Abstract

This thesis analyses the use of persuasive rhetorical styles within the political discourse that was present in the popular prints of early eighteenth century Scotland. Using Aristotle's rhetorical schemata of *logos, pathos* and *ethos* as a tool for textual analysis, this thesis demonstrates how Whig, Tory and Jacobite agents used the medium of popular print to endorse their own political ideologies as well as undermining those of their opponents from the Act of Union of 1707 until the Porteous affair of 1736.

About twenty percent of the popular prints that constitute this thesis' corpus of sources, were found to contain political notions corresponding to the contemporary party lines. Within these prints, Whigs were found to appeal to *logos* for factual representation and amplification, but primarily made use of the *pathos* of graciousness to portray themselves as righteous. The appeal to this emotion was supported by a virtuous *ethos* that focused on characterizations such as goodness, honesty and grace. Contrarily, Tories and Jacobites hardly made use of *logos* but instead appealed to a range of emotions within the concept of p*athos*, such as gentleness and pity, and ascribed themselves an *ethos* that included bravery, valance and loyalty.

In undermining the opposition, both Whig as well as Tory and Jacobite prints vilify the opponent through the *pathos* of anger, hatred, enmity and contempt. However, it is in the undermining where *ethos* becomes the main means of persuasion. Tories are described as incompetent, Jacobites are characterized as barbarous fools, and Whigs as conceiting and self-serving politicians.

Consequently, Whigs typically sought to portray themselves as morally and ethically superior to their opponents and their readership, whereas Jacobites seemingly sought to identify with their readership more, emphasizing how everyone was suffering under the Whig government.

This thesis outlines the persuasive content of a political discourse that was present within a type of print available to both high and low culture. With this, it argues that political discussion was not strictly reserved for intelligentsia, although it also sustains the assumption that ephemeral print was generally used as a trivial news agent. Ass well as this, this thesis provides two relative novelties. First, it constructs an explicit and restricting definition of the concept 'popular', unlike most academic publications on this concept that apply the term without restrictions. Second, it offers a series of perspectives on the content of a previously unstudied corpus of ephemeral prints published in early eighteenth century Scotland, which is both a period and area that has been understudied with regards to the role of politics in popular print culture.

Persuasive political rhetoric in Scottish popular print, 1707-1736

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Submitted on Monday 15 July 2019

14808 words

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Note on conventions

The spelling and grammar of the sources and their passages cited in this thesis have been reproduced without editing.

Abbreviations

Secondary sources

Bartlett, Robert C., *Aristotle's Art of Rhetoric* (Chicago 2019).	AAR
Robert Harris, *Politics and the rise of the press: Britain and France, 1620-1800* (London 1996).	PRP
Ekatarina V. Haskins, *Logos and Power in Isocrates and Aristotle* (Columbia 2004).	LP
Christopher Carey, 'Rhetorical means of Persuasion' in: Ian Worthington (ed.), *Persuasion: Greek Rhetoric in Action* (London 1994) pp. 26-45.	RMP

Primary sources

Anderson, Andrew (p), *A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE Criminal-Court. At Edinburgh, in Scotland. At the Tryal of James Stirling, of Keir, Archibald Seton of Touch, Archi-bald Stirling of Carden, Charles Stirling of Kippendavie, and Patrick Edmonfton of New-town ; for the Crime of Treason, publish'd by the Judges of that Court, by her MAJESTY'S Warrant and Allowance : Dated the 13th Day of January 170 $^{8}_{9}$.* (Edinburgh 1709).	SAP
Anon, *An execllent NEW Song Entituled, the New way of the Broom of Cowden Knows.* (Edinburgh 1716).	NS
Anon, *A RARE NEW SONG, Shewing the Bravery of His Grace the Duke of Argile. To the Tune of the CAPING- TRADE.* (Edinburgh 1709).	RNS
Anon, *POEM On the much to be lamented Death of Captain Chiefly and Lieu-tenant Moody, with a particular Account how they were Slain.* (Edinburgh 1720).	PD
Anon, THE DOWN-FALL OF *COCKBURN's* MEETING-HOUSE, To the Tune of, *Come fit thee down my Phillis.* (Edinburgh 1714).	DF
Anon, *The Lamentation, and laft Farewel Of Serjeant William Ainslie, who was Executed over the Caftle-Wall of Edinburgh, for High Treason and Treachery, on Monday the 24th of December 1716.* (Edinburgh 1716).	WA
Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and CONFESSION OF Thomas Bean, one of thofe Execut-ed for the late Riot in Salisbury-Court at London.* (Edinburgh 1716).	TB
Anon, *THE LAST WORDS OF JOHN KNOX; Who was Shot in the Noth-Inch of PERTH the 24th of AUGUST 1716, about 7 in the Morning.* (Edinburgh1716).	JK
Powlett, Portmore, Rochester a.o., James Watson (p), *WHEREAS the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, Did by theit Humble Adrefs, Befeech Her Majesty, That fince the Papifts and Non-jurors were fo Infolent,…..*(Edinburgh 1714).	LST

Introduction

The formation and political development of Great-Britain made the first half of the eighteenth century a period of great change for Scotland, with the need to adapt to new circumstances.[1] The 1707 parliamentary Union of England and Scotland was linked directly to the timing of the rise of the press, as press tends to grow strongly in periods of war and political excitement. Consequently, endeavours to secure new loyalties and realize universal values and standards after the Union, were executed within the context of print culture.[2]

In England, the means of doing politics had been assisted by print culture since the sixteenth century.[3] The importance of printed ephemera as agents for political communication was quickly realized as they could reach a wider audience than mere oral vestiges or large printed volumes.[4] These texts were aimed at a popular readership to convey certain messages, be it political or religious, and would have appealed to its audience through the exploitation of rhetoric and format.[5] The popular press opened up political life to those previously excluded from it and provided the politically powerful with a platform in a common language to raise awareness of political life amongst at least the middling ranks of society.[6] This thesis aims to examine to which degree the popular prints published in early eighteenth century Scotland included a political discourse and to what extent different agents across the country and along political party lines, used persuasive rhetorical techniques to convince readerships through this medium of popular print.

The term 'popular' is a contentious concept and its facets as well as perceived importance have been understood differently in almost every academic publication. The existing historiography concerning the idea of a popular culture or popular print, began with premodern contemporaries.

[1] PRP pp. 3, 26-27.
[2] PRP pp. 85, 11.
[3] James Raven, 'Why Ephemera Were Not Ephemeral: The Effectiveness of Innovative Print in the Eighteenth Century', *Yearbook of English Studies Vol. 45* (2015) pp. 56.
[4] PRP pp. 29-36.; James Raven, 'Why Ephemera Were Not Ephemeral' pp. 59.
[5] PRP pp. 39.
[6] PRP pp. 51.

Commentary on popular discourse among contemporaries was often patronising and prerogative, dismissing printed ephemera especially as embarrassing and "unrelated to the more glamorous printing, publishing and selling of books".[7] This, mostly elite, indifferent perspective on the importance of popular print on and in society held fast for a long time. With generations of scholarship simply uninterested in questions concerning popular or public opinion. The assumption was that what manifestations of public opinion there were, were contrived and manipulated from above as the uneducated simply could not think for themselves.

Thus, where contemporaries dismissed anything 'popular', scholars of the late twentieth century finally started to appreciate popular source-material. They typically theorized about the influence of popular prints or how they projected values within the contemporary social and cultural dialogue, without necessarily analysing actual content.[1] In 1962, Habermas published 'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere'. To Habermas, the public sphere was a horizontally structured place in society where intellectuals could share opinions and have rational discussions free from coercing forces.[8] The development of a bourgeois public sphere of thought guaranteed a space for public opinion to blossom but excluded the poor and uneducated. Habermas argues that this changes in the beginning of the nineteenth century when governments explicitly started to utilise emotive psychology to influence vertical[9] audiences as they had done in feudal times.

After Habermas' ground-breaking theory, interest in what would have made up his public sphere and its supposed horizontality, increased. Within this context, the term popular culture was first coined by revisionist historians. It is a controversial term explained differently by every scholar

[7] James Raven, 'Why Ephemera Were Not Ephemeral' pp. 59.
[8] The public sphere as a horizontally structured place is meant as a place for people of equal status to discuss important matters.
[9] A vertically structured society imposes information through a top-down structure.

in this field but the general gist concerns the social dialogue, and the mediations of experience facilitated through provisions of information such as the press.[10]

Peter Burke's 'Popular culture in early modern Europe' has set a standard model along Habermasian principles that has dictated late twentieth century research into the concept of popular culture. He states that where before the year 1500, popular culture had been everyone's culture, it was subordinately held by the lower classes separated from the elite through increased commercialization by the nineteenth century. Over the course of three centuries, polarization between the higher classes and the lower classes had culminated in numerous different world-views making popular culture a spectrum of overlapping subcultures.[11]

After this publication, a series of pioneering case studies served to endorse Burke's theory. Peter Borsay, Robert Malcolmson, Anthony Fletcher and David Levine all confirmed the dichotomous divisions between popular and elite culture. But more recently, scholars have become increasingly critical of Burke's model with regards to its ability to recreate the contours of popular culture. This all comes down to the application of the concept 'popular' to source-material, as historians often either imply what makes theories or sources 'popular', or apply the term without restrictions.

Instead of theorizing about how news may have created a public sphere shared by intelligentsia, or how popular culture was markedly different to this public sphere, modern-day scholars see the need to focus on the content of sources that may have been popular. Research is now primarily being conducted along *ad fontes* lines of inquiry with mostly England as its occupational space, and comprise three trends concerning the concept of popularity, oral culture and the role of legal tracts.

First, sources that are said to have been popular should be researched. In this context 'popular' should be unpacked as referring to in all likelihood having had a mass consumption. Therefore

[10] Joad Raymond (ed.), *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Vol. 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford 2011) pp. 12.
[11] Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture' in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke 1995) pp. 29.

popular sources include cheap printed wares and other prints accessible to those who knew how to read but not necessarily write, but could also be consumed by the middling ranks and gentry. According to Adam Fox, the written word penetrated in society on a far deeper level than has previously been assumed by historians as well as bridging the gaps between higher and lower readerships.[12] However, such texts were also then particularly suited to manipulation from above and print almost certainly provided a platform for political and religious content and conflict.[13] As both Adam Fox and Tessa Watts have argued, popular print was likely used as a persuasive medium. In early modern England, governments made great use of the printed press as a vehicle of transmission for carefully selected news.[14] Popular sources probably hardly represent an objective status quo of popular sentiment but they may allow us a peek into it.[15]

Secondly, historians should search for remnants of oral culture in print. In the early modern period many folk tales, songs and ballads were transcribed onto paper.[16] The value of couching a message in verse or song was clear as rhymes passed around quickly by word of mouth and a composition set down on paper would evidently reach a wider audience.[17] The political and commercial opportunities of appealing to a vertical audience were probably undeniable.[18]

Thirdly, the legal corpus of sources may provide historians with insights in the internalisation of values and popular beliefs. In exploiting secular and religious court records, popular opinions can be interpreted through noted views on politics, proclamations of justice and common standards in certain disputes.[19] This corpus of sources does however provide the agenda of the minutes secretary as well as notions of opinion limited to a legal context.

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[12] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford 2000) pp. 413.
[13] Jason McElligott and Eve Patton, 'The Perils of Print Culture: An Introduction' in Jason McElligott and Eve Patton (eds.) *The Perils of Print Culture: Book, Print and Publishing History in Theory and Practice* (Basingstoke 2014) pp. 5-7.
[14] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England* pp. 386.
[15] Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture' pp. 6,7.
[16] Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture' pp. 8.
[17] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England* pp. 304.
[18] Jonathan Barry, 'Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective' in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke 1995) pp. 89.
[19] Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture' pp. 8,9.

In line with the current academic trend of *ad fontes* research, this thesis unpacks the concept 'popular' print along the lines of readership and availability. It does so to better understand its persuasive role and in order to try to find out if political discourse and debate existed within texts that could have theoretically reached everyone in early eighteenth century society. Sources are selected on their likeliness of possible mass-consumption, which is done on the basis of format and accessibility in both location as well as price. Manifestations of both oral culture and legal institutions can be found in a corpus of sources based on readership and availability through formats such as broadside ballads, poems, legal accounts, elegies and execution notices. This thesis will not exploit secular or court records as these were not available to the public.

Having placed the approach of this thesis within the existing historiography on the concept of popular culture and the role of popular print therein, it is necessary to state why research on eighteenth century Scotland is viable. Over the last two decades historians have increasingly directed their attention to the role of the British early modern press, with sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth century England as their general focus. Yet within this field of research there are some definite temporal and geographical gaps in the existing historiography, with barely a handful of studies on the eighteenth century and the lack of a modern study on Scotland.[20] Historical research on Scottish print culture has gone hand in hand with the timeframe of Romantic Scotland, and is dated and incomplete in many other areas.[21] This has left an extensive and probably revealing corpus of early eighteenth century popular sources relatively untouched. Furthermore, on the topic of Scotland, the existing historiography reveals methodological gaps with most studies geared to the role of print commercialization to nuance Burke's model.

The debate on the influence of religion or politics on the contents of popular print has only recently opened up. Alasdair Raffe pioneered research on the long-time effects of religious controversy within post-Reformation Scottish popular culture. Raffe demonstrates how religious

[20] PRP pp. 12.
[21] PRP pp. 42.

controversies came to exist, how they changed over time and how they were present within the contemporary social dialogue. On the political side of the spectrum, the debate on Scotland opened up with Karin Bowie's dissertation on 'Scottish public opinion and the making of the Union of 1707'. In this dissertation, Bowie presents public opinion as an independent force in Scottish political life along the Habermasian principles of the elite public sphere. Her analysis includes the role of popular print as a political news agent, but she fails to define the term popular and does not distinguish between types of print that were popular in essence and those that were not. Bowie's conclusions are principally based on the contents of newspapers and books, formats that would have been inaccessible for those on the margins of society.

In short, the role of print within the frame of popular culture is not uncharted territory, but its actual popular and persuasive political contents are. There is a definite chronology, temporality and geography to the existing historiography in which eighteenth century Scottish popular print is in need of a modern study within clearer chronological and terminological frameworks than those employed by Habermas, Burke, Raffe and Bowie.

The printed press gained massive influence in Scotland after the 1750's, with newspapers such as the Caledonian Mercury and the Edinburgh Evening Courant addressing poignant matters and reaching high numbers of circulation. But this increase in popularity did not develop overnight, which is why this thesis will focus on the period of political excitement that preceded and nurtured this surge in print popularity. It will employ a time frame starting with Bowie's central focus, the 1707 Act of Union, until the Porteous affair in 1736, after which political tensions decreased until 1745.

This thesis will first provide a strict terminology for 'popular print' within the historical context of early eighteenth century Scotland. I believe the answer to a proper definition of what constitutes 'popular print' lies in the intention of readership and availability, not its outcome or influence on standard thought or its role in the public sphere. Printed texts were already an omnipresent commodity in eighteenth century Scotland where most people could read or had easy

access to a man of letters. The types of sources that can be considered popular should have been available to both high and low culture, relatively easy to come by, although not necessarily cheap, and likely to be found in public locations such as in taverns, clubs, or on noticeboards. Such prints thus include broadsheets, chapbooks and pamphlets.

Broadsheets were the most common type of 'popular' print in this period in time and consisted of a single sheet that could contain all sorts of information from elegies, to execution notices, to ballads and poems. Chapbooks were small booklets typically covering religious reports or sermons and consisted of an octavo[22] as their largest format. They were generally priced at a penny. Pamphlets are trickier, as the word encompasses a lot of things and its prices and formats varied greatly. Some pamphlets were the size of books, others single sheets. For the purpose of analysis the largest available format in other types of popular sources, an octavo, will also be applied to pamphlets. On the basis of availability and intended readership, books, manuscript newsletters and newspapers will be excluded. Even the middling ranks may have found such publications too expensive or hard to come by. Moreover, 'popular print' is only print when the use of a printing press preceded its publication. Manuscripts shall therefore be excluded.

The sources that were exploited for this thesis, were required through digitized databases containing eighteenth century printed documents. The national Library of Scotland holds the largest collection of broadside sheets in Scotland and has digitized almost all 250.000 of them. As broadsides were the preferred format of print at this period in time, careful searches in this database resulted in over a 150 usable sources. The National Library's chapbook index covering production in the whole of Scotland as well as the formerly private Crawford collection, rendered fifteen results for the period 1707-1736. The University of Glasgow and the Scottish archives provide entry to some digitized private collections, but none of these contained the types of print used that complied with the terminology used in this thesis. Apart from Scottish institutions, there are also the

[22] An octavo is a format in which the printer prints sixteen pages on a single sheet, folding it so that it becomes a small booklet.

platforms of Early English Books Online, as well as Eighteenth Century Collections Online. The former provided my corpus with nineteen prints, among which at least a handful could also be found in the National Library of Scotland database. Eighteenth Century Collections Online contains mostly books or formats over the sixteen pages that would have been an octavo, and thus didn't come up with any desired results. I have therewith collected relevant sources dated between 1707 and 1736 from every public archive in Scotland. There are still ancestral familial archives and other private archives scattered across Scotland that might offer more prints, but this is something to pursue at a further academic stage.

It is not easy to build a comprehensive picture of everything that has been produced in a certain time period or of what might have been relevant. One of the problems of this kind of investigation is that this material only survives in bits and pieces. But through exploring episodes of political excitement, case studies like this thesis may offer a series of perspectives on popular print. This thesis shall emphasize how persuasive rhetorical constructions of political perceptions and imaginations were used in popular print by different agents and how these constructions may have been developed and adjusted. It will present a textual analysis of rhetorical persuasion found in a strictly selected corpus of sources within the context of political turmoil from the Act of Union of 1707 to the Porteous affair of 1736. As it is in times of unrest that press grows, printed ephemera likely would have been used as a medium to ensure new political loyalties after the Union of 1707.[23]

Because the late Stuart and early Augustan eras saw a lot of political changes, chapter one will provide an overview of the historical context and political climate in Scotland between 1707 and 1736. Chapter two will thereafter outline the methodological apparatus of the concepts that comprise rhetorical persuasion, to which the corpus of sources shall be equated with. Subsequently, the textual analysis of rhetorical persuasion found within the prints shall be presented in chapters three and four along the contemporary party lines of Whigs on the one hand and Tories and Jacobites on the other hand. Both of these chapters are divided into two sections, first considering

[23] PRP pp. 85, 11.

content that was endorsing the own party, then considering content that was vilifying the opposition.

Historical context

Scotland experienced a number of political crises in the first half of the eighteenth century. The country would only grow wealthier and more populous from roughly 1750 onwards, leaving behind a period of political chaos which had begun when commissioners from England and Scotland agreed to participate in negotiations for a union treaty in the first years of the eighteenth century.[1]

This treaty, generally known as the Act of Union, consisted of two acts passed in 1707 joining the legislative states of Scotland and England into the kingdom of Great-Britain. Both kingdoms had shared in a personal union since James I ascended the throne, but had now become partners sharing a parliament as well. When both countries agreed to negotiations in 1705, each found itself in a position where political union would be advantageous.

In the years after the Glorious revolution, politics in Scotland had increasingly been focussed on secular matters as to a *de facto* toleration due to growing religious diversity had come into being.[2] However, in the years leading up to the union, Scotland faced a period of hardship plagued by famine, failed harvests and slumping trade connections. At this point, the country had nearly been run to the ground economically. Scotland's incentive to agree on a parliamentary union with England primarily rested on the economic benefits and security it would offer. Sharing a parliament with England would also mean sharing in its trade and would grant access to the markets of its empire, equalling unimaginable economic opportunities.[3]

England on the other hand, was led by the need for centralisation and consolidation of political power on the basis of religious uniformity. For at least some time after the Glorious Revolution, Whigs and Tories set aside their political differences in favour of an Anglican

[1] R.B. Sher, 'Scotland Transformed: The Eighteenth Century' in J. Wormald, *Scotland: A History* (Oxford 2005) pp. 151, 162-163.
[2] R.B. Sher, 'Scotland Transformed' pp. 150-154.
[3] J.R. Young, 'The Parliamentary Incorporating Union of 1707: Political Management, Anti-Unionism and Foreign Policy' in T.M.Devine and J.R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton 1999) pp. 25.

strengthened state.[4] [5] With the English empire as an economic bargaining card, Scotland would have little reason to refuse Hanoverian succession. England hoped to close Scotland off as a backdoor for French invasion and instead unite on the basis of a shared solidarity for Protestantism against the otherness of Catholic Europe.[6]

Albeit for different reasons, the Union of Parliaments was a mutual agreement between the kingdoms of Scotland and England, which took effect on May 1st 1707. But in its infant state, the Union was unpopular. As soon as debating sessions on articles concerning the union commenced in October 1706, voices of protest started to appear. Merely a core of upper class politicians had ideological, religious and economic political reasons to support the union. For most other members of society, Scotland had just gambled away its national independence and integrity for the idle dream of economic prosperity.[7]

While Scottish political life quickly became structured along the two party line, Whigs gained an almost hierarchical status over Tories and England over Scotland due to unequal representation of peers in the parliament of Westminster. The Union that had created Great-Britain faced a rather robust opposition in Scotland, including a petitioning campaign to undo the Act of Union, parades and several riots.[8] Great changes had taken place, but many Scots were none too happy about it.

In 1713 Queen Anne was in ill health. In this uneasy time the political climate in the new Kingdom of Great-Britain was fraught with tension. When Anne passed away in the summer of 1714, the Hanoverian succession came into effect. George I ascended the throne of Great-Britain enjoying great support from pro-Hanoverian Whigs, who would rule the Houses of Parliament for several decades to come. George's proclamation was cataclysmic for supporters of the exiled Stuart

[4] J.S. Shaw, *The Political History of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Houndmills 1999) pp. 18,20.
[5] M. Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (New York 2006) pp. 13.
[6] J.R. Young, 'The Parliamentary Incorporating Union of 1707' pp.28.
[7] K. Bowie, *Scottish public opinion and the making of the Union of 1707* (2004) pp. 6. PhD thesis available from <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3707/>.
[8] J.R. Young, 'The Parliamentary Incorporating Union of 1707' pp. 37-39.

branch as many were unsatisfied with Scotland's agreement to support the Hanoverian succession. These supporters, called Jacobites, aided Queen Anne's half-brother James Edward in an attempted *coup d'état*.[9]

James Edward Stuart had previously pleaded with the pope about his claim on the British throne. Word of this plea reached Scotland and support grew amongst Tories when George I purged his government and rid most Tories of their political offices. Among these peers deprived of their office was John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who consequently joined the Jacobites and raised the Stuart standard in the summer of 1715, igniting rebellion.[10] Mar's forces quickly overran large parts of Northern Scotland and gained political support from Scottish and English peers. The Jacobite rising was a major political threat to the Hanoverian and Whig regime. Although not universally supported by all Scots, it stirred up plenty of political unrest.[11]

To conclude, the ratification of the Act of Union culminated in a country slowly but steadily getting used to the new political situation that had come with the partnership. Both Scottish and English peers were learning how to perform the art of combined politics in parliament, but the people of Scotland also had to come to terms with significant changes in political, economic and social life. Adjustment to such changes rarely goes smoothly or willingly and often sparks protest. The Act of Union may have officially unified England and Scotland in name in 1707 but it would take decades for stability to descend on the kingdom of Great-Britain.

[9] H. Kemp, *The Jacobite Rebellions* (London 1975) pp. 9.
[10] J.S. Shaw, *The Political History* pp. 54-57.
[11] J.D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland* (London 1977) pp. 279.

The Art of Persuasion

This thesis focusses on the role of political content and its discernible diffusion through popular print culture in early eighteenth century Scotland. Political content in its essence harbours an agenda which is advocated through means of persuasion, whether explicitly stated or hidden in between the lines. Ideally, the general public would be persuaded into adopting the political conception promoted by the author.[1]

The art of persuasion is characterized as rhetoric, a productive art in which persuasive quality is achieved through a specific set of skills and use of techniques.[2] In their time, ancient philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle and Isocrates wrote numerous essays on the essence of rhetoric, each presenting a similar apparatus of concepts that result in persuasion. A textual analysis based on the widely held means of persuasion as a schemata would help discern the role and influence politics may have had in political print.[3] This thesis will therefore position itself in the tradition of the standard work and still most relevant theory on rhetorical persuasion, which was written by Aristotle.

Aristotle presented his understanding of persuasion in 'Ars Rhetorica'. With this three-part book, he set the benchmark for later rhetorical essays as well as providing an acclaimed treatise on the art of persuasion and the practical discipline of rhetoric that still encourages academic debate in a variety of disciplines today, but was also the most generally accepted, practiced and studied theory in early eighteenth century Scotland.[4] In this, still considered, standard work on the essence of rhetoric, Aristotle lays out the conceptual means of persuasion which appear in almost every speech or text because people are wired to speak, think and write like this[5]

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[1] E. Capps, T.E. Page and W.H.D. Rouse (eds), *Aristotle: The "Art" of Rhetoric* (London, New york 1926) pp. vii.
[2] LP pp. 144.; Alan G. Gross and Arthur E. Walzer (eds.), *Rereading Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Carbondale 2000) pp. 35.
[3] RMP pp. 43-44.
[4] LP pp. 1.; Peter France, 'Rhetoric' in: *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy Volume II* (Cambridge 2006) pp. 497.
[5] Casper de Jonge, 'Overtuigen met karakter: Aristoteles' *Retorica*' in: Jaap de Jong, Olga van Marion and Adriaan Rademaker (red), *Vertrouw mij! Manipulaties van imago* (Amsterdam 2018) pp. 17.

In 'Ars Rhetorica' Aristotle identified two types of persuasion, which consist of *pisteis*, or proofs. These comprise qualities, statements or even objects that secure trust, belief and credence.[6] Firstly, there is the non-technical or inartificial persuasion. This usually includes tangible artefacts or statements by others, on which the speaker or writer does not or cannot exert any influence.[7] Secondly, Aristotle identified the non-technical or artificial persuasion. The latter is what makes Aristotle's theory interesting and useful, as in this section he distinguished how different components of persuasive theory can be implemented and used to a certain effect. Within the technical means of persuasion, Aristotle identified three core principals linked to the appeals to argumentation, emotion and character.[8]

Appeals to argumentation, or *logos*, originate in the argument itself.[9] According to Aristotle, persuasion should ideally be achieved through the rational weighing and evaluation of argumentation only.[10] *Logos* is designed to indicate human moral and logical perceptions as to what is right or wrong.[11] This argumentative discourse includes possibility, reason, factuality and amplification through sophistry. According to Aristotle, a just speaker or writer should opt for argument through reason and rational interpellation as his primary strategy of persuasion.[12] He himself however quickly concludes that, sadly, *logos* is the least powerful means of persuasion as the public's judgement is already circumscribed by the environment of presentation.[13] Humanity is not logical but emotional, and men take things personal.[14] Therefore, Aristotle argues that emotion and character respectively, are better equipped to persuade the public than *logos*.[15]

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[6] RMP pp. 26.
[7] Casper de Jonge, 'Aristoteles: *Pathos* als overtuigingsmiddel' in: Jaap de Jong, Cristoph Pieper and Adriaan Rademaker (red), *s: Pathos en retorica* (Amsterdam 2015) pp. 15.
[8] E. Capps, T.E. Page and W.H.D. Rouse (eds), *Aristotle: The "Art" of Rhetoric* pp. xxxii.; '*Pathos* als overtuigingsmiddel' in: *Beïnvloeden met emotie* pp. 15.
[9] Alan G. Gross and Arthur E. Walzer (eds.), *Rereading Aristotle's Rhetoric* pp. 194.
[10] Jaap de Jong, Cristoph Pieper and Adriaan Rademaker, 'De reputatie van *pathos*' in: Jaap de Jong, Cristoph Pieper and Adriaan Rademaker (red), *Beïnvloeden met emoties: Pathos en retorica* (Amsterdam 2015) pp. 9.
[11] LP pp. 96.
[12] LP pp. 96.
[13] LP pp. 107.
[14] Alan G. Gross and Arthur E. Walzer (eds.), *Rereading Aristotle's Rhetoric* pp. 60.
[15] Jaap de Jong, Cristoph Pieper and Adriaan Rademaker, 'De reputatie van p*athos*' in: *Beïnvloeden met emotie* pp. 9.

Appeal to emotional disposition, or *pathos*, is achieved through interpreting the probable cognitive response to a certain opinion.[16] Its objective is to manipulate the audience into a certain frame of mind through inducing or provoking the desired emotion that ought to be connected to the expressed opinion.[17] The public can be disposed to or accustomed to feeling a certain emotion and form opinions based on this emotion. Aristotle explains that *pathos* is meant to be used to establish the feeling that a person or an action is of a certain sort and encompasses those things on account of which people make judgements.[18] *Pathos* is comprised of dichotomous techniques of persuasion, which are presented as emotions that have natural opposites.

The emotional opposites of anger or gentleness have to do with good and evil. Anger is felt as a longing for vengeance on account of someone purposefully but wrongly causing pain against another.[19] Gentleness is appealed to through emotions that quiet anger down. People experience this feeling towards those that possess no malicious qualities and those who do not act slighting.[20]

Contrary to the feeling of anger, which precludes an evil action and is a curable emotion, enmity or hatred is felt against those we wish to cease to exist, even if they have not necessarily acted upon their presumed bad character.[21] The natural opposite that is friendliness, concerns the feeling of wishing for another, a friend, those things that one supposes to be good solely for the benefit of that person's sake.[22]

The powerful emotion of fear encompasses the painful and perturbed feelings one experiences when imagining an impending destruction of some sort that seems to be about to happen.[23] Contrary to feelings of fright, confidence or hope is the certainty that good things are

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[16] Jaap de Jong, Cristoph Pieper and Adriaan Rademaker, '*Pathos* als overtuigingsmiddel' in: *Beïnvloeden met emotie* pp. 18.
[17] Marlein van Raalte, 'De plaats van *pathos*: emoties en de ziel' in: Jaap de Jong, Cristoph Pieper and Adriaan Rademaker (red), *s: Pathos en retorica* (Amsterdam 2015) pp. 22-24.
[18] AAR pp. 77.
[19] AAR pp. 77-78.
[20] AAR pp. 83, 85.
[21] AAR pp. 88-89.
[22] AAR pp. 85.
[23] AAR pp. 89.

near and terrible things seem to be far off. People usually feel confident regarding themselves, when they have overcome and achieved and is thus appealed to through describing and linking such scenario's to people's imaginations. [24]

The emotion of shame is felt by oneself or against another, following misdoings that come from vice.[25] A person experiences the feeling of shame for disrepute and especially if it concerns a wrongdoing before or against those they admire.[26] Shamelessness concerns the opposite reaction towards misdoings and is evoked when someone does not feel guilty about a wrong action or its consequences.[27]

The emotional response that encourages the emotion of graciousness, is appealed to through descriptions of services performed for someone in need, without anything needed in return but solely so that the person in need may gain. The opposite emotional response to graciousness, ungraciousness, is realized when the service described is performed for the actor's own sake or in return for something.[28]

The emotion of pity encompasses feelings of pain about terrible things or actions that have undeservedly been inflicted on someone or oneself. Aristotle argues however that pity is not an emotion that can be evoked in everyone as only those who have suffered themselves or believe they can, can feel pity. [29] The antitheses of pity, are righteous indignation on the one hand, and envy on the other. The difference between these two emotions is that the former is foremost the feeling of annoyance or jealousy against someone who fares well undeservedly, whereas the latter is not directed towards someone who profits undeservedly, but to someone's equal or peer.[30]

Lastly, the emotion of emulation is evoked through the descriptions of the possession of certain honourable qualities or goods that the public is capable of obtaining, but are in the

[24] AAR pp. 91-92.
[25] AAR pp. 93.
[26] AAR pp. 94.
[27] AAR pp. 97.
[28] AAR pp. 98-99.
[29] AAR pp. 99, 101-102.
[30] AAR pp. 102.

possession of another. The person feeling a sense of emulation does not feel so because the other person possesses these qualities or things, but because he does not also.[31] On the other side, contempt is a negative emotion felt against people who are inherently evil and nonetheless lucky but do not carry this chance with dignity. [32]

These are the rhetorical styles that can be used within the concept of *pathos* to persuade a readership of a certain opinion through evoking the desired emotion. *Pathos* must however be subtle to be credible, which is why sarcasm or laudatory comments are easily recognizable. The introducing lines must arouse an emotional bond between the speaker or writer and his audience if the required degree of trust is to be realised.[33] Then the speaker or writer may successfully lead his public into the ideal frame of mind.

The third means of persuasion, *ethos*, concerns the presentation or manipulation of personal image. According to Aristotle, *ethos* is essential for a favourable hearing and the most effective means of persuasion.[34] *Ethos* concerns the sort of characters there are in relation to the passions and vices and virtues that can be attributed to them.[35] Aristotle distinguishes between different moral characters and their associated characteristics. The young character is marked by intense desire, spiritedness and a sharp temper. They are driven by honour and act on what they perceive to be noble, but can cease to do so just as rapidly. Inexperience due to age leads the young to be readily trusting but insolent and always hopeful and confident in their comportment.[36]

The old character on the other hand is typically a cynic who is distrustful of others and that strives to take advantage of a situation instead of doing what is noble. The elderly live according to calculation and perceive themselves as wise but in fact know nothing. They feel emotions only in small doses for age has chilled them. [37]

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[31] AAR pp. 107.
[32] AAR pp. 108.
[33] RMP pp. 29.
[34] Casper de Jonge, 'Overtuigen met karakter' pp. 18.
[35] AAR pp. 108.
[36] Aar pp. 109-110.
[37] AAR pp. 111-112.

Apart from character distinction based on age, Aristotle also distinguishes between birth status, wealth, power and fortune. First, those of noble birth harbour a love of honour and are ambitious but rarely noble or humble in nature. By contrast, those of low status carry themselves more nobly and are not prone to feeling contempt towards others but neither are they ambitious. Second, Aristotle argues how the wealthy are generally pretentiously arrogant and prone to self-indulgence, but well comported for they are educated. The poor then, fail to behave accordingly in day to day life but stay humble in character and do not give in to insolence or vulgarity. Third, those in power love honour above anything because it will let them stay in power. They are marked by a greater seriousness than those that lack power, but carry it with dignity. Last, people are more arrogant and thoughtless on account of good fortune but they are god-loving and believe their fortune stands in relation to the divine. Those that have suffered misfortune are more thankful for small things but are critical of the divine as a result of their misfortune.[38]

According to Aristotle, a character must come across as honest, credible, learned and empathetic to the cause he is advocating as well as to its audience, if the rest of what he has to say is to do its work.[39] The moral character of the person in question is deemed valuable when trustworthiness and credibility are accepted as inescapable truths.[40] Such a status is achieved through enhancing the credibility of the presented character through the ascription of virtues. To establish virtue, one does not actually have to be virtuous but merely be convincingly presented as such.[41]

For the purpose of this analysis it would be undesirable to staunchly dissect text into *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* as neat divisions, as these almost always overlap in the practical mode of argument.[42] The need to produce a feeling of trust and goodwill is where *pathos* and *ethos* are closely connected

[38] AAR pp. 113-116.
[39] RMP pp. 35.; Casper de Jonge, 'Overtuigen met karakter' pp. 18.
[40] Casper de Jonge, 'Overtuigen met karakter' pp. 19-20.
[41] RMP pp. 39.
[42] RMP pp. 33.

and often overlap implicitly within explicit argument.[43] Both *pathos* and *ethos* however, can be divided into positives and negatives as each emotion and virtue has an opposite. This methodological partition will therefore be applied to the presented analysis in order to give insight into how different political parties presented persuasive political content through rhetorical styles in popular print.

[43] RMP pp. 35.

Whig politics

The Whigs were a political faction and party active in the British Parliament from the end of the seventeenth century into the nineteenth century. This party first rose to power after the restoration of the monarchy in the 1660's. Whigs were opposed to absolute monarchy and strove to achieve progressive constitutional monarchism on the basis of Anglicanism.[1] The Whigs increasingly advocated the supremacy of Parliament and adamantly opposed a Catholic King. When it seemed inevitable that an heirless Charles II would be succeeded by his Catholic brother, James Stuart, the Whig party tried to pass an exclusion bill to prevent James from ascending the throne, opting in favour of his daughter Mary and her husband William.

Whig ideology encompassed the idea of linear progress in the form of a parliamentary government with a King open to presiding over a state with an exceptionally strong parliament. James Stuart failed to meet this ideal as his tolerant outlook on religion and strive for royal absolutism did not coincide with Whig ideology. This provoked the Glorious Revolution that saw Dutch protestant William III to the throne. Meanwhile, the Whig party was increasingly being led by a group of peers, generally known as the Junto, who directed the management of the Whig party and eventually the entire government under William and Mary, and later also under Anne.

In roughly the first decade of the eighteenth century, the political climate was characterized by party-struggles between the Whigs and Tories in which the monarch was sometimes forced to turn to the opponent of the leading party to retain political stability. During this period of political wrangling, political instability increased the divide between Whigs and Tories and made it nearly impossible for monarchs to create durable ministries, especially after the passing of the Act of Union in 1707.[2] One of the catalysts that further increased the divide between the Whigs and Tories, was the War of the Spanish Succession in which the British Kingdoms and later the United

[1] Geoffrey Holmes, *British politics in the Age of Anne. 2nd Ed.* (London 1987) pp. xi.
[2] Richard Connors, *The Nature of Stability in the Augustan Age* 2009 Vol.28(1) pp. 32.

Kingdom sought to take control over Spanish and French colonies. The Tories were more committed to ending this war, which consequently angered the Whigs and resulted in frequent debate.

Eventually, the Whigs came out of this struggle as the leading party and effectively formed a one-party state under the Hanoverian succession after George I stripped many Tories of their offices.[3] With the Tory party incapacitated, the Whigs directed their attention to creating their ideal of progressive constitutional monarchism, as George I did not have any objections against a state in which one party enjoyed a permanent monopoly.[4] As a reaction to the Hanoverian succession however, Jacobite politics started to gain momentum among Catholics and nonconformists as well as former Tory peers, and posed a threat to the newly established one-party rule. Jacobites were supporters of the deposed James II and sought to reinstate the Stuart House to the throne through a series of plots and uprisings. These attempts however failed and in the years that followed, the Whigs effectively undermined Jacobitism by debunking Jacobite ideology.

As popular print almost certainly provided a platform for political content and conflict, this chapter seeks to uncover if this was indeed the case for Whig politics and how they proliferated their ideology.[5] Political content is persuasive in its essence as it either tries to convince the reader of political standpoints or attempts to debunk the political opposition, which is why its presence and diffusion in popular print is best analysed through the persuasive qualities the texts harbour. To conform to Aristotle's dichotomous classification of persuasive styles within the categories *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*, and because politics are practiced by either promoting one's own ideology or vilifying the opponent, this chapter will be divided into two sections. First, this chapter will present an analysis and interpretation on the use of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* in popular prints that contain political notions concerning positive pro-Whig statements. Second, their opposites, political notions in anti-Tory or anti-Jacobite content will be considered.

[3] A state in which Parliament consist of only one political party.
[4] Geoffrey Holmes, *British politics in the Age of Anne* pp. xiii.
[5] Jason McElligott and Eve Patton, 'The Perils of Print Culture' pp. 5-7.

3.1 'The *Whiggs* they're advanced'

Rhetorical styles endorsing Whig politics

In his 'Ars Rhetorica', Aristotle argues that *logos* should be the most powerful means of persuasion, but is rarely given this power by authors or the public. *Logos* is secondary to *pathos* and *ethos* in persuasive quality which may explain why it is not omnipresent or found in every print.[6] The popular prints in the analysed corpus that were found to contain political content, and specifically pro-Whig content, tend to make use of the same recurring styles of *logos*. Underlining justness and honesty, factual accounts or seemingly factual representations are recurring.

The only officially published account of legal proceedings in the researched corpus of sources was printed by Andrew Anderson, who was one of the Queen's printers and stationed in Edinburgh. Being a Queen's or King's printer meant you held the monopoly to print official tracts, acts or royal legislation in a given town. What is interesting about this print is that it seeks to offer a correction regarding a legal trial, as it says in the introduction that a false narrative or misinterpretation with a subjoined appendix, had been circulating in print.[7] The appeal to *logos* is deemed necessary to put the affair in a true light and thus the tract focusses on restating the facts.[8] This print claims to be the 'precife Matter of Fact' of the legal trial and explains how several Scots were found guilty of corresponding with the Jacobite enemy.[9] They were arrested carrying arms, with the intention of committing treason against the crown. But because carrying arms in Scotland was not illegal in itself and their intention could not be proved, they were acquitted for this. Instead, as is to be expected in the courtroom but was not always the case, the convicted were only tried on the basis of what they had factually committed and not the possible likeliness of their future

[6] LP pp. 107.; 'De reputatie van p*athos*' in: *Beïnvloeden met emotie* pp. 9.
[7] SAP pp. 2.
[8] AAR pp. 119.
[9] Andrew Anderson, *A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS* pp. 2.

misgivings, had they not been caught.[10] Nonetheless, the prisoners were eventually executed for the crime of treason in correspondence.[11]

Other seemingly factual accounts have clearly been prone to amplification into greatness or into a change of argument.[12] Amplification into something greater than facts is most noticeable in 'A RARE NEW SONG, Shewing the Bravery of His Grace the Duke of Argile.' and the 'POEM On the much to be lamented Death of Captain Chiefly and Lieu-tenant Moody'.[13] The former is a ballad on the Pyrrhic victory at the battle of Malplaquet, although it is presented as to have been a great victory for the British forces under Argyle's command. 'Hope', or the *pathos* of confidence, is associated with the British parties, which are presented to have sported an *ethos* that includes 'Warlike', 'noble' and 'gallant' 'heroes' who 'inspire fear in their foes' through virtues such as 'bravery' and 'valance'.[14] The latter poem concerns what seems to have been a skirmish between British and French troops, probably in the War of the Quadruple alliance.[15]

Another seemingly factual account concerns the last Speech of Thomas Bean, who was executed for taking part in a riot at Salisbury-court on behalf of the Pretender.[16] Last speeches and confessions were typically written in a standard format by ministers that performed the last rites. The convicted did not always have input, but it seems Bean did as he lists his reasons for joining the riot. His conclusion however, was likely altered by the minister or even the publisher to ensure the argument had a positive outcome which could provide guidance of moral conduct. Bean suddenly fiercely protests against all who practice the Catholic faith and wishes that they may be converted.[17] Knowing that he was an adherent to the Pretender, a Catholic, this statement does not hold up to the first half of the confession. Bean may have joined the Jacobites for different reasons than religion but if he hated all Catholics, his support for King James seems unfounded.

[10] SAP pp. 7.
[11] SAP pp. 7.
[12] AAR pp. 120.
[13] RNS; PD.
[14] RNS.
[15] PD.
[16] TB.
[17] TB.

The emotional response that is mostly appealed to through pro-Whig statements is the positive *pathos* of graciousness, and is most obviously deployed when it comes to Kings and Queens. For example, Her Majesty Queen Anne is portrayed as gracious in the trial of James Stirling and others. Witnesses that were already criminals and that would provide testimony against those on trial, were on her command not to be questioned without prior notice, as had been practiced in the age of her predecessor.[18] Eventually, the witnesses were not questioned at all, for they then may have accidentally been tricked into admitting another crime.[19] This renders Anne gracious as she provides a service to those in need for whom testimony could incriminate them even further, for the sake of rendering service without expecting anything in return.[20] To match this sentiment of her graciousness towards Anne and to strengthen her character, she is ascribed an *ethos* comprised of the virtues of 'Clemency and Goodnefs' and thus bares testimony that she carries her power with dignity.[21] King George's actions also evoke the regard of graciousness as he is praised for a case in which he selflessly saved seven Bishops from the Tower in the ballad 'The Honest Jury'. Rendering the service of rescue and therewith saving 'our Religion from Jacobite Fury' implies that George is righteous, brave and pious in character.[22]

However, a readership that experiences feelings of graciousness is not disposed to feel this towards Kings and Queens only. Acts of honour and noble deeds performed by those in service of something greater then themselves, such as their King, Queen or government, also evoke a *pathos* of graciousness.[23] Such characters are attributed an *ethos* that is made up of virtues to match and strengthen the desired emotional response.[24]

[18] SAP pp. 5.
[19] SAP pp. 6.
[20] AAR pp. 98-99.
[21] SAP pp. 6.; AAR pp. 115.
[22] William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, *The Honest JURY OR CALEB TRIUMPHANT. To the Tune of Packington's Pound* (Edinburgh 1729).
[23] AAR pp. 98-99.
[24]AAR pp. 108.

The deeds of David, Earl of Weems and Lord High Admiral of Scotland under George I and II, evoke a *pathos* of gentleness and graciousness.[25] He was 'A Peer, and Patriot' and enjoyed 'Popular Aplause' as he always stood for the people. He was a 'Patron' in his behaviour and is portrayed like a saint in this elegy on his death, which may have very well boasted Hanoverian popularity.[26] And even the actions of Captain Moody and Lieutenant Chiefly, who were slain while trying to save the Royal standard from falling into enemy hands, can be perceived as honourable and gracious.[27] One may also experience the *pathos* of pity for Chiesly and Moody who faced their 'Proud infulting Foes, Regardlefs of their Fury or their Blows' and fought with great honour comparable to Greek heroes such as 'Brave Ajax' and 'Sons of Mars'.[28]

Contrary to the prints that evoke the *pathos* of graciousness towards a King or Queen, 'THE DOWN-FALL OF *COCKBURN's* MEETING-HOUSE', explicitly states the desire to make sure 'the *Whiggs* they're advanced'.[29] Cockburn's meeting house was probably a meeting-point in Edinburgh where Jacobite plots were laid, and its ransacking is celebrated as a victory for the Whig party. 'The Boys' that formed the mob were arrested and put into prison.[30] They being described as boys attributes them an *ethos* of youth, striving to do what is honourable through deeds that are noble.[31] The *pathos* of graciousness is appealed to as the boys merely sought to advance the position of the Whigs by taking the culprit Cockburn down, without expecting salvation from prison in return.[32] Their actions could very well be perceived as self-sacrifice for the greater good that rose from the confidence that the Whigs would soon win the political struggle against the Jacobites. [33]

To conclude, pro-Whig political content employs styles within *logos* to present or seemingly present facts as well as to amplify the importance or outcome of events into something greater

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[25] AAR pp. 83-85, 98-99.
[26] Anon, *ELEGY, On the much to be lamen-ted Death OF DAVID Earl of WEEMS. Who departed this Life March the 13th, 1720.* (Edinburgh 1720).
[27] AAR pp. 98-99.
[28] PD.
[29] DF.
[30] DF.
[31] AAR pp. 110.
[32] AAR pp. 98-99.
[33] DF.

than reality. Whigs typically ascribe themselves and their supporters a *pathos* of graciousness, which is appealed to through the examples of Kings, Queens and Whig politicians and supporters providing services for the honourable sake of doing good. In combination with an *ethos* that stresses gallant and valiant virtues connected to young enthusiasm and the use of power.

3.2 'Jacobite Rebels should String all'

Rhetorical styles vilifying Tory politics and Jacobite ideology

Having noticed that *logos* is secondary to *pathos* and *ethos* in pro-Whig content produced by Whigs, this is even more evident in prints debunking the political opposition. *Logos* is hardly persuasive in the popular prints that contain such political content. If employed at all, the styles to be found recurring are the appeal to the possibility or impossibility of actions and the likeliness of, in this case rebellious, future happenings.[34]

To demonstrate, 'WHEREAS the Lord Spiritual and Temporal' is an official tract issued by the House of Lords in 1714, reminding the Scottish people to adhere to 'An Act for Taking the Oath of Allegiance and Affurance', enacted in 1689 by William III and Mary.[35] This Act was first passed to ensure loyalty to the government by Scottish Peers, clan chiefs and people that held other positions of power, with the bonus of providing a clear overview of who had taken the oath and who had not. By reminding the Scottish people of this Act through an official statement printed by the Queen's printer, which was also distributed lower along the social ladder, the awareness of the possibility of Jacobite or Scottish insurrection is endorsed. Also, preventative measures such as these indicate fear that an insurrection may happen in the future, particularly in light of the upheaval that was going on regarding the likelihood of the Hanoverian succession.[36]

[34] AAR pp. 117-120.
[35] LST.
[36] LST.

There are other prints containing small political notions in which factual representation of the argument is predominantly employed, but this is explained by the type of print. Lamentations concerning executions usually purposely intend to ensure righteous moral conduct of its readership.[37] Most lamentations are written according to a set format which provides an overview of the facts concerned with the crime committed, and gives warning to others.[38]

Pathos and *ethos* are closely entwined in adverse prints on Toryism and Jacobitism. Because the purpose of persuasion is to convince a readership, and *ethos* is the most powerful means of persuasion, it is no surprise that characterization is prevalent in these prints.[39] Predominantly the *pathos* of anger, hatred and enmity are expressed towards adherents of the Tory-party or Jacobite supporters, whom are ascribed an *ethos* of matching vices to dispose readers into experiencing the desired emotion and drawing the desired conclusion.[40]

In the official tract issued by the House of Lords reminding all Scottish people to take the Oath of Allegiance, anger is expressed towards those that have done harm to the government in the past. The *pathos* of enmity for others possibly indisposed to act as such without necessarily having committed any crime yet, is underlined by the *ethos* concerning papists and non-jurors who refused to take or are refusing to take the oath of allegiance.[41] They are described as 'insolent', 'unlawful men', 'Dangerous to Her Majesty's Government'.[42] Their refusal is 'Traiteroufly', and will be answered with the penalty of being 'Adjudged a Popifh Recufant Convict'.[43] A reprint of 'POEMS To the PRAISE of moft of the NOBILITY in the Kingdom of Scotland.' even states that the 'Jacobite Rebels should String all'.[44] This was likely added in the reprint as the original version was published in 1678, when Jacobitism had not yet developed into a political ideology.

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[37] WA.
[38] WA.
[39] 'Overtuigen met karakter' in: *Vertrouw mij! Manipulaties van imago* pp. 18.
[40] AAR pp. 77-78, 88-89.
[41] LST.
[42] LST.
[43] LST.
[44] Anon, *POEMS To the PRAISE of moft of the NOBILITY in the Kingdom of Scotland.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Similar expressions of the *pathos* of anger, hatred and enmity combined with a malevolent *ethos*, can be found in the other prints debunking the Whig opposition. Jacobites, or 'Jacks' are suggested to have had little compassion 'upon those whom it is in their Power to Insult'. They are described as 'inhumane', 'Rebellious Wretches' and accused of seeking revenge, attacking innocent bystanders with 'so great a Fury' that comes from 'Barbarity' and 'malice'.[45] Their plots to overthrow the government and reinstate their king are described as 'wicked', but will eventually leave them 'disappointed' and in 'shame', for 'rogues' will not prevail.[46] Allies to the Tory party, but especially to the Jacobite movement, are not spared humiliation either. The French king and his troops are described as 'sly', 'weak', and fleeing the battlefield out of cowardice 'Like Foxes in Holes'.[47]

Apart from styles of *pathos* evoking sentiments of dislike, Tories and Jacobites are also attacked on the basis of their morality. Evoking the *pathos* of shame and shamelessness deals a blow to the moral character of the person in question.[48] To illustrate, Serjeant William Ainslie was executed for treason in 1716 and in his lamentation he explains how he 'betrayed the Castle' after being bribed and 'tempted with that Gold' to help the Jacobite troops enter Edinburgh Castle. He feels that he is 'justly condemned' for having 'acted Treason great'.[49] Ainslie was to be executed for his crimes by hanging over the castle walls so that his corpse would serve as an example for Edinburgh society. Ainslie shows he feared his upcoming execution that would cause his 'difmall Fall' and 'fad and wretched End'.[50]

Anslie not only implies sentiments of shame, but explicitly states feeling ashamed, for the actions he took out of 'vice' to betray the guard he holds in such high esteem.[51] Where Ainslie feels remorse for committing treason, James Shepherd, who was to be executed for attempted

[45] Anon, *A Full and particular Account of five Men that were executed at London, for raifing a dreadful Mob, in the Behalf of the Pretender.* (Edinburgh 1716).
[46] DF.
[47] RNS.
[48] AAR pp. 94-97.
[49] WA.
[50] AAR pp. 89.
[51] WA; AAR pp. 97.

assassination and high treason, feels no shame. Shepherd's character is portrayed as villainous, having it thought 'no Crime to Kill King George'.[52]

It is also an act of shamelessness to purposefully distribute misinformation without feeling guilt about doing so or its consequences, and it makes the reader feel disposed to judge such acts.[53] A Gentleman from London finds it 'really ftrange who can take it upon their Confcience to invent fuch calumnious Fictions', such as claiming that King George was so afraid of the Pretender, that he fled London.[54] The gentleman considers this to be a lie among other 'Rediculous Stories' and condemns these 'News-Mongers' for taking part in undignified practices, but also those being 'fo foolifh to believe every idle Story'.[55]

With the Tory party incapacitated after 1715, the character of James Edward Stuart and the embodiment of Jacobitism became prone to slander. The 'Pretender', 'Highland King' or 'Poor Jamie' is characterized as such that a readership should feel the *pathos* of hatred and contempt towards him.[56] James is given the *ethos* of a 'Brat', brought forth by 'Babel's Whore, th'Adultrefs Pope Joan', expressing his illegitimate claim.[57] This image of James is supported in almost every print where he is mentioned. In 'THE DOWN-FALL OF COCKBURN's MEETING-HOUSE', his fear of the advancing Whigs resulting in cowardice scares him so that he sullies his breeches to the point 'That none cou'd him come near Sir.'.[58] He is a fake 'young Perkin', pretending to be King of Great-Britain but who only criminals worship as their 'Lawful King' and worthy only of 'Royal ensigns for a Clown'.[59]

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[52] Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and Dying Words OF James Shepherd who was Executedfor high Treafon.* (Edinburgh 1718).
[53] AAR pp. 97.
[54] Anon, *LETTER FROM A Gentlemen in England to his Friend in Scotland, concerning the Reports upon Colonel Charters.* (Edinburgh 1718).
[55] Anon, *LETTER FROM A Gentlemen in England to his Friend in Scotland.*
[56] Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and Dying Words OF James Shepherd.*; DF.
[57] PD.
[58] DF.
[59] Anon, *AN ELEGY Upon the much Lamented Death of Janet Hill, Spoufe to the Famous Tinclarian Docter William Mitchell, who departed this Life, 13th of Octo-ber 1716.* (Edinburgh 1716).

In conclusion, political content that was meant to vilify Tories an Jacobites generally appeals to the *pathos* of anger, enmity and hatred but also reveals a trend concerning the emotional responses of shamelessness and shame. Tories and Jacobites are presented to have no shame in distributing lies, but when an indirect adherent such as Ainslie realises how wrong his actions were, he is overcome with shame for betraying his colleagues and the Whigs. *Ethos* is omnipresent in the political content directed against Tories and Jacobites, and is ascribed in the form of vices such as cowardice and barbarity, and is especially directed against James Edward Stuart.

Tory and Jacobite politics

The Tories were a political faction and party active in the British parliaments from the end of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth century in their original form. They were avid supporters of a strong monarchy and rose to power during the exclusion crisis in which the Whigs sought to exclude Catholic James, Duke of York, from inheriting the throne. The Tory party being in favour of a hereditary kingship, supported James' claim.

Although Tories were avid supporters of a strong monarchy to counterbalance the power of parliament and proclaimed a Royalist ideology, they also stood for the Anglican Church as the State church. When James, who was openly Catholic, implemented rules gravitating towards religious toleration, some Tories argued that the unique status of the Anglican Church was being undermined. This led some Tories to support the Glorious Revolution, which saw Protestant William III to the throne. Now, the title of king was established through Parliamentary will, and was subject to legal controls by Parliament. One political branch within the Tory party consisted of Jacobites. These were the peers that perceived the Royalist ideology to be of transcending importance over the Anglican State religion, and continued supporting James II and his son as the lawful kings after James had been deposed during the Glorious Revolution.

Despite this setback in implementing their ideology of a strong Anglican monarchy, the Tories remained a powerful party during especially Queen Anne's reign. Because the Tories were in favour of a strong monarchy, they were in general better disposed towards royal authority and were therefore employed in government, competing for power with the Whigs. The Jacobite presence in parliament was negligible as William and Mary had made every possible Jacobite swear an oath of allegiance to them in 1689. However, former Scottish Tory Peers such as the Earl of Mar and the Duke of Hamilton, continued Jacobite politics outside of government when they were stripped of their posts.

Tories were incorporated in parliaments under William and Mary, and Anne but when Anne died and George I succeeded her, George stripped many Tory Peers of their positions. The result was that the Tory party's presence in Parliament had been annihilated and the Whigs effectively continued a one-party state. However, in reaction to the Hanoverian succession and removal of Tory peerage, Jacobite ideology gained support from Catholics, nonconformists and former Tories. Continuous support of the exiled Stuart line resulted in two major rebellions in 1715 and 1745, but these were both quelled by government forces. The Whig party managed to undermine Jacobitism entirely by the 1750's and firmly held Parliamentary power until the nineteenth century.

This chapter will present the analyses of Tory and Jacobite political content in twofold. First, it will consider the use of rhetorical persuasion in positive pro-Tory and pro- Jacobite statements. Second, their opposites, political notions in anti-Whig content will be considered.

4.1 A 'jovial crew' of 'valiant Scots'

Rhetorical styles endorsing Tory and Jacobite politics

Appeals to *logos* are very scarce in the popular prints that were found to contain political notions of Toryism and Jacobitism. *Logos* is appealed to in so much that many of the ballads featured in this chapter act as though they present a factual or amplified overview of events. However, none of these prints specifically aim to make an argument that is to be judged logically and therefore don't necessarily appeal to *logos* in order to persuade or alter judgement.

The prints within this thesis' corpus of sources that contain supporting notions of Tory politics or Jacobitism, did however try to make the reader feel something. The emotional responses that prints were typically found to appeal to are the *pathos* of gentleness when thinking about primarily Jacobites, and pity towards these same people. Tories an Jacobites act out their gentleness, as they do not possess the voluntary malice that causes anger, which effectively softens the public's disposition towards them and their ideology. Appeal to gentleness is realized through presenting

the party or a character towards whom the public should be disposed as gentle beings, so that the public is overcome with emotions of gentleness. This is most effectively realized in combination with personal virtues, *ethos*, ascribed to such gentle actions.

In 'Brigadier M'Intofh's Farewel to the Highlands', Jacobite supporters are ascribed the ethos of a 'jovial crew' that was determined to fight the opposition as seemingly decent and honest men.[1] This conception is also applied in another ballad where the Jacobites are 'valiant Scots' and 'Honeft Men' supported by many friends and countries like France, Sweden and Spain.[2] This recitation suggests the cause was well-supported by others that considered Jacobitism to be a right and friendly ideology, and the public is disposed to feel gentleness towards the Jacobites, wishing for them the 'Happy days' they so desire.[3]

The elegy of the Jacobite politician James Douglas or 4th Duke of Hamilton pictures him as 'the moft potent Prince, 'well Lov'd', 'a Man of great Renown', 'the worthy Duke of Hamilton', who was the 'higheft Peer' in Scotland.[4] He had represented the Jacobite wing in the Scottish Parliament and was known for his opposition to the Union. Despite his political failings, Hamilton was nonetheless a celebrated character.

Partly because of Hamilton's failure as a politician and the strong Whig opposition that eliminated Troy and Jacobite peers, Jacobites eventually turned to rebellion. High ranking figures in these uprisings were generally former Peers or of noble birth, such as 'My Lord' Derwentwater, who is the embodiment of the *pathos* of gentleness in 'Brigadier M'Intofh's Farewel to the Highlands'. His *ethos* is 'brave' and he commanded the Jacobite troops at the battle of Preston where he 'feared' they were betrayed and longed instead to be home with his Wife. When he and his troops were forced to fall back, he did however remain loyal to James Edward Stuart, and swore to 'drink a good Health to the Man that he lov'd' if he were to be caught and executed.

[1] Anon, *Brigadier M'Intofh's Farewel to the Highlands. To an excellent new Tune.* (Edinburgh 1716).; Anon, *Brigadier MINTOSH's Farewel to the Highlands, To an Excellent New TUNE*. (Edinburgh 1716).
[2] NS.
[3] NS.
[4] Anon, *A POEM Upon the moft potent Rince James D e of Hamilton; anent the Union, of Great Britain.* (Edinburgh 1707).

Derwentwater was eventually captured and beheaded at the Tower of London, where the ballad states his wife cried for him, showing that he was well loved. This naturally renders the public positive in attitude towards him and the cause he gave his life for. [5]

The same disposition could have been achieved through the broadsheet containing 'THE Last SPEECH OF COLL. OXBURGH', who was executed for supporting the Jacobite cause. Oxburgh reminds the reader of the royalist Tory principle that one should always be loyal to his King. Oxburgh states that had James III been a Protestant, he would also have fought for his right to sit on the throne as such is the 'Ancient Constitution of the Nation' and religion should not make any change in the 'Allegiance of the Subject.[6]

Prints containing Tory or Jacobite standpoints also frequently appeal to the *pathos* of pity. This is generally noticeable in prints that were produced and published after the Hanoverian succession. When George I ascended the throne he created a predominantly Whig parliament, therewith excluding the Tory party and its Jacobite Peers. With regard to this event, the Tories had failed to hold on to a strong monarchy and saw the Whig ideal of a king subject to parliamentary rule come into effect, whereas he Jacobites had failed in restoring James II to the throne. Authors and narrators of popular prints likely appealed to the emotional response and *pathos* of pity, and more importantly self-pity, as the cause had been put to a standstill and it was necessary to minimize damage to it and generate goodwill with the general populace.

The emotional response of pity is often evoked through recurring statements of *ethos* that emphasize the unfair prerogative treatment of Jacobite adherents, for supporting what is right. The narrator of 'An excellent NEW Song Entituled, the New way of the Broom of Cowden Knows', seems to have been exiled for serving his 'Lovely Prince' during the Jacobite rising of 1715. He counts himself as among Jacobites who are called 'Rebels' for being loyal to king and crown. The

[5] Anon, Brigadier *M'Intosh*'s Farewel to the *Highlands*. To an excellent new Tune. (Edinburgh 1716). Anon, Brigadier MINTOSH's Farewel to the Highlands, To an Excellent New TUNE. (Edinburgh 1716).
[6] William Adam's Junior (p), THE Last SPEECH OF COLL. OXBURGH. *Who was Executed at* TYBURN MAY 14th, 1716. *Delivered by him to the Sheriffs, and Printed at* LONDON *by their Order*. (Edinburgh 1716).

narrator speaks of his 'Targe' and 'Claymore'[7] that now lie uselessly and are clearly meant to represent his being a Highlander.[8]

Whereas this Highlander was merely exiled, many supporters such as Derwentwater were executed for their loyalty to the Jacobite cause. Similarly, John Knox[9] was shot at Perth for actively supporting the Jacobite rising and avidly believing in its ideology. In this print containing his last speech, which he supposedly had arranged to be smuggled out by a servant maid so that it could be published, he acknowledges he has committed sin against God in 'Thought, Word and Deed'.[10] He however refuses to admit that the actions for which he has been sentenced to death, were sinful. He claims having only asserted the right of his rightful sovereign by joining the Jacobite forces at Stirling, and prays to God his country will be saved from Whig and Hanoverian oppression. John is clearly angry with 'the principles of Whiggery', which are running his country to the ground and states that Stuart rule is the only way to have peace flourish in Britain.[11] John feels that he is unjustly sentenced, for which the reader should pity him as well as feel anger towards those who sentenced him. But, as is fitting for a loyal subject and Scottish patriot, John is happy to sacrifice himself for King and Country and asks God to bless the Jacobite cause.[12]

To conclude, popular prints that include pro- Tory or pro-Jacobite political content primarily make use of the rhetorical strategies of *pathos* and *ethos*. Persuasive emotional responses are evoked through appeals to the *pathos* of gentleness and pity, feelings that should be harboured towards the Jacobite ideology as well as its supporters. They fight for what they believe is right and barbarously punished for it. Typically, Tories and Jacobites are presented with an *ethos* of honesty, decency, bravery and loyalty.

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[7] Typical Highland weaponry.
[8] NS.
[9] This John Knox is not the Church reformer but a Jacobite supporter by the same name.
[10] JK.
[11] JK.
[12] JK.

4.2 The 'principles of Whiggery'

Rhetorical styles vilifying Whig politics

Tory and Jacobite prints that attack Whig politics were found to primarily appeal to fear to convince the reader of their righteousness. Things are feared when they can cause great pain or destruction and especially when they appear close to happening. Negative emotions such as fear may not seem particularly helpful in convincing a readership or evoking the emotional response that creates opinion, but if considered may have been very effective in bolstering opposition. Negative emotions and connotations of fear and failure are likely to be felt more strongly than positive emotions.

The *pathos* of fear is the recurring emotional response a reader would have in the prints that talk about the realization of the Act of Union or the Hanoverian succession, for these things could, or have already caused great pain to the narrators of the prints. The Act of Union is most often represented as something that is inherently bad for Scotland. The researched corpus contains numerous prints that condemn the Union from a solely English or Scottish point of view, but only a handful contain Tory or Jacobite political notions.

An unlikely print to possibly contain a political notion concerning the Union, is the elegy on a porter from Traquiar named Willy Bald. Elegies were practically obituaries and usually commissioned for people of noble birth or high status, instead of a simple porter. This print persuades through the use of *ethos*, and from the onset it is clear Willy is not of a high social ranking or of great intelligence. He had 'scarce Sense indeed' and was apparently analphabetic, but a great philosopher and story-teller when given something to drink, which was his favourite pastime. The author describes Willy as an 'honest Saul', having been given 'the Name of 'Baul', which is a Scots word meaning courageous and fiery-tempered.[13] Although Willy's absence raises the question who will now 'yelp and yell' on everyone, suggesting Willy may have been the town lunatic, the general

[13] This may even be why he was called Willy Bald, it may not have been his actual name but rather a given or commemorative one.

gist of the text suggests that he was well loved, which is also proven through the fact that someone commissioned an elegy for a simple porter like him.[14]

Apart from a summary of Willy's adventures before he came to live in Traquair, the author has included Willy's thoughts on the political climate, which he shared when drink had put him in 'right Mood'. In verses four and five it is written "That those who for the Union stood, Shou'd want the Head :", which can be interpreted as wanting the crown in general, or the political power to rule England as well as Scotland. Because Willy speaks of valiant deeds by former Scottish Kings, and laments the time when Scotland was still an independent country with true kings, it is most probable that Willy refers to the Crown when speaking of the 'Head'. Although Willy is characterized as a man of lower standing and intelligence, he is an honest and good one, whose opinion does weigh in when he states the Union being 'not so good' news.[15] This elegy may have been written as a stinging rebuke to the Whigs, who at the time were pushing the Hanoverian succession to come into effect on Anne's deathbed.

Willy's opinion on the Union and the deposing of James II corresponds to the ideas of the fierce Jacobite John Knox. He notes that 'Some of those who carried on the Union got the Repentance of Judas', because they deny and reject their 'true Master and Sovereign'. Both of these men fear for the future of Great-Britain under 'the principles of Whiggery' and lament what Scotland could have been before its crown was lost to the Whigs that would destroy it.[16]

This fear of future oppression and consequent *pathos* of anger about this, is voiced in 'A SERIOUS POEM UPON *WILLIAM WOOD*, Bra-fier, Tinker, Hard-Ware-Man, Coiner, Founder.'. This print is part of the Drapier's letters, which were a series of pamphlets written by Jonathan Swift, and was discovered to be such by the National Library of Scotland. In this print specifically, political pamphleteer Swift attacks the Whigs because Walpole, the *de facto* prime minister of Great- Britain and a gentry Whig, had granted a certain William Wood the right to make

[14] Anon, *An ELEGY on WILLY BALD* (Edinburgh 1710).
[15] Anon, *An ELEGY on* WILLY BALD (Edinburgh 1710).
[16] JK.

coppers in Ireland.[17] But Wood made coppers that were underweight or not actually made of copper, therewith undermining the Irish monetary system and damaging the economy. This indictment was reprinted in Edinburgh in the same year of publication, 1724, probably because similar economic measures were imposed on Scotland at this time. One of such measures was the imposition of the Malt tax on Scottish brewers. Disproportional, the imposition of this tax led to several riots and Edinburgh brewers even went on strike.

Whereas emotions of fear and subsequent anger for the loss of Jacobite opposition in Scotland are prevalent *pathos* in the aforementioned prints attacking the Whig party, negative characterization of the Whig party or those that supported them was even more frequently used. This is not surprising as *ethos* is the most powerful means of persuasion, but it is interesting that anti-Whig political notions were mainly articulated in this way. The general tone of these characterizations is mocking and focusses on vilifying the Whigs in person.

The orator that delivered 'THE *Nottinghamshire Ballade'* describes the Whigs as a rigid and 'diabolical Crew' led by 'fordid and base Schismatical Notions'. Solely focussed on victory, the Whigs turned against the monarch and would not have grudged 'to bribe the Devil to win'.[18] The author of '*THE Cardinal's Coach Couped. OR THE Whigs Lamentation for the Epifcopal Toleration, Licenced and Entered according to Order.',* aggravates Whig *ethos* even further. This print is a mock lamentation for Whig power concerning the political wranglings between the Whigs and the Tories. The Tories believed in the supreme power of the crown, whereas the Whigs advocated parliamentary power over the crown. The lyrics of this song are mockingly voiced as if a Whig were telling the story of the Whig party doing everything to hold on to political power but internalising their cowardice. The Whig politician claims

[17] Jonathan Swift, *A SERIOUS POEM UPON WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-Ware-Man, Coiner, Founder, and Efquire.* (Edinburgh 1724).
[18] THE *Nottinghamshire Ballade,* An Excellent New SONG, BEING *T*he Intended Speech of a Famous Orator: (Edinburgh 1711).

'But now I fee the Government,
With this Prefatick Parliament,
To caft us off are fully bent;
So let us be
Upon our Guard the more intent,
Before we flee'.[19]

This mock piece is designed to leave readers laughing about jokes and presents the Whigs as a group that idolizes 'Pride and Self' as well as 'Parity'. Amidst political debate during the Rage of Party, the author implies that the Whigs will soon face their downfall 'For now the Government well sees: We preach the things we don't practife'.[20]

Those in powerful positions and affiliated with the Whig party, such as King William III but especially George I suffered slanderous descriptions of their *ethos*. One of the prints that presented George as such, remarkably was not printed anonymously like most anti-Whig statements were. Attaching your name to a print such as THE CLOAK'S KNAVERY, was very risqué and often saw a printer to prison, as was the case for Adam William. Other printers printed for both sides but did so anonymously when text could have been perceived as treason. One of such printers was John Reid, whose anonymously printed material I was able to identify by the woodcuts he used.

Its lack of anonymity in combination with explicitly stated slanderous descriptions of *ethos*, make THE CLOAK'S KNAVERY an interesting print. To illustrate, George is said to have 'crippl'd the Crown'.[21] This refers to the loss of the Tory ideal of a strong monarchy but also portrays George with the *ethos* of a King that was unconcerned with the country he ruled over. In this print, George is a cloak which acts 'damnable' deeds out of knavery, which is an old Scots word describing dishonest behaviour. The Cloak came to sit on the throne because 'It join'd with

[19] John Morphew (p), *THE Cardinal's Coach Couped. OR THE Whigs Lamentation for the Epifcopal Toleration, Licenced and Entered according to Order.* (Edinburgh 1711).
[20] John Morphew (p), *THE Cardinal's Coach Couped.*
[21] William Adam, *THE CLOAK'S KNAVERY*. (Edinburgh 1719).

the Devil to pull down the Pope;'. The Devil here refers to George's villainous accomplices, the Whig party, who helped him pull down the Pope, referring to the Catholic Stuart line. The cloak, or George, then continued to tread 'on the Mitre to reach at the Crown;', suggesting George may have disrespected Anglican traditions to become King. However, the 'Pious Impofter' was not 'mov'd to Repentance ;' for his actions.[22]

On the other hand, the overly complimenting 'The *Hanoverian,* and *Whigs* Rant, To the Praife of His *Britainick* Majefty King GEORGE, *To the Tune of*, Sit thee down my *Philis'*, praises George's German mannerisms, even though these were widely unpopular with many Britons. The ballad laments that since George ascended the throne 'Our Church is Rent, our treasure spent', but then laughs it off as George must have had his reasons and 'He only can Relieve us.'[23]

In conclusion, Whig standpoints are attacked through the use of *pathos*. Primarily the persuasive strategy of appealing to fear is used concerning the Act of Union, the Hanoverian succession, its consequences so far and what its consequences will be if the Whig party were to be successful in realizing their party ideology. The opinion that would be attached to this is to motivate the readership into supporting the Tories and Jacobites and opposing the Whigs, for nothing the latter do is righteous. This wish for support is supported and amplified through the use of *ethos*, which characterizes the Whig party as phoneys and cowards who make false promises. Also, the character of George I is attacked through mock style, accused of disrespect and presented as incapable of repentance.

[22] William Adam, *THE CLOAK'S KNAVERY*.
[23] Anon, *The Hanoverian, and Whigs Rant, To the Praife of His Britainick Majefty King GEORGE, To the Tune of, Sit thee down my Philis.* (Edinburgh 1714).

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to examine the presence of a political discourse within Scottish popular print between 1707 and 1736, and how political notions by different political parties were conveyed through persuasive rhetoric. To answer this question, a large body of popular printed sources was subjected to analysis.

I can conclude that although prints containing explicit political notions only made up a small percentage of sources in the corpus used for this thesis, they were definitely present. This supports the assumption of the existence of a political discourse in a collection of sources that were available to those in society that could read or had easy access to a man of letters. Political content made up about ten to twenty percent of the selected sources, with most prints written in the formats of elegies and clearly meant for entertainment or to provide people with news concerning the following execution.

Persuasive political content was also found to be have been conveyed by adherents to different political parties despite the presence of political prints that didn't go in on Whig or Tory and Jacobite politics per se, but instead focussed on the political divide between Scotland and England. Within the popular prints that contained political content, Whigs, Tories and Jacobites or their standpoints were all explicitly named or stated. Notably, some prints can be attributed to pamphleteers belonging to a certain political party such as Jonathan Swift, who started out as a pamphleteer for the Whigs but eventually wrote for the Tories, as was the case concerning the Drapier's Letters. But this corpus of sources also featured lesser well-known names such as Adam William, who was a Jacobite supporter and was eventually arrested for printing seditious material, or John Reid, who carefully avoided arrest by printing anonymously for Tories and Jacobites but added his name to prints concerning Whig standpoints.

Interestingly, Whigs, Tory and Jacobite sponsors and printers were all be found to have different preferences when it comes to printed formats. Jacobite and Tory supporters definitely

preferred using ballads to persuade. Perhaps this form of print was used as it bridged literary and oral culture and would have likely reached a larger audience than print alone and largely appealed to the lower layers of society. Whig prints were found to be of a variety of formats including legal prints, murder cases, confessions or elegies and official legislation, although ballads were most frequently used. Through the use of such a variety of formats, their persuasive content would also reach a wider audience. All in all there seems to have been a political discourse that was present among possibly both high and low culture and partly facilitated by popular print.

As far as the use of rhetorical strategies to diffuse political content through popular print are concerned, Aristotle was indeed right when he stated most people inherently appeal to *patho*s and *ethos* over *logos*. Notably, Whig prints generally made more use of *logos,* but perhaps this is explained by their larger variety of types of prints, which not only concerned ballads, elegies and lamentations, but also formats such as official proclamations and legal tracts, which may be more subjected to the use of logos.

Pro-Whig political content was generally found to appeal to the *pathos* of graciousness, which almost provided Whig politicians and supporters with an honourable and hierarchal status. Contrarily, Tories and Jacobites relied on more approachable *pathos*, such as gentleness, friendliness and pity. In their undermining of the opposition, both parties appealed to anger over previous decisions or actions but Whigs typically evoked negative emotions through the *pathos* of enmity, hatred and contempt towards the opposition, whereas Tory and Jacobite prints generally appealed to fear.

Ethos was clearly used in support of evoking the desired emotional response with the public by characterizing leaders, supporters and opponents to be such and such. Contrarily to Aristotle's understanding of *ethos*, Whigs, Tories and Jacobites rarely characterized or attributed passions on the basis of age, birth status, wealth or fortune. Instead, they simply ascribed themselves virtues such as bravery and loyalty, whereas the opposition sported vices such as barbarity and cowardice. Dramatization of the personal image helps a character come across as credible. This must however

be done subtly, which is why the over complimenting 'Hanoverian and Whigs Rant' still achieves negative characterization as its appeal to a virtuous *ethos* is not subtle and therefore not credible.

This thesis also aimed to identify possible changes in the use of rhetorical styles over time or on the basis of locality. As far chronological development on the use of *logos, pathos* and *ethos* is concerned, not much can be concluded. The printed material that survives, likely covers but a fraction of the prints that may have circulated. Moreover, the popular prints analysed in this thesis that were found to contain political messages, generally appealed to different styles of *pathos* and *ethos* based on their political incentive, unaffected by the passing of time. To illustrate, Whigs continued to appeal to graciousness whether a print was published in 1707 or 1736.

With regard to locality however, something can be said. Interestingly, the majority of prints concern stories that took place outside of Edinburgh or even Scotland. Many stories were reprinted from London and Dublin presses, meaning that publishers often plagiarized snippets of existing texts, then adding their own perspective or conclusions. But even original material that includes publication details concerned stories that had happened as far as the Scottish Border lands, Leith or Traquair. Almost all prints in the researched body of sources that lack publication details, can be attributed to Edinburgh as the capital was the most likely outlet for printed seditious materials and accommodated the largest agglomeration of printing presses in Scotland at that time. With all of these stories being printed for the Edinburgh market, I can conclude that firstly, news travelled fast in this period in time, and secondly, the popular cultures of these regions may have been connected, because such prints would likely also have sold outside of Edinburgh.

This thesis has sought to provide some perspectives on the role of popular print in early eighteenth century Scotland through the application of a strict terminological framework and placing its persuasive content at the centre of analysis. Because Scotland was such a fragmented society in this time, it has been interesting to see how popular print may have connected people from different backgrounds and social standings through its function as a news agent.

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Anderson, Andrew (p), *A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE Criminal-Court. At Edinburgh, in Scotland. At the Tryal of James Stirling, of Keir, Archibald Seton of Touch, Archi-bald Stirling of Carden, Charles Stirling of Kippendavie, and Patrick Edmonfton of New-town ; for the Crime of Treason, publish'd by the Judges of that Court, by her MAJESTY'S Warrant and Allowance : Dated the 13th Day of January 170 $^{8}/_{9}$.* (Edinburgh 1709). pp 1-8.

Anderson, Horner, *Living in the Parifh of Saline in the Shire of Pearth, who Murdered Elifon Mitchell, Wife of David Blyth Horner alfo,in the beginning of Winter, 1708. in manner following.* (Edinburgh 1708).

Anon, *A DECLARATION OF Mr. ROBERT IRVINE, Who Murdered John and Alexander Gordon's, Edinburgh 29 April 1717:* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *A Dialogue betvven his Grace the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar, Or an Excellent New Song to the Tune of the Hare Merchants Rant, &c/* (Edinburgh 1715).

Anon, *A Full and particular Account of five Men that were executed at London, for raifing a dreadful Mob, in the Behalf of the Pretender.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *A Full and True ACCOUNT OF THE Difcovery and Apprehending A Notorious Gang of Sodomites in St. James's: With the Examination and Commitment of Two of them to Newgate, by Sir Henry Dutton Colt.* (Edinburgh 1709).

Anon, *A Huy and Cry after Sir John Barlycorn, A bafe Rebel denounc'd at the Horn, Fled from the Country where he was bred and Born* (Edinburgh 1725).

Anon, *A Letter from a Gentleman in Forfar, to his Friend at Edinburgh.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *A LETTER FROM Doctor Dalgleifh to his Patient Mrs. M'Leod, and het Anfwer.* (Edinburgh 1727).

Anon, *A Letter from Helen Hutton, who was Execute at Haddington, on Friday laft, the 25th of February, written to her Mother a few Days before her Execution.* (Edinburgh 1726).

Anon, *A LECTURE to the LADIES, By a difobliged Admirer of the Fair sex.* (Edinburgh 1726).

Anon, *A Merry Dialogue, in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh ; Betwixt Tonny Afhton. And John Curry.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *A MOURNFULL SONG, UPON THE BREACH OF National, and Solemn League, AND COVENANT: With fome of the CAUSES, and Direfull Effects thereof.* (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *AN ACCOUNT OF A Horrid and Bloody Mnrder, com-mitted in Kellfo, by William Bol-amgall, Shoe-Maker in Kellfo. Upon Sir John Hay, Quarter-Mafter to the Royal Gray's, and Andrew Gray, his Father's Apprentice, and Jannet Stewart their Servant Maid.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *AN ACCOUNT Of fome ftrange APPARITIONS HAD BY A godly Man in Kintyre, Who hath been blind Six Years: CONTAINING Some VISIONAL PREDICTIONS of feveral Judgments to befal thefe Three Kingdoms, particularly Scotland, and more efpecially fome Towns therein, a Edinburgh, Glafgow, Air, &c. With a Referve of MERCY to GOD's PEOPLE, and to the Church for their Sake.* (Glasgow 1734).

Anon, *AN ACCOUNT OF The Life and Actions of Mrs. M'Leod.* (Edinburgh 1727).

Anon, *AN ACCOUNT of the Life and tragical End of Alafter Mackalafter, who was hanged at Aberdeen the 31ft of May, 1723. To the Tune of, Captain Johnfton,s Lament.* (Edinburgh 1723).

Anon, *An Account of the moft Horrid and Unchriftian Actions of the Grave Makers in Edinburgh, their Raifing and Selling of the Dead, abhorred by Turks and Heathens. found out in this prefent Year 1711, in the Month of May.* (Edinburgh 1711).

Anon, *An Account of two Horrid MURDERS The one committed on a Skipper in Dublin. And the other a Young Woman in the County of Chefhire.* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *AN ACCOUNT ON THE TRIAL OF Captain John Porteous.* (Edinburgh 1736).

Anon, *AN ELEGIE On the never enough Lamented Death, of the Right Honourable JOHN MURRAY LORD BOWHILL, One of the Senators of the Colledge of Juftice ; who departed this Life upon 26th March 1714.* (Edinburgh 1714).

Anon, *AN ELEGIE ON, The never enough to be lamented Death, OF The Reverend Mr. William Delape Preacher of the Gofpel, WHO Departed this Life October 30, 1720. Aged 28 Years.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *AN ELEGIE Upon the never Enough to be La-mented Death, of the Right Ho-nourable ADAM BROWN, Efq; Lord PROVOST of EDINBURGH, Who Departed this Life the 16 of October, 1711.* (Edinburgh 1711).

Anon, *AN ELEGY ON LUCKY GIBSON Who departed this Life January 20th, 1718.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *AN ELEGY, On the never enough to be lamented Death of that Vertuous and Worthy Gentleman Capt: Geo:Drummond. Who dyed at Edinburgh, September 26, 1720.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *AN ELEGY On the never to be lamented Death of Mirs. M'Leod, who was Execute on Wednefday 8th of March, 1727.* (Edinburgh 1727).

Anon, *An ELEGY on WILLY BALD* (Edinburgh 1710).

Anon, *AN ELEGY to the lafting Memory, and upon the much to be lamen-ted Death of the pious, and well accomplished Gentleman; and Much honoured, William Nisbet of Dirletoun.* (Edinburg 1724).

Anon, *AN ELEGY Upon the Exceeding much to be Lamented Death of the Illuftrious Princefs ANNE Dutches of Hamilton, Who Departed this Life the 16th. Of October 1716, in the 96th. Year of her Age* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *AN ELEGY Upon the much Lamented Death of Janet Hill, Spoufe to the Famous Tinclarian Docter William Mitchell, who departed this Life, 13th of Octo-ber 1716.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *AN ELEGY UPON The much to be lamented Death of Commiffioner Kello, who departed this Life the 2d. of Octo-ber 1716*. (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *AN ELEGY Upon the much to be lamented Death of Colonel SARA, who departed this Life, at Leith, the 28th. of Auguft1718*. (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *An Elegy upon the much to be lamented Death of the Reverend Mr. John Wilfon, Mini-fter of the Gofpel at North Leith. Who de-parted this Life 1ft. of September, 1724*. (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *An Exact Lift of the Battle of Dyefart, which was Fought by King Georges Forces, and the Saltors and Suttors and Coliars, with a Lift of the Killed and Wounded. Or the furious March at the Battle of Dyefart.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *An Excellent New Ballad, Concerning a Bridegroom and his Bride who were lately Married at Borrouftounnefs, iving a full and troe Account of ther behaviour, and of the Bridegrooms Running away from the Bride the fame Night, without Boding with her. To the Tune of the Race of Sherriff-muir.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *An Excellent SONG INTITULED Fy gar rub her o're wi Strae. An Italian Canzone (of feven hundred Years ftanding) imitated in braid Scots*. (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *An excellent New Song Entituled, the New way of the Broon of Cowden Knows.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *An HABBIACK ELEGY on the untimely and de-plorable Death of ROBERT F------s Kirk Treafurer's Man, who dy'd November 3d. 1724*. (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *A Pil to Tonny Afhton or the Play-houfe Puld down.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *A POEM On the RACE of Leith, Oc-tober, Twenty Second. To the Praife of the HIGHLAND LADIE* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *A POEM Upon the moft potent Rince James D e of Hamilton; anent the Union, of Great Britain.* (Edinburgh 1707).

Anon, *A Poem upon the Union* (Edinburgh 1707).

Anon, *A RARE NEW SONG, Shewing the Bravery of His Grace the Duke of Argile. To the Tune of the CAPING- TRADE.* (Edinburgh 1709).

Anon, *A True Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriff, by Captain JOHN BRUCE, who Was Execute at Lancafter the 2d of October, 1716*. (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *A WEDDING SONG UPON THE Famous Tincklarian Doctor William Mitchel, and Ann Stewart. Who was Married upon the 2d of April 1717.* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *BALLAD BY J-----n B-----s.* (Edinburgh 1729).

Anon, *Brigadier M'Intofh's Farewelto the Highlands. To an excellent new Tune.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *Brigadier MINTOSH's Farewel to the Highlands, To an Excellent New TUNE.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *[Dubline May 17th 1717.] A Full and True ACCOUNT OF A moft Horrid, Barbarous, and Bloody MURTHER Committed by Owen Brady a Porter, Living in White Fryer's Lane, who moft barbaoufly Murther'd his own two Children, this prefent Friday be-ing May the 17th, 1717.* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *ELEGIE On the never enough to be Lamented Cruel Death, of the most Hopeful and Gallant Young Gentleman, Mr. William Rue, of Chefters, who was barbarousky Mureded by George….. Younger of Craigmuir, Mufgrave Mackgie, …..to the Laird of Balmagie, and William Hamilton, Elder……..Hamilton in abbey of Holy-Rood-House. In Febr. 1710. WithBrief Description of his Penitentials.* (Edinburgh 1710).

Anon, *ELEGY ON THE Death of Nicol Mufchet of Boghall: Written, at the Defire of his Friends,* (Edinburgh 1721).

Anon, *ELEGY On the deplorable Death of Margaret Hall, barbaroufly murder'd by her Husband Nicol Mufhet of Boghall, Mondays Night the 17 October 1720, in the 17th Year of her Age.* (Edinburgh 1721).

Anon, *ELEGY ON The Death of PATRICK HAMILTON Younger of Green, who was Beheaded at the Grafs-merkat of Edinburgh, upon the 5th of September 1716*, (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *ELEGY, On the much to be lamen-ted Death OF DAVID Earl of WEEMS. Who departed this Life March the 13th, 1720.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *ELEGY On the much to be lamen-ted Death, OF Lord Alexander Rofs, Bifhop of Edinburgh. Who departed this Life March the 20th, 1720.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *ELEGY N The much to be Lamented Death, OF LOYAL MARGARET. Who Departed this Life June the 6th 1717.* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *ELEGY Upon the much to be Lamented DEATH OF Sir Robert BLACWOOD, late Provoft in EDINBURGH. Who departed this Life Aprile the 24th 1720.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *Fy on tho WARS that hurri'd WILLIE from me. An excellent New Song, Much in requeft:* (Edinburgh 1710).

Anon, *J------n B-------s's Ballad continued.* (Edinburgh 1729).

Anon, *LETTER FROM A Gentlemen in England to his Friend in Scotland, concerning the Reports upon Colonel Charters.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *LIST OF The Horfes book'd, That are to run for the Fifty Pound fterling Plate, fet out by the Town of Edinburgh, to be run for on Friday the 14. Of June inftant, on the Sands of Leith.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *Margaret Dickfon's penitential Confeffion.* (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *Most ftrange and wonder-ful PROPHECY. in the year 1684. BY Mr. Alexander Vedan late Minifter of the Gofpel in the Weft of Scotland.* (Edinburgh 1714).

Anon, *Mrs. M'Leod's laft Farewel to John Gibfon.* (Edinburgh 1727).

Anon, *MURDER: An Elegy on the lamented Death of Alexander Cairns, who was barbaroufly mur-der'd on Thurfday laft,* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *OR AN ELEGY On the deplorable Death of Elizabeth Murray Sifter to Sir William Murray of Newtown barb'roufly murdered by her Husband Thomas Kincaid younger of Gogar-Mains, March 29th 1723.* (Edinburgh 1723).

Anon, *PANEGYRICK, On Robert Cowan's Trip to the Tron, who fhould have been ex-pofed there, with his Ditty on his Breaft, Wednefday 22d, January 1724, by Sentence of the Seniors of the College of Juftice, for defrauding his Creditors for vast Sums.* (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *POEM On the much to be lamented Death of Captain Chiefly and Lieu-tenant Moody, with a particular Account how they were Slain.* (Edinburgh 1720

Anon, POEMS *To the PRAISE of moft of the NOBILITY in the Kingdom of Scotland.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *R------ P------'s Complaint of his hard Fate, OR THE Town Officer's Lament for the Lofs of his Coat. To the Tune of the bonny Boat Man.* (Edinburgh 1730).

Anon, *The CASE of Mr. JAMES GREENSHIELDS. As it was given in to the Right Honourable the House of Lords.* (Edinburgh 1711).

Anon, *The Church of Seotlands Lamentat-ion Concerning the fetting up of Plays and Commedies. March 1715.* (Edinburgh 1715).

Anon, *The DEFENCE of the Magiftrates of Edinburgh, and Lords of the Seffion, againft the Appeal and Complaint of Mr. James Greenfheilds, Clerk.* (Edinburgh 1707).

Anon, THE DOWN-FALL OF *COCKBURN's* MEETING-HOUSE, To the Tune of, *Come fit thee down my Phillis.* (Edinburgh 1714).

Anon, *The Gillmerton Vulcan gone; Who hew'd feven Fire-Rooms in a single Stone : OR, An ELEGY on George Paterfon Smith, Good-man of the famous Gillmertoun Caves.* (Edinburgh 1735).

Anon, *THE Grievious Complaint of the Beaux and the Bads, And a young Widows, and Laffes and Lads. For Death's Taking Mas: James Crouckshanks awa, Who buckl'd the Beggars at Mountounha. Interr'd In the Church-yeard of Inverask, the 29. Of March 1724.* (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *THE Faithful Sheeperd, A Funeral POEM, To the Memory of that pious and learned Paftor, the Reverend Mr. Thomas Paterfon, Minifter of the Gofpel at St. Cuthbert's, who dropt Mortality Sabbath 22. May 1716.* (Edinburgh 1726).

Anon, *The Forger's Doom : OR John Currie's laft Speech.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *The Hanoverian, and Whigs Rant, To the Praife of His Britainick Majefty King GEORGE, To the Tune of, Sit thee down my Philis.* (Edinburgh 1714).

Anon, *THE Highland Man's Lament, For the Death of Donald Bayn, alias M'evan Vanifranck, who was Execute in the Grafs Market of Edinburgh, on Wednefday the 9th Day of January 1723.* (Edinburgh 1723).

Anon, *The Knights of the Horn Orders Addrefs to the Fruit Maids of Edinburgh.* (Edinburgh 1707).

Anon, *The Lamentation, and laft Farewel Of Serjeant William Ainslie, who was Executed over the Caftle-Wall of Edinburgh, for High Treason and Treachery, on Monday the 24th of December 1716.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *THE LAST CONFESSION Of Mr. Robert Irvine, who was Execute May 1ft, 1717. Near Broughtoun, between Leith and Edinburgh, for Murdering John and Alexander Gordons, Sons to James Gordon of Allan, on Sunday the 28th of April 1717.* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *THE Last Farewel and Lamentation of Mrs. M'LEOID, who was execute in the Grafs-Market of Edinburgh on the 8th of March 1727, for the Crime of Forgery, with her laft Farewel to the World.* (Edinburgh 1727).

Anon, *The laft Speech and Confession, And laft Words of Thomas Neilfon, who was Executed at Maybol, on Thur-fday, being the 14th of August, 1718. For Murdering one NamedMÇonnel, in the Parifh of Girvan.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *THE Laft SPEECH and CONFESSION AND DYING WORDS OF HELLEN MARISHAL Who was executed at the Grafs-Market of Edinburgh, upon the Thirty Day of March, One thoufand feven hundred and twenty, for the Crime of Murdering her own Child.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *THE LAST Speech and Confefsion, OF Margaret Anderfon, who was Excecut-ted at Edinburgh, on Wednesday be:ing the Tvventy 2d. of April 17'3. For the murdering of her own Child.* (Edinburgh 1713).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and CONFESSION OF Margart Crooks, who was Executed at the Grafs-Market of Edinburgh, the twenty fourth of December 1718. for the Murthering her own Child.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and CONFESSION OF Mrs. MARY BAKER Who was Hang'd at Tyburn, on Wednefday the 23d of September 1719 for Marying three and twenty Husbands: with her Life and Conversation, and an exact Accompt of all her Husbands Names, their Places of abode, and the Loffes they fuftain'd by her: Together with her Farewel to the World.* (Edinburgh 1719).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH AND CONFESSION OF PATRICK M'NICOL, alias CAMPBELL; Who was executed at Mugdock, upon the 28th of March 1718. For the Murder of John Graham.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and CONFESSION OF Thomas Bean, one of thofe Execut-ed for the late Riot in Salisbury-Court at London.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *THE Laft SPEECH andDYING WORDS OF Ancient Bavar Officer in Montiqu's Regiment. Who was execute at the Tron of Perth upon the Second Day of July 1720. For killing of Mr. Daroch Dancing-Mafter.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH and Dying Words OF James Shepherd who was Executedfor high Treafon.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *The laft Speech and Dying Words of James Thomfon Tincklar. Who was Executed for the Murder of Hellen Currie, upon the 2d of Aprile, in the Year 1719. At Adincraw, in the shire of Berwick.* (Edinburgh 1719).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH AND Dying Words OF JOHN TREPLECOCK, Who was execute in the Grafs-market of Edinburgh, on Friday the 1ft of February 1723.* (Edinburgh 1723).

Anon, *The laft Speech and dying Words of Mar-garet Millar, Coal-bearer at Colden-cleugh who was execute 10. February 1726 at the Gibbet of Dalkeith, for Murdering her own Child.* (Edinburgh 1726).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH And Dying Words, of Mr. John Andouin, who was executed at Dublin, on Wednesday the 29th. Of May laft 1728. for the Murder of his Maid Margaret Kief : at the place of Execution he delivered the following Paper to the Sherrifs.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *THE LAST SPEECH And Dying Words of Serjeant Ainflie, who was Execute in the Caftle of Edinburgh. Written in a Letter to his Wife and Children.* (Edinburgh 1716).

Anon, *THE LAST WORDS OF JOHN KNOX; Who was Shot in the Noth-Inch of PERTH the 24th of AUGUST 1716, about 7 in the Morning.* (Edinburgh1716).

Anon, *THE LIFE AND DEATH OF TOM THUMB THE LITTLE GIANT. AND GRUMBO the GREAT GIANT, King of the Country of Eagles.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *THE Nottinghamfhire Ballade, An Excellent New SONG, BEING The Intended Speech of a Famous Orator:* (Edinburgh 1711).

Anon, *The RAKE in Fetters: OR, THE Marriage Moufe Trap.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Anon, *The Shepherds Tears : A PASTORAL fasred to the Memory of that ex-cellent Gentleman, and noble Patriot, WILLIAM NISBET of DIRLETON Efq. who died October 20th, 1724.* (Edinburgh 1724).

Anon, *The Speech OF John Curry, To be delivered on the Tron 10th Apr. 1728.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *The St. James's furprizing and afrightful APPARITION Being a fearful and terrible Account of a wonderful Vifion that appeared at St. James's Park, near St. James's Houfe on Saturday Night, being the 13th of January 1722. Which furprized all the Centinels, of four Men without Heads, bearing a Coffin with four Wheels upon their fhoulders, and another headlefs Perfon riding on Horfeback before the Coffin, which fo terrified the Centinel that firft faw it that he fell to the Ground in a fwoon, whilft the Apparition marched towards the late Duke of Buckingham's Houfe. The Truth of this is attefted by feveral Centinels who perceived the faid Apparition.* (Edinburgh 1722).

Anon, *The Tragedy of Tony Aston, Stage-Player: OR, His laft SPEECH to his Followers.* (Edinburgh 1728).

Anon, *The true Scots Mens Lament, for the Lofs of the Rights of their Ancient Kingdom.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *The wedding Song of GIBBIE and MARJORIE: who were married in Edinburgh, on the 13th of June 1718 ; their Ages One Hun-dred and Sixty Years: To the Tune of, The old Woman poor and blind.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *The White Regiment's LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF Captain SARAH.* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *THE WHOLE Trial, Confeffion and Sentence, OF Mr. Rober Irvine Chaplain to Baillie Gordon, who was this Day Execute at the Green-fide betwixt leith and E-dinburgh, for Murdering of John and Alexander Gordons.* (Edinburgh 1717).

Anon, *The Whores of Edinburgh's LAMENT FOR WANT OF LUCKIE SPENCE* (Edinburgh 1718).

Anon, *TO THE MINISTERS AND ELDERS Met at Edinburgh, April 26, 1710. The Juft COMPLAINT and Remonftrance Of the NATIONAL COVENANT of SCOTLAND, And the SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVENANT of the Three Kingdoms of SCOTLAND, ENGLAND and IRELAND.* (Edinburgh 1710).

Anon, *To the Worfhipful, Cordners of the Weft-Port, A humble PETITION is enter'd in Cours For Apprentice Boys, who would fain take a Drink, Be blyth like their Mafters, but want ready Clink.* (Edinburgh 1725).

Anon, *SATYRE On that Native of the Univerfe, THE Albanian Animal, Author of the New-year's Gift, or Scots Poem upon the Union.* (Edinburgh 1707).

Anon, *SUTHERLAND'S Lament for the lofs of his Post. WITH HIS Advice to John Daglees his Succeffor.* (Edinburgh 1722).

Anon, *VVedding Song, O N The Marriage of John Brown, Merchant in Holland, and Mar-garet Hepburn, Daughter to the Laird of Bairfoot, solemnized 28 of July 1714.* (Edinburgh 1714).

Anon, *We have the following Account of a horrid Murder Committed by Pirates on the Coaft of Ireland, and how threw the Crew over board.* (Edinburgh 1725).

Birnie, Pate, *GRUBSTREET nae SATYRE: In ANSWER to Bag=pipes no Mufick. An EPISTLE to the Umquhile John Couper late Krik-Treasfurer's Man of Edinburgh ; now his Ghaift ftudying Poetry at Oxford, for the Benefit of Ethert Curl.* (Edinburgh 1720).

Brown, Robert, *A true Copy of a Letter fent by the Lady Boghall to her Son Nicol Mushet, Prifoner within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the Murder of his own Wife.* (Edinburgh 1720).

-------- *EARLY SOLILOQUIES AS ALSO The daily Sacrifice OR, THE LORD'S Prayer PARAPHRASED.* (Edinburgh 1719).
-------- *GODLY LESSONS That a Mother on her Death-bed gave to her CHILDRENWhereby they may know how to guide themfelves towards GOD and Man, to the Benefite of the Common- wealth, Joy of their Parents, and good of themfelves.* (Edinburgh 1718).
-------- *THE LAST SPEECH and DYING WORDS, of John Stewart, who was executed within the Flood-Mark at Leith, upon the 4th January 1721, for the Crime of Piracy and Robbery.* (Edinburgh 1721).
-------- *THE LAST SPEECH and DYING WORDS; Of Neil Cordey Sentinel in the Fuziliers, who was Execute in the Grafs-Market of Edinburgh on the 25th Inftant ; for Murdering John Anderfon Coachman in the Cannongate* (Edinburgh 1719).
Burnet, Sir T., *The British bulwark: being a collection of all the clauses in the several statutes now in force against the Pretender, the Nonjurors and the Papists. With an appendix relating to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act* (London 1715).
Claudianus, Claudius, *STRENA Kal. Januaris. 1708. CLAUDIANUS de Sene VERONESI. Englished by A.S. V.D.M.D.* (Edinbugh 1708).
Couper, John, *Bag=pipes no Mufick : A SATYRE ON SCOTS POETRY. An Epiftle to Mr. STANHOPE.* (Edinburgh 1719).
Defoe, Daniel, *The Age of Wonders. To the Tune of Chivy Chafe.* (Edinburgh 1710).
D'Urfey, Thomas, *THE Hubble Bubble. To the Tune of O'er the Hills and far Away.* (Edinburgh 1720).
Gillespie, George, *A WINDING-SHEET FOR The SERVICE-BOOK, &c OR Reafons for which the Book of Common Prayer urged upon Scotland, Anno 1637 ; and now prac-tifed in many Places in that Kingdom, ought to be refufed.* (Edinburgh 1726).
Hamilton, Gavin (p), *THE TRYAL OF Richard Francklin, FOR A MISDEMEANOUR, In Publifting a Falfe, Scandalous, and Sedi-tious EXTRACT ot a Private LETTER from the Hague inferted in the COUN-TRY JOURNASL Journal; or, the CRAFTSMAN, of Saturday, January 2, 1731. Try'd at the Sittings or the Court of King's-Bench Weftminfter, on Friday, December 3, 1731. before the Right Honourable ROBERTLord RAYMOND, Lord Chief Juftice of the faid Court.* (Edinburgh 1731).
Hamilton, John, Lord Belhaven, *A Scots Anfwer to a Britifh Vifion.* (Edinburgh 1707).
Moncur, John (p), *AN Excellent new BALLAD, ENTITULED, Take your ald Cloack about you. To its own Proper Tune.* (Edinburgh 1707).
-------- *Room, Room, for a Rover O R, An Innocent Country Life prefer'd before the Noife Claymors of a Reftlefs Town. To a New Tune.* (Edinburgh 1707).
-------- *THE Moderate Man's Advice againft Extravagant Drinking, OR, Enough is as good as a Feaft. To an Excellent new Tune.* (Edinburgh 1707).
Moor, John, *An Account of a wonderful Prodigy feen in the Air, on Tuefday the 15th Day of this Inftant May, 1722, by John Moor, at Crawfords-dyke, near Greenock.* (Edinburgh 1721).
Morphew, John (p), *THE Cardinal's Coach Couped. OR THE Whigs Lamentation for the Epifcopal Toleration, Licenced and Entered according to Order.* (Edinburgh 1711).
Pennecuik, Alexander, *A Gentleman's Letter TO THE LAIRD of BOGHALL, The Day before his Execution, With BOGHALL's ANSWER.* (Edinburgh 1722).
-------- *ELEGY ON The deplorable Death of the Right Honourable, JOHN Lord BELHAVEN, who was loft at Sea, on the 10th of Nov. 1721.* (Edinburgh 1721).
---------- *THE LAST SPEECH AND DYING WORDS OF JOHN DALGLEISH, HANGMAN OF EDINBURGH.* (Edinburgh 1727).
Pitcairn, Archibald, *The METHOD of CURING the SMALL POX, Firft written in the Year 1704, for the Ufe of the Noble and Honourable Family of MARCH. By Dr. ARCH. PITCAIRN.* (Edinburgh 1730).
Powlett, Portmore, Rochester a.o., James Watson (p), *WHEREAS the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, Did by theit Humble Adrefs, Befeech Her Majesty, That fince the Papifts and Non-jurors were fo Infolent,…..*(Edinburgh 1714).

Pulteney, William, Earl of Bath, *The Honest JURY OR CALEB TRIUMPHANT. To the Tune of Packingtoun Pond.* (Edinburgh 1729).
Ramondon, Lewis Senior, *Victory and Beauty, A NEW SONG By Mr. RAMONDON, Senior; To the good old Tune of Catharine Ogie.* (Edinburgh 1715).
-------- *A New SONG By Mr. RAMONDON, Senior. To the Tune of, I am a Filly Old Man.* (Edinburgh 1715).
-------- *A NEW SONG To the Tune of, Peggie I muft love thee. The Words by Mr. RAMONDON, Senior.* (Edinburgh 1715).
Ramsay, Allen, *A New SONG. Tune of Lochaber no more.* (Edinburgh 1723).
--------- *Lucky Spence's laft Advice.* (Edinburgh 1718).
Reid, John (p), *A DIALOGUE Betwixt Satan and a Young Man: Or, Satan's Temtations to Delay Repentance Anfwered. By J. J. a Pious Young Divine, At Aberdeen.* (Edinburgh 1716).
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-------- *IN HERIOT's – WALKS, &c. A new Song, Compos'd by Mr. Ramondon, Senior. To it's own Proper Tune.* (Edinburgh 1715).
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Sanders, Robert (p), *A SHORT and EASIE CATECHISM: Wherein the more Difficult Terms in the Affemblie's Shorter Cate-chifm, are Opened and Explained. For the Benefit of Children, and fuch-as are of a Weaker Capacity. Together with a Directory anent the Right Manner of Partaking of the if Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* (Glasgow 1719).
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Watson, James (p), *Advertisment from Parnassus. Apollo on the first of June 1710, at the defire of the Royal College of Phyficians at Edinburgh, summon'd Dr. d. Mitchell, one of their prefent Cenfors. To answer to this complaint, given in to Apollo. That D. Mitchell had taken upon himself to publish anadvertisement, "That he will give any perfon a serious advice for half-a-crown," etc.* (Edinburgh 1710).
-------- *Samfon's Foxes, A New Litany, To the Tune of An old Courtier of the Queen.* (Edinburgh 1713).