New England's attitudes about foreign affairs as expressed in its newspapers| 1700–1756

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NEW ENGLAND'S ATTITUDES ABOUT FOREIGN AFFAIRS AS EXPRESSED IN ITS NEWSPAPERS: 1700-1756

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B.A. University of Montana, 1967

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

1972

Approved by:

[Signatures]
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This study, which will look into New England's papers to see the reflection of its attitudes about foreign affairs between 1700 and 1756, is in one sense a broad topic, and in another a narrow one. The topics contributing to eighteenth century political, economic, and religious policies must be considered as well as some of their historical roots, inasmuch as they will contribute to a fuller understanding of the subject. These span many years of history and cover much of the political, religious, and economic development of the nations involved. When one attempts to cover such a broad spectrum in a limited space, broad generalizations must be used, while, at the same time, maintaining the necessary amount of specificity requisite to keeping a perspective.

Such a topic is also rather restricted, for it focuses on a particular institution, the press, and how it fitted into a society in a particular fashion. The very nature of the topic demands some discussion of the historical development of that institution. More important, an understanding of the uses to which the colonists put the papers will further illuminate the society.

New England's attitudes concerning foreign affairs form the story of the reaction of a body of people to particular events and the policies that were derived from those experiences. To understand the interaction of the policies and events, something about each must be known.
During the first half of the eighteenth century, several concepts affected international diplomacy. They fall into two general categories which are, on the one hand, political and economic in nature, and religious on the other. The mercantilistic theories of the eighteenth century were economically oriented, but their use by the major powers, Britain, France, and Spain, involved many political policies. Political desires motivated to some extent the implementation of the mercantilist theories, thus economics and politics on the international level interacted during the eighteenth century.

The effects of the Protestant Reformation were also at work in the eighteenth century. Protestant Britain competed with Catholic France and Spain on many different levels during the period. While the policies of the governments were not controlled by religious motives, the spiritual well-being of the citizens sometimes affected the policies of the governments.

Generally, these are the things one could expect to see reflected in New England's papers. We must also consider conditions within the northern British colonies between 1700 and 1756, as well as some of the historical developments in the colonies. Between these dates, two segments of New England society, the economic community and the religious, reacted to foreign affairs. Each of these groups kept careful track of foreign affairs for reasons of their own. They also reacted to the policies of the various governments, and their reactions form the substance of this study. The reasons why each group watched foreign affairs are important, but just as important are the attitudes the colonists expressed in their papers about the policies of the European governments.
These indicate how New England viewed its own position in world politics, as well as that of the mother country, and what meaning this held for the colonial world.
CHAPTER I

THE ISSUES AND THE PAPERS

The commercial revolution of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries restructured Europe's prevailing economic theories and gave rise to the middle class. Expanded trade opportunities accompanying the discovery of new trade routes produced a moneyed class with excess capital to invest, and new opportunities for investment. The class which grew out of the commercial revolution eventually, controlled much of the national wealth, and through this, the various nations' destinies.

The commercial revolution was well under way by the beginning of the sixteenth century. It contributed to a search for new wealth, principally precious metals and stones. Alliances between the new moneyed class and the governments increased the search for new wealth. They allied themselves by forming trading companies. These, in turn, found outlets and markets for national goods. The governments received income from charters granted to the companies, through duties collected on imports and exports, and rentals charged.

The companies completed most of their explorations by the opening of the seventeenth century, and established territorial claims in the name of their governments. Generally, the Spanish and Portuguese occupied South America, while the French claimed the northern part of North America, and the British the middle sections. Elsewhere, the British and French competed with the Dutch in the Indian Ocean, while the Spanish and
Portuguese held some territories in Africa. All of them also had some influence in continental diplomacy.

The idea that a nation's strength could be advanced through commercial means accompanied the commercial revolution. Each monarch sought to obtain the advantage over his rival through a system economic in outlook.¹ By restricting trade in the areas under his control to himself as much as possible, each ruler hoped to build his national strength through the mercantilist system. This fostered a favorable balance of trade and produced a flow of gold into the mother country. By the eighteenth century, "commerce was recognized as being the road to wealth and power. and it became the policy of every European prince to increase the wealth of his country by advancing its trade."² Large commercial empires which could serve as markets for commercial goods and sources of raw materials became the goal of each government.³ All hoped to increase their own sphere of control while restricting that of its rival.⁴

This system came to be used as one of statescraft during the eighteenth century.⁵ Between 1689 and 1815, a series of seven wars, collectively called the Second Hundred Years War, occurred, and all were

⁴Ibid., p. 54.
fought over the basic problem of commercial empire. The concept of a balance of power figured into each of these conflicts. By 1689, the major powers realized they could not destroy their rivals, and elected to contain, as much as possible, their rival's sphere of control and influence. The battles for commercial supremacy and attempts to maintain the balance of power were originally important only in Europe, but everyone recognized they could be applied to the New World by the opening of the eighteenth century. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the application of the balance of power in Europe indirectly affected the colonists, and its application in the New World directly affected them.

The other factor in European history affecting colonial reactions to foreign affairs lay in the field of religion. The roots of this problem are found in the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses challenging the validity of the church's works to the door at Wittenberg in 1517. He bypassed the priest's functions, and insisted that sinners were absolved by inner grace and faith alone. He rallied public opinion behind him in succeeding years, denouncing the church's sacraments, save those of baptism and communion, as meaningless. Luther refused to recant when called before a Diet of the Empire at Worms to account for his behavior. After being placed under the Ban of the Empire for his refusal, he retreated to the safety the northern German princes offered, and joined the anti-Catholic movement beginning to sweep over Germany.

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The religious movement continued to grow in Germany, assuming the character of a social and political revolution. Civil war erupted when Charles V attempted to uphold Catholicism and the petty states formed alliances between themselves. Total war broke out in 1546 between the League of Schmalkaldic, supported by the Emperor, and France. Germany then fell into anarchy and civil strife, which ended only with the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.

John Calvin and his followers pushed along the religious revolution begun by Martin Luther. A generation younger than Luther, Calvin became a Christian in 1533, and three years later published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. He agreed with most of what Luther held, but carried some beliefs further. He made more of the idea of predestination and preached that God had predetermined all that was to happen. Secondly, where Luther believed in the subordination of the church to the state, Calvin preached the opposite. He held that the church should christianize the state and remake it in the image of a religious community. The Calvinists also rejected many church institutions such as bishops, insisting that a certain amount of lay control, through a system of presbyteries, benefited the church.

Calvin established a model community in Geneva, Switzerland, and set about to rid his church of all elements of Catholicism, undertaking to regulate it by the Bible. Reformers flocked into the area from all over, and Geneva became the Protestant Rome.

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The above two events might not have affected England as greatly had the actions of the monarch, King Henry VIII, been different in the early 1530s. He desired a son to carry on the monarchy and petitioned the Pope to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who had failed to produce a male heir. Henry replaced the Archbishop of Canterbury, repudiated the connection with Rome, and married Anne Boleyn when the Pope refused. Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy in 1534, establishing the monarch as the leading authority of the English church.

Henry reigned until his death in 1547, when his son, Edward VI, succeeded him. He in turn died in 1555, and his sister, Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, a devout Catholic, succeeded him. Mary proved unpopular, however, partially because of some three-hundred public burnings in mass executions, and partially because the English people resented the intense Catholicism she and her husband, Philip II of Spain, represented.

Mary died in 1558, and Elizabeth, Henry's younger daughter and child of Anne Boleyn, succeeded her. This woman is given much credit for swaying the English people to the Protestant religion. The church gradually assumed the structure of the Lutheran, or more exactly, a state church, under her leadership. She required all subjects to become members, and by deliberately setting forth broad policies and dogmas, sought to accommodate all the shades of belief possible. In 1563, a committee of bishops composed the thirty-nine articles defining the Anglican church. Although Protestant in tone, they retained some elements of the High Church.

Not all the English people accepted these. In 1380, John Wycliff preached the doctrine in England that no visible church was necessary for
salvation, and that ordinary persons might find grace and salvation by reading the Bible. Although branded a heretic, he converted many to his teachings and some still sympathized with his views in the late sixteenth century. They absorbed Luther's and Calvin's teachings and founded their own church by combining Wycliff's and Luther's beliefs that the individual could interpret the Bible freely with those that the ministrations of a priest were superfluous. They incorporated Calvin's belief that the church was superior to the state and should be governed by lay members acting together, along with his concept of predestination, into their church. Those who accepted this belief became dissatisfied with the structure of the Anglican church in the sixteenth century and wanted to purge it of all meaningless ritual. Today we call them Puritans, and they carried their beliefs to the New World.

One thing the Puritans carried to the New World was a mission, which they attempted to carry out in New England. Their mission was to establish their city on a hill, to construct a Bible commonwealth, and to show the world what life structured on the Bible could be like.

The Puritans instituted many devices to make sure nothing alien to their way took hold in the area, and to insure that citizens did not stray from accepted pathways. They established secular and ecclesiastical court systems to punish offenders, and required citizens to show sinners the folly of their ways. They also required regular church attendance, where clerics exposed everyone to church doctrine through powerful sermons.
The Puritans used such methods to enforce their beliefs and traditions, controlling nearly every facet of life through church doctrine. This extended all the way from the individual level, to the family, and upwards through society. The Puritan oligarchy controlled the populace through conscious manipulation of what it was exposed to on every level, including the printing business and the newspaper business which grew out of it.

An historical precedent also existed for controlling the press. All European governments, for political reasons, strictly controlled the printing business, and the Puritans founded their printing business upon the English traditions and laws. A printer had to obtain government permission and a license before setting up shop. All published materials had to bear the notice "published by authority," which indicated to readers that the material did not go beyond the limits set by the government. The English government censored the presses for political reasons, and the Puritans transported this system to the New World.

The British government expected the colonists to live by the rules governing their nation. Consequently, the governor's instructions included the authority to control the press, and the home government expected him to fulfill that obligation. Thus, the government and controlling party, practically synonymous in early Massachusetts, subjected the early press to stringent censorship policies.*

*There are many sources that adequately cover the material presented above. Those consulted here are Perry Miller's two works on New England's intellectual development, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century, and The New England Mind: From Colony to Province. While the specifics of his thesis are not utilized here, they are, nevertheless, suggestive of the Puritan mood during the period. The statements dealing with
Church elders also retained a tight hold on New England's way of life by appointing only Puritans to positions of authority. They insured control of the assemblies by controlling the electoral system. Thus, the early printer had to satisfy the King's representative and the controlling party before his material could appear.

Government and ecclesiastical projects largely supported Massachusetts' early printers. Their duties consisted of printing government laws, acts, proclamations, etc., and ecclesiastical treatises, sermons and lectures. Very little material printed during the early years failed to meet the standards of these two groups. The authorities seized materials contrary to stated policy, hauled the offending parties into court, fined them and forced them to print retractions. Contrary materials printed outside the colony and then imported also encountered opposition. The government seized all materials, hauled the importer into court, and dealt with him in a similar manner.

the Puritan's purpose are derived from Miller's Errand into the Wilderness, in which he demonstrates the initial optimism and the ultimate failure of the Puritan system. The brief mention of the Puritan court systems is based on Miller and Johnson's The Puritan's: A Sourcebook of Their Writings, volume 1. The reader is directed to the section on the theory of the state and society. An excellent discussion is provided by Emery Battis in his Saints and Sectaries for those who are more interested in the workings of this system. Those comments dealing with the personal duties of the Puritan citizen are derived from Edmund S. Morgan's The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop. Morgan demonstrates in this work why the Puritan could not withdraw from society to practice his religion in undisturbed surroundings. The comments about the control of the Puritan family came also from Morgan. In this case, his The Puritan Family shows how Puritan doctrine utilized the family as a cohesive unit to help bind the entire structure together. Finally, the comments dealing with the Puritan control of the press are derived from Claude Duniway's The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts, and Sydney Kobré's The Development of the Colonial Newspaper. Both of these demonstrate how and why the first presses were controlled in New England.
The Puritans and the governor controlled the presses for their own reasons throughout the seventeenth century. The governor represented the monarch and disallowed anything offensive to the crown, while Puritan clergymen made sure nothing contrary to the established religious position appeared. This atmosphere forced New England to look elsewhere for news. It relied heavily on English papers and magazines for foreign news, and spread domestic news by word of mouth, or through letters.

The need for additional information grew as time passed. By the late 1600s, New World merchants and citizens had difficulty keeping track of current events. As colonial trade grew, it became necessary for merchants to keep track of the ships entering and leaving port. A need grew for an established agency which could keep track of trade ship movements. "The development of commerce, then, had an important bearing on the establishment of the first newspapers and all the early publications appeared in commercial centers." By this time, Massachusetts had established connections with the citizens, merchants, and governments of other colonies. The establishment of regular mail routes also aided in disbursing news items and personal letters. A society capable of supporting a newspaper slowly developed. "The first American newspaper grew out of the peculiar conditions in the colonial environment, out of the desire for political and commercial news, foreign and domestic, and the need for an advertising medium." 

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In response, Benjamin Harris launched the first attempt to establish a colonial newspaper in 1690. He was not new to the business. He had been a printer in London before migrating to the New World when political pressure forced him to leave. He settled in Boston, opened a coffee-house, and sold books, but soon began searching for new ways to make money. His scheme to establish a newspaper grew out of this, but in his venture he neglected one factor. He did not receive government permission before publishing the first and only issue of *Public Occurrences: Both Foreign and Domestic* on September 25, 1690. Harris' paper could not contain the vital notice "published by authority" without official sanction. He operated illegally before he started, which was serious, but in the publication Harris included accounts of Britain's Indian allies and their habits of torturing prisoners, which sufficed for his domestic news. He included references to the alleged immorality of the French king for foreign news.

The authorities objected to these items, and the governor and council issued a broadside forbidding further publication of the paper. The first attempt to establish a newspaper in New England thus failed because of the established authorities' objections.

Fourteen years passed before anyone made another attempt to establish a paper in Massachusetts. It resulted because of a political appointment when it did occur. Political appointments were common during the period, and the governor appointed John Campbell to the postmastership.

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in 1700. One of the position's privileges allowed the occupant to use the postal system free of charge, or at reduced rates, and Campbell soon capitalized on this by sending out handwritten news-letters to merchants, governors, and other prominent persons in other colonies. These consisted of ships' movements, governmental acts, and accounts of extraordinary domestic occurrences. Demands for the news-letters soon outgrew Campbell's ability to reproduce them in quantity, and he decided to establish a newspaper. He made the proper applications, and received authority to do so. The first successful colonial newspaper more or less evolved over a four-year period in response to a need for a domestic source of news.

The first issue came out in April, 1704. Subsequent issues appeared weekly, printed on both sides of a single sheet of paper measuring approximately 8 by 12 3/4 inches. The contents consisted of short articles on foreign affairs extracted from English papers. Some domestic news appeared at the end of the second page along with accounts of ships' movements and advertisements. The articles were dry, sterile accounts of events, devoid of any editorial content. Campbell occasionally tacked a short moralistic statement onto the end of one of the accounts, but they seldom ventured far afield and never hinted of anything offensive to the establishment. During the entire time he edited the News-Letter, Campbell followed this course. He hoped to give his readers an account of foreign


13Duniway, Development of Freedom, pp. 78-79.
and domestic occurrences through which they could follow events, and often lagged months behind.

Campbell followed this routine during the period he edited the News-Letter, adhering to his policy to avoid anything that might offend the authorities. After Campbell removed himself from the editorship of the News-Letter, his successor carried out this policy. "Throughout its life the News-Letter was the mouthpiece of the dominant party." The controlling party belonged to the Puritan clergy.

Campbell continued as postmaster for fifteen years after establishing the News-Letter, publishing it unchallenged. In 1719, William Brooker replaced him as postmaster. Campbell, "being still desired and encouraged to carry on the same by the Gentlemen, Merchants, and others, his usual Customers," refused to relinquish control of the News-Letter. When Campbell refused to give up his editorship, Brooker founded his own paper, the Boston Gazette, in December, 1719. He may have been encouraged in this by the governor, who wanted a means of communication with the colonists. Whatever the reason, Massachusetts now had two papers, and a rivalry, which marks the appearance of competition between a government-supported publication, the Gazette, and a privately-owned one, the News-Letter, soon developed.

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15 Dunaway, Development of Freedom, p. 90.
16 Kobr, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 28.
17 Ibid., p. 25.
A subsequent conflict demonstrated the two papers' loyalties. In 1720, a dispute between Governor Shute and the assembly over political and economic matters degenerated into an attempt by the governor to control the press. The house wanted its side publicized and would do this through the papers. The governor did not want the assembly's stand aired, and attempted to revive the power to license the press, which had lapsed into disuse in preceding years. The governor wanted to revive it for purely political reasons; but when he attempted to enforce his powers, the assembly refused to support him. Since Shute was obligated to consult the assembly before acting in such matters, an impasse developed.

The governor turned to the council for advice, but did not appreciate what he heard. The council informed him that the king had lost his licensing power to the House of Commons in 1695; and hence, the governor had likewise lost it in the colonies. As the royal prerogatives' representative in the colonies, he was entitled only to the liberties and rights the monarch enjoyed.

In March, 1721, Governor Shute attempted to circumvent this by proposing that the colony establish its own licensing law, but the assembly refused to cooperate. The governor dissolved the rebellious group and the Gazette carried his address. The assembly's answer appeared in the News-Letter, now no longer a government publication, having been replaced in that function by the Gazette. This dispute marks the last government

18 Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 29.
19 Ibid.
attempt to enforce the power of licensing printers in Massachusetts. After 1721, the government and controlling party had to rely on the colony's libel laws to suppress undesirable materials. Yet, libel laws did not always prove effective, since a jury had to be included in a trial and a favorable verdict could not always be obtained. The dispute in 1720-1721 between Governor Shute and the assembly marks a turning point in colonial Massachusetts' journalism.

Within a year of his appointment, Brooker was replaced as postmaster and his successor, Philip Musgrove, switched the printing of the Gazette from James Franklin to Samuel Green. Franklin then struck upon the idea of founding his own paper. He kept company with a rebellious group of men and knew he could count on them for contributions. Their contributions gave Franklin's paper a radical flavor. The first issue of the New England Courant appeared in August, 1721. The new paper was more outspoken in its treatment of public affairs than its older rivals from the first. In its initial issue, the Courant introduced something new to colonial journalism, the letter to the editor. Franklin's policy represents a shift from those of previous editors, who refrained from printing opinionated material, particularly that which might offend the establishment. He and his contributors soon carried things further and attacked the clergy, particularly the Mathers, and Harvard College.

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20 Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 29.
21 Ibid., p. 30.
22 Duniway, Development of Freedom, p. 97.
23 Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 31.
Franklin's paper poked fun at the established church and hierarchy in a series of articles. The central issue here was the stand Cotton Mather took in the smallpox inoculation crisis.

Mather and his supporters reacted predictably, resorting to the *Gazette* and denouncing Franklin and his cohorts as enemies of the true church. Since Franklin was a free-thinker, or more precisely, a Deist, this description is appropriate. Cotton Mather even confronted Franklin on the street, and publicly warned him of the dangers to his soul if he insisted on following his chosen course.

The controversy between Franklin and the Mathers must have amused Boston. In previous years, the *News-Letter* had not aired the growing religious and economic dissent. Franklin thus departed from established policy, and his attacks on the clergy represented a coarse reaction against the clerical domination of the past. Franklin and his contributors openly vituperated all their personal enemies in the *Courant*. The removal of the restrictions on the press showed its effects early.

Franklin did not limit his attacks to the ecclesiastics, and in June, 1722, prodded Governor Shute for an ostensible laxness in prosecuting the piracy issue. He stated the governor was not doing anything to suppress the pirates, thus pleading the shippers' case, and acting as their commercial advocate. He followed this in January, 1723, by a three-fold...

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27 Kobre, *Development of the Colonial Newspaper*, p. 32.
attack. In his January 14, issue, he attacked what he called religious hypocrites, spoke of the governor absenting himself from the colony, and suggested that he might be working against provincial interests while in London. Finally, he proposed that trusted agents be sent to London to vindicate the house. The assembly could not accept this, and with the governor out of the colony a source of conflict was temporarily removed, allowing the house and council to unite against Franklin. They met, and issued a statement forbidding him to issue more of the Courant. He then resorted to the tactic of having his younger brother, Benjamin, publish the paper, since the order banning it was directed against the elder of the two, James. The attempt to get a grand jury to indict James for libel failed, and he was released from jail in May. Attempst at official censorship in Massachusetts ended here, except for things offensive to the crown.

The Courant had a double effect on New England's journalism. It introduced the letter to the editor through which New England carried out much discussion of public affairs after 1721. Contributors used it quite often to discuss public affairs in later years; and by the end of the 1730s, letters to the editor appeared in all papers. Most authors remained anonymous, signing their letters and statements with classical pseudonyms, indicating that many of them were educated men who understood what they wrote.

More important, however, the Courant case represents a milestone in the fight to rid New England of the censorship used to control the

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papers. The editors included many items after 1723 to which the government and clergy had previously objected. They couldn't print everything, however, and still followed a restricted avenue, generally refraining from printing anything offensive to the crown. Nevertheless, New England papers opened up somewhat after 1723 and citizens contributed more of their feelings about public affairs. Both sides to a question appeared in some papers, while others presented the viewpoint of those who controlled them. Without this relative freedom, the Letters to the editor, and other devices used to discuss important questions, colonial papers would have continued as little more than mouthpieces for ecclesiastical policies.

Even before the Courant case ran its course, other changes took place in New England's papers. John Campbell's signing over control of the News-Letter to Bartholomew Greene and his apprentice, John Draper, in 1722, interrupted the three-cornered competition between the Gazette, the Courant, and the News-Letter. Greene changed the News-Letter by enlarging the pages to 8 3/4 by 14 1/2 inches and printing four pages instead of two, but retained the same format. Articles retained their characteristic dryness, and foreign news still appeared ahead of domestic news and advertisements. Greene made one other change by including a considerable amount of scientific material, reflecting a growing interest in science. He edited the News-Letter until 1733, when he turned it over to his son-in-law, John Draper.

29 Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 44.
30 Ibid., p. 45.
The fourth New England paper appeared in 1727. Like those preceding it, the New England Weekly-Journal was founded because of events surrounding the postmastership. The office changed hands in that year, and the new occupant, Henry Marshall, took over the Gazette and ousted Samuel Kneeland as printer. Kneeland decided to establish his own paper, and it appeared in March, 1727, shortly after the Courant died a natural death. Kneeland attended the Old South Church in Boston, along with Father Byles, nephew of Cotton Mather, and Thomas Prince. Both these men and other Puritan clergymen wrote for the Weekly-Journal. Kneeland attempted to influence his reader's opinions through their writings. His paper did not have the anti-religious tone Franklin's did, but used the same tactics for religious purposes. It remained on the scene until 1741, when it merged with the Gazette, retaining the religious flavor and the Puritan clergy's writings in the meantime.

Another paper hit Boston's streets in 1734 when William Huske assumed the postmaster's duties. This publication, the Boston Weekly Post-Boy, remained loyal to the government as long as Huske retained control. Some human interest stories appeared in it, but these usually came after the news of the government and commercial information.

New England's sixth paper came out shortly after the Post-Boy's appearance. It actually preceded Huske's paper in one way. In 1731,

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31 Cook, Literary Influences, p. 32.
32 Ibid., p. 36.
33 Ibid., p. 45.
34 Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 47.
John Draper founded the Weekly-Rehearsal at the urgings of a political club, but the venture proved unsuccessful and the paper won few subscribers. Thomas Fleet took over the faltering business in 1733 when Draper assumed control of the News-Letter. He renamed it the Boston Evening-Post and brought out the first issue in 1735. He carried out the era inaugurated by Franklin, but generally printed both sides of an issue, opening his pages to attack by both groups. He overstepped the bounds in 1742 when he printed an article derogatory to the crown and was hauled before the general court, but the prosecution did not carry out its case. Fleet understood the governor's position after this, and on sensitive questions reprinted articles verbatim from the English papers and magazines, particularly the Gentleman's Magazine.

The clergy branded his paper a "mercenary corrupter of good morals," advising the magistrates to suppress it as a "dangerous engine, a sink of sedition, error and heresy." Their efforts failed, however, and Fleet retained his position until 1758. The clerics' failure demonstrates that they could no longer enforce their policies through control of the government. They remained as a powerful force in New England, but the bulk of the restrictions on the press were long gone, forcing the clerics to persuade Boston citizens through their writings rather than through policies which stifled the opposition.

36 Kobre, Development of the Colonial Newspaper, p. 48.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., p. 49.
39 Duniway, Development of Freedom, p. 113.
One can see that politics played a role in the establishment of New England's early papers from these brief descriptions. The office of postmaster was the keystone here, and the advantages offered prompted some appointees to establish their own papers. Others changed printers and the unemployed printer in turn founded his own paper. As a result, Massachusetts acquired six papers between 1700 and 1756; and at the end of that period, four still operated. One would expect to see changes in colonial society reflected somehow in the papers. The earliest paper, the *News-Letter*, was little more than a collection of facts arranged in some semblance of order. The reason for this has already been established—censorship. Only a few mild commentaries existed in the earliest papers. The note "published by authority" held meaning prior to the early 1720s. Its use gave the papers an air of legality, and also intimated that the information met official standards. Early papers acted as nothing more than extensions of the government and/or Puritan faction.

The situation did not change until after the dispute between the assembly and Governor Shute in 1720-1721, and the *Courant* case in 1723. These two events freed colonial journalism from the shackles of official censorship by lifting the close scrutiny under which the editors operated. Both orthodox and heterodox statements appear in the papers after 1723. The note "published by authority" ceased to have any legal meaning after that date, and gradually came to represent a symbol of respectability until its use was banned in the late 1730s.

In one sense, the dispute between Governor Shute and the assembly, and the *Courant* case, changed New England's journalistic complexion. An air of relative freedom of expression prevails in the papers thereafter.
Some continued to be the spokesmen of particular groups, while others presented both sides of a question. New England's journalistic style changed to that extent as a result of the events between 1720 and 1723.

In another sense, very little changed in the papers. Many of the attitudes existing prior to 1720 appear as late as 1750. It's true that a considerable amount of diversity existed expressing these attitudes but the same basic considerations appeared. They stemmed principally from the prevailing concepts of the time. Both economic theory and religious convictions figure significantly in New England's attitudes about foreign affairs.

As members of the British empire, the Anglo-American colonists were vitally interested in anything affecting the mother country, or themselves, and the mercantilist theory used during the eighteenth century affected both areas. As France and Spain attempted to stifle England's trade and commerce, some of their efforts included policies directly affecting New England. Because much of New England's trade occurred in foreign ports by the opening of the eighteenth century, one could expect to see New England react to French and Spanish policies that aimed at diverting English ships from European ports.

Several times during the eighteenth century, the diplomatic activities surrounding the implementation of the mercantilist policies failed to prevent clashes between the three major powers and their allies. One would again expect to see New England interested in these occurrences. Wars often meant territorial or trade rights adjustments, and any shift in these held some meaning for the New World.

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Religion also had major significance in foreign affairs. France and Spain represented the anti-Christ to New England; and to make things worse, the English colonies in the New World were situated between the Spanish in the south and the French in the north. Whichever way they looked New England's citizens saw a threat from the hated Catholics. In New England's mind, France and Spain acted under the direction of the Pope and would stop at nothing in their attempts to extirpate the Protestant religion from the earth.

Just as the appearance of a paper marks a stage in New England's development, subsequent changes in the papers should mark other changes. Several issues of importance to the colony appeared in the papers as New England grew. Most of the issues on the international scene dealt with the two previously mentioned things—eighteenth century mercantilism and Puritan religious convictions. Most of the opinions surrounding these issues did not appear in the News-Letter before 1720; but following the conflict between the governor and the assembly, the public discussed matters freely and more opinions can be found in the papers. Methods of reporting also changed slightly. The same kinds of materials continued to appear, but more editorial comments accompany the presentation. News of the mother country and of foreign countries continued to be of primary concern to the colonists during the period. News months old can be found in the papers, which also reflects the travel conditions of the times.

41 Buffinton, The Second Hundred Years War, p. 14.
Travel time across the Atlantic averaged about two months; but during winter, it was often longer between ships. Editors commented on this in their papers, often prefacing articles with the comment "by the arrival" of such and such a ship or captain, we have the following news, or "because of the nonarrival of a ship, we present instead the following news items." The colonists devoted most of their interest to foreign news despite these delays. After 1723, more opinions of the colonists surrounding foreign events begin to appear in the papers. The comments of the editors, accompanied by letters to the editor, presented much discussion of public affairs in later years, illustrating New England's growing concern over the issues in the papers.

The issues resulted from the two factors discussed earlier, economic theories and religion. Different groups within the Bay colony followed different aspects of foreign affairs during the eighteenth century. The various facets of foreign affairs that interested the colonists centered on the mercantilism of the eighteenth century, its uses by the major powers, and the religious differences that resulted from the Protestant Reformation. Different governments adopted many programs, entered into treaties, and passed acts that involved each of these during the eighteenth century.

New England reacted to these in its papers. Different groups had separate interests in foreign affairs and each watched that which it deemed important. It remains to be seen what these groups consisted of, what their interest entailed, and why. The expression of its attitudes in the

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newspapers forms part of the story of New England's reaction to foreign affairs. We now turn to those events to see how Boston reacted to them and what this meant to the inhabitants.
CHAPTER II

NEW ENGLAND'S VIEW OF WORLD TRADE

Britain, Spain, and France engaged in a quest for commercial empire during the eighteenth century. New England had a stake in this contest because France and Spain controlled vast areas that served, or could serve, as markets for colonial goods. They also represented the primary threat to further expansion of British colonial trade and commerce. A look into New England's economic development will provide an understanding of why it watched foreign affairs.

A thriving fishing industry flourished in New England by the opening of the eighteenth century. The economy was based on fish and "during the last half of the seventeenth century the fishing interests of Massachusetts grew into importance beyond all other interests. The fisheries affected all business enterprises."¹ Fishing fleets were useless without a trade industry, and Boston expanded its trade as the fisheries grew. Much of the expanded trade involved intracolonial trade during the early years, but by about 1700 it included more. The expanded trade included a considerable amount of trade with England, from whom the colonists imported most of their wool, accounting for half the English

exports to the colonies.\(^2\) New England conducted most of its trade in foreign ports by 1700, however. Boston numbered around 7,000 by then, and ships left port almost daily, heading for foreign ports.\(^3\) Boston's ships operated in almost every port known to English mariners in the last half of the seventeenth century.\(^4\)

The principal article of trade was fish, and colonial traders shipped their cargoes to nearly every part of the known world—principally to France and Spain.\(^5\) They received silks, wines, some spices, and most important of all, gold coin in return. Refuse fish, lumber, horses, and some woolen goods went to the French and Spanish colonies. Americans received in return sugar, molasses, some logwood, and again, Spanish and French gold.\(^6\)

New England's merchants valued this last item the highest because with it they paid off creditors in England, and transacted business affairs.\(^7\) Otherwise they had to rely on paper currency. When London merchants refused to accept paper as payment, New England traders became


hard pressed, and turned to their debtors for payment in hard coin. Spanish and French gold was one of the few sources of coin available to American shippers.

New England did not restrict its concern in the commercial realm to fishing. French activities in the Mississippi Valley, and intrigues with the local Indian tribes, helped form its attitudes about how foreign affairs affected its economics. Both of these involved the fur trade, for the most part.

Every American historian recognizes that early settlers worried about relations with native tribes. The wisdom of policies designed to keep the Indians friendly soon became apparent, and by 1700, the colonists formed alliances with adjacent tribes. The French, generally, had the support of the Algonquin tribes, while the British enjoyed the support of the Iroquois. Each power also sought to destroy the relations of the other with its allies. New England's concern with French activities came into play here because the colonists kept the Indian's friendship partially through trade. By exchanging woolen goods, rum, and other things, for furs, they maintained some control over the Indians.

Throughout the period 1700-1756, concern over French activities and their intrigues with the Indians cropped up, and trade considerations

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usually entered into the problem. French attempts to develop the Mississippi Valley included plans to control the fur trade, which the colonists did not want to see happen, fearing more uprisings.

Two concerns existed in New England's mind with respect to trade: trade and shipping on the high seas, and the Mississippi Valley. The former included the extent of French activity in the fisheries, and Spanish seizures of American shipping as the colonists attempted to market their goods in West Indian and European markets. The second concern brought about a confrontation, with the French, and centered around the Mississippi Valley fur trade and its influence on Indian relations.

One could expect to see these two factors reflected in New England's papers when it came to questions of foreign affairs. The Puritan's censorship policies also affected the expression of these factors. Since censorship in and of itself denotes an attitude, one can say that those ideas appearing in the News-Letter prior to the early 1720s were Puritan beliefs. One must also consider that the earliest papers responded to a need for more commercial information. We could, therefore, expect to see some concern for commerce in Campbell's paper.

His paper appeared two years after the opening of the War of Spanish Succession, and Campbell displayed a concern for commerce throughout the war's duration. A report from Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1705, that "Our African Company has Seized an English East India Ship, formerly mentioned to be in the Road of Leitle, by way of Reprisal of a Ship belonging to that Company seized in England" provides a good example.  

provided such accounts throughout the war, tapering off only during the last year when peace negotiations became the main interest. Most simply listed the name of the ship taken, the owner, the captain, and the nationality of the ships involved. Campbell consistently refused to print anything that might offend the Puritans, and most accounts contained no editorial comments. Occasionally, however, some editorial content appeared in the material itself.

Venice, July 3, Though the French continue to seize all Neutral Ships that have the Misfortune to come in their way in these Seas, and have lately taken four Merchantmen richly laden, and belonging to this State, yet the Government is not come to any Resolution in relation to that affair. In the meantime the Losses the Merchants have sustained on this account are very great, and a Considerable House that sign'd here at Rome, Genoa, and other Places, has fail'd this week; and it is to be feared, that many others will be oblig'd to undergo the same fate.  

The article points out three things. First, shipping was still being stopped on the seas. The implied denunciation of the French actions as illegal also shows that the colonists had a concern for the rights of neutrals as represented by international law. The fact that Campbell did not draft the article has little bearing on its appearance. He lifted it from a foreign source, but its use does have some meaning. He would not have printed it without official approval.

The two articles point to colonial concern for neutral rights during wartime. Their concern about the violation of these rights stemmed from a desire to see them protected. The colonists realized that they might one day be in a neutral position and wanted to see the rights protected.  

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Massachusetts also realized that warring nations' ships were subject to legal seizure. Countless examples of ships seized during wartime appeared in colonial gazettes, and the majority mentioned nothing else. New England accepted the right of antagonists to prey upon enemy trade, and practiced it themselves. Campbell exemplified this in 1706 by printing Governor Dudley's proclamation warning of the presence of an enemy French fleet in the West Indies. He included a warning that it might approach the continental coasts, but no condemnation of the fleet appeared. A denunciation of the fleet would have been inconsistent with New England's belief in the right of any nation to prey upon its opponent's territory and shipping. New England regarded the French acts in 1706 as legal, and no basis existed for denouncing them.

Campbell further exemplified this belief in 1708 by reprinting the Queen's proclamation governing the taking and disposition of legitimate prizes. The proclamation did not give any special privilege to the colonists, but was directed to the empire. Nevertheless, its appearance has significance. Monarchs usually issued instructions directing governors to issue letters of commission to private vessels allowing them to prey upon enemy trade. Everyone accepted the policy during wartime,

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15 Ibid., December 6-13, 1708.

including the American colonists, thus Campbell did not announce a new policy. Instead, he acted as a government spokesman, and informed ship owners, captains, and seamen of what they might expect to get from prizes they helped capture.

The papers also aired the policy at other times. The monarch's proclamation governing the disposition of legitimate prizes appeared every time a war broke out. New England accepted privateering as a matter of course during war, and the proclamations provided guide-lines to follow in disposing of prizes.

No clearly definitive colonial attitude concerning trade came forth during the War of Spanish Succession. By reading between the lines, however, one gets the impression that New England sympathized with neutral rights. The colonists still viewed events in the Old World as distinct from those in the New World. It gave them a tendency to view themselves as separate from the Old World, or to put it differently, as somewhat akin to a neutral in the struggle. The War of Spanish Succession did not directly affect colonial interests, and the colonists tended to sympathize with neutrals.

There was another side to the question. Concern over international affairs came from two segments of the community during the period, the religious and the economic. Concern over trade, then, came from that portion of the community with the most at stake, the merchants and ship owners, and trade losses during war were often great. One Colonel Quarry stated colonial trade was not one-third what it had been, due to the war
in 1708. If this is true, it explains merchant concern for trade during the war, and also explains why Campbell printed the Queen's proclamation. It provided the merchants with a means to offset trade losses.

The News-Letter carried rumors of settlement and accounts of the preliminaries as the war's end neared in 1712. An optimistic spirit over the possibility of expanded trade entered Campbell's paper as he followed many of the bills under discussion in one parliamentary body or another that might affect trade.

A Bill is Depending in the House of Commons to take off L25 per Tonn on the Importation of French wines, but such Interest is made against it by the Merchants trading to Spain, Portugal, and Italy that it's a Question whether it will pass.

New England showed optimism for expanded trade at the end of each conflict throughout the period. Letters to the editor, poems, or other such things expressing hope that trade would improve usually appeared at the end of each war. These tie in with Massachusetts' dislike of war, which arose partially because war disrupted normal trade activities.

Expanded trade opportunities were not the only interesting topics for New England after 1713. Concern for the safety of ships on the high seas cropped up, thereafter. The legal basis for privateering ceased after 1713, but many ship owners found this a lucrative business and refused to cease operations. They went outside the law, holding ships, cargoes, and crews for ransom, or sold the cargoes and ransomed the crews. The pirate activities in the West Indies bothered New England by 1717, and

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17 Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, p. 78.
Campbell reported their activities regularly. He printed the King's proclamation calling for their suppression in December. He printed all the available information concerning these people in the next two years. News of their capture and the subsequent trial proceedings, whether in the Old or New World, appeared in the News-Letter.

New England merchants' concern for their ships and cargoes prompted the coverage. No statements denouncing pirate activity appeared in the paper, yet the implication is there. Acts of piracy threatened all trade, including New England's. The appearance of the King's proclamation notified merchants that something was being done about the seizures. Campbell acted as a government spokesman in this sense, and notified Boston merchants that complaints about pirates were being heard.

The pirate issue was not ephemeral in 1717. It plagued the merchants for years, and occasional notices of piracy and trial proceedings appeared in the papers. A war crisis between Britain and Spain, and more Spanish seizures of British shipping took precedence over other issues in 1719, however. Instructions from the King authorizing reprisals appeared in July, 1719, and in November, the governor's warning not to trade with Spanish colonies appeared in the News-Letter.

There was a reason why seizures in the West Indies elicited attention. Spain conceded the Assiento Agreement to Britain at the Treaty of Utrecht. Colonial traders encroached on the privileges of this, and Spain wished to halt the illegal trade in 1719, but New England merchants

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20Peckham, The Colonial Wars, p. 73.
did not. The proof that merchants didn't want the outlet closed is
the fact they traded there after Britain declared war. News of the dec-
laration reached the colonies as early as April, 1719, and a notice ap-
peared in the News-Letter. Yet, the governor warned the merchants not
to trade there in November. Governor Shute's proclamation again points
to use of the News-Letter as a means of government communication with the
people. It also shows how important merchants considered the trade. The
amount of illegal activity here must have been considerable to warrant
the governor's reprimand. The colonists carried on clandestine trade with
the enemy throughout the colonial era, which to a limited extent indicates
that they regarded their needs more pressing than the government's.22 The
reference is of course to the goods obtained in the Spanish colonies,
particularly gold coin.23

There is another side to the question of colonial trade and
Spanish seizures. It deals with how the colonists viewed the seizures.
Campbell did not display any belief that they regarded Spain's acts as
illegal. An excerpt from the News-Letter in May, 1719, typifies others.
It was lifted from a Paris source and stated that letters from Madrid
accounted for ships being taken and that three, with cargoes valued at 14

21Richard Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763

22Richard Pares, Yankees and Creoles (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

million livres, were given to the Viceroy of Peru to strengthen his navy. The lack of any condemnation of the Spanish acts indicates New England still supported the right of any power to seize enemy trade ships during wartime. The absence of any demands for reparations is also significant because it indicates New England regarded the seizures as legal. They saw no illegality, and thus no basis for reparation demands. Spain acted legally in New England's mind in 1719; in other words, within the realm of international law.

Campbell also diverted some attention to the fisheries after 1713. The Anglo-French conflict over fishing rights in the northern waters was not new, as considerable competition took place there during the seventeenth century. Efforts to quell the dispute accomplished little, and the friction continued. Finally, a joint British and colonial force captured Nova Scotia in 1710, which Britain retained in 1713.

France began to fortify the island Cape-Breton immediately after 1713, pouring money and materials into this structure. French fugitives from Nova Scotia and Placentia also settled there, and resumed fishing operations, encroaching somewhat on British rights. Since much of New England's livelihood depended on the fisheries, it is not surprising to see a reaction. Campbell characteristically followed the developments after 1713 without making any comment until September, 1717, when he

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24 Boston News-Letter, May 4-11, 1719.


printed Governor Shute's proclamation reiterating articles five and six of the Treaty of Whitehall which Britain and France signed in 1686. It restricted colonial fishing rights to the areas controlled by the respective governments. In light of the above actions, the proclamation must be considered as a warning to the French at Louisbourg that activities there, and in the fisheries, were beginning to irritate New England.

Reiteration of the two articles implied more, however. It also implied that France acted contrary to treaty commitments, and it was an easy step from there to the notion that this was a matter of official policy. More will be heard of this later, with particular reference to military treaties. Nevertheless, Governor Shute's proclamation was the first hint of it.

Further French activities in 1720 prompted another show of concern from New England. Britain and France were technically at peace after Utrecht. Both experienced economic difficulties as a result of heavy expenditures during the war, which contributed to the lasting peace. It did not prevent them from trying to take advantage of one another, and some competition occurred between them in the quest for territory.

France established a program designed to give a monopoly on trade in the Mississippi Valley to a French company. The company experienced some changes between 1717 and 1720, and by the latter date looked as though it might prove successful. The recently established Boston Gazette

28. Buffinton, The Second Hundred Years War, p. 29.
noted in 1720 that the French government had given a monopoly on trade in the Mississippi Valley to one John Law, a Scotch financier invited to France after Utrecht to help revitalize a faltering economy. Law intended to develop mythical gold mines and establish self-sufficient colonies in Louisiana, which would produce a flow of gold into the French treasury. Brooker lifted an article describing Louisiana's geography in glowing terms from an unidentified London source and reproduced it in the Gazette in March, 1720. It ended thus:

The establishment of the French Indian Company, could not but help give some Jealousy and Uneasiness to the British Nation, the rather because the Louisiana lies all along the 29th to the 47th Degree of Northern Latitude, on the Back of our Plantations on the continent of North America, viz. Carolina, Virginia, Mary-Land, Pennsylvania, and New-England. And some Differences being lately arised between the British and French Subjects about the Limits between Cape-Breton and Nova Scotia, and other territories yielded or restored by the Treaty of Utrecht, Martin Bladen and Daniel Pultney, Esq.; were appointed commissioners. . . .

Two weeks later, the rival News-Letter carried virtually the same article, indicating one of two things. Campbell copied from Brooker's Gazette, or both editors utilized the same London source. Further material indicated that Campbell utilized another source. At any rate, a week later he again warned of danger from the Mississippi Company.


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30 Boston Gazette, March 7-14, 1720.

changes in the affairs of that Kingdom, by paying their vast Debts, and raising them from their sunk condition; that its said in a Year or two, they will have the greatest Fleet they ever had at Sea; and that their Credit in other matters is likely to rise in proportion. If this great Company and Project be not chimeraclal and as sudden in its fall as it was in its rise.  

Campbell continued to follow the Mississippi Company's progress in June when he reported from Paris that a military commission had been granted to it. In closing the article he quipped, "Thus Mr. Law grasps at the whole world in his imagination and knows no bounds to his new undertaking."

The interest shown in the rise of the Mississippi Company was not a passing one; rather, it stemmed from two sources. One was colonial interest in Europe's finances, and for years the colonists followed European financial news. John Campbell sold British newspapers as far back as 1705 "from which his customers could glean the latest financial news, and in 1720 the Boston Gazette began to print quotations of South Sea, Bank Africa, India and Mississippi stocks as well as annuities." Interest in the activities of the company might stem from this, but the comments accompanying the articles suggest something else. They indicate the importance of the company to New England.

There was a reason for this. New England feared the French fleets by the late 1730s. The statement in the News-Letter in May, 1720, is the first sign of this concern. Had the Mississippi Company succeeded,

33 Ibid., June 9-13, 1720.
34 Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness, p. 203.
the fear surrounding the French fleets would have appeared earlier. It failed in the early 1720s, however, and New England's initial fears died with it. It is still worthwhile to note that New England equated a strong fleet with a powerful commercial position. Boston believed in the mercantilist theory that the road to power lay in the commercial realm and feared the potential success of the French company.

There was another side to the question of the Mississippi Company’s success. France would control the Mississippi Valley if the company succeeded, and this in turn would affect New England greatly, particularly with regard to Indian relations. If the French owned the river valley they controlled, for all practical purposes, trade with the native tribes. The importance of this cannot be overestimated because New England controlled the Indians partially through trade. Any interference from the French threatened the frontier area with renewed Indian uprising.

The presence of the Mississippi Company posed a double threat to New England. It is significant to note that trade was the central issue in both instances. It is also important to note that New England viewed French activities as a potential threat during a period of peace between Britain and France.

After Brooker started the Gazette, public sentiment appeared in the News-Letter, while the Gazette carried Britain's policy. British policy towards France can be described as one of guarded cooperation. France and Britain were both exhausted after 1713 because of heavy expenditures during Queen Anne's War. Both wished to maintain the status quo, but Spanish activities threatened to upset the peace, and Britain
and France cooperated in efforts to stifle Spanish aims. Such was not true of New England, however. It considered France the greatest threat to its security because of the competition in the fisheries and the Mississippi Valley.

A controversy between New York and London merchants over the fur trade in the Mississippi Valley in 1725 illustrates these contentions. The French and English colonists competed for the fur trade for years, but the French came to control more of it. It gradually became clear that France was winning and New York passed an act prohibiting the selling of Indian goods to French traders as a result. New York tried to renew the act in 1725, but London merchants who supplied the goods petitioned the Board of Trade to disallow it. The New York merchants countered that it was necessary in order to preserve the remainder of the trade.

The resulting controversy proved important to New England. A book published in New York explained the issues and the News-Letter carried an extensive rehash of it. The title of the work never appeared; instead six separate sections indicated what it contained:

I. Petition of the Merchants of London against the Act.
II. King's order referring the Petition to the Board of Trade.
III. Extract of the Minutes of the House of Lords concerning some Allegations about the Act.
VI. Memorial of the Fur Trade in New York.

London merchants attempted to show that a renewal of the act would be detrimental by contending that the French would induce their allies,

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ostensibly located nearest the British colonies, to halt all traffic between the northern British colonies and their allies. Furthermore, the French would reroute supplies through Canada, thus destroying the remaining British trade.

New York merchants countered this by stating that the geographical descriptions provided by the London faction were in error. The friendly Indians were in fact situated nearest them, not further away as London merchants attempted to show. They also pointed out that since the passage of the act, the French had not established new routes through Canada because ice jams plugged sea routes into it for much of the year. The work continued on and demonstrated, through a history of the trade, that the French had almost completely taken it over.

When the News-Letter's new editor, Bartholomew Greene, first noted the work, he prefaced it with the statement that the matter "may be of good service to us as well as to New York."37 The "good service" was a demonstration of the extent the French controlled the fur trade in the Mississippi Valley. The possibility of expanded French activities in that area aroused colonial apprehension in 1720. The New York book offered further proof in 1725. These two incidents might well be the first of many that eventually produced the French and Indian War.

Apprehension about the French continued to plague New England; which may have resulted from a rising threat to Britain's commercial superiority beginning about 1730. Bostonian papers noted Britain's efforts to centralize its empire in response to this between 1720 and 1730, particularly after 1725.

37 Boston News-Letter, January 7-14, 1725.
There is another aspect of this concern, however, which stems from the papers themselves. Three papers existed in Boston in 1730, and another had ceased publication. All three active papers had some connections with the Puritan party. Both the News-Letter and the Weekly-Journal supported the Puritan position. While the Gazette remained a government-controlled paper, the Puritan faction also had some influence here and occasionally utilized it. The outburst against Franklin in 1721 demonstrates this.

Even after the removal of all legal restriction on the press, the Puritan influence on New England's journalism continued. They resorted to subtle control of some papers instead of suppressing undesirable materials. Puritan attitudes thus can be found in the papers during the 1720s and early 1730s. Only after the appearance of two more papers in the mid-1730s did true diversity of opinion appear in the papers. Puritan prejudice dominated much of what appeared in the meantime. Much of the material in the papers during this period concerned France; the enemy in any form in the Puritan mind.

Because many successful merchants and traders were also good Puritans, some of their attitudes found expression in the papers. The appearance of British attempts to centralize the empire in response to the rising French threat shows the concern that the merchant group had for economic activities. Editors noted most of the acts to accomplish centralization without comment. Samuel Kneeland departed from this practice in 1731, however, by printing the "Representations of the Agents of the Northern Colonies in America," which responded to parliamentary debates
on the Molasses Act. These show how highly New England regarded its fishing industry and related activities.

... They have been settled now for many years, and have by their great Labour and Industry raised and carried on a Trade much more beneficial to Great Britain than themselves.

They take in Exchange a much greater Value in British Manufacture, especially the Woolen, which they use not only for their own wear, but barter with the many Nations of Indians that lie behind them.

They carry on [especially New-England] a great Fishing, the best of the Fishery they send to Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Straights, which is paid for in Money, which is constantly remitted to England, in payment for the Woolen Manufactures sent to the Northern Colonies. The worst sort of Fish is sent to the French and Dutch Sugar Islands.

To support their Fishery, besides other large and extensive Trade, they employ great Numbers of Ships and raise and form a large Body of Seamen, always ready for the Service of the Trade, and the Navy of England, if necessary. 36

The representations pointed out that the merchants paid silver into England in return for goods. They also showed that molasses obtained in the French Sugar Islands played a vital role in New England's economy, and that attempts to force it to purchase sugar from British sugar growers, who demanded higher prices, would wreak havoc with New England's Indian trade. New England manufactured French West Indian molasses into rum, and then traded it and woolen goods to the Indians for beaver skins and other furs.

The agents made these comments in response to British attempts to centralize its empire and they form, in this respect, part of an organizational problem within the empire. Nevertheless, they show how highly New England regarded its fishing industry, the woolen goods, and

36 New England Weekly-Journal, September 6, 1731.
the trade with the French Sugar Islands. They also show that Massachusetts knew the fishing industry provided a training ground for seamen who could serve in the British navy. These are important in light of subsequent statements in the papers. The representations mention the fisheries for the first time since 1717, and also mention the woolen industry. It marks the appearance of this topic and a major crisis existed there in the New England merchant's mind by 1740.

Several important issues entered New England's papers following the printing of the agent's representations. One of these was foreign competition in the fishing industry, and the News-Letter showed, through a reprint of a letter from Edinburgh, that the Dutch were investing money in fishing at 5% because Dutch law prohibited lending rates higher than 3%.

Two years later, John Draper commented that Dutch ships "are no better used in the West Indies by the Spaniards than our own: but it seems strange that we never hear of a French Ship or Sloop taken by their Guarda Costas." Nearly two years later, he again demonstrated New England's interest in Dutch activity by reprinting a letter from the Daily Gazette stating Britain should remain neutral in the war unless the Dutch participated. More letters followed, leaving little doubt that the editor sympathized with Britain's stand in the War of Polish Succession.

40 Ibid., January 3-10, 1734.
41 Ibid., October 2-9, 1735.
Clearly, New England knew of Dutch competition in both the fishing industry and the West Indies as indicated by the entries in the *News-Letter*. The comments in this publication in 1735 indicated that it was also of some consequence. Britain remained neutral in the war because of the advantage its participation would have given to the Dutch, and the merchants agreed with this stand as evidenced by letters in the *News-Letter*.42

While Dutch competition bothered New England, other things were more important by 1735; including new troubles with Spain in the West Indies over illicit trade. Much illegal trade was occurring between British and Spanish colonists by 1730 as New England shippers engaged in extensive smuggling activities in violation of the Assiento Agreement.43 The Spanish government introduced a program to halt the flow of illegal goods into the West Indies, which included the stopping of suspected ships in Spanish waters. Spain was entitled to this right under existing treaties and practiced it first in European, and then American waters.44

The cargo, the ship, and the crew was impounded if a ship contained anything that might give excuse for seizure.45 The seizures received slight attention during the early 1730s, but by 1737 it was beginning to tell. "According to figures given in the Gentleman's Magazine


45 Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies*, p. 31.
there were ten in 1731, one in 1732, six in 1733, one in 1734, nine in 1735, none at all in 1736, then in 1737 there were eleven, and the whole controversy suddenly burst into flame. "Spanish Guarda Costas ranged off the coasts and examined every British ship they found. If it carried anything they chose to regard as Spanish goods it was condemned for unlawful trade and carried off."46

Boston papers carried brief accounts of the seizures for years without showing undue concern. Then in 1737, several accounts appeared in the Weekly-Journal. An awakening sense of the detrimental effects of this on trade accompanied them, and during the next several years more accounts of Spanish seizures appeared in the papers.

The papers also followed the resulting controversy between Britain and Spain. The two government spokesmen, the Gazette and the Weekly Post-Boy, followed the government's actions while the Weekly-Journal and the News-Letter looked at the effects of the controversy on trade. For instance, the Gazette printed a report by the Board of Trade reiterating the rights of Englishmen to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy in June, 1738. A week later, it carried the House of Commons' resolutions stating that English citizens had the right to use of the seas and the Spanish basis for seizure was groundless. Furthermore, all attempts to rectify the situation were fruitless and the House supported any measure the king took.48

46 Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, p. 16.
47 Ibid., p. 22.
48 Boston Gazette, June 13-20, 1738.
A month later the Weekly-Journal carried the king's answer stating he knew of the acts and would do all he could to "procure Justice and Satisfaction to my injured Subjects, and for the future Security of their Trade." In August, Kneeland presented the House of Lords' resolutions stressing British rights to trade with the colonies unmolested, that Spanish activities violated treaty agreement, and that the upper House supported the king.

The editors noted the attempts to settle the grievances, and followed the progress, and eventual breakdown of the negotiations throughout 1738 and 1739 as hope for a settlement dimmed. Finally, the king issued a proclamation authorizing that commissions be issued to colonial captains for retaliatory purposes. It appeared in the government spokesman, the Weekly Post-Boy, in August, 1739. The following week, Huske printed Rhode Island's jubilant response.

Upon receiving the so long wish'd for news, that Liberty is granted us to make reprisals upon the Spaniards, the Merchants of this place are fitting out three Sloops, for that purpose, and will sail next week at farthest; they having already each of them several volunteers enlisted.

The intent of the passage is clear. The colonists were tiring of Spanish seizures and longed to retaliate, and the king's proclamation offered that chance.

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50 Ibid., August 8, 1738.
51 Boston Weekly Post-Boy, August 13, 1739.
52 Ibid., August 20, 1739.
Part of New England was delighted with the prospect of retaliation; yet others showed concern over the possibility of war and how it might affect trade. The News-Letter indicated this in September, 1739, by printing the House of Representatives' address to the governor pointing out that "a war will greatly affect the commerce and consequently all the Estate and Interest of this Province." New England merchants once again demonstrated that commerce was a basic item to them. The News-Letter aired the assembly's position in 1721, and this held true in the late 1730s. The point is that while one group would retaliate for Spanish seizures, another group would avoid conflict if possible because of its effects on commerce, and that group was the merchants.

The clearest attitude New England held was that the Spanish depredations formed part of a Franco-Spanish plot designed to drive British and American shipping off the seas. It stems directly from the Franco-Spanish alliance of 1733, and was first hinted at in the News-Letter in connection with the Dutch. A contribution to the Gazette in 1738 demonstrated that New England believed this by that date.

... We cannot be too careful of every Branch of our Trade; and the more so, as our Neighbors are intent on improving their own Commerce, whilst they are under-mining and making Encroachments on the Remains of Ours...

It is therefore obvious, that the French have supplanted us in several Branches of our commerce, and that the Spaniards are endeavoring to destroy the most valuable Remains. Indeed they seem to act in Concert, and to be playing the game into each other's Hand. We only Amuse ourselves, if we imagine that the latter have no other Views than to exclude us from any Share of the Trade within their Dominions. The Steps they have taken must convince every considerate and impartial Persons,

that they aim at the Destruction of our Colonies, as well as our Commerce with those parts, by rendering the Navigation exceeding difficult and precarious.\textsuperscript{54}

The above is only a portion of the letter, but represents the whole. Obviously, the author connected the two Catholic nations' activities. It is also significant to note that at a time when Spanish activities were at a peak, New England was concerned about France, suggesting that it was the greater enemy. Later, in another context, Massachusetts demonstrated this again. Sooner or later, New England turned its attention to France when a crisis threatened.

Concern for French activity did not suddenly appear in the late 1730s, but developed slowly over several years. New England began to watch French affairs more closely after the opening of the War of Polish Succession. The \textit{Weekly-Journal} demonstrated part of Massachusetts' reaction to this during 1736 and 1737 by carrying several addresses of the Irish parliament to the king lamenting the extent that French smugglers had entered into the woolen industry.

New England feared that French smugglers would destroy the British industry, robbing them of the source of goods used in the Indian trade; thereby destroying that trade, and to some extent colonial control over the Indians. Greene's review of the book in 1725 shows New England's concern for the trade, and the representations of 1731 demonstrate its importance.

The \textit{News-Letter} continued the \textit{Weekly-Journal}'s warnings in 1739 by pointing out that products from the French possessions of Lorraine

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Boston Gazette}, October 16–23, 1738.
and Bar, particularly hardwood and wool, were competing with British products.\footnote{Boston News-Letter, February 1-8, 1739.} A year later, it again warned of further threats to the British woolen industry by carrying a letter from the Daily Post stating France must be prevented from gaining a greater hold on the woolen industry. A week later the News-Letter continued:

> This is a dreadful Instance of the great Decay of our Woolen Trade! Those unthinking Merchants and Captains of Ships don't reflect that for the sake of a little present gain they are laying the Foundations of their own Ruin as well as that of their Posterity.\footnote{Ibid., January 19, 1744.}

Four years later, it again warned of French competition by carrying a blurb from Paris that "the King has taken off the Duties on all Merchandizes and Stuffes exported from this Kingdom in order to facilitate our commerce with Foreigners." It was followed by this statement, italicized for emphasis. "There is some Blunder in wording this Paragraph; but every Body may plainly perceive, that the Blow is levelled at the Woolen Manufactures of Great Britain."\footnote{Ibid., February 21-28, 1740.}

There is little doubt that New England was concerned about French competition in the woolen industry by the early 1740s. It appeared in 1725 when the controversy over the act in New York flared up. French traders received many of the goods at that time, which New York attempted to halt. A real threat existed in this area in 1740.

The woolen industry was not the only place the French threat bothered New England in the late 1730s and 1740s. The Evening-Post
warned in early 1739 that French activity in the fisheries was adversely affecting its supply of hard money. A contributor called for the defeat of a proposal to emit 60,000 pounds more in paper to be redeemed in silver in ten years and concluded thus:

... but our Fish trade has seen its best Days, the French eat us out of the Trade more and more every Year, so that Fish from hence and from Newfoundland also, have render'd miserable accounts for some Years past, and no prospect of its mending, everybody is sick of it, what is Shipt is mostly for account of Gentlemen in England, or to pay what some are in-debted there.50

There are numerous implications in this statement. The colony's commerce is based on fish, which ties in with the representations of the agents in 1731. French intrusions into the area have resulted in a dwindling of American trade elsewhere, thus restricting the supply of gold flowing into the colony and forcing the appearance of paper money. The magnitude of the problem facing New England becomes greater when Spanish depredations are considered.

One more aspect of the problem remains. It arises from New England's position within the empire and suggests that Boston merchants were not entirely happy with their place as purchasers of finished products. The controversy over the fur trade in New York appeared in the News-Letter in 1725. While it did not state dissatisfaction, it was only one step to point the finger at the London group for stirring up the controversy. The London faction also produced dissatisfaction in New England's merchant class six years later. The representations attempted to persuade the Board of Trade that the Molasses Act would not be in New England's

50Boston Evening-Post, March 19, 1739.
best interests. It was clear that New England merchants recognized the responsibility of the London group for this act. The language of the statement in the *Evening-Post* in 1739 borders on bitter recrimination, and points to an unrest among the Boston merchants toward their dependence on the mother country. Foreign affairs thus affected New England's relations with the mother country.

The News-Letter demonstrated more sentiment about French competition in the fisheries nearly two years after the *Evening-Post* reproduced the previous article.

London, Nov. 7 ... we are advised by the ship just arrived from Newfoundland, that there were nearly 30 French Vessels a Cod-Fishing on the Banks this Year; the like not-known for a long Time. 'Tis Manifest by all their Proceedings that the Monsieurs are working us out of all our Trade, and will succeed therein, if we do not keep a vigilant Eye upon such and take proper Measures to prevent their Designs.  

It is clear New England recognized by 1740 that France and Spain threatened its trade. It is also clear that France represented the greatest threat. It was not accidental that warnings about increased French pressures came from the papers carrying colonial attitudes rather than government views. The News-Letter and the Weekly-Journal carried those topics which interested the colonists, while the Gazette and the Post-Boy presented the official side. They did not express totally divergent views, as some were the same in many respects, but views peculiar to each can be found. The News-Letter and the Weekly-Journal emphasized the French threat more than the others. One or both of these implicated the French, whenever a crisis appeared. New England regarded France as

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a greater enemy than the mother country in this sense. The Franco-Spanish alliance in 1733, which aimed partially at the revocation of the British merchant's rights, produced this attitude.

Boston editors did not neglect Spain and the Guarda Costas activities, and troubles over the reparations, received considerable coverage. Fewer colonial statements about the Spanish appeared in the papers than other topics, however. Most of that printed came from foreign papers or governmental addresses. Nevertheless, the government's position is important.

A considerable amount of illegal trade was occurring between the Spanish and British colonists by the late 1730s. New England pointed to a supposed plot when Spain attempted to halt this, but England regarded Spain's activity illegal in two ways—stopping ships in international waters and inspecting cargoes rather than just the ships' papers.

The absence of contrary statements shows that New England was content to let England handle the problem. The only colonial comment came when war seemed the only possible solution. Overall, it is possible to say that New England supported Britain's stand, even though no statements directly supporting it appeared. Any other reaction would have been inconsistent with their beliefs that the trade was essential. An admission of illegal trade would have obligated them to halt it, and this of course was impossible. Ten years later, New England espoused the same views that Britain did in 1739, but by then French activities overshadowed its importance.

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60 Pares, War and Trade in the West Indies, p. 31.
Europe and the colonies believed that Britain and France could not avoid the War of Austrian Succession by 1744. All the papers included statements to this effect, and other things diminished in importance. New England did not hesitate to fight for the fisheries once war was declared between the two. Volunteers were requested, a force raised, and an assault on Cape-Breton carried out. The Weekly Post-Boy indicated the priority of economic factors in the reasoning behind this expedition in May, 1745.

But we hope, besides the usefulness of this Island to the Expedition, that more beneficial Consequences may attend our taking Repossession of it, viz. The recover- ing from the Enemy of that most valuable Fishery. ... 61

The Evening-Post carried the Boston merchants congratulatory message to the governor for the expedition's success eight months later. It demonstrated that New England's primary interest was removing the French from the fishing grounds. The message congratulated the governor and ascribed the mission's success to him, next only to God, and ended with this optimistic note.

... We owe the agreeable Prospect we at present have of the Trade and Commerce of his Majesty's Subjects in general, especially that most valuable branch of it, the cod Fishery being secured and enlarged, and of the Prosperity of his Majesty's Northern colonies in particular. ... 62

Two years later, the return of Louisbourg to France shattered this optimism. The settlement proved nothing more than an interlude in the war

61 Boston Weekly Post-Boy, May 6, 1745.
62 Boston Evening-Post, January 6, 1746.
and little changed as a result.\textsuperscript{63} The same thing can be said about New England's attitudes about commerce, and the same attitudes predominated after the war as before. For example, the \textit{Boston Gazette} produced "a list of the Spanish Men of War and Privateers that are designed for destroying our Settlements on the Musquito Shore, and also to take all our traders at the Bay, viz."\textsuperscript{64} The \textit{News-Letter} carried another account of seizures in 1751, and closed with the following comment, italicized for emphasis. "By this we see that neither War nor Peace have put a Stop to illegal Seizure and Capture in the West Indies."\textsuperscript{65} Thus, New England still believed Spain was trying to drive colonial ships out of the West Indies. It is significant that the colonists described Spain's acts as illegal which represents a shift from their position in 1738-1739.

The same attitudes prevailed in Massachusetts after 1748 as before with respect to the fisheries. The \textit{News-Letter} warned of further French threats to the fisheries in June and August, 1750, through two pieces of poetry, stating all would be lost if something was not done to redeem them. An excerpt from that one in June represents the two:

\begin{quote}
Then O be Warn'd! 'Tis Danger bids you Wake.-
Never or Now: Behold your ALL'S at Stake.-
Of your fam'd FISH'RY not a Tithe remains;
the rest devour'd by French, and Dutch, and Danes.\textsuperscript{66}
\end{quote}

Everything the colonists held commercially important was at stake. Little was left if France pushed them from the fisheries because the basis of New England's commerce lay in the fishing industry.

\textsuperscript{63}Hassell, \textit{The Balance of Power}, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{64}\textit{Boston Gazette}, June 5, 1750.

\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Boston News-Letter}, January 3, 1751.

\textsuperscript{66}\textit{Ibid.}, June 28, 1750.
Although the papers discussed Spanish depredations after 1748, the French activities in the Mississippi Valley proved more important. The French began to push into that area in an attempt to complete the connection between Canada and French settlements in the gulf about 1749. This became more important as time passed, and ultimately clashes between the French and British exploded in the Seven Years War. A gradual shift in emphasis accompanied this, so that by 1756 the French activity in the fisheries and Spanish depredations were distinctly less important than the French push into the Mississippi Valley.

Reviewing the period 1700-1756, it is evident that the condition of the fisheries was the most important thing to New England. Without king cod, New England merchants had nothing to offer in their trade. The papers demonstrated some concern during the early years, and as the French threat increased a corresponding rise in concern followed in the papers.

The colonists were concerned about French threats toward their commerce in two areas: the fisheries and the woolen industry. The colonists began to fear that France would destroy the British woolen industry after 1735, thereby depriving them of their source of goods used in the Indian trade. If the colonists ever lost control over the tribes next to their frontiers, it could prove disastrous, as many Indian raids proved. But as long as they controlled the supplies the Indians received, the colonists had some assurance of peaceful relations.

The interest shown for the book printed in New York fits in at this point. It showed the extent of the French intrusion into the fur

67 Buffinton, The Second Hundred Years War, p. 44.
trade, and thus implied a warning that further control of the Mississippi Valley could have more costly consequences. If the French matched control of the fisheries with control of the fur trade, what hope could there be for the continued prosperity of the British colonies?

Spain was not neglected here either. The colonists showed an awareness of Spain's importance throughout the period. After 1713, and the Assiento Agreement, colonial trade expanded into the Spanish West Indies. While much of it was illegal, New World traders on both sides recognized the necessity for it. Policies established in Europe did not always jibe with the facts of the New World, however. Official Spanish policy was to allow only the amount of trade agreed to by the Assiento Agreement. The violations of this agreement led to seizures in 1719 and some concern was shown them. Trade violations continued and grew to such an extent that Spain elected to put a stop to it.

The New England colonists realized the importance of their trade with the Spanish West Indies by the time of the War of Jenkin's Ear. They received much of their gold here and used it to pay off debts in England. A crisis loomed when Spanish seizures threatened to stop it. Paper money provided a partial remedy, but this was hardly satisfactory since inflation always devalued bills and many merchants, both colonial and British, refused to accept them.

Colonial trade found its way into international trade routes by the opening of the eighteenth century; and by the middle of the century, the colonists realized that international trade was an indispensable part of their life. Consequently, the New England fishermen and merchants watched anything threatening that trade, including wars, foreign
competition, principally that of the French, and anything that might interrupt the regular flow of goods into foreign ports. Spain proved the greater enemy in this respect because it was often the villain in incidents on the high seas.

The concern shown over commerce was that of a distant observer in the first part of the eighteenth century. The only concern New England showed in the War of Spanish Succession was when a fleet approached the North American continent, and for trade in European waters. By the late 1720s, some concern had developed over the extent of the French influence in the fisheries and the Mississippi Valley, as well as the Spanish depredations. The focus of European governments had shifted to commercial rivalry in the New World by mid-century. Colonial concern became more direct as events involved them more directly. The colonists connected the Spanish and French actions by 1740. The two were acting together to force British and colonial trade out of world markets. France threatened the valued fisheries and the woolen industries, while Spain threatened to keep colonial ships off the high seas and to choke off the needed gold supplies. Much of this concern stemmed from the treaty signed between France and Spain in 1733, thus some basis existed for New England's attitudes, but the fears were exaggerated to some extent.

The exaggeration of these fears came chiefly from those papers sympathetic to the colonial position, the News-Letter and the Weekly-Journal. As the French began to threaten Britain's superiority once

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68 Buffinton, The Second Hundred Years War, p. 35.
again, these publications began to pay more attention to the activities involving the French, notably the fisheries and the woolen industries. The concern for the French activity demonstrated in these papers increased as the 1740s approached. Even when the Spanish Guarda Costas' activities seem to predominate as the central topic, an undercurrent of concern carries through with respect to the French. Most of this stemmed directly from the treaty in 1733, and continued until the declaration of war between Britain and France in 1744.

To some extent, New England's papers divided their attention between the Spanish and French activities. But those papers which carried the colonial viewpoint tended to be more watchful of the French than the papers supporting the government, suggesting that the colonists watched the events that directly affected them more closely. French activities in the fisheries and woolen industries had a more direct effect on New England than other things in this case. French competition in the fisheries threatened to drive Boston fishermen from the area, and illegal French activity in the woolen industries threatened to destroy the source of goods used in the Indian trade. It is significant that the largest amount of coverage of these events occurred in those papers sympathetic to colonial views. The colonists reacted more when their interests were directly affected.
CHAPTER III

NEW ENGLAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR

The second area of foreign affairs influencing New England was war. During a century which saw war as the greatest factor in European history, one finds considerable reaction to it in the papers. 1 Few things elicited as much attention as warfare in New England's papers, throughout the period 1700-1756, as Britain and France engaged in an international chess match for commercial dominance over the western world.

The rivalry resulted in war seven times during the eighteenth century. Although the colonists participated only slightly in the early wars, they had an interest in them. Every time war erupted in Europe, the colonists faced new danger from their foreign neighbors; in Massachusetts' case New France and the Indian tribes. Whenever Britain and France went to war in Europe, the colonists could expect that sooner or later it would involve them. 2

French intrigues with the Indian tribes constantly concerned New England. 3 New England papers carried the governor's proclamation or the assembly's address supporting the war effort and warning of Indian attack every time war exploded. The Indian problem also had to be considered

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3 Ibid., p. 32.
during periods of peace, but in wartime New England could be assured of French intrigues.

The Indian problem was the least of several facing the colonists with respect to war. Wars usually disrupted peacetime activities, many of which concerned trade and commerce. New England considered these essential and disruptions worked hardship on the merchants and fishermen. Wars also involved territorial transfers which could open or close markets, or upset the balance of power, both of which concerned New England. Territorial transfers, such as the transfer of Nova Scotia to Britain in 1713, could also remove a source of conflict between two powers. It could also be a source of irritation between the colonies and the mother country, such as the return of Louisbourg to France in 1745 was.

Massachusetts saw a threat in the size of the French fleet by 1750. Beginning about 1730, France again challenged Britain's superiority and New England recognized the responsibility of British fleets for its security. It also equated a strong fleet with a powerful commercial position, and Massachusetts saw a threat to its security if France succeeded in surpassing Britain commercially.

France had also strengthened the base at Cape-Breton by about 1750, thus challenging New England fishermen. The exposed position of many colonial towns on the sea coast made them acutely aware of the danger if France gained supremacy on the seas. France threatened Britain and the colonies by mid-century, both commercially and militarily through a strong navy which threatened to drive the protective British fleets off the seas and the colonial fishing fleets from the fisheries.
Spain proved nearly as great an enemy before 1756. Although it did not incite the northern tribes, Spain threatened colonial shipping and clashed with southern colonists over territorial questions. The first war covered by colonial papers saw Spain as a principal antagonist, and Spanish ambitions in the Mediterranean remained a factor in European diplomacy for years, threatening to upset the balance of power. Spanish attempts to establish a kingdom in northern Italy in 1719 stirred up the first of two minor wars there. In the late 1720s, Spain again threatened the peace, and this time only concessions to its demands averted war. Finally, Britain and Spain engaged in the War of Jenkins's Ear in 1739. When it merged with the War of Austrian Succession, a Franco-Spanish alliance created some apprehension in New England's press. Spain did not seem as great an enemy as France by then, however.

New England's attitudes about foreign affairs between 1700 and 1756 fit into two categories. Many attitudes paralleled those of the British Isles, and New England citizens vied with the inhabitants of the old country in their loyalty to the crown. As loyal citizens they took an interest in anything affecting England's world position. Part of this involved support of the balance of power. New England's dissatisfaction with its place in the British empire had not yet become a factor, and expressions supporting the balance of power were those of loyal British subjects. Editors gleaned many of these from British papers, but their use in colonial papers is significant.

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Secondly, some of New England's attitudes spring from views uniquely its own. The primary ones here were those about French plots to establish "universal monarchy" and others concerning trade disruptions. New England's trade depended upon foreign markets, and anything interrupting the normal flow of goods threatened its livelihood. War was one thing that disrupted trade.

The War of Spanish Succession was two years old when the first successful colonial paper appeared in 1704, and New England displayed some attitudes in its initial publication. Battles months old received more attention than current domestic events, demonstrating that foreign affairs were more important. Throughout the period foreign affairs received more coverage, and editors placed them ahead of available domestic news.

The reasons behind the war interested New England, and the Portuguese declaration against Spain in 1704 received considerable attention in the News-Letter, even though resolutions and comments surrounding the war appeared in the English papers before 1704. Campbell printed the entire declaration, reiterating almost point for point the reasons behind the other power's declarations, rather than state Portugal had joined the allies. Basically, these supported the maintenance of the balance of power, pointing out that Louis XIV's actions threatened it, and that the union of the two crowns violated earlier agreements designed to maintain the status quo. Also, France was guiding Spain's hand and hoped to reduce Spanish holdings to the status of a possession.

From early November to late December, the declaration appeared a section at a time. New England's attitude that the two crowns must be
separated and the status quo maintained prompted this coverage, and several addresses by the queen or parliament on the subject appear in the News-Letter during the war. Parliament's address to the queen in 1708 stating that the war was just and should not be concluded until both Spain and France were subdued, and the balance of power restored, is a typical example. Campbell circulated the mother country's stand in his paper as late as 1711. He printed the queen's address to the upper house stating that priorities demanded the war be continued with vigor, particularly in Spain, in order to secure a just and honorable peace.

New England supported the mother country's concern for the balance of power and had a reason for it. France dominated the continent and England could not afford to let it gain a continental ally with a more powerful fleet. A Franco-Spanish fleet would be superior to Britain's, allowing France to tap its vast resources giving it the advantage. Thus, the union of the two Bourbon crowns threatened the balance of power and represented a particular threat to colonial security.

Such were basically the reasons why New England wanted the balance of power preserved. Britain's fleets dominated the seas, protecting New England, and the removal of this threatened Boston's way of life. Social, emotional, and some family ties, along with a common religious

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7 Buffington, *The Second Hundred Years War*, p. 12.
background, connected Britain and the colonies. The possibility of French supremacy over Britain threatened it all.

Soon after the News-Letter appeared it carried New England's religious attitudes toward the French. In November, 1704, Campbell presented an account of French troops looting and burning.¹⁰ The following July another account appeared, and a third in February, 1706. A section of the latter stated that "Heretics, Tartars, or Turks, could not be guilty of more sacriligious excess against the respect to Churches" than the French soldiers demonstrated.¹¹

Campbell included such accounts throughout the war, and these, along with several reports of glorious victories "over the enemy," clarify colonial attitudes about the French. They were barbarians, somewhat akin to Turks and Tartars, and religious hypocrites who professed to be Christians, yet practiced Roman Catholicism and the looting and burning of churches. Over-all, they viewed the French as enemies of the true church, which could only be Protestantism as New England understood it. This same attitude prevailed throughout the period. Messages of congratulations often included thanks to the monarch and God for preserving civil and religious liberties. In New England's mind, France aimed partially at the destruction of Protestantism.

The colonists realized that the peace settlement was near by 1712, and the coverage the negotiations received shows how highly Massachusetts regarded them. Nothing was as important, and Campbell

faithfully reported each new development. He included a copy of the pre-
liminaries in March, 1712; and in April, parliament's demands that the
settlement include guarantees assuring the empire's growth, and that the
British crown be ceded to the House of Hanover. New England's desire to
see the Protestant Succession guaranteed and hopes that more commercial
benefits might derive from the treaty prompted the appearance of this in
the News-Letter.

Campbell reproduced the other powers' demands in May and June,
1712, and any other available news concerning the negotiations during
the remainder of the year. He announced the signing of the treaty through
a reprint of the queen's address in June, 1713. The treaty accomplished
many of New England's desires by restoring the balance of power, and
stripping Spain of its European possessions. France also recognized
the Protestant Succession and gave up two important areas in the New
World—Nova Scotia and Newfoundland.  

Campbell printed several addresses to the queen praising the
peace in the wake of this news. New Hampshire's Council and House of
Representatives message appeared in July, 1714, and shows that New Eng-
land had more interest in the effects of the treaty in the New World than
Europe.  

It showed that the treaty removed the "Barbarous use and un-
heard of Cruelties of our rebellious Neighbors, the Indians," and concluded

12 Arthur Hassall, The Balance of Power, 1715-1789 (New York:  

13 Howard Peckham, The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762 (Chicago: University
that it would allow the colonists a "fair Prospect of sitting under our own Vines and Fig-Trees, and none to make us afraid."¹⁴

The address from the government of Connecticut appeared a week later and showed relief for the "Peace Your Majesty has made with France," and concluded by praising the favors heaven had bestowed for a "Success so Desirable and Glorious."¹⁵ The success so desirable was the retention of the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.

Loyalty to England's political and social systems triggered New England's desire to see them preserved in the New World. New England was content to include itself as a member of the British system. The union between France and Spain challenged this by threatening to sever the bonds holding the two together. A combination of the two fleets placed Britain at a disadvantage, thus negating the protection its fleets offered New England. In this sense, then, New England expressed its contentment at being members of the British system by supporting the status quo.

New England's attitudes about warfare also stemmed from some conditions unique to the New World. The first of these was the distance between Europe and the Americas. Massachusetts recognized that Britain's fleets kept France from wresting English possessions in the New World from the British government. The Indian problem was also one unique to the New World. The address of the Council and House of Representatives in New Hampshire considered both these by making the statement that "this

¹⁵Ibid., July 19-26, 1714.
peace effects the remotest parts of Your Majesty's Dominions, and we already taste the Good Fruits and Effects thereof, in that the rebellious Indians are reduced to their Obedience."

The Treaty of Utrecht meant a return to the security New England knew before the war. It removed, on the one hand, French threats to upset the status quo and, on the other, French intrigues with the Indians. Hopes for better relations with the French in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia accompanied it.

Heavy expenditures in the War of Spanish Succession financially exhausted Britain and France, and each sought to keep the peace while attempting to recover from its effects. Both realized the benefits of peace and this was reflected in New England. Scarcely any news about France, except for references to the Pretender and his French connections, appeared in the News-Letter after the war.

Campbell shifted his attention to other areas, chiefly the war between the Turks and the Emperor, and the war in the north between the "Swedes and other Potentates;" as relative peace between Britain and France continued. He admitted their secondary importance, however, in late February, 1717, and repeated the sentiment in October.

Campbell followed one other facet of European diplomacy in the void of news from France. The Spanish kingdom's diplomacy was beginning to affect Europe, and Elizabeth Farnese's attempts to establish a kingdom in northern Italy for her son, Don Carlos, could not be ignored forever. The signing of the Triple Alliance in January, 1717, preceded this,

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16 Buffinton, The Second Hundred Years War, p. 29.
however, and since the importance of the event "was to checkmate the Pretender's claim to the English crown and protect Hanover for the British crown," Campbell had good reason to include it.\textsuperscript{17} The powers reaffirmed support of the Treaty of Utrecht as part of the agreement, thus placing Britain in the role of guarantor of the treaty. Britain remained neutral when Spain invaded Sardinia following the Austrian arrest of the Spanish ambassador to the Milanese territory, however.\textsuperscript{18} Spain also invaded Sicily in June, 1718, which resulted in the Quadruple Alliance in August, 1718.\textsuperscript{19}

The News-Letter followed all these events, but since Britain was not actively involved, Campbell refrained from any comment except some hinting that war seemed inevitable if Spain did not change its policies. He followed Mediterranean events throughout 1718 and into 1719, and in April, 1719, printed Britain's declaration of war. The main points of the document supported the maintenance of Italian neutrality, the maintenance of the German emperors' possession of their thrones, and the redress of the balance of power established at Utrecht.

Support of the balance of power was part of the reason why the News-Letter covered the war in 1719, but certainly not all. Two other factors entered. One was the Spanish depredations in the West Indies; and the other, a rumor that the Spanish would support the efforts of the Catholic Pretender, James III. This will be covered later, but it does

\textsuperscript{17} Hassall, \textit{The Balance of Power}, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 53-54.
show New England's interest in Spain's activities. Each of these interests displays a different facet of New England. Interest in the balance of power stemmed from loyalty to the British government. The interest for the depredations on trade stemmed from economic concerns, while interest shown in the Pretender came from New England's religious bias. Together, they represented threat to New England, but not nearly as great as that posed by France at other times.

After carrying the declaration of war in his paper, Campbell followed its progress through 1719 and into 1720, including rumors of a Spanish invasion of France in 1719. The rumors of a Spanish invasion into France looked like a feud between the two, and one would expect to see New England supporting it, but just the opposite occurred. In August, 1719, Campbell printed a blurb from Madrid that the Spanish king "designs to force his way into France in order to encourage the malcontents to joyne him." 20 Eight months later he printed a letter from Barbados which stated that due to rumors the French and Spanish were seeking a separate peace, the king had sent Lord Stanhope to Paris to frustrate the efforts. 21

It is obvious that New England knew of possible renewed alliances between the two Catholic nations and the meaning it held. Simply put, Boston regarded it as another threat to the security offered by the British fleets. New England was interested in the rumors because of the possibility the invasion might succeed and Britain would face a combined

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Franco-Spanish force. Reports about a separate peace between the two threatened to give the diplomatic advantage to France in that British demands would not be considered in a separate settlement.

Hopes for a settlement were general throughout Europe and the colonies by the time this last notice appeared in the News-Letter. Campbell carried the king's address to that effect in a postscript to the News-Letter in March, 1720. Spain dismissed Cardinal Alberoni, its foreign minister, in December, 1719, as part of the agreement. New England showed an interest in this man during the war, but it did not dissipate with his dismissal. Massachusetts still feared his influence in Madrid, or Rome, where he went after 1719, and for several years occasional references to him appeared in the News-Letter. A statement from Maryland in 1724 clarifies their attitudes.

Maryland, March 23, 1724. As for Publick News, we have little, but the sudden Death of the Regent of France, which made a sudden change of the Ministry, thereby Disgracing and Removing all this friends, and recalling and advancing the Favourites of Lewis XIV, called the Spanish Ministry; and that Villeroi is Prime Minister of France under the young King, and that incendiary Alberoni will return to his former station in Spain, from whence such alterations are expected in the affairs of Europe as creates Fears in Great Britain's Friends and hopes in her Enemies.

The rumor proved false, and fear of Alberoni disappeared from New England's papers. Yet, there was a basis for the concern. New England feared the 1719 events would be repeated if Alberoni returned to Spain in his former capacity.

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23 Hassall, The Balance of Power, p. 56.
24 Boston News-Letter, June 4-11, 1724.
There was also a reason for the rumor. France still feared British power even though it aided England in the 1719 war. "Fearing English supremacy at the peace table Dubois made early overtures and announced the betrothal of the Infanta to marry Louis XV."²⁵ It appeared that the feared Franco-Spanish union would materialize after all, but these fears were premature as Dubois died in August, 1723, and the Duke of Orleans in December.²⁶ The latter event prompted the article in the News-Letter in 1724; but New England followed events meanwhile.

The Gazette carried the events surrounding the betrothal during early 1721. New England's fear that France and Spain might become allied lay behind its interest. The marriage contract was a topic of interest in New England during the next four years. No comments accompanied the articles, but their appearance indicated New England's interest in the outcome.

It came in 1725 when France repudiated the betrothal.²⁷ The News-Letter announced the repudiation in June, and two months later the Gazette carried Louis XV's plans to wed the ex-king of Poland's daughter. The reasons behind New England's interest in the Infanta betrothal have already been pointed out. They also explain why the repudiation was important, but the reasons why the Gazette carried the new wedding plans are also important. The answer is that European monarchs formed alliances

²⁵Hassall, The Balance of Power, p. 56.
²⁶Ibid., p. 57.
through marriage contracts, including their own and those of their off-
spring. The Gazette noted the wedding plans because France had gained
another ally; a weak one, but an ally nevertheless.

The repudiation caused a furor in Europe and colonial papers
watched subsequent events closely. Spain attempted to soothe troubles
with Austria which resulted in the Treaty of Vienna in 1725, and one of
its provisions was directed at Britain. Charles agreed to aid Spain in
the recovery of Gibraltar, retained by Britain at Utrecht. Spain de-
dmanded the return of the fortress following the treaty, and Britain,
France, and Prussia, alarmed at the prospect of war, formed the League
of Hanover. 29

The editors reacted quickly once they received word, and covered
the developing crisis in the papers. The News-Letter included Lt.
Governor Dummer's proclamation of a day of fast due to European events
among several accounts of the situation. The other papers followed
suit and picked up the story. The Weekly-Journal printed a rehash of
Spanish demands, and a parliamentary address to the king in April, 1727. 31

The Lt. Governor's proclamation was not an isolated incident as
the authorities issued such proclamations routinely. Nevertheless, it
does indicate that New England considered the events important. These
proclamations were part of New England's religious practices and demonstrate

29 Hassall, The Balance of Power, p. 75.
that the Puritans viewed international events as part of God's plan. They proclaimed days of fast to appease God for some misconduct, or to end an unfavorable series of events. The Puritans discerned God's hand in foreign affairs either way.

Efforts at peace came quickly and the preliminaries were signed by May. Accounts of the negotiations appeared in the papers throughout 1727 and 1728 after news of the settlement reached the colonies. Governor Burnett proclaimed a general thanksgiving, praising the continuing peace and benefits granted to the colonies. He gave thanks in particular for the preservation of the royal family, the "Enjoyments of our most valuable Privileges, Civil and Religious . . . and in making our Merchandize and Fishery to Prosper."³²

Although the settlement was reached in 1728, the treaty was not signed until November, 1729. Massachusetts, in the meantime, expressed hope it might continue. The News-Letter and the Gazette carried copies of the treaty in January, 1729, and the Weekly-Journal presented another of Governor Burnett's proclamations reiterating his October sentiments.³³ The News-Letter carried another fast proclamation in February, 1730, following reception of the news the Treaty of Seville had been signed. It also appeared in the Gazette in March, and for several months more both papers carried addresses praising the peace and expressing hope it would continue.

New England was concerned about the 1727 confrontation, and the proclamations reveal why. War threatened their way of life on nearly every level, and when the colonists praise the preservation of peace in one breath, and that of their civil and religious liberties in the next, the two are inseparable. Peace meant the continued enjoyment of its way of life to New England. Massachusetts still considered itself a part of the British system and war threatened the security offered by British fleets. Spain's Catholicism affected New England's reaction to the episode in 1727, but war also disrupted colonial trade and thanks to God for their continued prosperity held meaning for New England.

Spain threatened New England's security on three levels in 1727. Spanish Catholicism challenged New England's religious position as well as its political security, in that any threat to England had the potential of severing its colonial empire. Spanish acts also threatened to disrupt colonial trade in the West Indies and elsewhere through a general war.

Elizabeth Farnese still wanted to carry out Spanish ambitions, however, and the ink was scarcely dry on the treaty before new troubles erupted. New World disputes between Spain and Britain threatened to explode into violence, but subsided when Spain threatened to invade the duchy of Parma in 1731. The presence of Austrian troops gave Elizabeth second thoughts, and she called on Britain and France to honor treaty commitments not to allow Austrian influence in Italy. Only the Second Treaty of Vienna in 1731 averted war.

34 Hassall, *The Balance of Power*, p. 84.
Colonial interest in Spain subsided after 1731, and the outbreak of the War of Polish Succession in 1733. The war didn't end until 1735, and editors showed more concern for French than Spanish activities during the conflict. Following the war's end, however, interest in the Spanish Guarda Costas picked up. The trade question was discussed earlier, but must be kept in mind here, leaving the border dispute for discussion.

"The Georgia question was only one of two main bones of contention between Spain and England. Indeed it was the smaller of the two." Nevertheless, Thomas Fleet presented several letters in early 1737 hinting of Spanish designs against Georgia. These appeared occasionally until 1738.

By intercepted letters from New York in America a Design of the Spaniards has been discovered to surprise the English colony of Georgia; copies of which Letters have been transmitted to My. Keene, his Majesty's Minister at Madrid, with Directions to represent to the Spanish court in the strongest Terms . . . but that however he has Reasons sufficient for believing that the Court of Spain is less disposed than heretofore to entertain a good intelligence with the crown of Great Britain . . . .

A month previous the Post-Boy presented an excerpt from the Political State tracing Georgia's history which concluded that Spain's claims there were unfounded.

The letters, along with coverage of the depredations by Spanish privateers, and the two governments' inability to resolve the differences,


instilled New England with a sense of impending war by 1738. The Gazette revealed this by carrying an extraction from a magazine stating Britain should attack Spain in Europe first, on the seas second, and in the Americas last.\textsuperscript{39}

The absence of statements from Massachusetts regarding the building crisis is significant to the extent it indicates New England supported the stand as the Weekly Post-Boy indicated in March, 1740. Two months after news of the declaration reached the New World, Huske accompanied a letter stating Britain's reasons for entering the war with this introduction.

The following LETTER was wrote to a Gentleman in England, a Well Wisher to his Nation; and as it contains something upon which the present Situation of Affairs here in America seems to have taken its Rise, we think it proper to insert it. It is as follows.\textsuperscript{40}

The letter is far too long to reproduce here, but emphasized that economic reasons were behind the declaration. The author particularly mentioned reparations to the merchants, securing the trade of the South Sea Company, and the revival of the sinking trade as the reasons for the war.

The inclusion of the letter shows that New England agreed that economic reasons were sufficient to go to war over, and once the conflict opened, contributed by supporting the expedition to Cartagena. Governor Spotswood's request for troops and supplies appeared in the Gazette in

\textsuperscript{39}Boston Gazette, September 18, 1738.

\textsuperscript{40}Boston Weekly Post-Boy, March 24, 1740.
April, 1740, and editors subsequently reported the expedition's progress until it broke down and stalled. European events were replacing those in the New World as the center of importance by this time, however. Frederick the Great of Prussia invaded Silesia following Charles VI's death. In New England, the perennial fear of the French became stronger.

Concern for French activities did not appear as a result of Prussia's act. The French occupied much of New England's attention after the Franco-Spanish alliance of 1733. The growing commercial rivalry between Britain and France necessitated that each seek an alliance with Spain by about 1730, but the New World troubles between Britain and Spain gave France the advantage which resulted in the Family-Compact of 1733.41

Even before the treaty, New England editors followed French activity during the War of Polish Succession. The Weekly-Journal demonstrated that it feared France was using the war to further its own interests.

If King Stanislaus be chosen and opposed, or if Poland be attacked under any Pretense, we are assured the French King will not only enter the war, as Guarantee of the Treaty of Oliva, but also head his army in Person; and it is added, the Cardinal de Fleury will accompany his Majesty into the field.42

The sentiments prompting Kneeland to include this statement were rooted in the developing conflict between France and Britain. Already nervous about French challenges, New England feared France would use the war as a pretext to gain another ally, Poland. France could gain Poland's

41 Hassall, The Balance of Power, p. 89.
support by re-establishing the deposed king on the throne, thereby 
weighting the balance of power slightly more in its favor.

The Franco-Spanish treaty added credence to that belief, as New 
England believed the two were using the war as a means to accomplish 
mutual ends. John Draper demonstrated this attitude in the News-Letter 
in January, 1734.

We have it from good hands that the conduct of 
the Court of Turin, with regard to the new Treaty 
Offensive and Defensive with France and Spain, has so 
astonished the Imperial Ministry . . . the truth is, 
as that conduct seems prima facia to facilitate the 
long and towering Projects of the Queen of Spain with 
regard to Italy, it has its influence in other places 
besides Vienna, and seems entirely to have changed the 
face of the Pacifick System. Above all, this Republic, 
which has the greatest reason in the world to be upon 
her guard against the French will now think it her 
interest perhaps to concern proper measures with the 
king of Great Britain, in the arduous juncture of a 
war in Italy, which may put the Milanese and [still 
worse] the two Sicilies, into the hands of France and 
Spain, that is to say, of the House of Bourbon.43

This statement has considerable meaning in light of the treaty. France 
and Spain guaranteed each other's possessions, and France agreed to sup-
port Spanish claims on Gibraltar.44 Spain, in return, agreed to revoke 
the rights of the British merchants in the Americas. All these provi-
sions were tremendously important to New England.

The "change in the Pacifick System" was an obvious reference to 
the balance of power. The new union directly threatened Britain and its 
possessions. We saw earlier how New England regarded this. The reference 
to Vienna, Milan, and the two Sicilies is nearly as self-evident. Austria

obtained key Spanish possessions in the Mediterranean to help counter Spain in that area at Utrecht, and later in 1720, Elizabeth Farnese's attempts to establish a kingdom in northern Italy aimed at re-establishing Spanish influence there. Thus, the guarantees of the Franco-Spanish treaty would restore Spanish power in the Mediterranean, and French support of Spain's claim on Gibraltar was designed to drive British influence from southern Europe.

The *Weekly Post-Boy* presented another side to the question of the Franco-Spanish alliance in June, 1735, when it carried the first of many comparisons between the British and French fleets before 1756. It compared the British fleet to those of France, Spain, and Holland. Coincidence did not lump them together as New England regarded Spain and France as a common enemy because of the 1733 alliance, thus the comparison of the British fleet versus the Spanish and French. The reason for including the Dutch was simple enough. Britain remained neutral in the War of Polish Succession because of the commercial advantage its participation would give the Dutch. The Dutch were commercial rivals, and New England had an interest in its fleets.

The War of Polish Succession ended in 1735, but the articles were not signed until 1738. Certain things are evident from it, however. It strained the Anglo-French friendship giving the diplomatic victory to Spain in the treaty of 1733. New England's fear of France increased

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46 Buffinton, *The Second Hundred Years War*, p. 31.
after 1733, and it once more became a threat in the New England mind. Massachusetts also became confident of a plot between Spain and France to thwart Britain's aims after that date. Some basis existed for this, to be sure, but Boston editors exaggerated it slightly. Nevertheless, the treaty of 1733 realized the old fears that France and Spain would unite against Britain. Colonial editors seldom mentioned the activities of one, thereafter, without including the other.

An article appearing in the Gazette in March, 1740, stating France would supply Spain in the War of Jenkin's Ear, even though it had elected to remain neutral, provides an example of this belief. Fear that France might actively side with Spain prompted this concern, and the notice in the Gazette notified readers it was exaggerated. Occasional suggestions that France and England would be at war before long appeared in the papers, however, and by 1742 the opinion that war with France was unavoidable predominated in New England. A short article from the Daily Post and reproduced in the News-Letter showed that

After all the good turns done to France these Fifteen or Twenty Years past, by some People who seem to have made the Interest of their own Country the least Part of their Study, we have at last the "disagreeable Prospect" of a War with that Nation.

A month later it carried a comparison of Britain and France which concluded that France held by far the greatest territorial expanse, but could not tap it because of inadequate forces. The author showed that

47 Boston Gazette, March 3-10, 1740.
France had more allies, but pointed out they might be enemies in wartime. Furthermore, the French fleets were not as great as Britain's, an island nation who was therefore better protected. He also compared the two nations' soil and manufactures, and again rated Britain superior, concluding that even though war was about to begin between the two, Britain would emerge victorious because of a superior position.\(^{50}\)

The News-Letter further assessed France's position in July through another letter from London, speculating it had undertaken too much in supporting the Bavarians, the Saxons, and Prussians against the Hapsburgs. The author concluded French and Spanish aims coincided with France supporting anyone with pretensions on the Austrian succession, while supporting Spanish attempts to establish its influence in Italy.\(^{51}\)

The warnings that war was unavoidable and the comparisons form part of the same issue that appeared in 1735 as a result of the Family-Compact, notably that the French and Spanish navies would unite against Britain's. The comparisons just cited dealt solely with France, but stem from New England's fear that France would someday obtain an ally and the combined naval force would then be superior to Britain's.

Editors predicted the inevitability of war between France and Britain throughout the remainder of 1742 and 1743. The Weekly Post-Boy produced a statement from Amsterdam in January, 1743, that France would not "come into reasonable conditions of Peace" and England would be forced

\(^{50}\)Boston News-Letter, February 25-March 4, 1742.

\(^{51}\)Ibid., July 15-22, 1742.
to declare war. The News-Letter continued this same sentiment in April through a reprint of Connecticut Governor Law's proclamation of a fast. It also demonstrated that New England still considered itself part of the British system.

... considering the various Frowns of divine Providence ... the fearful prospect that our Nation and all of Europe may be involved in a more general and bloody war, which may prove more fatal and distressing to these plantations.

Thus, the colonists still regarded themselves as loyal English citizens and realized that whatever affected England affected the New World. The proclamation also showed that the prospect of war was one of several in a chain of events through which God was showing His displeasure with New England.

New England obviously expected war by 1744 because the editors predicted it for over two years. The Gazette recounted that France and Spain had signed another treaty in November, 1743, the terms of which held enormous importance to New England because France agreed to help Spain end illicit trade in the West Indies. It served as another example that the feared alliance between the two Catholic nations would become a reality.

Reviewing the crisis before the declaration of war between France and Britain, it is clear that New England's fears about the Franco-Spanish alliance did not spring from the union. Instead it aggravated them. France was exhausted after the Treaty of Utrecht and it took years to

52 Boston Weekly Post-Boy, January 24, 1743.
53 Boston News-Letter, April 14, 1743.
rebuild its strength. It posed no threat to England or New England in
the interim. France had regained its strength, by about 1730, however,
and a growing concern for this followed in New England's papers. The
War of Polish Succession marks the renewal of New England's fear that
the French and Spanish might unite their interests in some way ultimately
involving Britain and the colonies.

Spain appeared a greater enemy in the years after the war. The
sole reason for this was Anglo-Spanish troubles over the border dispute
and Spanish seizures. Beneath it lurked colonial concern that the two
Catholic powers would use the crisis to further their aims, which in New
England's mind aimed at the destruction of Britain and its colonies.
After Charles VI died, and Europe moved toward war, France drew more at­
tention in colonial papers, confirming that New England regarded it as a
greater enemy than Spain during an international crisis. The comparisons
between the British and French fleets and nations verify this. Nowhere
did colonial editors compare Spain alone to Britain; only in conjunction
with France did any mention of the Spanish fleet hold meaning to Massa­
chusetts Bay. The passage of an act providing for further guarding of
the coasts a month after the declaration reached Boston gives further proof
that New England considered the French fleets a threat.

Accompanying the re-emergence of France as the main enemy was the
attitude that France and Spain had signed an alliance with implications
for the colonies and Britain. The treaty between France and Spain in
1733 marks the advent of this attitude. French support of Spain in the
War of Jenkin's Ear added credibility, and another alliance in 1743 seemed
the final proof. We saw earlier that the same thing existed with respect
to trade. The two were part of the concern stemming from the rising French threat to British commercial supremacy. The catalyst for it was the Family-Compact in 1733.

Although New England disliked war, once it commenced, the colonists entered with a purpose and contributed significantly by seizing the French fortress at Cape-Breton. This demonstrates the importance of economic concerns to New England and also that the main enemy was France. The French poured money and supplies into the structure after Utrecht and by 1745 it was the largest New World fortification. The French replenished their fleets and located the center of their activities in the fisheries there. More than one expedition against New England's fishing grounds had also been launched there. Governor Shirley provided initial plans for the assault in January, 1745, and by April, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York massed over 3,000 colonial troops while Pennsylvania and New Jersey furnished provisions. The fleet sailed from Boston on April 29, and New England papers followed the events.

The French surrendered the fortress on June 17, following a mismanaged and faint-hearted defense. Dispatching a special ship to carry the news demonstrates the event's importance, and it arrived in Boston on July 3. The News-Letter reacted to the news first by reprinting the House of Representatives' answer to the governor's address, which partly


covered the taking of Louisbourg. Judging by it, the colonists saw a threat to their trade in the nearness of a French fortress.

The Design form'd by Your Excellency has been so remarkably own'd by Heaven, as to demand our most unfeigned Thankfulness to Almighty God for His signal appearance in our Behalf. And it would be ungrateful in us not to acknowledge your Prudent Care and unwearied application in pursuing the Enterprize, in the Event of which we promise Ourselves, under God, Security to our Trade at present, and an enlargement of it in the time to come ... 57

Certain things are evident from the address. The role of religion has been discussed and needs no further explanation. The overriding importance of trade also permeated the reaction to the reduction of the fortress. Many members of the House of Representatives were successful businessmen. Property qualifications for holding office and voting were still strong in Massachusetts in 1745, contributing to a large number of propertied persons sitting in the assemblies. 58 Hence, the assembly's answer to the governor represented the merchant's view. The appearance of these in the News-Letter was not coincidental. Following the dispute between Governor Shute and the assembly in 1720-1721, the News-Letter reflected the assembly's views while the Gazette carried the governor's reports.

In March, 1746, the Gazette reproduced an address from the Maryland Gazette with which the editor apparently agreed. The author stated that Britain and France were natural enemies in all things, especially the settling of the northern part of the continent. The French also aimed

57 Boston News-Letter, August 1, 1745.

at universal empire, or in other words "universal slavery." An "Ode to New-England" making the point that the reduction of Cape-Breton would stir poets' imaginations for years accompanied the address.^

Such sentiments reflect New England's conflict with the French colonies. The northern part of the continent, particularly the fisheries, concerned both parties. The area was a source of conflict between the two from the time of the founding of the colonies, and such statements appealed to the economic segment of the community. The second part of the statement appealed to the religious sector. Throughout the period, one of New England's attitudes about foreign affairs was that France was trying to destroy the Protestant religion. Comments typical of those alluding to French attempts to establish universal slavery materialized during any crisis between 1700 and 1756.

The Gazette warned of more danger from the French in August through another comparison of the British and French fleets which contrasted the number of French vessels taken to the number of British ones taken between March, 1745, and April, 1746.60 While this may look like an interest in the war's progress, the deeper meaning is more significant. It forms part of New England's concern for the two fleets' relative strengths, and fits with all previous lists which appeared prior to that date. In April, 1747, the News-Letter also carried a list of the ships taken, but this one included the British ships lost during King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and the present war. Here again, New England

^Boston Gazette, March 25, 1746.

^Ibid., August 5, 1746.
exhibited concern over the strength of the two fleets by keeping track of the number of vessels taken.

The size of the French fleets continued to be a significant factor after the negotiations became a major topic of interest. The News-Letter presented a list of the French men-of-war left in Europe in March, 1748.61 A letter in the Evening-Post a year later partially explains how Boston viewed the situation.

... The French do not give their principal attention to the repairing and augmenting their Marine, being well aware that our Superiority at Sea is the only Bar to the accomplishment of their ambitious Project of Universal Monarchy; and with Respect to Trade, it is feared they will soon be able to retrieve it, and even to out-rival us.62

Three weeks later, it continued through a letter disclosing that Nova Scotia, if properly settled, could be a seminary for seamen which was of major concern because "France by increasing its trade will raise such numbers of seamen as will in time give them the superiority."63

The letter also showed New England's displeasure at the return of Louisbourg to France and was included because of rising concern over French activities in Nova Scotia. It contended that the news of the peace was not entirely welcome because of the effects the return of Louisbourg would have on New England's trade. The author specified it could be offset by fortifying Nova Scotia, however.

62 Boston Evening-Post, June 5, 1749.
63 Ibid., June 26, 1749.
Several accounts of the movement of French settlers into Nova Scotia during the years after the settlement denote New England's fear of the French presence in Canada. Since Nova Scotia was only nominally a British possession after Utrecht, due to French support there, small wonder that New England began to be disturbed about an influx of French into the area. Along with the initial French movement into the upper Ohio, it was beginning to disturb New England. The letter in the Evening-Post indicates that Massachusetts wanted to see the French removed from Louisbourg, but would accept the fortification of Nova Scotia as a less desirable alternative. Thus, Nova Scotia fortified would serve as a barrier to further French influence in the British colonies.

New England was not the only party dissatisfied with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The treaty settled little and everyone realized that war was imminent by 1750. Predictions of hostilities filled the papers within a short while. Gradually, however, the French push into the Ohio Valley displaced concern for European affairs. Clashes inevitably occurred and the papers quickly reported them. Both the News-Letter and the Evening-Post carried Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia's message to the house denouncing the taking of English citizens to Canada as prisoners as an "unjustifiable insult." In May, the Evening-Post printed the joint message from the two houses to the governor stating that French activity concerned all British citizens, and the French continued their plans to

64 Buffington, The Second Hundred Years War, p. 42.
65 Anderson, Europe in the Eighteenth Century, p. 244.
66 Boston News-Letter, March 26, 1754.
gain all North America from the mouth of the Mississippi to Hudson's Bay. The French had also ignored their solemn pledges and excited the Indians. Finally, they asked the governor to effect the removal of the French from Nova Scotia "where in direct Violation of the most Express agreements to the contrary, they are daily increasing and fortifying themselves."67

Such comments disclose that New England still regarded itself as a loyal part of the British system, and demonstrate the same attitude New England held about France during the entire period, notably that France aimed at universal monarchy. Boston also believed that France had no intention of honoring its treaty commitments. Intrigues with the Indians and the fortifications on Nova Scotia proved it. We saw earlier that this belief existed in 1717 in connection with the fisheries when the governor reiterated the two articles of the treaty of 1686, implying that France did not intend to honor treaty commitments. New England stated this sentiment openly in 1754, displaying the attitude that French commitments were not worth the paper they were written on.

Reviewing the period 1700-1756, it is clear that New England saw France as the primary source for concern. Only during the interval from 1719 to the outbreak of the War of Polish Succession did it regard France without much animosity. During those years France and England were both rebuilding their strength and France did not pose as great a threat to Britain as Spain. As members of the British empire, the colonists took an interest in the Spanish activities because they threatened the peace. The Colonists knew that Britain had an obligation to fulfill here as a

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67 Boston Evening-Post, May 20, 1754.
signer of the Treaty of Utrecht which guaranteed Europe's territorial integrity. Spanish activity in the Mediterranean threatened to upset the balance of power thereby destroying the peace. An unduly strong Spain posed a menace to the British empire's security and to the colonies.

By the mid-1730s, however, France again threatened Britain's dominance, both commercially and on the seas, and New England papers reflected it. The size of the French maritime force became a nagging fear of the New England fishermen about 1735 and this fear grew with each year thereafter. They feared that the French would dominate the seas and drive British and American shipping off. Secondly, they feared the effects a superior French navy would have on their fishing industry. A superior navy would allow the French to roam at will along the fishing banks off the New England coasts. The return of Louisbourg to France in 1748 prompted the statement that so eloquently typifies this attitude.

It is also clear that between 1700 and 1756 colonial New England's attitudes shifted in some respects. Little comment appeared during Queen Anne's War. The French were viewed as barbarians and hypocrites, but one finds no hint of a plot at universal monarchy. The only colonial comment at the end of the war shows relief at the removal of the Indian menace. By the 1750s, however, a plot to attain universal monarchy seemed a very real thing to New England.

Colonial papers reveal that they were interested spectators in the War of Spanish Succession. The system of a balance of power seemed important, but at that time it applied only to Europe. As time passed, however, the concept was applied to the New World as well, and New England
papers show a more direct interest in its preservation. Thus, New England became more directly interested in foreign affairs only when they concerned its interests. The fact that, as the rivalry between Britain and France shifted from the Old to the New World, the papers increased the amount of concern shown for it substantiates this statement. The New England populace was beginning to sense a direct threat to itself by the mid-1730s. France and Spain had entered into an alliance directed against the Anglo-American colonists.

A growing sense that the colonists were being hemmed in on all sides accompanied the fear of an alliance between the two Catholic countries. The British colonies were situated between two empires. France controlled the northern part of the continent and also had settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi. New England would be hemmed in if a link could be established between the two. The statements, to that effect in 1754, amply demonstrate this attitude. The concern shown for French trading ventures in the Mississippi Valley also contributed to the attitudes about French activities in this area.

There was also a shift between 1700 and 1756 with respect to colonial participation in the wars. The colonists demonstrated that they preferred to see war avoided, if possible, during the period. This did not mean that New England was unwilling to go to war. Boston citizens proved willing to go to war to defend their interests. A colonial


force in conjunction with the British captured Nova Scotia in 1710. The primary reason for it was a history of trouble between France and Britain over fishing rights. New England also proved willing to go to war in 1740. Troubles over the Georgia-Florida border, and the Guarda Costas based in the West Indies were the reasons behind New England's participation. Again, it was largely a British undertaking. The colonists initiated the plan to take Louisbourg in 1745, however. Once again French threats to the New England fishing industry were the primary concern.

When England returned Louisbourg to France in 1748, it earned New England's enmity for it. 70

The colonists were willing to go to war over what they considered their rights, but little else. A statement in the News-Letter demonstrated this in 1735. 71 They had little to gain by a war with France at that time. By 1745, however, there was something to be gained, the removal of France from Louisbourg. The colonists again showed that they would risk war to see the French threat removed. The address by the two houses to the governor asking him to effect the removal of the French from Nova Scotia points this out.

In conclusion, New England generally deplored war, particularly in the New World. They supported the balance of power in hope it would prevent war, and also because of their contentment at being included as members of the British system. War to maintain the system was justifiable,

70 Peckham, The Colonial Wars, p. 118.

and in some cases desirable, as evidenced by the statements in the *News-Letter* in 1708.

It is evident that New England regarded France as a greater enemy than Spain. France was, after all, the one who more directly threatened New England's way of life. The activities of Spain do not receive nearly the amount of attention as those of France after 1750. It can ultimately be said that the rivalry between France and England in the eighteenth century was of primary concern to New England. Boston showed a corresponding increase in the interest shown for French affairs whenever this became evident.
CHAPTER IV

THE PRETENDER

Chapter I postulated that religion and economics influenced New England's attitudes about foreign affairs. The economic reasons have been discussed, leaving religion's role in New England's attitudes about foreign affairs. The colonist's religious fears and the way religion interrelated with politics appeared in the newspaper treatment of the Pretender, James III, and his heirs, and their attempts to regain their birthright.

Considerable activity surrounding the Stuart claim to the throne had taken place by the time the News-Letter hit the street. The first event was the restoration of the crown in 1660, which set the stage for the Glorious Revolution of 1688-1689. James II ascended to the throne following Charles' death in 1685, but he had one strike against him before he assumed the kingship. He was a Catholic in predominantly Protestant England. Catholics comprised a significant segment of the British nation, but numbered in the minority. The ratio was smaller yet in the northern British colonies. The British nation did not want to see a Roman Catholic ascend to the throne.

Anti-Catholic feelings ran high in England when James II ascended to the throne, and the entire nation watched his actions apprehensively. Tensions increased when he circumvented the Test Act which had been adopted to keep dissenters and Catholics from government positions. James
soon antagonized even his supporters, many of whom were Anglicans, by appointing many Catholics to public office. Seven leading bishops refused to endorse the program, and James ordered their arrest for disobedience to the king, but at their trial a verdict of innocence was returned. The birth of a son to James in June, 1688, further complicated the atmosphere created by his behavior. It opened an indefinite line of Catholic monarchs to England, and near panic followed. Parliament resolved that James must go, and offered the crown to two Protestants, William of Orange and his wife Mary, sister to James II.

William invaded England with a large army, and James II fled to France following a poorly managed defense, leaving William and Mary to be proclaimed co-rulers in 1690. James and some Irish and French supporters attempted to recover the crown in 1690, but suffered defeat at the Boyne River in Ireland, setting the stage for years of intrigue by James and his heirs to recover that which they claimed as rightfully theirs. Intrigues continued until the middle of the eighteenth century; always with the sympathy or support of France, Spain, or the Pope in Rome.

A merging of French or Spanish interests with the Pretender's nearly always produced some reaction from New England. The most significant thing to the colonists about James was his religion. The Puritans could not forget that he and his heirs professed the heresy they hated most, but their concern ran deeper. They also saw James as a tool of the two Catholic nations, particularly France. Beginning in 1704 one can trace this attitude through to 1745. Practically every time the editors mentioned James' activities they connected him to one of these governments in some fashion. To Massachusetts' Puritans, France in particular
was making a concerted effort to stamp out Protestantism by using the Pretender as a tool.

Concern over the Pretender's threat to their religion also formed the basis for the attitudes the Puritans displayed in connection with the Protestant Succession. They firmly believed that if James gained the English throne their way of life was threatened. In 1707, 1714, and 1727, events surrounding the Protestant Succession elicited comments from the editors, clergy, and citizens. These were not idle pieces of conversation reported by the editors. They held meaning for the Puritans, and Massachusetts' fear and hatred of Catholicism prompted the statements.

Despite the Pretender's importance to Boston, there was no domestic source of news through which it could follow his activities prior to 1704. When Louis XIV recognized William as de facto king of England in 1697, no colonial paper existed to announce it. Boston gathered such news from England, and "any demand for news was satisfied well enough by the English papers which arrived on every ship from home."^1

The next significant event involving the Pretender was the death of the infant Duke of Gloucester, some of Princess Anne. Since Anne stood next in line for the succession, a failure on her part to produce another heir left James II in line after her. But the Duke's death produced the Act of Settlement, which, failing further issue from Princess Anne, passed over James II, his children, and "all the elder descendants of

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the Queen of Bohemia... to settle the crown of Great Britain on her
youngest daughter, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, and her heirs." 

In September, 1701, James II died, and "having received the
homage of the Duke of Berwick and the whole court at St. Germain's, the
Prince was proclaimed at the palace gates as James III under the title
of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland." 

Not until 1704, did the first successful paper appear in New
England. When it did, Campbell quickly included references to the Pretender's activities, indicating they were of some importance. In the
first issue he copied a "long abstract from the London Flying Post for
the week of December 2, 1703, which news was five months old when he
published it in April, 1704. This article concerning English intrigue,
described the actions of King James III, who was sending 'Popish' min-
isters from France to Scotland." Although it shows an awareness that
James was actively seeking support, Campbell did not demonstrate the
meaning behind the statement until 1707, when the first definitive at-
titude about the Pretender came forth in the News-Letter.

The discussion of a bill in parliament to promote a union between
Scotland and England, whose central purpose was to exclude James and his
heirs from any claim to the Scottish crown, prompted the first show of
concern. Some feared that James could be restored in Scotland; and with

2 A. Shield and A. Lang, The King Over the Water (London, New York,

3 Martin Haile, James Francis Edwards: the Old Chevalier (London:

4 Sydney Kobro, The Development of the Colonial Newspaper
good reason, inasmuch as he had been proclaimed James VIII of Scotland upon the death of William. By offering it interests in the East India Company and the Navigation laws, and allowing it to retain the Presbyterian religion and its own legal systems, the English government induced Scotland to accept the union in 1707.

New England was interested in the upcoming union and throughout the early months of 1707 Campbell kept a running account of events in Scotland in the News-Letter. He cautiously reported events until the union's completion and the March 31-April 7, 1707, issue, and that for the next weeks, summarized the articles. Then, hardly a week passed without the inclusion of an address or two presented to the Queen in congratulations over completion of the union. The majority of them came from Scotland and sounded alike.

Campbell followed an event important to him and his readers by printing the addresses in his paper. They were Protestant to the core, and anything designed to thwart the Pretender's claim was important to them. The colonists still recognized that anything affecting the mother country affected them, and what could have more affect than a Catholic seated on the throne?

Thus, by printing addresses such as the following from Boston Borough in Lincoln country, and that from Berwick upon Tweed, Campbell edited his paper and the opinions expressed in them can be applied to the colonies as well as to England. There were two reasons why Campbell printed the addresses. New England still viewed itself as loyal to the

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5 Haile, The Old Chevalier, p. 61.
crown and sympathized with the addresses. Also, the government and the ruling party censored his publication. In response, Campbell followed a cautious course and usually refrained from making any comment. By printing the addresses without any comment, he satisfied the Puritan censors and still got across the point he desired, namely that the union was a happy event for New England. The Puritans would not have objected to the sentiments behind the statements, but in 1707, the freedom to state one's opinion was still unacceptable, thus Campbell resorted to editing his publication.  

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We Your Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal Subjects humbly beg leave to Congratulate Your Majesty upon the happy union of Your two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, which your Majesty is pleased to esteem the greatest Glory of Your Illustrious Reign, because it brings with it [if we be not wanting to ourselves] a firm Security [under God] of the Protestant Religion, and of the Succession of the Crown as by Law Established; a mighty Occasion of Strength and Power, and also Peace and Happiness to all Your Subjects of Great Britain.  

The address from Berwick declared that "Your Majesty hath hereby firmly secured and established the Protestant Religion and Hanoverian Succession to the whole Island . . . and at the same time disappointed our Enemies at home . . . ." These comments express (more succinctly) the colonial sentiments than the address from Boston Borough. Nevertheless, the two are similar. Both were reprints from other sources, and both lauded the Protestant Succession. The first alludes to the retention of the crown in the Hanoverian line, and the second praises it

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flatly. The essential point for New England was that the Protestant Succession remained secure and the Pretender's claim to the Scottish crown was invalidated.

The Protestant Succession's importance to New England cannot be overstated because it protected practically everything the religious community valued. It included all Puritan religious doctrine, from the smallest point all the way up through the structure to the covenant. The continuation of the Protestant Succession prevented a Roman Catholic from ascending to the throne, which New England dreaded. They feared a Catholic monarch would force them to pay homage to his religion, thereby endangering their souls. As long as a Protestant occupied the throne, New England felt its religion remained secure. But once a Catholic was placed on it, New England feared the worst.

Colonial concern in the union seems well founded in light of subsequent events. When war erupted in 1702, James and his supporters began to plot his return to England. They hoped to do this with the help of the French government. Upon hearing of the proposed union, they concluded the ideal time for his return was at the time of the union, because they hoped there would be considerable opposition to it in Scotland. Subsequently, he turned to France for support while readying things in Scotland.

After years of preparations, James III left St. Germain's for the coast of Scotland on March 7, 1708. Due to delays including the appearance of a British fleet off Dunkirk, bad weather, and an illness at first

8Shield and Lang, The King Over the Water, p. 95.
feared to be smallpox, James did not leave the continent until March 15. The first of several attempts by the Stuarts to reclaim the British crown followed. After departing from Dunkirk, the French fleet, under the Earl of Fourbin's command, sailed for five days, only to land at the wrong place. Help never materialized because the Scots were waiting for James' arrival and French support. Fourbin refused to leave James behind and returned to Dunkirk, disembarking him there on April 7, 1708.

New England's reaction was quick and one-sided. Once word reached the colonies, almost every issue of the News-Letter contained several addresses to the Queen on the subject. Like the messages concerning the union, those printed in 1708 also came from other parts of the empire, and the reasons for their appearance remained the same. Between September and November, 1708, no less than thirty-two addresses dealing with the Pretender appeared. All pledged allegiance to the Queen and many, if not most, referred to the Pretender as a tool of the Popish French interests. The News-Letter of October 25-November 1, 1708, was particularly full, containing eight such addresses.

The first colonial statement on the attempt appeared a week later when Campbell printed Governor Dudley's proclamation of a day of thanksgiving in light of the failure. The language was similar to that of the addresses to the Queen, indicating colonial agreement with the empire on this subject. When Dudley made the following comments, he wrote something that could have appeared anywhere in the British system in 1708.

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9 Shield and Land, The King Over the Water, p. 107.
Forasmuch as God of our Salvation has, this Year, also speedily preserved us with His Tender Mercies, in Preserving the Life of our most Gracious QUEEN; in maintaining the UNION, by frustrating the designs of those that Envied, and Invaded it; whereby they that Serve Craven Images, and boast Themselves of Idols, have been confounded . . .

By comparing the language of the colonists to that of the rest of the empire, it is clear that similar attitudes existed in both areas with regard to the union and the attempted invasion. All the addresses on the union were favorable because it continued the Protestant Succession in the Hanoverian line, thereby excluding the Stuarts. New England's religious beliefs prompted the interest shown for it. New England Puritans remained confident that they could continue to practice their religion as long as the Hanoverians occupied the throne. If the Stuarts succeeded in capturing the crown, however, they had no assurances their religious liberties would be respected, and they feared the worst. They feared a Catholic monarch would reinstate a system of priests and Catholic hierarchy, thereby depriving the Puritans of the opportunity to interpret the Bible freely. Puritans considered this point vital to their religious beliefs. Without it, and the congregational control, the Puritan system ceased to exist.

Although the colonials made no statements regarding the union, the fact that Campbell printed so many favorable addresses points to a high interest in it. One can be sure that no contrary statements would have appeared even if the controlling party had not censored the News-Letter. New England's best interests would not have allowed it to support anything placing a Stuart on the throne.

With regard to the reaction to the attempted invasion, the one colonial response parallels that of the empire. Thanks to God for His mercies indicates among other things that New England believed God displayed His pleasure for New England's activities. The editors showed that New England believed God sided with His chosen people many times during the period. Such views stem largely from the religious community. Thanks for maintaining the union and the Queen were also motivated partially by patriotic feelings.

When it is remembered that the first colonial paper appeared weekly and consisted of only two pages of double columns, it is clear how important New England regarded the events. During a time when war ravaged Europe, occurrences such as the union and the attempted invasion proved more important than other major events. Colonial coverage excluded other events in this first Stuart attempt, and concentrated entirely on events in Scotland. During later attempts this also held true. Behind the coverage lay New England's fear that someday a Catholic might ascend to the British throne. Interest in the union stemmed from a hope that the Pretender's claim was invalidated, while the concern in 1708 stemmed from fear he might accomplish his goal.

Efforts at peace began in the years following this attempt, and in the conferences held to settle the preliminaries the allies demanded, and the French king conceded, that he should abandon the legitimate King of England, and dismiss him from his dominions.\textsuperscript{11} James did not leave

\textsuperscript{11} Haile, \textit{The Old Chevalier}, p. 96.
French soil and settle in Lorraine as the Duke of Lorraine's guest until 1712, which cleared the way for the settlement in 1713.

Although the settlement controlled James' movements to some extent, events in England also influenced them. It was known that Queen Anne was dying as early as 1713, and rumors had it that she intended to will James her possessions. With James present in Lorraine it might set off a rebellion upon the Queen's death. In an effort to prevent this, both houses of parliament placed a five-hundred pound reward on his capture. The House of Lords also petitioned the Duke of Lorraine to turn James out of his dominions.\(^\text{12}\)

The Queen lingered for over a year and her death did not occur until August, 1714. The News-Letter responded to the news quietly by printing a notice of her death, and the accession of George I in September.\(^\text{13}\) Two months later, Campbell carried Governor Dudley's proclamation of a general day of thanksgiving for the peaceable accession. The day was

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\ldots\text{to be celebrated throughout this Province for Publack PRAISE and THANKSGIVING to Almighty God, From who we receive all our Benefits; for His many and undeserved Mercies and Favours bestowed upon our Nation and our Selves. And in an Especial Manner for the Happy and Peaceable accession of His Sacred Majesty our Sovereign Lord King George, to the Imperial Crown of the Realms of Great Britain and Ireland} \ldots\]

The peaceable accession of George I and the retention of the crown in the Protestant line pleased the colonists. The time interval between the proclamation and the notice of the accession was not

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12} Shield and Lang, The King Over the Water, p. 198.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{13} Boston News-Letter, September 20-27, 1714.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., November 15-22, 1714.}\]
coincidental, as nearly two months elapsed. The governor probably waited to see if the transition was indeed peaceable before issuing the proclama-
tion. Thus, New England was aware that James might use the Queen's death as an opportunity to launch another attempt.

Occasional references honoring the Queen appeared in the News-
Letter during the next few months. Then, in October, 1715, the minis-
ters of the churches of New England's address to the king dealing with the succession appeared. The language implored him to allow them to continue to practice their religion. The message also displayed a sense of relief that the Protestant Succession remained secure. Again, fear that a Catholic might ascend to the throne prompted the concern. It was present in 1707-1708 and was still present in 1714 and 1715. After showing the accession would have its effects in the New World, the minis-
ters assured the king that

Your Majesty has here in America some hundreds
of thousands of subjects who triumph in the hope of
Your Royal Favour to them, but none more than your
Loyal New English colonies.

The Name of the Great King William was ever dear
to us beyond expression, but there is nothing by which
his immortal memory is more enamoured to us, that the
Provision by him made for the Succession of the crown
in the Protestant line, and in the House of Hanover.

No words of ours can be strong enough to express
the sense we have of the Divine Goodness in the Peace-
able Accession of Your Majesty to the throne . . . . 15

Although the above is only part of the message, it represents the whole, which continued to some length expressing hope that the king would retain the Protestant religion in his dominions. It is clear from the address that New England feared the possibility James might regain the

crown. At the same time, it also shows the colonists remembered King William solely because they credited him with preserving the Protestant Succession. Coupled with the hope that George I would continue the Protestant religion, it reflects the concern New England had for its religious practices; one of the foundations of the entire New England way of life, which James' claim to the throne threatened.

The optimism shown in the message about a peaceable succession proved illusionary. Rumors of Anne's sympathy toward him kept James' hopes alive. Negotiations between James and the French court had been in progress for some time when his sister died. They were completed in 1715 when the two reached agreement, and Louis agreed to help James. Before the details of the arrangement could be worked out, however, Louis XIV died on September 1, 1715, and with his death James lost a valuable ally. But events were already underway, and "the news of Louis XIV's illness had not reached London when John Erskin, Earl of Mar... turned his coat... by hastening in disguise to Scotland... and the French king's death was unknown to him when on September 6, he raised the royal standard at Braenar, and proclaimed James VIII of Scotland."\(^{16}\)

The news did not reach the colonies until the new year due to travel conditions. The January 9-16, 1716, issue of the News-Letter carried an account of the proclamation from Edinburgh. A week later Campbell departed from his usual editorial silence and commented on the plot. The statement is revealing about New England's attitudes. "It may not be unacceptable to the Publick, to let them know, that 'tis

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\(^{16}\) Haile, The Old Chevalier, p. 174.
discovered by the Squadron commanded by Sir George Bing... that a
damnable Plot was design'd against our King and Country by the Pretender
and his Adherents."¹⁷

Campbell followed this with several accounts of events, and for
several months supplied news of the rebellion. Hardly a week passed
without devoting considerable space to news of events in Scotland. He
included many addresses to the king from various parts of the empire.
They all called the rebellion unjust and unnatural. In August, 1716,
the News-Letter carried Lt. Governor Tailer's proclamation of thanks-
giving for victory over the rebels. The language in this proclamation
was the strongest of any colonial statement that had appeared to that
date. "Whereas it had pleased Almighty God to Testify his Displeasure at
the Vile and Traiterous Rebellion lately carried on in Great Britain by
Wicked and Unreasonable Men, against our Lawful and Rightful Sovereign
Lord King GEORGE; whereby the Tumults and Rebellions there are suppressed
... the Protestant Succession secured and Established in his Majesty's
Royal Family... ."¹⁸

Following the proclamation, Campbell made some comments which
shed more light on New England's attitudes about the rebellion. "Having
for these Five Months past Entertain'd the Encouragers of this Intel-
ligence with the Latest Occurances of Great Britain and Ireland which
most nearly concerns us: And because the Unnatural Rebellion in Great
Britain has taken up so much of our Half Sheets... and until more of...

¹⁸Ibid., August 6-13, 1716.
the same does arrive from Great Britain; he intends now to return as far as the latter end of September last."  

The two entries need little explanation. Obviously the rebellion was regarded as an unjust and unnatural attempt to place James on the throne. It was unjust because the union in 1707, and the Act of Settlement in 1701, removed all validity of James' claim to the throne. It was unnatural because it went contrary to natural reason to place a Roman Catholic on the throne of a Protestant nation. It was also unnatural because it was being carried out by "wicked and unreasonable" men against a "Rightful Sovereign." New England's loyalty to the British crown cannot be overlooked. They still regarded themselves as loyal British subjects and the announcement of a "damnable plot" against "Our King and Country" speaks for itself.

The News-Letter ignored many current European events during the rebellion. It can be assumed that the colonists feared James might make an assault on the throne after Anne's death. The appearance of many addresses lauding the peaceable accession of George I indicates that New England was well aware of the possibility that James might find support for his cause. They expressed obvious relief at the peaceable retention of the crown in the Protestant line prematurely, as the plot in 1715 proved, and the coverage of the rebellion to the exclusion of other European events demonstrates how seriously New England regarded it. The plot threatened its entire religious structure as far as Massachusetts was concerned, and little else was immediately important. Their obvious

\[19\]Boston News-Letter, August 6-13, 1716.
relief at the retention of the crown in the Protestant line and the suppression of the rebellion fits with the concern they displayed earlier.

Following the Pretender's defeat in 1716, George I demanded that he reside somewhere east of the Alps in accordance with the agreement of the Triple Alliance. Consequently, James and his court left Avignon, then under Papal control. France could not accept him because of commitments to the Treaty of Utrecht, and Anglo-Spanish negotiations made it impolitic for James to go to Spain. Following, James left Avignon for Rome in 1717 and Massachusetts followed his movements as he journeyed from one city and territory to another.

James was scarcely settled in Rome when the developing Anglo-Spanish war crisis offered him another opportunity to make an attempt to regain his birthright. Elizabeth Farnese was attempting to establish a kingdom in northern Italy for her younger son, and England had a stake in the developments. But Spain was not prepared to take England on alone, and elected to divert its attention by offering the Pretender support for any venture he might make into Scotland. Spain subsequently extended James an invitation to visit, and Campbell followed his movements when he left Italy for Spain.

Leghorn, Feb. 20, It is reported the Pretender is embark'd for Spain, and said he called in his passage by Florence at the Pope's nuncio, that receiv'd at Rome 130,000 Pistoles of one Beloni, a merchant, out of the sale of the Late Queen Dowager of England's Household goods.

A further entry from Rome, dated February 25, contradicted this comment.

"The Pretender did not go by Florence, but embark'd for Netunno in A

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Spanish ship that waited for him at sea, with several Men-of-war.\footnote{Boston News-Letter, April 27-May 4, 1719.}

The same issue also contained a copy of the king's address to parliament asking for money to fight the invasion.

Following his reception in Spain, James and the Spanish court negotiated a pact whereby Spain promised him support. But the war was going badly for Spain by this time, and when a storm destroyed the fleet Spain could not furnish additional help. Finding his presence there an embarrassment to the government, James left.\footnote{Haile, The Old Chevalier, pp. 260-269.}

Campbell showed no interest in James' activities other than reporting his departure for Spain. Spanish aid never materialized and thus there was no real threat of an invasion. France, in accordance with the Triple Alliance, could not offer James help either. Campbell followed the war and attempts to end it in place of any interest in the Pretender.

Although New England showed no interest in James' diplomatic ventures at this time, some of his other activities proved important. The rumored wedding plans of the Pretender were known in Europe and the colonies by early 1719. Plans for a match between James and Princess Sobiesky, granddaughter of the exiled King of Poland, had been in the making since 1718.

Ever alert to thwart the Pretender's plans, George I pressured Austria to prevent the marriage. The deposed king was a guest in Austria and could do little to prevent British interference. The emperor yielded
to British pressure, and ordered Clementia's arrest when she refused to break off the marriage.

Boston could not ignore events as significant as those which followed. For several months the Princess remained in captivity at Innsbruck, where she had been interrupted in her journey to Rome. The News-Letter erroneously reported that Clementia had yielded to the Emperor's demands in July, 1719, but she had already escaped and married James by proxy in May, 1719.23

Although the marriage escaped colonial attention, its solemnization did not, and nine months after the event Campbell gave an account of it. "Rome, Sept. 9, 1719, they write from Montefiascone that the Princess Sobiesky arrived there some days ago, being met within some miles of that Place by the Pretender and two Bishops, who conducted her to the Church, where the Bishop of Montefiascone confirmed her Marriage with the Pretender."24

There was a reason for the lack of interest in James' activities between July, 1719, and May, 1720, namely, the war. Interest in the war took precedence over the Pretender's activities after it became apparent that Spanish aid would not materialize. The announcement of the marriage's solemnization in 1720 demonstrates this nicely. Campbell did not find room to include the announcement until after the peace settlement.

The birth of a son and heir to James also held particular meaning to the Puritan. James wrote to all the monarchs of Europe and informed

them of the birth of his first male heir on January 1, 1721. Five months later a notice appeared in the Gazette. "Brussels, Jan. 26, The English Fryars and Nuns in this Countryside made great rejoynings for the Birth of the Pretender's Son, and the Benedictine Sisters have distinguished themselves by giving a great collation to a great number of ladies." These events might at first glance appear to be items of curiosity, but in fact had importance for New England. Royal marriages always held political meaning because governments formed alliances through wedding pacts. With regard to the Pretender, the alliance was a weak one. Nevertheless, the deposed king represented another ally, and in New England's mind strengthened his hand. Royal marriages also produced heirs to given lines. If loyal citizens praised heaven for the birth of an heir to the Protestant Succession, what were their feelings upon hearing of an heir to the Pretender's claim? This is what bothered New England between 1719 and 1721. James had found another ally, and the birth of a son assured him of an heir. The colonists looked ahead and feared more Stuart attempts would follow. Subsequent events proved the validity of their fears.

The birth of a son stirred James to renewed efforts to recover the child's birthright. He began to search among the European governments for support, but the Earl of Mar turned traitor for the last time and allowed word of the plot to reach England.

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26 Boston Gazette, May 22-29, 1721.
27 Shield and Lang, The King Over the Water, p. 353.
Colonial reaction to the intended invasion was typical of similar events. The News-Letter carried a reprint of the Irish parliament's proclamation calling for the arrest and prosecution of James and his followers in June, 1721. The editors traced subsequent events during the following months, including a copy of a letter in the Gazette in July, 1722, from Lord Townsend to the mayor of London assuring him that no international plot existed. More coverage followed in both papers. The point is that the plot still aroused New England even though it was discovered in time to prevent its completion.

The first colonial response to the plot came out in early 1723 when the News-Letter carried the notification of a day of fast and thanksgiving for help in defeating the Pretender's designs. The March 15-21 issue carries a similar proclamation from Connecticut. Both of these were drawn up with the advice and consent of the respective councils, and their appearance in the News-Letter reflects among other things the recent clash between the governor and the assembly over the powers of licensing the press.

The Gazette carried official reaction to the plot in May, when Musgrove printed Governor Burnett's speech concerning the plot to the assembly of New York. The tone was typical of most such speeches, but stressed the secular points and gave thanks that the conspirators had

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28 Boston News-Letter, June 5-8, 1721.
29 Boston Gazette, July 23-30, 1722.
been brought to "National JUSTICE" and "Parliamentary RESENTMENT."  

The News-Letter carried several congratulatory addresses to the king from parts of the empire between May and July, and that from the United Ministers of Gospel in New England appeared in July. The ministers expressed "our firm Adherence to the Protestant Succession . . . our Astonishment at, and Abhorrence of, their Perfidy and Impiety . . ." and called the Pretender's supporters false Englishmen and Protestants who were "plotting to introduce those two greatest Evils, Popery and Slavery, upon the Nation." They assured the king that

It is with Amazement and Disdain, that your Majesty's most loyal American Subjects behold the Villany, and cry to the God of Heaven against these Men, His Enemies more than ours . . . And that we may do Right to this people, we ought to assure your Majesty that we know not of one Person in all our Flocks, or in those of our Persuasion, whereof these colonies do mainly consist that is not well affected to your Majesty and Illustrious Family . . .

With these sincere Professions of our Loyalty to your Majesty, we beg Leave Humbly to recommend the Province to your Paternal Goodness, that if any attempts be made [by such as are no Friends to your interest in these Parts of your Dominions] to procure any abridgment of the just Liberties of the Royal Charter [given by King William and Queen Mary, of Immortal Memory] has long since confirmed to us your Majesty will still graciously continue your Favour and Protection.  

Ecclesiastical authorship of the address explains the emphasis on the religious factor in the reaction to the Pretender. The Stuarts aimed at the destruction of the Protestant religion in the clerical mind, but this attitude also prevailed in other segments of New England society.

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31 Boston Gazette, May 27-June 3, 1723.
32 Boston News-Letter, July 4-11, 1723.
The address of the government of New Hampshire appeared in the Gazette some three months later and the language parallels that of the ministers.

The inhabitants

... manifest to Your Majesty our unfeigned and boundless Gratuations, for the late seasonable...

Discovery of the blackest and most horrible tragedy

... with your Subjects Properites and Privileges preserved [from Popish Chains and Romish Slavery]...

And we do testify to your Majesty the Abhorrence and Detestation we have conceived against a Popish Pretender and his adherents...

Such language goes far to show that religious considerations were the primary ones behind New England's concern about the Pretender. When the New Hampshire address is compared to that of Governor Burnetts, the contrast is startling. It does not mean that New England had no patriotic feelings, as quite the contrary existed in fact. Massachusetts citizens considered themselves an integral part of the British nation at this time, but their religious concerns overrode patriotic feelings when it came to the question of the Pretender. Loyalty to the British crown was the secondary consideration, not the primary one, when it came to that question.

The attempt in 1722 proved James' last. Certain similarities exist between New England's reaction to it and earlier attempts, however. There was little observable change in its attitudes prior to 1723, and they remained constant on two levels, the religious and the patriotic.

Throughout the period, it is clear that the colonists wasted no love on the Pretender. Even when no colonial statement appeared in reaction to the union in 1707, one can say that New England favored it.

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33Boston Gazette, October 14-21, 1723.
No addresses to the contrary appeared. While this reflects the censorship policies, it hardly needs saying that none opposing the union would have appeared if the censorship had been lifted.

The first colonial attitude about the Pretender came out in 1708, when Governor Dudley proclaimed a day of thanksgiving for his defeat. The statements in 1708, 1715, and 1723, use basically the same language and tell us a lot about colonial attitudes toward the Pretender. Attempts were termed vile and traitorous, carried out by wicked and deceitful men, who were tools for Popish French interests whose central aim was to enslave the Protestant world. New England's mind equated Catholicism with slavery, and this carried over into its attitudes about the Pretender.

Massachusetts was in accord with the rest of the British empire in this respect. Many of the addresses from elsewhere in the system used the same terminology. In another respect, however, it differed from the rest of the British nation. New England was nervous about its position with regard to religious beliefs and how the crown felt about it. The message to the crown in 1723 made a plea to the monarch to allow them the liberty to continue the practice of their worship. Apparently they felt that undue attention might result in the revocation of the charter and they made a point of the fact that no person in Massachusetts supported the Pretender. It was a deliberate act to reassure the monarch that New England supported the government, but the reasons behind the support were religious. New England valued its religious liberties above all else, and did not want to see the charter granting them revoked. One charter had been revoked in 1684, and New England feared that any sympathy
for the Pretender might result in the revocation of the second one, and possibly their religious liberties with it. Hence, the reassurance to the monarch that no support for the Pretender existed in New England.

New England's feelings toward the Pretender changed very little before 1725. Their expressions of the attitudes did change, however. Little colonial comment was perceptible when the News-Letter appeared and Campbell buried most attitudes beneath the shroud of other parties' messages and addresses concerning the Pretender. All those printed in the early years were decidedly anti-Pretender, however. Nowhere did an address favoring the Stuarts appear, and this reflects New England's Protestant prejudice. More distinct colonial attitudes can be found by 1723. The editors were more open about their feelings by this time, and included more statements from the colonists about James. The shift resulted because of the end of government censorship. Yet, even after the removal of the restrictions the statements differed little from those of earlier years, indicating that the attitudes did not shift.

Interest in James' activities lagged somewhat in the years after his final attempt. The birth of his second son in 1725, and a domestic quarrel that nearly wrecked his marriage received only scant attention in New England publications. Two years later when George I announced the conclusion of a secret treaty between Austria and Spain in which Austria agreed to support the Stuart claim, the News-Letter mentioned it only briefly in March.34

34 Haile, The Old Chevalier, p. 320.
The death of George I later the same year, however, prompted New England to voice its attitudes about the Pretender and the Protestant Succession. Both the News-Letter and the Gazette carried several addresses by various groups congratulating the new king in late 1727. The News-Letter carried the message of the Episcopal Clergy of Boston in April, 1728. At first glance it seems strange to see an address of the Anglican church appearing in a paper controlled by Puritans, but upon closer examination the reasons are clear. The Anglican church held the same sentiments as the Puritans about the Protestant Succession, thus no disagreement existed between the two on this point and Greene published the address in his paper. The address of the President and Fellows of Harvard appeared in his paper in May, and it also praised the Protestant Succession.

Although the address of the President and Fellows of Harvard was more explicit, both addresses hailed the peaceful accession and the retention of the crown in the Protestant line. The Fellows of Harvard also made the plea to the monarch to allow them the freedom to continue their worship in the accustomed fashion. 35

Following this, the Pretender's affairs did not again come to the colonists' attention until 1739. Another diplomatic crisis was building that might afford the Stuarts a chance to make a bid to reclaim the throne. Spain and Britain were at odds over trade rights, and as relations degenerated James began to search Europe for an ally. Negotiations failed to produce any aid, but the News-Letter noted that "there

is a great bustling at the court of the Pretender, who receives frequent
dispatches from several countries."

The dispatches continued without any support being promised
James. Only after 1740 and Charles VI's death did European events favor
the Stuart. When Fredrick the Great invaded Silesia in violation of
the Pragmatic Sanction, it became obvious that general war threatened.
Anglo-French relations deteriorated further, and France invited the Pre-
tender to France in 1742, promising support for another attack on Scot-
land.

James sent his elder son in his place, and in April, 1744, the
News-Letter carried George II's address to parliament warning that plans
were being made to invade Scotland. The plans failed, however, because
the French fleet ran aground, and the Prince was recalled.

Prince Charles renewed efforts to gain support upon returning to
France, but the British declaration of war interrupted and France put
him off. He then decided to continue on his own, borrowed money, and
laid plans to invade Scotland. Although his father obtained promises
of support from both Spain and France, it never materialized. Costly
delays allowed the British to bottle up the French forces in port, all
but sealing the young Pretender's fate. Prince Charles never really had
a chance of success without French support, although he did manage to
drive to within eighty miles of London.  

37 Ibid., April 13, 1744.
38 Haile, The Old Chevalier, pp. 400-413.
News of the latest attempt reached New England in late 1745, and the reaction was swift and vehement. All four papers in circulation carried the news, excluding other war news. The earliest accounts appeared in the *Weekly Post-Boy* in December. The *Gazette* followed closely behind and picked up the story in the January 7–14, 1746, issue.

The *News-Letter* followed suit and carried the king's address to parliament which called the Pretender a "Popish Pretender" and termed the rebellion wicked and unnatural. The following week it carried a comparison between George II and the Pretender that a reader had gleaned from the *Portsmouth and Gasport Gazette*. The comparison listed several attributes under George II and the Pretender. It portrayed the king as the protector of liberty and property along with the exercise of free religion; and described the Pretender as a harbinger of slavery and arbitrary Popish power sent from Rome, France, and Spain. It also listed twelve reasons why James III should be denied the throne. The main ones were that "the Pretender is most probably a Bastard" and his father both "forfeited and abdicated" the crown. Furthermore, he was a "Tyrant, educated in Italian principles of arbitrary Power" and came under the "Protection of France." He was also a "Papist and must endeavor to extirpate all other religions whatever."39

The *Evening-Post* joined in denouncing the rebellion in the final week of January, 1746, when it carried a letter to the editor. Written

by one of its subscribers, it clarifies colonial attitudes toward the Pretender and the latest attempt. The contributor began by stating that the American colonies depended upon England, and that anything affecting England also affected the colonies. He also harkened back to the Treaty of Dover signed in 1670, and claimed that all attempts by France to support the Pretender after that were attempts to wipe out the Protestant religion. In conclusion, the author stated that

... the grand and apparent Design of France has been, and is, nothing less, in short, than to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and enslave the Nations of Europe...

... but to draw to a Close—that France is pursuing the same Design at this Day is evident beyond all Contradiction; and certainly there cannot be a more flagrant Proof of it, than the present most execrable Rebellion in Scotland.41

The following month the News-Letter again denounced the rebellion by publishing a sermon preached at a lecture on February 6. It set forth the idea that Spanish and French attempts to set the Pretender on the English throne represented evil in its "natural Tendency, and moral Aspect." Notes interspersed in the margins of the lecture traced the "Popish and arbitrary Measures of King James the Second, the supposed Father of the Pretender." The lecture went on to trace the placing of the crown on the heirs of Princess Sophia, and alluded to a belief that James III was not the son of James II.42 A week later this same publication continued to state colonial attitudes by printing the following piece of poetry.

41 Boston Evening-Post, January 27, 1746.
42 Boston News-Letter, February 20, 1746.
The following week, the Gazette printed the governor's proclamation denouncing the rebellion. Issued with the advice and consent of the council, it called the rebellion a "wicked and traitorous Rebellion ... in favor of a Popish Pretender ... supported by the powers of France and Spain, for the Subversion of our religious and Civil Liberties, and the Introduction of Popery and arbitrary Powers into the British Dominions."44

Colonial papers carried accounts of events in Scotland throughout the duration of the rebellion. When word was received in April that the rebellion had been suppressed both the Gazette and the Post-Boy carried the announcement. Upon hearing the news, the Massachusetts clergy drew up a message congratulating the king for the victory and sent it to England. It appeared in the Gazette and the News-Letter in December. The clergy expressed their "Detestation of the unnatural, wicked and traitorous Rebellion ... in Favour of an abjured Pretender-up in Bigotry ... of the Romish ... utterly destructive to all True Religion and Liberty."  They also assured the king that "we know not a single Man belonging to any of our own Assemblies, but what is firmly attached to your

43 Boston News-Letter, February 27, 1746.
44 Boston Gazette, March 4, 1746.
Royal Person and Illustrious House—" They also called the rebels "in-fatuated Ken . . . vile and contemptible Tools of France and Spain," and ended the message with a plea to the monarch to allow them to continue to practice their religion unmolested. 45

Thus ended the last Stuart attempt to reclaim the British crown. They lost favor in European courts after 1745. Their presence was tolerated, but no government seriously considered their claims. Their last effort cannot be lightly dismissed, however. It came the closest of all to succeeding, and the colonial reaction to it was the most vehement exhibited during the period.

In their efforts to discredit the Pretender’s claim the colonists reached back seventy-five years to the Treaty of Dover to point out that even then France was attempting to destroy the British nation. Thus, even before the Stuarts were exiled, the French were using them to further their own cause. French interests, to the colonists, meant only the destruction of their religion by 1746. Thus, in 1746, as earlier, the Pretender was not the real enemy, but France was. Throughout the period under scrutiny here, this held true. France or Spain was always the real enemy. It was they who were egging the Pretender on to further their own interests.

The lengths the colonists went to in 1746 to discredit the Pretender differ from those of earlier years. They dragged up stories about his parentage and circulated them through the papers. They also cast doubt upon the legitimacy of his claim, based on the contention that

45 Boston News-Letter, December 18, 1746; Boston Gazette, December 23, 1746.
since his father abdicated, James had no claim to the throne. Neither of these contentions can be found in earlier denunciations. Only when the biggest threat of success appeared did the colonists go to extra lengths to discredit the Stuart claim. The last attempt, which nearly succeeded, frightened the American colonists, and they turned to any defense they could find to fight James, even circulating fifty-five-year-old rumors about the validity of his parentage.

In reviewing the entire period, it is clear that religion was the most significant thing to the colonists about the Pretender. The Puritans could not forget that James was a professed convert to that which they hated most, Catholicism. But colonial concern ran deeper. They saw James as a tool of the two Catholic nations, France and Spain. Beginning in 1708, one can trace this attitude through to 1746. France, in particular, was making a concerted effort to stamp out the Protestant religion in the Puritan mind.

New England's concern for the Protestant Succession was also based on this sentiment. They firmly believed that if James succeeded in gaining the throne, he threatened their entire way of life. In 1707, 1714, and 1727, events connected to this issue elicited comments in the papers. The union in 1707 was designed to invalidate James' claim to the Scottish crown and his attempt to capitalize on it prompted some comment from the governor. George I succeeded Queen Anne in 1714, and when he died in 1727 George II succeeded him. Judging from their language at these junctures, the Puritans were nervous about their position in the British empire. They beseeched the monarch to allow them the right to continue to practice their religion in 1723 and again in 1727. They
quickly pointed out that they supported the Glorious Revolution on occasions such as these. On three occasions during the period, the Puritans also pointed out that no supporters of James resided within the colony.

When they made the statements concerning the above points, the Puritans did not make them for the sake of something to do. The comments held meaning for them, and their fear and hatred of Catholicism lay at the bottom of it. They feared that any support for James within the colony would result in the revocation of their right to practice their own brand of religion. They also feared what would happen if a Catholic ever ascended to the throne. In either case they felt that they would have lost that which they valued highest, the right to practice their religion unmolested. The Puritans also feared that the Pretender, backed by France, threatened their very lives and souls by 1746. The News-Letter made the statement that "Religion, Life, and Liberty at Stake" in that year.

The amount of attention the Pretender received in relation to current events was also significant. Nearly every time James made a new attempt at invasion, the colonial papers ignored other events to follow his cause. Only in 1719 did New England show a lack of interest when James made another attempt. At that time France failed to offer him support. Although Spanish support was behind the abortive attempt in 1719, Campbell only mentioned it briefly in his News-Letter. New England looked upon France as the greater enemy, and since no French threat existed in 1719 the colonists concluded that James did not represent a significant threat either.
Although interest in the Pretender seemed most evident at times of crisis, his activities warranted colonial attention at other times. His marriage in 1719, and the birth of a son and heir were two such times. These assured James that his cause would be carried on for years and the Puritans looked ahead fearing the worst. When Prince Charles invaded Scotland in 1745, their fears seemed well founded.

Finally, there is the fact that the Puritans in Massachusetts felt that they were English citizens. They offered praise and thanks to heaven in 1714 for favors bestowed upon "our nation," and in 1716, Campbell announced a "damnable plot against our King and Country." As late as 1746 the colonists still abhorred attempts on the British nation, meaning themselves as well as others. Indeed, this last attempt came the closest to succeeding, and the colonial reaction was the loudest of any expressed.

In review, it can be seen that colonial attitudes about the Pretender did not change appreciably. Instead, their method of expressing those attitudes changed dramatically. Colonial papers carried only factual articles or addresses in the first years of their existence. In later years the opinions of many citizens appear in the publications.

Down to 1746, and after, the habit of printing communiques from other parts of the empire persisted. But the printers felt free to print practically anything they wanted by this date, except for things offensive to the crown. They stated their opinions about the Pretender more directly as a result. To them, and to their readers, the Pretender was the embodiment of the anti-Christ and threatened not only their way of life, but their very souls as well. This was also their reason for supporting
the Protestant Succession. Only through the uninterrupted Protestant Succession could the anti-Christ be kept off the throne. Thus, "they were no Jacobites, but the adherents to the Protestant Succession. Catholic France was the kingdom of anti-Christ, and her destruction had been prophesized in the apocalypse . . . ."\(^46\)

In conclusion, the Puritans saw more in the Stuart cause than was actually there. Certainly, France used the Pretender to further its own cause, but to the Puritans this meant only an assault on their religious beliefs. They steadfastly refused to believe that political forces might be at work behind French support for the Pretender. To them, the only possible motive France and Spain could have was to rid the world of the Protestant religion. To the Puritans of Massachusetts, France and Spain would use any means possible to attain this, even support of the Pretender. Throughout the period, the real enemy was not the Pretender, but France, Spain, and the Pope in Rome, in short, Catholicism.

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF THE PAPERS

After looking at New England's expression of its attitudes about foreign affairs in the papers, it must be determined whether the papers reflected the prevailing attitudes, or if they molded and changed them. The answer is that a little of both existed in the papers and the policies of the editors.

The first successful paper arose in response to a need for additional commercial and political information, and demonstrates to some extent that the papers reflected the prevailing attitudes, namely, the importance of economics to the concerned citizens. Merchants followed ships' movements because they had a stake in them, and wanted to know when a scheduled vessel would leave or arrive. Insofar as the News-Letter filled the need for information about ships' movements, and other commercial news, it reflected the attitude that New England regarded these events as important.

The News-Letter also reflected the government's and controlling party's policies. The Puritan party determined what the populace was exposed to through conscious control of the News-Letter. "That they should stamp out heresy in the church and sedition in the state was a matter of plain necessity to the Puritans and they kept control of the

press is an essential part of their policy to maintain pure religious
doctrine and worship. The first pattern thus existed in New England's
papers from the beginning. The earliest paper filled the need of the
shipper who wanted to know about the latest economic measures in Europe,
as well as the political situation which affected his trade.

The News-Letter fulfilled the needs of one segment of Boston
society to this extent, but ignored the rest of Massachusetts' interests,
principally because of Puritan censorship policies. As a result, one
could not say that the earliest papers changed or influenced public
opinion directly.

The Courant changed this, however. It was a fresh breeze in
Boston's stale journalistic atmosphere and became the first American
newspaper to supply readers with what they liked and needed, rather than
with information controlled by the self-interested officials. A com-
parison of the papers before and after the Courant helps clarify its
effects on New England's journalism.

The News-Letter was the only paper in the colony before the
Gazette appeared. Campbell's paper remained largely devoid of any ed-
torial content, and he retained his policy to report events without
comment. He allowed no public discussion of events, either foreign or
domestic, and readers had to base their opinions on the materials

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2 H. C. Bogel, "Colonial Theocracy and A Secular Press," Journalism


4 E. Emery, The Press and America, an Interpretive History of
presented. An objective viewpoint based solely on the material Campbell presented would have been difficult to form because of the slanted approach his censors maintained.

Following the Courant case, however, New England's journalism assumed a new character. After Franklin's successful campaign against the governor and clergy in the late 1720s, a new concept appeared in the papers and editors devoted more room to the discussion of public affairs, both domestic and foreign. The technique used to accomplish this was the letter to the editor. The only paper after 1723 which did not consistently use this device was the News-Letter, and it continued to be subject to Puritan control. All others adopted the letter to the editor, or some form of it, when they began publication. In later years, particularly after 1725, the papers displayed much discussion of public affairs via this and other methods.

While public discussion increased dramatically after about 1725, it also changed somewhat. Some papers devoted more space to domestic issues, reflecting the growing complexity of New England's social scene, and the relative freedom gained because of Franklin's actions. The papers thoroughly discussed several domestic issues during later years. Each new paper contributed to the discussion in its own fashion, and by 1750 a diversity of opinion existed with regard to domestic issues.

The diversity of opinion on domestic issues did not carry over completely with respect to foreign affairs, however. New England's attitudes were less diverse here, and reflected its two main concerns during the first half of the eighteenth century, economic policies stemming from the mercantilist theories, and religious convictions, and how they
affected foreign affairs. Most, if not all, of New England's reactions to foreign affairs involved one or both of these concepts.

Each of these factors arose because they involved a significant portion of Boston society. New England turned to the sea for many of its undertakings because of the climate and topography of the area. Foreign markets somewhat influenced Boston's activities by the opening of the eighteenth century. Thus, merchants, traders, and other parties had an interest in foreign happenings that affected the economy.

Religion also contributed to New England's reaction to foreign affairs. New England's principal enemies were both Catholic nations, and this had some important implications when it came to their policies and New England's reaction. New England discerned a threat to its religious liberties and reacted accordingly even though some policies reflected political motives.

Concerning New England's economic community and how it reacted to foreign affairs, it is necessary to review the general development of the colony. Survival occupied much of the colonist's time during the early years, leaving little time for anything except religious worship. They planted and harvested crops, caught and cured fish, cut timber and built houses, among the many necessary items. For many needed household goods, New England depended on the mother country as a source of supply.

Massachusetts eventually reached a stability which allowed other interests. The influx of population from the Puritan migrations of the 1630s and 1640s also brought in many skills, including those of the merchant and trader. The effects of trade on New England were observable by 1650. John Higginson showed this in 1663 when he thundered in his
election sermon that "New England was originally a plantation of Religion, not a plantation of Trade." While this is slightly out of context here, it does show that New England had developed as a trading society by about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The principal item of trade was fish, and "about 1570, the New Englanders turned their attention to the deep sea fishing off the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador . . . where the development of their industry . . . brought them into contact . . . with the French fishermen of Acadia." Within seventy-five years of the founding of the colony, New England built an industry which became the backbone of its life, and by about 1700 shipped ten million pounds of cured fish annually from its harbors. We have already seen where this product went and what they received for it.

The prevailing economic theories of the times, New England's reaction to them, and the reflection in the papers must be brought together at this point. Throughout the period 1700 to 1756, the papers reflected the prevailing political and economic theories, more so in the latter years than the former. New England reflected current theories through its support of the balance of power system, and the connections made between the size of the French fleet and France's economic strength. Both of these concepts were an integral part of the mercantilist theory


7Ibid., p. 77.
of the eighteenth century, and more than once during the period a letter to the editor, an address of some sort, or a portion of a letter or an article dealing with these, appeared in the papers. Thus, New England knew of their existence, and one can say that on the whole it understood the prevailing mercantilistic theories.

New England also displayed its attitudes about these theories, and their uses, in the papers. The attitudes supported the system for the most part. New England demonstrated its support for the balance of power in the War of Spanish Succession, and again in the War of Polish Succession. Much of this support resulted from the colonists' patriotic feelings. New England felt happy to be included as a loyal part of the British system. Social, emotional, as well as religious and political ties, linked the two in the first half of the eighteenth century, and Boston citizens were not about to submit to any scheme that might sever them. The balance of power system offered New England a certain amount of security, and the support shown for the status quo in papers reflected Massachusetts' attitudes as a whole in this respect.

The trade question was a slightly different matter to New England, however. A good portion of the attitudes expressed about commercial rivalry between Britain, Spain, and France, came from a particular segment of Boston society, namely, the merchants. Much of New England probably knew about and believed in the concept that a strong commercial fleet contributed to a strong military fleet. The comments and attitudes about the French running the colonists out of the fisheries, and the detrimental effects of French competition in the woolen industry, however, can be ascribed to the merchant group. They stood to lose the most if
France succeeded. The fact that as France increased its rivalry after 1730, a corresponding increase in the amount of concern developed in the papers for the French activities in these two areas substantiates these contentions.

New England did not limit its concern to the French activities in the fisheries and woolen markets. French activities in the Mississippi Valley plagued New England as well. It kept watch on the French intrigues with the Indians as each new crisis developed between 1700 and 1756. The concern was not confined to any single segment of Boston society as Indian problems involved the entire community. Thus, warnings about possible renewed Indian attacks interested the entire community.

WARNINGS ABOUT FRENCH COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND GREAT LAKES REGIONS ALSO INTERESTED THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY.

France threatened New England physically if it managed to gain control of the entire river valley. Thus, the concern shown for the Mississippi Company in 1720, the controversy over the fur trade in New York, and the concern for the French push into the upper Ohio River Valley after 1749, all form part of New England's attitudes. The merchants had more at stake here than any other group, so to some extent the concern shown for French activities can be attributed to them, but the fact remains that ultimately the French movements in the hinterland affected New England as a whole and the attitudes about them reflect its thoughts as a whole. If the French succeeded in completing the link between the Great Lakes and the settlements in the gulf, New England, as well as the other colonies, would have been effectively hemmed in. France's physical threat thus was a potent factor in formulating New England's attitudes.
Religion also played an important role in shaping New England's attitudes. It was important when foreign affairs are considered because part of New England's attitudes about international relations derived from its religious positions. The most important thing here was the Puritan's intense hatred and fear of Catholicism, or anything remotely resembling it, and this carried over into their attitudes about the Pretender. There were no Jacobites in New England. They adhered instead to the Protestant Succession and the Pretender was, above all else, a Catholic, and France represented the kingdom of the anti-Christ. All of New England's religious fears about world affairs revolved around this fact. James was, first of all, a Catholic, but he was also a tool of Catholic France who wished to rid the world of the Protestant religion.

When the editors included statements in their publications that their very lives and souls were at stake, they did so in the belief that a threat actually existed. These statements reflect the attitudes of the religious community in the Bay colony. The editors also expressed the religious community's attitudes when they praised the retention of the crown in the Protestant line, and the defeat of the Stuart forces.

Editors found proof for their contentions in Canada and Europe. The stories of the Inquisition in Europe, and the accounts of religious persecutions in some central European states, particularly during the 1720s, showed the Puritans what their fate would be if France succeeded in defeating Britain. Stories about the fate of prisoners from Indian raids carried into Canada and raised as Catholics also reinforced such beliefs in New England's mind. The Puritans believed that more than just their lives were at stake, however. Ultimately their souls were
jeopardized if France gained the upper hand. If the French assumed
control, they would force the English Protestants to follow Catholic
doctrine, and rear the young in that false religion. The Puritans
thought that if France forced them to pay homage to the idols and false
prophets of the Catholic religion, it endangered their very souls.

Here again, much of New England's fears about the French stemmed
from their proximity in Canada. If the French had not been situated in
Canada as they were, the physical threat posed to the colonies would not
have been so great. As it was, the existence of a French territory so
near kept the colonists aware of their existence, and every time a new
threat arose New England turned north and watched its neighboring enemies.

Up to this point, we have seen that the papers reflected the pre-
vailing political and economic theories, and to some extent, how the Bay
colony reacted to them. We have also seen that part of the society ex-
pressed their views and attitudes for reasons of their own. Many of
these came forth in publications sympathetic to the views of one party
or another.

At the same time, some views can be ascribed to the colony as a
whole. The principal ones here stemmed from New England's contentment
at being members of the British system. Expressions conveying this appear
in all the papers to some extent, and indicate that the editors and con-
tributors agreed with one another on certain issues.

Knowing that some papers expressed certain attitudes brings up
the question of how much the editors and their policies influenced New
England's attitudes about foreign affairs. The extent the papers con-
veyed accepted opinions, or introduced new ideas about old beliefs, is
important. The use of the papers as vehicles of social change, whether international or not, is important here.

During the period before the 1720s, Campbell's News-Letter proved to be little more than a voice of the government and Puritan oligarchy. The opinions and attitudes expressed in it reflected those of one or both these bodies, or at least those that met their approval. The News-Letter thus conveyed acceptable opinions and attitudes to the public. The censorship policies used by the Puritans could be classed, to a limited extent, as attempts to sway public opinion, but any thought along this line was distinctly secondary to that which aimed at excluding anything contrary to accepted policy. The idea was not so much to educate the public, as to prevent publication of undesirable materials. The News-Letter performed a very narrow function during the early years.

Much of this changed in the early 1720s following the clash between Governor Shute and the assembly, and the Courant case. The papers played a role as vehicles of social change through the part they played in removing the restrictions on the printers, and during the years thereafter continued this function. They came into their own as vehicles for public discussion of public events after these two events, and once established, the papers became active instruments of change. The most important thing here was the letter to the editor. Although Franklin is responsible for the establishment and acceptance of this device, its adoption by other papers proved important to New England's journalism. The

public carried out much of its discussion of important events via this during ensuing years. With each new year after 1725, and each new paper, the letters to the editor contributed to the public's growing voice. Editors combined it with personal letters, or portions thereof, articles, addresses, sermons, poems, and other items. In later years it proved a major method of discussing public events.

The papers helped to formulate public opinion with respect to certain things in later years. It was more evident with regard to domestic issues than foreign affairs, however. New England displayed more unity in its attitudes about foreign affairs than those dealing with domestic issues. The papers represented certain attitudes about foreign affairs because some of them sympathized with the views of one group or another. As each new paper appeared on the scene, the variety of views became greater, giving readers more to choose from in making decisions. When one considers that many English papers, magazines, and pamphlets, as well as domestic ones, circulated in New England, it can be seen how much material that interested readers had available.

The papers reflected some changes in New England's attitudes during the period. The early editors relied heavily on external correspondence, principally that from England, to fill their pages. Many of the opinions expressed in the early years came from outside the colony as a result. Their appearance in the colonial papers indicates that New England generally agreed with the rest of the empire. But during the early years, attention to the international struggle centered in Europe. The center of attention had shifted to the New World by 1730, however, and as it did there was a corresponding increase in the concern shown for the
actions of the various governments. The shift in attention more directly involved the colonies and they responded by increasing the attention in the papers covering the events.

The emphasis on those events also shifted. In the early years many of the articles, and the few colonial comments, emphasized the impact of many of the events on the English nation. As the struggle for commercial supremacy more directly involved them, however, the colonists displayed a growing sense of a separate identity. Fisheries ceased to be English fisheries, and became instead "our fisheries." Wars would adversely effect "our trade and commerce," and the French threatened "our lives and our souls." In short, the papers helped to formulate and disperse public opinion through a discussion of public events, and this in turn contributed to a growing sense of common identity among the New England colonists. They were united against a common enemy, France. They still thought of themselves as Englishmen, but Englishmen in the New World. The papers helped to create some of these attitudes by constantly keeping certain issues before the public. The expression of attitudes became more clear as the years passed, and by 1756 France was the enemy in all respects.

In light of subsequent events, this has some importance. Britain retained all lands east of the Mississippi, as well as Canada, returning Guadeloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucias to France in 1763. Britain inadvertently replaced France as the principal bulwark to some colonial desires by retaining this area. In the Proclamation of 1763, and later acts dealing with the West, the Sugar Act of 1764, the Stamp Act of 1765, and the Townshend Act of 1767, the British government alienated the colonists.
The reaction to these acts and others culminated in the newspaper war just prior to the outbreak of the revolutionary war. The point of this is that the papers performed the same function with respect to France before the Seven Years War. Every time France threatened the Bay colony, the papers picked up the story and carried it to the people. It was an easy step to include Britain as the enemy after the Seven Years War.

The papers could not have contributed as much to formulating and disseminating public opinion if it had not been for one thing. A large portion of Massachusetts' population could read. The Puritan's belief that individuals must be able to read in order to interpret the Bible led to the early founding of schools. Massachusetts added to and improved its school system as the colony prospered. A majority of the population could read by the end of the century.

Many of the people read the newspapers, and while they did so for reasons of their own, they were exposed to the contents. The merchants read them to gather the latest available news of Europe. "Nearly all craftsmen were literate, and many were avid readers of local newspapers, pamphlets, and books that would add to their knowledge."\(^9\) They were exposed to the opinions in the papers in the process of their reading. While most of the common citizens did not contribute to New England's publications, many of them sympathized with the views the more articulate members expressed. The support for the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745 shows how closely the views expressed in the papers coincided with those of the colony as a whole.

All this leads up to the question of to what extent the colonists read the papers and how seriously they took the opinions expressed. Hardly anyone reading the colonial papers could fail to realize the seriousness behind the opinions of the contributors and editors. Very seldom was any humor interjected into the papers, and when it appeared the tone of the language differed from the usual. The people who customarily read the papers could not have failed to realize that the opinions put forth were serious attempts to point out the validity of a particular belief. Sometimes the contributor referred to former letters or articles in scathing terms that could not have been taken any way but seriously. Other times they entered into dialogues with themselves or other correspondents and used quite mild, yet persuasive, terms. This kept certain issues before the public, and ultimately the papers displayed an air of serious deliberation, particularly in the latter years.

The other part of the question must also be answered. In the first place, editors would not have continued to publish their papers if no-one subscribed to them, as the ill success of the Weekly-Rehearsal demonstrates. Secondly, many times during the period publishers issued threats to persons in arrears on their subscription payments. This shows that people read the papers. The subscription lists to the papers probably never numbered over a few hundred for each publication. When one considers

that papers passed from hand to hand, however, the number of persons reading them each week greatly increases.¹¹

One final proof that citizens read the papers exists. Several times during the period, tavern or coffee-house owners inserted ads in a publication offering a reward for apprehension of the party responsible for removing copies of the gazettes from their establishments. These were serious ads and owners placed them for a reason. The coffee-houses and taverns served as informal gathering places during much of early American history, certainly well through the colonial period.¹² The owners traditionally kept a few copies of the publications on hand for customers to read. The placing of the ads indicates that the proprietors feared the absence of the papers would cost them customers, that the customers complained about there being no papers, or both. Any way you look at it, the net effect is the same. The papers were being read, and through them the attitudes of the contributors circulated.

In conclusion, it can be said that the papers reflected the prevailing political and economic theories. At the same time, they helped to mold New England's attitudes toward the events that took place as a result of those theories. These attitudes reflected two of the most important things to New England in the eighteenth century, economics and religion. Hopes for a better life and available land induced many settlers


¹²Ibid., p. 46.
to come to the New World in the seventeenth century. Many of them had attained some success by the eighteenth. These were the people who showed concern over the fate of the colonial economy in the realm of foreign affairs. At the same time, it is recognized that hopes of a religious utopia also prompted many people to migrate to the New World. It was essentially these people who voiced concern at the activities of the Catholic Pretender. The story of New England's attitudes about foreign affairs is, in essence, the story of the reaction of these two groups to the prevailing theories of the eighteenth century.

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ANOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Monographs

A study which discusses the social, economic, and political changes that contributed to the outbreak of the revolution in colonial America.

A worthwhile study that discusses the impact of the mercantilist theories on Europe and the political events that occurred as a result of the policies derived from those policies.

This work sheds light on the changing attitudes of the different generations in New England and suggests that the merchants were interested in anything that affected commerce.

Mr. Bannon addresses himself to Bolton's methodology in this work and ultimately concludes that he has contributed significantly to the study of Spanish influences in American history.

The work is an in-depth study of the Hancock family in Boston during the eighteenth century and describes their business activities. It is suggestive of how the colonial economy functioned.

An old and dated study that still has some value in that it suggests Britain's imperialist policies toward the colonies.

A useful study that explores James II's life, with particular emphasis on the period after 1685. It provides a good insight into Britain's attitudes about Catholicism during the period.

The work is a compilation of much factual data on American manufacturing prior to 1860. It is limited in its usefulness because much data of recent discovery is not included.


A very general but limited study of American journalism. Very little in this work that cannot be found in other works.


A more definitive work that explores the early contacts between American and Spanish settlers in the southeastern sections of the U.S., with particular emphasis on the Georgia territory.


A study of city life in the American colonies during the first century that illustrates the changes in social life which stimulated new activities, particularly intellectual ones.


A study of the development of colonial industry that takes issue with traditional studies which deny the existence of domestic manufacture in colonial America.


The author’s style is deceptive in this work. In a simple style the writer scans several of the characteristics of the colonial newspaper, and ultimately shows how important many of them were.


This work delves into the conflict between France and Britain during the eighteenth century and shows how commercial policies of the era contributed to war.


A study which attempts to explain the influence of literature on the earliest papers. It takes into consideration the literary movements in Europe and the colonies and shows how they influenced the editors' policies and the contributions of their readers.

A study which emphasizes the question of American union or autonomy before 1750. It contains much information on the earliest contacts between the Spanish and American colonists in the southeastern section of the U.S.


This work delves into the historical background of the English printing business and shows how this influenced the earliest papers in Massachusetts. It also shows the eventual breakdown of the system of censorship and what it meant for Massachusetts.


A study which discusses the development of the colonial newspapers and their impact on the society as a whole.


A dated and not very useful study that scans Prince Charles' life and attempts to place him in history.


A collection of twenty-seven articles on American journalism published during the last one hundred years. It is arranged chronologically to tell the story of American journalism.


A definitive study that looks into the intellectual background of American foreign policy in the eighteenth century.


A work which concentrates on the activities of the Pretender, James III, and his diplomatic ventures in connection with attempts to regain the British crown.

A work on European diplomacy during the eighteenth century which focuses on the diplomatic efforts to maintain the status quo.


A broad study of American journalism that is useful although other sources must be sought in many areas.


An interesting work that suggests power politics motivated the English mercantilist system in the eighteenth century, and the colonial reaction to the system.


A useful study that explores the background of American colonial journalism as well as its progress through the eighteenth century. It utilizes much factual data as a basis for intuitive interpretation.


A brief work that looks into the British woolen industry and studies the relationship of the British industry to the Irish and also the impact of French competition in those areas.


This work delves into the development of the fishing industry in the northern British colonies and discusses its impact on New England's development as a whole.


A study which discusses the influence that commercial relations had on the diplomatic relations between Britain and Spain during the first half of the eighteenth century.


A work in Puritan intellectual history which illustrates the initial optimism and the ultimate failure of the Puritan mission and its contribution to eighteenth and nineteenth century America.

The second in the series dealing with the intellectual development of New England. This one concentrates on the eighteenth century.


A work in intellectual history which discusses the intellectual foundations of the Puritan system.


A source of Puritan writings accompanied by appropriate introductions to each section of the work.


A biographical description of the life of John Winthrop which demonstrates why the Puritan could not withdraw to secluded surroundings to practice his religion in undisturbed surroundings.


A study of the effects of seventeenth century Puritanism on family life and how it used the family as a cohesive unit that helped bind the entire structure together.


A work which studies the development of the early educational system in New England and how it contributed to a high level of literacy in the colony by the end of the seventeenth century.


A compilation of several articles dealing with different facets of colonial history that eventually produced the revolution. It includes factors within and from without the colonies.


A broad study of the British empire in the eighteenth century that takes into account the commercial and social relationship between the mother country and the empire.

A product of the "scientific" historians that furnishes much specific data on the colonies of the eighteenth century.


A painstaking study of early journalism in the United States which traces the history of the first presses and the families connected with them because printing was often a family business in early years.


The work discusses the relationship of the planters in the New World to the merchants of the Old and demonstrates how the two were bound together by trade.


A study which discusses the impact of New World trade in European diplomacy between 1739 and 1763.


A relatively recent study which looks into the development of trade between the British colonies and the Spanish colonies in the New World and what each derived from it.


A very old and dated work. It does demonstrate the colonial conflict during the early years.


A study in war which demonstrates how warfare in Europe affected military affairs in the New World and colonial participation in Europe's conflicts.
A study which shows why the West Indies depended on the mother country. Some of the contentions in this work can be applied to the continental colonies as well, particularly those sections which deal with the uses of Spanish money.

Primarily a study of the political, social, and economic trends that fostered the quest for security in the first half of the eighteenth century.

A work on the Pretender that covers essentially the same ground that Martin Haile does in his study.

A dated study which is suggestive of the conflict between the British and French colonists. It emphasizes French movements in the New World.

A very old and dated work which attempts to connect the economic and social development of the New England colonies. It does contain some information on the fisheries that may be used.

A general study of the American newspaperman which attempts to define the role he has played in the American nation from the time of the founding of the first newspapers.


An in-depth study of Cardinal Fleury's foreign policy and how commercial developments within France and England interacted to produce effects on French policy during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

A history of the conflict between France and England in the New World during the eighteenth century. It is dated but is valuable because of much factual material in it.

**Articles**


The article points out that there were several areas of conflict between the French and British during this era, but concentrates on the conflict in the northern fisheries.


A simplified article that makes no attempt to study colonial commerce in any fashion except to point out that it is an area rich in potential for possible studies.

Bean, W. S. "War and the Colonial Farmer." *Pacific Historical Review,* XI (1942), 442.

Discusses the impact of war on the price of farm goods and concludes that war did not effect prices.


It traces the trade connections between the continental colonies and the West Indies, and suggests that it involved all the trade connections of the British empire. The author shows that colonial ships often left the West Indian ports and traded elsewhere before returning home.


A superb article that discusses two colonial merchants and their habits of furnishing the Spanish government in the West Indies with colonial documents in exchange for trade privileges. It suggests much about contraband trade in the eighteenth century.


Crane traces the contact between the southern colonists and the Spanish during Queen Anne's War in this article.


This article studies British control of the newspapers after 1750 and looks into the issues that produced the newspaper war prior to the American Revolution.

An enlightening study on how and why the Puritans controlled the printing business in Massachusetts prior to 1725.


This article delves into the social, economic, and political conditions within New England in 1700 and shows how they contributed to the founding of the first successful newspapers.


The article points out that colonial merchants' dislike of having to function according to the rules of the British empire which stifled their trade helped produce the revolution. The theme suggests that the same sentiments may have been present in colonial merchants' dislike of French policies which threatened their trade.

Morgan, M. T. "English Fear of Encirclement in the Eighteenth Century." Canadian Historical Review, X (1929), 4-22.

The article discusses the colonial reaction to French movements in the Mississippi Valley and concludes that by the eighteenth century the colonists feared France would complete the link between the Great Lakes and the Gulf.


This article discusses the acquisition of Jamaica by Britain and the subsequent expansion of British trade in the West Indies. It has important implications for the continental colonies because much of their trade to the West Indies was channeled through Jamaica.


This is a look into the social conditions within New England that ultimately concludes New England was still loyal to the British crown as late as 1740.


A superb article which discusses colonial attitudes about foreign affairs after 1750 and demonstrates how Britain emerged as the greatest threat to American colonial security.


A good article that discusses six principles of American foreign policy that have their roots in the colonial era.
A study which discusses the exchange rate of the Spanish dollar in the American colonies. It is suggestive of the importance of Spanish gold to the colonists.

This study suggests that the continental British colonists were vitally interested in the West Indies because of trade matters, social, political, and other interests.

Addresses and Annual Reports

This address studies the appearance of the paper Public Occurrences: Both Foreign and Domestic in 1690 and is valuable only because of its treatment on the suppression of this publication.

This article is valuable because it discloses the many topics and issues that one can find in the gazettes. Although it is old; it is still valuable for this purpose, if no other.

Memoirs, Papers, Documents, and Manuscripts


This work is one of a few collections of documents, newspaper articles, and trial transcriptions dealing with piracy and privateering in the eighteenth century.


Newspapers

*Boston Evening-Post*, 1735-1756.

*Boston Gazette*, 1719-1756.


*Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, 1734-1756.