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## RESPONSES TO THE JACOBITE REBELLION OF 1745 IN DEPTFORD AND LEWISHAM

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While most works have viewed the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 primarily in terms of Scottish political and military history, the study of this dynastic struggle in the English regional context has been largely neglected, save for a handful of cities and counties. While it is true to say that those parts of the British Isles on which it had most direct impact were Scotland and the north of England, to a lesser extent all of Great Britain was affected. This is hardly surprising, given that the aim of the rebels was to take the throne of Great Britain for the Old Pretender, James Francis, and the aim of the supporters of King George was to stop them. Apart from London, Southern England has not been closely studied with regard to the events of 1745 (and indeed those of 1715). Until now, north-west Kent was no exception. Given the County's proximity to France, with whom Britain was at war during 1745, and therefore a likely supporter of any conspiracy against her throne, Kent deserves close attention. The north-west in particular, as it adjoins the Capital which was both the main political prize and a potential hotbed of rebellion. There was also the possibility of localized disaffection with accusations and rumours about suspicious persons in Deptford in the early years of George I's reign. Paul Monod suggests links between Jacobitism and smugglers, and this part of Kent was not immune from such dangers. In 1736, one Mr Charles, an excise officer, had been 'shot dead in Pursuit of smugglers, near Lewisham, Kent'.<sup>1</sup>

This study of north-west Kent is based on a number of sources: State Papers and War Office papers from the Public Record Office, Quarter Sessions records, parish records and private correspondence from local repositories, printed material in the form of contemporary newspapers and sermons, and several published histories. It concentrates on events during the 1745 rebellion in four parishes: St Nicholas' and St Paul's, Deptford, St Mary's, Lewisham and St Margaret's, Lee (Fig. 1). Deptford was far more significant than Lee



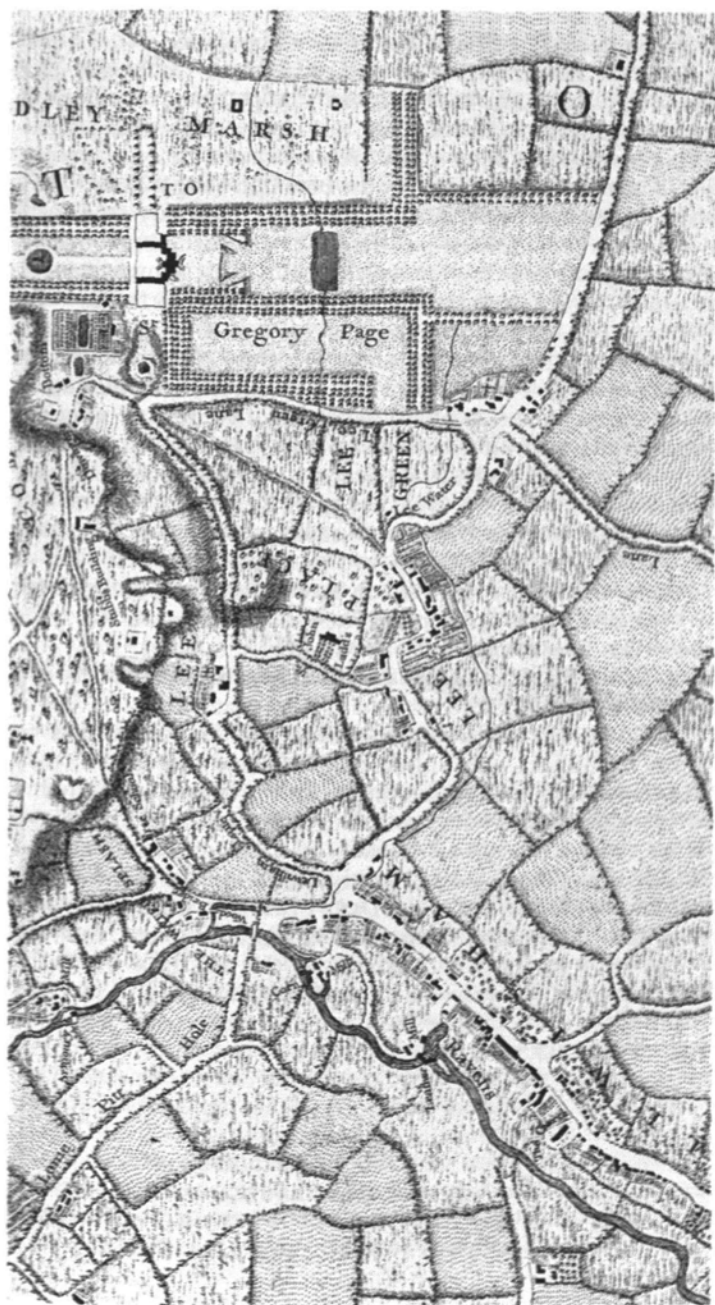


Fig. 1. Extract from the Rocque map (1741-45) showing the area of Deptford, Lewisham and Lee.

and Lewisham because of its much greater population (10-12,000) and the fact that since 1513 it possessed a Royal Dockyard. This meant that a significant amount of government patronage would have been dispensed there, so influencing the loyalties of many inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> This loyalty was shown in different ways by clergy, gentry, military and naval personnel, and by the common people. Lewisham, with a population of perhaps 1200, and Lee (less than 300) were much smaller and more typical Kent parishes. This, unfortunately, means that there is a good deal less evidence about them. However, they serve as a useful contrast to the activity evident in Deptford.

In 1744 there had been an attempted invasion of Britain by French troops in favour of the Pretender, and a Deptford man procured information about it. On 14 February 1744, Captain Bryan Pybus, agent for packet boats at Dover, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle's secretary, Andrew Stone, with information on one William Davis, master of *The Happy Return*, of Deptford. As Secretary of State for the South, Newcastle masterminded the steps taken to suppress the invasion/rebellion. Pybus wrote that Davis' information concerned a 'number of ships and soldiers at Dunkirk' adding that, 'the Brest fleet is expected there with Charles Edward on board. The transport ships are to convoy the soldiers to Scotland'.<sup>3</sup> This French invasion was to be foiled, however, by storms at sea.

The Hundred of Blackheath was the administrative district of Kent which included the Deptford parishes, Lewisham and Lee. On 6 March 1744, the JPs ordered constables and churchwardens to summon the Catholics, within their parish, which they had already listed, in response to the invasion threat. Of the twenty-seven found in the two parishes of Deptford, sixteen took the oaths of loyalty and the required declaration against transubstantiation before the Bench on 12 March. The others did so shortly afterwards, and the subsequent account was forwarded to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Kent. (Four years later, though, there was only one Catholic family, together with a few individuals, in the parish of St Paul's, Deptford. Apparently there were no declared Catholics in the very much smaller parishes of Lewisham and Lee, the constables there producing nil returns).<sup>4</sup>

### *Military presence*

Although the invasion threat of 1744 came to nothing, it was also to be a constant source of anxiety a year later. Because of this potential danger, and in contrast to 1715, British troops were to march through north-west Kent on a number of occasions in the autumn and winter

of 1745, and were billeted there for a time. When the Holstein Got-trop regiment - part of the Dutch force of 4,200 men sent to assist King George - arrived at Woolwich from transports in the Thames on 21 September, an order sent from the War Office billeted them as follows; four companies at Deptford, three at Greenwich, one each at Lee, Camberwell and Woolwich. They were to 'remain till they have orders to proceed'.<sup>5</sup> In early October they marched northwards to form part of Field Marshal Wade's command at Newcastle. In early November, Harrison's regiment was also billeted in the district, and once again, Deptford and Greenwich were to bear the brunt, having to house, respectively, four and three companies, whereas Lewisham had to billet only one.<sup>6</sup> Another rendezvous for troops was Dartford, and both Brackell's and Lord Henry Beauclerk's regiments of infantry were to march there via Deptford in October and December respectively.<sup>7</sup> In early December, regiments of Scots Highlanders and other British regiments, both of cavalry and infantry, were quartered around Deptford. However, when the rebels from Scotland reached Derby on 4 December, these troops were marched to the north of the capital to meet this more immediate danger, but with the retreat of the rebels, they returned to Kent for the winter<sup>8</sup> because of the renewed invasion threat from France, which was, however, never to materialise. On 5 January 1746, Beauclerk's regiment was billeted in the parishes of Bromley, Lewisham and Eltham. Howard's regiment, the Old Buffs, which was later to serve at the battles of Falkirk and Culloden, was billeted at Deptford, Lee and Greenwich.<sup>9</sup> These two units were both regiments of Foot.

It seems probable that some of the troops accommodated at Lewisham were at the *Black Bull*, among the dozen or so hostelries in the parish. A recent historian of Lewisham writes of 'the large number of troops billeted at local pubs. There were enough throughout the eighteenth century...for the *Black Bull* to have a bar named the soldiers' room. They helped, no doubt, to make Lewisham a rather violent place'.<sup>10</sup> It is probable that some of the residents were not sorry to see the soldiers depart, given their rowdy behaviour. However, local merchants probably welcomed the extra trade from the soldiers and army contractors.<sup>11</sup> Troops were usually billeted at public houses and farms, the hosts receiving 4d. per man per night, and of the parishes, Deptford received the greatest numbers, and Lee the least. Whether these troops lifted local morale is impossible to say, but it may be significant that there are no accounts of local panic as the rebels advanced southwards towards London in November and December 1745.

Nathan Dews, in his *History of Deptford*, refers to troops being

encamped on Deptford Heath (Green). It is likely that some of these soldiers were Methodists. Although they were confined to within a one mile radius of their camp, some obtained permission to attend the preaching of Mr Wesley at the Foundry, London. This would have been Charles Wesley, who was in London in October 1745, and recorded as being at the Foundry, and preaching to the 'Flanderians' (the soldiers had just returned from Flanders).<sup>12</sup> They also used a local room in Deptford in order to meet and read the scriptures. One of these soldiers, James Stainforth, a 25 year old Yorkshireman, left the army in 1746 and set up as a baker in Greenwich, becoming a prominent Methodist there and eventually building a chapel.<sup>13</sup> Dissent was relatively strong in Deptford. Dews records that there were three Dissenting chapels in the town, and that Dissenters were strongly opposed to Jacobitism.<sup>14</sup>

There seems to be little trace of the impact that these soldiers had on the locality, except for what can be gleaned from the parish registers of Lewisham. From November 1745 to April 1746, five soldiers' children were buried, three of the former being from Beauclerk's regiment, one from Sinclair's and one who is unspecified. Sergeant James Arbuthnot, of Campbell's regiment, had his wife Mary buried there on 16 March 1746. From November to May, there are five baptisms of soldiers' children recorded, and again three of their fathers were from Beauclerk's, the others from Handasyde's and Sinclair's.<sup>15</sup> Since Beauclerk's were billeted for a time in Lewisham, it is unsurprising that they predominate. The parish registers of Lee do not make any references to soldiers in 1745-1746, but given Lee's size (less than 300 souls), and thus fewer billetees, this is no surprise. In St Paul's Deptford, Noble, son of John Lowe of General Howard's regiment, was baptised on 6 April 1746.<sup>16</sup>

### *Local militias*

As was the case in 1715-1716, the dockyard workers were mobilised to defend the magazines at Deptford. They had been formed into regiments in 1744 because of the war with France, as well as to counter any potential internal disaffection. However, as in 1715, their usefulness in an emergency was questionable. When the Lords Commissioners enquired of the Navy Board about the regularity of the men's drill and how they were officered, they were told that if they were well drilled and well officered 'it was independent of any assistance from them'.<sup>17</sup> This is hardly surprising – the men were employed to work on the ships, not to spend time on the profitless (in monetary terms) task of drilling. However, the very existence of such

a body demonstrated local loyalty, encouraged friends of the government and deterred the disaffected. Compared to the regimented workers at Woolwich, those at Deptford had not been so prone to striking, rope-makers at the former having done so earlier in 1745.

One of the two examples of local loyalty which was held up by the press as an example to the nation, was the behaviour of Sir Gregory Page (1689-1775), owner of the extensive *Wricklemarsh* estate, near Blackheath. Few magnates showed individual, as opposed to collective, initiative to demonstrate loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty, the best known being Archbishop Herring of York, and both he and the less well known Page, were fêted in contemporary newspapers and in the early histories of the rebellion. Page came to national attention in the pages of *The London Evening Post*, and other newspapers, in early October. The former reported that 'last Thursday, Sir Gregory Page, baronet, mustered a body of 500 men on Blackheath, which he raised and cloath'd at his own expense, and we hear he intends to augment them to 1500'. Another report said that he was to pay these men for the next six months.<sup>18</sup> This seems impressive but we should remember that 'journalists, in such a crisis, were likely to have magnified all public effusions of loyalism, some of which may have been simulated'.<sup>19</sup> Blackheath was a suitable open space to hold manoeuvres and for drilling troops, and had often been so used in the past.

The actual military value of Page's troops, had they been faced with rebel forces, is questionable. On the occasions when other irregular forces confronted the rebels, whether near Penrith in 1715, or in the case of the defence of Carlisle 30 years later, they proved to be of no real military use. This is hardly surprising, given the inadequacy of their training, equipment and morale. There is also no evidence as to exactly how long Page's troops were in being or how they were armed. Arming 500 men with muskets was no easy task in so short a space of time. The historian of Blackheath has suggested that Page's motives for raising men were purely self interested, 'more for the protection of his fine house and family than for the safety of the Nation'; though a newspaper claimed it was 'to defend our Religion and Liberties'.<sup>20</sup> Undoubtedly, Page's *Wricklemarsh* mansion and its contents were valuable, a near contemporary description ran that it 'rather resembles a royal palace than the residence of a private gentleman'.<sup>21</sup> No doubt, Page's men could have fended off any small raiding party, though not any serious attack. Since Page had entertained George II in 1728 at *Wricklemarsh*, and his father had been a Whig MP, he was presumably politically reliable. Other county magnates were also loyal to George II – the two MPs, although both Tories, certainly were, one being an officer in the county militia



during the crisis.<sup>22</sup> In all probability, the purpose of the various militia was to act as a political rather than a military tool, for the Whig and Tory magnates to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown. As Rogers writes, 'there is little doubt that they were of greater political significance'.<sup>23</sup> They could also be useful in conducting police duties, making searches and arrests, impressing the populace generally and saving the regular troops the burden of mundane tasks. In any case, there is no record of Page's men doing anything more than assembling on the Heath. However, Page's loyalty and zeal impressed the Lord Lieutenant to the extent that his was one of sixty names, including that of a neighbour of his, David Papillion, put forward to the King on 12 December 1746 as recommended to be a new deputy Lord Lieutenant of Kent.<sup>24</sup>

### *'Enquiry after Papists'*

On 26 September it was recorded that several parishes made a nil return of Catholics within their boundaries, yet the justices of the Hundred of Blackheath ordered that further searches be made. James Smith of Greenwich was accused of seditious words, but there are no surviving reports made against anyone in Deptford, Lewisham or Lee. Possibly this show of magisterial zeal may have been caused by the shocking news from Scotland, that part of the British army under Sir John Cope had been routed at Prestonpans on 21 September, and that England was seemingly unguarded from invasion. The justices had ordered the parish constables within their jurisdiction to 'make further return...for Enquiry after Papists' and to present their findings at the end of the month as well. Apparently none were found. On 10 December, after a royal proclamation for putting laws into operation against Jesuits and Catholic priests, 'warrants were discharged to ye High Constables to issue their precepts to ye Petty Constables to discover Jesuits'.<sup>25</sup> Earlier, on 9 September, according to commands by the justices, in Lewisham ten shillings were 'expended attending of constables in searching for vagrants and papists at several times'.<sup>26</sup> These searches for Catholics were on the grounds that they may have been part of a fifth column on behalf of the Catholic Stuart Pretender. Measures against Catholics were prevalent in London, too, many of them being found in the dockland and industrial areas of Bermondsey and Southwark.

However, it would seem that only limited action was taken against those whose loyalty to the established Church was uncertain, given that there is only the following isolated example, which was probably entirely unrelated to the Jacobite scare. On 11 August 1745, one

Francis Knowles, Esquire, of Deptford, was obliged to attend a service at St Nicholas', by the Surrey Quarter Sessions. Thomas Anguish, the Rector from 1736, and Edward Raggett and Thomas Weather, his Churchwardens, witnessed that Knowles received, 'the sacrament of the Lord's supper...after Divine Service and Sermon according to the usage of the Church of England'.<sup>27</sup>

*Expressions of Parochial Loyalty to the Crown*

Parochial loyalty was also in evidence. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries anniversaries and events with contemporary political significance were customarily celebrated with bell ringing in the parishes.<sup>28</sup> The parishes studied in this paper were no exception. There are accounts relating to bell ringing at St Mary's, Lewisham: in 1744, £2 13s. 6d. was expended on this activity, but in 1745 this sum was £3 5s., which clearly indicates that demonstrations of loyalty were ringing loudly in favour of King George from this parish compared to the previous year, which had experienced domestic peace.<sup>29</sup>

The information available to us about the activities of Lewisham's sister parish are similarly limited, yet equally suggestive. On 18 May 1746, one shilling was paid by the Churchwardens of St Margaret's, Lee 'for the thanksgiving'.<sup>30</sup> The latter was probably in connection with the national rejoicing which followed the Duke of Cumberland's decisive victory at Culloden Moor in the previous month, thus ending the rebellion. On 9 December of the same year, the accounts note a payment of £1 5s. to the bell ringer(s), for the year 1745-1746, which was twice the amount recorded as expended in the two previous years, which suggests that the bells were being rung to celebrate the key dates in the Protestant political calendar, and to celebrate victory over the rebels.<sup>31</sup>

Unfortunately it is impossible to know for certain if similar activities occurred in the parish of St Paul's, Deptford, since the Vestry Minutes do not give itemised accounts of expenditure. It seems probable, though, that it was not outdone by its neighbours especially given the enthusiasm of its Vicar, the Rev. James Bate (1703-1775), for attacking Popery. St Nicholas', Deptford, the twin parish, certainly spent lavishly on bell ringers' wages in 1745-1746. This church regularly spent 16s., to mark each of the following loyalist events for the reigning House of Hanover: the anniversary of the King's Accession (11 June), of his Coronation (11 October), his Birthday (30 October), 5 November (to celebrate the deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and the arrival of William of Orange in 1688). In addition to these, in 1746 there was bell ringing for the Duke of

Cumberland's birthday (15 April) and the victory at Culloden (16 April), news of which reached the parish on 24 April. The accounts for the latter read: 'receiving the joyfull News of the Duke of Cumberland's over coming the Rebels'. Cumberland's safe return from Scotland was also celebrated (in July), as was the day nationally appointed for the thanksgiving for the suppression of the rebellion (9 October). These latter extraordinary events were celebrated more economically than the regular anniversaries, at only 5s. each, or 2s. 6d. for Cumberland's birthday.<sup>32</sup> Regular expenditures of 16s. were large sums indeed which shows no doubt where the loyalties of the parish lay, as well as demonstrating its wealth and size. It should be recalled that Deptford was heavily dependent on the government because of its dockyard. Such conspicuous expenditure is relative. The lesser sums paid by St Mary's and St Margaret's were certainly more typical.

#### *Published Sermons*

There is other evidence to indicate loyalty in Deptford. Again, this was centred on the Anglican churches. Both Bate and Anguish published homilies against the rebellion – as did a great number of others throughout the country.<sup>33</sup> Such publications were probably sponsored and financed by the local elite, probably including Page and other Whig merchants and gentry. However, it should be borne in mind that, though these are their only known printed output during the rebellion, both probably preached other sermons against it.

There are good reasons why both clergymen were loyal, and to find these, we must examine their backgrounds. Both had been educated at Cambridge (Oxford was thought to be a breeding ground for Jacobites and Tories). Bate had been Walpole's chaplain when he was ambassador in Paris. On his return, Bate was presented to the 'good living' of St Paul's, Deptford in 1731, where he was to remain until his death. His patron was none other than the King himself. In 1734, he voted for the two Whig candidates. Anguish had, like Bate, influential connections. His patron was Charles Meetclerke (Clerk in 1737), and as well as being Rector of St. Nicholas', he was chaplain to the Duke of Montagu.<sup>34</sup>

Both clergymen had works against the rebellion published. A parochial letter was written by Bate on 1 October 1745, for circulation within his parish. Presumably the sermon was written in the form of a letter to reach the maximum audience, for his was a large parish. Much of the letter, though, reads like a sermon, and much of its content is very similar to sermons known to have been preached

across the country. Anguish preached a sermon at his church, on 29 September, the first Sunday after the news of Prestonpans was known. In printed form this sold for 4*d*. The main difference between the two is that, while Bate wrote much about the evil nature of the rebels, of their allies the French and the Spanish, and, most of all, the fact that they were Catholic, Anguish was far more positive, and concentrated on reminding his audience of the blessings they enjoyed under the present monarchy. Anguish was, therefore, very unlike the majority of sermon writers, who were all too eager to write at great length about the horrors of Popery, the Highlanders and the French. However, a closer examination reveals that the two works were not as dissimilar as they may at first appear.<sup>35</sup>

Bate began by stating what he saw as the current danger, which he put in strong and colourful language, which was characteristic of the majority of his fellow clerics: 'the Nation is invaded by a desperate Band of hungry Popish Vagabonds and Cut-throats...by the help of France and Spain'.<sup>36</sup> He added that an invasion was expected daily on the south coast (which was not an unrealistic fear), and that much was at stake; the Protestant religion, law, liberty, commerce and property. As with many clergymen including John Wesley, who was a frequent visitor to Lewisham, and writers, such as Henry Fielding, Bate attributed the rebellion to God's vengeance on a sinful nation. Anguish, on the other hand, stated how necessary civil government was, and how advantageous it was to the nation, it being 'the Parent of the most valuable Blessings, does in every case provide for the Peace and Prosperity of the People'.<sup>37</sup> Though, as he stated, these natural blessings were very easily overlooked by those who enjoyed them. Anti-libertarian laws passed by recent Whig administrations, such as the Riot Act (1715), the Septennial Act (1716) and the Waltham Black Act (1723), were, of course, unmentionable at this time.

Both went on to make remarks of a kind which were commonly used by many other clergymen to their congregations during the latter months of 1745. Bate reminded his audience of the blessings they enjoyed under their mild and just Protestant King, such as possessing a free government, the Protestant religion and a healthy trade. He contrasted these with the horrors which a successful rebellion would bring in its wake; tyranny imposed by an arbitrary government, Popery, the ruin of trade and a French army of occupation. If all these horrors were not enough, starvation was also said to loom, because of the 'craving demands of the Pope and the French...the gaping mouths of his [the Young Pretender's] hungry and naked fiends of the north'.<sup>38</sup> Though Anguish concentrated less on the vile nature of Popery, he nevertheless opined that it would 'drench our streets in

Blood'.<sup>39</sup> Anti-popery was thought to be a powerful propaganda tool by all those in the pulpits of the established Church and by dissenters, too, and few hesitated to use it.

Anguish went into more detail than did Bate on the positive reasons for loyalty to King George. Peace, he said, brought in its train several blessings, 'whether directed to our religious or civil rights'.<sup>40</sup> Both trade and knowledge would be increased by a state of peace, but more importantly, a peaceful kingdom would more resemble the kingdom of God than one rent by faction. This precious peace could be associated with King George, 'thro' the kindness and wisdom of his present Majesty, this was long the Portion of his People'.<sup>41</sup>

Bate made points specific to his own parish, which most other clergymen, including Anguish, did not. He revealed to his parishioners that if rebellion triumphed, in order to prevent Britain being a rival to France on the high seas, shipbuilding in the locality would come to an end, and all those involved in the associated crafts would either be shipped to France or would be forced into some other trade. He concluded his dire warning thus, 'our Town of Deptford, which either directly or indirectly depends wholly upon this business, must of course be reduced from a flourishing town of nine or ten thousand to a despicable village of perhaps an hundred cottages'.<sup>42</sup>

In summing up, the clergymen used different emphases, yet in both cases the underlying message was the same. Bate concentrated upon the actions which should now be taken on the part of his audience. These were twofold. Firstly, the parishioners should repent of their sinfulness, which had led to this impending doom before them. They should also beg God to bless the means of their defence. Secondly, and more practically, he urged them to 'exert our own best endeavours to stop this growing evil'. Interestingly, he implied that national defence rested on the shoulders of the elite, aided by a popular following, for he wrote: 'We of this parish are partly of the middling, but generally of Lower Life; yet all may do something'. He suggested the formation of a County association, but only 'if our superiors advise it'. County associations were formed by many Lords Lieutenant to pledge their county's loyalty to the King, often raising money to pay for volunteer companies, as in Yorkshire. Bate thought that there would probably be such an association formed in Kent, and indeed there was, eventually. He urged his audience, 'if it be necessary to open our purses, let us do it cheerfully...if things come to that pass, that we must hazard our lives in Defence of our Country'.<sup>43</sup>

Anguish concentrated on the spiritual means towards salvation. As the title of his sermon suggests, *Allegiance and Support. A debt of gratitude to His Majesty*, he stressed the loyalty owed by his congreg-

ation towards the King. He urged prayers be offered to God, but he did not wholly discount physical means of defence, as he said, 'the ready Use of all means which Providence has put in their power',<sup>44</sup> should be employed against the rebellion. Both urged that opposition to the rebellion, both by prayer and more material means, was necessary in order to defend their current liberties, their trade, their religion and the benevolent monarchy which guaranteed these, against Popish enemies.

The actual impact of these messages is difficult to measure. Certainly, on 12 November, the Kent Association was formed and signatures canvassed to express loyalty to the King, and local men probably put their names to this document, and in December the county elite were called upon to supply arms and other equipment to the militia, due to the renewed French invasion scare.<sup>45</sup> Bate's and Anguish's exhortations probably encouraged men to heed these calls, which resulted in an impressive array of public actions. Certainly those whom Bate termed the 'Lower Life' were active in a public profession of loyalty to the King. This would have been encouraged by the two clerics and other local Whigs, yet it indicates a degree of popular support against the rebellion. As Dickinson points out, popular political activity was usually conservative, aiming to uphold the existing state of affairs, whether against the innovative Excise Bill, as in 1733, or as in the case of food riots, to preserve the moral economy.<sup>46</sup> This was certainly the case here, as it was elsewhere in the Kingdom. Certainly the two clerics thought their audiences would probably be hostile to major upheaval in Church and State, and focussed their parishioners' minds accordingly.

### *Popular Demonstration and the Role of the Press*

The Kentish Post, of 2-6 November 1745, recorded the following event taking place in Deptford on 30 October, more fully than the myriad other newspapers who brought it to their readers' attention, and thus to national prominence (Fig. 2). The King's birthday was celebrated there with a loyal procession. It consisted of:

1. A Highlander in his proper dress, carrying on a pole, a pair of wooden shoes., and his motto, 'The newest make from France'.
2. A Jesuit in his proper dress, carrying on the point of a long flaming sword, a banner with this inscription, 'Inquisition, Flames and Damnation'.
3. Two Capuchin Friars, properly shaved, habited and accoutred with Flogging Ropes, a Bell, Mass Book and Candle, to curse the British Nation with: the other carried a large standard with this Inscription, 'Indulgences as cheap as dirt'.

ment.

They all had the Honour to kiss his Majesty's Hand; and his Majesty was pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on Richard Hoare, Esq; Lord-Mayor.

Amongst the several Rejoicing upon his Majesty's Birth-Day, there was something so particularly droll and comical transacted at Deptford, that we shall venture to entertain our Readers with it;

### The DEPTFORD PROCESSION.

1. A Highlander, in his proper Dress, carrying on a Pole, a Pair of Wooden-Shoes; with this Motto, *The Newest Make from Paris.*

2. A Jesuit, in his proper Dress, carrying on the Point of a long flaming Sword, a Banner, with this Inscription in large Capitals, *Inquisition, Flames and Damnation.*

3. Two Capuchin Frars; properly shaved, habited and accoutred with Flogging-ropes, Beads; Crucifixes, &c One of them bore on a high Pole, a Bell, Mass-Book and Candle, to curse the British Nation with: The other carried a large Standard, with this Inscription,

### Indulgences Cheap as Dirt.

Murder ————— Nine-pence.

Adultery ————— Nine-pence Half penny.

Reading the Bible — a Thou'nd Pounds.

Fornication ————— Four-pence Half penny Farthing.

Perjury ————— Nothing at all.

Rebellion ————— A Reward, or Draw back of Thirteen-pence Half-penny, Scots Mowry.

4. The Pretender, with a Green Ribbon; Nosegay of Thistles; &c. riding upon an Ass; supported by a Frenchman on the Right; and a Spaniard on the Left; each dress'd to the Height of the newest Modes from Paris and Madrid.

5. The Pope, riding upon his Bull.

The Procession was preceded and closed by all Sorts of Rough Musick; and, after a March round the Town, the Pope and the Pretender were in the Evening committed to the Flames, according to Custom: But not till they had first been confessed; absolved and purged with Holy-Water by the Jesuit. The several Actors played their Parts with

No Pretender.

No Popery.

Fig. 2. The account of the Deptford Procession as given in *The General Advertiser*, no. 3447 of 4 November 1745.

The account is concluded thus:

other figures represented were the Pretender, supported by France and Spain, and the Pope and his Bull. Various sins, murder, adultery and rebellion were charged 'at a few pence each, perjury for nothing and reading the Bible, £1000. The above were all with the Pope upon his Bull, and the Pretender, committed to the flames, but not before they had been confessed, absolved and purged with the holy water from the Jesuit.

There was also rough music, illuminations, fireworks and a rendition of the latest popular song, '*God Save the King*' (which also contained anti-popish sentiments) to heighten the spectacle.<sup>47</sup>

The actors involved in the procession apparently 'played their parts with great drollery' and the spectators contributed to the money boxes of the friars. Part of the display was performed 'before the door of a gentleman who has for several years been remarkable for the generous and ingenious Diversion he gives his neighbours on all loyal occasions'.<sup>48</sup> Alas, such was the reticence of the press in provincial matters, the identity of this stalwart is unknown. The event, though seen as amusing by John Marchant, an early historian of the rebellion, should not disguise the fact that there was a serious angle to this procession.<sup>49</sup> The demonstration was an attack on those things foreign which were associated with the Scottish Highlands, France and Spain, namely tyranny and Catholicism. It was to stir up xenophobic and anti-Catholic sentiments and to confirm long held prejudices, reinforcing Bate's earlier message. Given that Deptford's prosperity relied, to a large extent, on the Royal Dockyards, where large orders for ships were guaranteed by war or the fruits of successful commercial rivalry with France, it is likely that the demonstration went down well. The incident should be viewed in the wider light of a national revival in Pope burnings and other displays of militant loyalty, both positive and negative, such as celebrating the King's Birthday and William of Orange's landing at Torbay. Such events occurred nationwide. As Rogers writes, 'During the 1745 rebellion, the Whigs... played upon popular prejudices and libertarian values to inculcate a spirit of militant loyalty'.<sup>50</sup> A pope burning was a very public demonstration of loyalty, which could reach a very wide local audience, though it was expensive, especially such a one as the highly theatrical and large-scale display which had taken place in Deptford. As Haydon writes, 'when the Pope was committed to the flames, it symbolised the defeat of the forces of evil...it was a ritual of purification...it was also a grim warning to the Papists and Jacobites'.<sup>51</sup>

It is probable that Bate was involved behind the scenes in this demonstration, since in 1753 he was to be instrumental in the sup-



pression of a popish chapel in his parish. On this latter occasion he informed Lord Chancellor Hardwicke that the chapel was 'in defiance of the laws, gave great offence to His Majesty's Protestant subjects' and might serve 'to debauch the principles of the artificers in the dockyard [and] seduce them into foreign service'. It was his duty to the King as well as for the spiritual good of his parishioners, that he had to 'oppose this dangerous innovation'.<sup>52</sup>

The press was uniformly loyal throughout 1745-1746, in contrast to previous years in which many sections of it had virulently attacked Walpole and his administration. Since both *The Kentish Post* and the London newspapers would have been available for many in Deptford to read, or to listen to them being read aloud, whether in public or in private, we can be reasonably certain that loyalist news and propaganda would have been widely imbibed. This may have encouraged the spectators at the pope burning ceremony, as well as stiffening attitudes against Jacobitism, which had already been implanted by the clergy.<sup>53</sup>

While such extraordinary events were occurring, Deptford's day-to-day activities were still being carried on. These included, on 1 October, two ships being fitted out at the Royal Dockyard, the *Winchelsea* and the *Siren*, both being frigates of twenty-four guns. They were still in the Thames eight days later and were intended to join Admiral Edward Vernon's fleet, which was stationed off the Downs, to repel any French invasion fleet.<sup>54</sup>

On 8 May 1746, when the rebellion was over, Anne Papillion, of Lee Lodge, a prosperous banker's daughter, wrote to her brother: 'there is very little News here but what relates to ye Duke's Victory, we had no Bonfire here but we lighted up our windows and the soldiers yt were quartered here and some other people came about for something to Drink ye Duke's Health'.<sup>55</sup> The Duke of Cumberland's popularity as national saviour was now at its zenith throughout England, his reputation then being unbesmirched by his political opponents and a legion of Jacobite historians.

Yet some loyalists in Lee were not entirely overjoyed by this distant triumph of British arms. Anne bemoaned the fact that, with the emergency over, the officers had no reason to remain in the locality, thus reducing the number of eligible dancing partners, a situation familiar to several of the Bennett sisters in *Pride and Prejudice*. Anne wrote: 'the soldiers are all gone about here which has caus'd a great many tears to be shed by ye Fair Ladies in ye Town of Greenwich & parts adjacent for ye Loss of ye Officers'.<sup>56</sup> The factual forerunners of Kitty and Lydia Bennett might have sympathised, had they not been wholly concerned with their similar plights.

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 did have a considerable impact on the district, if not a particularly decisive one, which is unsurprising since it was far from the roar of battle, though circumstances might have been different. However, the reverberations of distant events were certainly felt, and the inhabitants undoubtedly made aware of their potential significance. This paper demonstrates the kind of study that can be undertaken to show, if further proof were indeed needed, that all parts of the country were affected to some extent by the uprising, and the variety of responses by the authorities and inhabitants to it. The evidence is patchy and very far from complete, though, for these four north-western Kentish parishes, it may be less incomplete than for many others. There seems to have been a strong degree of loyalty to the Crown, as seen by both words and deeds. This seems especially to have been the case where the evidence is greatest, in Deptford, unsurprisingly given the Royal Dockyard's local influence. It is perhaps worth noting, too, that there were no known local Jacobite sympathisers. Historians have customarily stated that the Hanoverian dynasty had very little support, though the evidence presented above suggests the contrary, where the local magnate, the clergy, the dockyard authorities and the common people were united in their opposition to the rebellion. The parishes studied here reflect national feelings and actions, with their response to orders from London and in demonstrations of local initiative. During both the '15 and the '45 this part of north-west Kent stood firm against the Jacobites, not in a decisive military fashion, but in its demonstrations of loyalty to the established order in Church and State.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express his thanks to both his PhD supervisor, Dr Stephen Taylor, and to his former colleague at Lewisham Local Studies Centre, Mr John Coulter, for all their help and advice with this article.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Oates, 'Loyalty and Conspiracy in and around Deptford, during and after the Jacobite Rising of 1715', *Lewisham History Journal* (Vol. 8, 2000); P. K. Monod, 'Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism and Commercial Culture in South East England, 1690-1760', *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1991); idem, *Jacobitism and the English People* (1989), 104-105; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 6 (1736), 292. There was to be a Jacobite gang operating in the district in 1756-7; see J. D. Oates,

'The Deptford Jacobite Conspiracy of 1757', *North West Kent Family History Society Journal*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (1998), 53-55.

<sup>2</sup> One manifestation of this was in the 1734 election in Kent, where, in Deptford, there were 233 votes cast for government candidates, with only 59 for the opposition. This was a very atypical result. Voting patterns were more typical in the parish of Lewisham, where the government candidates won 14 votes, compared to 34 for the opposition. Overall, the government candidates won fewer votes than the opposition in this election. *Kent Poll Book (1734)*, 67, 130; R. Sedgwick, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715-1754*, Vol. 1 (1970), 265.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers Domestic (hereafter P.R.O., SP), 36/63, f79.

<sup>4</sup> Lewisham Local Studies Centre (hereafter LLSC), *Blackheath Hundred Justices' Minutes, 1743-1747*, p. 15, Microfilm, British Library Additional Manuscripts (hereafter BL.ADD.MSS.), 35599, f118r.

<sup>5</sup> P.R.O., War Office Marching Orders, WO5/37, 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, 233.

<sup>8</sup> J. Marchant, *History of the late Rebellion (1746)*, 237.

<sup>9</sup> P.R.O., Secretary at War Letter Book, SP41/17, 18.

<sup>10</sup> J. A. Coulter, *Lewisham: History and Guide (1994)*, 32.

<sup>11</sup> As was the case in Preston, after the battle there in November 1715. William Stout, a trader there wrote, 'if it were hard upon innkeepers, it was a profit to the county'. J. D. Marshall, ed., *The autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster*, Chetham Society, 3 series, Vol. 14 (1967), 177.

<sup>12</sup> T. Jackson, ed., *Journal of Charles Wesley*, Vol. 1, 406-407.

<sup>13</sup> N. Dews, *History of Deptford (1884)*, 143.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 150; C. Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in England, 1714-1780 (1993)*, 61.

<sup>15</sup> L. Duncan, *Registers of St. Mary's, Lewisham (1891)*, 130-131, 194-195.

<sup>16</sup> LLSC, St Paul's, Deptford burial register, 1730-1788. Microfilm.

<sup>17</sup> W. Page, ed., *Victoria County History, Kent*, II (1926), 371.

<sup>18</sup> *The London Evening Post*, 2796, 8-10 October 1745; *The General Advertiser*, 3407, 9 October 1745.

<sup>19</sup> N. Rogers, 'Popular disaffection in London during the Forty Five', *London Journal*, Vol. I (1975), 25.

<sup>20</sup> N. Rhind, *The Heath (1987)*, 14; *The General Advertiser*, 3407, 9 October 1745. For a history of the *Wricklemarsh* estate, see M. Egan, 'Wricklemarsh revisited', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, cx (1992), 161-176.

<sup>21</sup> Rhind, *op. cit.* (note 20).

<sup>22</sup> Sedgwick, *op. cit.* (note 2), 611, 488.

<sup>23</sup> N. Rogers, 'Resistance to oligarchy, 1725-1747', in *London in the Age of Reform*, ed. by J. Stevenson (1977), 17.

<sup>24</sup> P.R.O., SP36/90, f64r.

<sup>25</sup> LLSC, Blackheath Hundred Justices' Minutes, 1743-1747, 35, 40. Microfilm.

<sup>26</sup> LLSC, St Mary's, Lewisham Churchwardens' Rate Book, 1727-1747, SM1/3/8.

<sup>27</sup> Surrey Record Office, Quarter Sessions Rolls, Q/S, 2/6.

<sup>28</sup> D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells (1989)*, xiii; N. Rogers, 'Popular Protest in Early Haoverian London', *Past and Present*, 79 (1978), 69.

<sup>29</sup> LLSC, St Mary's Rate Book, SM1/3/8.

RESPONSES TO THE JACOBITE REBELLION IN DEPTFORD AND LEWISHAM

<sup>30</sup> LLSC, St Margaret's Lee, Churchwardens' Account Book, 1730-1814, A78/18/B1/1.

<sup>31</sup> LLSC, St Mary's Rate Book, SM1/3/8.

<sup>32</sup> Greenwich Local History Library, St Nicholas', Deptford Churchwardens' Accounts, 1727-1787, St.ND 1A/2/1.

<sup>33</sup> F. Deconnick-Brossard, 'The Churches and the Forty Five', *Studies in Church History, The Church and War*, Vol. 20 (1983).

<sup>34</sup> D.N.B., Vol. I, 1310-1311; E. Hasted, *The Hundred of Blackheath*, 1886, 30; J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Vol. I (1921), 33; T. Anguish, *Allegiance and Support. A debt of gratitude to His Majesty* (1745), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Anguish, *op. cit.* (note 34).

<sup>36</sup> J. Bate, *A Parochial Letter to the inhabitants of St. Paul's Deptford, Kent* (1745), 3-4.

<sup>37</sup> Anguish, *op. cit.* (note 34), 4.

<sup>38</sup> Bate, *op. cit.* (note 36), 9.

<sup>39</sup> Anguish, *op. cit.* (note 34), 13.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>42</sup> Bate, *op. cit.* (note 36), 8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>44</sup> Anguish, *op. cit.* (note 34), 16.

<sup>45</sup> *The Kentish Post*, 2934, 13-16 November 1745 and 2942, 11-14 December 1745.

<sup>46</sup> H. T. Dickinson, 'Popular politics', in *Britain in the Age of Walpole*, ed. by J. Black (1984), 61-62.

<sup>47</sup> *The Kentish Post*, 2931, 2-6 November 1745.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Marchant, *op. cit.* (note 8), 151.

<sup>50</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.* (note 19), 23.

<sup>51</sup> Haydon, *op. cit.* (note 14), 35.

<sup>52</sup> BL.ADD.MSS.35599, f112r, 118r.

<sup>53</sup> R. Harris, *A Patriot Press* (1993).

<sup>54</sup> P.R.O., SP42/49, 222.

<sup>55</sup> Centre for Kentish Studies, V1015 C60/5.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*