

Answering the Pretender's Declaration:
The Impact of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion on British Identity in
Colonial Maryland and Pennsylvania

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The fall of 1746 tested the fortitude of Reverend Thomas Cradock. An Anglican minister in Baltimore County, Maryland, Cradock found his loyalty to Britain in question. In the waning days of the Jacobite Rebellion, another Maryland Protestant accused him of drinking to the health of the Catholic Stuart Pretender, not the Protestant Hanoverian king. That November, Cradock responded by printing two of his sermons preached during the Rebellion, and in a long preface, he defended himself: “Thus considering myself as an Englishman, a Protestant, a Minister of a Protestant Church, forced me to show the sincere Joy I felt [at the Jacobite demise], and the hearty Abhorrence I had of a slavish Subjection either in Religion or Polity.”¹ The levels of identity—first nation, faith, then clerical occupation—incrementally added legitimacy to his claim that he was not a Jacobite. He mentions the most important last. As an Anglican minister, he was tied directly to the security and prosperity of the British state, and equated treason toward the king as equal to blaspheming against God.² In this justification Cradock revealed two key aspects of colonial life. First, as a loyal British subject, Cradock could not support Catholicism or arbitrary government (specifically that of France). To be British was to be Protestant and support the constitutional liberties gained during the Glorious Revolution. Second, events at home in Britain were closely watched by the colonists, who then played out the mother country’s conflicts in their own communities. In Cradock’s case, Scottish Catholics rebelling at home for a Stuart king meant that Catholics in Maryland might rise as well. Protestant colonists must be on watch for suspicious behavior, even from members of its own established clergy.

¹ Thomas Cradock, *Two Sermons with a Preface Showing the Author’s Reasons for publishing them* (Annapolis: Jonas Green, 1747): ii. For more information on Reverend Cradock see David C. Skaggs and F. Garner Ranney, “Thomas Cradock Sermons,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 67 (1972): 179-180 and Mathias Bergman, “Being the Other: Catholicism, Anglicanism, and constructs of Britishness in Colonial Maryland, 1689-1763” [PhD diss., Washington State University, 2004] 170-171.

² *Ibid.*, iv.

Americans learned of the Jacobite Rebellion (1745-1746) in the midst of a turning point in the colonial theatre of the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Beginning in 1739, naval forces in the Caribbean, partially manned with colonial militia, battled Spanish frigates in the unsuccessful War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1741).³ As the militia returned home, colonial focus turned to the north, where New England militia and British soldiers had captured Fort Louisbourg on Cape Breton in June 1745. At the same time, clashes with Indians in both the Carolinas and New England threatened the frontier. Colonists called this entire conflict King George's War, and the name was about to become much more significant. By November 1745, Americans learned that George II was truly being threatened by the grandson of James II, Britain's deposed Stuart king.

On August 3, 1745, Charles Edward Stuart, son of the "Old Pretender" James Stuart, landed in Scotland. He quickly roused the Highlands to march south and claim the British throne for the Catholic heir. The army's reception by northern Englishmen, and even fellow Scots Protestants, was tepid at best. Though the Jacobite army reached as far south as Derby, by December the Duke of Cumberland forced Bonnie Prince Charlie back to Scotland, only to be brutally crushed at Culloden on April 16, 1746. Determined to destroy the Jacobite cause, the British government physically captured and killed enemy soldiers, while culturally disarming the Highlands by prohibiting Gaelic chiefdoms, dress, and language.⁴ Linda Colley contends in *Britons: Forging a Nation 1707-1837* (1992) that the reason Britons vindictively responded to Jacobitism was their fear of divisive civil war and occupation by a foreign power (specifically, Catholic France which was harboring Charles

³ Albert Harkness, Jr., "Americanism and Jenkins' Ear," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 37, no. 1 (June 1950): 87-88; Jeremy Black, *A History of the British Isles*, 2nd ed. (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 176. The Spanish Navy severed the ear of merchant Captain Robert Jenkins in protest of illegal British trade with Spanish Caribbean colonies. In 1739, the preserved ear was displayed to a House of Commons committee, and George II declared war with Spain. The War of Jenkins' Ear became an American front of the War of Austrian Succession.

⁴ Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800: State, Religion and Identity in Britain and Ireland* (NY: Pearson Education Limited, 2001): 128-129. For a complete analysis of the 'Forty Five, see Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Edward). Both of these events would disrupt Britain’s imperial commerce.⁵ Just as important, Britons imagined the Stuart Catholic rule as a menace to Reformation religion, bringer of poverty for the common man, and destroyer of constitutional monarchy.⁶ Britishness was defined against the “Other”: to be British was to be anti-Catholic, anti-French, and anti-despotic, all criteria the Stuarts lacked.⁷ Cradock’s expression of his identity fits into Colley’s definition, even though she examined only England, Wales and Scotland. In this paper I will examine if other Americans shared Cradock’s acceptance of Britishness (I will be using American to refer to British colonists living in North America, not as a name colonists called themselves).

Americans followed the Rebellion through newspapers, pamphlets, correspondence and newly arrived travelers from England. Protestant populations living alongside Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania watched their papist neighbors closely for seditious activities. Erring on the side of temperance, colonists recognized that Jacobitism abroad did not necessarily implicate colonial Catholics. Government records from both colonies document very few cases of legal action taken against Catholics. Instead, colonists used print as a medium to participate in the Rebellion by verbally supporting George II. The print response to the Jacobite Rebellion reaffirmed American colonists’ belief in a British identity based on empire, Protestantism, and constitutional monarchy. But the writers of the response—publishers, ministers, and royal governors—represent the persons most attached to these three aspects of Britishness, not colonists as a whole. Imperialists aggrandized the resurgence of Jacobitism, a constant enemy in the British psyche, to build up enough distrust and fear of French Catholics in hopes that colonists would willingly submit men and munitions in a cooperative campaign against New France. Despite their appeals, Marylanders and Pennsylvanians resisted full involvement in King George’s War, looking to the defense of their own

⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992): 76-79.

⁶ Colley, *Britons*, 24-25, 34-36, 47-49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

territory first. The efforts of imperialists succeeded in part, but once George II secured his throne against the Jacobites, local interests played into politics far more than a need to protect regions of the empire beyond one's own province. After researching print responses to the Jacobite Rebellion in conjunction with the involvement of Maryland and Pennsylvania in King George's War, I argue that colonial authors used the Rebellion to encourage support for an imperial war beyond the borders of the mid-Atlantic colonies.

The Jacobite Rebellions in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Centuries

The 'Forty-Five, as the 1745 rising has been termed, was the last in a series of Stuart attempts to regain the throne after the Glorious Revolution. In 1688, the birth of a son to James II dramatically escalated Protestant fears of a permanent Catholic dynasty. Protestant Britons tolerated James' Catholicism only because they knew his daughter and heir, Mary, was a firm Protestant. With the birth of a son who would likely be raised Catholic, hope of a Protestant succession faded into a grim future of Stuart subordination to Rome. The year before, James acted upon his Catholic sympathies by invalidating the Test Act, which required government officials to swear oaths to the Church of England and limited toleration of Catholics and Dissenters. Resolved to prevent further erosion of Protestant control, after the birth of James' son, Parliament invited Mary and her husband, William of Orange, to take the throne of Great Britain. Their invasion was called the Glorious Revolution, or Bloodless Revolution, because England itself was free from conflict when William and Mary were crowned in 1689. Driven into exile in Catholic France, James regrouped and led an army in Catholic Ireland against William. Scotland, home of the Stuart dynasty, also defied the definition of a Bloodless Revolution as battles pitted Catholics and allied Anglicans against pro-William Presbyterians. Even in the Americas, the transfer from James to William and Mary

dismantled the Dominion of New England and toppled the Catholic government in Maryland. It was not until 1691, two years after the new monarchs ascended the throne, that military threats abated.⁸

James II did not emerge from exile to lead another campaign for his throne, but he left a son and grandson determined to claim their hereditary right to the crown. Jacobites, supporters of James and his descendents, rallied around James Francis Edward Stuart, the son of James II whose birth caused such a problem in 1688. While he was known as James III by his allies, Protestant Britons dubbed him the “Pretender,” a blatant way of disassociating themselves from the legitimacy of the Stuart claim. As an American minister would write in 1746, James Francis was called the Pretender because he only pretended to be sovereign of Britain while remaining “in Opposition to all the Rights, Laws and Constitutions of the *British* Nation.”⁹ Queen Anne I, who ascended the throne in 1702 after her sister Mary died childless, also died without a surviving heir in 1714. Fortunately for Protestants, in 1701 Parliament foresaw this political crisis. The legitimate Stuart heirs were all Catholic, but the 1701 Act of Settlement mandated that only Protestants could be British monarchs, bypassing the Stuarts and granting the throne to the distantly related Hanoverian dynasty in Germany. Not willing to lose the Stuart claim completely, James Francis Edward led an invasion of Britain in 1715, raising support among Catholics in Scotland and Northern England. It was quickly put down, but he continued to conspire from abroad.

Jacobitism developed as the constant underlying menace to the British throne during the eighteenth-century. Fearing a subversive enclave within their own population, Britons united in shared opposition to Jacobite ideals: Catholicism, French sympathies and absolute government.

⁸ For more information on the Glorious Revolution and Jacobite Rebellions, see Jeremy Black, *A History of the British Isles*, 2nd ed. (NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

⁹ Thomas Prince, *Mr Prince’s Thanksgiving Sermon on the Glorious Victory near Culloden* (Boston, MA: D. Henchman in Cornhil, and S. Kneeland and T. Green in Queen-Street., 1746): 7-8.

Jacobites became the “Other” that the Whig government defined itself against.¹⁰ By building an image of Jacobites as “wasteful, indolent and oppressive if powerful, poor and exploited if not,” the Whigs built a community of Protestant Britons confident in their nation’s superior virtues.¹¹ After the ‘Forty-Five, the government took extreme measures to insure that Jacobites would never rise again. British Protestants raised in fear of Catholic Jacobites accepted the need to forcibly convert Highlanders to English civilization by executing Jacobite leaders, transporting captured Rebels, burning towns, and outlawing Gaelic customs. Even though the Jacobite Rebellions were confined mainly to Scotland, the presence of Catholics throughout the British Empire widened the threat of conspiracy.¹² As papists, Catholics in seventeenth and eighteenth -century Britain could not be fully included in the national identity. They lived among Protestants, but remained separate in political, legal, and social establishments.

British Catholicism evolved with the changing toleration of dissenting religions in England, developing alongside Protestant Britons but still different enough to be labeled an “Other.” In *The English Catholic Community*, John Bossy recognizes the shared experiences of religious groups in England, both Catholics and Protestants, as they adapted to the political climate after the Civil Wars.¹³ Catholicism shared the same non-conforming aspects of Quakers and Unitarians. Specifically, none of these groups fully held the traditional Protestant beliefs of scriptural authority, justification by faith alone, and a priesthood of all believers.¹⁴ Just as Quakers and Catholics reacted

¹⁰ Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom*, 129.

¹¹ Colley, *Britons*, 35.

¹² For further reading on Britain’s eighteenth-century culture of conspiracy, see Gordon S. Wood, “Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style: Casualty and Deceit in the Eighteenth Century,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 39, no. 3 (July 1982): 408-410. Wood argues that the rise of state over local authority separated the general population from government, who then blamed conspiracies of “great men” for rigging complex workings of government which did not always favor the common man.

¹³ Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, 397; Schlenther, “Religious Faith and Commercial Enterprise,” 131-134. According to Schlenther, the American colonies would repeat this process of religious proliferation in response to reinvigorated established churches during the first half of the eighteenth century.

¹⁴ Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, 392.

to growing standardization of faith in England by uniting within themselves, Dissenters and non-Dissenters experienced a rise and fall of religious sentiment. Only after the Glorious Revolution, when Britain was secure under a constitutionally bound Protestant monarch, did the Catholic community expand. Internally, a renewed spirituality strengthened the Catholic community as clergy abandoned “church-nostalgia” and rode on missionary circuits that reached geographically dispersed parishioners.¹⁵ Externally, though penal laws prevented Catholics from holding office or voting in elections, the haphazard enforcement of taxation laws and restrictions on Catholic priests allowed the expansion of the marginalized religion in the early eighteenth century.

Bossy’s report of a Catholic resurgence from 1700 to 1750 coincided with a religious revival throughout Great Britain and the Americas. The Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s opened church doors to invigorated ministers espousing a new type of experiential worship.¹⁶ The itinerant preaching practiced by these “New Light” ministers mimicked the missionary circuits forced on Catholic priests unable to hold services in a central church building.¹⁷ Though Bossy emphasizes the similarities among all denominations’ religious experiences, Protestant Dissenters moved closer to the established religion in the eighteenth-century than Catholics. The 1689 Toleration Act extended voting and office rights to Dissenters, preventing a coalition of Catholics and Dissenters loyal to James II. The rise of Dissenters in all levels of government tied them closer to the state and absorbed them into a pan-Protestant British identity that continued to exclude Catholics.¹⁸ The extent to which colonists accepted imperial Britishness and its Protestant foundation determined their reception of Catholics within the colonial community.

¹⁵ Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, 279-287, 285. This form of itinerant preaching would be adopted by Jesuits in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

¹⁶ Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 131-133.

¹⁷ Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, 399.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

Colonial Identities and Involvement in Imperial Wars

Just as varieties of religious faiths in Britain shaped differing experiences of national identity, so did geographic displacement affect perceptions of Britishness. Separated from the mother country by the Atlantic Ocean, American colonists developed in small isolated communities, only in the eighteenth-century maintaining a steady stream of correspondence and printed news among colonies and mother country. Receiving information from the mother country only highlighted colonial misgivings on their sense of Britishness. The colonies, already behind in fashion, scholarly learning, and political awareness, were poised on the edge of an unexplored continent brimming with Native Americans. Their sense of inferiority compared to British culture, argues John Clive and Bernard Bailyn, magnified as colonists feared becoming the “Other,” an uncivilized and savage Indian.¹⁹ Maintaining segregated settlements, governments, and religious traditions from Indians preserved a colonial identity rooted in European culture. Geoffrey Plank continues this analysis of colonial identity by recognizing that the contrasting behavior of French Canadians in the north, who intermarried and assimilated with Indians, repelled British colonists and further confirmed their incredulity at the backwardness of Catholics in general, France in particular.²⁰ In the eighteenth-century, newspapers, the Protestant religion, and cultural societies bridged the gap between mother country and colonies. As colonists oscillated between events in their localities and interest in London affairs, they faced a potential “rootlessness” in identity.²¹ Colonists moved along a spectrum of national identity with England-based Britishness on one end and province-oriented Americanness on the other. In the hundred years before the American Revolution, imperial wars,

¹⁹ John Clive and Bernard Bailyn, “England’s Cultural Provinces: Scotland and America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 11, no. 2 (April 1954): 208, 213. Scotland and Ireland as well were considered the periphery of the empire where civilized Englishmen were prey to barbaric Gaelic influences.

²⁰ Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 163-164.

²¹ Clive and Bailyn, “England’s Cultural Provinces,” 213.

including the Jacobite Rebellions, tested the loyalty of American colonists and their willingness to defend a Britishness based on a nation and capital across an ocean.

At the time of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, adoration of the king, Protestant religion, and print culture served as vehicles that connected the American colonies to the larger British Empire. Despite the influence of teleological Whig history describing the Revolution as an inevitable outcome of the eighteenth-century struggle between liberty-loving colonists and arbitrary royal governments, current studies by Benjamin Lewis Price and Brendan McConville underscore the cult of royalty in colonial America.²² Without direct representation in Parliament, colonists turned to the king as the symbol of British government. In truth, colonial assemblies answered to royal governors, who were appointed by the king, so colonists rightfully traced their political allegiance to the king over Parliament. Public celebrations of royal birthdays, weddings, military victories and Pope’s Day provided an outlet for colonial attachment to the king, strengthening the ties between subjects and monarch, colonies and empire.²³ Celebrating the king not only tied the colonies to the mother country; it fostered unity among distant American colonies that recognized the same overarching authority of the British king.

The Hanoverian dynasty represented Britain’s security in a Protestant, constitutional government. Unlike the aloof and distant Stuart kings of the seventeenth-century, the Hanoverians built an image of paternalistic kings who benevolently guided the nation.²⁴ The Glorious Revolution offered the English people a new view of kingship, dependent on the monarch’s service to the people. A *Pennsylvania Gazette* editorial described the crown as “an Office in Trust,” in which the

²² Benjamin Lewis Price, *Nursing Fathers: American Colonists Conception of English Protestant Kingship, 1688-1776* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999); Brendan McConville, *The King’s Three Faces: The Rise & Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

²³ McConville, *The King’s Three Faces*; Price, *Nursing Fathers*, 12. Pope’s Day was celebrated on November 5th in remembrance of Guy Fawkes failed attempt to blow up Parliament in 1605. Floats, parades, games, and bonfires lit up cities throughout the empire, especially in the American colonies.

²⁴ Price, *Nursing Fathers*, 148-149.

monarch should be both approved by the people and limited by the power of Parliament.²⁵ Price explains the new and unusual contractual relationship between king and people:

Ironically, although colonial political thinkers, like most of their English cousins, abhorred the notions of divine right and unlimited submission associated with Stuart monarchs, they often spoke of their rulers, especially George II, in terms that are, to modern readers, remarkably similar. Hanoverian kings were extolled as both chosen by the people, and anointed by God. Divine support was not given lightly, however; it was contingent upon the good behavior of the monarch. So long as rulers were considered good, exercising tolerance toward English Protestants, and jealously protecting the liberty and property of their subjects, they had the support of both the people and, according to two generations of American ministers, the Almighty.²⁶

Price's argument suggests that eventually when the colonists did not view the king as protecting their interests, he lost his claim to rightful authority over the people. In the 1740s, George II was pitted against a Jacobite foe likely to weaken the liberties of colonists. Thirty years later, no Stuart despot negatively contrasted George III, opening his faults to criticism by the American public.

To safeguard king, empire, and religion, colonists participated in a series of imperial wars throughout the eighteenth-century. The War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713), known in the colonies as Queen Anne's War, engaged New England colonists in war against French settlers in Canada. In 1739, the onset of the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1741) deployed colonial militia to the British fleet in the Caribbean. In total, the Americans raised thirty-three companies by colony, but Admiral Vernon broke up the units to impress sailors and fill his fleet. Instead of perceiving American participation in the war as proof of colonial satisfaction with the empire, Albert Harkness, Jr., argues in "Americanism and Jenkins' Ear" that King George's War (1744-1748) represents the turning point of growing distrust between Americans resentful of English authority and Englishmen critical of American reluctance to defend the empire.²⁷ Colonial commitment to King George's War

²⁵"An Answer to the Pretender's Declaration," *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 11 February 1746, 1.

²⁶Price, *Nursing Fathers*, 12.

²⁷Harkness, "Americanism and Jenkins' Ear," 61, 65-68, 73-75.

would become even more important as the Jacobite Rebellion diverted all British troops in Europe, to the extent that the Duke of Cumberland pulled forces out of the Continental War against France and hired Hessian mercenaries to suppress the Rebels in Scotland.²⁸ Until the Jacobites were defeated, colonial militia would have to stand on their own against New France without aid from the mother country.

The extension of imperial wars to North America offered London the chance to evaluate colonists' willingness to defend a king they had never seen, and a government without elected representatives from the colonies. When colonists chose to fight, they did so to protect interests common to all Britons, regardless of homeland. Satisfaction with constitutionally guaranteed liberty, prosperity through imperial trade, and unity in Protestantism appealed to a colonial sense of Britishness. The diversity of persons in the colonies, like the empire as a whole, presented challenges to colonists desiring a homogenous British identity. The reaction of colonists to persons who did not fit in the model of a stalwart Briton, specifically Catholics, measured their dedication to a Britishness that more readily encompassed Protestant subjects across the Atlantic than local neighbors who shared the experiences of Protestant colonists, but not the faith. In Maryland and Pennsylvania, the only colonies with Catholic populations and legal Jesuit missions, the reaction to Catholics during the Jacobite Rebellions indicated the level of colonial belief in anti-Catholic Britishness. In tracing Protestant behavior toward Catholics in legal cases and government proceedings, I will contrast vehement anti-Catholicism in print with a more moderate political response. The dichotomy between the two then raises the question of the true reason for anti-Jacobitism in print if it did not correspond with local anti-Catholicism.

²⁸ Bruce P. Lenman, "Colonial Wars and Imperial Instability, 1688-1793," in *The Eighteenth Century*, vol. 2 of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, edited by P.J. Marshall, 151-168 (NY: Oxford University Press, 1998): 158.

Colonial Catholics and the Jacobite Rebellions

At the time of the Glorious Revolution, Protestants in Maryland usurped the Catholic government under Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore. His appointment of Catholic officials, combined with the unorganized and pitiful state of the Anglican Church in Maryland, provoked Protestants already distressed by the Stuart rule.²⁹ In 1689, as the Stuart government in England fled before William of Orange's invasion, Maryland's proprietary government capitulated to a Protestant Association declaring itself in the name of William and Mary. Maryland became a royal colony in 1691, with governors directly appointed by the king, but in 1715 reverted to proprietary rule under newly converted Protestant, Benedict Leonard, son of Charles, Lord Baltimore.³⁰ The new governor arrived in the colony at an inauspicious time. Catholic-Protestant relations reached a breaking point during the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion. Two persons were fined for drinking to the health of the Pretender, pranksters fired cannons from the Annapolis capital building on the birthday of James Stuart, and the Catholic receiver general, Charles Carroll, insisted on collecting taxes for Lord Baltimore without taking the oaths of abjuration and supremacy swearing loyalty to the temporal authority of the king over the pope.³¹ By 1718, the Assembly had enough, and disenfranchised all Catholics who refused to take oaths to the Protestant king, in the process effectively ending the religious toleration that had been formalized in the 1649 Act Concerning Religion.³² Catholics had already lost their right to public worship in the 1704 Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery; now, in

²⁹ Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland: A History* (Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1981), 85-86. Governor William Joseph, presiding while Baltimore was in England, ordered the General Assembly to pass an act of Thanksgiving on the birth of James II's son in 1688, the son who secured a continued Catholic dynasty. During the Jacobite Rebellion, the Protestant governor would also issue Days of Thanksgiving to celebrate the preservation of a Protestant monarchy.

³⁰ Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 118.

³¹ Johann P. Sommerville, "Papalist political thought and the controversy over the Jacobean oath of allegiance," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religion, Politics and Identity in early Modern England*, edited by Ethan Shagan (NY: Manchester University Press, 2005), 163.

³² Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 127-128.

1718, they lost any chance to protect their religion through formal political procedures.³³ In neighboring Pennsylvania, Catholics also did not have the right to vote or hold office, but the religious toleration established by a Quaker government extended to Catholics, and they were free to worship in public.³⁴

The 1745 Jacobite Rebellion provided the same opportunity as in 1715 for Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania to support the Stuart cause. Unlike the previous confrontation, Catholics only acted in isolated instances of subversion, negating the need for the government to drastically reduce Catholic liberties. Pennsylvanian Catholics provoked little government reaction beyond proclamations in support of King George, but in Maryland, Governor Thomas Bladen and the General Assembly acted immediately on any rumors of treason by bringing all suspected Jacobite sympathizers before the Governor’s Council. The government did not punish the Catholic community as a whole for individual cases of sedition, but dealt quickly with suspects to curtail any real conspiracies against the state.

The circumstances of cases brought before the government exposed an apprehensive environment in which vague rumors landed Catholics in front of provincial judges. The March 1746 deposition against Arnold Livers, a Catholic in Prince George’s County, reported suspected weapons stockpiles on his properties, but the information was gained through three levels of hearsay.³⁵ During the same set of cases before the Governor’s Council, Daniel Hearn of Anne Arundel County, another “Person of the Romish Communion,” was accused of drinking to the health of the Pretender.³⁶ The deposition stated,

³³ Land, *Colonial Maryland*, 106.

³⁴ Sister Mary Augustina Ray, B.V.M., *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (NY: Octagon Books, 1974), 56-57. Pennsylvania was unique among all British colonies in North America for allowing this freedom of worship.

³⁵ “Black Book No. 6 Letter No. 84,” *Proceedings and Acts of General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 4, 16 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, Appendix 692.

³⁶ “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 25 March 1746, 3.

This deponent being duely sworn deposeth & saith that he this deponent heard one Augustine Gambol say that he the said Gambol heard one Silvanus Marriot say, that meeting with Daniel Hearn sometime after the report of the Pretenders Son's landing in Scotland, he the said Hearn ask'd him the said Marriot if he had heard of King Charles, or Prince Charles's landing, that he understood the said Hearn to have Spoke in a Jestng manner as to an old acquaintance.

That he this deponent hath not to the best of his knowledge Spoke with or Seen the said Hearn these seven Years Past.³⁷

Hearn's example demonstrates the tenuous nature of the accusations against Catholics. His accuser heard through Gambol, who heard through Marriot, that Hearn jestingly attributed royalty to the Young Pretender. A fear of Jacobites within Maryland pushed his case to the highest level of government, the Governor's Council, even though it was based on a trail of hearsay and acknowledged as a joke, not a serious threat to the state.

The third person involved in the March 1746 cases was Richard Molyneaux, the Jesuit Superior of all priests stationed in Maryland.³⁸ Molyneaux was not a new troublemaker. In 1745 he was arrested in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, for suspicious activities in proximity to the negotiations between the Pennsylvania government and Iroquois Indians. He was only discharged through the intercession of Charles Carroll, one of the wealthiest planters in Maryland and a fellow Catholic.³⁹ The warrant for his arrest in 1746 charged him with "ill affect[ion] to his Majestys Person and Government and to have behaved himself on many Occasions in a seditious Manner contrary to his due Allegiance."⁴⁰

³⁷"Black Book No. 6 Letter No. 82," *Proceedings and Acts of General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 4, 16 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, Appendix 692.

³⁸ For further discussion of the Hearn, Livers, and Molyneaux cases see Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age: The Catholic gentry and community in colonial Maryland, 1689-1776" [PhD diss., University of Maryland College Park, 1993], 245-248.

³⁹ Joseph C. Linck, *Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced: Catholic Preaching in Anglo-Colonial America* (Philadelphia: St. Joseph's University Press, 2002), 27.

⁴⁰ "Liber C.B." *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, vol. 28, 21 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 356.

Molyneaux's warrant emphasizes key aspects of colonial identity. First, leading with the threat to the king's person illustrates colonial attachment to the Hanoverians and their claim to the throne. Molyneaux was accused of displaying disrespect to Maryland's government by actively promoting Catholicism. Maryland's government arrested him because his behavior was "remarkably unguarded"⁴¹ during the Rebellion; though the warrant does not outright state what constituted this behavior, it is likely that he spoke out in favor of the Pretender or was implicated in the weapons rumors, since he was brought before the Council with Arnold and Hearn. Though Molyneux was bound by his priestly vows to obey the pope in Rome, the Maryland government demanded loyalty and "due Allegiance" to his political monarch over his religious leader. Britishness in the form of loyalty to the state was demanded of all subjects, regardless of religion, even though Catholics remained outsiders without political rights.

When these three cases reached Annapolis, the government took pains to prevent the escalation of Jacobitism by dealing mildly with the suspects. Governor Bladen, whose mother was Catholic, did not lead persecution of Catholics, but during the court case he issued a proclamation warning them to stay out of trouble.⁴² The Jacobite cases came before the Governor's Council in late March 1746, during the weeks that colonists learned of Bonny Prince Charlie's rapid advance into England and march toward London. The three men were released, but Bladen realized Catholics needed to be curbed before they took more serious action, and Protestants needed reassurance that the government was being proactive against potential Jacobitism in Maryland. His proclamation advised Molyneaux to ensure "that No Liberties be taken by those of your Church either in Words or Actions which may tend to Disloyalty towards his most sacred Majesty King

⁴¹ "Liber C.B." *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, vol. 28, 21 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 356.

⁴² Beatriz Betancourt Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 179.

George or to the Interruption of the Peace and Quiet of this Province.”⁴³ In May, three more cases of drinking to the health of the Pretender came before the Anne Arundel County Court, and the suspects were found guilty, but only fined £20 each and “obliged to give Security for their good Behavior.”⁴⁴ Instead of aggressively arresting and condemning Catholics for treason, Bladen offered Maryland Catholics the chance to regulate their own community, recognizing that Catholics within Maryland responded to an authority apart from the state. At the same time he put his own officers on alert; following this case he asked all provincial officials to closely watch men in their own counties, “promot[ing] the like Loyal Dispositions and discountenanc[ing] every Appearance of Disaffection to Our most Gracious Sovereign.”⁴⁵

Though trusting that Catholics did not mean to overthrow the state when they verbally supported the Pretender, the Maryland government took a much more inflexible view when considering Catholic mastery over slaves. Bladen’s warning to Molyneux prohibited Catholics from gathering freed blacks and slaves for Mass or other religious ceremonies, because the meetings “[gave] Suspicion of something else being designed than a bare Exercise of Religion.”⁴⁶ Six years before, South Carolina slaves led the bloody Stono Rebellion to violently fight their way toward freedom under Catholic Spain in Florida. A year later in 1741, New Yorkers blamed a series of fires on slaves and freed blacks committing arson to encourage an uprising against the state. The ultimate coordinator of the conspiracy was supposedly a Spanish dancing master, Ury, who worked in secret for Catholic France and Spain.⁴⁷ The court assumed that the foreign powers ordered Ury to create

⁴³ “Liber C.B.” *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, vol. 28, 21 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 356-357.

⁴⁴ “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette*, 17 June 1746, 3.

⁴⁵ “Upper House Assembly Proceedings,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 20 March 1746, 252.

⁴⁶ “Liber C.B.” *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, vol. 28, 21 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 357.

⁴⁷ Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 192.

enough confusion so that the French troops from Canada could move into New York and establish a foothold in the middle of British America. Though never demonstrating proof of Ury’s guilt, the New York court convicted and hanged him and over thirty slaves for their attempted coup against the Protestant state.⁴⁸

Marylanders who remembered the New York trial in 1746 would likely associate Jesuit administration of sacraments to slaves with Ury’s more sinister meetings with freedmen. Because Catholics in Maryland were forbidden from public worship, priests could not serve congregants openly, freed or slaves. Privately gathering large groups of slaves, whatever the purpose, was dangerous enough. Doing so for religious services outlawed by most British colonies (and encouraged by French Canada), posed an actual threat to the state. The Jesuit missions in Maryland outwardly acted as agricultural plantations, though the priests never turned a large profit and still depended on local Catholic gentry for economic support.⁴⁹ Farming tobacco required large numbers of workers and intensive labor, and the Jesuits, like their lay neighbors, switched from indentured servants to slave labor by the eighteenth-century. Unlike Protestants, Jesuits baptized slaves, encouraged marriages, and instructed them in the Christian faith. According to Curran, Durkin and Fogarty, the Jesuits were notorious in their gentle treatment of slaves: “‘Priest’s Slave’ came to mean one who was granted a large measure of freedom of movement, did not work too hard, and was well cared for.”⁵⁰ Following their train of thought, idle workers under the tutelage of Jesuits, given validation through instruction in Christianity, could become a force loyal only to the men and the religion that fostered more humane treatment than other Maryland masters.

⁴⁸ Lepore, *New York Burning* 192.

⁴⁹ Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century*, 59.

⁵⁰ R. Emmett Curran, Joseph T. Durkin, and Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Maryland Jesuits 1634-1833* (Baltimore, MD: Corporation of the Roman Catholic Clergymen, Province Society of Jesus, 1976), 19.

Protestant fears of Catholicism increased in the 1730s because the conversion of slaves coincided with a rise in the number of indentured servants migrating to Maryland from Ireland and Scotland. As compensation for losing their own Parliament and subordinating to London rule in the 1707 Act of Union, Scots benefited from unrestricted trade within the British Empire. A Glasgow-Chesapeake tobacco trade network initiated the migration of Scots to Maryland. After the failed 1715 Rebellion, Scottish prisoners landed in the Chesapeake as indentured servants.⁵¹ Between 1718 and 1776, the English government shipped 50,000 convicts to the Americas, almost a quarter of total English emigration.⁵² In 1740, the Maryland General Assembly passed bills “to prevent the importing [of] too great a number of Irish Papists into this Province.”⁵³ The same bill was brought before the Assembly seven years later, on June 26, 1747, though this time it was coupled with other bills prohibiting the movement and irregular meetings of Negroes.⁵⁴ The sequencing of bills implies that Marylanders associated slaves and servants as common dangers to the state. Since the Jesuits administered to both parts of Maryland’s underclass, critics worried that they might coordinate subversive activities across the colony.

The criminal background of indentured servants worried Protestant colonists as much as their religious beliefs; the combination of the two bred extreme distrust during the Jacobite Rebellion. Three indentured servants, all Catholics, murdered their master, Richard Waters, in Kent County, April 1746. Hector Grant, a Highlander, killed Waters with “a Blow on the Head with an Axe” when the master was knocked out in a drunken stupor, then led the servants in hiding the body and

⁵¹ David Dobson, *Scots on the Chesapeake 1607-1830* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1992), vi.

⁵² Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 33-34.

⁵³ “Lower House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 1740-1744*, vol. 42, 7-29 July 1740, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 98.

⁵⁴ “Upper House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 26 June 1747, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 476.

stealing Waters’ possessions.⁵⁵ On May 16, 1746, the two male servants, Hector Grant and James Herney were hanged, and the woman, Esther Anderson, burned at the stake, all, according to the justice, “penitent, acknowledging their crimes.”⁵⁶ Taking place in April, only weeks after the Molyneux trial, the murder heightened anti-Catholicism in the press. Jonas Green, publisher of *The Maryland Gazette*, repeatedly mentioned that all three conspirators were papists, and specifically described Grant receiving communion the Sunday before the murder.⁵⁷ Only a local Jesuit priest could have performed the Mass, implying a connection between the Jesuits missions, already suspect for converting slaves, and the criminal behavior of lower class servants.

The Waters case sparked outrage in the press and intensified tensions between the Protestant and Catholic communities. In an entire year of weekly issues, from October 1745 to September 1746, *The Maryland Gazette* ignored all other colonial criminal cases. The sensationalism of the Waters case certainly appealed to readers, but the publisher Jonas Green dramatized the case by repeatedly describing the murderers as papists, and Grant in particular as a Highlander. Only Grant wanted to burn down the house with Waters’ children inside, but was prevented by the return of the female servants.⁵⁸ Green’s depiction of Grant personified the stereotypical Jacobite—a greedy, thieving, murdering, immoral, bloodthirsty, barbaric Highlander—and carried the threat across the Atlantic, directly into the homes of Marylanders. The behavior of Catholics, even after Bladen’s warning in March, did not quell Protestant fears of sedition and insurrection. In July, Bladen escalated his warning, giving permission for county officials to issue warrants and take depositions from “Jesuits and other Popish Priests and their Emissaries” who “especially since the Unnatural Rebellion broke out in Scotland [had seduced and perverted] several of his Majestys Protestant

⁵⁵ “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 22 April 1746, 3-4.

⁵⁶ “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], 20 May 1746, 4.

⁵⁷ “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], 22 April 1746, 4.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Subjects from their Religion...although such Practices are high Treason.”⁵⁹ Catholics not only acted on criminal impulses, they now threatened to spread their immoral religion to Protestants.

The rise in a Catholic underclass of slaves and indentured servants correlated with a larger migration of Catholics to the mid-Atlantic colonies. Protestant fear of Catholic influence arose from the expansion of Jesuit missions to serve Catholic immigrants from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany. Though the penal laws instituted in 1718 curtailed Catholic liberties in Maryland, the Jesuit missions continued to flourish in the colony. From 1732 to 1741, three new missions were established in Pennsylvania to join the four plantations already serving the Maryland Catholic community. The Pennsylvania missions in Goshenhoppen and Conewego ministered to new German Catholic immigrants under the guidance of Father Theodore Schneider of the University of Heidelberg and Father William Wappeler.⁶⁰ Pennsylvania priests had an easier time than their circuit-rider companions in Maryland who rode among gentry homes to serve sacraments, unable to settle in public churches. Breaking from every other British colony, the Quaker oriented Pennsylvania government allowed religious toleration to the extent that Catholics could worship in public and build churches, even though they remained disenfranchised.⁶¹

Maryland still had a much larger Catholic population than Pennsylvania, but the numbers never reached more than twenty percent of the colony’s population.⁶² The 1718 statutes forbade Catholics in Maryland from providing their children with a formal religious education, but in 1745, Father Thomas Foulton and his compatriots at the Bohemia Manor Jesuit plantation in Cecil County (northern Maryland near the Eastern Shore) opened a school for sons of gentry.⁶³ Faced with

⁵⁹ “Liber C.B.” *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, vol. 28, 13 July 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 363.

⁶⁰ Curran, Durkin, and Fogarty, *The Maryland Jesuits 1634-1833*, 20-25.

⁶¹ Linck, *Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced*, 54.

⁶² Ray, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism*, 59.

⁶³ Curran, Durkin and Fogarty, *The Maryland Jesuits 1634-1833*, 23. One of the school’s early pupils was John Carroll, first bishop in the United States and British North America.

opposition from Protestant neighbors, the school closed only four years later. One of those neighbors, Reverend Hugh Jones of St. Stephen’s Parish, voiced his opposition to Catholicism in a pamphlet, *A Protest Against Popery*, “SHEWING I. The Purity of the CHURCH of ENGLAND. II. The Errors of the CHURCH of ROME. And Proofs and Arguments of the Roman Catholick.”⁶⁴ Provoked by the pamphlet, Jesuit priests of Maryland and Pennsylvania corresponded among their community and passed around an article defending the Catholic faith. No printer would publish such a tract, but *The Pennsylvania Gazette* did print Jones’ advertisement in response to the Jesuit letter. He had heard of the essay and asked for someone to send him a copy so that he could respond in detail to the fallacies of the Catholic religion. His request also mentioned St. Omer’s, the Catholic college in France where many young Marylanders undertook their education. St. Omer’s, in Jones’ opinion, encouraged a perverted papist misunderstanding of Christianity by teaching “sophistical fallacies” and “sarcastical falsehoods.”⁶⁵ Now, in 1745, Jesuits transferred the same education to British American soil. As the nearest Protestant minister to Bohemia Manor, Jones likely believed it his duty to confront the Jesuits and stir up enough anger to close the school. Since the opening of the school coincided with the Jacobite Rebellion, he had a very strong position and popular support to lead an attack on the illegal activities of local Jesuits.

Despite these court cases and individual instances of anti-Catholicism, Marylanders never turned against Catholics as a whole in riots or mass arrests. Two studies of Maryland Catholics have addressed their experiences during the Jacobite Rebellion. The first, Beatriz Betancourt Hardy’s dissertation, *Papists in a Protestant Age* (1993), explores the causes of periodic religious persecution

⁶⁴ “Lately Published, A Protest Against Popery,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 3 April 1746, 2. There is no copy of either the Jesuit letter or Jones’ pamphlet. The only record is from advertisements in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* and *The Maryland Gazette*. The incident is also mentioned as an example of a Catholic response to the Rebellion in Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 247.

⁶⁵ “To the Jesuits established in Maryland and Pennsylvania,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 13 November 1746, 3.

in Maryland. Hardy concludes that Catholics experienced the greatest dangers when two conditions were met: as an international Catholic threat (usually French) antagonized the Protestant population, a leader needed to be willing to rouse Protestants and initiate discriminatory policies. These two requirements coincided during three distinct phases: 1689-1708, 1715-1720, and the 1750s. The first, a response to the Glorious Revolution, resulted in laws preventing Catholics from holding public office or celebrating their religion in public. In the second phase, Protestants, fearing Catholic participation in the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, for the first time declared the penal laws of England in effect in Maryland. Though courts never fully enforced these laws, which included double-taxation, disenfranchisement, and stringent restrictions on entailing property, they would be used as a threat against Catholic insurrection over the next fifty years. The final stage of Catholic persecution occurred in the 1750s as the French and Indian War exposed Protestant alarm that Maryland Catholics were conspiring with the Catholic government in New France.⁶⁶ Taken together, Hardy’s arguments suggest that the Catholic community held little power in determining their treatment. Decisions to act lay in the power of Protestants, by far the majority of the population. As harsher laws restricted Catholics from political participation, they would have to compensate with economic and social influence.

Because no anti-Catholic political leader emerged in the 1740s, Hardy claims that Catholics were relatively unharmed during King George’s War and the Jacobite Rebellion. She researches the political response of the government, specifically the Molyneux, Livers, and Hearn court cases. In her view, under the tempering guidance of Bladen, the government issued warnings against Catholics, but did not condone mass arrests. She claims that Irish Catholics were more confrontational than older Maryland English Catholics during Assembly debates on King George’s

⁶⁶ Hardy, “Papists in a Protestant Age,” 5-6.

War, influencing the Protestant government's restrictions on Irish immigration.⁶⁷ But for the most part, Maryland Catholics refrained from excessively supporting the Pretender and so avoided recriminations. The generation of Catholics in the mid-eighteenth-century, brought up in a position of powerlessness and disenfranchisement, did not take the risk of antagonizing the state in 1745.⁶⁸ Interestingly, their powerlessness facilitated expansion of the Catholic community. Protestants did not fear Catholic interference in state affairs, and the government generally left Catholics alone. The number of private chapels in Maryland increased in the 1730s, as did intermarriage between Protestants and Catholics.⁶⁹ The audacity of establishing the Bohemia Manor school, not mentioned in *Papists in a Protestant Age*, further supports Hardy's assertion that revocation of Catholic political rights eventually removed the threat of the community and allowed it to flourish undercover. Hardy's generational approach analyzing how the experiences of Catholics at different points in time shaped their reactions to imperial wars and discrimination is one of the strongest points in the dissertation.⁷⁰ Yet her focus on the political consequences for Catholics obscures the crucial changes in interactions between Protestants and Catholics in daily life. Hardy bypasses analysis of sermons and printed information, key sources demonstrating the active anti-Catholicism present in the Chesapeake during the Jacobite Rebellion.

A dissertation by Mathias D. Bergmann, *Being the Other: Catholicism, Anglicanism, and constructs of Britishness in Colonial Maryland, 1689-1763* (2004), directly responds to Hardy's research by addressing Maryland's print reaction to the Jacobite Rebellion. Eighteenth-century Catholics, argues Bergmann, established a common British identity with Protestants by upholding

⁶⁷ Hardy, "Papists in a Protestant Age," 242-244.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 251.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 185, 191.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 30-31, 182.

similar values of liberty and property.⁷¹ As members of the gentry, Catholics participated in the rising consumerism of the 1730s and purchased imported luxury goods, thereby mimicking and sharing in British culture.⁷² In Bergman's opinion, the absence of violent Protestant reaction to the 'Forty-five affirmed the growing success of Catholic acceptance as Britons. Within the context of this growing toleration, Bergmann analyzes *The Maryland Gazette's* anti-Catholic rhetoric during King George's War and the Jacobite Rebellion, presenting the paper as an important source in explaining how the press reiterated a Protestant British identity. At the same time, he argues that Catholics emerged from the 1740s "in a favorable light," partly because of *The Maryland Gazette's* tolerant treatment of Catholicism.⁷³ In the five pages that he devotes to the *Gazette*, he provides only one example of a positive portrayal of Catholics: except for the discovery of an article praising a deceased Catholic gentleman, Bergmann's examples from *The Maryland Gazette*, especially those closer to the time of the Rebellion, only illustrate ardent anti-Catholicism.⁷⁴

The disparity between the assertion of accepted Catholic Britishness and the popular rejection of Papists in print requires a reexamination of colonial newspapers' view of imperial affairs. Colonists concerned with the security of the empire received information on the Rebellion largely through local newspapers. Publishers maintained connections with printers and friends in London, Edinburgh, and Paris who would send current papers and pamphlets on ships to the colonies.⁷⁵ They then literally copied segments from other papers, giving them credit for the information, but producing colonial papers that focused much more on foreign news than local events. Weather, closed roads, and ship delays prevented American printers from issuing the most

⁷¹ Mathias D. Bergmann, "Being the Other: Catholicism, Anglicanism, and constructs of Britishness in Colonial Maryland, 1689-1763" [PhD diss., Washington State University, 2004] v.

⁷² Bergmann, "Being the Other," 29.

⁷³ Ibid., 161-163.

⁷⁴ Bergmann, "Being the Other," 164-169. In 1749, three years after the colonists heard of the Pretender's defeat, the *Gazette* published two articles praising the recently deceased Catholic gentleman, Richard Bennett

⁷⁵ Michael Kraus, "Literary Relations between Europe and America in the Eighteenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 1, no. 3 (July 1944): 228.

up-to-date news. The more metropolitan cities with connections to other colonial towns and shipping from Europe produced the most current papers. Benjamin Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*, based in Philadelphia, printed news of the Young Pretender’s invasion of Scotland a full eight days before the Annapolis based *Maryland Gazette*.⁷⁶ Jonas Green, the Annapolis publisher, complained that other colonial printers took too long sending him editions of their own and European papers.⁷⁷ By 1740, news from England could reach Newfoundland in five weeks at best, but it took another week for news to travel from New England to Annapolis, this without any stops in the Middle Colonies.⁷⁸ In Pennsylvania, the literacy rate in 1745 was as high as 72%, and in Maryland the rate reached 80% in 1768. The American colonists as a whole in the eighteenth-century retained higher rates of literacy than Europeans, though literacy rates varied across regions.⁷⁹

Newspapers were the primary means for colonists isolated in distant provinces to feel attached to the empire, especially London, the epitome of cosmopolitan trends, fashion, and noteworthy news. The further away from London a Briton lived, the more uncertain he or she felt about his or her identification as a civilized person.⁸⁰ In both Scotland and the Americas, British subjects attempted to carve out imitations of English culture and values to differentiate themselves from barbaric Highlanders or savage American Indians. Part of this process included remaining knowledgeable on events in the mother country, so that colonists were not separated completely from British life. Unfortunately, while newspapers nurtured ties with the mother country, they also

⁷⁶ “Whitehall, Aug. 17,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 24 October 1745, 2; “London,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 1 November 1745, 2.

⁷⁷ Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland: 1688-1776* (Baltimore: Typothetae of Baltimore, 1922): 83.

⁷⁸ David A. Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1997): 26-27.

⁷⁹ F.W. Grubb, “Growth of Literacy in Colonial America: Longitudinal Patterns, Economic Models, and the Direction of Further Research,” *Social Science History* 14, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 453-454, 458. Scotland was the only country to hold higher rates of literacy than America at the end of the eighteenth-century. 1768 was the closest date provided for Maryland’s literacy rate

⁸⁰ Clive and Bailyn, “England’s Cultural Provinces,” 209-210.

increased provincial insecurity. Though colonists clamored for news from England, however outdated and trivial, England in turn cared less for provincial news.⁸¹ Some publishers, like Green, went so far as to print brief mentions that London papers made of colonial news, reassuring colonists that they were remembered by those in England.⁸² European papers followed war news from the colonies, at times even using Americans as examples for loyalty to the crown, but once again, London largely ignored Americans’ local political or cultural events.⁸³ Americans reinforced this negligence of local news by printing poems, news articles, speeches, and even advertisements from European papers.⁸⁴ Coverage of the ‘Forty-Five followed the pattern of emphasizing foreign events over local news, but in the case of the Jacobites, colonial publishers’ choice of articles and printed propaganda reflected a deliberate agenda to make colonists aware of their role within the empire.

Colonial attachment to the empire materialized in a British form of government, Protestant religion, and shared print culture. I have analyzed these three facets of British identity during the Jacobite Rebellion and recognized a common reaction to the Rebellion. Themes expressing the present generation’s sinfulness, God’s Divine Providence, and the destruction of the British state through usurpation by France threaded through anti-Jacobite and anti-Catholic discourses from all colonies and all types of printed sources. Overwhelming virulence in word would seem to correspond with aggressive action against Catholics, but local circumstances and relationships

⁸¹ Clive and Bailyn, “England’s Cultural Provinces,” 209-210.

⁸² “London,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 17 December 1745, 3. Green included a note that London celebrated the fall of Fort Louisburg with fireworks and assemblies so great that “nothing of the Kind in England was ever equal to it.”

⁸³ “From the *Gentlemen’s Magazine*,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 17 December 1745, 1. On August 3, 1745, two days after Charles Edward’s invasion and prior to London’s hearing of the event, an article from the *Gentlemen’s Magazine*, praised New England’s victory over the French at Louisburg and complained that those from “Old” England would soon move to the new land if “the Neglect of public Justice prevails.”

⁸⁴ “Portsmouth and Gilport Gazette,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 15 February 1746, 2. Though it is unclear if he had any copies of the pamphlets to sell in Annapolis, Green included advertisements for two pamphlets printed by *The Portsmouth and Gilport Gazette*, entitled: “*King GEORGE. LIBERTY and PROPERTY, with free exercise of our RELIGION under a PROTESTANT KING and PARLIAMENT*” and “*The PRETENDER; SLAVERY, WOODEN SHOES, and BEGGARY; a POPISH ARBITRARY POWER sent from Rome, France and Spain; with Persecution, Idolatry, Massacres, and a bloody INQUISITION.*”

between the two religions determined the extent of active anti-Catholicism during the Jacobite Rebellion. In contrast to other colonies, Protestants in Pennsylvania and Maryland continued to respond only to individual instances of sedition, never rising against Catholics as a whole.⁸⁵

American colonial identity had developed based on their interactions with the “Other”; Protestant Britons who dealt frequently with Catholics in their own provinces were less willing to assault a substantial group within the community. Printed anti-Catholicism became a release valve for animosity against Jacobites, allowing colonists to connect to their British identity without having to disrupt the stability of the local community. It also directed anger against foreign Catholics, French in particular, indicating a different source of danger driving anti-Jacobitism. Printed newspapers, sermons, and proclamations against Catholic Jacobitism reflected the views of authors most connected to the empire and dependent on the survival of the British state under the Hanoverians.

Sources of Anti-Jacobitism in the Colonies

Most anti-Jacobite news and propaganda originated from men of authority with the greatest ties the empire: newspaper printers, Protestant ministers and royal governors. Publishers obviously controlled the information in colonial newspapers, but they also chose to include government proclamations and sermons in printed pamphlets, if not actual newspapers. Because there were few incidents of local Jacobitism, the propaganda focused on the British Empire as a whole, emphasizing the interdependence of colonies and mother country. Writers especially connected Jacobitism to the despotic rule of seventeenth-century Stuarts and contemporary Bourbon monarchs in France. The Stuarts passed their exile in Rome and Paris, and Protestant Britons feared the influence of the Pope and French king once the Pretender regained the throne. Not only would the Stuarts force

⁸⁵ “Boston, November 11,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis], 31 December 1745, 3. On November 4, 1745, the annual celebration of Pope’s Day, or the discovery and prevention of the Catholic Gunpowder Plot against Parliament in 1605, Bostonians rioted during the usual parade of Catholic effigies.

Catholicism on the nation, they would limit British liberties by reducing the power of Parliament, violating property rights, and institute trade agreements favoring France. In the colonies, many authors also connected the outcome of King George’s War against New France with the success of the Jacobite Rebellion. If the Jacobites won, the new Stuart king might favor his friends in France by granting them territory in British America. To colonists aware of the international situation, Jacobites represented a threat to British religion, political liberties, and economic strength in empire.

When war erupted in the mother country, colonial attention on European affairs intensified, and publishers gladly met the demand for foreign news. After first learning of the Jacobite Rebellion in October and early November 1745, colonists grasped for any information on the security of the British throne. In the most extreme cases, a colonial newspaper could be reporting news gathered from another colonial paper, which had copied it from a London paper, which had received the information from a Newcastle or Edinburgh paper, which based it on word-of-mouth information or a letter from someone closer to the military action. For example, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on October 31, 1745, that rumors in Edinburgh, written to a person in Newcastle, England, and reported in a Newcastle paper on August 22, indicated that over 3,000 Highlanders had joined the Pretender’s Son. On the very same page of the *Gazette*, a Glasgow report from August 19 opened by stating, “Accounts of the Invasion vary so much, that we are at a Loss what to give our Readers as Truth.”⁸⁶ Conflicting reports left colonists confused, worried, and once again reminded of their separation from the mother country and powerlessness to aid their King in his distress.⁸⁷

To assuage this tension, papers began to include any and all information on the Rebellion. By spring 1746, when colonists read of the Jacobite advance into England, news of the Rebellion

⁸⁶ “Newcastle, August 28,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 31 October 1745, 1; “Glasgow, August 19,” *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 31 October 1745, 1.

⁸⁷ Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 87.

could take up almost half of the weekly papers in Pennsylvania and Maryland.⁸⁸ Over the ten months that the colonists knew of the ongoing Rebellion, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* printed five supplements or specially early issues purely to address updated information from Scotland and England.⁸⁹ As the Duke of Cumberland pushed the Highlanders back into Scotland, and war against the French and Indians loomed in New England, the number of Jacobite articles decreased [See APPENDIX I]. July 1746 marked the highest point of Jacobite news in *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, two supplements and four weeks of normal papers amounted to ninety-three articles on the defeat of the Pretender's Son at Culloden. For the next two months, colonists read how Cumberland rounded up Rebels, burning towns and imprisoning Stuart supporters.⁹⁰ News of the Jacobites rose again in October as many of the Highland chiefs were put on trial in London. The sheer quantity of information that American printers placed in their papers indicated a colonial demand for information on the Rebellion. Interest rose at times of great fear and great success; the highest months of articles occurred when it seemed the Rebels were closing on London, and when they were totally defeated at the bloody Battle of Culloden.

Progress in the war affected more than quantity of articles; wording and attitudes in propaganda changed with information received from Europe. Publishers, who knew the most about the changing circumstances in Britain, the Continental war in Germany, and the New England conflict with New France, chose articles very specific to their understanding of the imperial situation. After focusing on military updates on the Pretender's movements through December 1745, in January 1746, the two papers shifted to more directly connect the Rebellion to foreign papist intrigues. A letter from the Bishop of London instructed his clergy to consider the religious

⁸⁸ Examples include *The Pennsylvania Gazette* issues from 11 November 1745, 7 January 1746, 11 February 1746, 15 March 1746, 17 April 1746, 10 July 1746.

⁸⁹ The supplemental or specially early issues were on 10 December 1745, 7 January 1746, 15 March 1746, 5 July 1746, and 10 July 1746.

⁹⁰ See the issues from 11 September 1746, 18 September 1746, and 25 September 1746.

consequences of a Stuart victory, to “pray heartily for [the King’s] protection” and “raise in your People a just Abhorrence of Popery.”⁹¹ During the same month, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* reported separate speeches by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and the Bishop of Hereford.⁹² The latter entitled a letter to the clergy of his diocese, “From Popish Tyranny in Church, and French Tyranny in State, God Deliver Us.” The letterhead alone articulated Protestant leaders’ fears for the future if a Catholic monarch returned to Britain—the Pope and France would rule over England. The Archbishop of York ordered more than simple prayer to save Britain; on taking up arms himself, he called on all other clergy and bishops to voluntarily contribute ten percent of the church’s income to the King.⁹³ The influx of pleas from religious leaders coincided with Charles Edward’s early victories in Scotland and movement toward Northern England. In January, colonists learned that the situation was so bleak that the King not only recalled troops from the Continent, but had also requested six-month enlistments from all able-bodied men for the duration of the Rebellion.⁹⁴

In contrast to a November article claiming Europe would be at peace by Christmas, propaganda emerging in early 1746 reflected uncertainty of British victory.⁹⁵ An excerpt from *The Newcastle Courant* warned readers not to dismiss the Jacobites as an incompetent force; though undisciplined, they had able officers.⁹⁶ The latest news in February advised colonists that the English soldiers at Edinburgh Garrison were barely holding out against a Rebel siege and that the foreign Catholic powers were preparing to send soldiers and money to the Young Pretender.⁹⁷ In North America, the situation following the capture of Cape Breton in June 1745 was not improving.

⁹¹ “London, September 14,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 21 January 1746, 1.

⁹² “London, September 14,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 14 January 1746, 2. All three bishops’ letters were included in the London section of the paper on 14 January 1746.

⁹³ “On His Grace the Archbishop of York putting on a LAY MILITARY HABIT,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 7 January 1746, 7.

⁹⁴ “By the KING, A PROCLAMATION,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 21 January 1746, 2.

⁹⁵ “London, September 3,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 21 November 1745, 2.

⁹⁶ “From the Newcastle Courant, October 5,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 11 February 1746, 2.

⁹⁷ “Paris, November 7,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 4 February 1746, 2; “Extract of a Letter from Carlisle, dated October 28,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 4 February 1746, 2

The French and Indians in western New York were beginning to attack the colonists and skirmishes were reported between English settlers and Indians. As these events peaked in February, an editorial in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* offered a very different tone from the usual derogatory propaganda that vilified Catholics, Highlanders, and the French. “An Answer to the Pretender’s Declaration” took a more rational approach to explain why the success of the Pretender would not be good for any Englishman—Protestant or Catholic.⁹⁸ Before, the Scottish Rebellion seemed a minor inconvenience during the larger War of Austrian Succession, but with Charles Edward’s capture of Edinburgh and move toward northern England, there was a very real fear that the Young Pretender might succeed where his father had failed in 1715.

The author of the editorial, perhaps Benjamin Franklin himself, took an unusual stance by projecting the consequences of a Jacobite victory even if “[the Pretender] would conduct himself according to the Principles of Honour and Honesty.”⁹⁹ Other newspaper articles assumed he would be a tyrannical ruler who persecuted Protestants.¹⁰⁰ The editorial first mentioned that the Pretender claimed the throne as hereditary property in contrast to the Hanoverians, who, though following the rules of primogeniture once on the throne, kept it only through Parliamentary favor. As a king, the Pretender would permit a dangerous alliance that Britain had been resisting for almost seven hundred years: subjection to the King of France and foreign rulers. In repayment for assistance in attaining his throne, James Edward would be forced to follow the dictates of France, becoming “little or no better than a Vice Roy or a Lord Lieutenant under the Grand Monarch.”¹⁰¹ Gibraltar and Minorca would be returned to Spain, Cape Breton and even the other British American colonies to France.

⁹⁸ “An Answer to the Pretender’s Declaration,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 11 February 1746, 1-2.

⁹⁹ “An Answer,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1. This may have been written by Benjamin Franklin himself as it appeared on the first page of the paper without a signature, pseudonym, or heading giving source and author.

¹⁰⁰ For examples of typical depictions of a tyrannical Pretender see “London, November 5,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 25 February 1746, 2; “A Letter from the Magistrate of Dumfries, to his friend at Taunton, relating to the present Rebellion in Scotland,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 24 April 1746, 1; “A Grand CONSULTATION,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 1 July 1746, 2-3;.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

The last prediction would most certainly alert Pennsylvanian readers, weekly hearing of French and Indian attacks on the frontier. Political subjugation would be accompanied by economic ruin; France would demand lower import tariffs, decreasing consumption of domestic or colonial British manufactured goods. Just as the Catholic minority posed a constant threat under Hanoverian rulers, the much larger number of Protestants would be so violently discontent with Stuart kingship that all subjects, regardless of religion, would need to pay higher taxes to maintain a standing army.

Such concrete examples outlining the unintentional ruin of the Britain Empire under Stuart kings was a change from the typical propaganda that assumed the Pretender wanted to destroy the Protestant nation. “An Answer’s” treatment of Catholicism as a religion reflected the tolerant behavior of Pennsylvanians toward Catholics during the Rebellion. The author never mentioned the Pretender’s aim to forcibly convert all Protestants or reconvene the Inquisition, a typical argument of anti-Jacobites.¹⁰² He took a purely secular approach by emphasizing the political and economic consequences of a Stuart monarchy. When he did mention Catholics, he appealed to their loyalty to the crown, reminding them that Catholics “now do, and always have enjoyed [under the Hanoverians] free and undisturbed Exercise of their Religion, as if they had obtained legal Toleration.”¹⁰³ Though not entirely true, since Catholics were entirely disenfranchised and could only worship publicly in Pennsylvania, the article was unusual in its rational approach compared to the much more plentiful anti-Catholic propaganda. It exemplifies a changed colonial identity able to separate the enemy in the Highlands from local Catholic neighbors. Benjamin Franklin himself, who either authored or chose to print this article, supported the imperial war by organizing an Association

¹⁰² “A Grand CONSULTATION,” *The Maryland Gazette*, 2.

¹⁰³ “An Answer,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2.

to activate Pennsylvania militia for service in New York.¹⁰⁴ By appealing to Catholics in Pennsylvania for loyalty to the crown, he recognized that all Catholics were not inherently Jacobites, at least not all colonial Catholics.

Two weeks later Franklin returned to the more conventional propaganda, publishing a London paper’s report of the “Deptford Procession,” a mocking imitation of Catholics performed for King George’s birthday in November.¹⁰⁵ Effigies portrayed a Highlander, a Jesuit, two Capuchin friars, the Pretender, and the Pope, each in some manner stereotyping the poverty, popery, and Francophilia of Jacobites. The Capuchins, complete with flogging rods and rosaries, carried a sign titled “Indulgences Cheap as Dirt,” listing various sins and required sum for forgiveness. Murder cost 9 pence, reading the Bible a thousand pounds, and engaging in Rebellion cost nothing at all but gained sinners a reward in Heaven.¹⁰⁶ Bergmann uses this article as an example of anti-Jacobitism in print, calling it “a mockery and rejection of Catholicism and Jacobitism, each depicted as being equally ridiculous.”¹⁰⁷

On the same day, *The Maryland Gazette* printed a “Genuine Intercepted Letter” from the Young Pretender’s Confessor to another bishop.¹⁰⁸ Father Patrick Graham, purportedly traveling with Charles Edward, reported that the Young Pretender was determined to restore Catholicism to Great Britain, especially by returning Abbey lands claimed by Henry VIII in the sixteenth century to rightful Catholic religious orders. A mention of St. Omer’s as a center of the Pretender’s power indicates more influence from a Maryland author than the actual confessor. St. Omer’s educated

¹⁰⁴ Jeffery M. Dorwart, *Invasion and Insurrection: Security, Defense, and War in the Delaware Valley 1621-1815* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 71. See page 45 of this thesis for further discussion of Franklin’s Association.

¹⁰⁵ “London, November 5,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 25 February 1746, 2.

¹⁰⁶ “London, November 5,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2.

¹⁰⁷ Bergmann, “Being the Other,” 165-166. Mathias Bergmann mentions this article in reference to *The Maryland Gazette* issue of 31 December 1745, though the article does not appear in that issue.

¹⁰⁸ “A Genuine intercepted LETTER, from Father Patraick Graham, Almoner and Confessor to the Pretender’s Son, in Scotland, to Father Benedict Yorke, Titular Bishop of St. David’s, at Bath,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 25 February 1746, 1-2.

many sons of the Maryland Catholic gentry, and most Jesuit priests in Maryland proceeded from this monastery. Jonas Green likely published this article to remind his readers of the danger of Catholics within the colony and their gain in power over Protestants if the Stuarts gained the throne. Later in the year, Hugh Jones would print “A Protest Against Popery,” which also connected St. Omer’s to the expanding Catholic community in America.¹⁰⁹ Parodies such as the procession and confessor letter were much more common types of articles than the rational essay, “An Answer.” Despite their differences in form, they all served the same purpose in imparting upon readers the potential evils under Stuart rule and need to actively support the king in America.

As publishers fostered anti-Jacobite propaganda in their newspapers, governors used the building animosity against Jacobites as a rally cry to war against France in New England and New York. The most visible emblems of the crown in British America, colonial governors had the most to lose if the Jacobites succeeded in Britain. Monarchs directly appointed governors, and a coup by the Stuarts would likely mean the replacement all officials loyal to the Hanoverians with Stuart supporters. Stuart favor of France also threatened the safety of governors and their subjects in the colonies. If France won King George’s War in the Americas, territorial gains in British colonies would displace royal governors. Even if the Hanoverians still controlled Britain, disgraced governors would bear the responsibility for losing colonies to France. Colonial governors immediately set themselves on the side of King George, tactfully suppressing potential treason without encouraging Catholic retaliation, and organizing the colonies for war in Canada.

As a first step in addressing the Rebellion, governors issued proclamations in support of the king and encouraged colonists to openly pray for, make statements supporting, and celebrate the Hanoverian state. The most direct way to remind colonists of their ties to the mother country was to

¹⁰⁹ “To the Jesuits established in Maryland and Pennsylvania,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 13 November 1746, 3. See page 33 of this thesis for further discussion of Hugh Jones’ pamphlet.

specifically set aside to pray for the king’s safety. In one of his addresses to the General Assembly, Governor George Thomas of Pennsylvania recognized that colonists could do little to fight the Rebels themselves, stating, “At this distance we can only pray that the Great God of Battles will grant success to His Majesty’s Arms.”¹¹⁰ The governors of New York and Virginia declared February 26, 1746, a “Day of Fasting and Humiliation,” after hearing that Charles Edward and the Rebels had moved south into England.¹¹¹

Beginning in April and into July, as news poured into the colonies extolling the virtues of the Duke of Cumberland’s victories over the Rebels, colonial governors encouraged celebrations and Days of Thanksgiving to honor the royal family (Cumberland was the second son of George II). Marylanders celebrated the “Exit of the Rebellion,” in fact just the retreat of the Rebels into Scotland, on St. George’s Day in April, a traditional royal celebration, by firing guns, illuminating the town with torches and fireworks, dancing at a ball, and drinking punch given to the populace by a happy government.¹¹² On his report to the Maryland General Assembly verifying the defeat of the Pretender at Culloden, Governor Bladen asked the government “to make [transports of joy] as publick and in as handsome Manner as the Circumstances of our province will permit suitable to the Occasion.”¹¹³ Pennsylvania’s government, remembering that the cause of the Rebellion was God’s punishment on a sinful people, encouraged church attendance on a religious Day of Thanksgiving, asking Pennsylvanians to observe the day “with a Solemnity becoming our Christian Profession, and not as has been too often the Practice, with Drunkenness, and other Kinds of Licentiousness, to the Dishonour of God.” Governor Thomas ordered all magistrates to “be especially careful to prevent

¹¹⁰ “Philadelphia A Message from the Governor to the Assembly,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 28 January 1746, 1.

¹¹¹ “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 25 February 1746, 4.

¹¹² “Annapolis,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 29 April 1746, 3; Bergman, “Being the Other,” 167-168.

¹¹³ “Lower House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 7 July 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 384.

all Immoralities or riotous Disorders whatsoever.”¹¹⁴ His directions for a solemn thanksgiving negatively commented on the excessive secular celebrations of neighboring colonies.

On hearing of the threat to their king, ministers of all denominations put aside divisiveness from the Great Awakening and rallied against the Pretender. Though many settlers immigrated to the American colonies in the seventeenth century to escape religious strife, the eighteenth-century emphasis on opposition to Catholicism moved the diversity of religious denominations in America closer together in a pan-Protestant British identity. Religious changes in the colonies reflected those in Great Britain, further uniting Protestants of all faiths and regions. From the early 1730s to 1745, the religious upheaval known as the Great Awakening disrupted established Protestant churches throughout the American colonies. During this period, Presbyterian, Congregational, Dutch Reformed and Anglican churches internally split over controversies between traditional beliefs and “New Light” spirituality.¹¹⁵ Revivalist preachers inspired popular devotion by emphasizing individual salvation and a personal experience with God. The elect, from all levels of society, needed to be awakened to God’s word.¹¹⁶ For the past century of American settlement, the church structure represented stability and Anglo civilization. To many New Lights, the boundary of a formal parish was seen as dividing the faithful from the experience of God. They became Separatists, forming new churches that would reach to those outside of the community as well as serving those already dedicated to the revivalist religion.¹¹⁷ To gain followers beyond the established church membership, itinerant preachers traveled through the colonies, leading revivals in fields, homes and what parishes allowed them space in a chapel. Their fervent words elicited

¹¹⁴ “Philadelphia, July 17,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 17 July 1746, 1.

¹¹⁵ Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 131-133.

¹¹⁶ Chris Beneke, *Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2006): 61, 67.

¹¹⁷ Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994) 110-113.

“‘Enthusiastick’ outcries, fits, and ecstasies” that clashed with conventional views of ordered religion.¹¹⁸ Breaking from traditional religious structures, in the 1730s New Lights sought personal spirituality to obtain a fuller experience of God.

One of the unforeseen effects of the Great Awakening was the expansion of religious literature in print. Ministers recognized the universal nature of the awakening and used print to gain followers on both sides of the Atlantic. The colonial press recorded the great acclamation of revivalist George Whitefield in London; in 1739, it could describe his reception in the colonies as well. Reading the same printed sermons and pamphlets, and perhaps even hearing them delivered by itinerant preachers, reinforced the “imagined community” of colony and mother country. Transatlantic communication and travel allowed Britons to share in similar religious experiences that tied colonies closer to European culture.¹¹⁹ Until 1765, American printers published religious tracts (sermons, catechisms, pious narratives, and theological treatises) more than any other type of literature. George Whitefield purposefully printed cheap pamphlets so that the poor and those in the backcountry could receive God’s word.¹²⁰ A large part of increased religious publication arose from popular demand to read the theological debates contested by old and new churches.¹²¹ Newspapers, journals and pamphlets became the battleground for winning church members. Competitive messages among Protestant denominations abruptly halted when a larger threat loomed over the empire. Imperial wars against France and campaigns against Jacobites utilized the established religious print community to rouse clergy leadership against the Catholic threat, reuniting fragmented churches against a common enemy.

¹¹⁸ Hall, *Contested Boundaries*, 19.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 32-33. Benedict Anderson’s theory of an “imagined community” attributes nationalism to shared ideas and values spread through common language and print culture, not necessarily primordial geographical boundaries.

¹²⁰ Frank Lambert, “‘Peddler in Divinity’: George Whitefield and the Great Awakening, 1737-1745,” in *Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development*, 5th ed., edited by Stanley N. Katz, John M. Murrin, and Douglas Greenburg (NY: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2001): 646-648.

¹²¹ Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*, 4.

Revivalist preachers Thomas Prince of Boston and George Whitefield in Pennsylvania, Presbyterian Ebenezer Pemberton of New York, and Anglican John Gordon of Annapolis, delivered Thanksgiving sermons on the defeat of the Highlanders at Culloden.¹²² These preachers, one the foremost Great Awakening “New Light” and another a member of the most conservative branch of Protestantism, used almost identical arguments to rouse colonists against the Catholic threat. Social gatherings in dispersed Chesapeake communities revolved around church activities, sermons highlighting the event.¹²³ These sermons, as well as being preached in public, were printed and distributed throughout the colonies. In England, religious leaders played an integral role in funding and organizing the war against the Pretender. In the colonies, ministers used the pulpit to educate their congregations on the devastating consequences of Catholic governance.

Protestant ministers in America emphasized God’s rightful testing of a sinful generation and his Divine Providence in preserving the liberties of Britain for the good of mankind. Ministers warned their congregations that the depravities of the present generation forced God to inflict punishment. The Pretender, representative of Divine wrath, would not have invaded if British Protestants had followed God’s rules. The opening scripture of Prince’s sermon established an accusatory tone: “And after all that is come upon us for our evil Deeds...seeing that Thou our GOD hast punished us less than our Iniquities deserve, and hast given us such Deliverance as This.”¹²⁴ It is not surprising that this argument about a sinful, inattentive church emerged precisely when revivalist preachers called Protestants to reform their relationships with God. Gordon and

¹²² Thomas Prince, *Mr Prince’s Thanksgiving Sermon on the Glorious Victory near Culloden* (Boston, MA: D. Henchman in Cornhil, and S. Kneeland and T. Green in Queen-Street., 1746); George Whitefield, *Britain’s Mercies, and Britain’s Duties* (Philadelphia: Printed and sold by W. Bradford, at the Bible in Second-Street, 1746); Ebenezer Pemberton, *A Sermon Delivered at the Presbyterian Church in New York, July 31, 1746* (NY: James Parker, at the New Printed Office in Beaver Street, 1746); John Gordon, *A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Defeat of the Rebels* (Annapolis, MD: Jonas Green, 1746).

¹²³ Wilson Somerville, *The Tuesday Club of Annapolis 1745-1756 as Cultural Performance* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 92-93.

¹²⁴ Prince, *Mr Prince’s Thanksgiving Sermon*, 5. The scripture was taken from Ezra 9:13-14.

Pemberton stipulated that the blessings of domestic peace encouraged the nation in sin. Blessed with a secure throne since the Glorious Revolution, Britons, apparently, had lost their fear of God's judgment. In 1745 they needed the experience of their seventeenth-century fathers, who had "liv'd under the *Dread of Popery and Arbitrary Power*," to make them earnest in preserving Protestant liberties.¹²⁵ Instead, colonists and Britons practiced the "grossest abominations" of profane language and material excess. In Gordon's opinion, return to the Commandments was the only guarantee to safety, but for the immediate threat some greater power would need to intervene and preserve Britain in its time of sinfulness.

Each minister cited the incredible early successes of the Scots under Bonny Prince Charlie to demonstrate that only God's Divine Providence, a doctrine common to all Protestants, saved Britain from total ruin under Stuart rule.¹²⁶ Linda Colley has shown that Protestant Britons understood the rise of imperial power and economic prosperity in the eighteenth-century as a divine mandate on the Glorious Revolution, and viewed themselves as uniquely blessed under Hanoverian rule.¹²⁷ Boston's Thomas Prince wrote, "The *British* Nations have enjoyed such Civil and Religious Liberty, Trade, Wealth and Prosperity, as they never knew before...and are, incomparably happier than any other People on...Earth."¹²⁸ The alternative was to suffer under an arbitrary Catholic rule that hoarded power for the nobility and the Church.¹²⁹ A Stuart king would deny Protestants positions in court, return property to Catholic owners (whether English monasteries now serving as homes for the nobility, or entire territories gained in the Americas), and seize, abuse, and massacre Protestant subjects to prevent a righteous rebellion.¹³⁰ If God had not stepped in, advised Whitefield, the

¹²⁵ Gordon, *A Thanksgiving Sermon*, 3.

¹²⁶ Prince, *Mr. Prince's Thanksgiving Sermon*, 20-24; Pemberton, *A Sermon Delivered at the Presbyterian Church*, 16.

¹²⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 32-33.

¹²⁸ Prince, *Mr. Prince's Thanksgiving Sermon*, 10.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-13.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14-18.

Pretender would have given the British throne to his son and accepted the papal crown, relegating the once mighty British Empire to “Vassalage to the See of *Rome*.”¹³¹ Both ministers expressed the eighteenth-century desire for the government to reflect the values of the people, and at this time Britons hailed Protestantism and constitutional rule. God granted victory to the British Protestants because their form of government protected the country from the evils of arbitrary rule.

Gordon’s sermon reveals more about his colony’s relationship with Catholics. Gordon presented his “Discourse in Vindication of the *Civil and Religious* Liberties of Mankind” to Governor Bladen on the Day of Thanksgiving celebrated in Maryland. The majority of Gordon’s sermon focused on the evil influence of Catholics priests, a reflection perhaps of his own experience with Maryland Jesuits. In his long diatribe against the Popish Pretender, Gordon ranted,

Behold *Him* surrounded with a Crowd of hungry and avaritious *Priests*, whose Appetites have been sharpned and heightned by a long *Abstinence*, ready to *devour*; ready to extirpate *Heresy* out of our Religion, that is, ourselves out of the World, by *Burnings* and *Massacres*; and ready to seize upon most of the *Lands and Riches* of the Nation, as the *Property of the Church*.—Behold *Him* attended with a number of *Foreigners*, claiming in Reward of their Services, the Estates...of our Countrymen.¹³²

Once again, the colonists viewed the Stuarts as harbingers of a new Inquisition and subordination of Britain to foreign rule. It was the priests, Gordon claimed, who arbitrarily ruled to increase their own power, using the Doctrine of Papal Infallibility to make themselves “Directors-General of the Consciences of Mankind.”¹³³ While Protestant clergy granted religious toleration, Catholic priests brutally persecuted reformed Christians.

Gordon presented this marked contrast at a time when Catholics in his own colony were disenfranchised and prohibited from holding government offices, practicing their religion in public, and educating their children in religious schools. They were threatened with more extensive penal

¹³¹ Whitefield, *Britain’s Mercies, and Britain’s Duties*, 9.

¹³² Gordon, *A Thanksgiving Sermon on the Defeat of the Rebels*, 6.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 19, 25.

laws if Catholics in any way challenged Protestant authority. Gordon’s emphasis on attacking the Pretender through an archetype of power-hungry Catholic priests displays how British colonists transferred controversies in the mother country to their own experiences. Maryland could not claim to be a purely Protestant colony because Jesuits freely administered to a minority Catholic population. In the victory of Protestants over Catholic Jacobites, Gordon could reassert the superiority of his Protestant British identity in the face of anxieties over Jesuit insubordination to the Anglican Church in Maryland. He and the other ministers had enough trouble maintaining a sense of identity within the factional Protestant communities of the Great Awakening. A Catholic resurgence of power would break what little unity held Protestants together, further endangering the religion as priests replaced ministers. As the backbone of Protestantism, ministers depended on the strength of the imperial state to protect their right to worship, and consequently, aggressively spoke out against Jacobitism.

Halting ordinary business to pray for the king or celebrate his victories unified colonists on certain days, but governors needed to provoke acts of loyalty to guarantee support for the king as war came to the colonies. In the spring of 1746, Governor Clinton of New York prepared for war against the French and their Huron allies on the frontier. The Iroquois were reluctant to break their neutrality, so the governor turned to his neighboring colonies for men and supplies. On March 12th, Governor Bladen of Maryland asked the General Assembly to appropriate funds to raise a militia for the war in New York. He directly connected the threat in North America to the king’s safety in Britain, advising the Assembly,

You have an Opportunity of Manifesting your Duty and Zeal for his Majesty’s Person and Service, an Occasion the more gladly to be embraced at this time as We are not Yet informed of the Issue of that unnatural and wicked Rebellion broke out in Great Britain in favour of a Popish Pretender.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ “Upper House Journal” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 12 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 232.

The upper Assembly responded the same day, expressing their desire to take any measures to protect the king by maintaining good relations with the Iroquois and defraying the influence of “Jesuitical emissaries” among Indians in New York.¹³⁵ Over the next few weeks, many Maryland officers followed Bladen’s advice to swear public oaths to the king in “Detestation of the horrid Rebellion.”¹³⁶ During the same period, the Governor’s Council heard the cases of Molyneux, Livers and Hearn, all accused of treason against the king. Bladen did not want to escalate tensions against Maryland Catholics by requiring every citizen take an oath, an act which would further ostracize loyal Catholics, but he sought to reassure Protestant fears of sedition by requesting loyalty oaths from political officers.

The Maryland Assembly as a whole mimicked religious and municipal bodies in England by entering into an Association against the “Wicked and unnatural Rebellion excited by the Artifices of France and Spain in support of the desperate Cause of an Abjured Popish Pretender.”¹³⁷ Having already affirmed to Governor Bladen their desire to aid Governor Clinton in New York, the Assembly tied their anti-Jacobite Association to opposition against “the French seated on the River Canada in pursuance of the same pernicious Designs.”¹³⁸ At this point in March, still believing that the Young Pretender was nearing London, the Assembly expressed enthusiasm at opposing Britain’s enemies in Canada. In June, secure in the knowledge that the Pretender was no longer a threat to the king, the Assembly was more reluctant to move men and arms to New York. When the governor pleaded for more urgency, the House of Delegates prevaricated and insisted that it would be better to

¹³⁵ “Upper House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 12 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 234.

¹³⁶ “Upper House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 17 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 235-236.

¹³⁷ “Upper House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 17 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 236.

¹³⁸ “Upper House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1745-1747*, vol. 44, 19 March 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 238.

keep the arms, funded by the public in Maryland, for use to defend Marylanders.¹³⁹ Eventually the Assembly agreed to sell bills of credit summing £4,500, but sent only 300 men north, the very minimum required by London.¹⁴⁰

In Pennsylvania as well, the governor reminded colonists of their ties to the mother country and duty to protect British religion and liberties by taking up arms against the king’s enemies in North America. Governor George Thomas’s address to the Pennsylvania General Assembly on January 8, 1746, confirmed the rumors of a Jacobite Rebellion in Scotland.¹⁴¹ The segment on the Jacobites came at the very end of his speech. He led with a report on the negotiations between the English and Iroquois at Albany, New York. The Iroquois, whom Governor Thomas referred to as “our Indians,” insisted on neutrality, but the English urged them to declare war on the French and Huron in exchange for arms and ammunition. Governor Clinton of New York and Sir William Pepperell, commander of forces at Cape Breton, with the authorization of the Duke of Newcastle in London, requested men from Pennsylvania to buttress New York militia on the frontier and at Fort Louisbourg. Thomas had already increased the militia in Lancaster County, closest to the Pennsylvania frontier, but asked the General Assembly for funds to raise men and supplies to send north. In their response, the Assembly cast doubt on Clinton’s warning of an imminent threat on the frontier, but agreed to pay for the Lancaster militia. The Assembly did *not* act on Pepperell’s request for men, preferring to discuss the matter further.¹⁴²

Through the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, Pennsylvanians objected to interference of “governors, proprietors, and by implication the Crown in matters of security defense and war,”

¹³⁹“To His Excellency Thomas Bladen,” *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 24 June 1746, 1.

¹⁴⁰ “Upper House Journal,” *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly*, vol. 44, 8 July 1746, *Archives of Maryland Online*, Maryland State Archives, 308.

¹⁴¹ “Philadelphia A Message from the Governor to the Assembly,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 28 January 1746, 1.

¹⁴² “The Assembly Answer to the Governor’s Message,” *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 28 January 1746, 1-2.

instead choosing to deal with conflict on a local level.¹⁴³ They resisted largescale defense measures in their own colony, let alone neighboring provinces. Quaker antimilitarism accounted for part of this reluctance, but similar reactions in Anglican Maryland indicate a colonial trend toward localism and resistance of imperial obligations. The Maryland General Assembly questioned the need for additional funding in late June 1746, when the Jacobites were almost routed and it seemed likely that London would be able to send more British regulars to the Canadian campaign. Both assemblies aided intercolonial enterprises when necessary, but they expressed reluctance to weaken their own defenses for the sake of another province. When the Pennsylvania Assembly did approve £6,000 bills of credit to supply and transport four companies over the next year, it was with the purpose of keeping the war away from Pennsylvania and lessening Crown interference in Pennsylvania affairs.¹⁴⁴ It continued to reject Governor Thomas’s attempts to militarize the Delaware River and frontier, causing a backlash among martial non-Quakers.

Franklin formed a voluntary Association, an “Army of Freeman,” to defend the “lives, liberties, constitutional rights, and, most importantly, property,” of Pennsylvanians, but only received support after the threat of war was brought to the shores of the province by French privateers. Franklin’s initial supporters were men of his own background, members of clubs and communal associations with ties to imperial commerce and transatlantic communication.¹⁴⁵ Jonas Green, the Annapolis printer who tirelessly opposed Jacobitism, also belonged to a literary club that mimicked London society and tried to institute European culture in the colonies.¹⁴⁶ Once again, those most attached to empire led the campaign for colonial involvement in King George’s War.

¹⁴³ Dorwart, *Invasion and Insurrection*, 63.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 63-65.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 69-71. In 1747, Spanish and French warships and privateers captured merchant ships along the Atlantic coast, even sailing up the Delaware River and raiding a plantation.

¹⁴⁶ Somerville, *The Tuesday Club of Annapolis*, 4. Somerville defines the purpose of colonial clubs as a place to address “the problem of asserting an ethos in a peripheral location. The Tuesday Club’s provincial status—its distant relationship to a metropolitan center—was a variant on the general condition of the majority of the population.”

The two publishers continued their anti-Jacobite campaign in print after the Rebels were put on the run by Cumberland, but increasingly reflected on the consequences of war in North America. When the Jacobites were at their strongest, newspaper articles either disparaged them completely or appealed to Britons to take up arms for their king. As the English gained the upper hand, all rational approaches ceased and propaganda reflected on God's favor of Protestantism, retroactively explaining the causes of the war and inevitable victory of Britain. In the late spring and early summer of 1746, publishers turned to the war in North America and emphasized the necessity for colonists to take up arms against France. Articles concerning Louisbourg and Indian attacks on the frontier of New York replaced the front page sections previously devoted to the Jacobites.¹⁴⁷ By early summer 1746, the colonists knew that the Duke of Cumberland had pushed the Rebels back into Scotland and the Highlanders were taking great losses. In reality, on April 16, Cumberland executed the final defeat of the Rebels at the Battle of Culloden, but colonists did not receive this news until early July. Once the colonies learned in May that the Pretender, though not totally defeated, had been pushed back into Scotland, articles concerning the Jacobites decreased dramatically.

Newspapers took full advantage of the Jacobite retreat by blasting Scots and Catholics in a more limited number of propaganda pieces. Unlike the somber February article "An Answer," Britons now found humor in an almost defeated enemy. At the request of his readers, Jonas Green included "A Grand CONSULTATION concerning the Invasion of *England*, held between the *Pope*, the *Old Pretender*, a *Highlander*, the *King of France*, the *Young Pretender*, and the *Devil*," a London parody of a conversation among the Jacobite powers.¹⁴⁸ The author imagined a conversation among the characters listed, during which they planned the destruction of England. By

¹⁴⁷ See issues of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* 26 June 1746 and 3 July 1746.

¹⁴⁸ "A Grand CONSULTATION," *The Maryland Gazette*, 2-3.

portraying a hesitating Devil who only reluctantly agreed to enter a contract with friends far beyond his level of manipulation and sin, the Protestant author illustrated the perceived wickedness of conniving Catholic rulers. The Devil was even afraid that if he went along with the Pope’s plan for an English Inquisition, “the People would be frighten’d into so good Morals, that Hell would be depriv’d of a great Number of souls.”¹⁴⁹ This article displayed all the stereotypes of a Highlander: a heavy brogue, poverty resulting from idleness, proclivity to war and violence, a diet of barley and oatmeal, obedience to France and the pope, and general sinfulness. In the conversation, the pope and King of France manipulated the Scots’ poverty, recognizing that “for Shoes and Bread they will undertake anything, be it so dangerous.”¹⁵⁰ Colonists understood that poverty drove Highlanders to war, but rather than sympathizing (or even mentioning this fact in any more serious news report), they mocked the Highlanders for their desperation and their religion.

During the Jacobite Rebellion, colonial newspapers served to inform Britons separated from the mother country of the nation’s safety and also offered a venue for colonists to share in imperial propaganda. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* alone issued an average of forty articles per month on the Jacobite Rebellion during the ten months that colonists knew of an ongoing war (October 1745 to July 1746). The sheer number of articles printed by colonial publishers indicated their intense concern with the outcome of the Jacobite Rebellion. Franklin and Green picked through letters and papers from all over the empire to form papers directing colonial attention to certain conflicts and events. In the fifty issues of *The Pennsylvania Gazette* printed weekly from October 1745 to September 1746, seventy percent included news of the Rebellion on the front page. Only two (June 26, 1746 and July 3, 1746) did not have any Jacobite news, instead devoting attention to New England and the war against the French and Indians. The sensationalism of parodies, poems, and

¹⁴⁹ “A Grand CONSULTATION,” *The Maryland Gazette*, 3.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

personal accounts of the Rebellion no doubt helped sell papers, but a desire to increase sales alone does not account for the publishers’ decision to print page upon page of minute details of army movements, even those based on the basest rumors. “An Answer to the Pretender’s Declaration” provided the greatest demonstration of printers’ personal involvement in the Rebellion. Assessing the Rebellion in context of the larger imperial war, Franklin made a decision to write, or at least include, a rational article appealing to Catholic loyalty to the crown and explaining the dangers to all British Americans if the Jacobites succeeded. In the same manner, Green chose articles with an agenda to highlight the atrocities and foolishness of Catholic powers, in order to raise awareness of the danger that France posed much closer to the colonies. While their Assemblies bickered over the necessity of sending militia to New York, Franklin and Green raised awareness of the imperial threat by packing their papers with anti-Jacobite propaganda.

Thomas Cradock and the Dilemma of British Identity

As an Anglican minister, the aforementioned Thomas Cradock was supposed to display complete loyalty to the British Protestant state. The accusation of treason laid against him in 1746 contrasted with the ardent anti-Jacobitism of other ministers. His reputation declined so much that he acknowledged the accusation in print and publicly defended his name, reiterating, “But as I am villainously accus’d of Want of a due Regard to my Prince and of an undue Attachment to the Enemy of my Religion and Liberty; I should not deal with Honour by the Public, if I do not give...a Vindication of my Innocence.”¹⁵¹ Cradock’s predicament exemplified the reason ministers and governors forthrightly declared their horror of Jacobitism and called colonists to sacrifice for their king. If religious and political leaders had not done so, they too could fall under accusations of disloyalty. King George’s War tested colonial commitment to the empire, and while their

¹⁵¹ Cradock, *Two Sermons with a Preface*, i.

enthusiasm for war may have fallen short of London's expectations, they still expected their governors and ministers, symbols of the crown, to uphold the highest degree of allegiance to Britain.

In the eighteenth-century wars for empire, governors faced a severe challenge in convincing the peripheries that a danger in one part of the realm would negatively affect the well being of distant regions. The Chesapeake and mid-Atlantic colonies' reluctance to commit defense forces in distant New England mirrored the problems in raising soldiers against the Pretender in England. Southern Britons did not immediately flock to the king's armies when they heard of the Rebellion; until Charles Edward moved into England, military Associations expected to defend their county, not their country.¹⁵² A 1747 reflection piece on the Hanoverian victory rebuked Britons for failing to answer the call to arms quickly, concluding that Charles' own mistake in tarrying too long in Scotland was the only reason London escaped assault.¹⁵³ The even greater distance between America and Europe, and the mid-Atlantic and Canada, required community leaders to incessantly remind colonists of the danger France caused in North America. Jacobitism reemerged at a very favorable time for provincial governors; they needed to spur colonists into action during King George's War, and now possessed an age-old enemy to vilify in pro-war propaganda.

Five years before, when colonial governors had raised forces for the Caribbean expedition in the War of Jenkins' Ear, Maryland had set the precedent for sending the minimum companies required, and the Pennsylvania Assembly completely refused to fund the eight companies of volunteers.¹⁵⁴ Conflict and distrust between American militia and British regulars undermined the expedition, while poor leadership led to its ultimate failure. As soldiers returned from this highly unsuccessful campaign in 1744, governors needed a cause to rally men out of their homes and enlist

¹⁵² W.A. Speck qtd. in Colley, *Britons*, 81.

¹⁵³ James Burgh, *Britain's Remembrancer. Being some thoughts on the proper improvement of the present juncture...* 5th ed. (Philadelphia: re-printed, and sold by B. Franklin, at the new printing-office near the market., 1747), 6.

¹⁵⁴ Harkness, "Americanism and Jenkins' Ear," 65-66.

in the militia. Jenkins' Ear was the first time London asked colonists to participate in an imperial war;¹⁵⁵ in 1746 colonists needed to be convinced that their participation in imperial wars was worth the cost of leaving home and facing death on the battlefield. As emissaries of the larger empire, ministers, publishers and governors rose to the challenge, reminding colonists of Stuart tyranny in the seventeenth-century and the Pope's longing to implement an Inquisition in Britain. Most important, colonial leaders explained again and again the Jacobite connection to France. Jonas Green copied a satire from London into the advertisement section of *The Maryland Gazette* which offered an award for the capture of "Jaco Bites," mongrel dogs who "jump[ed] at the sound of a French Horn," each with "a French Collar on, stamp[ed] with ... the Fleur de Luce, with the inscription, *We are but young Puppies of Tencin's Pack*."¹⁵⁶ The satire implied that Jacobites, unlike freely dutiful Britons, submissively answered a master in Paris, in this case Cardinal Pierre Guérin de Tencin, Louis XV's Minister of State and an official of the Church. To avoid such odious servitude themselves, Marylanders needed to take up arms against the French enemy in North America.

My study involves the two colonies with Catholics, and only represents the most visible forms of cultural conflict that have been recorded in print or reached the need for government interference. Future studies could more closely research family papers from Catholics and Protestants in both colonies to further understanding of interreligious relations during the Jacobite Rebellion. Despite these limitations, my research presents a valuable insight into the interaction of national and religious identity in the British Empire. Scholars have overlooked anti-Jacobite propaganda in America because Catholics survived the war relatively unscathed. Bergmann argues that resentment toward Catholics in print built up animosity that would spill over in the 1750s, but

¹⁵⁵ Harkness, "Americanism and Jenkins' Ear," 61.

¹⁵⁶ "An Advertisement with a Reward," *The Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis] 27 May 1746, 3.

mostly lay dormant in the 1740s.¹⁵⁷ Both he and Hardy do not address how anti-Jacobitism in print reflected authors' points-of-view, not an absolute indication of an entire colony's attitude. The contrast of political leniency toward Catholics in action, with vehement opposition in print and speech, denotes a purpose of anti-Jacobitism beyond persecution of suspected sympathizers. Green did not even mention the Livers, Hearn, and Molyneux sedition cases of March 1746 in *The Maryland Gazette*; attention on that court case in print would have demonstrated a Britishness that encompassed local anti-Catholicism. The goal of propagandists was not to place blame on Catholics in British America, but to boost involvement in King George's War, especially in colonies not directly affected by frontier attacks. Linda Colley's eighteenth-century Britishness is based on a combination of anti-Catholicism, anti-France, and anti-arbitrary government. In the American colonies, anti-Catholicism could not be detached from France. Protestant ministers and printers attacked Jesuits in print far more than lay Catholics, because Jesuits were trained in France and seen as the human instigators of any French conspiracy. Catholic neighbors who did not overtly display love of France or French supported Jacobites escaped persecution because colonial Protestant identity differentiated levels of Catholicism. Catholicism was never good or fully British, but French Catholics were the true enemy.

Colonial identity during the Jacobite Rebellion also reflected a larger conflict with the role of the state in the eighteenth-century. The English system of government was based on localism, solving disputes at the lowest level and then working up the chain of authority.¹⁵⁸ In the eighteenth-century, an expanding empire required an enlarged navy, which came in conflict with other countries and then needed a standing army, both of which were funded by British taxes. Institutionalization of

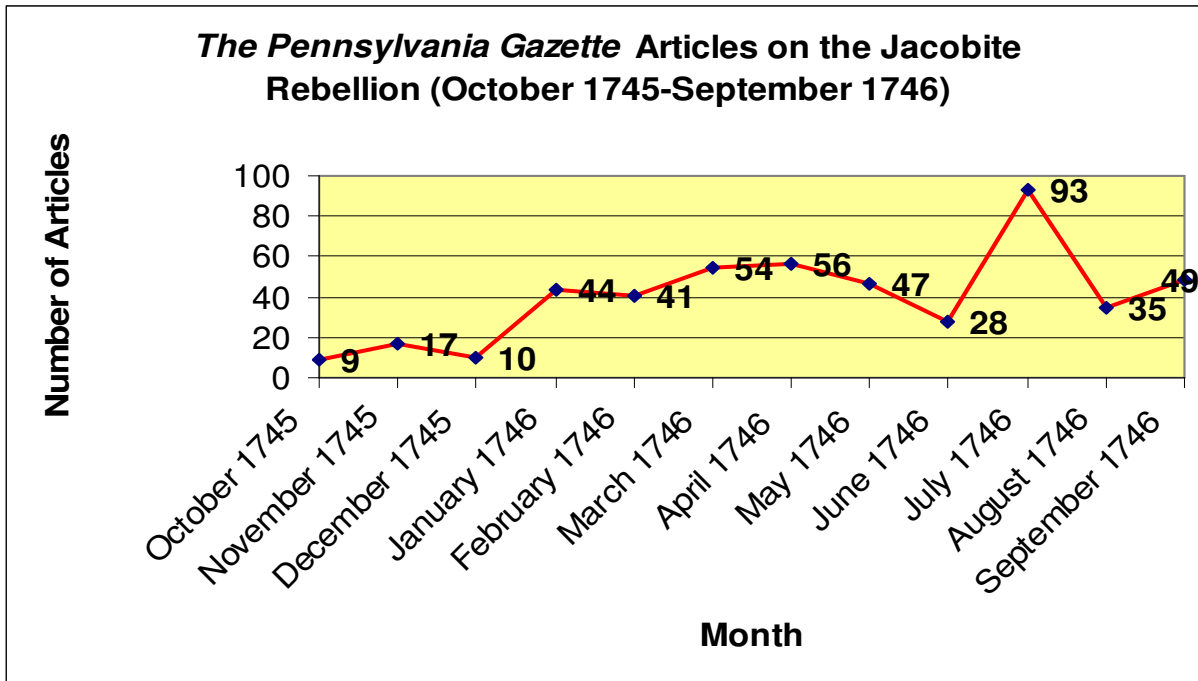
¹⁵⁷ Bergmann, "Being the Other," 172-173. In the 1750s, a new law to double tax Catholics was discussed by the Maryland General Assembly, but never passed.

¹⁵⁸ Richard R. Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Colonial America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 26-27.

this new fiscal-military state put traditional localism at tension with centralized authority. American colonists, used to minimal interference with local affairs, voiced their distaste for overreaching London dictation in the actions of the lower houses of General Assemblies, directly elected by enfranchised colonists. If, as Richard R. Beeman argues in *The Varieties of Political Experience in Colonial America* (2004), British government was traditionally based on localism, and Britons believed the best political leaders arose from the propertied class, then the American colonies, secure in local rule with broadly distributed property ownership, represented the ideal of Britishness that was becoming lost in a centralizing empire.¹⁵⁹ Americans used Days of Thanksgiving, royal birthday celebrations, and prayers for the king to connect with their British identity and express it in tangible ways, perhaps without realizing how they had shifted away from the centralized state. Though discontent over taxation after the French and Indian War would expose tensions between the colonies and empire in the 1760s, the Jacobite Rebellion illustrated the early roots of separation in identity. Until colonists put aside local interests and viewed their world with a new imperial lens, the London based government would keep struggling with subjects entrenched in older forms of provincial Britishness.

¹⁵⁹ Beeman, *The Varieties of Political Experience in Colonial America*, 18-19.

Appendix I



*An article being defined as having a specific date entry per city. For example, news from Glasgow in the October 31, 1745 issue would be counted as two separate articles, one from August 11th and another from August 19th.

News of the Jacobites as reported by *The Pennsylvania Gazette*¹⁶⁰

October 24, 1745. First report that the Pretender's Son has landed in Scotland.

November 21, 1745. Believe English victory by Christmas.

January 7, 1746. London moving soldiers from Continental war to Scotland. King offers pardon for Highlanders if they surrender and agree to serve abroad.

January 21, 1746. King's Proclamation against the Pretender asking for all able bodied men to enlist for six months.

March 11, 1746. Rebels as far south as Derby, England (little over 140 miles from London), by January, 1746, with English Army following behind in winter snow. Duke of Cumberland leaving London to take control of army.

April 17, 1746. Pretender pushed back into Scotland and steadily retreating towards Highlands.

May 1, 1746. Cumberland declares Day of Thanksgiving for defeating Rebels.

June 12, 1746. Scots clans begin surrendering; English burning towns of those that resist.

July 5, 1746. Final defeat of the Pretender at the Battle of Culloden (actual date of battle was April 16, 1746).

September 26, 1746. Trials of Rebel chiefs in London.

¹⁶⁰ *The Pennsylvania Gazette* [Philadelphia] 3 October 1745 to 25 September 1746.

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— — — *Marvellous things done by the right hand and holy arm of God in getting him the victory. A sermon preached the 18th of July, 1745. Being a day set apart for solemn thanksgiving to almighty God, for the reduction of Cape Breton by His Majesty's New England forces...* Boston, Massachusetts: T. Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill., 1745. Early American Imprints Online, Series 1, no. 5558.

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