

FROM JACOBITE TO CONSERVATIVE

What did it mean to be a "conservative" in Britain before such terminology was even used? Is it possible or even desirable to encapsulate such diverse individuals as George III, Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, J. W. Croker and the Younger Pitt within one political nomenclature? What is the relationship between the Jacobitism or Toryism of the early eighteenth century and the ideology of loyalist Englishmen of the latter Georgian period? James Sack confronts these questions in discussing an evolving right-wing mentalité, expressed in attitudes towards the past, the monarchy, humanitarianism, reform, and religion.

Although Professor Sack has consulted a wide range of unpublished and printed correspondence, pamphlets, and sermons, his chief sources have been numerous "Church and King" newspapers, journals, and magazines. From this rightwing press, Sack has uncovered a novel way of looking at political, social, and religious issues in the age of the American, French, and Industrial Revolutions. His central contention is that the defense of the Church of England, rather than nationalistic impulses, monarchical sentiment, or even economic self-interest, was the abiding concern of pre-1832 British conservatism.



FROM JACOBITE TO CONSERVATIVE

Reaction and orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760–1832

JAMES J. SACK

The University of Illinois at Chicago





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 1993

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First Published 1993 First paperback edition 2004

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 0 521 43266 9 hardback ISBN 0 521 89337 2 paperback



To the memory of two bibliophiles:

James R. Carroll
(1913-1982)
and
Richard Millman
(1932-1983)



Contents

		page	VIII
Lis	st of abbreviations		X
Introduction			I
I	The right-wing press from Jacobitism to the Reform cris a discussion of sources	is:	8
2	The spirit of the English Right in an age of revolution		30
3	Tories and Jacobites in the mid and late eighteenth century		46
4	Toryism redivivus		64
5	The British monarchy and the Right, 1760-1832		112
6	Parliamentary reform and the Right, 1750-1832		146
7	Tory humanitarianism and political economy, 1760-18	32	156
8	The Right and Protestantism The High Church Dissenters Evangelicals		188 188 199 204
9	The Right and Catholicism		217
Conclusion			252
Select bibliography Index			259 280

vii



Acknowledgments

Over the past decade, so many archivists, librarians, colleagues, and friends have aided me in one way or another on the research and writing of this book, that to mention some and omit others risks a charge of caddish neglect. In spite of this, I do wish to express my deep appreciation to the staffs of a number of American institutions who have particularly assisted me. Those institutions are: the William L. Clements Library, the University of Michigan (especially Dr. John Dann); the University of Illinois Library, Urbana-Champaign; the University of Iowa Library, Iowa City; the Newberry Library, Chicago; the libraries of Northwestern University, the Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, and the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois; and the Regenstein Library, the University of Chicago. Most especially, I owe a debt of gratitude to the staff of the University of Illinois Library, Chicago, and to Kathy Kilian of its Inter-Library Loan department. In the United Kingdom, the staffs of the following establishments were unfailingly kind and helpful: The Bodleian Library, Oxford; the main British Library (especially Ian Fletcher) and its Newspaper Library, Colindale; the East Sussex Record Office, Lewes; the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the National Register of Archives, London; the Institute of Historical Research, London; the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Public Record Office, London; the Victoria & Albert Museum (particularly Bill Pidduck), London; and the West Yorkshire Archives, Leeds. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Librarians of the Sheffield City Libraries, Sheffield, and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, for sending me transcripts of selected letters of Edmund Burke and Robert Southey.

The Travel-to-Collections program of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Campus Research Board of the Univer-



Acknowledgments

ix

sity of Illinois at Chicago both made available funding which facilitated my research and I would like to thank them.

The British History Association at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign invited me to discuss my research with them on two occasions and I thank the participants (especially Professor Walter Arnstein) for their always good-humored criticism and comments. Two of my departmental colleagues, Bentley B. Gilbert and Richard M. Fried, read my manuscript at various stages of its development and, whatever the final result, it is a far better piece of work because of their comments. Ms. Katharine Stohrer provided me with professional secretarial guidance and, I suspect, caught far more mistakes than she was paid for. I would also like to express my thanks to Professor Gene W. Ruoff, Linda Vavra, Professor Jacob M. Price, Donald E. Geist, Chuck and Jean Kern, Katie and Sarah Kelley, and Robert, Andrew, and Jonathan McCracken.



Abbreviations

Manuscript collections

BL British Library, Department of Manuscripts,

London

Bodl. The Bodleian Library, Oxford

CL William L. Clements Library, University of

Michigan, Ann Arbor

ESRO East Susssex Record Office, Lewes

NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

PRO Public Record Office, London

RL Regenstein Library, University of Chicago,

Chicago

Printed books

Aspinall A. Aspinall, ed., Later Correspondence of George

III (5 vols., Cambridge, England,

1962-1970)

Burke, Corr. The Correspondence of Edmund Burke (10 vols.,

Cambridge, England, 1958-1978)

Burke, Works The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund

Burke (12 vols., London, 1887)

DNB The Dictionary of National Biography

Fortescue Sir John Fortescue, ed., Correspondence of King

George III from 1760 to December 1783 (6 vols.,

London, 1927-1928)

HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission

Namier and Brooke Sir Lewis Namier, John Brooke, eds., History

of Parliament: House of Commons, 1754-1790

(New York, 1964)



List of abbreviations

хi

Parl. Deb. T. C. Hansard, ed., Parliamentary Debates from

the Year 1803 to the Present Time (London,

1812 -)

Parl. Hist. W. Cobbett, ed., Parliamentary History of

England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803

(36 vols., London, 1806–1820)

Sedgwick Romney Sedgwick, ed., History of Parliament:

House of Commons, 1715-1754 (New York,

1970)

Thorne R. G. Thorne, ed., History of Parliament:

House of Commons, 1790-1820 (London, 1986)

Journals

EHR English Historical Review

HJ Historical Journal

JEH Journal of Ecclesiastical History

PH Parliamentary History
P&P Past and Present

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society