



*Progresses, Print, and
“Politick Managers”: Performing
the Succession of James II & VII,
1679-1682*

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Abstract: This article considers the Scottish progresses undertaken during 1679-1682 by the future James II of England and VII of Scotland. At this time, James was heir presumptive to his elder brother Charles II but, as a Catholic, his likely succession was controversial and triggered what is commonly called the Exclusion Crisis. Building on existing work that has studied how James used progresses to negotiate key support in Scotland, this article views these political performances within a broader, trans-archipelagic context and asks how they affected the crown’s ability to extricate itself from this controversy. Using archival and primary material, and paying particular attention to the poems, addresses, and other scripts they incorporate, the first section of this article focuses on ways in which these progresses were staged for multiple audiences. The second part concentrates on their subsequent representation in print as a means to examine the contest that surrounded James’s succession. Drawing together these threads of print and performance, this article shows that James’s Scottish progresses offer insightful case studies for the continued significance of monarchic performance in the premodern world. It demonstrates their profound impact on discourse, debate and, ultimately, the monarchy’s successful political management of this crisis.

Keywords: Exclusion Crisis; performance; print; progresses



On 21 November 1679, James, Duke of York and Albany, arrived at the Anglo-Scottish border under a cloud of political uncertainty. As the younger brother of Charles II, who had no legitimate children, James was heir presumptive to both kingdoms. But, as a Catholic, the Duke’s likely succession was controversial. James travelled with his devout young wife Mary, a daughter of Alfonso IV, Duke of Modena, and her presence underlined the likelihood that James’s succession would herald a new, Catholic branch of the Stuart dynasty. James’s Catholicism triggered what is commonly called the Exclusion Crisis. Historians dispute the extent, nature, and gravity of this episode. Those considering the issue across the British Isles have depicted interlocking crises that may have

hinged on James and his prospective succession,¹ while at the same time incorporating wider fears over constitutional balance, religious security, and international interference.² Others, who note James's survival and eventual (smooth) succession, have asked whether it can even be considered a crisis at all.³ Unanimously, however, historians depict James as being dispatched north to avoid the turbulence in and around London sparked by his religion and consequently—contemporaries assumed—a predisposition to absolute authority. These fears of “popery and tyranny” were also fanned by a rumoured “Popish Plot” to overthrow the monarchy. Some in England, referred to as Whigs, sought to enact constitutional limitations on James or any other Catholic successor. Yet others argued for the Duke's complete “exclusion” and even proposed substitutes like James's eldest daughter Mary, who was born from his first marriage and herself already wed to the Protestant William of Orange. Most infamously, many voiced support for Charles II's illegitimate—yet conveniently Protestant and popular—son James Scott, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh.⁴

The shadowy idea of an alternative, Protestant succession permeated political, performative, and literary discourse across the Stuart composite monarchy. James's critics staged large demonstrations to “create the impression of an irresistible demand for exclusion.”⁵ The most iconic manifestations of this were anti-Catholic “pope burning” protests.⁶ Some

¹ Lionel K. J. Glassey, “Shaftesbury and the Exclusion Crisis,” in *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621–1683*, ed. Johnathan Spurr (New York: Routledge, 2011), 223, 225; Tim Harris, “Scotland under Charles II and James VII & II: In Search of the British Causes of the Glorious Revolution,” in Harris and Taylor, *The Final Crisis*, 116–123; Gary S. De Krey, “Between Revolutions: Re-Appraising the Restoration in Britain,” *History Compass* 6, no. 3 (2008): 758. In marked contrast, Alastair Mann has described the Exclusion Crisis as “a mostly English affair”: Alastair Mann, *James VII: Duke and King of Scots, 1633-1701* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2014), 123. For further discussion, see: Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2006), 138–139, 168–171. The weight of analysis here falls on Scotland and England. For discussion of the Exclusion Crisis's manifestation in Ireland see: John Gibney, “An Irish Informer in Restoration England: David Fitzgerald and the ‘Irish Plot’ in the Exclusion Crisis, 1679-81,” *Éire-Ireland* 42, no. 3 (2007): 249–276; and John Gibney, “Ireland's Restoration Crisis,” in *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in Their British, Atlantic, and European Contexts*, ed. Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 33–57. For Wales, see: Philip Jenkins, “Anti-Popery on the Welsh Marches in the Seventeenth-Century,” *Historical Journal* 23, no. 2 (1980): 275–293.

² Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3–15, 193; Johnathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 14, 21–25.

³ Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 357, 379–380.

⁴ Harris, *Restoration*, 137–139, 146–163; Tim Harris, “What's New About The Restoration?,” *Albion*, 29, no. 2 (1997): 204–206. For discussion, including the complexities masked by the labels “Whig” and “Tory,” see: Gary S. De Krey, “The London Whigs and the Exclusion Crisis Reconsidered,” in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. A. L. Beier, David Cannadine and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 457–482; Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (London: Longman, 1993), chapter four.

⁵ John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (Hove: Wayland, 1978), 93. See also: Sheila Williams, “The Pope Burning Processions of 1679, 1680, and 1681,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21, no. 1 (1958): 105.

⁶ *Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE, Cardinals, Iesuits, Fryers, &c through y^e City of London* (London, 1679; ESTC R26246); *The Procession of the Burning of the Pope in Effigie in Smithfield-Rounds* (London, 1681; ESTC R230013).

were even elaborate pageants scripted by professional writers, such as Elkannah Settle, who penned the Exclusionist drama *The Female Prelate* (1681) and the pamphlet *Character of a Popish Successor* (1680).⁷ Protesting crowds were also depicted on paper through petitioning campaigns like that launched against the government in January 1680.⁸ The Crown, too, sought to manipulate public opinion via the printing press, pulpits, and politicised performances.⁹ Pro-court, or Tory, crowds staged their own demonstrations and burnt rival effigies.¹⁰ Whig petitions were answered with loyal addresses.¹¹ Plays like John Crowne's *The Ambitious Statesman* (1679) and John Dryden's satirical poem *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681) critiqued the notion of Monmouth as a potential rival. On both sides, ballads, news, and other commentary remarked that the escalating conflict over James's likely succession at all social levels even threatened to re-ignite the disastrous civil wars that had unleashed bloodshed and upheaval across the British Isles between 1639 and 1651.

The Stuart monarchy, however, managed to extricate itself from this multifaceted crisis. By the end of 1682, the threat to James's succession had been "effectively crushed" and, in a drastic turnaround, the Crown had managed to enact a royalist resurgence that historians have often labelled "the Tory Reaction" or even "the Tory Revenge."¹² When James did succeed his brother, as James II of England and VII of Scotland, on 6 February 1685, he did so upon a remarkably strong foundation. Ultimately, James "threw away" this advantageous position and was removed from his thrones during the revolutions of 1688-1690, but this tragic epilogue cannot undo what must be recognised as a skilfully stage-managed Crown victory at the turn of the previous decade.¹³

Although aware of its deep cultural impact and the ways in which it was sparked and sustained by propaganda and extra-institutional conflict, historians have argued that this succession controversy was primarily resolved by elite-level political management. Particular emphasis is placed on the Crown's victories against three successive parliaments by ensuring

⁷ Tim Harris, "The Parties and the People: The Press, the Crowd and Politics 'Out-of-Doors' in Restoration England," in *The Reigns of Charles II and James VII & II*, ed. Lionel K. J. Glassey (Houndsmills: Macmillan Press, 1997), 148.

⁸ Mark Knights, "Petitioning and the Political Theorists: John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and London's 'Monster' Petition of 1680," *Past & Present* 138 (1993): 94-111.

⁹ Harris, *Restoration*, 215.

¹⁰ Mark Goldie, "The Damning of King Monmouth: Pulpit Toryism in the Reign of James II," in Harris and Taylor, *Final Crisis*, 34; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 16-17.

¹¹ Edward Vallance, "'From the Hearts of the People': Loyalty, Addresses and the Public Sphere in the Exclusion Crisis," in *Religion, Culture and National Community in the 1670s*, ed. Tony Claydon and T. N. Corns (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 127.

¹² Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, 80; Goldie, "Damning of King Monmouth," 35; Harris, *Restoration*, 11, 211; Miller, *James II*, 111.

¹³ Tim Harris, "'Venerating the Honesty of a Tinker': The King's Friends and the Battle for the Allegiance of the Common People in Restoration England," in *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1800*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 224.

the defeat of a series of pro-Exclusion Bills.¹⁴ The final parliament, known as the Oxford Parliament, opened on 21 March 1681 with a speech from Charles II against altering the succession, but was dissolved just one week later when another Exclusion Bill was introduced and it became clear that pressure against James remained. Charles then ruled without parliament until the end of his reign by taking secret financial support from France. A significant role is also afforded to the Scottish Parliament, with scholars agreeing that at least part of the Crown's successful negotiation of the crisis rested on the King's ability "to play one parliament off against another."¹⁵ It was James himself who presided over the July 1681 Edinburgh Parliament and frequent emphasis has been placed on the 13 August Succession Act, which asserted an incontestable hereditary monarchy in Scotland, and the 31 August Test Act, which required all public office holders in the kingdom to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown.¹⁶ Mark Goldie has even claimed that this Scottish Parliament was called purely "to stage an ideological refutation of the claims of the Whig-dominated English Parliament," with the entire Scottish kingdom functioning as James's "Royalist laboratory."¹⁷ The rest of Scotland, the Scots themselves, and James's activities there, however, remain largely disconnected from the resolution of this political turbulence.

This article enhances present understanding by investigating one aspect of the Crown's reaction to this controversy that has not yet been adequately explored: the four progresses undertaken by James, as Duke of York and Albany, in Scotland between 1679 and 1682. Exploring the role of propaganda and protest, Tim Harris has briefly described James's Scottish progresses as part of the court's "battle for public opinion,"¹⁸ claiming that the Duke's formal entries into Edinburgh, for example, were designed to provide "empirical proof" that "the English would have nothing to fear from this particular popish successor."¹⁹ Harris thus suggested that extra-parliamentary performance might have impacted the elite-level resolution of this episode, but does not specifically consider these progresses themselves. In a similar vein, Adam Morton has demonstrated the role and weight of graphic satire on the Exclusion debate.²⁰ Specifically considering James's progresses within a Scottish context, I have shown

¹⁴ Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, 3–15, 193; Harris, *Restoration*, 189–190; De Krey, "Between Revolutions," 753–759.

¹⁵ Roger Mason, "Debating Britain in Seventeenth-Century Scotland: Multiple Monarchy and Scottish Sovereignty," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 35, no. 1 (2015): 17. See also: Tim Harris, "Scotland under Charles II," 110–111, 119, 122–123.

¹⁶ Roland J. Tanner, Alastair J. Mann, et. al., *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, RPS 1681/7/18, 13 August 1681. <http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1681/7/18> (hereafter cited as RPS). RPS 1681/7/29, 31 August 1681. <http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1681/7/29>.

¹⁷ Mark Goldie, "Divergence and Union: Scotland and England, 1660-1707," in *The British Problem, c.1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 224–225, quotations 226. See also: Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 49–50.

¹⁸ Harris, "Venerating the Honesty," 208, 212–213, 217, quotation 196.

¹⁹ Harris, *Restoration*, 252.

²⁰ Adam Morton, "Popery, Politics, and Play: Visual Culture in Succession Crisis England," *The Seventeenth Century* 31, no. 4 (2016): 441–454.

elsewhere how they functioned as prominent platforms for the communication of royalist ideas and created dialogic spaces for the negotiation of valuable, "hard won" political support for the Stuart dynasty at this delicate juncture.²¹ Their relationship to debate across the rest of the British Isles and the eventual outcome of this succession crisis, however, is explored here for the first time.

James's Scottish progresses are examined here within the context of the Stuart composite monarchy in order to demonstrate their impact on the political developments of 1679-1682. Using a range of primary material, and paying particular attention to the poems, addresses, and other scripts they incorporated, the first section of this article focuses on ways that these political performances were designed to speak to a trans-archipelagic situation. James used each occasion to promote the Stuart dynasty's ancient bond with Scotland and emphasise the peace achieved by Anglo-Scottish dynastic union. He also promoted his own personal suitability for the crown, portraying himself as an accessible, modest successor and emphasising his reputation as a decorated naval hero. Furthermore, these events also formed part of a performative contest with his potential rival, the Duke of Monmouth.

After considering these events as political performances, the second part of this article explores their subsequent representation in print. The themes and performative motifs of James's Scottish progresses ricocheted across the British Isles in speech, song, and writing but, because of the ephemeral nature of these communicative modes, these echoes now often only survive in print. This material is used here as an analytical lens through which to glimpse a far broader, multimodal debate. As discussed further below, this marks a departure from conventional approaches to the print generated by the crisis of 1679-1682, which have tended to treat the episode as an illustration of change: the emergence of a recognisably "modern" political culture with rival parties and an engaged electorate. In doing so, the Exclusion Crisis has often been adopted into narratives of print communication's transformative "rise" and, by implication, the declining influence of older, extra-textual means of communicating and negotiating authority.²² This article, however, asserts the continuing influence of performance on discourse and events. It demonstrates their profound impact on discourse, debate and, ultimately, the Stuart monarchy's ability to survive the crisis triggered by James's prospective succession that stretched over the British archipelago between 1679 and 1682.

²¹ Laura I. Doak, "On Street and Scaffold: The People and Political Culture in Restoration Scotland, c.1678–1685" (PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2020), 77. Previously, even scholars specifically studying James's influence in Scotland had noted these progresses only in passing: Mann, *James VII*, 140; Hugh Ouston, "From Thames to Tweed Departed: The Court of James, Duke of York in Scotland, 1679-1682," in *The Stuart Courts*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 273–274.

²² Jason McElligott, "Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s," in *Fear, Exclusion, and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. Jason McElligott (London: Routledge, 2016), 17.

Progresses and Performance

James, Duke of York and Albany, participated in four Scottish progresses. First, after arriving at the border on 21 November 1679, James stayed at Lethington (now Lennoxlove), near Haddington, East Lothian, before making his first official entry into Edinburgh on 4 December 1679. Next, following a visit to England, the Duke landed at Kirkcaldy, south-eastern Fife, on 25 October 1680 and travelled nine miles overland to Leslie before returning south to Burntisland and crossing the Firth of Forth by yacht to Edinburgh. On both occasions he was joined by his wife Mary, Duchess of York and Albany. James also then progressed to Stirling and Linlithgow, north west of the capital, from 3-5 February 1681 and, finally, between 3-5 October that same year journeyed to Glasgow and Dumbarton on Scotland's west coast. These journeys, amongst other celebratory occasions like Charles II's birthday every 29 May, formed a key part of James's propaganda offensive in Scotland as he sought to negotiate support for his likely succession.

Unlike other royal performances, however, progresses and their associated entries were not staged solely by the Crown. Studying Elizabeth I of England, Mary Hill Cole established how progresses were designed to cultivate a "ceremonial dialogue" that lent the monarch a "public stage" to portray themselves as a legitimate ruler.²³ Likewise, Margaret McGowan has demonstrated how progresses and entries in early modern France established both the "expectations of the city" and "obligations of the monarch."²⁴ For premodern Scotland, this "symbiotic and dialogic mode" of monarchic performance has been explored by Eleanor Rycroft and a growing number of other scholars.²⁵ Giovanna Guidicini has described the eight royal entries staged in Edinburgh from 1503 to 1633 as "politicised dialogues" between the Crown and its capital over the occupation and succession of power.²⁶ Charles I's Scottish progresses of 1633 and 1641 have attracted particular attention. Peter Stillitoe has shown they were "not defined by an itinerant conception of elite space in the same way" as their English counterparts, and prioritised negotiation and interaction with ordinary people.²⁷ Dougal Shaw

²³ Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 1, 4, 121, 172.

²⁴ Margaret M. McGowan, "Henry IV as Architect and Restorer of the State: His Entry into Rouen, 16 October 1596," in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 54.

²⁵ Eleanor Rycroft, "Staging Kingship in Scotland and England, 1532-1560," *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 10 (June 2019); Lucinda H.S. Dean, "Enter the Alien: Foreign Consorts and their Royal Entries into Scottish Cities, c.1449-1590" in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), 268, 277-278, 288; Dougal Shaw, "Charles II's Coronation at Scone in 1651: Forging and then Forgetting Presbyterian Monarchical Culture," in *A Panorama of Scottish History*, ed. S. Karly Kehoe and Iain H. MacPhail (Glasgow: Scottish History, 2004), 63-93.

²⁶ Giovanna Guidicini, "Municipal Perspective, Royal Expectations, and the Use of Public Space: The Case of the West Port, Edinburgh, 1503-1633," *Architectural Heritage* 22 (2011): 37. See also: Giovanna Guidicini, "Imagining and Staging an Urban Border: The Role of the Netherbow Gate in Early Modern Edinburgh," in *The Design of Frontier Space: Control and Ambiguity*, ed. Carolyn Loeb and Andreas Luescher (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 69.

²⁷ Peter Stillitoe, "'And afterward to his pallace of Westminster, there to solace himself: Rediscovering the Progresses of Charles I,'" *Yearbook of English Studies* 44 (2014): 91.

has used Charles I's 1633 coronation visit to map exchange and growing tensions between the Crown and its critics.²⁸ Most recently, Siobhan Keenan has also explored Charles's progresses "as a conscious vehicle for royal propaganda" to "promote" a "religio-political agenda" across the British Isles, firmly illustrating how the performance of royal power in one area of the Stuarts' composite monarchy could be deliberately staged in answer to trans-kingdom issues and debates.²⁹

My own work, noted above, has shown how James used these dialogic qualities to negotiate support for his succession from nobles, burghs, and ordinary Scots. Importantly, I also demonstrate that the staging of these progresses charted this building enthusiasm. Highlighting the Duke's entries into Edinburgh, for example, the burgh council's initial reluctance to honour James with a burghess ticket (right to trade) in December 1679 can be contrasted with the jubilation that later greeted him in October 1680.³⁰ James was not guaranteed an enthusiastic reception in Scotland and he would have been well aware of that as he approached the border in November 1679. The Duke and Duchess's train had received mixed and at times poignantly lacklustre receptions on its journey through the north of England. At York, leading Exclusionist agitator Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, and his regional supporters, had been conspicuously absent.³¹ The Secretary of State for Scotland, John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, warned James frankly of a "pitifull Caball in Scotland" that favoured "another person"—meaning Monmouth—and that he should "expect no reall duty" from them "whatever their pretenses may be."³² Just months earlier, in May 1679, up to 10,000 armed rebels had disrupted large swathes of the southwest and central Scottish Lowlands, even taking the major town of Glasgow unchallenged.³³ This uprising was eventually put down at Bothwell Bridge on 22 June by a royal army commanded by Monmouth, whom one group of rebel leaders poignantly petitioned that morning as a "Right Noble and Potent PRINCE."³⁴ Even more inconveniently for James, Monmouth's leniency in victory only bolstered his popularity in Scotland, even among the defeated rebels themselves.³⁵

²⁸ Dougal Shaw, "St. Giles' Church and Charles I's Coronation Visit to Scotland," *Historical Research* 77 (2004): 499–502.

²⁹ Siobhan Keenan, *The Progresses, Processions, and Royal Entries of King Charles I, 1625-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 27, 41. See also: Lisa Hopkins, *Drama and the Succession to the Crown, 1561-1633* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 115–116, 139–141.

³⁰ Doak, "On Street and Scaffold," 65–67. Work elsewhere has argued that both Charles and James became reliant on such means to present, claim, and win support for their authority in a way no previous British monarch had experienced: Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University, 2013), 99, 168; Matthew Jenkinson, *Culture and Politics at the Court of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 7–8, 16, 49, 183.

³¹ F. C. Turner, *James II* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1950), 173–174.

³² Osmund Airy, *The Lauderdale Papers* (Westminster, 1885), 3:183.

³³ *An Exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels at Bothwell-Bridge* (London, 1679; ESTC R12355); National Library of Scotland, Wodrow MS, Oct. IV. fols. 197, 242v–243r.

³⁴ *For The Right Noble and Potent Prince James Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth* (Glasgow, 1679; ESTC R6765).

³⁵ Harris, *Restoration*, 197, 331–332; Ian B. Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1976), 98–99;

By 1681, however, Glasgow seems to have recognised a need to stage public enthusiasm for James as the King's likely successor. Local governors staged what was arguably his most elaborate reception and Glaswegians welcomed the Duke with widely noted affection and "acclamations of joy."³⁶ Yet flickers of opposition must also be noted. Edinburgh students staged pope-burning protests on Christmas Day 1680 and 1681. Although not as elaborate or disruptive as those staged in England, this was clearly a mode of protest specifically selected to affront the heir presumptive.³⁷ As he walked the streets of Glasgow in October 1681, a woman handed James what he believed to be a petition but, on reading, discovered was an angry, handwritten protest against "welcoming" him as a "professed papist."³⁸ But these incidents remained isolated, rather than evidence of wider resistance.

Arriving at Berwick in November 1679, James appeared at the same location as his father, Charles I, and grandfather, James VI & I, had during earlier visits, and his unbroken, lineal descent from previous Stuart monarchs formed the most consistent theme throughout each progress. Reaching the capital, performative motifs, like public addresses and wine flowing from the capital's mercat cross, functioned as what Daniel Russell has termed "rhetorical shortcuts" to past royal events such as Anna of Denmark's 1590 Edinburgh entry as Scottish consort and the 1617 homecoming progress of her husband, James VI & I.³⁹ A main objective was to encourage enthusiastic crowds to perform their allegiance. For instance, a narrative of James and Mary's second Edinburgh entry, in October 1680, told how bells "continued Ringing most of the night, & all the streets of the City were filled with great Bonfires, whither many of the Citizens repaired to Drink their Majesties and Royal Highnesses health Nor was any thing to be seen but an universal Joy in the Countenance of all."⁴⁰ One contemporary witness claimed that even initially hesitant Scots were

Learning to drink his helth and to sing this song to it[;]
Let no man miss his Glas by stelth

Richard L. Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-89* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 76.

³⁶ Robert Law, *Memorials: Or, the Memorable Things that Fell Out within the Island of Britain from 1638 to 1684* (Edinburgh, 1818), quotation 205; James D. Marwick, ed., *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1663-1690* (Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1905), 304–305. Over £4000 Scots was spent on food, drink, and entertainment alone.

³⁷ Bodleian Library, Carte MS 228, fol. 154; R. Brown [pseudonym], *An Advertisement* (Edinburgh, 1680; ESTC R173096); Doak, "On Street and Scaffold," 111–123.

³⁸ NLS, Wodrow MS Oct. IX, fol. 130.

³⁹ Daniel Russell, "Emblematic Discourse in Renaissance French Royal Entries," in *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text*, ed. Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2007), 65; Maureen Meikle, "Anna of Denmark's Coronation and Entry into Edinburgh, 1590: Cultural, Religious and Diplomatic Perspectives," in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, ed. Julian Goodare and Alan MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 278–279, 290; Andrea Thomas, *Glory and Honour: The Renaissance in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013), 192, 148.

⁴⁰ *A True Narrative of the Reception of their Royal Highnesses At their Arrival in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1680; ESTC R21428), 3.

but all with one consent agree
to Drinck a brimmer to the helth
of James the Duke of Albany⁴¹

The other locations James visited also mirrored earlier monarchs' progresses.⁴² Both Stirling and Linlithgow, for example, were royal burghs with "ancient" Stuart palaces and supportive local authorities, who assisted the Crown by encouraging enthusiastic crowds who "received His Royal Highness with great Shouts and Acclamations of Joy."⁴³ Resurrecting sixteenth-century practices, at Linlithgow a young boy—in this case son of Privy Councillor Charles Maitland of Hatton—also made a short Latin speech at the palace gates in James's honour that praised the Stuarts' uninterrupted lineage.⁴⁴

This reflected the Crown's main ideological tenet that it used to justify Stuart power. As the 1681 Scottish Succession Act stated, James, Duke of York and Albany, could claim direct descent from the first Scottish king, Fergus I, in 330 BCE, a figure that, "deriving their royal power from God Almighty alone," the Stuart "race" did "succeed lineally thereto."⁴⁵ Equally, however, this also reminded James's would-be subjects of England and Scotland's dynastic union under James VI & I and the peace it brought to the British Isles. From James's satellite court at Holyrood Palace, literati like heritor Michael Livingston of Bantaskin and Irish noble Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, penned speeches and poems as part of the Duke's celebrations that addressed both James's immediate spectators on Scottish streets, but also emphasised the Stuart composite monarchy's "great Common Good." Addressing James before the gates of Holyrood, for example, Livingston claimed that even the fabric of Scotland itself was celebrating the return of its ancient dynasty: "[t]o you, Great Sir, we offer up the Key," let "[e]ach purling brook with trickling joys abound" and "Albanian praise let all the Hills rebound."⁴⁶ But Livingston also spoke directly to the way this dynastic line now bound together Scotland, England, and peace:

The Royal Spring, let none be so malpert,
Out of its proper Channel to divert;
Nor the Succession Right circumvent,
But settle in its Legal Rights Descent.

⁴¹ Bodl. Carte MS 243, fol. 438.

⁴² Keenan, *Progresses*, 26, 40.

⁴³ *A true and exact Relation of His Royal Highness, James Duke of York and Albany, His Progress from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, from thence to Strivling [sic], and back again to Edinburgh, upon the 3^d, 4th, and 5th of February instant* (Edinburgh, 1681; ESTC R39732), quotation 1–2; NRS, Linlithgow Burgh, B48/9/4, fol. 607.

⁴⁴ *A true and exact Relation*, 2.

⁴⁵ RPS 1681/7/18.

⁴⁶ Michael Livingston, *Albion's Congratulatory: or, a Poem Upon the High and Mighty Prince James Duke of Albany and York, His Return unto Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1681; ESTC R42134), 3, 9.

Did not the sacred Pow'rs offended raze
The Pictish Natione, cause they did displace
The Righteous Heir, subverting the true Base.
The English would not any She [Lady Jane Grey] admit,
When nam'd on the Imperial Throne to sit,
In prejudice of Her [Mary], tho Papist known,
Yet true Successor of the Royal Crown
If the two Master-Bees of the same hive,
For th'empire of the waxen Kingdom strive,
Lo, when from Battel both Kings are recall'd,
The nobler Christian-Bee is straight install'd,
And in the empty Palace Reigns alone,
While th'other's thrust out, as a low inglorious drone.⁴⁷

Delivered in Autumn 1680, the royalist sentiment in these lines would have held additional resonance for those who witnessed them first-hand because Mary, Duchess of York and Albany was now pregnant. Just weeks later, during court Hogmanay celebrations, Livingston continued to celebrate the "Scots-male cast in this Italian mould," who would continue the unbreakable Stuart line.⁴⁸

Alongside assertion of his "ancient" rights, James also utilised progresses to portray his own, personal suitability for the crown and, in doing so, again addressed multiple, trans-kingdom audiences. He aimed to appear as modest, accessible, and a loyal brother—a patient heir with no unnatural ambition. Shaw has shown how the rigid adherence of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Stafford, to the performative conventions of authority as Lord Deputy of Ireland during the 1630s helped fuel accusations that he pretended to the crown and led to his downfall and execution.⁴⁹ James would have recognised the need to avoid a similar situation as rumours of popish plots and Exclusionist arguments swirled across the British Isles. Additionally, a deliberate air of reserve and gratitude distanced him from Monmouth who, as discussed further below, made obvious use of political performance to promote his rival succession and, conveniently, aligned James's progresses with those in other Protestant kingdoms rather than the elaborate, expensive spectacles staged by the Catholic and reputedly despotic Louis XIV in France.⁵⁰

Even when travelling overland, as in Autumn 1679, James consistently returned to the Scottish capital by boat to showcase his reputation as a celebrated naval hero who was

⁴⁷ Livingston, *Albion's Congratulatory*, 8.

⁴⁸ Michael Livingston of Bantaskin, *Augustis, ac Prepotentibus Heroibus, Jacobo & Mariae, Albaniae & Eboraci Ducibus, Poema Streneticum Amabam gratulabundus vovet* (Edinburgh, 1680; ESTC R180034). The child did not survive.

⁴⁹ Dougal Shaw, "Thomas Wentworth and Monarchical Ritual in Early Modern Ireland," *Historical Journal* 49, no. 2 (2006): 331–335.

⁵⁰ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 155, 157.

"Famous by many Triumphs and a Frequent Laurel."⁵¹ This reputation also reminded spectators of James's popularity during the 1660s, prior to his conversion, and also drew a deliberate line of competition with his illegitimate nephew.⁵² In spite of his earlier naval victories and reputation, James was forced to resign his role as Lord High Admiral of England in 1673 because of new legislation from Westminster that barred Catholics from holding public office. Softening the blow, however, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of Scotland that same year.⁵³ Then, in April 1678, Monmouth was appointed captain-general of the Crown's military forces in England, Wales, and Berwick. Monmouth quarrelled with his uncle over the wording of this warrant and James was left "fobbed off with the meaningless title of 'generalissimo'."⁵⁴ This led to the dukes' first public breach and laid the foundations for Monmouth's subsequent alliance with Shaftesbury and other opponents of his uncle. The poems, songs, and other scripts for the progresses James and his retinue staged in Scotland were thus littered with allegorical references to the sea, and in a way that asserted James's superiority and skill. For example, as the Duke prepared to set sail for a return visit to England in February 1680, Livingston delivered a public address at the palace gates that lavished praise on James as the "Elected Admiral of Caledon." Drawing parallels between his naval skill and "Experience" to "out-ride" the political storm of Exclusion, Livingston wished that James would "cast Safe Anchor" and defeat England's "other Hope."⁵⁵ That October, on his return to the capital, Roscommon delivered a public prologue that cast James as "Great Britain's Genius" and the "Victorious Prince" who protected the Stuart kingdoms aided by the sea. Roscommon, a skilled orator, also took the opportunity to assert that "such a Hero" could only ever come "from the Uncorrupted Blood of Kings."⁵⁶

What made this contest clearest, however, was the way James's progresses spoke to those staged by Monmouth in England. Egged on by Shaftesbury and other key supporters, Monmouth began to make consistent use of "mock progresses" to portray himself as a viable alternative successor.⁵⁷ This was likely inspired by the two dukes' contrasting popular receptions across the British Isles in November 1679. Whilst James's greetings in the north of

⁵¹ *Discourse Unto His Royal Highness James, Duke of Albany and York: When Intending from Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1680; ESTC R231404), 4.

⁵² Miller, *James II*, 57, 59.

⁵³ Mann, *James VII*, 125–126.

⁵⁴ Tim Harris, "Monmouth [formerly Crofts], James, Duke of Monmouth and First Duke of Buccleugh (1649-1685)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/24879.

⁵⁵ Michael Livingston, *Albion's Farewell: Or, Poem, Presented to His Royal Highness returning to Court* (Edinburgh, 1680; ESTC R216778), 14–15.

⁵⁶ Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, "A Prologue Spoken to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, at Edinburgh," in *Poems By the Earl of Roscom[m]on* (London, 1717; ESTC T132427), 122–124. Roscommon was a longstanding member of James's inner circle and wrote several poems in Scotland, including *The Ghost of Tom Ross to his pupil the D. of Monmouth* (London, 1683; ESTC R36543), which mocked James's illegitimate nephew as "The King's Betrayed, and the People's Slave." Roscommon also published *A Letter From Scotland* (London, 1681; ESTC R36334).

⁵⁷ Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution: 1688 – Britain's Fight for Liberty* (London: Little, Brown, 2006), 56.

England en route to Scotland had proved unpredictable, Monmouth's movements in London had been met with widespread jubilation, with witness John Evelyn noting how bells and bonfires had greeted "the Protestant Duke" that "the people made their Idol."⁵⁸ As an important figure and the King's acknowledged son, Monmouth had a right to accept—and arguably even expect—shows of popular celebration staged for his presence, but James's political opponents now sought to appropriate these displays as evidence that Monmouth, although illegitimate, presented a logical, safer alternative heir. As Wolfram Schmidgen has demonstrated, it was Monmouth's ability to claim popularity from "socially heterogeneous" crowds that made the notion of his succession even remotely plausible.⁵⁹ In summer 1680, Monmouth thus embarked on a substantial tour of southwest England. At Bath, he was reportedly "received by the inhabitants" with "very great demonstration of joy and affection, being met out of the city with 200 gentlemen and citizens on horseback, [and] the bells ringing."⁶⁰ Monmouth was not modest about the monarchic pretensions he aspired to through these performances. The baton sinister (a heraldic device that denoted illegitimacy) was removed from the coat of arms on his coach.⁶¹ Monmouth was also later accused of participating in the exclusively royal tradition of "touching the king's evil" (scrofula), and his alleged cure of a woman named Elizabeth Parcet was promoted by his supporters as proof of majesty and hereditary right.⁶² In response, Charles II furiously instructed his secretary of state, Sir Leoline Jenkins, to assure Peter Mews, Bishop of Bath and Wells "that he utterly dislikes the proceedings of the Duke of Monmouth; that he desires his friends not to show him any respect nor to have any commerce with him in this ramble."⁶³

The outcome of this performative contest was demonstrated by Monmouth's final progress in Autumn 1682, when he travelled through Lancashire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Worcestershire in the northwest of England. He deliberately chose towns like Warrington, Congleton, and Nantwich that had a track record of both Exclusionist demonstrations and disobedience to Charles II on local issues.⁶⁴ One government informant claimed that at Newcastle-under-Lyme Monmouth's reception "was above that at any other place I yet heard of."⁶⁵ Another at Stone recalled "that not one word could be heard but Monmouth" and Exclusionist ballads were sung aggressively at the doors of local figures known to support

⁵⁸ Guy de la Bédoyère, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), 231.

⁵⁹ Wolfram Schmidgen, "The Last Royal Bastard and the Multitude," *Journal of British Studies* 47 (2008): 53–54.

⁶⁰ Public Record Office, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series: Charles II, 1679-1680* (London: Longman, 1915), 597 (hereafter cited as *CSPD*).

⁶¹ Vallance, *Glorious Revolution*, 40.

⁶² George Roberts, *The Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James, Duke of Monmouth &c., to His Capture and Execution* (London, 1844), 98–100; Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine, and Sin* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), 117–118.

⁶³ *CSPD: Charles II, 1679-1680*, 600.

⁶⁴ Roberts, *The Life*, 132–133; John Miller, *An English Absolutism?* (London: Historical Association, 1993), 23; Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom*, 109–110.

⁶⁵ *CSPD: Charles II, 1682*, 416.

James's succession.⁶⁶ But alongside these propagandic highlights, Monmouth also received a stream of open resistance unlike anything James had experienced. At Lichfield, around thirty local gentlemen dined purposefully together at the post house so that when Monmouth arrived at the town a deliberate point was made that "not one went out of the room to see him or took any notice of him."⁶⁷ A revealing letter by Stafford mayor Sampson Byrch detailed how Sir Thomas Armstrong, a close associate of Monmouth's, had tried to exert pressure on local government "to prepare a public entertainment" in the manner of a formal entry, but that his requests had been refused by local authorities.⁶⁸

Monmouth's divided reception in the northwest was enormously significant given its supposed predisposition in his favour. James had faced some resistance in Scotland, but nothing as decisive or damaging as that received by Monmouth on this attempted final tour. Incidents like the Glasgow Protestation remained isolated and, although it had certainly never been guaranteed, on no occasion had local Scottish authorities refused to greet the Duke of York and Albany, nor had the streets he rode not been filled by sizeable crowds. Monmouth had been out-performed and, as his ability to claim a popular mandate through political performance waned, he became increasingly unable to persuade would-be supporters that he presented a plausible alternative future for the Stuart monarchy. Furthermore, by November 1682, against the backdrop of James's Scottish success, Monmouth's rival use of progresses in England no longer occupied an ambiguous space within performative negotiation, but instead appeared as abrasive, provocative actions staged to affront the prospective succession of his Catholic uncle. Tensions were not magically resolved and rumbled on in other forms, such as London's 1682 civic elections, but from this point on the schemes of Monmouth and his supporters were forced into darker machinations.⁶⁹ In Autumn 1683, Monmouth was implicated in the Rye House Plot to assassinate both Charles and James and, despite initially securing his father's pardon, fled abroad in Spring 1684. On 11 June 1685, just months after his uncle's succession as James II and VII, Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis, on England's southwestern coast, and attempted to lead a rebellion. The location was selected because of his earlier receptions there, but the uprising proved disastrous. Monmouth failed to attract enough support and was eventually executed as a traitor on 15 July.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ *Monmouth and Buccleugh's Welcom from the North: or the Loyal Protestants Joy for his Happy Return* (London, 1682; ESTC R207839); CSPD: *Charles II, 1682*, 388, 393, 395, 428.

⁶⁷ CSPD: *Charles II, 1682*, 402.

⁶⁸ CSPD: *Charles II, 1682*, 427–428.

⁶⁹ Gary S. De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 272–332.

⁷⁰ Melinda Zook, *Radical Whigs and Conspirational Politics in Late Stuart England* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), xii, 130–132; Harris, *Restoration*, 312, 313–314; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); Vallance, *Glorious Revolution*, 54, 56–57.

Print and "Politick Managers"

The themes and details of James's Scottish progresses were echoed across the British Isles. The drinking song heard on the streets of Edinburgh, noted above, was verbally repeated to Newton Stewart on Scotland's southwest coast and then recorded in writing by one William Stewart in a letter to James Butler, Duke of Ormond, in Ireland.⁷¹ At Elgin, in the Scottish Highlands, James Brodie of Brodie recorded details he had "heard" of James's reception in his diary,⁷² as did John Evelyn in London.⁷³ News criss-crossed the British Isles in handwritten letters.⁷⁴ These rumours and writings interacted with ongoing discussion of James's succession and helped create a boom in political debate. This was also reflected in rising print production, which was described by one news separate as "the Offensive Humours of the Body-Politick" that at "last broke out in the Itch of Scribbling."⁷⁵

The remainder of this article examines the subsequent representations of these political performances through the lens of printed material. Scholars have long been drawn to the print output of the Exclusion Crisis, often incorporating it into narratives of print's transformative "rise" to cultural dominance.⁷⁶ Thomas Munck has described a "fairly clear correlation between political instability and the quantity of new titles" in the later Restoration period.⁷⁷ Joad Raymond has even claimed that the print material produced within this "polemical mêlée" was irrevocably changed in form and function by the Exclusionist controversy, but also that the crisis itself was conditioned by print and "shaped by the internal logic and the genres of the pamphlet form."⁷⁸ As stated above, however, this article considers print as part of a larger, multimedia discussion and, in doing so, utilises print in a way inspired by recent work emphasising the fluid boundaries between spoken, written, and printed forms in the premodern world.⁷⁹ This approach also sits well with existing scholarship on European progresses that has demonstrated how print could be used to "refine" performative events.⁸⁰

⁷¹ Bodl. MS Carte 243, fol. 438.

⁷² David Laing, ed., *The Diary of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, and of His Son, James Brodie of Brodie* (Aberdeen, 1863), 419.

⁷³ de la Bédoyère, *Diary*, 240.

⁷⁴ i.e. Bodl. MS Carte 222, fol. 244r; NRS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1968.

⁷⁵ *The Character of those two Protestants in Masquerade, Heraclitus, and The Observator* (London, 1681; ESTC R25208), 1.

⁷⁶ Harold Love, "The Look of News: Popish Plot Narratives 1678-80," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. J. Barnard and David F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4:653; Elizabeth Clarke, "Re-reading the Exclusion Crisis," *The Seventeenth Century* 21, no. 1 (2006): 141-159;

⁷⁷ Thomas Munck, *Conflict and Enlightenment: Print and Political Culture in Europe, 1635-1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 37.

⁷⁸ Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 157, 323, 331.

⁷⁹ Adam Fox, "The Emergence of the Scottish Broadside Ballad in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 31, no. 2 (2011): 171; Odai Johnson, *Rehearsing the Revolution: Radical Performance, Radical Politics in the English Restoration* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2000); Rachel Willie, *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1642-1672* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), esp. 26; Natasha Glaisyer, "The Most Universal Intelligencer," *Media History* 23, no. 2 (2017): 257, 262.

⁸⁰ Hélène Visentin, "The Material Form and the Function of Printed Accounts of Henri II's Triumphal Entries

Printed accounts might be used to inflate an event's significance,⁸¹ or as Heather Easterling has suggested, "scripted idealized spectacle."⁸² This cycle of interaction between print and performance can be seen in the materials examined in following paragraphs, which were quite obviously designed for, and responded to, a political culture that relied equally upon textual and extra-textual means of communication and exchange.

Most of the print material produced in connection with James's Scottish progresses remained loyal to the idea of his succession. Printed news reports circulated favourable details of James's reception in Scotland. These accounts used key motifs, like cheering crowds, to show readers across the British Isles that Scots of all ranks stood ready to support the Stuart heir in spite of his Catholicism. *A True Narrative of the Reception of their Royal Highnesses At their Arrival in Scotland* (1680), for example, shared details of James's Leslie progress, carried information about which nobles and dignitaries had "kis'd their Royal Highnesses hands" as the Duke and his Duchess had landed at Kirkcaldy, and the "multitude of People" who had also received them "with Showring of great Guns[,] ringing of Bells" and "all other Expressions of Joy imaginable." Editions were printed at London, Edinburgh, and Dublin to emphasise "the General Joy of all" for "the happy Arrival of so Excellent a Prince."⁸³ These images were intended to contradict and undermine those propagated by Whig propaganda like accounts of pope-burnings in London that same month. The following year, editions of a news separate detailing James's Stirling and Linlithgow progress were printed at Edinburgh and London, which similarly stressed the participation of key individuals and the royal party's popular reception by crowds.⁸⁴ *The London Gazette* provided a pre-existing news outlet for James's activities and, from 1681, the *Observer*, written by Crown propagandist Roger L'Estrange, also "corroded" Whig claims of Exclusion's popularity.⁸⁵

Print was also used to grant extended afterlives to the poems, speeches, and ballads that were originally performed as part of James's progresses, and carried their themes and motifs to additional audiences. Four of Livingston's addresses were printed at Edinburgh and

(1547-51)," in *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marie-Claude Canova-Green, Jean Andrews, and Marie-France Wagner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), esp. 19; Margaret M. McGowan, "The French Royal Entry in the Renaissance: The Status of the Printed Text," in Russell and Visentin, *French Ceremonial Entries*, 29-54; Heather C. Easterling, "Reading the Royal Entry (1604) in/as Print," *Early Theatre* 20, no. 1 (2017): 43-76. Work on the print material generated by earlier Scottish progresses remains limited and focuses largely on poetic output as literary texts: Roger P. H. Green, "The King Returns: *The Muses' Welcome* (1618)," in *Neo-Latin Literature and Literary Culture in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Steven Reid and David McOmish (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 126-161; Jane Stevenson, "Adulation and admonition in *The Muses' Welcome*," in *James VI and Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change 1567-1625*, ed. D. Parkinson (Leuven: Editions Peeters, 2013), 267-281.

⁸¹ Margaret M. McGowan, "A Question of Authenticity: Pierre Matthieu, Creator of Entries and Historiographer Royal," in Canova-Green et. al., *Writing Royal Entries*, 246.

⁸² Heather Easterling, "Reading the Royal Entry," 46. See also: McGowan, "The French Royal Entry," 29.

⁸³ *True Narrative of the Reception*, 2, 4.

⁸⁴ *A true and exact Relation*.

⁸⁵ Mark Goldie, "Roger L'Estrange's *Observer* and the Exorcism of the Plot," in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. Anne Duncan-Page and Beth Lynch (London: Routledge, 2008), 67.

London. A modified version of the drinking ballad noted above also appeared under the title *Scotland's Rejoicing*.⁸⁶ Print publication of an unattributed public discourse, given at Edinburgh in Spring 1680, enabled James's potential subjects in England and Ireland to hear of his "undoubted Successive Right" in Scotland that came from his "Lineal Descendant of an Hundreth and Nine Monarchs" and the "Occumenick Joy, in all ranks of people" at the Stuart heir's presence in the kingdom.⁸⁷

Scotland and the Scots became a ubiquitous motif in print material sympathetic to James. Alongside re-stating James's popular reception in Scotland, Aphra Behn's *Song To A New Scotch Tune* (1681) used fake Scottish terms and the character of "Young Jemmy," a "Lad" of "Royal Birth and Breeding," to mock Westminster Whigs.⁸⁸ Setting the song to a Scottish sounding musical accompaniment also helped contextualise its arguments.⁸⁹ Supposed Scots vocabulary also appeared in *The Banishment of Popery* (1680), which adopted the voice of a Scotsman who had helped chase the Bothwell rebels from Glasgow under Monmouth's command but had been left un-thanked, and unpaid until "that brave Duke of Albanie" had "banish't povertie" in "one blink of his princely eye."⁹⁰ "View Him in His Conduct," one anti-Exclusionist pamphlet instructed, for "He hath like a cheering Sun, thaw'd the Northern World, and overcome a Scottish Nation; not with Arms, but with Love and Wisdom; where He is now become, next his Majesty, the Pride and Darling of the Age."⁹¹ English stereotypes of the Scots as wild and treacherous were also used to reinforce James's success in the kingdom and, thus, his suitability for the Stuart crowns.⁹² A persuasive tract appeared in London that was claimed to have been written by a member of James's retinue, allegedly detailing their personal conversion from opposing his succession to considering the Duke "worthy of the greatest Crown in Europe;" "his vertues [having] begotten here, even in this Cold and bigoted Country, some Friends."⁹³

Most influentially though, print was used to depict cheering Scottish crowds as willing armies that were ready to fight for James and his succession. The print incarnation of *Scotland's Rejoicing*, for example, incorporated lines declaring that singing Scots would "fight all day" for James and be his "help at hand."⁹⁴ It was communicated most clearly, however, in the

⁸⁶ *Scotland's Rejoicing, or, A Gratulatorie Poem upon his Royal Highnes Arrival into Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1679; ESTC R183616).

⁸⁷ *Discourse Unto His Royal Highness*, 3, 5.

⁸⁸ Aphra Behn, *Song To A New Scotch Tune* (London, c.1681; ESTC R232479).

⁸⁹ Fox, "Scottish Broadside Ballad," 182, 184.

⁹⁰ Francis Sempill, *The Banishment of Popery, by His Royal Highnes J. D. A.* (London, c.1681; ESTC R508042).

⁹¹ *A Plea for Succession, In Opposition to Popular Exclusion* (London, 1682; ESTC R225594), 2.

⁹² *A Panegyrick on their Royal Highnesses. And Congratulating His Return from Scotland* (London, repr. Edinburgh, 1682; ESTC R216887), 1, 5. See also: *A Pindarique Ode, on their Royal Highnesses Happy Return from Scotland after his Escape at Sea* (London, 1682; ESTC R2544), 3. *Murder Out at Last in a Ballad on the New Plot* (London, 1683; ESTC R235713); *A New Ballad from Whigg-Land* (London, 1682; ESTC R12357).

⁹³ *From a Person of Quality in Scotland, to a Person of Honour in London: Concerning His Royal Highness, James, Duke of York* (London, 1681; ESTC R36254), 1.

⁹⁴ *Scotland's Rejoicing*.

unattributed 1680 *Discourse*, which declared to James that the whole Scottish kingdom stood

readie Armed by Faithful Hearts, with bravest Courage, in a Thick and Flaming Cloud of many Thousands brandish Swords, to do You Service: most Resolute also, thereby keenly (thorow the Heart and Bowels of Opposition) to cut, for You, the way and Ingress to a Throne.⁹⁵

A letter written by Scottish Privy Councillors was also printed as further evidence. It thanked Charles II for his brother's presence and applauded the Duke's "just and naturall descent of that royall family, which is the chieffe glory and only security of this kingdome." With an eye to the rest of the Stuart composite monarchy, the councillors' letter also assured the monarch that "wee want nothing but occasion to hazard for the royall family those lives and fortunes which you have made so sweet and secure to us."⁹⁶

Yet alongside these positive representations of James's progresses, a steady stream of seditious items also appeared that aimed to promote Monmouth's rival succession. *A Poem of Congratulation* (1679) addressed Monmouth as if delivered in a formal, entry-like setting and praised his military record against the rebellious Scots.⁹⁷ Similarly, *A New Scotch Ballad: call'd Bothwel-Bridge: or, Hamilton's Hero* (1679) ridiculed the Scots to celebrate Monmouth as "England's Champion" and boldly claim that he was "born to rule."⁹⁸ A copy of an address given to Monmouth at Oxford by a sympathetic member of the local council also appeared in print alongside a canto reflecting on Monmouth's alleged cure of the King's Evil as proof of his legitimacy.⁹⁹ Two editions of a news separate entitled *His Grace the Duke of Monmouth Honoured in His Progress* (1680) also paid particular attention to Parcet's "Miraculous Cure."¹⁰⁰

The performative contest between York and Monmouth's progresses was thus echoed in print. *Down-Fall of the Whiggs* (1682) openly mocked the rival dukes' competing performances, jesting in song that Monmouth was condemned for his "sober Train" whilst a "Papist may ride cock a hoop" to "any Town or City."¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, Dryden's *The Medall* (1682) attacked Exclusionists' use of "antic sights and pageantry" to appeal to crowds of "English idiots." This satiric masterpiece condemned such tactics as "serpentine arts" and

⁹⁵ *Discourse Unto His Royal Highness*, 6.

⁹⁶ P. Hume Brown, et. al., eds., *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd series (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1915), 6:567–568.

⁹⁷ *A Poem of Congratulation On the Happy Return of His Grace James Duke of Monmouth* (London, 1679; ESTC R35110).

⁹⁸ *A New Scotch Ballad: call'd Bothwel-Bridge: or, Hamilton's Hero* (London, 1679; ESTC R35070), 1–2. See also: *A Proper New Brummigham Ballad* (London, 1681; ESTC R8294).

⁹⁹ *The Oxford Alderman's Speech to the D. of M. when his Grace made his Entrance into that City, about Sept. 1680* ([London], c.1681; ESTC R35273).

¹⁰⁰ Henry Clark, *His Grace of Duke of Monmouth Honoured in His Progress In the West of England in an Account Of a most Extraordinary Cure of The Kings Evil* (London, 1680; ESTC R39371).

¹⁰¹ *The Down-Fall of the Whiggs: Or, the Duke of Monmouths Journey into the North* (London, 1682; ESTC R174728), 1. See also: *Dialogue Between Monmouth-shire and York-shire* (London, 1681; ESTC R449).

accused Shaftesbury of blindsiding “droves of Blockheads” with the “the loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train” in order to disguise his treasonous ambitions.¹⁰² A clear example of the dukes’ struggle to claim popular sanction through monarchic performance came within rival newsheets focusing on the Leslie progress. The news account noted above had been extremely positive about this event. But *An Account of their Royal Highnesses* (1680) aimed to undermine these depictions of James’s popularity by claiming that, contrary to what readers may be “told” in “your Gazet,” “the Show” there had been the work of “Politick Managers” and “all of our own making; for we had not a Reception to our expectation.”¹⁰³ It is, of course, entirely plausible that supporters of the Crown fabricated aspects of James’s reception, but the same charge could be levied equally at those in favour of Monmouth. As noted above, opposition to James’s progresses remained limited. In spite of Monmouth’s earlier successes, it had been James’s political performances that won the day.

James’s Scottish progresses fuelled the imagery in royalist propaganda, but they also provided what would arguably become the most potent argument in his favour: that altering the succession would result in open conflict and threaten the security of the Stuart composite monarchy. Recounting main arguments from 1679, cleric Gilbert Burnet had noted widespread concern that “Scotland would not go into the Exclusion, but merit at the Duke’s hands by asserting his title.”¹⁰⁴ On 11 May 1679, in the House of Commons, Sir William Hickman asked fellow MPs to “consider that Scotland is a distinct Kingdom from England, and if you incapacitate the Duke from succeeding in England, he may go into Scotland, and succeed there to that Crown;” and in doing so, Hickman claimed, “you will intail a War for ever.”¹⁰⁵ Sir William Coventry made a similar warning later that same day: Scotland would become “a thorn in your sides” and “you will never be able to get it out.”¹⁰⁶ By the start of 1682, however, this was not just an empty claim made by James’s supporters, but had seemingly been proven and rehearsed for all to see through James’s Scottish progresses. As Crown propagandist Roger L’Estrange forcefully argued, when faced with James’s popularity in Scotland, continued agitation would inevitably lead to “no less then [sic] the destruction of *Three Kingdoms*.”¹⁰⁷ Another anonymous pamphlet, *Scotch Politicks* (1682) laboured specifically on the Scots’ “exceeding Manifestation of pretended Loyalty” to determine that their “outward glossing Demeanours towards his Highness” ought to be interpreted as some kind of menacing, anti-English “intrigue”—a “Court-Design of the Dukes” that foretold an ill future for the three

¹⁰² John Dryden, *The Medall. A Satyre Against Sediton* (London, 1682; ESTC R17608), 1, 3–6, 14, 16.

¹⁰³ *An Account of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Dutchess of York, their Arrival and Reception in Scotland, the 26. Of Octob. 1680* (London, 1680; ESTC R213108).

¹⁰⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet’s History of His Own Time* (London, 1724), 1:459.

¹⁰⁵ Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons from the Year 1667 to the Year 1694* (London, 1763), 7:248.

¹⁰⁶ Grey, *Debates*, 7:257. See also 7:406–409; 8:9, 22, 27, 225, 331.

¹⁰⁷ Roger L’Estrange, *A Seasonable Memorial in some historical notes upon the liberties of the presse and pulpit: with the effects of popular petitions, tumults, associations, impostures, and disaffected common councils* (London, 1681; ESTC R14590), 15. See also: Roger L’Estrange, *The State and Interest of the Nation, With respect to his Royal Highness the Duke of York* (London, 1680; ESTC R7627), 15.

British kingdoms.¹⁰⁸

Conclusions

James and Mary returned to England in May 1682 and were greeted by enthusiastic celebration and a fresh wave of print propaganda. The royalist ballad *Great York and Albany* (1682) depicted James's "Glorious" and "Pompous Train" arriving triumphantly in England. It also echoed the lyrics and metre of *Scotland's Rejoicing*, noted above, to incite parallel, English celebrations and "let Bumpers flow, and Bonfires blaze," "Trumpets sound, and Canons roar" to praise "Great York and Albany."¹⁰⁹ Another ballad cried that "Brave Monmouth's out of Favour now" and "Bothwel-Bridge is now forgot."¹¹⁰ "The Rebel," yet another declared, "is catch'd i[n] th[e] Snare, he lay'd for Monarchy."¹¹¹ Indeed, 5 November 1682 would see the "climax" of the performative struggle between James and his illegitimate challenger in what "would prove to be the last exclusionist demonstration."¹¹² Crowds gathered around bonfires in London crying "A Monmouth, a Monmouth," and then vandalised the pub sign for "the Duke's Head."¹¹³ On this occasion, however, there was no elaborate papal effigy, and the performance was interrupted by a larger, rival group who appeared chanting "a York, a York," and put out the fires.¹¹⁴ This final display appeared futile and directionless. There was no sense of the popular mandate for Exclusion depicted in previous years.

The progresses that James, Duke of York and Albany, undertook in Scotland between 1679 and 1682 clearly had a profound effect. The Whigs' London pope-burning pageants may have become the iconic images associated with the controversy that encircled James as heir presumptive but it was his own Scottish progresses, staged outside of the English capital and across the Anglo-Scottish border, which had the greatest impact on events and proved a major factor in the Stuart monarchy's ability to extricate itself from the crisis. James had used these political performances to promote himself as a suitable and supportable successor to his brother, Charles II. Each occasion created a dialogic space with the Scottish people, many of whom chose to sing the riotous, challenging lyrics of *Scotland's Rejoicing* that they would "fight all day" for this controversial duke. Yet each progress also spoke to English audiences. Indeed, within the context of the Stuarts' composite monarchy, it was this above all that presented the most serious challenge to Whig demonstrations and the counter-progresses staged by the Duke of Monmouth. Most importantly, subsequent representation of James's progresses in political

¹⁰⁸ *Scotch Politicks: In a Letter to a Friend* (London, 1682; ESTC R37192), 2, 4, 6, 9.

¹⁰⁹ *Great York and Albany: or the Loyal Welcom to His Royal Highness on His Return from Scotland* (London, 1682; ESTC R37905). For similar sentiments, see also: *Tory Ballad on Their Royal Highnesses Return from Scotland* (London, 1682; ESTC R20402); John Dryden, *Prologue to the Dutchess, On Her Return from Scotland* (London, 1682; ESTC R39).

¹¹⁰ *New Ballad from Whigg-Land*. See also: *A Congratulatory POEM, on his Royal Highness James Duke of York* (London, 1682; ESTC R20806).

¹¹¹ *Murder Out at Last*.

¹¹² Harris, *Restoration*, 186–187.

¹¹³ CSPD: *Charles II, 1682*, 528–530.

¹¹⁴ Harris, *Restoration*, 186–187.

discourse, considered here via print as an analytical lens, suggested that, whilst the Scots saw nothing to fear in his likely succession, the Duke's exclusion from the Stuart line would convert these cheering crowds into armies ready to act in his defence.

This article, then, has explored James's Scottish progresses as a case study for the *performance of power* in the premodern world; the ways in which premodern monarchies used and, indeed, relied upon public and theatrical displays of authority. But it has also demonstrated the ongoing *power of performance* in the seventeenth century by illustrating how these progresses continued to shape both major events and the debates that surrounded them. Successful political management of the Exclusion Crisis between 1679 and 1682 demanded use of monarchic performance. Staged across the kingdoms of the British Isles this was a precarious task but, for now at least, the Stuart monarchy managed to do so successfully.