Throughout his career as political commentator and propagandist, Daniel Defoe repeatedly adverted to two closely related topics: the undesirability of allowing Roman Catholicism to re-establish itself in what became after 1707 the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the danger of restoring to the throne the Stuart line embodied in James II and VII and his male heirs. In so doing, the writer called into play all his talents, subsuming a variety of roles and expository methods in his steady stream of anti-Jacobite tracts. But for a brief period this stream became a flood: during and following the Jacobite rising of 1715, when no fewer than eighteen or so of his publications related more or less directly to that abortive attempt at a Stuart restoration, his output on the topic tapered off gradually during 1716 but ended with the lengthy digest of its events in *The Annals of King George, Year the Second* to provide an overview of the total campaign and its aftermath.

But by one of the many little ironies with which his life was filled, he was to embark on this service on behalf of the Whig government and the Hanoverian monarchy at a time when he himself had just extricated himself from trouble with these very institutions because his over-enthusiastic efforts on their behalf had brought him under suspicion, trouble that early in the year 1715 had evoked from him an uncharacteristic piece of self-pitying and self-justifying prose, *An Appeal to Honour and Justice* (Moore #307). Still, he was beginning to rebound with his usual natural ebullience even before the news reached London in late September that the Pretender’s standard had been raised on the Braes of Mar. He had been, for instance, turning his attention to such prominent Jacobite sympathizers as the Tory High Churchman, Dr. Henry Sacheverell and the Duke of Ormonde, in both instances addressing them from the standpoint of “One of the People called Quakers” and employing the chance that such a creation gave him for some not too subtle linguistic byplay at their expense. This was routine stuff, however, designed to remind his readers that some powerful nobles and clerics were potentially disloyal to George I and, in the event of an armed insurrection, were likely to be involved; the duke indeed was impeached and fled to France in June. But Defoe meanwhile was anatomising Toryism, justifying the Hanoverian succession, and, in a pamphlet disguised as a letter, advocating leniency rather than repression as the best way to deal with Jacobitism.

Such routine skirmishing ended abruptly with the news from Scotland. Now he opened up with his main batteries, encouraging Hanoverian supporters, downplaying Jacobite strength, but even now suggesting leniency to those who submitted voluntarily; then, once the main force of the rebellion had exhausted itself, producing imaginative reconstructions of events, justifying the treatment meted out to rebel leaders, and rounding all off with his *Annals* late in 1716.

Rather surprisingly, Defoe concentrated most of his attention on the campaign that originated in the Scottish Highlands, his chief treatment of events in the northwest of England being held over until he presented an imaginative reconstruction of them in 1722 as background to the career of his fictional creation, Colonel Jack. However, there was reason for his limitation of topic in 1715; he knew more about Scotland than most of his fellows, the result of his many months in that country in the years between 1706 and 1711. Such experience allowed him some access to the minds of those controlling the
Jacobite force. He had been eye-witness of the Earl of Mar’s activities in the Scottish Estates as he — already justifying his nickname, Bobbing John — blew hot and cold on the idea of parliamentary union with England. Likewise, he had had the chance to see the Scottish clan chiefs who were to call out their followers in the Rising and he had acquired some knowledge of the clan system and what its members’ obligations were.

In the circumstances it is not perhaps surprising that his first publication, *A View of the Scots Rebellion* (Moore, #326) is in his pedagogic strain, written in plain factual prose designed to familiarize his readers with these wild men from the northern wastes, their uncouth garb and unintelligible speech, with their reputation as ruthless warriors and plunderers, or, as he says himself, “My present Affair is to set right the Nations of our People on one Side, as well as on the other; particularly, as to the Ability these Highlanders have, or have not to give us Disturbance, and what we have to fear from them” (pp. 3-4). In setting out to achieve this aim, he first anatomizes the rebellious Highlanders, carefully distinguishing them from those of the clan Campbell and other families faithful to the government. He notes their ethnic background, stressing their kinship with the Celts of Ireland, and in treating them territorially, stresses their relative isolation.

Similarly, he notes the main features of the clan system, affirming the absolute power of the chief: “The Manners of these People are rude and barbarous, and tho’ subject to the British Government yet the Common People know no Laws or Government but the absolute Will of their Chief” (p. 13). Thereafter he gives details of such a relationship before switching from sociology to anthropology concentrating on the Highlanders’ reputed martial attainments, then describing their dress and accoutrements, recording how their garb is adapted for warfare in rugged country. Next comes psychology with Defoe striking off their main character attributes. They are

Rather desperate than bold, and rather furious than courageous; they have one Temper which whatever is in them, is in other Men inseparable from a Coward (*Viz*), that they are merciless, barbarous, and bloody ...

wild men (p.23).

And now the author turns military instructor with an account of the tactics necessary to defeat such men given that they are at a disadvantage in battle once their furious charge has spent its force. Their opponents therefore must maintain tight lines, holding fire until they are close up. Thus, Daniel Defoe who apart from his possible presence at the Battle of Sedgemoor thirty years earlier, had not been near a battlefield. Even now, however, he has not finished. Switching from tactics to strategy he stresses the need for government forces to control the narrow waist of Scotland, from the Firth of Forth to the Clyde, with the crossing of the former river guarded by the fortifications at Stirling. After mention of the Roman wall along this line he notes the advantage of remaining in place with the army commander refusing to be lured into the Highlands as had happened when regular troops were caught in the Pass of Killiecrankie. By staying put, the defender can let the rebels’ early enthusiasm wane, and the coming of winter will force the Jacobites either to fight or disperse because of “the severity of the Season, the deep Snows and long Nights of almost 18 Hours, and intolerable Cold” (p. 3). The campaign therefore may be relatively bloodless, indeed the Highland army may simply melt away for lack of supplies,
given that the terrain is generally poor and incapable of supporting a large force.

In this vein, Defoe brings his disquisition to a close having brought the Jacobite menace into focus with government success assured if only the army commander does as he says. And, in fact, the campaign in Scotland did follow very much the scenario that he had sketched out, so much so that one of his later tracts contained an advertisement to its second edition claiming that its author had provided "A full Prediction of their [the Jacobites'] late Defeat above a Month before it happen'd," the implications apparently being that since the Duke of Argyll had, faute de mieux, carried on his campaign as recommended in A view of the Scots Rebellion, its author had had a hand in planning it.

The aim of the paper just discussed was obviously to inform, that of the next three, all published between the Rising's outbreak and its collapse, was polemical and persuasive with the first and last raising the issue of successional legality, and the meat in the sandwich — if one may use the expression — dealing with the best ways of handling Jacobites once peace has returned. Of the two dealing with constitutional questions, the first presents the negative case; those supporting the Stuart claim are in the wrong. In The Traitorous and Foolish Manifesto of the Scots Rebels Examin'd and Expos'd Paragraph by Paragraph (Moore, #327), Defoe takes issue with the Jacobite declaration that the Old Pretender is the legitimate ruler, his objective being to counteract any effects produced by such a document.

As he indicates in the title, his method is to quote from the Jacobite proclamation then comment on it, the tenor of his remarks being predictable: denial of the Pretender's "Right of Blood to the Crown of these Realms" (p. 10). On the contrary, the contract that James II had had with his subjects was broken by the king himself, and Parliament had specifically barred his right to rule. Furthermore, those who were now in arms against the government had, in many instances, taken an oath of allegiance to George I, thereby making them both rebels and traitors. On the other hand, An Address To the People of England (Moore, #329) puts in positive terms the duty of obedience to the anointed king, George I. This time he casts doubts on the Pretender's legitimacy, reminding his reader of rumours that an imposture had taken place at the time of his birth. Thereafter his case is presented under three heads: political, in that the Constitution is superior over any abstract theory of Divine Right; ecclesiastical, in that the laws of God enjoin obedience to a lawful prince, that is, one accepted by Parliament on behalf of all the people; denominational, in that George I upholds the Protestant interest against the threat of Papal tyranny.

The middle member of this trio of tracts represents a reversion to a matter aired earlier by Defoe: how may Jacobitism be best stamped out. In Bold Advice: Or, Proposals For the entire Rooting out of Jacobitism in Great Britain (Moore, #328), the author maintains a third-person point-of-view calling himself simply "The Adviser" and in that capacity suggesting that toleration of rebels should cease, a considerable change from his previous opinion though it is noteworthy that he does not put it forward in his own person but creates a shadowy figure to present the thesis. In the pamphlet he also mounts an attack on Anglican clergymen who, ignoring the earthly head of their church, pray openly for King James III. Such deviant behaviour should come under ecclesiastical censure similar to that which ought to operate in lay society. Only by such measures will Jacobitism cease to be a danger according to the self-styled counsellor.

His harshest words, however, are saved for those who have failed to curb the move-
ment in the Scottish Highlands and on that point he rises to near eloquence:

Faction & Jacobitism must be disown'd in Scotland. It is a Grievance insupportable to see whole Provinces of barbarous and untam'd Highlanders go arm'd with Fire-Arms in Defiance of the Civil Magistrate; and in short to see Jacobite Noble Men attended by Guards of their Vassals, arm'd and ready for the Field; and this, in the Face of that Government which they refuse to acknowledge (p. 42).

And these men are "specifically fit for Plunder and cutting of Throats" (p. 43). In other words, only by some constriction of freedom and the enforcement of anti-Jacobite measures will such grievances be rectified.

Notable in the three tracts just mentioned is their generally straightforward presentation of a limited number of ideas: the evil of Jacobitism, that movement's manipulation by the Roman Catholic Church and its friends among Anglican High Churchmen, with, of course, the hostile role of France, whose political manoeuvring provides a secular parallel to the ecclesiastical one.

But just as the military campaign was culminating with the events of November 13, Defoe's tactics changed markedly. In place of the previously mentioned relatively sober arguments he came to assume a number of roles and to tease his opponents individually and collectively, addressing the Earl of Mar, for instance, in the tones of his favourite Quaker. In A Trumpet Blown in the North, And sounded in the Ears of John Eriskine, Called by the Men of the World, Duke of Mar (Moore, #330) he is able to deny any title of nobility to his victim, since The Friends recognise no degrees of rank in men, he can use the second person singular form of address, and of course he can hint at the Satanic element that Defoe detected in Jacobitism by using all the contemporary force of a phrase like "in the North" especially in view of John Robert Moore's claim that the connection is quite explicit elsewhere in his political tracts.4

Almost simultaneously with his rendering of the somewhat archaic speech of his Quaker, however, in one of the role changes at which he was so adept, Defoe was giving tongue to the thoughts of an Anglican clergyman on the subject of Jacobitism and its fascination for those of the High Church wing of his own communion. A Letter from One Clergyman to Another, Upon the Subject of Rebellion (Moore, #331) represents the thoughts of that divine as revealed to a college associate, in the course of which he sets out to prove by the Socratic method the truth of one of his creation's favourite tenets: the rightness of the Hanoverian claim to both sovereignty and to headship of the Anglican church. In so doing, he poses no fewer than twenty-one questions, the answers to which strengthen his creator's case. As he develops the argument, however, comments intrude more and more and the rational, cool-headed clergyman, barely sustaining his role with classical quotations and biblical tags in about equal numbers, begins to sound more and more like his Dissenting creator with his attack on "Non-resisting Rebels, Passive-Obedience Rioters, Abjuring Jacobites, and Frenchified Englishmen" (p. 20). He is, however, given a brief peroration in which there is a reversion to a gentler tone more appropriate to an ordained priest than the energetic anti-Jacobite sentiments of a little earlier.

Putting aside another effusion on the same theme, not attributed to Daniel Defoe until
1959 but in the words of John Robert Moore "strikingly similar" to it, it is possible to switch attention to publications that followed the rebellion's collapse, with a new theme - treatment of the captured Jacobites - added to these already discussed and providing the Government apologist with subject matter for a round dozen or so of new effusions in the first six months of 1716.

Even before the end of 1715, however, Defoe had produced one short piece of journalism following the parade of captives through the streets of London, en route for Newgate or The Tower depending on rank, the whole object being to expose them to public ridicule. It is a measure of the spirit of the times that Daniel Defoe, apparently forgetting the occasion years before when he himself had been held up to obloquy, added his own modicum of scorn for the unfortunate Jacobite general captured at Preston. This he did by production of a fictitious letter from General Forster to the Earl of Mar (Moore, #332) turning the shameful spectacle into a triumphal march, suggesting that Mar should hasten to join him, and indicating the distemper from which he and his fellows are likely to suffer, "A Creek in the Neck, a Straightness of Breath" a crude intimation of the likely fate of all leaders once the farce of trials has been completed.

The Jacobite lords were arraigned before their fellow peers at the beginning of the year but nearly two months were to elapse before the curtain was to rise on the final act of the tragedy. In the interim, therefore, Defoe was free to continue his attacks on those Tories who had by their actions shown themselves traitors to George I. To this end, he produced a highly elaborate dramatization of the events just before the unexpected death of Queen Anne and, later, at the arrival of the new Hanoverian king, the players being various Tory lords with Jacobite sympathies who, in the first act, find their plans for subverting the Constitution in favour of the Jacobite claimant destroyed by the queen's unexpected final illness, and in the second are scorned by the arriving George of Hanover in favour of his Whig adherents.

In his rendering of the death scene in Some Account of the Two Nights Court at Greenwich (Moore, #334) Defoe has his actors, the crypto-Jacobite great ones standing about grasping for news, news that is brought them by one of Her Majesty's ladies-in-waiting, obviously a sympathizer, who enters, "in the utmost Disorder...her Face perfectly disfigur'd and swell'd with crying" with her dramatic utterance "O! my Lords, we are all undone, entirely ruin'd, the Queen's a Dead Woman" (p. 13). Following this opening comes a rendering of the dialogue among the peers, the speakers being distinguished as 1st Lord, 2nd Lord, and so on, the whole intent being to have the speakers reveal their lack of decisiveness in face of Providence's interposition in their scheming.

Thereafter comes a straightforward rendering of events between the death of one monarch and the arrival in England of her successor. Once again, the sense of expectation, this time in an outdoor setting is rendered in dialogue, with the speakers now augmented by a Duke and an Earl, presumably Ormonde and Mar, speculating on the likely course of events. Then comes the confrontation, with George deliberately turning away from them as they make their obeisances, acknowledging instead only the Whigs in attendance.

The implications underlying this publication are obvious: these peers have been false from the first and only because their plans for subversion had been thwarted by Anne's untimely death were they forced to sign the proclamation in favour of George of Hanover. They are also disunited and indecisive, however, as the Two Night's Court rendering of
events during the interregnum is intended to reveal. Noteworthy in this elaborate fiction are some of the features that appear in Defoe's later full-length first-person narratives of a few years later, almost as though he were training himself, however unconsciously, to create a new type of literature: first-person common-life narrative.

Before the month was out, however, as a follow-up to the previous effort, Defoe produced yet one more anti-Jacobite tract, *Some Thoughts of an Honest Tory in the Country ... In a Letter to an Honest Tory in London* (Moore, #338), this one in the plain style that he had used earlier for a similar creation, the Country Squire, when he pressed that worthy into service in defence of the Dissenters. Now he speaks in the voice of one who calls himself a "revolution Tory", that is, one who upholds the exclusion of the Roman Catholic line and claims to be honestly puzzled at the behaviour of great men in the state and by what he perceives to be the attempted seduction of the common people by them and by Anglican clergymen of the High-Church party.

The tract itself goes over old ground but from a slightly different point of view, that of a fairly slow-witted but steady countryman, one who is able, nonetheless, to make clear his bewilderment as he asks his fellow party member, more sophisticated than he because he lives in the city, to provide him with arguments countering those employed by pro-Jacobites, otherwise, as he says, "We shall all turn Whigs in our opinion of the inferior Clergy and think they have lost all Sense of Religion and Loyalty, Justice and Honesty" (p. 38). Here, then, are Defoe's stock anti-Jacobite arguments but this time presented by a right-wing party member, albeit of the centrist bloc, accepting the Hanoverian succession and deeply suspicious of devious designs for the restoration of Roman Catholicism such as had almost happened in 1688.

These two pamphlets may be thought of as Defoe's way of keeping men's minds aware of the Jacobite danger as the human drama of the Rising's leaders unfolded itself. But with the ending of the trials he found himself acting, once again, as government apologist, as that body, with the king, faced an emotional backlash for refusing mercy even to those who had pleaded guilty. Thus, even before the date on which the first executions were to be carried out, he was at work with *The Conduct of Some People, about Pleading Guilty. With some Reasons Why it was not thought proper to show Mercy to some who desir'd it* (Moore, #340) then followed this up with a piece of fully developed argument by analogy, its title page giving an abstract of its contents: *An Account of the Proceedings Against Rebels, and other Prisoners, Tried before the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, and other Judges, in the West of England in 1685, for taking Arms under the Duke of Monmouth* (Moore, #341). Of interest at this point is the possibility that Defoe was recalling personal experiences springing from his own involvement in the affair of James II illegitimate nephew. Still, to maintain a balance with the present he has to include the treatment of the Scots and Irish Presbyterians whereas on the present occasion treatment of the Scottish rebels was relatively lenient and only in England was the full weight of official displeasure visited — literally — on the heads of those condemned to die.

Once the executions had begun, Defoe's pen became if anything even busier. Following the death of the Earl of Derwentwater, a peer whose fate evoked genuine sympathy, he attacked Richard Steele for his advocacy of mercy, in effect accusing him of blackmailing the government by breaking from its ranks in hopes of some doceur to keep him quiet (Moore, #344). John Robert Moore in his *Checklist* also records as probably by the author,
a publication taking issue with Derwentwater's final remarks, denying the validity of the condemned man's reasons for taking up arms (Moore, #343), a not uncommon form of political expression.

But even after the immediate furor caused by the executions of various Jacobites had died down, the True-Born Englishman could not leave the matter alone and *A Dialogue between a Whig and a Jacobite, Upon the Subject of the late Rebellion; and the Execution of the Rebel-Lords* (Moore, #347) covers familiar ground that he had been over so often before. The Jacobite, basing his case on certain celestial signs as evidence of God's wrath at the handling of the defeated rebels, is engaged in controversy and is speedily overwhelmed by a formidable forensic display in response to his claims that the Stuart succession was inviolate and that the government had been over-severe in its measures. With an outpouring of analogies drawn from the Old Testament and from constitutional precedents for the theory of a contractual agreement between the sovereign and his subjects as a basis for monarchy, the Whig scarcely allows his opponent more than a monosentential response as he expatiates on the cases of Saul, David and Solomon before switching to a lecture on English history with references to the Salic Law and to the renunciation by the King of Spain of the French crown.

Then comes an equally detailed account of the Warming Pan Plot, in the course of which he contrasts adversely the secrecy surrounding the birth of the Old Pretender with the accouchement in public of the Empress Constantia, wife of the Emperor, Henry IV, followed by a rapid resume of events since George I ascended the throne. But he still has to dispose of the charge of cruelty towards the Jacobites, and this he does by citing parallels with Monmouth's rising in England which, like Argyll's in Scotland, becomes a defence of Protestantism against the machinations of a Roman Catholic King.

Only after this reiteration of points already made familiar by Defoe does his Jacobite, quite feebly, raise the matter of signs in the skies only to receive a final crushing rejoinder from the Whig spokesman that "They might proceed from a Natural Cause and be no more Monitory and Ominous then the Moon-Shine" (p. 31). Then with considerable scepticism he suggests that if such phenomena do have any significance, they are just as likely to indicate approval for the defeat of the king's enemies, these comments actually following a concession by the Stuart supporter that he will try to avoid being imposed on in future, his new humility being a response to the strong presentation of the Whig point-of-view by yet another of Defoe's political creations.

Even so, these were still not Defoe's last words on the subject of Jacobite executions, As late as July 1716, by which time rebels of the second rank were being disposed of, he was giving thirty-five pages to *Remarks on the Speeches of William Paul Clerk, and John Hall of Otterburn, Esq: Executed at Tyburn for Rebellion, the 13th of July, 1716*, the tenor of which may be easily comprehended from continuation of the title-page material: "In which the Government and Administration both in Church and State, as founded upon the Revolution, are Vindicated from the Treasonable Reflections and false Aspersions thrown upon them in these Speeches" (Moore, #350). Even so, the whole subject received yet one more going over in that part of *The Annals of King George, Year the Second* (Moore, #351) covering the Rebellion and its aftermath. In retrospect, it is hard to understand why so much effort on behalf of a Whig government and of the Hanoverian George I did not secure him some tangible reward.
For such activities involving so many diverse created figures did not exhaust Daniel Defoe's anti-Jacobite outpourings; two highly imaginative productions saw daylight in 1716 as well. The first, a fictional rendering of a Jacobite conclave near the end of the campaign, ostensibly written by one who was present, has such an air of verisimilitude that it has been taken as authentic by some historians; the second, a neat piece of literary forgery at the expense of the Earl of Mar, has driven that nobleman from the field of apologetics just as he was driven from the field of battle. A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth (Moore, #348), extracts from which are available in Laura Ann Curtis's compilation, The Versatile Defoe, the text supplemented by a useful introduction, is an imaginative tour de force, paralleled only by Defoe's part in A Journal of the Earl of Mar's Proceedings (1716) which, as John Robert Moore has shown (Checklist, #349), represents the turning around of that nobleman's self-justification into a piece of anti-Jacobite propaganda by inclusion of an introduction and a few subtle changes in its text.

Such an outpouring, many hundreds of pages, within the single year from October 1715 is the clearest indication of the extent to which Defoe's emotions responded to the threat of Jacobitism. Admittedly, much of the material was thematically repetitive but his flair for character creation allowed him to deal with the same questions from different points of view: as third-person Adviser, as first person Whig, Tory, Jacobite, Quaker, Clergyman, and each speaker having his own idiom, plus appropriate setting where necessary. Surely such industry deserves a record, however belated.

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NOTES

3 John Robert Moore, Checklist no. 330, 130.
5 Checklist, no. 331a, 131.
7 Ibid., 320–326.