contributing to its defeat on 27 October. Then, in another attack on the executive, the committee on the state of the nation charged the privy council with 'intermeddling' in corporation elections, something described as 'arbitrary, illegal, and of dangerous Consequence to the parliamentary Constitution of this Kingdom'.[109] Of course, words like 'arbitrary' and 'illegal', conjured up thoughts of James II, Jacobitism and Catholicism. Those resolutions were passed in response to a number of controverted by-elections, most notably that of Samuel Ogle, a nonconformist whig, for Belfast. Although Ogle was confirmed in his seat by the Commons, the case led to a resolution on 28 October that the test

[105] *Ormonde MSS*, 8:301–2.

[106] Dodington to —, 14 Aug. 1707 (TNA, SP63/366/230).

[107] Kelly, 'Sustaining a Confessional State', 53.

[108] *Ormonde MSS*, 8:313–14.

[109] *CJI*, 2:561.

clause be enforced in Belfast, yet another indication of Irish whig disinterest in advocating the cause of Protestant dissent.[110]

All in all, the 1707 session had been an extremely difficult one for the executive due to whig opposition. Although the compromise over the duration of the supply bill had initially divided the party, the whigs had rallied thereafter and were able to carry a number of measures designed to undermine the position of the court. Pembroke had also failed to procure the repeal of the sacramental test. In the meantime, little remarkable had occurred in the area of parliamentary publishing, although it is notable, that an edition of Brodrick's speech upon the presentation of the additional duties bill, which made reference to the great value of the Commons investigation into 'exorbitant Deductions out of Payments made by under Officers in the Treasury', was printed by Richard Pue according to an order of the Commons, and the speech also appeared in the *Dublin Intelligence* newspaper.[111] This was a new development as this kind of material was typically printed by Andrew Crook, the king's printer. An account of proceedings on the final day of the parliamentary session, a list of the eighteen acts granted the royal assent and a synopsis of Pembroke's closing speech, were also published by Pue.[112] Little else was published in relation to domestic political proceedings, with the exception of a pamphlet commenting on Lord Justice Cutts's death.[113]

The absence of printed commentary and opinion on Irish political affairs was perhaps due to the diligence of MPs and members of convocation in censoring printed material during the session. For instance, a committee of the House of Lords had been appointed to discover the authors, publishers and printers of a pamphlet entitled *The Case of Francis Bermingham*, which led to a lengthy, and seemingly inconclusive, investigation.[114] The House of Lords had also launched an investigation in the *Postscript*

[110] *CJI*, 2:564; McGrath, *Constitution*, 209.

[111] *CJI*, 2:559–60; Alan Brodrick, *The Speaker's Speech to the Lord Lieutenant, on Friday, October 24th, 1707* (Dublin, 1707); *Dublin Intelligence*, 28 Oct. 1707.

[112] *This Day His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant Went in State to the Parliament House; Where Being in His Robes Sated on the Throne […]* (Dublin, 1707).

[113] *An Essay to the Memory of John Lord Cutts, &c. Who Died January the Twenty Sixth 1706/7* (Dublin, 1707).

[114] *CJI*, 2:179, 181.

to Mr. Higgins's Sermon, a matter referred to them by convocation.[115] The printer, Edward Lloyd, was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of Lords, and before the end of the day, resolutions were passed that the pamphlet was a 'false and seditious libel' designed to vilify 'a most Rev. Prelate in England' and 'tending to the Disturbance of the publick Peace, in both kingdoms'.[116] Orders were made that the publication be burnt by the common hangman before the Tholsel and parliament house, and all of the relevant resolutions be published.[117] Lloyd also became the subject of an investigation in the House of Commons during the session, this time for a pamphlet 'contradicting and reflecting on the Resolutions of this House'.[118] Lloyd had failed to appear and the matter remained unresolved when parliament was prorogued.[119]

Meanwhile, a major controversy emerged in convocation surrounding a London printed pamphlet entitled *Partiality Detected*. The publication reflected on the appearance of Francis Higgins and William Percevale, archdeacon of Cashel, before the Canterbury convocation in July 1707 to explain procedures in the Irish convocation for intermediate sessions. In Ireland, intermediate sessions took place on a regular basis and the issue was not contentious. In contrast, the upper and lower houses of convocation at Canterbury were deeply divided over the issue because a leading high-churchman, Francis Atterbury, and his supporters denied the bishops' right to adjourn sessions of the lower house.[120] By mid-August 1707 the matter of Higgins's and Percevale's appearance before the Canterbury convocation came to the attention of the upper house of Irish convocation. The bishops expressed their view that members of the upper house ought to represent the assembly if called upon to do so.[121] While the bishops do not appear to have been particularly concerned about the issue, Ralph Lambert made a complaint in the lower house asserting that Percevale and Higgins had breached the privilege of convocation by representing their proceedings in England without the prior consent of the assembly. Lambert's attempt

[115] *Ormonde MSS*, 8:302.

[116] *CJI*, 2:172.

[117] *CJI*, 2:172–73; *Ormonde MSS*, 8:302.

[118] *CJI*, 2:513, 517, 520; *CJI*, 2:172.

[119] *CJI*, 2:517.

[120] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:14.

[121] Bray, XVII:261.

to have Percevale and Higgins censured backfired when the lower house moved to consider the truth of what they had said during their appearance before the Canterbury convocation. This led to a resolution that Perceval and Higgins had offered a 'just and true' representation of Irish procedures.[122]

While the matter appeared to have been laid to rest when convocation and parliament were prorogued in October 1707, the account of Irish procedures that Percevale and Higgins had provided to the Canterbury convocation was reproduced as evidence in support of the cause of the lower clergy of that assembly in a London printed pamphlet, *Some Proceedings in the Convocation*, which was reprinted in Dublin. The anonymous author of that pamphlet made sure to point out that the accuracy of Higgins's and Percevale's account of Irish affairs had been formally endorsed by a resolution of the lower house of Irish convocation in 1707.[123] Another London-printed pamphlet, by the title *Partiality Detected*, offered an anonymous response to *Some Proceedings*.[124] In that publication, members of the lower house of convocation in Canterbury were accused of unjustly causing controversy over the issue of intermediary sessions by bringing in 'an Evidence from Ireland, which has as little Relation to Right, as it has Tendency to Peace'.[125] To bolster this argument, the author of *Partiality Detected* presented the reader with a 'Copy of a Letter' written by 'a Person well acquainted' with Irish affairs.[126] The anonymous author of this 'Letter' (later revealed to be Ralph Lambert) suggested that Percevale's and Higgins's account of Irish procedures had been inaccurate and misleading. In order to explain why they sought to mislead the Canterbury convocation, Lambert pointed to both men's well-known links with leading high-churchmen in

[122] [Francis Atterbury], *Some Proceedings in the Convocation, A.D. 1705* (Dublin, 1708), 31.

[123] [Atterbury], 30.

[124] [Ralph Lambert], *Partiality Detected: Or, a Reply to a Late Pamphlet, Entituled, Some Proceedings in the Convocation, A.D. 1705* (London, 1708). The ESTC states that the publication was formerly attributed to Charles Trimnell. See also O'Regan, *Archbishop William King*, 169; Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:16–17.

[125] [Lambert], *Partiality Detected* [n.p.].

[126] [Lambert], 87. Pages 66, 67, 70, 71 are misnumbered as 86, 87, 90, 91 respectively. Page number as printed provided here.

England.[127] Lambert also offered an explanation as to why the rest of the Irish clergy had formally endorsed this misleading 'Account', arguing that when the resolution in question was made, fewer than thirty members of the assembly had been present, and most of those were 'somewhat more than Well-wishers to the Majority of the Lower House' in England. Indeed, Lambert went so far as to allege that some of the Irish clergy 'were under a strong Disposition' to imitate the behaviour of the lower clergy in Canterbury. He justified these allegations by emphasising divisions between the upper and lower clergy in Ireland and discussing the 'Pains, and Art, and Industry' used to make the Irish lower clergy apprehensive of 'dangerous Designs' forming in England against the church.[128] In so doing, Lambert had effectively accused those present in the lower house when the resolution was passed of harbouring high-church sentiment, something that had motivated them to endorse a false and inflammatory account of Irish procedures on intermediate sessions. Although it had been a relatively small part of a larger publication, Lambert's 'Letter' in *Partiality Detected* would become the focus of an investigation when convocation reconvened in Ireland in May 1709.

During the period 1699–1708 divisions between tories and whigs in the Irish parliament were slowly coming into focus. Throughout the 1703–1704, 1705 and 1707 parliamentary sessions, the whigs in parliament, led by Alan Brodrick, challenged the executive on numerous occasions, perhaps most notably in calling for a 'closer union' between Britain and Ireland during the 1703–1704 session, and in their repeated agitation for annual supply bills. However, there remained a good deal of common ground between the parties in the Irish House of Commons, including their opposition to British interference in Irish affairs, their support for anti-Catholic legislation, and their disinterest in ameliorating conditions for dissenting Protestants. Indeed, the nature of political divisions in Ireland was somewhat clearer when looking at developments outside of parliament.

[127] For a summary of the procedural issues Lambert addressed in his 'Letter' see Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:17–18.

[128] [Lambert], *Partiality Detected*, 69, 79, 80; [Ralph Lambert], *A Vindication of the Letter Publish'd in a Pamphlet, Call'd Partiality Detected* (Dublin, 1710), IX. Joseph Addison to Lord Sunderland, 28 June 1709 (TNA SP 63/366/290).

While Irish publishers had continued to experiment with political print, particularly during the period 1699–1703, they remained cautious about producing material offering commentary and opinion on domestic developments. It is notable, however, in terms of understanding how printed publications fed into partisan tensions, domestic print output does not appear to tell the full story here. This was particularly evident in complaints in mid-1705 that publications illustrative of high-church and low-church divisions, as they had been developing in England, were in circulation in the kingdom. The response of convocation and the House of Commons to those complaints, notably the resolution of the latter assembly on 25 May 1705 that 'writing, or dispersing Pamphlets or otherwise to insinuate Danger to the established Church' were activities of 'dangerous Consequence' to the government and succession and tended to promote Catholicism and Jacobitism, were of great significance. Despite the absence of convincing evidence to indicate that Irish Anglican clergymen were in any way sympathetic to Jacobitism or Catholicism, any suggestion that they were possessed of high-church sentiment now left them particularly vulnerable to such charges. This quickly became apparent during the Swan Tripe Club controversy of 1705, in debate about Francis Higgins's controversial sermon of 1707, and Higgins's appearance with William Percevale before the Canterbury convocation to elucidate Irish procedures on intermediate sessions, all episodes that were addressed in Irish print output to varying degrees.

References

A Letter from a Soldier, Being Some Remarks upon a Late Scandalous Pamphlet. [Dublin?, 1702?].

A Postscript to Mr. Higgins's Sermon, Very Necessary for the Better Understanding It. In a Dialogue. London, 1707.

A Timely Caveat of the Inferiour Clergy of Ireland, against a Bill Entituled, An Act for Purchasing Glebes, &c. London, 1704.

A True List of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Together with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of This Present Parliament. Dublin, 1703.

An Essay to the Memory of John Lord Cutts, &c. Who Died January the Twenty Sixth 1706/7. Dublin, 1707.

An Impartial Relation of the Several Arguments of Sir Stephen Rice, Sir Theobald Butler, and Councellor Malone, at the Bar of the House of Commons of Ireland, Feb. 22. and at the Bar of the House of Lords, Feb. 28th. 1703. Dublin, 1704.

Asgill, John. *An Argument*. [London], 1700.
[Atterbury], [Francis]. *Some Proceedings in the Convocation, A.D. 1705*. Dublin, 1708.
Bray, Gerald, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713. Vol. XVII*. Woodbridge, 2006.
———, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVIII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 2. Lower House: 1703–1713; Both Houses: 1714–1869. Vol. XVIII*. Woodbridge, 2006.
Brodrick, Alan. *The Speaker's Speech to the Lord Lieutenant, on Friday, October 24th, 1707*. Dublin, 1707.
Burnet, Gilbert. *The Bishop of Salisbury's Speech in the House of Lords*. Dublin, 1704.
Calendar of State Papers, domestic series, 1685–1704. 15 vols. London, 1895–1972.
Connolly, S. J. 'Reformers and Highflyers: The Post-Revolution Church'. In *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, edited by James McGuire and Kenneth Milne, 152–65. Dublin, 1995.
———. *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760*. Oxford, 1999.
[Davenant], [Charles]. *Discourse of Grants and Resumptions*. London, 1700.
[Defoe], [Daniel]. *A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*. London, [1702?].
———. *The Paralel: Or, Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to Prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland*. Dublin, 1705.
———. *You True-Born Englishmen Proceed Some Trifling Crimes Detect*. [Dublin?], 1701.
Die Sabbati, 2do Die Mensis Junij, 1705. Resolutions of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops and Clergy in Convocation Assembled. Dublin, [1705].
Dublin Intelligence.
Forfeitures under Mentioned in the County of Kilkenny, Consisting of Farms and Lands Following Will Be Expos'd to Sale at Chichester-House, Dublin, on Tuesday the 20th Day of April, 1703. Cant to the Best Bidder. Dublin, 1703.
Flying Post.
Furbank, P. N., and W. R. Owens. *A Political Biography of Daniel Defoe*. London, 2006.
Hayton, D. W. 'A Debate in the Irish House of Commons in 1703: A Whiff of Tory Grapeshot'. *Parliamentary History* 10 (1991): 151–63.
———. 'Irish Tories and Victims of Whig Persecution: Sacheverell Fever by Proxy'. *Parliamentary History* 31, no. 1 (2012): 80–98.
———. *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties*. Woodbridge, 2004.
Higgins, Francis. *A Sermon Preach'd at the Royal Chappel at White-Hall; on Ash-Wednesday*, 26 Feb. 1707. London, 1707.

———. *A Sermon Preach'd before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, at Christ-Church, Dublin*, 28 Aug. 1705. London, 1707.
Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Egmont MSS.*
Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Ormonde MSS.*
Hoadly, Benjamin. *The Reasonableness of Constant Communion with the Church of England*. Dublin, 1704.
Holmes, Geoffrey. *British Politics in the Age of Anne*. 2nd ed. London, 1987.
Horwitz, Henry. *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III*. Manchester, 1977.
Jus Regium: Or, the King's Right to Grant Forfeitures, and Other Revenues of the Crown. London, 1701.
Kelly, James. 'Sustaining a Confessional State'. In *Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland and Europe, 1689–1800*, edited by James Kelly, John Bergin, and D. W. Hayton. Dublin, 2010.
———. 'The Origins of the Act of Union: An Examination of Unionist Opinion in Britain and Ireland, 1650–1800'. *Irish Historical Studies* 25, no. 99 (1987): 236–63.
[King], [William]. *The Swan Tripe-Club in Dublin. A Satyr*. Dublin, 1706.
Kolbrener, William. 'The Charge of Socinianism: Charles Leslie's High Church Defense of "True Religion"'. *Journal of the Historical Society* 3, no. 1 (2003): 1–23.
[Lambert], [Ralph]. *A Vindication of the Letter Publish'd in a Pamphlet, Call'd Partiality Detected*. Dublin, 1710.
———. *Partiality Detected: Or, a Reply to a Late Pamphlet, Entituled, Some Proceedings in the Convocation, A.D. 1705*. London, 1708.
Lee, William. *Daniel Defoe: His Life, and Recently Discovered Writings*. London, 1869.
Mant, Richard. *History of the Church of Ireland*. Vol. 2. 2 vols. London, 1840.
McGrath, C. I. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714*. Dublin, 2000.
———. 'The "Union" Representation of 1703 in the Irish House of Commons: A Case of Mistaken Identity?' *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* 23 (2008): 11–35.
McGrath, C. I. 'Alan Brodrick and the Speakership of the Irish House of Commons, 1703–4'. In *People, Politics and Power: Essays on Irish History 1660–1850 in Honour of James I. McGuire*, edited by James Kelly, John McCafferty, and C. I. McGrath. Dublin, 2009.
Moore, Lewis. *Mr. Moore of Ballyna's Deposition, Relating to the Paragraph for in the Six Penny Secret History of the Trust*. [Dublin?, 1702?].
Nicholson, Edward. *An Answer to Mr. Asgill's Book*. Dublin, 1702.
Ó Ciardha, Éamonn. *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment*. Dublin, 2004.
O'Regan, Philip. *Archbishop William King, 1650–1729 and the Constitution in Church and State*. Dublin, 2000.

Proposals for Raising a Million of Money out of the Forfeited Estates in Ireland. Dublin, 1704.
Simms, J. G. *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland, 1690–1703*. Westport, 1976.
Simms, J. G. 'The Treaty of Limerick'. In *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649–1730*, edited by D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien. London, 1987.
Smyth, Jim. ''Like Amphibious Animals': Irish Protestants, Ancient Britons, 1691–1707'. *Historical Journal* 36, no. 4 (1993): 785–97.
Stearne, John. *Concio Habita Ad Reverendissimos Archiepiscopos*. Dublin, 1704.
———. *The Death and Burial of John Asgill, Esq*. Dublin, 1702.
Surrey History Centre. Midleton Papers. MSS 1248/1–3.
The Articles of Limerick, Ratified under the Great Seal of England. William Rex. Dublin, [1703?].
The Church of England Not in Danger. London, 1707.
The Grand Jury of the City of Dublin's Presentment. Dublin, 1705.
The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. 4th series. Vol. 2. 20 vols. Dublin, 1753–1800.
The Report of the Commissioners Appointed by Parliament to Enquire into the Irish Forfeitures. Dublin, 1700.
The State and Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland. Dublin, [1705?].
This Day His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant Went in State to the Parliament House; Where Being in His Robes Sated on the Throne […]. Dublin, 1707.
[Tisdall], [William]. *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*. Dublin, 1712.
The National Archives, UK. State Papers, Ireland. SP 63.
[Trenchard], [John]. *The Secret History of the Trust*. London, 1702.
———. *The Several Addresses of Some Irish Folkes to the King and the House of Commons*. [London?], 1702.
Votes of the House of Commons, in Ireland. Dublin, 1703.
Wetenhall, Edward. *Invisibilia, 20 May 1705*. Dublin, 1705.

CHAPTER 7

Whigs and Tories, 1709–1712

By the winter of 1708 the whigs had gained firm control of the British government and attempts to govern along non-party lines were abandoned.[1] Thomas, Lord Wharton replaced Pembroke as lord lieutenant so, for the first time since Capel's term in office in 1695–1696, the government of Ireland was led by a committed whig partisan. Wharton did not immediately alter the composition of the Irish government, although he was able to count on the support of the whigs in the House of Commons.[2] Hostility towards the whig executive soon became evident in the House of Lords, in convocation, and 'out of doors', reflecting concerns amongst the Anglican or 'church' interest that the government favoured Irish Protestant dissenters at a time when the clergy of the established church were being unjustly accused of harbouring high-church or Jacobite sentiment. Of course, Wharton's decision to appoint as his chaplain Ralph Lambert, the author of the 'Letter' in *Partiality Detected*, only served to exacerbate growing tensions in the kingdom. As this chapter will demonstrate, the escalation of partisan divisions in the Irish parliament, and in society more generally at this time, was not fully

[1] Lewis Dralle, 'Kingdom in Reversion: The Irish Viceroyalty of the Earl of Wharton, 1708–1710', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1952): 394–95.

[2] C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714* (Dublin, 2000), 211.

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_7

reflected in domestic print output produced during Wharton's period in office. However, once the tories had gained control of the British ministry in the wake of the Sacheverell trial, leading to the reappointment of the duke of Ormonde as lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1711, the extent of tory unease with Wharton's administration became clear in print.

Wharton's Whig Administration, 1709–1710

Wharton was a notorious whig who was openly sympathetic to the cause of Protestant dissent. Following his appointment as lord lieutenant, rumours had abounded that he would oversee another attempt to have the test clause in the 1704 popery act repealed once parliament convened in May 1709.[3] However, Wharton's opening speech to parliament made no mention of the test and, in an effort to foster good will towards the court, invited members to consider the need for any new popery bills.[4] As usual, anti-Catholic legislation proved universally popular in the Commons and not long after the session had commenced, the heads of a bill extending the provisions of earlier penal acts was concluded.[5] While anti-Catholic sentiment was not exclusive to the whigs, at times parliamentary debates touching on the issues of Catholicism and Jacobitism did serve to provide the whig court party with opportunities to undermine their political rivals.

This was evident during a debate in connection to the decision of the British parliament to reverse the outlawry and attainder of Christopher Fleming, Baron Slane. The incident caused something of an uproar in the Irish House of Commons, and members had unanimously resolved to prepare an address to the queen bringing her attention to the various

[3] Dralle, 'Kingdom in Reversion: The Irish Viceroyalty of the Earl of Wharton, 1708–1710', 400–402.

[4] Walter Graham, ed., *The Letters of Joseph Addison* (Oxford, 1941), 134, 136–37; *CJI*, vol. 2, 575–76.

[5] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 150–51, 181–82; James Kelly, 'Sustaining a Confessional State', in *Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland and Europe, 1689–1800*, ed. James Kelly, John Bergin, and D. W. Hayton (Dublin, 2010), 53; *CJI*, 2:624, 631–32.

dangers posed by the 'crafty Insinuations of Irish Papists' seeking to attain the reversal of their outlawries for high treason.[6] The address also brought into question the political allegiances of recent converts from Catholicism to Anglicanism, asserting that their primary loyalty was 'to that party in Parliament' which was considered 'most favourable to the Popish Interest'.[7] Meanwhile, the issue of Catholic voting preferences was the focus of another debate in the Commons, this time in connection to a petition put forward by a defeated by-election candidate for the borough of Irishtown, in Co. Kilkenny, who claimed to have lost the election because many Catholics were wrongfully denied the right to vote in the election. In what can be seen as a victory for the whig court party, the Commons rejected that petition on a division of 79 to 52.[8] Concerns were also raised during the session about the existence of tory, or possibly even Jacobite, sentiment in the University of Dublin. This was evident in the wording of an address to the queen requesting that she grant £5000 to the university to fund the erection of a public library for the 'Encouragement of good Literature and sound Revolution Principles', something explicitly connected to the recent decision of the provost and fellows of the university to expel a student, one Edward Forbes, for speaking ill of William III.[9] Overall, time spent discussing the various threats posed by Catholics, recent converts to Anglicanism and Protestant Jacobites during the session suited the purposes of the Irish whigs.

Supporting the interests of the court, however, was not without its challenges. While the Commons ultimately agreed the heads of a one-year supply bill, a measure the Irish whigs had long sought, the court party were placed in a rather awkward position when the preamble of that bill was returned from London with alterations eliminating references to the provision of arms for the militia and reducing the provision for constructing four arsenals in the kingdom to just one in Dublin.[10] This development was seen to have 'united the disaffected of both

[6] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 140–41, 144–45, 150; *CJI*, 2:599, 609.

[7] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 141; McGrath, *Constitution*, 221.

[8] *CJI*, 2:612–14; J. G. Simms, 'Irish Catholics and the Franchise, 1692–1728', in *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649–1730*, ed. D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien (London, 1986), 231.

[9] *CJI*, 2:596; Graham, *Addison Letters*, 145–47.

[10] *CJI*, 2:604, 615; Graham, *Addison Letters*, 142; McGrath, *Constitution*, 216–17.

Houses' and provided an opportunity for the leaders of the tory opposition to press for the rejection of the bill on the basis that it had been altered in London.[11] Later in the same session, the court whigs were placed in another difficult situation when it became clear that the bill for the better payment of inland bills of exchange had also been returned from London with alterations, including the addition of a clause to encourage the settlement of refugees from the German Palatinate in Ireland, a cause closely associated with the English whigs and Wharton himself.[12] As the measure had financial implications, it undermined Irish whig claims that the Commons ought to determine the manner in which Irish taxes were raised and spent. Although the court whigs opted to support the bill, members of the Commons also concluded an address to the queen requesting that she grant financial assistance to provide for the welfare of the Palatines.[13]

Tory sentiment had been much stronger in the House of Lords and convocation throughout the session. In stark contrast to the Commons, the Lords had made their ambivalence concerning the popery act clear by passing it on a division of 21 to 14. Furthermore, seven members had entered a formal protest against the bill.[14] Then, in what may have been a retaliatory measure, the Commons rejected a bill prepared by the Lords against blasphemous behaviour.[15] The Lords responded in kind by rejecting a Commons bill to prevent the theft of deer on its third reading.[16] While these clashes between the Commons and the Lords fed into growing political tensions in the kingdom, proceedings in convocation played a much more significant role in this regard due to the ongoing

[11] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 169–71; McGrath, *Constitution*, 225. Archdeacon Percevale asserted that if the parliament accepted the altered bill 'all the poor remains of our constitution are gone' and he did not doubt that it would be thrown out. His cousin, John Perceval, Earl of Egmont, explained that he voted against committing the bill 'to preserve the small remains of our Constitution', promising to explain the 'weakness of those reasons which were given' for passing it when he saw his unnamed correspondent in the spring (*Egmont MSS*, vol. 2, 238, 240).

[12] *CJI*, 2:620, 635; H. T. Dickinson, 'The Poor Palatines and the Parties', *English Historical Review* 82, no. 327 (1967): 478–80.

[13] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 182; *CJI*, 2:628, 630.

[14] *CJI*, 2:303; See Philip O'Regan, *Archbishop William King, 1650–1729 and the Constitution in Church and State* (Dublin, 2000), 167–68. *LJI*, II, 303.

[15] McGrath, *Constitution*, 230.

[16] *CJI*, 2:305; McGrath, *Constitution*, 230.

controversy, well publicised in print, surrounding Ralph Lambert's 'Letter' in *Partiality Detected*. That issue came to dominate proceedings in convocation during the 1709 session, due in part to the appearance of William Percevale's anonymous pamphlet, *Remarks upon a Letter*, shortly before the assembly had convened in May 1709. In that publication, Percevale emphatically denied Lambert's allegations that he and Higgins had intended to provide evidence in support of the case of high-flying lower clergy in Canterbury on the matter of intermediate sessions.[17] Instead, he claimed that their only motivation had been to settle misconceptions in Britain about Irish practices and procedures. As for Lambert's accusation that the majority of Irish clergymen were sympathetic to high-flyers in Britain and apprehensive of 'dangerous Designs' forming against the established church, Percevale retorted that the clergy in Ireland 'never had fewer Fears or Apprehensions' in that regard.[18] Percevale's pamphlet can be seen to have inflamed 'the minds of Many' against Lambert's 'Letter'.[19] This certainly served his purposes when he presented and read Lambert's 'Letter' to the lower house, leading to the appointment of a committee to investigate the publication.[20]

Much of what is known about the ensuing proceedings in convocation is derived from pamphlet exchanges on the subject, to which Lambert and Percevale were the main contributors, albeit under the cover of anonymity. From these printed sources it is possible to ascertain that the first meeting of the committee investigating the 'Letter' took place on 21 May 1709.[21] Thereafter, Archbishop King, acting on behalf of Wharton, made a number of attempts to delay or suppress the

[17] [William Percevale], *Remarks upon a Letter Printed in a Pamphlet Intituled, Partiality Detected* (Dublin, 1709), I–VIII, 4.

[18] [Percevale], 33.

[19] [Ralph Lambert], *A Vindication of the Letter Publish'd in a Pamphlet, Call'd Partiality Detected* (Dublin, 1710), V; Edward Synge, *Dr. Synge's Defence of Himself* (Dublin, 1711) [n.p.], 47.

[20] Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*, vol. XVII (Woodbridge, 2006), 138; O'Regan, *Archbishop William King*, 170.

[21] Bray uses Percevale's *Reply* to date these events (Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVIII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 2. Lower House: 1703–1713; Both Houses: 1714–1869*, vol. XVIII (Woodbridge, 2006), 139, fn. 264).

proceedings of that committee.[22] Indeed, King appears to have met with Peter Browne, provost of Trinity College and chairman of the committee examining the 'Letter', to explain the importance of preventing further proceedings against Wharton's chaplain.[23] On a number of occasions thereafter, Browne failed to present the report of the committee investigating the 'Letter' to the lower house, until finally, on Saturday 25 June, the house voted on a division of 18 to 17 to oblige him to it. Only then did Browne reveal that he could not read the report because he had left it with the lord lieutenant and archbishop of Dublin. The lower house resolved to bring Browne's behaviour to the attention of the House of Lords as a result.[24]

Despite interference from Wharton and King, the report on the 'Letter' was ultimately presented to the lower house. However, Lambert obtained a short-lived reprieve from censure when the report was recommitted following a 'long Debate' which focused on one particular resolution asserting the falsity of Lambert's claims that 'Pains, and Art, and Industry' had been used to make Irish clergymen apprehensive of 'dangerous Designs' forming in England against the church.[25] Lambert would later claim, in print, that the report was recommitted because Edward Synge had argued the truth of those allegations so convincingly that the 'opposite Side had not one word to return to him, but sat down baffl'd and confounded'.[26] Synge subsequently published his own account of the same events, claiming that he had not argued that the allegations in Lambert's 'Letter' were true, but had instead argued that 'to print and spread Pamphlets was, certainly, to take Pains' and that pamphlets reflecting on the low-church English bishops 'were Printed indeed in England, but spread in this Kingdom'.[27]

[22] [Lambert], *Vindication of the Letter*, VII; [William Percevale], *A Reply to a Vindication of the Letter Published in a Pamphlet Called Pa[r]tiality Detected* (Dublin, 1710), 78–79; Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVIII:140; For King's involvement see O'Regan, *Archbishop William King*, 170.

[23] O'Regan, *Archbishop William King*, 171.

[24] Addison to Sunderland, 25, 28 June 1709 (TNA SP 63/366/288, 290); [Lambert], *Vindication of the Letter*, VIII.

[25] Addison to Sunderland, 28 June 1709 (TNA SP 63/366/290); [Lambert], IX.

[26] [Lambert], X.

[27] Synge, *Dr. Synge's Defence of Himself*, 9.

Before convocation adjourned for a recess in late June, the lower house agreed that the complaint against Browne for repeatedly failing to present the report on the 'Letter' be dropped, although thirteen members entered a protest against that resolution.[28] A copy of that protest was then referred to the privy council, who gave their opinion that the thirteen protesters had acted in derogation of the royal prerogative and might be prosecuted for so doing.[29] This was widely interpreted as a blatant attempt on the part of the whig administration to intimidate those who had protested, and evidence of further interference in the case on Wharton's part. News of those developments led to an upsurge in numbers attending the lower house when convocation reconvened on 28 July.[30] During this sitting, the committee examining the 'Letter' unanimously agreed twenty-eight resolutions condemning Lambert and requested that the upper house express their disapproval of efforts on the part of the privy council to intimidate the thirteen protesters.[31] Then, just as members of the lower House were considering the revised report condemning Lambert's 'Letter', convocation was abruptly prorogued. The upper house ignored the prorogation order for just long enough to agree to submit a complaint to the House of Lords regarding the behaviour of the privy council, in accordance with the request of the lower house.[32] The bishops also resolved to send agents to Britain in order to set the proceedings of the Irish convocation 'in a due and proper Light' before the queen.[33] Once prorogued, convocation was not permitted to meet in Ireland again for the remainder of Wharton's term in office.

The strength of the whig court party during the 1709 parliamentary session had put Wharton in a solid position to create a more whig-orientated administration before parliament reconvened in 1710. However, by that time, the Sacheverell affair was undermining whig support in Britain so Wharton was careful not to stir up tory sentiment

[28] [Lambert], *Vindication of the Letter*, XIII–IX; Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVIII:148–50; Lord Wharton to Lord Dartmouth, 5 July 1709 (TNA SP 63/366/53).

[29] [Percevale], *Reply to a Vindication*, 88; [Lambert], *Vindication of the Letter*, XIX; Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:312.

[30] *Egmont MSS*, 2:438.

[31] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVIII:148–53; *Egmont MSS*, 2:438.

[32] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVIII:322.

[33] [Percevale], *Reply to a Vindication*, III–V, 99.

in Ireland by pursuing the repeal of the sacramental test.[34] His opening speech to parliament on 19 May 1710 recommended unanimity amongst members and asserted that the established church was 'flourishing and safe under the Influence of her Majesty'.[35] The confidence of the whig court party in the Commons was evident in their response to this opening address, which expressed their certainty that 'nothing but Folly or Malice' could insinuate that the church was in danger from the queen's administration or Protestant succession.[36] Unsurprisingly this swipe at tory or high-church sentiment raised some objections while the address was being drafted.[37]

Thereafter, proceedings on the supply went smoothly, although the court whigs were obliged to support the heads of an eighteen-month government supply bill on this occasion. The whigs were placed in another awkward position when the issue of the amendments to the preamble of the 1709 supply bill was highlighted by a petition put forward by 'several Master Gun-Smiths' based in the Dublin area. While amendments made in London with regard to the provision of arms for the militia had resulted in the manufacture of the required arms overseas, the gun-smiths' petition requested that the remainder of arms required be produced in Ireland.[38] Joseph Addison, Wharton's chief secretary, noted that the 'design is so popular that H. Excies friends woud entirely lose themselves shoud they offer to oppose it' and in a blow to the executive, members of the Commons unanimously agreed to address the queen in support of the gun-smiths' petition.[39] Once the queen's non-committal response to that address was presented to the Commons later in the session, opposition to the court intensified. Tory MPs gained ground by focussing their efforts on defending the interests of local tradesmen and leading calls for an investigation into the treasury accounts since 1709.[40]

[34] McGrath, *Constitution*, 234–35.

[35] *CJI*, 2:643–44.

[36] *CJI*, 2:646.

[37] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 218–19; McGrath, *Constitution*, 236–37.

[38] *CJI*, 2:653, 665; Graham, *Addison Letters*, 219, 221–22; McGrath, *Constitution*, 237, 240; Dralle, 'Kingdom in Reversion: The Irish Viceroyalty of the Earl of Wharton, 1708–1710', 418–19. *Dublin Intelligence*, 4 Aug. 1710.

[39] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 223; *CJI*, 2:657, 660; *CJI*, 2:657, 660.

[40] McGrath, *Constitution*, 143–44.

That investigation was cut short when Wharton prorogued parliament on 28 August 1710.[41]

Overall, the 1709 and 1710 parliamentary sessions went relatively smoothly for the executive thanks to the support of the whigs in the Commons. The strength of the whigs in the lower house had been evident in concerns raised about Catholicism and Jacobitism on numerous occasions, and repeated swipes at high-church or tory sentiment. However, supporting the court had also been challenging for the whigs. The 1709 session had seen the court party promote a supply bill that had been amended in Britain, and during the 1710 session they had supported a supply bill of eighteen months' duration, thereby compromising on the issue of securing annual parliamentary sessions. By the end of the 1710 session the tory opposition was gaining ground. However, despite the increasingly favourable position of the tories in Britain, their counterparts in the Irish parliament refrained from pursuing partisan measures, instead focussing their energies on issues, such as the cause of local tradesmen, that were likely to gain a wide base of support.

In contrast, developments in convocation had highlighted a deepening divide between the 'church' or tory interest and the whig executive. The proceedings in convocation against Lambert could be interpreted as evidence of high-church sentiment amongst the Irish clergy, who had seized an opportunity to vent their frustration with the whig executive by pursuing Wharton's chaplain.[42] However, publicly commenting on, and criticising, a resolution passed by the lower house of convocation, as Lambert had in his 'Letter', would almost certainly have warranted an investigation in less politically charged circumstances. Furthermore, Lambert had publicly accused the majority of Irish clergymen of harbouring high-church sentiment and promoting the idea that the established church was in danger, both behaviours closely associated with Jacobitism. It is not surprising then that the majority of members of convocation sought to vindicate themselves of such charges by formally condemning the 'Letter' and its author. Of course, some members of the assembly, notably Archbishop King and Edward Synge, had doubts about this strategy. This was not necessarily out of sympathy for Lambert or the content of his 'Letter', but rather concern that his condemnation

[41] *CJI*, 2:685.

[42] D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge, 2004), 136–37.

by the lower house of convocation might cause resentment on the part of the whig executive, thereby hindering efforts to reform the Church of Ireland. Furthermore, by bringing further attention to the issue, condemning Lambert might serve to reinforce, rather than diminish, the association between the Irish lower clergy and their high-flying counterparts in Canterbury.

Meanwhile, little remarkable had occurred in the area of parliamentary publishing during the 1709 and 1710 sessions. Overall, the usual speeches and addresses were ordered into print at the outset of each session and few items were published thereafter. As had been the case during the 1707 parliamentary session, Andrew Crook was not the exclusive publisher of material emanating from parliament, and proceedings in the assembly continued to receive some coverage in the newspaper press. For instance, Crook had printed an edition of Wharton's opening speech to parliament in 1710 by order of the Lords, and the same speech was published in the *Flying Post*, a newspaper owned by the whig-inclined printer Francis Dickson.[43] Later in the session, Richard Pue, a tory-inclined printer, had produced a broadside detailing proceedings in the House of Lords when seven members had entered a protest against the popery bill.[44] At the end of the session, Pue also published a list of the acts that received the royal assent and a brief account of the lord lieutenant's closing speech.[45] Although some reluctance on the part of Irish publishers to produce material offering commentary and opinion on proceedings in the Irish parliament remained evident, reprints providing insight into Irish political affairs continued to be produced. For instance, details of the issues that divided the parties in Britain on the matter the Palatine refugees received some coverage, notably two Dublin reprints of the whiggish pamphlet *A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees.*[46] The 1709 popery act also received some attention, although on this issue

[43] *CJI*, 2:325; Thomas Wharton, *His Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton […] His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Saturday the 20th of May, 1710* (Dublin, 1710).

[44] *Yesterday the Lords Read a Third Time and Passed, the Bill Entitled, an Act for Explaining and Amending an Act Entitled, an Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery* (Dublin, 1709).

[45] *This Day His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant Went in State to the Parliament House, and Gave the Royal Assent* (Dublin, 1709).

[46] *A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees* (Dublin, 1710).

older publications were reproduced, pertinent to debates some years earlier about toleration and the 1704 popery bill.[47]

In what was something of a new departure, a number of publications produced in Ireland provided insight into extra-parliamentary political affairs in the kingdom. For instance, Francis Dickson reprinted a London edition of a declaration of loyalty to the government and succession subscribed to by those in attendance at a convocation of masters at the University of Dublin, summoned to take away the degree of one Edward Forbes for insulting the memory of William III.[48] That incident had motivated the Commons to prepare the 1709 address to the queen requesting funding for a university library to promote 'Revolution Principles', presumably to counteract tory or Jacobite sentiment harboured by staff and students there. On this issue, it is worth noting an anonymous London printed pamphlet, which does not appear to have been reproduced in Dublin, that refuted the idea that the university was a hotbed of Jacobitism. The author explained that Forbes had already been expelled from the university when John Forster, recorder of the City of Dublin and whig MP, had issued warrants for his apprehension and Archbishop King had summoned a convocation of masters to take away his degree.[49] It was further alleged that those in attendance were bullied into subscribing the declaration of loyalty to the government and succession and voting in favour of Forbes's degradation.[50] The author was at pains to emphasise that those who voted in the negative on the latter measure did not condone Forbes's behaviour, but merely objected to the

[47] See [Richard Willis], *An Address to Those of the Roman Communion in England: Occasioned by the Late Act of Parliament* (Dublin, 1709); *A Letter of Advice to a Gentleman of the Church of Rome; on Occasion of the Late Statutes, to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery* (Dublin, 1709). The content of the *Letter* appears to be from the same impression as that of *A safe and honourable way to prevent the penalties of an act lately pass'd* (Dublin, 1704) so it is likely that the bookseller, Jeremiah Pepyat, was seizing the opportunity to offload unsold copies of the 1704 publication.

[48] *The Declaration of the University of Dublin; Made and Subscribed upon the Second Day of August, 1708* (Dublin, 1708). Swift also referred to the university publishing a 'Latin' paper to vindicate themselves from foul assertions made over the expulsion of Forbes in a 1708 pamphlet ([Jonathan Swift], *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, Concerning the Sacramental Test* (Dublin, [1709]), 1).

[49] *A Short Account of the Late Proceedings of the University against Forbes* ([London, 1709]).

[50] *Short Account* , 3–5.

irregular and unusual punishment to which he was being subjected. In other words, the whole affair was nothing more than a whig witch-hunt. While the author was undoubtedly biased, the publication is notable for raising questions about the extent to which the whole incident can be reliably employed as evidence of Jacobitism in the university.[51]

Newspapers were also providing more insight into political tensions in the capital city at this time. This was particularly evident in detailed coverage of the defacement of the equestrian statue of William III on College Green, Dublin on 25 June 1709.[52] The executive, parliament, City of Dublin and other groups had responded quickly to this apparent outburst of tory, or possibly Jacobite, sentiment. Their actions in that regard, including announcements offering rewards for the apprehension of those responsible, were covered in the Dublin newspapers.[53] By 19 August, the *Dublin Intelligence* reported that two students of Trinity College had been punished for the crime on the day of the riding of the franchises in the city, 'in the presence of the Lord-Mayor, at the Head of the 24 Corporations, who all march'd by the Statue in good Order'.[54] Dickson's newspaper also reported that a number of gentlemen had attended the statue that night 'and on their Knees Drank many Noble and Loyal Healths'.[55] While the newspapers provided snippets of information about proceedings connected to the attack on the statue, they did not offer overt commentary on the political significance of the incident to their readers. Such commentary was however available in other forms of print. For instance, 'at the desire' of the Commons, Joseph Ray printed an abridged version of a sermon delivered by John Travers on the 'Occasion of Abusing the Statue on Colledge-Green' which linked the attack to tory, high-church and Jacobite sentiment by condemning the 'Malicious and Groundless Insinuations of

[51] See Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2004), 177.

[52] *Dublin Intelligence*, 17 June 1710; *CJI*, 2:672; T. C. Barnard, 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations', *English Historical Review* 106, no. 421 (1991): 916.

[53] *CJI*, 2:673–74. See e.g., *Dublin Intelligence*, 4 July 1710; *Flying Post*, 4 Aug. 1710.

[54] *Dublin Intelligence*, 19 Aug. 1710.

[55] *Dublin Intelligence*, 19 Aug. 1710.

Tripe Clubbers, Advocates for Forbes and Sacheverel' and 'the Slavish Doctrine of Unlimited and Uncondition'd Obedience'.[56]

Whereas tory or potentially Jacobite sentiment in Ireland was receiving some coverage in the press, so too were escalating tensions between Protestant dissenters and Anglicans. In a 1709 pamphlet, William Tisdall, then vicar of Belfast, had questioned the loyalty of dissenters to the state by bringing attention to the failure of some Presbyterian ministers to instruct those of their persuasion to take up arms during the 1708–1709 Jacobite invasion scare. According to Tisdall, this meant that 'Numbers in different Parts of the North [had] refused to bear Arms, or take the Oaths to the Government upon the Array of the Militia at that Time'.[57] The activities of Presbyterian ministers in Drogheda in 1708–1709 also received a good deal of attention in the press. After a grand jury presentment, subsequently printed, had complained that the 'Northern Presbyteries' were sending missionaries 'to Frame and Set up a Conventicle' in Drogheda, two Presbyterian ministers were arrested for preaching in the town.[58] The arrests generated some sympathy for the ministers involved but a reprinted pamphlet, sold for a penny, saw an anonymous author complain that stories of Presbyterian persecution in Drogheda were being exaggerated in Britain and had led to unfair reproaches being fixed on the clergy of the Church of Ireland, 'those who have least deserved them'.[59] The author went on to argue that the sacramental test was necessary in Ireland due to the preponderance of 'Scots' in the kingdom and, for that reason, the position of the majority of Irish MPs on the matter was entirely justifiable.[60] The author also asserted that low-church, anti-clerical or whiggish sentiment was growing in Ireland at the time, evident in an incident whereby a man had shaken 'my Lord Bishop of Killalooe by his Lawn Sleeve' and

[56] *Publish'd on Occasion of Abusing the Statue on Colledge-Green. Doctor Travers His Defence of King William of Glorious and Immortal Memory* (Dublin, 1710) [n.p.]. The publication also contained a reprint of the 'Lord Chief-Justice of Englands Character of Doctor Sacheverel' condemning the high-church cleric.

[57] William Tisdall, *A Sample of True-Blew Presbyterian-Loyalty* (Dublin, 1709), 10.

[58] Dermot Foley, 'Presbyterianism in Drogheda, 1652–1827', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 22, no. 2 (2002): 181, 183; *At a General Session of the Peace Held […] on Thursday the 7th Day of October, 1708* ([Dublin?], 1708).

[59] [Swift], *Letter from a Member of the House of Commons*, 1.

[60] [Swift], 4, 5, 7.

told him that he wished to see episcopacy abolished from the kingdom.[61] The pamphlet exchanges between Ralph Lambert and William Percevale in 1708–1711 regarding the 'Letter' also served to provide additional insight into claims that anti-clerical sentiment was on the rise in Ireland. For instance, Percevale referred to a report that some people were accused of drinking a health wishing 'Plague, Pestilence and Famine, Battle, Murder and sudden Death to all Archbishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and all Congregations committed to their charge who shall refuse to Drink to the Glorious Memory of King William'.[62] The upper house of convocation had responded to the report by asking the lower clergy to discourage the drinking of such healths in their cures, who in turn expressed their satisfaction with the measure on the basis that many of them had heard reports 'that the said Health has been publickly and frequently Drank'.[63]

Other printed publications also fed into concerns that low-church, anti-episcopal, or whiggish sentiment was not only on the rise in Ireland at this time, but being tolerated by the executive. Of course, William Stoughton's controversial 1709 sermon touching on the issue of the execution of Charles I is notable in this regard. The printed sermon, which included a preface attacking tories and high-flyers, was dedicated to the House of Commons.[64] An anonymous response to the sermon argued that the sentiments expressed in it were so strong, that its printer, 'a Rigid and Violent D[issente]r', had aimed to bring scandal on the established church by publishing it.[65] Meanwhile, Joseph Boyse had two volumes of his own sermons printed in 1708.[66] One of those sermons, an ordination sermon entitled *The Office of a Scriptural Bishop*, proved particularly inflammatory and sparked off a major pamphlet war. In the sermon, Boyse had asserted that there was no scriptural precedent for archbishops or the ecclesiastical courts, nor was

[61] [Swift], 4–5; William Tisdall, *The Nature and Tendency of Popular Phrases in General* (Dublin, 1715).

[62] [Percevale], *Reply to a Vindication*, 109; Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:305.

[63] [Percevale], *Reply to a Vindication*, 110.

[64] William Stoughton, *A Sermon Preach'd before the State in Christ-Church, 31 Jan. 1709* (Dublin, 1709) [n.p.].

[65] [Nathaniel Swinfield], *Vindiciae Stoughtonianae* (Dublin, 1710), V–VI.

[66] Joseph Boyse, *Sermons Preach'd on Various Subjects*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1708). Both volumes are recorded in the same ESTC record (ESTC no. T69248).

there a distinction between the function and authority of bishops, ministers and presbyters. He claimed that in the time of the apostles, the term 'bishop' was wholly unknown and at that time the office was not:

> A Grand and Pompous Sine-Cure, a Domination over all the Churches and Ministers in a large District manag'd by others as his Delegates, but requiring little Labour of a Man's own, and all supported by large Revenues, and attended with considerable Secular Honours.[67]

Although he did not actually say so, Boyse appeared to be implying that the role of a bishop *was* a 'Grand and Pompous Sine-Cure' at the time of writing. Unsurprisingly, this swipe at the episcopacy garnered a number of responses, commencing with those of Matthew French, a Junior Fellow of Trinity College and curate of St Werburgh's Church in Dublin, and Edward Drury, 'M.A. Cur. Assist to St Andrew's Dublin'.[68] Both clerics refuted Boyse's argument and accused him of adding his own words to scripture, of quoting out of context, and outright plagiarism. Another anonymous, and particularly hostile, contribution to the debate, possibly attributable to Jonathan Swift, attacked both Boyse's arguments and his character.[69] Boyse responded to all three publications in a postscript to another edition of his sermon, published in 1709, which justified his original decision to print the sermon on the basis that he felt it necessary to challenge the idea that there were scriptural antecedents for the prelacy, an idea that had only recently gained currency in Ireland, due to the 'great many discourses' printed in England on the subject.[70] The debate continued thereafter, and material directly and indirectly related to Boyse's contentious sermon was published for some years to follow.[71] Overall, however, given their subject matter, it is remarkable that neither

[67] Joseph Boyse, *The Office of a Scriptural Bishop Describ'd and Recommended […] and a Postscript Containing an Apology for the Publication of It* (Dublin, 1709), 4.

[68] Matthew French, *An Answer to J. B.'s Ordination Sermon* (Dublin, 1709); Edward Drury, *A Discourse Occasioned by Mr. Boyse's Ordination Sermon* (Dublin, 1709).

[69] *Remarks on Some Passages in Mr. Boyse's Sermons, Vol. I* (Dublin, 1709), 1, 2, 8. In a response, Boyse speculated that the author of *Remarks* was the same as 'the Author of the Tale of a Tub' but he refused to engage with the pamphlet because there was 'so much of the Cloven Foot' in what had been written (Boyse, *Office […] and Postscript*, 158–59).

[70] Boyse, *Office […] and Postscript*, 44.

[71] Ambrose Farmer, *A Brief Answer to J. Boyse and E. Drury: Or, the Bone of Contention Broken* ([Dublin], 1709).

Boyse's nor Stoughton's sermons were censored immediately after publication. This served to fuel Anglican concerns that the whig executive and court party in parliament were demonstrating undue favour for the ideas of low-churchmen and dissenters. However, it must be observed that no publications whatsoever appear to have censored by parliament during the period 1708–1710.[72]

Ormonde's Tory Administration, 1711–1712

Wharton left Ireland in August 1710 as the whig ministry in Britain was dissolving. Ormonde replaced Wharton as lord lieutenant and tories replaced a number of prominent whigs in Irish offices. For example, Richard Cox replaced Alan Brodrick as lord chief justice, John Forster was replaced as attorney general by Richard Levinge, and, perhaps most significantly, the death of Richard Freeman (an event lamented in verse in one anonymous Dublin print) saw the lord chancellorship filled by one of Henry Sacheverell's defence lawyers, Sir Constantine Phipps.[73] Despite these gains for the tory interest in Ireland, when parliament reconvened in Dublin on 12 July 1711, whig strength in the Commons remained evident. This was clear in responses to Ormonde's opening speech to parliament which made reference to the queen's decision to provide funding for the library at Trinity College.[74] Not long thereafter, the House of Lords concluded an address to the queen expressing their gratitude for that decision and asserting their opinion that the timing of the announcement 'must testify to the World that what your Majesty bestowed was not given to promote those Principles upon which it was first applied for'.[75] In another swipe at the whigs, the address also thanked the queen for her 'early Care' in freeing the nation of the 'Load of Debt' caused by bringing over 'useless and indigent Palatines' and the plans put forward during the previous session to build an 'expensive

[72] St John Brodrick appears to have attempted to have a paper censured for reflecting on the Commons in June 1709 but was overruled. Addison noted that it 'would have given a handle for ye Censuring of Boyse's Sermons which treat the house after the same Manner' (Graham, *Addison Letters*, 151–52).

[73] *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of the Right Honourable R. Freeman, One of the Lords Justices* (Dublin, 1710); McGrath, *Constitution*, 248.

[74] *CJI*, 2:696.

[75] *CJI*, 2:366; D. W. Hayton, 'An Irish Parliamentary Diary from the Reign of Queen Anne', *Analecta Hibernica* 30 (1982): 108.

Arsenal', a reference to amendments to the 1709 supply bill.[76] The Commons retaliated by passing a resolution on a division of 103 to 77 that the Lords had misrepresented the queen's actions with regard to the purpose of the library grant.[77] Their ensuing address to the queen defiantly declared that they would never be ashamed to own 'sound Revolution Principles'.[78]

While proceedings on the supply went smoothly, after the mid-session recess, opposition to the court intensified in order to frustrate the passage of the tillage bill which had been altered by the British privy council.[79] Once again, British interference in Irish affairs raised objections across the political spectrum and the bill was rejected on 24 October.[80] Thereafter, whig strength in the Commons was evident when one of Lord Chancellor Phipps's appointees was removed from the Galway commission of the peace pursuant to a request from MPs to Ormonde that any person who had converted to Catholicism during the reign of James II be disqualified from serving in such positions.[81] In another opposition victory, albeit on a local level, the Commons considered a petition put forward and printed by the notorious whig printer John Whalley.[82] The printer had alleged that one John Mercer had breached the privilege of the Commons by taking out a writ against him for printing the case 'of several thousand poor Inhabitants of Dublin and Dealers in the Coal Trade' which had accused Mercer of using 'short and false' measures in the selling of coal.[83] On 3 November, the Commons resolved that all of the allegations contained in Whalley's petition had been proven and that Mercer was indeed a 'common and notorious Cheat'.[84]

[76] The order to print the address was made after the queen's response was presented on 20 September (*CJI*, 2:383).

[77] *CJI*, 2:711.

[78] *CJI*, 2:714; *To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty: The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled* (Dublin, 1711).

[79] McGrath, *Constitution*, 260.

[80] *CJI*, 2:724.

[81] *CJI*, 2:721.

[82] John Whalley, *To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. The Humble Petition of John Whalley* (Dublin, 1711).

[83] *CJI*, 2:726.

[84] *CJI*, 2:729–30.

The two Houses of parliament clashed again during the session over allegations made by Dominic Langton, a convert to Anglicanism and chaplain to John Hartstonge, bishop of Ossory, that one Lewis Meares and other Protestant gentlemen in Meath had been engaged in a conspiracy against the queen and government. In January 1711, a commission of inquiry was held in Mullingar which vindicated the Protestant gentlemen of those charges.[85] Thereafter the Commons launched an investigation into the affair but the Lords refused to co-operate with it, instead launching an investigation of their own, thereby obstructing the appearance of a number of key witnesses before the Commons. Nonetheless, the Commons committee appointed to consider Langton's allegations concluded a report condemning him for 'pretending to become a Protestant' and for levying false charges against Meares and the other Protestant gentlemen of Meath.[86] It was also recommended that the lord lieutenant strike Langton off the establishment and that Francis Dickson be appointed to print those proceedings.[87] The latter resolution was clearly intended to publicize developments in the Commons in order to undermine the Lords. Furthermore, the choice of Dickson as printer may well be attributable to his whig sympathies.

In what may be seen as another attempt to rile the Commons, the Lords concluded two divisive addresses to the queen at the end of the parliamentary session. One reasserted their view that the queen had not extended her bounty to Trinity College to promote 'Revolution Principles' as had been claimed 'by the Pamphlets and Libels Publickly Avow'd and Celebrated by Men of Factious and Seditious Tempers', and also expressed the commitment of the House of Lords to defend the queen against her enemies abroad and 'all Papists, Jacobites and Republicans at Home'.[88] The second controversial address, later

[85] *Dublin Intelligence*, 23 Jan. 1711.

[86] *The Report of the Committee of the Honble House of Commons: Appointed to Inspect the Examinations, given in by Dominick Langton* (Dublin, 1711), 2–3, 6–8. Details of these proceedings also appeared in the *Dublin Intelligence* with an advertisement indicating that Dickson would publish a folio edition of the report that evening 'in order to be bound up with the Votes of this Session' (*Dublin Intelligence*, 18 Aug. 1710). The report of the Lords was reprinted in London. See *The Whole Report of the Right Honourable Committee of the House of Lords in Ireland* (London, 1713).

[87] *Report of the Committee of the Honble House of Commons*, 8.

[88] *To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

published under the title *The Representation of the House of Lords against the Dissenters*, attacked the recent behaviour of dissenting Protestants in the kingdom, including charges that some Presbyterians had refused to take oaths, to employ Anglican apprentices, and had attacked Anglican churchmen in the course of their duties. Meanwhile, Wharton's administration was condemned for demonstrating favour to dissenters at a time when the Anglican clergy were being publicly and unfairly denounced as 'Superstitious and Idolatrous', attributes typically associated with Catholicism.[89] As a result of all of this, the Lords requested that the *regium donum*, the grant provided annually for the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers, be rescinded, warning that if the problems highlighted by their address were permitted to go unchecked for any longer, it would inevitably lead to the 'Destruction of the Constitution both in Church and State'.[90] In a move calculated to ensure that the Commons would be unable to respond, the publication of both addresses was delayed until after parliament had been prorogued.[91]

By 1711 partisan divisions in parliament had come into much clearer focus. Whig enthusiasm for 'Revolution Principles' and their renewed determination to attain annual parliaments through agitation for one-year supply bills had remained evident in the House of Commons. While tories in the Commons supported the court, overtly tory principles had been more clearly expressed by members of the House of Lords. This was perhaps indicative of fears amongst tory-inclined MPs in the lower house that any elaborate display of partisan sentiment on their part might be misrepresented as evidence of high-church or Jacobite sympathies. Meanwhile, in terms of print relevant to these proceedings, it is notable that as soon as Ormonde was restored as lord lieutenant, an increase in print output favourable to the tories was discernible. As early as January 1711 the *Character of the Earl of Wharton*, a scathing attack on Wharton's administration, had circulated in Dublin. The anonymous author asserted that the former viceroy was a 'Presbyterian in Politicks, and an Atheist in Religion; but he choses at present to Whore with a Papist', before going on to discuss Wharton's time in Ireland in some detail, referring to his patronage of whig partisans, his involvement in

[89] *The Representation of the House of Lords against the Dissenters* ([Dublin?, 1712?]), 1–2.

[90] *Representation […] against the Dissenters*, 3–4.

[91] *CJI*, 2:414.

corrupt financial transactions, and other dubious practices.[92] Another pamphlet, *The Tory Parallel*, which appears to have been written and first published in Ireland, condemned the 'dark and Hellish' principles of the whigs, discussing their aversion to monarchy and episcopacy 'under the Specious pretence of Liberty and Property'.[93] A publication printed by Edward Waters and published by Edward Lloyd, attacked what the *Dublin Intelligence* had described as a 'fine Speech' presented by John Forster to Ormonde on behalf of the City of Dublin shortly after the viceroy had arrived in Ireland in 1711.[94] *The R[ecorde]r's s[pee]ch Explain'd* offered a parody of the original speech in verse in order to demonstrate that Forster had particularly praised Ormonde for presiding over the parliament that had passed the 1704 popery act and for his services to William III, but little else since.[95] This criticism of Forster's speech seems to have had a basis in fact as Ormonde himself had not received it well, reportedly describing it as 'a banter upon him'.[96] It is notable, meanwhile, that Waters and Lloyd not only included their own names on the imprint of the publication in question, they also advertised that 'Gentlemen may be furnish'd with the best and newest Pamphlets for the Interest of Church and State' at their Publishing-Office in Essex Street. This indicates that they did not fear censure for producing such a politically sensitive publication, likely due to the recent changes in the composition of the Irish government. Furthermore, they were now advertising the fact that they were producing material aimed at readers with tory inclinations.[97]

In terms of parliamentary publishing, Crook had printed two editions of Ormonde's opening speech to parliament according to the usual order of the Lords.[98] He was also responsible for printing the address of the House of Lords with regard to the library grant. Although no order

[92] [Jonathan Swift], *A Short Character of His Ex. T. E. of W. L. L. of I-------. With an Account of Some Smaller Facts, during His Government, Which Will Not Be Put into the Articles of Impeachment.* ([Dublin?], 1711), 4.

[93] *The Tory Parallel* (Dublin, 1711), 3–4.

[94] *The R------r's s----Ch Explain'd* (Dublin, 1711).

[95] *Dublin Intelligence*, 7 July 1711.

[96] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 9 Oct. 1711 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248–3/56–57).

[97] *The R------r's s----Ch Explain'd.*

[98] *CJI*, 2:364; James Butler, 2nd duke of Ormonde, *His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, On Thursday the 12th of July, 1711* (Dublin, 1711).

was made to print the response of the Commons to Ormonde's opening address, in which they asserted that they would never be ashamed to own 'sound Revolution Principles', it was printed as a broadside by Francis Dickson.[99] It is also notable that Dickson had been chosen to publish the report of the Commons condemning Dominic Langton, which was also serialised in his newspaper.[100] Other developments in parliament received attention in the newspapers, too. In particular, John Mercer's case against Whalley received a good deal of publicity in the press. For instance, Dickson's *Dublin Intelligence* provided a report of the hearing in the House of Commons on the case, pointing out that Alan Brodrick had acted as council for Whalley, and Theobald Butler had represented Mercer.[101] Whalley also published a collection of papers relevant to the case, which included an abstract of the act passed during the session for preventing the 'ingrossing, forestalling and regrating' of imported coal.[102] Due to whig strength in the Commons, Dickson and Whalley clearly felt that they could publish information related to its proceedings without fear of reprisal.

During the 1711 parliamentary session, some concern amongst MPs about the influence of printed publications on the public was evident. Notably, in the last few days of the session, the Commons resolved that 'whoever shall by speaking, writing, or printing, arraign or condemn the Principles of the late happy Revolution of 1688, is an Enemy to our most gracious Queen, to our Constitution in Church and State, to the Hanover Succession, and a Friend to the Pretender'.[103] Meanwhile, the Lords agreed that a printed copy of Stoughton's sermon, two issues of the London periodical *The Observator*, and the volume of Boyse's sermons that contained the *Office of a Scriptural Bishop* be publicly burned.[104] While it is notable that all of the publications condemned by parliament

[99] *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled* (Dublin, 1711).

[100] *Dublin Intelligence*, 20 Nov. 1711.

[101] *Dublin Intelligence*, 30 Oct. 1711. Butler had represented the Catholics against the popery bill in 1703–1704.

[102] *A Collection of Several Printed Papers, Articles of Impeachment and Complaints Made against John Mercer, for His Ingrossing, Monopolizing and Forestalling Coals, &c.* (Dublin, 1712).

[103] *CJI*, 2:734; McGrath, *Constitution*, 262.

[104] *CJI*, 2:412, 414.

during the session were anti-clerical or whiggish in nature, a debate had commenced in the Commons about a pamphlet sympathetic to James II, entitled *The Memorial of the Church of England*. That debate was, however, cut short by the prorogation.[105]

While the change in the administration in 1711 had particularly emboldened tory publishers in Ireland, it also meant that convocation was permitted to meet alongside parliament once again. The session proved to be a productive one for the assembly. By the time members dispersed in the winter of 1711, several canons had been approved by both houses and were ready for the royal assent, forms of prayer for receiving converts and the visitation of prisoners had also been prepared, as well as a scheme for converting Irish Catholics to Anglicanism.[106] The clergy had also received notification that the first fruits and twentieth parts, levies on church livings that the archbishop of Dublin and others had been lobbying against for some time, were to be remitted, and messages of thanks to Phipps and Ormonde were accordingly prepared and printed.[107] Furthermore, all of the resolutions drawn up by the committee examining Lambert's 'Letter' in 1709 were unanimously ratified.[108] Reflecting on those proceedings, Percevale noted that Lambert had accepted responsibility for the 'Letter' and declared 'his hearty Sorrow for the Offence he had given'.[109] Meanwhile, Edward Southwell observed with approval that the 'great dispute' with Lambert had 'ended amicably' and convocation had concluded much of the programme assigned to it.[110] Overall, as Gerald Bray has pointed out, the 1711 session was 'remarkably successful', particularly when contrasted with proceedings in Canterbury where divisions between the upper and lower houses had significantly hindered business.[111]

This success was overshadowed however by the assembly's involvement in two episodes that could only serve to fuel suspicions that the

[105] Hayton, 'Parliamentary Diary', 119–20; McGrath, *Constitution*, 260.

[106] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:428.

[107] *To the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps* (Dublin, 1711); *To His Grace James Duke of Ormond […] The Humble Address of the Archbishops, Bishops, and the Rest of the Clergy of Ireland* (Dublin, 1711); Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:347–48.

[108] William Percevale, *A Letter to Dr. Synge* (Dublin, 1711) [n.p.].

[109] Percevale [n.p.].

[110] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:428.

[111] Bray, XVII:23.

majority of Irish clergymen harboured high-church sympathies. The first episode concerned Francis Higgins, who had returned from England and was restored to the magistracy shortly before convocation concluded its business in the winter of 1711. Higgins was soon accused of insulting Henry Barry, Baron Santry, and some other gentlemen, at a dinner held at the assize for County Dublin at Kilmainham. According to Higgins's account of events, trouble had occurred when Lord Santry proposed a health 'To all those honest Gentlemen who make the Laws the Rule of their Obedience' and Higgins had added 'And where they can't Obey, will patiently Suffer'.[112] That comment had, allegedly, put Santry 'into a Passion' and the disagreement between the two men had escalated. In its aftermath, Santry had made a complaint to the Dublin grand jury, who in turn made a presentment recommending that Higgins be turned out of the commission of the peace on the basis that he was a 'Common Disturber of Her Majesties Peace, and a Sower of Sedition and Groundless Jealousies amongst Her Majesty's Protestant Subjects'.[113] The presentment was then printed at the request of the grand jury. Higgins responded by submitting a petition to the privy council condemning both Santry's behaviour and the decision of the Dublin grand jury to publish their presentment against him, an action he described as 'unprecedented, if not illegal'.[114] Of course, Higgins made arrangements to have his own petition on the matter printed.

The lower house of convocation became involved in the affair when they issued a unanimous declaration in support of Higgins, asserting that he had always behaved himself in a manner appropriate to his position, and had always been 'AN ORTHODOX DIVINE, A GOOD CHRISTIAN, and A LOYAL SUBJECT'.[115] Waters printed the declaration and it also appeared alongside the copy of the grand jury presentment in the 13 October edition of the *Dublin Intelligence*.[116] Thereafter, Santry published a response to Higgins's petition, offering a number

[112] Francis Higgins, *Mr. Higgins's Case* ([Dublin, 1711]).

[113] *Postscript. Saturday, October 6. 1711. By the Grand-Jury of the County of Dublin […] the Fifth Day of October, 1711* ([Dublin, 1711]). Another copy was published in *Dublin Intelligence*, 13 Oct. 1711.

[114] Francis Higgins, *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] The Answer of Francis Higgins* (Dublin, 1711) [n.p.].

[115] *Whereas the Reverend Mr. Francis Higgins […]* (Dublin, 1711).

[116] *Dublin Intelligence*, 13 Oct. 1711.

of new charges against the cleric, including claims that he had called the attorney Richard Nuttall a 'ROGUE and RASCAL!' in a 'Publick Coffee-House', and that it was well known that when Higgins entered coffee houses 'People to avoid his Insults, either retire thence, or withdraw themselves at a great Distance from him'.[117] The dispute between Santry and Higgins went on to receive coverage in printed publications produced in both Dublin and London.[118] For instance, the anonymously printed *New Kilmainham Ballad* celebrated Higgins's exoneration by the privy council in December 1711, and was published under various titles in Dublin and London.[119] Having related, in verse, details of the dispute between Santry and Higgins, the ballad described how the queen's enemies sought to 'pull High-Flyers down' and play 'at their 41 Game,/Enrag'd, while they Cant *Moderation*'. The ballad also made reference to whig efforts to persecute Higgins, notably the swearing of hostile witnesses in the Rose Tavern, a venue closely associated with the whigs in subsequent publications.[120]

Despite the positive outcome for Higgins, the affair did nothing to diminish his reputation as a high-flyer in Ireland and Britain. By supporting him in the dispute with Santry, members of the lower house of convocation had reinforced the idea that they too were high-flyers. This association between the Irish church interest and high-church sentiment as it had developed in Britain was further emphasised by the publication of a controversial *Representation of the Present State of Religion*, prepared by the assembly during the 1711 session in accordance with instructions they had received from the British ministry.[121] Tasked with outlining challenges facing the established church in Ireland and recommending ways in which its position might be improved, convocation had

[117] Henry Barry, Baron of Santry, *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] The Humble Petition of the Right Honourable Henry Lord Baron of Santry* (Dublin, 1711).

[118] *A Full and Impartial Account of the Tryal of the Reverend Mr. Francis Higgins* (London, 1712), I.

[119] *An Irish Ballad, upon the Revd Mr. Francis Higgins His Tryal* (London, 1712); *An Excellent New Ballad, or, the Whigs Lamentation* (Dublin, 1711).

[120] *The New Kilmainham Ballad, to the Tune of Ye Commons and Peers* ([Dublin?, 1711]).

[121] Bray, *Records*, 2006, XVII:20–21. The Canterbury convocation had drawn up their own *Representation* in response to very similar instructions, which was at first unanimously agreed by a committee of both houses, but later rejected by the low-church-dominated upper house.

identified a wide range of impieties and immoralities prevalent in Irish society, including the drinking of healths wishing 'Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, Battle, Murder, and sudden Death' on the episcopal clergy.[122] Printed publications were also identified as a major concern, particularly 'those Atheistical Books and Pamphlets, wrote and dispers'd in our Neighbour Nation, [that] have been sent or brought over hither, and some of them reprinted here, which are with great Artifice calculated to undermine the Foundations of Christianity'.[123] Printed material that attacked Church of Ireland doctrine and worship by likening it to 'Popery and Superstition' was particularly condemned, and it was noted that pamphlets such as the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the Presbyterian *Directory*, and 'other seditious and Fanatical Pieces' were being circulated around the entire kingdom by 'Pedlars and Vagabonds' without hindrance.[124] Unsurprisingly, Boyse's sermons on various subjects, including occasional conformity and the prelacy, were also identified as problematic and, echoing some of the issues raised in *The Representation of the House of Lords against the Dissenters*, members of convocation expressed concern about the recent behaviour of dissenting Protestants in the kingdom, notably the failure of some ministers to take or recommend the oath of abjuration.[125] While much of the focus of the *Representation of the Present State of Religion* was on the threat posed by Presbyterians to the Church of Ireland, some of the French Huguenot congregations were also singled out for failing to conform to the established church.[126] Edwin Sandys printed a Dublin edition of convocation's representation, and copies of it also circulated in Britain where they were sold at four pence a copy, or a discounted rate of thirty shillings for one hundred copies.[127]

[122] 'Representation of the Present State of Religion', in *The Representation of the House of Lords against the Dissenters* ([Dublin?, 1712?]), 15.

[123] 'Representation of the Present State of Religion', 5–6.

[124] 'Representation of the Present State of Religion', 9–10.

[125] 'Representation of the Present State of Religion', 10–11.

[126] 'Representation of the Present State of Religion', 15.

[127] *A Representation of the Present State of Religion* (Dublin, [1711]); *A Representation of the Present State of Religion* (London, 1712); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2006), 229.

Various responses to the controversial representations of convocation and the House of Lords were printed in Ireland thereafter. For instance, the French Huguenots expressed their alarm at having been ranked amongst those whom convocation judged to be 'guilty of either Impiety, Heresy, Infidelity or Popery'.[128] The Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland also responded to the representation of the Lords, although they conceded that 'some few of the meaner sort' were guilty of assaulting Anglican clerics performing burial rights and that some dissenting ministers had refused to take the oath of abjuration during the 1708–1709 invasion scare, even if their reasons for so doing were defensible.[129] An address from the southern Presbyterians addressed many of the same topics.[130] Themes evident in the two representations were also picked up by pamphleteers. For instance, Peter Browne caused a storm in 1712 by publishing a discourse condemning the practice of drinking to the memory of William III. Although he asserted that everyone who felt that the 1688–1689 Revolution had saved them from destruction, popery and arbitrary power acknowledged that William III was the 'happy Instrument' of God on that occasion, he took a swipe at the whigs by objecting to the use of epithets such as 'Dear, or Glorious, or Immortal, or Pious' and other extravagances which attended the practice of drinking healths to the late king's memory, including the practice of drinking to the memory of a 'dead Monarch upon Men's Knees, and before his Statue'.[131] Browne's publication went into a second Dublin edition in 1713 and elicited a number of hostile responses in both Ireland and Britain.[132] William Tisdall meanwhile, published several pamphlets on

[128] *An Apology of the French Refugees Established in Ireland, Addressed to All Those Who Love the Peace of the Church* (Dublin, 1712), 3, 5.

[129] *Representation […] against the Dissenters*, 24–25.

[130] *Representation […] against the Dissenters*, 43.

[131] Peter Browne, *Of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Being the Substance of a Discourse Deliver'd to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cork, on the Fourth of November, 1713, by the Bishop of That Diocese* (Dublin, 1713), 3–6, 18–22.

[132] For responses see, *A Brief Examination of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead* (Dublin, 1714); *A Short Answer on a Discourse of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead* (Dublin, 1714); *Some Short Remarks on a Discourse of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead* (Dublin, 1713). For discussion see James Kelly, '"The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660–1800', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C 94, no. 2 (1994): 33–34.

the subject of dissenting Protestants, elaborating on many issues raised by the representations of the Lords and convocation. For instance, in his 1712 pamphlet *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*, he complained that dissenters were permitted to print and publish books 'to corrupt the Principles of the People', offering some particularly dangerous examples of this practice, including McBride's *Animadversions* of 1695 and Boyse's *Scriptural Bishop*, the latter calculated to 'insinuate the vilest Characters of our Bishops'.[133] Tisdall also complained that whig MPs had aided and abetted dissenters, while conformists, who had not only abjured the Pretender but had been active in opposing him in 1708, were 'Stigmatiz'd with the Names of Jacobites, called Friends to the Pretender, and Enemies to the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line'.[134]

Similar complaints were evident in printed material relevant to the riot at the performance of Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane* at the Queen's Theatre at Smock Alley in November 1712, sparked off by Dudley Moore's decision to read Samuel Garth's *Prologue for the 4th of November*. Further insight into the riot, and the reasons for it, had been provided in a broadside entitled *The Whiggs glorious Memory*. It described how a large company of 'W[hi]gs' had dined at the Tholsel that day at noon. When the meal was over and most 'Well-meaning Gentlemen' had left the Tholsel, those who preferred 'the Memory of a dead Prince, before the Duty they owe to their living Sovereign, and a burthensome and uncertain War and Confusion, before Peace and Plenty', fell into drinking a number of 'Unchristian' healths. That evening, those whigs had proceeded to the theatre and, encouraged by copious amounts of wine and Moore's actions, had challenged 'all the T[or]ies and S[acheverell]ites in the Kingdom'.[135] The author explained that a fellow of the university was struck for hissing at the whigs, and ladies in the galleries, who were wearing red roses to demonstrate their support for the tories, were verbally abused. Of course, the reference to drinking healths to the memory of William III picked up on criticism of the practice in Browne's pamphlet, while the reference to 'War and Confusion' brought to mind the stance of the British whigs on the issue of the War of Spanish Succession, a matter receiving a great deal of coverage in reprinted publications being

[133] [William Tisdall], *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland* (Dublin, 1712), 29, 94.

[134] [Tisdall], 90.

[135] *The Whiggs Glorious Memory. Dublin, Nov. 17* (Dublin, [1712]).

produced in Ireland at this time. The author of the broadside went on to explain that the whigs in the theatre had only quietened down, except to 'cast some Reflections on Sacheverell', once '6 Grenadeers' with guns and broad swords had arrived.[136] The publication also included a 'New Song on the Whiggs behavioar', to the tune of 'Ye Commons and Peers', elaborating on the same events and once again, depicting Irish whigs drinking healths to the memory of William III at the Tholsel and the Rose Tavern, and drunkenly worshipping at King William's 'Shrine', likely a reference to the statue on College Green. Moore was also accused of having drunk a health wishing 'Her Grandfathers Fate' on the Queen, a reference to the execution of Charles I in 1649.[137] As all of these publications demonstrate, whatever restraint Irish tories or churchmen had demonstrated in the past when articulating their concerns about whiggism or dangers to the established church, all caution was thrown to the wind once parliament and convocation had convened in 1711.

In the absence of significant divisions between the Irish parliamentary parties on fundamental issues such as Protestant dissent, the partisan sympathies of the two factions in the parliament were primarily evident through their support for, or hostility towards, the executive at various times. Of course, it may be observed that tory principles had been more clearly expressed by members of the House of Lords and convocation than by members of the Commons, perhaps indicative of fears amongst tory-inclined MPs in the lower house that any elaborate display of partisan sentiment, particularly on issues touching the established church or Protestant dissent, could be misrepresented as evidence of Jacobitism. While whig sentiment was clearly evident in the Commons, particularly whig enthusiasm for 'Revolution Principles', as Wharton's chief secretary Joseph Addison noted, men such as

[136] According to St John Brodrick, when Moore had first climbed onto the stage of the theatre, it had led to a 'vast Hubbab & clapping, & some very few Hisses'. Another man had joined Moore onstage and asserted that 'all who hist that prologue were Papists, & jacobite Rascals', inviting those in favour of the prologue to put on their hats. Once it had been established that the majority of those present had put on their hats, Moore had read the prologue. See St John to Thomas Brodrick, 6 Nov. 1712 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/93–4).

[137] *The Whiggs Glorious Memory* [n.p.].

Brodrick and his adherents 'all call themselves Whiggs but I don't believe that halfe of them woud goe [to] such lengths as their friends in England coud wish if there were any Occasion to trye them'.[138] Even if the divisions between the parties in Ireland were not quite as clear-cut as those in Britain, individual politicians had come to see themselves as adherents to one party or the other, and contemporaries were able to identify the factions in the Irish parliament with their British counterparts.

Printed publications can be seen to have played a significant role in this regard. Indeed, contemporaries on both sides of the partisan divide had raised concerns about the divisive impact of print during the period. Associations between the Irish Anglican clergy and high-church sentiment as it had been developing in Britain could be drawn from printed publications reflecting on the dispute in convocation over Lambert's 'Letter', material related to the degradation of Edward Forbes, newspaper coverage of the attack on the statue of William III by students of the university, Francis Higgins's well-publicised dispute with Baron Santry, and the roll call of 'dangers' facing the established church provided in the representations of the Lords and convocation in 1711. Of course, by 1711, Church of Ireland clergymen and their supporters were comfortable turning to print to hit back at their detractors by condemning Wharton's administration, the behaviour of Irish and British whigs generally, and the behaviour of dissenting Protestants. Furthermore, as printed material related to the theatre riot of 1712 demonstrates, party labels were starting to be used in reference to Irish political affairs. All of this was no doubt encouraged by the increased coverage of British political developments in Irish print output in the wake of the Sacheverell trial. While there was an unprecedented quantity of controversial publications circulating in the kingdom, whether high-church, low-church, whig, tory, dissenting Protestant or Anglican, it is notable that little by way of commentary and opinion on proceedings under way in either House of the Irish parliament was produced. It was only in the last, turbulent parliamentary session of Queen Anne's reign that this abruptly changed.

[138] Graham, *Addison Letters*, 149.

References

A Brief Examination of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Dublin, 1714.

A Brief History of the Poor Palatine Refugees. Dublin, 1710.

A Collection of Several Printed Papers, Articles of Impeachment and Complaints Made against John Mercer, for His Ingrossing, Monopolizing and Forestalling Coals, &c. Dublin, 1712.

A Full and Impartial Account of the Tryal of the Reverend Mr. Francis Higgins. London, 1712.

A Letter of Advice to a Gentleman of the Church of Rome; on Occasion of the Late Statutes, to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery. Dublin, 1709.

A Representation of the Present State of Religion. Dublin, [1711].

A Representation of the Present State of Religion. London, 1712.

A Short Account of the Late Proceedings of the University against Forbes. [London, 1709].

A Short Answer on a Discourse of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Dublin, 1714.

An Apology of the French Refugees Established in Ireland, Addressed to All Those Who Love the Peace of the Church. Dublin, 1712.

An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of the Right Honourable R. Freeman, One of the Lords Justices. Dublin, 1710.

An Excellent New Ballad, or, the Whigs Lamentation. Dublin, 1711.

An Irish Ballad, upon the Revd Mr. Francis Higgins His Tryal. London, 1712.

At a General Session of the Peace Held […] on Thursday the 7th Day of October, 1708. [Dublin?], 1708.

Barnard, T. C. 'The Uses of 23 October 1641 and Irish Protestant Celebrations'. *English Historical Review* 106, no. 421 (1991): 889–920.

Barry, Baron of Santry, Henry. *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] The Humble Petition of the Right Honourable Henry Lord Baron of Santry*. Dublin, 1711.

Boyse, Joseph. *Sermons Preach'd on Various Subjects*. 2 vols. Dublin, 1708.

———. *The Office of a Scriptural Bishop Describ'd and Recommended […] and a Postscript Containing an Apology for the Publication of It*. Dublin, 1709.

Bray, Gerald, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*. Vol. XVII. Woodbridge, 2006.

———, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVIII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 2. Lower House: 1703–1713; Both Houses: 1714–1869*. Vol. XVIII. Woodbridge, 2006.

Browne, Peter. *Of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Being the Substance of a Discourse Deliver'd to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cork, on the Fourth of November, 1713, by the Bishop of That Diocese*. Dublin, 1713.

Butler, 2nd duke of Ormonde, James. *His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, On Thursday the 12th of July, 1711*. Dublin, 1711.

Dickinson, H. T. 'The Poor Palatines and the Parties'. *English Historical Review* 82, no. 327 (1967): 464–85.

Dralle, Lewis. 'Kingdom in Reversion: The Irish Viceroyalty of the Earl of Wharton, 1708–1710'. *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1952): 393–431.

Drury, Edward. *A Discourse Occasioned by Mr. Boyse's Ordination Sermon*. Dublin, 1709.

Dublin Intelligence.

Flying Post.

Farmer, Ambrose. *A Brief Answer to J. Boyse and E. Drury: Or, the Bone of Contention Broken*. [Dublin], 1709.

Foley, Dermot. 'Presbyterianism in Drogheda, 1652–1827'. *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 22, no. 2 (2002).

French, Matthew. *An Answer to J. B.'s Ordination Sermon*. Dublin, 1709.

Graham, Walter, ed. *The Letters of Joseph Addison*. Oxford, 1941.

Hayton, D. W. 'An Irish Parliamentary Diary from the Reign of Queen Anne'. *Analecta Hibernica* 30 (1982).

———. *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties*. Woodbridge, 2004.

Higgins, Francis. *Mr. Higgins's Case*. [Dublin, 1711].

———. *To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde. […] The Answer of Francis Higgins*. Dublin, 1711.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Egmont MSS*.

Kelly, James. 'Sustaining a Confessional State'. In *Eighteenth-Century Composite State: Representative Institutions in Ireland and Europe, 1689–1800*, edited by James Kelly, John Bergin, and D. W. Hayton. Dublin, 2010.

———. '"The Glorious and Immortal Memory": Commemoration and Protestant Identity in Ireland, 1660–1800'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C 94, no. 2 (1994): 484–96.

Knights, Mark. *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture*. Oxford, 2006.

[Lambert], [Ralph]. *A Vindication of the Letter Publish'd in a Pamphlet, Call'd Partiality Detected*. Dublin, 1710.

McGrath, C. I. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714*. Dublin, 2000.

Ó Ciardha, Éamonn. *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment*. Dublin, 2004.

O'Regan, Philip. *Archbishop William King, 1650–1729 and the Constitution in Church and State*. Dublin, 2000.

Percevale, William. *A Letter to Dr. Synge*. Dublin, 1711.

[Percevale], [William]. *A Reply to a Vindication of the Letter Published in a Pamphlet Called Pa[r]tiality Detected*. Dublin, 1710.

———. *Remarks upon a Letter Printed in a Pamphlet Intituled, Partiality Detected*. Dublin, 1709.

Postscript. Saturday, October 6. 1711. By the Grand-Jury of the County of Dublin […] the Fifth Day of October, 1711. [Dublin], 1711.

Publish'd on Occasion of Abusing the Statue on Colledge-Green. Doctor Travers His Defence of King William of Glorious and Immortal Memory. Dublin, 1710.

Remarks on Some Passages in Mr. Boyse's Sermons, Vol. I. Dublin, 1709.

Simms, J. G. 'Irish Catholics and the Franchise, 1692–1728'. In *War and Politics in Ireland, 1649–1730*, edited by D. W. Hayton and Gerard O'Brien. London, 1986.

Some Short Remarks on a Discourse of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Dublin, 1713.

Stoughton, William. *A Sermon Preach'd before the State in Christ-Church, 31 Jan. 1709*. Dublin, 1709.

Surrey History Centre. Midleton Papers. MSS 1248/1–3.

[Swift], [Jonathan]. *A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, Concerning the Sacramental Test*. Dublin, [1709].

———. *A Short Character of His Ex. T. E. of W. L. L. of I-------. With an Account of Some Smaller Facts, during His Government, Which Will Not Be Put into the Articles of Impeachment*. [Dublin?], 1711.

[Swinfield], [Nathaniel]. *Vindiciae Stoughtonianae*. Dublin, 1710.

Synge, Edward. *Dr. Synge's Defence of Himself*. Dublin, 1711.

The Declaration of the University of Dublin; Made and Subscribed upon the Second Day of August, 1708. Dublin, 1708.

The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. 4th series. Vol. 2. 20 vols. Dublin, 1753–1800.

The Journals of the House of Lords of the Kingdom of Ireland. Vol. 2. 8 vols. Dublin, 1763–1801.

The National Archives, UK. State Papers, Ireland. SP 63.

The New Kilmainham Ballad, to the Tune of Ye Commons and Peers. [Dublin?, 1711].

The Report of the Committee of the Honble House of Commons: Appointed to Inspect the Examinations, Given in by Dominick Langton. Dublin, 1711.

The Representation of the House of Lords against the Dissenters. [Dublin?, 1712?].

The R------r's s----Ch Explain'd. Dublin, 1711.

The Tory Parallel. Dublin, 1711.

The Whiggs Glorious Memory. Dublin, Nov. 17. Dublin, [1712].

The Whole Report of the Right Honourable Committee of the House of Lords in Ireland. London, 1713.

This Day His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant Went in State to the Parliament House, and Gave the Royal Assent. Dublin, 1709.

Tisdall, William. *A Sample of True-Blew Presbyterian-Loyalty*. Dublin, 1709.

———. *The Nature and Tendency of Popular Phrases in General*. Dublin, 1715.

[Tisdall], [William]. *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*. Dublin, 1712.

To His Grace James Duke of Ormond […] The Humble Address of the Archbishops, Bishops, and the Rest of the Clergy of Ireland. Dublin, 1711.

To His Grace James Duke of Ormonde […] The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. Dublin, 1711.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty: The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. Dublin, 1711.

To the Right Honourable Sir Constantine Phipps. Dublin, 1711.

Whalley, John. *To the Right Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. The Humble Petition of John Whalley*. Dublin, 1711.

Wharton, Thomas. *His Excellency Thomas Earl of Wharton […] His Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Saturday the 20th of May, 1710*. Dublin, 1710.

Whereas the Reverend Mr. Francis Higgins […]. Dublin, 1711.

[Willis], [Richard]. *An Address to Those of the Roman Communion in England: Occasioned by the Late Act of Parliament*. Dublin, 1709.

Yesterday the Lords Read a Third Time and Passed, the Bill Entitled, an Act for Explaining and Amending an Act Entitled, an Act to Prevent the Further Growth of Popery. Dublin, 1709.

CHAPTER 8

Crisis, 1713–1714

In September 1713 Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, an Anglican convert from Catholicism and erstwhile whig, was announced as Ormonde's replacement as lord lieutenant of Ireland.[1] The new viceroy had arrived in Dublin shortly thereafter, intent on pursuing a moderate scheme in Ireland.[2] However, the turbulent parliamentary session of 1713 took place against the backdrop of a bitter clash between the whig-dominated aldermanic board of the City of Dublin and the tory-dominated privy council regarding the election of mayoral candidates. This dispute had commenced in 1709 and flared up on several occasions in the years that followed, most dramatically so in May 1713, the same month in which the 1703 parliament was dissolved and a general election called in Ireland. The struggle between the whig aldermen and tory privy council received a great deal of coverage in print, and publications pertinent to it began to offer advice to voters in Dublin as the general election neared. More importantly, commentary and opinion on the mayoralty dispute and domestic political affairs continued to appear in print even after the 1713 parliamentary session had commenced.

[1] D. W. Hayton, 'Talbot, Charles', *DIB*.

[2] D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge, 2004), 167.

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_8

In order to understand some of the issues that dominated the proceedings of the 1713 parliament and, moreover, the content of many political publications produced in Ireland at this time, it is necessary to backtrack somewhat and consider the development of the Dublin mayoralty dispute since 1709. The first section of this chapter will consider that issue and developments leading up to the 1713 general election. The second section will look at polling in the general election in Dublin and consider the short parliamentary session of 1713. The final section will focus on the tense months that followed the prorogation of parliament, as Queen Anne's health began to fail and partisan tensions reached a peak in Ireland. As this chapter will demonstrate, during the period under consideration, publications relevant to domestic political affairs were published with greater frequency than ever before and the strength of partisan sentiment expressed therein was unprecedented in an Irish context.

The Dublin Mayoralty Dispute, 1709–1713

The upper house of Dublin City's common council (made up of the lord mayor and twenty-four aldermen) was responsible for electing a new lord mayor and two sheriffs for the City each year. Mayoral candidates were chosen from this aldermanic board, generally on the basis of seniority, and, according to the 1672 'New Rules', these elections were supposed to take place annually on the second Friday after Easter. The privy council were required to approve these elections within ten days so that the new lord mayor and sheriffs would be ready to take office on Michaelmas Day, 29 September.[3] In 1709, however, the aldermanic board had chosen one Charles Forrest as mayor, overlooking their most senior member, Robert Constantine. Thereafter, Constantine had petitioned the privy council against approving the election, arguing that he should have been elected on the basis of seniority. Wharton had dismissed the case without hearing. The following year, when John Eccles was elected mayor, Constantine refrained from submitting a petition to the whig-dominated privy council. In 1711, however, following Ormonde's return to government, Constantine submitted a petition against the approval of

[3]Sean Murphy, 'Municipal Politics and Popular Disturbances, 1660–1800', in *Dublin through the Ages*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Dublin, 1988), 81; C. M. Flanagan, '"A Merely Local Dispute"? Partisan Politics and the Dublin Mayoral Dispute of 1709–1715' (Ph.D. thesis, Notre Dame University, 1983), 62.

Thomas Barlow as lord mayor, clearly believing the change in government would benefit his case.[4]

Constantine was correct in this regard. The tory-dominated privy council not only heard the petition but refused to approve Barlow's election. However, when a new mayoral election was held, Barlow was elected by a significant majority of the aldermen once again. Both sides dug their heels in and a series of mayoral elections and disapprovals followed.[5] In the midst of this stand-off between the privy council and the City, while a sixth mayoral election was awaiting approval, an anonymous pamphlet in defence of the aldermen was published. The *Case of the City of Dublin* outlined the history of the corporation, its charter and voting procedures, and dismissed the right of the privy council to disapprove City elections on the basis that this right had only been granted as a safeguard against the 'influence or interest of Papists'.[6] The author also argued that the by-laws regarding seniority had fallen into disuse and, moreover, had been abrogated by 1672 New Rules. It is notable that, in subsequent publications, the by-law regarding seniority came to be discussed in terms of 'arbitrary' or 'hereditary' power by whig pamphleteers.

The dispute between the aldermen and privy council also came to the attention of the House of Commons during the 1711 session, occasioning heated debate about the privy council's role in disapproving mayoral candidates. As one whig partisan put it, this was happening because the aldermen were suspected of 'drinking healths unacceptable to the Council board'.[7] A motion to condemn the privy council for their recent behaviour was defeated by a single vote, a division that had highlighted the narrowness of the tory court party's majority in the Commons and the necessity of holding a general election before parliament met again.[8] As for the ongoing mayoralty dispute, a compromise between the privy council and the City was reached in 1711, and

[4] *The Case of the City of Dublin, in Relation to the Election of the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of the Said City* (Dublin, [1711]), 5.

[5] *Case of the City of Dublin*, 14; Flanagan, 'Local Dispute', 92.

[6] *Case of the City of Dublin*, 2–3.

[7] D. W. Hayton, 'An Irish Parliamentary Diary from the Reign of Queen Anne', *Analecta Hibernica* 30 (1982): 117.

[8] Hayton, 119; C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714* (Dublin, 2000), 261.

one Ralph Gore was approved as mayor along with two whig sheriffs.[9] This development was covered by the London and Dublin papers. For instance, an extract from the London *Daily Courant*, reprinted in the *Dublin Intelligence*, interpreted Gore's appointment as a vindication of the City's position, or in other words, a whig victory.[10]

In 1712 another compromise candidate, Samuel Cooke, was elected as mayor according to the usual procedure, along with Thomas Bradshaw and Edward Surdeville as sheriffs.[11] While the aldermanic board had initially been satisfied with Cooke's appointment, over the course of his tenure he began to demonstrate pro-government, or tory, tendencies. On 8 May 1713, when the aldermanic board convened at the Tholsel, the seat of City government, to elect his replacement, Cooke nominated three tory candidates to succeed him. The aldermen objected but Cooke insisted on his right to confine them to his choice of nominees, abruptly convened the assembly and left the Tholsel. The rest of the aldermen continued to sit for several hours, sending a message to Cooke asking him to return. When he refused to do so, seventeen aldermen proceeded to an election in his absence and returned Thomas Pleasant as lord mayor.[12]

In contrast to earlier mayoral elections, this development resulted in a flurry of publications. For twopence, it was possible to purchase a publication that contained four relevant documents: the 'Certificate' of Thomas Pleasant's election, subscribed to by the seventeen aldermen and justifying their decision to hold the election in Cooke's absence; Cooke's 'humble Answer' insisting that the election was not valid; an order of the lords justices and council instructing the seventeen aldermen to respond to Cooke's 'Answer'; and the ensuing 'Replication' in which the aldermen condemned Cooke's conduct once again, insisting that he should have consulted them in his choice of nominees in advance of the election instead of relying on 'other Advice and Assistance'.[13] Most of the printed publications relevant to the dispute, however, offered

[9] *Dublin Intelligence*, 3 Nov. 1711; Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 9 Oct. 1711 (SHC, Midleton Papers, 1248/3/56–7).

[10] *Dublin Intelligence*, 3 Nov. 1711; Flanagan, 'Local dispute', 113–15.

[11] *Dublin Intelligence*, 21 June, 4 Oct. 1712.

[12] *The Certificate of Alderman Thomas Pleasant's Election to the Mayoralty of the City of Dublin, the Lord-Mayor's Answer Thereunto, and the Reply of the Aldermen to the Said Answer* ([Dublin], 1713), 1–4; Flanagan, 'Local Dispute', 143, 146–47.

[13] *Certificate of Alderman Thomas Pleasant's Election*, 4.

partisan commentary on events in the Tholsel on 8 May. Tory publications insisted on Cooke's right to nominate candidates and the validity of the by-law regarding seniority. They also attacked the seventeen aldermen, including the recorder of the City, John Forster, by attributing certain whiggish characteristics to them, even if the use of the term 'whig' was generally avoided. For instance, an anonymous response to the 'Replication' defended Cooke's decision to leave the Tholsel on 8 May and his past record as mayor. On the latter issue, Cooke's record was compared to that of his whig predecessor Ralph Gore, whose commitment to religion was brought into question through a comment that he was well known to be 'too often Sick upon Sundays for a Man of his Health and Constitution'.[14] In a more obvious attempt to associate the seventeen aldermen with whig, low-church or anti-clerical sentiment, another anonymous publication accused them of 'Conspiring the Death of the Queen' by drinking healths to: the speedy settlement of the House of Hanover on the throne; to the memory of Cromwell; and 'Plague, Pestilence and […] sudden Death' to the clergy of the established church.[15] It was asserted that such activities took place at private meetings of the 'Hanover Club' at the Rose Tavern.[16] An effort to associate the aldermen with British whig opposition to the conclusion of the War of Spanish Succession was also evident in one broadside, a mock elegy on the seventeen aldermen and recorder, who had supposedly 'Dy'd of Faction ALL/A Rank Disease, that's Epidemical', an event that had forced them to be absent at that 'happy Hour' when the Peace of Utrecht was proclaimed in Ireland.[17]

This mapping of partisan attributes onto participants in the mayoralty dispute took on a wider significance in the run-up to the general election of 1713 because all four candidates contesting the parliamentary seat for Dublin City were involved in city government. John Forster, the recorder of the City, and Benjamin Burton, a former lord mayor, both men who had taken part in the mayoral election of 8 May in Cooke's absence, were identifiable as whigs. Meanwhile, Sir William Fownes, a former lord mayor and more recently one of Cooke's controversial

[14] *Remarks upon the Replication of the Seventeen Aldermen of Dublin* ([Dublin], 1713), 6.

[15] *Eighteen Queries, for the Seventeen Ald----n and the R----r* (Dublin, 1713), 1–2.

[16] *Eighteen Queries*, 1.

[17] *An Elegy on Eighteen Aldermen; Who Were Prevented by Death, from Assisting at the Ceremonies of Proclaiming the Peace between Her Majesty* (Dublin, [1713?]).

nominees for the position, and Martin Tucker, a former sheriff of the City, were both identifiable as tories.[18] As the general election neared, many publications focussed primarily on the mayoralty dispute also offered readers advice with regard to their choice of candidates in the general election. For instance, the mock elegy on the seventeen aldermen had advised 'all you Whig-Electors' to shun 'the ways of such a Factious Crew'.[19] The author of the aforementioned pamphlet accusing the whig aldermen of conspiring to the death of the queen had also warned readers that the election of Forster and Burton to parliament would be detrimental to the trade of the city.[20] Meanwhile, John Clayton, dean of Kildare, in a pamphlet arguing that failure to re-establish the by-law regarding seniority would give the whig aldermen the power to 'Enslave all the rest', called on his readers to carefully consider whether they would vote for those 'violent Men that thus carry on Factions and Parties? Or Gentlemen of better Temper and of known Integrity'.[21]

The tory candidates were also attacked in print. One hostile response to Clayton's pamphlet argued that the by-law regarding seniority had been inconsistently applied, and offered several numbered points condemning the two, unnamed but easily identifiable, tory candidates standing for parliament in the general election. For instance, Tucker and Fownes were accused of supporting 'Popish Intruders' to the City of Dublin, and it was asserted that Fownes had been 'supported in his Election by almost every Papist and Jacobite in the City'.[22] Of course, as tories, it is not surprising that Fownes and Tucker were associated with Catholicism and Jacobitism. It is surprising however that their past political record also received a good deal of attention. For instance, allegations were made that the customs house officers had a complaint pending against Tucker, and a petition had been lodged in parliament against Fownes.[23] The latter issue was also addressed in other publications produced at this time. A printed tract entitled *The Inniskillingers*

[18] Gerard McNamara, 'Crown v Municipality: The Struggle for Dublin, 1713', *Dublin Historical Record* 39, no. 3 (1986): 112.

[19] *Elegy on Eighteen Aldermen*.

[20] *Eighteen Queries*, 1.

[21] John Clayton, *Dean Clayton's Letter, to One of the Common-Council of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1713), 2–4.

[22] *An Answer to D. Clayton's Letter* ([Dublin], 1713) [n.p.].

[23] *An Answer to D. Clayton's Letter* [n.p.].

Complaint against Sir William Fownes, for Detaining Their Pay, was almost certainly published in Dublin in the run-up to the general election.[24] Its subscribers, the non-commissioned officers and troopers of the regiment commonly known as the 'Inniskilling-horse', certified that Fownes had been entrusted to balance their accounts but had taken £850 more than he had been due in payment for his services. As a result, a petition against him had been submitted to parliament in 1711 but, as an MP, Fownes had been able to obstruct the work of the committee appointed to deal with it. The *Complaint* further asserted that 'many hundreds of People, who spent their Blood in the Protestant Cause' prayed daily that Fownes would not be re-elected to parliament. Further commentary on the matter, including a denial of the charges by Fownes, also appeared in print.[25]

Of course, a good deal of material offering commentary on the mayoralty dispute represented the whig candidates in the general election as supporters of dissenting Protestantism and, in turn, beneficiaries of support from that community. In one such publication, Forster was accused of promising to do 'his utmost Service to the Dissenters' at Joseph Boyse's meeting house, thereby encouraging the Presbyterian divine to advise his congregation to vote for the whig candidates in the forthcoming election.[26] Forster and Burton were also represented, to varying degrees, as men who harboured anti-clerical or anti-monarchical sympathies. One pamphleteer associated the two men with the 'Roundheads' or Parliamentarians during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, who would not converse with 'Cavaliers and Followers of Charles Stuart', on the basis that Forster and Burton only employed and traded with men with the same principles as themselves.[27] That publication assured voters that Fownes and Tucker were honest and loyal subjects and *not* 'for Fostering Cromwellian and Republican Principles, in Order to sap the very Foundation of all Monarchy'.[28] Echoing those sentiments, another

[24] *The Inniskillingers Complaint against Sir William Fownes, for Detaining Their Pay* ([Dublin], 1712).

[25] See [William Fownes], *Advertisement. Sir William Fownes, and Ephraim Dawson* (Dublin, [1713]).

[26] *Eighteen Queries*, 2.

[27] *The Grand Alarm, to the Freemen and Freeholders of a Certain c---y, about Chosing, Representatives for the Ensuing Parliament* (Dublin, 1713), 3.

[28] *Grand Alarm*, [1].

anonymous author argued that Forster and Burton had maintained the 'Principles of their Predecessors', which was something evident in their 'Obnoxious' behaviour towards the government and their adherence to the party who were responsible for increasing 'all the Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, in this City; to the Dishonour of God, the Scandal of the Church, the great Decay of Trade'.[29]

Due to Forster's role as an MP and speaker of the House of Commons, the performance of the whigs in the Irish parliament also received a good deal of attention in print. An anonymously printed publication, offering a satirical version of the speech Forster had allegedly presented at Boyse's meeting house, portrayed the recorder claiming credit for challenging the royal prerogative during the mayoralty dispute, boasting about his opposition to government supply bills of two years' duration during the 1703–1704 and 1705 parliamentary sessions, and his involvement in securing a supply bill of one-year-and-three-quarters' duration during the 1707 session.[30] Making light of the latter measure, the author depicted Forster declaring proudly 'How was our Country sav'd from Poverty and Ruin by that Year and three Quarters? O Gentlemen! If we had granted that one Quarter more, and made it up Two Years; We and our Posterity had been Begg[ar]s'. The Irish whigs in parliament were also presented as the 'Givers up' of the claim that the Commons had the sole right to determine the way taxes were raised and spent, enemies to the 'corn bill', and men who opposed laws against blasphemy, all references to proceedings in the Commons in 1709.[31] Other publications also noted whig inconsistencies on the matter of 'sole right', specifically the amendments to the preamble of the 1709 supply bill. One such pamphlet asserted that Forster had colluded with

[29] *Queries to the Electors of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1713).

[30] McGrath, 'Parliamentary Additional Supply: The Development and Use of Regular Short-Term Taxation in the Irish Parliament, 1692–1716', *Parliamentary History* 20, no. 1 (2001): 46.

[31] *The R-----r's Speech at Mr. B-Se's Convinticle the Women and Children Being Withdrawn, by Order of Mr. B----Se* (Dublin, 1713) [n.p.]. A bill against blasphemous behaviour initiated by the Lords had been rejected by the Commons during the 1709 session, while reference to the 'corn bill' was possibly a reference to two heads of bills pertaining to the exportation of corn which were rejected by the Irish privy council during the same session (McGrath, *Constitution*, 230). References to the corn-bill and blasphemy bill were also evident in other tory publications, such as *A Letter to a Member of Parliament* ([Dublin], 1713), 3.

Wharton at that time to import £12,000 worth of arms from Holland to the detriment of Irish craftsmen.[32] Another accused Forster and Burton of having been involved in the 'CALLICOE-PLOT'—possibly a reference to the 200% increase in the additional duty on calicoes which had been imposed ten years earlier in 1703.[33] The court party at that time had identified the measure as a whig initiative designed to ensure that the heads of the relevant bill would be rejected.[34]

Such detailed commentary on past parliamentary proceedings and the behaviour of individual MPs in the Irish parliament was simply unprecedented in domestically produced printed material. It is also notable that the authors of this material did not provide their readers with any background information on the parliamentary proceedings discussed, which suggests that they assumed that their audience was already acquainted with those issues. Furthermore, all of the matters raised in these publications were put forward as evidence of the partisan proclivities of the politicians involved, almost always without the use of terms such as 'tory' or 'whig', an indication that the authors involved believed that they were addressing a readership already familiar with the characteristics of whig and tory partisans. Above all else, this material is significant because it was the first time that Irish voters had been explicitly offered electoral advice in print.

The majority of these publications were targeted at voters in Dublin, but it is notable that material addressed to voters nationwide is also evident. For example, Edward Waters printed *A Letter to the Freeholders of Ireland*, which discussed the importance of choosing men 'who will shew a true Zeal for the Establish'd Church, and an honest and due Regard both to the Crown and the Subject'.[35] The dangers that 'the Papist, the Dissenter and the Jacobite' posed to the church and state were discussed at some length. The author of the *Letter* explained to his correspondent that dissenters should not be permitted 'any Hand in Government' as their principles would lead to its destruction.[36] Continued vigilance against Jacobites, whether they were churchmen or dissenters, was advised, even though both categories of Jacobite

[32] *Grand Alarm*, 1.

[33] *Queries to the Electors.*

[34] McGrath, 'Parliamentary Additional Supply', 42–43.

[35] *A Letter to the Freeholders of Ireland* (Dublin, 1713), [1].

[36] *Letter to the Freeholders*, [1].

were admittedly 'very inconsiderable' in terms of 'Number, Power or Quality' in Ireland. The whigs were identified as a fourth threat to the constitution as they aimed to 'make Monarchy odious to the People, and to spirit them up to their Party'.[37] With everyone else ruled out, it was clearly necessary to vote tory in the forthcoming election.

The nature, and quantity, of printed material produced in Ireland on the topic of the mayoralty dispute and forthcoming general election strongly suggests that the dissolution of parliament in the summer of 1713, and uncertainty over the future composition of that assembly, had encouraged Irish publishers to take new risks with their print output, most notably the production of material that attempted to sway readers to the side of one party or the other. The fact that the mayoralty dispute was portrayed in print as a clear instance of whig and tory party conflict, and the four candidates standing for election to parliament in Dublin City were so closely identified with that dispute, ensured that partisan attributes were easily applied to Forster, Burton, Fownes and Tucker. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the majority of publications relevant to the mayoralty dispute were written and printed anonymously. Furthermore, the names and titles of individuals discussed were usually obscured, with readers provided only with the first, and sometimes last, letter of a name, and dashes used to represent the remaining characters.

The General Election and Parliamentary Session of 1713

As preparations for the general election intensified in the autumn of 1713, efforts to resolve the mayoralty dispute were temporarily shelved. By that time, the dispute was having a detrimental effect on the city. As a petition to Shrewsbury from the aldermen put it, 'the most important Business of the City is at a Stand, their Quarter Sessions being adjourned, because the Justices of Peace decline venturing to try Criminals on the disputed power of a Lord Mayor or Sheriffs to Hold over'.[38] Indeed, Thomas Bradshaw and Edward Surdeville were unsure of the legality of continuing as sheriffs after Michaelmas had passed and had only reluctantly agreed to oversee the general election in Dublin.

[37] *Letter to the Freeholders*, 2.

[38] 'The humble Petition of Sr John Rogerson Knt and the other Aldm of the City of Dublin whose names are hereunto subscribed' (TCD, MS 2022, f. 8).

In advance of that event, the sheriffs published a paper advertising the time, place and procedures for polling.[39] Controversially, new procedures were introduced on this occasion: votes were to be accepted according to the seniority of each corporation and polling would take place at the Tholsel, rather than the usual venue, the Blue Coat Hospital.[40] The sheriffs claimed that these changes were instituted 'To prevent Tumults' and to 'save the time and unnecessary Attendance of the Electors'.[41] However, a printed response suggested that the sheriffs should conduct the poll anywhere other than the Tholsel as it was surrounded 'with narrow Streets and Lanes'.[42] It also alleged that the introduction of new polling arrangements was an attempt on the part of the sheriffs to ensure that 'their Favourites', the whigs, received the most votes on the first day of polling so that the results could be 'printed at Night, and great Boasts made of the Majority on their side, in hopes of influencing Voters the next Day (for some Voters there are who do not Care to appear on the losing side)'.[43]

Despite such objections, the new procedures remained in place and polling commenced on Tuesday 3 November. That morning, Fownes and Tucker met with their supporters at College Green and proceeded to the Tholsel. Carter's *Post-Boy* subsequently reported that this crowd of tory supporters was made up of 'several Thousand Loyal Citizens', including privy councillors, judges, gentry, clergymen, freemen and freeholders who were 'for Church and Queen, and for Suppressing Faction and Spleen'.[44] Other tory publications also insisted that only the 'best sort of People' had appeared to support Fownes and Tucker on that occasion.[45] In sharp contrast, a whig publication suggested that the tory candidates had attempted to disrupt proceedings by arriving at the Tholsel accompanied by a mob made up of Catholics and lowly sorts. For instance, *The Procession, A Poem*, described the crowd that had

[39] See *CJI*, 2:751.

[40] *A True Account of the Riot Committed at the Tholsel on Friday the 6th of November* ([Dublin, 1713]), 3–4.

[41] *CJI*, 2:751–52.

[42] *Observations on the Paper Publish'd by the Sheriffs of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1713), 1.

[43] *Observations on the Paper*, 3–4.

[44] *Post-Boy*, 9 Nov. 1713.

[45] See *All the Late Tory Pamphlets, Answer'd at Once by Mr. R-----r* (Dublin, 1713), 2.

attended Fownes and Tucker to the Tholsel as a mob of 'either Jacks or Papists' who had shouted 'Down with the Whiggs!' as they passed through Dame Street. The author had also alluded to the low social status of the crowd by capturing their cries: 'Who want's a Light? Sir, Black your Shoos;/L[lo]yd's New's Letter!, New News, New News'.[46]

Polling was adjourned to facilitate the observation of William III's birthday on 4 November, and the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot on 5 November. The Dublin newspapers reported that the lord lieutenant had organised entertainments in separate venues for whigs and tories on the evening of 4 November. Whilst 'a great Entertainment' took place at Dublin Castle, Shrewsbury had sent 'the Queen's Musick to entertain the Recorder and his Friends in the Balcony of the Tholsel'.[47] With partisan tensions running high, polling recommenced on Friday 6 November when a riot at the Tholsel resulted in one death. In an unusually lengthy report, Carter's *Post-Boy* provided detail on those events:

> The Poll beginning and several of our Loyal Electors Crowding up to give their Votes, and seeing the Stage very throng, and the Place little and narrow, they huzza'd and Cry'd out, to adjourn the Pool to the Blue Coat Hospital, the Place where all Pools us'd to be taken, where there is both Room and Conveniencys, but not being minded, they began to pull down the Stage, then the Sheriffs sent for the Main Guard. On which a Lieutenant, an Ensign and a company of soldier came up Skinnerrow with Beat of Drumm, they Fired several Shotts of Powder in Skinnerrow and March'd on and drew up over against the entrance into the Tholsel, and then fired several SHOTS with BALL. One of which killed Mr. Jenkins, a Collar Maker in Thomas Street, so […] honest [a] Church Man, and Free Man of the City. He was shot into the Forehead with a Brace of Balls. Several of our Citizens were wounded.

Other publications favourable to Fownes and Tucker also sought to emphasise the role that whigs had played in those events. One publication claimed that Forster had arranged for the guard to be present at

[46] *The Procession. A Poem* (Dublin, [1713?]).

[47] *Post-Boy*, 9 Nov. 1713; Richard Helsham, *A Long History of a Short Session* ([Dublin], 1714), 9.

the poll by bribing them with 'above Forty shillings […] to Drink'.[48] Several publications alleged that one of the whig sheriffs had cried 'Kill Fifty more of the Dogs' when informed of the tory mortality during the riot.[49] One of Waters's publications took a slightly different approach, offering advice to Forster extracted from *Acts* 19:35–40. Those verses described a riot that occurred in Ephesus in response to the activities of St Paul and other Christian missionaries in the city.[50] In that case the town clerk had intervened to advise the crowd to consider their actions and resolve their grievances in a lawful manner.

Whiggish accounts of the riot were also printed. One asserted that on 6 November the tory candidates had arrived on horseback followed by a 'vast Crowd' comprised 'of the lowest Rank of the People, and of the Popish Religion, and such as had no Pretence to a Vote in the Election'.[51] The author also claimed that only a few votes for Forster and Burton had been taken when the tory supporters, wielding 'Swords, Cutlesses or great Clubs, and some of them had Swords', had started shouting 'down with the Stage, no Pole, no Pole' and assaulted 'several of the Free Brethren of the Guild, and Free-Holders of the City'.[52] In an even more blatant attempt to discredit the crowds that had attended Fownes and Tucker to the Tholsel, *A Dialogue between Teigue and Dermot* saw two men discuss the poll in an Irish brogue. Dermot described events on 6 November to Teigue, explaining that 'Ve wint to the Toulsill in a Cluster,/Tinking to kill dat Day F[orste]r'. Dermot recounted how the crowd had begun to pull down the stage when 'some dam Whiggs' called the guard, causing them all to run away. When Teigue asked where their forces had regrouped, Dermot explained that the lord lieutenant

[48] *Sir Will. Fownes's and Tucker's Friends Vindication or, a Truer Account of the Bloody and Barbarous Murder Committed at the Tholsel on Friday the 6th of This Inst. Novemb. 1713. Than That Publish'd under the Rose* (Dublin, 1713) [n.p.].

[49] *Fownes's and Tucker's Friends Vindication* [n.p.]; [Fownes], *Advertisement. Sir William Fownes, and Ephraim Dawson.*

[50] *Advice from the Recorder of Ephesus, to the R------r of D-----* (Dublin, 1713) [n.p.]. Poll results for each candidate and calculations to establish who was leading the poll have been jotted down on the copy of this publication held in Marsh's Library. The sum of the figures provided for each candidate falls short of the sum of the final results published by the sheriffs by over a thousand votes, which indicates that the *Advice* was published after the riot, but before polling concluded.

[51] *True Account*, 5.

[52] *True Account*, 5.

had commanded that those who 'had no Votes' should disband, an order which left very few voters for Fownes and Tucker.[53]

In the aftermath of the riot, polling for the tories continued at the Blue Coat Hospital, while the whigs continued to poll at the Tholsel, until Tuesday 17 November 1713. That night, Forster and Burton were declared elected with 1,784 and 1,778 votes respectively. In a publication announcing that result, the sheriffs reported that they had refused to accept the votes of 167 soldiers who supported Fownes and Tucker because their pensions were 'Charity at Pleasure'.[54] An alternative account appeared in Carter's *Post-Boy* of 19 November which asserted that 'There was above 60 Freemen ready to vote for Sir William and Mr Tucker: when the Sheriffs shut the Books and refused to take any more votes'.[55] Despite the whig victory in Dublin City, Lord Chancellor Phipps remained optimistic for the upcoming parliamentary session, writing shortly after the riot that 'by the nicest calculation can be made we shall have a Majority of 3 to 2 and there is a great Spirit of Loyalty even among the mob'.[56] This prediction proved accurate; the tories did win an overall majority in the general election, a development celebrated in a broadside entitled *The Dreamer's Dream*, ostensibly written by the same author as the *The Procession, A Poem*.[57] Here, the author claimed to have encountered the 'very Mobb' he had met on Dame Street once before, and wondered if he had been asleep or awake when he had first described them: 'Are these the Men, that black your Shoes?/What Privy-Councellors cry News?'[58]

Once the parliamentary session commenced on 25 November, this tory optimism proved premature. Although Shrewsbury had publicly declared that the attorney general and 'genuine moderate' Sir Richard Levinge was the government's preferred candidate for speaker of the Commons, the whigs successfully canvassed for Alan Brodrick's

[53] *A Dialogue between Teigue and Dermot* ([Dublin, 1713]).

[54] *The Poll Stood Thus on Tuesday Night the 17th of November 1713* ([Dublin, 1713]).

[55] *Post-Boy*, 19 Nov. 1713.

[56] David Woolley, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), 547.

[57] McGrath, *Constitution*, 269.

[58] *The Dreamer's Dream* (Dublin, 1713).

election.[59] In an unusual development, commentary on the issue appeared in print while the speakership contest was still under way. One tory publication expressed hope that even those 'who tug hindmost in the B[roderici]an Faction' would discountenance their leader's plans to 'fly in the Face of a most Gracious Queen'.[60] Expressing similar sentiments, another pamphlet explained that the tory party were in favour of a speaker 'as shall be Recommended by the Queen, and her chief Governour'.[61] To choose any other would be an attack on the royal prerogative 'under the Notion of Liberty' that would in fact see Irish Protestant liberties removed altogether and 'our Selves, our Estates, and Fortunes, Taxed from England, by a People, who have no extraordinary favourable Dispositions for our Country'—a rather interesting articulation of the idea that defending the royal prerogative afforded the Irish parliament its best protection from encroachments by that of Westminster.[62]

After Brodrick's election, *The Speaker. A Poem*, celebrated this whig victory. The author of the poem described themselves walking towards College Green on the way to the parliament house where Brodrick had addressed 'the list'ning and admiring throng' from the speaker's chair.[63] The striking effect of Brodrick's words on the author was captured in verse:[64]

> Brodrick I burn! I feel the Raging Fire
> Glow in my Breast, and tow'ring Thoughts Inspire
> With pleasing Pain, and easy Toil I'm drill'd along,
> Smitten with Love of Virtue and Heroick Song.
> The Bouyant Tide supports my Muse, and still,
> The Rolling Verse flows like a Torrent down the Hill.

[59] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 171; *CJI*, 2:743. Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 10 Nov. 1713 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/133–4). See also [Alan] to [Thomas Brodrick], 26 Nov. 1713 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/135).

[60] *A Letter to a Member of Parliament*, 2.

[61] *Impartial Man's Opinion* (Dublin, 1713), 1, 2–3.

[62] *Impartial Man's Opinion*, 4.

[63] *The Speaker. A Poem* (Dublin, 1713), 2.

[64] *The Speaker. A Poem*, 3.

Waters printed a response which speculated that the author of the *Speaker* had walked to the parliament house from the 'Crown-Alley End' of town so that they might call into the Rose Tavern. Thereafter, he was depicted stopping to kneel 'Papist Like' before the statue of William III on College Green.[65] Meanwhile, the 'Raging Fire' the author of the *Speaker* had experienced in response to Brodrick's oratory in parliament was diagnosed as a digestive complaint:[66]

> 'Tis but a little rumbling of that Wind,
> Which is to all'uneasy whilst confin'd,
> And does the Belly not the Fancy swell,
> As when 'tis out proves plainly by the Smell.
> Sydrophel thought he had a Star in Sight,
> When it was but the Lanthorn of a Kite;
> And many think the gods inspire their Brain,
> When 'tis a Maggot only gives them pain.
> So when your Torrent is rush'd down the Hill,
> It ends a Puddle or appears a Rill.

This kind of commentary on parliamentary affairs while the assembly was in session was unprecedented, and all the more remarkable because Waters chose to identify himself in the imprint of such a provocative publication.

Following the speakership victory, the whigs quickly gained more ground in the Commons when Forster was appointed chair of the committee of privileges and elections by a narrow majority.[67] This committee was tasked with investigating numerous complaints of misconduct on the part of officials during polling in elections around the country, including Dublin City.[68] The petition of Fownes and Tucker was presented to the Commons on 2 December asserting that whig supporters, and specifically the sheriffs of Dublin, had been guilty of many 'illegal Practices'

[65] *A Letter to the Author of The Speaker. A Poem* (Dublin, [1713?]), 2.

[66] *Letter to the Author of The Speaker*, 4.

[67] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 1 Dec. 1713 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/136–7).

[68] Petitions had been submitted from around the kingdom, including Carlow, Randalstown, Ballynakill, Belfast, Coleraine, Fetherd in Tipperary, Limerick, Ennis, Mallow, Galway, Trim and Roscommon (*CJI*, 2:745–47, 749–53, 755; David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800* (Dublin, 2000), 62).

during the election.[69] Intense public interest in the Commons proceedings on that petition was evident in orders instructing the sergeant at arms to take into custody anyone who attempted to watch proceedings in the Commons; that housekeepers of adjoining buildings prevent anyone going onto 'the Leads or Roofs of their Houses' to do so; and that all Catholics who attempted to get into the galleries be arrested.[70] By 15 December, Forster and Burton's election was confirmed and the petition of the tory candidates was found to be 'frivolous and vexatious' in nature. Echoing some of the allegations already put forward in whiggish pamphlets, the Commons expressed their opinion that a 'great Number of Persons, armed with Swords and Clubs, among whom were many Papists and others unqualified to Vote' had torn down the stage at the Tholsel, thereby putting the sheriffs and whig candidates 'in great Terror and Danger of their Lives'.[71] Furthermore, in an attempt to associate Lord Chancellor Phipps with the incident, a servant of his was identified as a 'chief Fomenter' of the riot.[72]

Another committee had been appointed for the dual purpose of inquiring into the progress of the case against Edward Lloyd for proposing to publish the 'Life of James II' and 'Memoirs of the Chevalier', and the case against Dudley Moore for his involvement in the *Tamerlane* riot in the Queen's Theatre in 1712.[73] On 18 December, Alan Brodrick delivered the reports prepared on each case. Unusually, the report on Lloyd did not recommend any resolutions to the house. It did, however, highlight numerous irregularities in the legal proceedings against him, focussing on the role that the privy council had played in securing a *noli prosequi* in the case by advising Ormonde, then lord lieutenant, that the printer had had 'no evil Intention or Design in publishing the Book for which he was indicted'.[74] On that basis, the Commons unanimously resolved that the *Memoirs* was a seditious and treasonable libel, and as the person responsible for representing Lloyd to Ormonde as an object of mercy, Lord Chancellor Phipps was found to have acted contrary

[69] *CJI*, 2:751.

[70] *CJI*, 2:758, 762, 764.

[71] *CJI*, 2:765–66.

[72] *CJI*, 2:766–7; Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 19 Dec. 1713 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/142–3).

[73] *CJI*, 2:765.

[74] *CJI*, 2:CCLXXV–CCLXXIV.

to the Protestant interest.[75] In sharp contrast, the report on Moore's case revealed that a bill of indictment against Moore and seven others had been sent to the Dublin grand jury on 28 November 1711 and returned with an endorsement *billa vera* in error. Although the indictment was quashed the following term, the attorney general had filed a new information against Moore alone, and several days before Moore's trial was due to take place, had moved on some English precedents to strike the jury.[76] The report also claimed that Phipps had attempted to intervene in the case by summoning the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him at Dublin Castle, whereupon he advised them that the queen was 'much offended' by the theatre riot and that it was not right to pay their respects to William III's memory by affronting her.[77] As some of the aldermen present were 'constantly returned' on juries in the city, the Commons resolved that the speech in question had been an attempt to prejudice proceedings against Moore. Furthermore, on the basis of his involvement in the Lloyd and Moore cases, the Commons agreed to prepare an address to the queen requesting that Phipps be removed as Lord Chancellor.[78]

The reports and papers regarding the cases of Moore and Lloyd were ordered into print by the Commons.[79] Some commentary on those matters also appeared in print at the time. For example, an anonymously published pamphlet, entitled *The Argument of One of the Queen's Council*, claimed to provide a transcript of an argument presented by one of Moore's prosecutors at the Queen's bench in Trinity Term 1713. It defended the use of English precedents to strike the jury by asserting that those appointed would have acquitted Moore 'in spight of Evidence, and of the Direction of the Court' as they were 'of the same Kidney' as the jury that had acquitted the whig publisher Patrick Campbell in 1710, for reprinting the *Queries to the New Hereditary Right Men*.[80] Of course, the ongoing mayoralty dispute had made it very clear that the majority of aldermen did have whig sympathies, so if they were 'constantly returned' on juries, as the report had asserted, efforts to strike the jury in Moore's case were perhaps justifiable. Nonetheless,

[75] *CJI*, 2:769.

[76] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 29 Nov. 1712 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/101–2).

[77] *CJI*, 2:CCLXXVI.

[78] *CJI*, 2:770–71.

[79] *CJI*, 2:770–71.

[80] *Argument of One of the Queen's Council* ([Dublin?], 1713), 14–15.

two editions of a response, one published anonymously and the other by Matthew Gunne, described the author of the *Argument* as just 'another Insect, gnawing at the Root of the Constitution'.[81]

While the Commons and whig pamphleteers had been building their case against Phipps, the House of Lords had rallied in defence of the lord chancellor. In mid-December members had considered information that in August 1713 the attorney, Richard Nuttall, had said that Phipps was 'a Canary Bird and a Villian, and had set this Kingdom together by the Ears'. Examination of several witnesses in the Lords revealed that Nuttall had asked the three-year-old son of one Joseph Cooper whether he 'loved Dr. Sacheverall, and my Lord Chancellor'. When the child had answered in the affirmative, adding that he was 'a good Churchman and true Protestant', Nuttall had called him a 'prevaricating Rascal' before letting his comment about Phipps slip.[82] The Lords published their resolutions conveying their view that Nuttall's comments had been 'False, Scandalous and Malicious' and that Phipps had always 'Acquitted himself with Honour and Integrity' as Lord Chancellor.[83] The following day, the Commons concluded their own address to the queen complaining of the 'Hardships and Oppressions this your Kingdom groans under, through the evil Administration of Sir Constantine Phipps'. The lord chancellor was held accountable for fomenting the 'Distinction of Parties' which had exposed the queen's loyal Protestant subjects to the 'Insults of Papists and others of the vilest Part of the People'. Reference was also made to the 'many seditious and traitorous Libels' lately dispersed throughout the kingdom with the intention of persuading the queen's subjects that the Pretender had 'an undoubted Right to the Crown'.[84] The address was subsequently printed by Elizabeth Dickson.[85]

[81] *A Defence of the Constitution* (Dublin, 1714).

[82] *CJI*, 2:437.

[83] *Die Veneris, 18o, Decembris, 1713. By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled […]* (Dublin, 1713).

[84] *CJI*, 2:770.

[85] *To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty: The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled* (Dublin, 1713).

Thereafter, the Commons had taken into consideration the state of the City of Dublin, and on 22 December resolved that the continuing 'Disorder and Confusion' in city government was the result of the repeated failures of the privy council, directed by Phipps, to approve City elections.[86] Brodrick presented the report on the case of the City of Dublin on 23 December, whereupon it was entered into the Commons' *Journals* and Elizabeth Dickson was ordered to print it.[87] On the last day of the session, 24 December, yet more resolutions regarding the mayoralty dispute were passed in the Commons, including a vote that twenty aldermen had 'shewn great Virtue' in defending the rights and liberties of the City.[88] The House of Lords meanwhile attempted undermine the Commons, passing a number of resolutions defending the lord chancellor's conduct, which were subsequently published by order of the House.[89] Once again, commentary on the matter appeared in print. For instance, a broadside published shortly after parliament was adjourned offered a hostile interpretation of the resolutions passed against Fownes and Tucker in the Commons, and went on to explain that the planned three-week adjournment of parliament was an opportunity for the whigs to 'gain time to put their Wicked Designs into a Method for Destroying our happy Constitution' and also for eating mince pies, 'it being Christmas Time'. The same publication noted Elizabeth Dickson's role in printing recent addresses and reports of the Commons, under her now deceased husband's name, by including of a mock version of the order to print the publication: 'By Virtue of an Order of the House of Commons I do Appoint Francis Dickson (knowing him to be—to Print these Votes) and that no other Presume to Print the same, Faction being ours'.[90]

[86] *CJI*, 2:767–68, 772.

[87] *CJI*, 2:774, CCLXXVI–CCLXXIX.

[88] *CJI*, 2:775.

[89] *Die Mercurij 230. Decembris, 1713. By the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled. The Examination of Alderman Ralph Gore, of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1713).

[90] *Some Pious Resolutions of the Whiggs in the Irish House of Commons* (Dublin, [1714]).

Unrest

As Queen Anne's health deteriorated in early 1714, some tories in Great Britain considered declaring their support for James Francis Edward Stuart, while others announced their support for the House of Hanover. Divisions within the party were further compounded by the escalating struggle for control between Oxford and Bolingbroke. Uncertainty and apprehension for the future reigned, a situation communicated to the Irish reading public through newspapers and an abundance of reprinted publications. Meanwhile, domestic affairs offered little solace. On 18 January 1714 Brodrick observed that many MPs had returned to Dublin in the expectation of another sitting of parliament, but noted that the 'other party' did not believe that would happen because, if they did, 'our proceedings would not be treated in print as they are'.[91] Whilst whig efforts to oust Phipps ensured that parliament was not reconvened, disturbances of a partisan nature did take place in Dublin in the weeks and months that followed the prorogation.[92]

In mid-January, Archbishop King claimed to have seen William Percevale and other members of convocation at the head 'of a riotous and mutinous Mobb with Laurells in their hats'.[93] The wearing of laurels, a symbol of the tory party, arose as an issue again in early February over plans for a march to mark the queen's birthday. One publication condemned plans for a march, questioning tory loyalty to the church and state while defending that of the Protestant gentlemen of Dublin who were 'maliciously called by the Names of Whiggs'. The author warned that the march would lead to more 'Confusion and Bloodshed' than the riot at the Tholsel during the general election.[94] A tory response agreed that blood was likely to be shed on the queen's birthday, but expressed confidence that the fault for that would 'lye att the Whigs doors'. On 5 February a printed paper was circulated in the city inviting all lovers

[91] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 18 Jan. 1714 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/157–8).

[92] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 5 Jan. 1714 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/151–2).

[93] Woolley, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, 1:581. Although convocation met alongside Parliament in 1713, little is known about this final session. Bray suggests that convocation may have met in 1714 as five canons were ratified by the lord lieutenant on 25 March. (Gerald Bray, ed., *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, Pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*, vol. XVII (Woodbridge, 2006), 23–24.)

[94] *An Enquiry about the Wearing of Lawrels* ([Dublin, 1714]) [n.p.].

of the queen and constitution to assemble at College Green the following morning, 'each with a Laurel in his hat', before marching through the city. While some men were spotted wearing laurels on 6 February, Shrewsbury had expressed his aversion to the plan and no major disturbance occurred. That evening, whigs had observed the queen's birthday in the Tholsel while tories had marked the event in the Blue Coat Hospital.[95]

More ominous perhaps than the news of political unrest in England, or of partisan demonstrations in Dublin, were reports and rumours concerning Jacobite recruiting activity coming from various parts of the kingdom.[96] In late April, Carter's *Post-Boy* reported that forty-six men who were about to board a ship bound for France in order to enter the service of the Pretender had been apprehended near Dalkey.[97] In early May, *The Post-Man* provided an account of a 'Popish Mobb' who had assaulted a sheriff and his guards escorting twenty-one prisoners who had been examined on suspicion of enlisting for the Pretender to Kilmainham Gaol.[98] Shortly thereafter, the same paper reported that well over a hundred men had been found at the Hill of Howth waiting for a ship.[99] The latter report can be verified in part by Shrewsbury's correspondence, which referred to forty arrests and the dispatch of soldiers to the area to prevent further departures to France.[100] By early July, Shrewsbury complained that 'not less than 4 or 5,000' men had been listed in Ireland for the service of the Pretender in the hopes 'they shall soon return triumphant to enjoy their ancient claims in Ireland'.[101] The same month, *Whalley's Newsletter* reported that forty-six men were awaiting trial at Kilmainham on charges of high-treason for recruiting or enlisting for the service of the Pretender. Whalley also suggested that attempts were being made by the authorities to limit coverage of such proceedings: 'Two Persons who took Notes at the Trial on Saturday were order'd to enter into Recognisance not to Print or Disperse what

[95] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 9 Feb. 1714 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/163).

[96] Alan to Thomas Brodrick, 20 Feb. 1714 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/164–5); Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke, 27 Apr. 1714 (TCD, MS 2022, f. 253).

[97] *Post-Boy*, 26 Apr. 1714.

[98] *Post-Man*, 2 May 1714.

[99] *Post-Boy*, 17 May 1714.

[100] Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke, 18 May 1714 (TCD, MS 2022 f. 263).

[101] HMC, *Portland MSS*, V, 468–69.

they writ, till first Examined and allowed of by the Judges. So that till that be done their Tryals at large can't be expected'.[102]

The ongoing dispute between the privy council and aldermen of Dublin contributed to escalating tensions at this time. Although instruction that Samuel Cooke could hold over as mayor had arrived from London in mid-January, the aldermen and sheriffs had refused to attend him at the opening of the quarter sessions.[103] The stalemate continued for some months as both sides sought legal advice, and efforts to compromise failed due to continuing resistance from the privy council.[104] The dispute had continued to receive a good deal of coverage in print, evident in numerous publications such as the whiggish *Dublin-Ballad*, which provided a history of the mayoralty dispute in verse, explaining that from the outset, the aldermen had realized that the privy council would not 'have a Whigg' as mayor 'because he's a Lover/Of Liberty and the House of Hanover'.[105] A pro-tory response, entitled *Tit for Tat*, provided an alternative account of the dispute, describing how the 'Fat-headed Aldermen' had flown in the face of 'the Queen, and the State' by refusing 'Honest Constantine' as mayor and ignoring the by-law regarding seniority 'Because he's a Lover/Of the True Church of England, Q. Anne and Hanover'.[106] Multiple editions of the pro-tory *A Letter from a Whig in Town, to His Friend in the Country* were also produced, asserting that the only real objection that could be raised against Cooke's three nominees for mayor was that they were all 'rank Tories', who accepted the will of the government, loved 'Peace better than a glorious War', and were disposed to drinking a health to 'the Doctor'—a reference to Sacheverell.[107] A slightly more cryptic tory publication, entitled *Come and See, Come and See*, provided an account of a 'cruel monster newly come to town, spew'd up by a Scotch cod near Belfast'.[108] The monster was a whig of indeterminate religion; reference was made to its profession as a 'L[aw]yer'; and the verses explained that there had only ever been three other

[102] *Whalley's News-letter*, 5 July 1714.

[103] Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke, 15 Jan. 1714 (TCD, MS 2022, f. 73).

[104] Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke, 13 Apr. 1714 (TCD, MS 2022, ff. 235–37).

[105] *The Dublin-Ballad* (Dublin, 1713).

[106] *Tit for Tat: Or, an Answer to the Dublin Ballad* (Dublin, 1714).

[107] *A Letter from a Whig in Town, to His Friend a Whig in the Country* (Dublin, [1714?]), 7.

[108] *Come and See, Come and See. Or an Account of a Cruel Monster Newly Come to Town* ([Dublin?], 1714), 1.

similar monsters since 1641: 'Two were in England born, the other/Is this that's here, their Forster-Brother'.[109] As pamphlet exchanges on the matter became more heated, the mayoralty dispute was having a major impact on the capital city. As William King observed in late May 1714, 'No business can go forward, no writs can be served, no juries returned, no debts recovered, no criminals tried, the streets and all public business neglected, and this influences the whole kingdom in a great degree'.[110]

In early June Shrewsbury departed for England, leaving Phipps, Thomas Lindsay, archbishop of Armagh, and John Vesey, archbishop of Tuam, as lords justices.[111] Later the same month, Brodrick described how the hopes of Roman Catholics and the apprehensions 'of most of the Protestants' he spoke to had never been greater in his memory:

> Hardly a night passes in which there is not something done either to alarm or disquiet the minds of men; I wrote formerly that at one end of the town in one night there were great numbers of Protestants doors marked with letter H: which some fancy was intended as if they deserved hanging, others that the dwellers were for the house of Hanover. Last night Sir John King and Mr Gores house in Capel Street had these words wrote on their doors, King James the third in spight of the Whigs: Others had a gallows painted on them with these words A fart for all Whigs; and indeed the haughty air the Papists give themselves, and their more then ordinary numbers in town give considering people very anxious thoughts.[112]

On 6 August, *Whalley's News-Letter* reported partisan disturbances on Dublin's streets, leading to a doubling of the usual guard in the city and 'in Coles-Alley near Castle-Street, where there was not any before; and also a Double Patrol to Patrol all Night'.[113] Although recent disturbances (possibly those described by Brodrick) were identified as one of the reasons for the increased security measures, Whalley commented that 'the generality of the People believe there is some more than ordinary cause for it'. The same issue of the paper provided notice that an

[109] *Come and See*, 2.

[110] William King to Robert Molyneux, 25 May 1714, quoted in Flanagan, 'Local Dispute', 308.

[111] [Alan] to Thomas Brodrick, 5 June 1714 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/181–2).

[112] [Alan] to Thomas Brodrick, 24 June 1714 (SHC, Midleton papers, 1248/3/187–8).

[113] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 6 Aug. 1714.

account of the queen's death on 1 August had arrived by express and that the Irish privy council had received orders to proclaim the elector of Hanover as king.[114] Over the weeks that followed, Irish newspapers provided details of preparations for the queen's funeral in London and reaction to the news in Europe.[115]

Other publications mourned the queen's passing and expressed tory fears for the future. For instance, an anonymously published broadside poem condemned in verse the 'daily Murmerings' of faction that had broken the queen's 'tender Heart' and commented on the men in Ireland who had eaten the queen's bread yet 'Rejoyc'd to hear Her Majesty was dead'.[116] One of Waters's pamphlets described the 'wild and intemperate Joy' which had 'appeared in Publick' in Ireland upon the death of the queen as whiggish revellers rejoiced that they would soon 'come once more into Power and Play', that Phipps would be displaced by Forster, and that the Anglican clergy would be 'humbled'.[117] To undermine whig optimism, a forged issue of *Whalley's News-Letter*, dated 31 August, was produced by Carter, who reported that 'Tis confirm'd that his Excellency Sr. Con. Phips the Lord High Chancelor of Ireland is to Continue here for three years longer to the Mortification of all Whiggs'.[118] However, newspaper reports soon captured the journey of Prince George from Hanover to London. Indeed, some whig periodicals extended the length of their issues to accommodate detailed coverage of the future king's progress to London, celebratory poems and songs, and other relevant material, such as rumours of impending ministerial changes.[119] Although news of the new king's safe arrival in London was met with celebrations in Dublin, signs of unrest were also evident in the press: Whalley's periodical reported that one Nathaniel James of Francis Street was summoned to appear before the lords justices as they had

[114] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 6 Aug. 1714.

[115] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 6 Aug. 1714, 9 Aug. 1714, 16 Aug. 1714, 24 Aug. 1714

[116] *The Irish Lamentation, on the Death of Queen Anne. By an Irish Gentleman above 77. Years of Age* (Dublin, 1714) [n.p.].

[117] *The Whigs Title to Be Sole Favourites Examin'd* (Dublin, 1714), 3–4.

[118] *Whally's News-Letter*, 31 Aug. 1714. Whalley published a notice in his *News-Letter* of 2 September that he was not responsible for a 'syllable in it' and that Carter was a 'Guilty of so Bare-Fac'd a CHEAT' (*Whalley's News-Letter*, 2 Sept. 1714).

[119] See *Whalley's News-Letter*, 25 Sept., 5 Oct. 1714; *Post-Boy*, 8 Oct. 1714.

been informed that 'he design'd to Burn Effigies of the Pope, Pretender, and Dr. Sacheveral'.[120] Whalley also noted political unrest in Cork in mid-August, reporting that someone had written lines in Latin addressed to the mayor of Cork under a government proclamation that read 'Long Live King Lewis, and King James, until they reduce their Enemies to Ashes'.[121]

By early September 1714, it was becoming clear that the whigs were in the ascendant. On 10 September Archbishop William King and Robert FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare were sworn as lords justices to replace Phipps and Archbishop Lindsay who were removed due to the continuing failure of the privy council to reach a compromise with the whig aldermen.[122] Residual tory strength in the privy council saw to it that two further mayoral elections were disapproved before a new mayor was finally elected on 29 September.[123] On the same day, the *Dublin Post-Man* reported that the Junto whig, Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland, had been appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and not long thereafter news circulated that Brodrick had been made Lord Chancellor.[124] Whalley published a poem celebrating the king's decision to send Ireland a Lord Chancellor 'who with Prudent Care,/Will Heal the Wound, and Cure the Festring Scar'.[125] Another publication celebrated Forster's appointment as lord chief justice of the court of common pleas, describing it as an event 'to the wonderful Satisfaction of all True Lovers of Justice, and the Present happy State of Great Britain, as well as of Ireland'.[126] These kinds of celebratory poems were often produced to mark the appointment of new lords lieutenant but had not been evident hitherto for other officials.

[120] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 29 Sept. 1714.

[121] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 24 Aug. 1714.

[122] Flanagan, 'Local Dispute', 318, 326.; Shrewsbury to King, 4 Sept. 1714 (TCD, MS 2023, f. 73).

[123] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 11 Sept. 1714.

[124] *Dublin Post-Man*, 29 Sept. 1714; *Post-Man*, 4 Oct. 1714.

[125] John Greer, *A Poem upon the Advancement of the Rt. Hon. Allen Broderick Lord High Chancellor of Ireland* (Dublin, 1714), 3.

[126] W. L., *A Congratulation to the Rt. Honourable John Forster, Lord Chief Justice, on His Accession to His Majesty's Court of Common-Pleas, This Hillary Term* (Dublin, 1714).

Soon after these administrative changes were made known, it was announced that the coronation of George I would take place on 20 October, on which day the lords justices had ordered 'all His Majesty's Loving Subjects' to be out of mourning.[127] The day before the coronation took place, it was reported that the statue of William III at College Green had been attacked again. This time, the truncheon in the king's hand had been taken, and was found 'broke near the said Place' and one of his fingers had also been damaged.[128] Whalley reported on celebrations that had occurred in Sligo, Athlone and Youghal on the occasion. Aside from the usual reports of the ringing of bells in Dublin, Whalley elaborated that 'the Publick Houses every where [were] Crowded [with people] Drinking Healths to the King, Prince and Princess, all the Royal Family, his Majesty's Ministers, and all Loyal Patriots of their Country'.[129]

Partisan sentiment had clearly come to have a significant impact on Irish political culture by the last years of Queen Anne's reign. Encouraged by the dissolution of parliament in 1713, Irish publishers had produced an unprecedented quantity of material offering commentary and opinion on domestic political affairs. Printed electoral advice appeared for the first time in the run-up to the 1713 general election and thereafter, a range of publications made reference to proceedings in the Irish parliament and the behaviour of individual politicians. What is more, the language and tone of this body of publications was particularly adversarial as proponents of each party sought to undermine their rivals in print. While the publications produced in Ireland in connection to the mayoralty dispute, the 1713 general election and parliamentary session, and political developments thereafter, could be regarded as something of an abrupt new departure when printed material relevant to domestic political affairs is considered in isolation, looking back over the output of the Irish press as a whole since 1689, the divisive ideas and issues addressed in this material make much more sense.

[127] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 16 Oct. 1714.

[128] *Post-Boy*, 24 Oct. 1714.

[129] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 26 Oct. 1714.

References

A Defence of the Constitution. Dublin, 1714.

A Dialogue between Teigue and Dermot. [Dublin, 1713].

A Letter from a Whig in Town, to His Friend a Whig in the Country. Dublin, [1714?].

A Letter to a Member of Parliament. [Dublin, 1713].

A Letter to the Author of The Speaker. A Poem. Dublin, [1713?].

A Letter to the Freeholders of Ireland. Dublin, 1713.

A True Account of the Riot Committed at the Tholsel on Friday the 6th of November. [Dublin, 1713].

Advice from the Recorder of Ephesus, to the R------r of D------. Dublin, 1713.

All the Late Tory Pamphlets, Answer'd at Once by Mr. R------r. Dublin, 1713.

An Answer to D. Clayton's Letter. [Dublin], 1713.

An Elegy on Eighteen Aldermen; Who Were Prevented by Death, from Assisting at the Ceremonies of Proclaiming the Peace between Her Majesty. Dublin, [1713?].

An Enquiry about the Wearing of Lawrels. [Dublin, 1714].

Argument of One of the Queen's Council. [Dublin?], 1713.

Bray, Gerald, ed. *Records of Convocation, XVII: Ireland, 1690–1869, pt 1. Both Houses: 1690–1702; Upper House: 1703–1713*. Vol. XVII. Woodbridge, 2006.

Clayton, John. *Dean Clayton's Letter, to One of the Common-Council of the City of Dublin*. Dublin, 1713.

Come and See, Come and See. Or an Account of a Cruel Monster Newly Come to Town. [Dublin?], 1714.

Dickson, David. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*. Dublin, 2000.

Die Mercurij 230. Decembris, 1713. By the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled. The Examination of Alderman Ralph Gore, of the City of Dublin. Dublin, 1713.

Die Veneris, 18o, Decembris, 1713. By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled […]. Dublin, 1713.

Dublin Intelligence.

Eighteen Queries, for the Seventeen Ald------n and the R------r. Dublin, 1713.

Flanagan, C. M. '"A Merely Local Dispute"? Partisan Politics and the Dublin Mayoral Dispute of 1709–1715'. Ph.D. thesis, Notre Dame University, 1983.

[Fownes], [William]. *Advertisement. Sir William Fownes, and Ephraim Dawson*. Dublin, [1713].

Greer, John. *A Poem upon the Advancement of the Rt. Hon. Allen Broderick Lord High Chancellor of Ireland*. Dublin, 1714.

Hayton, D. W. 'An Irish Parliamentary Diary from the Reign of Queen Anne'. *Analecta Hibernica* 30 (1982).

———. *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties*. Woodbridge, 2004.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. *Portland MSS.*

Helsham, Richard. *A Long History of a Short Session.* [Dublin], 1714.

Impartial Man's Opinion. Dublin, 1713.

L., W. *A Congratulation to the Rt. Honourable John Forster, Lord Chief Justice, on His Accession to His Majesty's Court of Common-Pleas, This Hillary Term.* Dublin, 1714.

McGrath, C. I. *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692–1714.* Dublin, 2000.

———. 'Parliamentary Additional Supply: The Development and Use of Regular Short-Term Taxation in the Irish Parliament, 1692–1716'. *Parliamentary History* 20, no. 1 (2001).

McNamara, Gerard. 'Crown v Municipality: The Struggle for Dublin, 1713'. *Dublin Historical Record* 39, no. 3 (1986).

Murphy, Sean. 'Municipal Politics and Popular Disturbances, 1660–1800'. In *Dublin through the Ages*, edited by Art Cosgrove. Dublin, 1988.

Observations on the Paper Publish'd by the Sheriffs of the City of Dublin. Dublin, 1713.

Post-Boy.

Post-Man.

Queries to the Electors of the City of Dublin. Dublin, 1713.

Remarks upon the Replication of the Seventeen Aldermen of Dublin. [Dublin], 1713.

Sir Will. Fownes's and Tucker's Friends Vindication or, a Truer Account of the Bloody and Barbarous Murder Committed at the Tholsel on Friday the 6th of This Inst. Nov. 1713. Than That Publish'd under the Rose. Dublin, 1713.

Some Pious Resolutions of the Whiggs in the Irish House of Commons. Dublin, [1714].

Surrey History Centre. Midleton Papers. MSS 1248/1–3.

The Case of the City of Dublin, in Relation to the Election of the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of the Said City. Dublin, [1711].

The Certificate of Alderman Thomas Pleasant's Election to the Mayoralty of the City of Dublin, the Lord-Mayor's Answer Thereunto, and the Reply of the Aldermen to the Said Answer. [Dublin], 1713.

The Dreamer's Dream. Dublin, 1713.

The Dublin-Ballad. Dublin, 1713.

The Grand Alarm, to the Freemen and Freeholders of a Certain c------y, about Choosing, Representatives for the Ensuing Parliament. Dublin, 1713.

The Inniskillingers Complaint against Sir William Fownes, for Detaining Their Pay. [Dublin], 1712.

The Irish Lamentation, on the Death of Queen Anne. By an Irish Gentleman above 77. Years of Age. Dublin, 1714.

The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. 4th series. Vol. II. 20 vols, Dublin, 1753–1800.
The Poll Stood Thus on Tuesday Night the 17th of November 1713. [Dublin, 1713].
The Procession. A Poem. Dublin, [1713?].
The R------r's Speech at Mr. B-Se's Convinticle the Women and Children Being Withdrawn, by Order of Mr. B------se. Dublin, 1713.
The Speaker. A Poem. Dublin, 1713.
The Whigs Title to Be Sole Favourites Examin'd. Dublin, 1714.
Tit for Tat: Or, an Answer to the Dublin Ballad. Dublin, 1714.
To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty: The Humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled. Dublin, 1713.
Trinity College Dublin. Shrewsbury Papers. MSS 2022–3.
Whalley's News-Letter.
Woolley, David, ed. *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D*. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1999.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

By the last years of Queen Anne's reign, domestically produced printed publications had come to offer readers overtly partisan commentary and opinion on Irish political affairs for the first time. While the production of this material was a new development in an Irish context, these publications were clearly influenced by ideas and information that had become increasingly evident in news publications, interdenominational pamphlet exchanges, printed sermons and, perhaps most importantly, the ever-increasing quantities of reprinted publications of British origin that had been produced in Ireland over the previous two decades. By reading these publications, it was possible for Irish consumers of print to develop an in-depth understanding of the issues and principles that divided the parties in Britain and eventually come to see them as one and the same as those that underlay the political divisions evident in Irish society. Looking back on developments since the 1690s, a number of important turning points can be identified as significant to this process. Looking forwards, the longer-term impact of these developments on the print trade and political culture in Ireland can be appreciated.

Looking Back

At the outset of the 1690s, domestic print output was stimulated by demand for news about the Williamite-Jacobite War in Ireland, part of the wider War of the Grand Alliance in Europe. However, as the focus of

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5_9

that conflict had moved from Ireland to the Continent, Irish news production waned and by 1693 the kingdom's only newspaper, the *Dublin Intelligence*, had ceased production. Occasional news-sheets, pamphlets, official documents and sermons had continued to convey details of the ongoing war in Europe and, to a lesser extent, British political affairs, to Irish consumers of print. Some developments received a greater depth of coverage than others, notably the Jacobite invasion scares of 1692 and 1696, Queen Mary's death in 1694 and the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Overall, however, printed material produced in Ireland during the 1690s tended to be innocuous and broadly supportive of the Williamite regime. Furthermore, domestic news, particularly domestic political news received little attention in print even though four parliamentary sessions had taken place in Ireland during the 1690s, and general elections were held in 1692 and 1695. Irish publishers also refrained from producing commentary and opinion that explicitly addressed domestic political concerns.

While publications produced in Ireland during the 1690s did little to reflect emerging tensions between the parties in the Irish parliament, or to convey to readers a sense of the growing partisan divide in Britain, some categories of printed material did touch on pertinent issues. This was particularly evident in pamphlet exchanges between Anglican and dissenting Protestant ministers on the issues of toleration and the sacramental test. While participants in those debates did not explicitly address relevant political developments, in terms of communicating partisan ideas to the Irish reading public, it is notable that this body of publications saw the loyalty of both Anglican and dissenting ministers to the government, monarchy and reformed religion called into question. For instance, representatives of the Church of Ireland argued that dissenting Protestants were not to be trusted in public office on the basis of their behaviour during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms of the 1640s, the treatment of the Anglican clergy in Scotland in the wake of the 1688–1689 Revolution, and the abolition of prelacy there in 1689. Meanwhile, representatives of dissenting Protestant congregations refuted such arguments by pointing out that the Anglican clergy in Scotland had refused to recognise William III and Mary as joint-sovereigns, thereby bringing the loyalty of Anglican clergymen to the state into question. Of course, raising questions about the loyalty of dissenting Protestants to the state on the basis of their republicanism, or the loyalty of Anglican clergymen to the state on the basis of their Jacobitism, were both strategies clearly evident in partisan pamphlet literature produced during Queen Anne's reign.

If, during the 1690s, Irish publishers were careful to avoid producing material that offered readers insight into domestic political affairs, or contentious political issues more generally, this changed at the turn of the century. The likelihood of another major war on the Continent and the deaths of James II and William III provided the subject matter for the revival of the Irish newspaper press, and, more importantly, a surge in the production of reprinted publications. Whereas a good deal of that material was uncontroversial in nature, it is significant that contentious ideas addressing developments in Europe and Britain were evident in Irish print output at this time. Furthermore, printed material also provided insight into political developments of domestic interest, notably debate surrounding the economic and constitutional significance of the English parliament's decision to impose a prohibition on Irish woollen exports and to resume and sell the forfeited Jacobite estates in Ireland. It is not a coincidence that these changes to the nature of Irish print output occurred during a three-and-a-half-year interval between sessions of the Irish parliament, indicative of the central role that assembly played in regulating the press. Although MPs paid a remarkable degree of attention to printed publications when the assembly reconvened in 1703, the overwhelming majority of controversial publications produced at the turn of the century escaped censure, and no significant effort to curtail Irish press output was attempted at this time. It is not surprising, then, that in the years that followed, many more newspaper titles were launched, providing readers with the basic information necessary to keep abreast of political developments in Europe, Britain and, to a lesser extent, Ireland. More significantly, in terms of communicating partisan ideas to Irish readers, the production of reprinted pamphlets and other forms of cheap print offering commentary on political matters continued to increase, affording British political affairs the greatest share of attention. Negotiations for the Anglo-Scottish Union became the first major topic to inspire sustained coverage of British political affairs in the Irish press. Thereafter, a sharper increase in reprint output was evident from 1710–1711 as reprinted publications provided detailed coverage of the Sacheverell trial, the ensuing downfall of the whig ministry, the British general election of 1710 and debate about the conduct of the European war. For each one of these topics, a range of material was produced, suited to the tastes and pockets of a variety of readers: from reproductions of official documents and speeches, to short, scurrilous, songs and poems.

While reprinted publications pertinent to British political affairs were being produced in substantial quantities during the last years of Queen Anne's reign, by 1711 these publications were supplemented for the first time by numerous titles offering partisan commentary and opinion on Irish political proceedings. Tory publishers in particular appear to have been emboldened by developments in the wake of the Sacheverell trial and the duke of Ormonde's return to the Irish government. As a result, material critical of Wharton's whig administration appeared in print and a greater body of material, illustrative of Anglican concerns about dissenting Protestantism, anti-clerical sentiment, and partisan divisions in Irish society, came to be produced. However, Irish publishers had remained somewhat reluctant to publish anything that offered direct commentary on proceedings in the Irish parliament. This changed in 1713. That year, no doubt facilitated by the dissolution of the 1703 parliament, Irish publishers afforded the Dublin mayoralty dispute a great deal of attention in print. In the run-up to the 1713 general election, those publications began to offer voters electoral advice, and after the 1713 parliamentary session had commenced, domestically produced poems, pamphlets and broadsides offering news, commentary and opinion about proceedings in the Irish parliament continued to be produced. These developments were unprecedented.

The increasing numbers of reprints relevant to British political affairs produced in Ireland during Queen Anne's reign can be seen to have played an important role in encouraging Irish publishers to produce overtly partisan commentary and opinion on Irish parliamentary proceedings by 1713–1714. In a sense, Irish publishers had been using reprints to test the market for political print in Ireland, and the ability of government and parliament to censor controversial titles, for well over a decade. Realising that the vast majority of reprints had gone unnoticed, particularly after the surge in output evident in the wake of the Sacheverell trial, Irish publishers came to disregard the threat of censorship in order to publish a range of material relevant to domestic political affairs. Furthermore, it is notable that once Irish politicians were discussed in print, they were often given attributes that should have made little sense in an Irish context. For instance, while it has been observed that some of the issues that divided whigs and tories in England, in particular the War of Spanish Succession, aroused 'little passion' in Ireland, Irish whigs were frequently associated with pro-war sentiment in printed

publications produced after 1711.[1] This was evident in printed sermons that denounced the Irish whigs as men who 'delight in War' and sought to 'Impoverish the Publick' for private gain.[2] Similar accusations were also evident in pamphlet literature of Irish origin, as the previous chapter has demonstrated. These kinds of allegations could only have made sense to an audience already well aware of the issues that divided the British parties, and well acquainted with the language of partisan discourse as it had emerged in Britain.

This blurring of lines between the Irish and British parties was evident on a range of other topics. Regardless of the fact that whigs in the Irish parliament had done little to support the cause of dissenting Protestantism throughout the period under consideration, Irish tory pamphleteers had attempted to reinforce the association between whiggism and dissent in an Irish context. For example, in 1712 Tisdall had accused whig MPs of frustrating efforts to prosecute non-juring dissenting ministers during Wharton's term as lord lieutenant, and the following year Forster was accused of canvassing the support of members of Boyse's congregation.[3] If not actively supporting dissent, the whigs were sometimes accused of irreligion, anti-clerical or immoral behaviour in print. This was evident in recurring allegations that whig partisans were fond of drinking controversial, anti-clerical, healths (an activity particularly associated with the Rose Tavern) and that they worshipped William III in a manner that bordered on idolatry.[4] Irish whigs were also associated with anti-monarchical, Cromwellian or republican principles. For instance, the opposition of the whig aldermen to the privy council in

[1] S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1999), 79.

[2] Stephen Radcliffe, *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Naas, for the County of Kildare, 6 Apr. 1714* (Dublin, 1714), 3, 5–6; John Echlin, *The Royal Martyr. A Sermon Preached before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, 30 Jan. 1713* (Dublin, 1713), 21–22; Patrick Delany, *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 16 June 1713* (Dublin, 1713), [14], [18–19].

[3] *The R-----r's Speech at Mr. B-Se's Convinticle the Women and Children Being Withdrawn, by Order of Mr. B----Se* (Dublin, 1713) [n.p.]; [William Tisdall], *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland* (Dublin, 1712), 84.

[4] *Dublin Intelligence*, 17 June 1710; Peter Browne, *Of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Being the Substance of a Discourse Deliver'd to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cork, on the Fourth of November, 1713, by the Bishop of That Diocese* (Dublin, 1713), 18; *A Letter to the Author of The Speaker. A Poem* (Dublin, [1713?]), 2.

the matter of the mayoralty elections, and Brodrick's decision to stand against Levinge as speaker of the House of Commons in 1713, were both actions interpreted by tory pamphleteers as evidence that the whigs had no respect for the royal prerogative or the queen.

Meanwhile, Irish tories, and Anglican clergymen, were represented as sympathetic to Jacobitism and Catholicism. It is well established that the overwhelming majority of Irish Protestants supported the Hanoverian succession so these were attributes that also made little sense in an Irish context. Consideration of the Swan Tripe Club presentment of 1705 and the matter of Edward Forbes's degradation in 1708 call into question the extent to which even those incidents can be regarded as evidence of Irish Protestant Jacobitism. Nonetheless, by engaging in pamphlet debate with dissenting ministers, and condemning dissenters and whigs in print during Queen Anne's reign, Irish churchmen seemed far more concerned about the dangers that dissenters posed to the established church than the dangers that Catholicism and Jacobitism posed to Protestantism generally. For this reason, they were easily portrayed by their opponents as divisive at best, and crypto-Jacobites or Papists at worst. As Tisdall complained in 1712, anyone who sought to question the loyalty of dissenters to government was 'rail'd at and abus'd' and branded 'a Sower of Sedition, a violent Man, a Jacobite &c'.[5]

Contemporaries certainly believed that printed publications played a role in polarising Irish political culture. By an early stage in Anne's reign, divisive ideas conveyed in print had become a matter of concern for MPs and convocation. This was evident in the increased number of proceedings against publishers for their role in producing controversial publications and resolutions passed in parliament and convocation condemning the appearance of divisive ideas in print. This was particularly clear during the 1705 parliamentary session when both the House of Commons and the lower house of convocation passed resolutions against writing and dispersing pamphlets which suggested that the Irish clergy were ill affected towards the government or Protestant succession, or writing or dispersing anything that insinuated 'Danger to the established Church'.[6] Of course, the furore surrounding Ralph Lambert's 'Letter' in the London-printed pamphlet *Partiality Detected*, also revealed concerns

[5] [Tisdall], *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland*, 3.

[6] *CJI*, 2:468.

about the divisive influence of print on Irish society. Much of that debate focussed on Lambert's suggestion that 'Pains, and Art, and Industry' were being used to make the Irish clergy apprehensive of 'dangerous Designs' forming in England against the church, something particularly evident in the circulation of English high-flying publications in the kingdom. During debates in convocation on the matter, the fact that increasing numbers of high-church publications were circulating in Ireland was not disputed, and it was asserted that just as many publications offering conflicting political and religious sentiments were available to Irish consumers of print.[7] Meanwhile, the controversial representations of the House of Lords and convocation in 1711, which sought to highlight a multitude of dangers facing the established church, had emphasised the role that printed publications were playing in communicating factious political principles and heterodox religious ideas to the wider public. Concerns about the pernicious influence of print on Irish society and the circulation of 'wicked Books and Pamphlets' throughout the kingdom were also expressed in numerous printed sermons.[8]

While print was often condemned by contemporaries as a contributing factor to the emergence and escalation of party conflict in the kingdom, relatively little was done to deter publishers from producing such material, and the regulatory framework in which Irish publishers operated remained unchanged throughout the period. It is not surprising then, that by 1713 many Irish publishers had come to disregard the threat of post-publication censorship in order to produce publications that provided commentary and opinion on Irish political affairs, even while the Irish parliament was in session. This strongly suggests that the financial rewards for doing so outweighed the risks, indicative of strong demand for such material on the part of the reading public. The growing confidence of Irish publishers, evident in significant changes to the nature and content of printed publications produced in Ireland during the period 1689–1714, can be seen to have laid the foundation for the emergence of a more vigorous culture of political print culture, and the expansion of the Irish print industry, in the longer term.

[7] [William Percevale], *A Reply to a Vindication of the Letter Published in a Pamphlet Called Pa[r]tiality Detected* (Dublin, 1710).

[8] Joseph Trapp, *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 29 May 1711* (Dublin, 1711), 23.

Looking Forward

In the months that followed Queen Anne's death in August 1714 and the proclamation of George I as king, printed and reprinted publications confirmed suspicions of tory Jacobitism in Britain as Oxford faced impeachment for high-treason and Bolingbroke fled to France. Ormonde was deprived of all of his offices by George I, and, facing impeachment proceedings in Westminster for suspected involvement in the Jacobite Invasion of 1715, also fled to France. As George I looked to the whigs for support and tories were purged from the civil administration in both Britain and Ireland, what Munter described as 'an outright campaign of suppression' against Dublin's tory printers began.[9] In June 1714, four messengers were sent at night to seize Edward Waters but he escaped capture, having reportedly 'gone fishing'.[10] The following year, in February 1715, Waters was indicted for printing *Polyphemus*'s *Farewel*, a 'Scandalous Libel' reflecting on the Duke of Shrewsbury.[11] Waters managed to evade capture until June, although not before a last, desperate attempt to escape: as Whalley gleefully reported in his newspaper, Waters had jumped out of a window 'Two Story high' and hid in a neighbouring cellar until finally retrieved by officials.[12] The same month, Whalley reported in his periodical that Cornelius Carter had been committed to the Black-Dog Gaol.[13] As for Richard Pue, when parliament met in November 1715, the House of Commons ordered him into custody for publishing a libel in his newspaper several months earlier.[14] Pue absconded and is thought to have left the country for a time.[15] Edward Lloyd meanwhile left Ireland permanently. In November 1714, the *Dublin Intelligence* reported that Phipps had arrived in London attended

[9] Robert Munter, *History of the Irish Newspaper* (Cambridge, 1967), 130–31; David Dickson, *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800* (Dublin, 2000), 68.

[10] HMC, *Portland MSS*, V, 460.

[11] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 12 Feb. 1715; *Polyphemus's Farewel: Or, a Long Adieu to Ireland's Eye. A Poem* (Dublin, 1714).

[12] *Whalley's News-Letter*, 22 June 1715.

[13] *Whalley's News-letter*, 26 Feb. 1715; Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 129.

[14] *CJI*, 2:16.

[15] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 129.

by a train of thirty horses with Lloyd at the head of the procession.[16] With the tory publishers lying low in the immediate aftermath of George I's accession, the general election of 1715 in Ireland did not elicit the kind of coverage in print that had been evident in 1713.

Munter suggests that this 'campaign of suppression' against the tory publishers led to the elimination of 'any traces of a political newspaper press' in Ireland in the years that followed. While, in his view, this restrictive and oppressive policy reached its peak during the parliamentary session of 1715–1716 and then abated as the Jacobite threat waned, he argued that by then the 'Tory-Whig controversy was largely a dead issue and controversial material once more became the province of the pamphleteers'.[17] This assessment fits nicely with the accepted political narrative at that time. However, since Munter published his book in 1967, D. W. Hayton has shown that some tory sympathisers survived the government purge, most notably in the Church of Ireland and Trinity College. Meanwhile, surviving tories and disaffected whigs in parliament formed the basis of a country opposition to the whig court party.[18] Although it is not clear how quickly, or to what extent, tory sentiment dissipated 'out of doors', it is certainly hard to imagine that the tory-inclined readership that had supported Lloyd's, Waters', Carter's and Pue's publications during Queen Anne's reign suddenly disappeared when George I succeeded her, particularly as it was likely that the output of these printers had some appeal to a Catholic audience for political print.

By suggesting that the political publishing landscape had changed so dramatically after 1714, Munter overemphasised discontinuities between the reigns of Anne and George I. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, the newspapers of William III and Anne's reigns did not contain a great deal of information about Irish political affairs, and controversial political ideas and opinions were far more likely to be found in other categories of print, most notably pamphlets. Indeed, it was their pamphlet output, rather than the content of their newspapers, that had seen Irish newspaper proprietors come to the attention of the authorities

[16] *Dublin Intelligence*, 2 Nov. 1714; Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin* (London, 2000), 368.

[17] Munter, *Irish Newspaper*, 129–31.

[18] Hayton, *Ruling Ireland*, 106–30.

during Queen Anne's reign. After the 'campaign of suppression' of 1714–1715, Carter, Waters and Pue were all soon back at their presses. Aside from an increase in domestic news reporting, their periodicals in the first decade of George I's reign were broadly similar to their earlier newspaper ventures. Meanwhile, their pamphlet output remained firmly on the side of the opposition, or country, interest. It was this aspect of their output that continued to garner negative attention from state authorities, particularly material relevant to debates surrounding the 1720 declaratory act, the merits of establishing a national bank in Ireland in 1720–1721, and the Wood's halfpence controversy of 1722–1725.

Of course, the Wood's halfpence dispute is often depicted as a 'turning point', 'a defining moment', in the history of eighteenth-century Ireland as it represents 'the first triumph of Irish public opinion'.[19] It marked the first time that the Catholic and Protestant communities of the island had united in a common political cause—to oppose William Wood's copper halfpence in 1722–1725. It has long been acknowledged that this alliance had been encouraged, in no small part, by journalists and pamphleteers. Furthermore, 'public opinion' had a direct impact on government decision making on this occasion as the outcry over the copper halfpence compelled the British government to withdraw Wood's patent for minting the coin. Discussing the significance of the episode, W. E. H. Lecky wrote:

> There is no more momentous epoch in the history of a nation than that in which the voice of the people has first spoken, and spoken with success. It marks the transition from an age of semi-barbarism to an age of civilisation – from the government of force to the government of opinion.[20]

Certainly, the Wood's halfpence episode was an important one, not just because Ireland's different communities had united over a common

[19]Sabine Baltes, *The Pamphlet Controversy about Wood's Halfpence (1722–1725) and the Tradition of Irish Constitutional Nationalism* (Munster, 2002), 1; Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield, eds., *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800* (Oxford, 2006), 11; Albert Goodwin, 'Wood's Halfpence', *English Historical Review* 51, no. 204 (1936): 647–74.

[20]W. E. H. Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* (New York, 1876), 49.

issue highlighted by the press, but also because domestic print output had risen sharply, to an unprecedented level, during the controversy. Indeed, looking at those developments and the nature of print output at that time, Sean Moore has argued a political public sphere emerged in Ireland for the first time in the 1720s.[21] Earlier pamphlet debates on constitutional and economic issues, notably the 1720 declaratory act which repudiated the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords, and proposals to establish a Bank of Ireland in 1720–1721, have been examined as precursors to what occurred in 1722–1725. However, the developments addressed in this book have rarely been considered at all.

Reflecting on the period 1689–1714 then, the increasing numbers of publications offering news, commentary and opinion on the subject of British political affairs were central to the appearance of original publications offering partisan commentary and opinion on Irish political affairs by 1711–1714. Whilst the latter group of publications were influenced by the language of partisan discourse as it had developed in Britain, the content of those publications was firmly focussed on Irish concerns such as the Dublin mayoralty dispute, the 1713 general election, and the ensuing parliamentary session. Experimentation with political publishing, particularly reprinted political publications, during the period 1689–1714, and the failure of the state to censor any but the most controversial titles, had encouraged Irish publishers to disregard the threat of post-publication censorship and publish an unprecedented range of material offering commentary and opinion, often controversial, on Irish political proceedings. It is no coincidence that many of the publishers involved in producing material critical of the government in the 1720s had been active tory controversialists in Queen Anne's reign. By the 1720s, however, they were no longer experimenting with the publication of controversial material addressing Irish political affairs. Instead, they were taking calculated risks to cater for a well-established market for political print in Ireland, based on years of experience pushing the boundaries of political publishing in the kingdom.

[21] S. D. Moore, *Swift, the Book, and the Irish Financial Revolution: Satire and Sovereignty in Colonial Ireland* (Baltimore, 2010), 191.

References

A Letter to the Author of The Speaker. A Poem. Dublin, [1713?].

Baltes, Sabine. *The Pamphlet Controversy about Wood's Halfpence (1722–1725) and the Tradition of Irish Constitutional Nationalism.* Munster, 2002.

Browne, Peter. *Of Drinking to the Memory of the Dead. Being the Substance of a Discourse Deliver'd to the Clergy of the Diocese of Cork, on the Fourth of November, 1713, by the Bishop of That Diocese.* Dublin, 1713.

Connolly, S. J. *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760.* Oxford, 1999.

Delany, Patrick. *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 16 June 1713.* Dublin, 1713.

Dickson, David. *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800.* Dublin, 2000.

Echlin, John. *The Royal Martyr. A Sermon Preached before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices, 30 Jan. 1713.* Dublin, 1713.

Gillespie, Raymond, and Andrew Hadfield, eds. *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, III: The Irish Book in English 1550–1800.* Oxford, 2006.

Goodwin, Albert. 'Wood's Halfpence'. *English Historical Review* 51, no. 204 (1936): 647–74.

Hayton, D. W. *Ruling Ireland, 1685–1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties.* Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004.

Lecky, W. E. H. *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland.* New York, 1876.

Moore, S. D. *Swift, the Book, and the Irish Financial Revolution: Satire and Sovereignty in Colonial Ireland.* Baltimore, 2010.

Munter, Robert. *History of the Irish Newspaper.* Cambridge, 1967.

[Percevale], [William]. *A Reply to a Vindication of the Letter Published in a Pamphlet Called Pa[r]tiality Detected.* Dublin, 1710.

Pollard, Mary. *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade, 1550–1800: Based on the Records of the Guild of St Luke the Evangelist, Dublin.* London, 2000.

Polyphemus's Farewel: Or, a Long Adieu to Ireland's Eye. A Poem. Dublin, 1714.

Radcliffe, Stephen. *A Sermon Preached at the Assizes Held at Naas, for the County of Kildare, 6 Apr. 1714.* Dublin, 1714.

The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland. 4th series. Vol. 2. 20 vols. Dublin, 1753–1800.

The R-----r's Speech at Mr. B-Se's Convinticle the Women and Children Being Withdrawn, by Order of Mr. B-----Se. Dublin, 1713.

[Tisdall], [William]. *The Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland.* Dublin, 1712.

Trapp, Joseph. *A Sermon Preach'd at Christ-Church, Dublin, 29 May 1711.* Dublin, 1711.

Index

S. Forbes, *Print and Party Politics in Ireland, 1689–1714*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71586-5