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| The University of sheffield |
| ‘A Certain Design’:  The Partisan Strategy of  Joseph Addison’s  *The Free-Holder* |
| Adam James Smith  PhD Thesis |
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When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway, the post of honour is a private station.

* Joseph Addison, *Cato*

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Abstract

This thesis revisits Joseph Addison’s critically neglected periodical, *The Free-Holder*, which was originally published twice weekly between the 23rd December 1715 and the 29th June 1716. Prioritising *The Free-Holder*’s status as a literary text this project reads the paper for the first time amidst early eighteenth-century theories of politeness and alongside contemporaneous partisan print. It argues that Addison pragmatically employs a polite approach which, by disguising acts of re-appropriation as reconciliation, enables him to commit extraordinary acts of partisan manipulation on behalf of the Whig ministry. A literary analysis of *The Free-Holder* reveals a series of striking and unacknowledged facets to Addison’s approach. First, despite its partisan origins it makes very little reference to its own Whig identity and certainly never attacks Tory voters. Secondly, it employs rhetoric not only associated with the opposing Tory party but printed in their own press, poetry and propaganda. In examining these tendencies this thesis argues that Addison is not only addressing the Whig party faithful, as has previously been assumed, but also inquiring members of the opposition. This project concludes that *The Free-Holder*’s ambition is to reclaim the act of changing sides from any dubious or amoral connotations and instead brand it as an act of politeness, enabling any Tory readers who have been swayed by his arguments to convert from Tory to Whig without any need for guilt, shame or embarrassment. The final pages of this thesis critique the keynote lecture delivered by Ed Miliband at the 2012 Labour party conference in Addisonian terms, revealing that almost three hundred years late *The Free-Holder* project is still very much alive.

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‘True happiness is of a retired nature, and an enemy to pomp and noise; it arises, in the first place, from the enjoyment of one's self, and in the next, from the friendship and conversation of a few select companions.’

These words, written by Joseph Addison in the fifteenth number of *The Spectator*, have a particular resonance when I reflect on everything that has led to the completion of this thesis. This project is a possession that I consider to have complete ownership over. Part of the ‘happiness’ and ‘enjoyment’ that I derive from drawing it to a close is that it is the product of my own ‘self.’ The research, the reading and the words are all mine. However, I would never have been able to begin this project, let alone finish it, if it had not been for the ‘friendship and conversation’ of so many companions. This, for me, is the source of a very different and much greater ‘happiness.’ I am awed and unspeakably grateful for all of the time, energy, interest and hospitality of more people than I could ever list, and truly, this project belongs to all of you.

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1. Introduction: Joseph Addison and *The Free-Holder*

If Swift’s life was the most wretched, I think Addison’s was one of the most enviable. A life prosperous and beautiful – a calm death – an immense fame and affection afterwards for his happy and spotless name...[[1]](#footnote-1)

There is a barely concealed suspicion behind these words, written by William Makepeace Thackeray in 1853. As he considers the ‘immense fame’ of Addison’s ‘enviable life’ he strikes an incredulous tone, trailing off into an ellipsis as he ponders his subject’s ‘spotless name.’ This pause lingers just long enough for the reader to dwell upon the implications of this remark before Thackeray bluntly concedes that ‘[p]osterity has been [kind] to this amiable creature.’[[2]](#footnote-2) Silently, Thackeray implores his audience to ask what it is that has been censured, buried, polished away and forgotten in order to preserve Addison’s remarkably ‘spotless name.’ This project will argue that one such ‘blemish’ is Addison’s work on *The Free-Holder*, a Whig periodical published between the 23rd December 1715 and the 29th June 1716, tellingly absent even from Thackeray’s biography of Addison.[[3]](#footnote-3) As the following survey of the image painted of Addison by his nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographers reveals, Addison is recurrently portrayed as a reticent figure, evasive of controversy and lacking the ‘belligerence’ to engage successfully in polemic partisan debate.[[4]](#footnote-4) *The Free-Holder* disrupts each of these notions and implies that it is precisely his pose of reticence that allows him to participate in partisan debate in a manner far more effective than his ‘belligerent’ contemporaries.

**Joseph Addison: Augustan myth and Victorian adulation**

Writing in 1884 in the shadow of Thomas Macaulay’s panegyric *The Life and Writings of Joseph Addison*, W. J. Courthope perpetuates the earlier biographer’s image of Addison as ‘the unsullied statesman, the accomplished scholar, the consummate painter of life and manners.’[[5]](#footnote-5) On the topic of Addison’s politics and partisan engagement Courthope writes that:

It was Addison’s aim to prove to the contending parties what a large extent of ground they might occupy in common. [I]n politics, it was not to be expected that Addison’s moderation should exercise a restraining influence on the violence of Parliamentary parties. But in helping form a reasonable public opinion in the more reflective part of the nation at large, his efforts could not have been more unavailing.[[6]](#footnote-6)

Courthorpe’s Addison attempts, with limited success, to reconcile the ‘contending parties’ in order to restrain the ‘violence’ that they commit upon each other. A detailed study of *The Free-Holder* finds that Addison’s paper does indeed stress the ground that Whigs and Tories ‘might occupy in common’, and that it does hope to bring an end to the ‘rage of party’ in print.[[7]](#footnote-7) However, it endeavours to achieve this reconciliation by not only identifying a commonality with its political opponents but by covertly reconfiguring and rebranding their ideals until by the end of the paper’s final number they have unknowingly found themselves in support of Addison’s own cause: that of the Whig party. Whilst this would (if successful) result in an end to contention between the two parties, it would not have been achieved through a process of peaceful reconciliation but instead one of subversive conversion.

Paradoxically, it is in biographical works that *The Free-Holder* enjoys both the most coverage and its most striking censure, treated far more frequently in some accounts of the life of Addison than is generally the case in literary studies, whilst other biographers banished it entirely. Although *The Free-Holder* originally appeared during the wilderness years between Addison’s final collaboration with Richard Steele and his appointment as Secretary of State, this project does not intend to use the paperin order to explain the life of Addison during a critically unattended period of his career.[[8]](#footnote-8) This thesis is not a work of biography, but instead an inquiry into a text and its employment of literary and rhetorical strategies. However, a full investigation and appreciation of these strategies will undoubtedly have biographical implications, contributing to current revisionist impulses to complicate perceptions of Addison.[[9]](#footnote-9)

Thackeray’s ‘spotless’ image of Addison endured the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries relatively unscathed, and can still be seen to persist into the twentieth and twenty-first. Writing in 1980 Edward and Lilian Bloom are compelled to acknowledge that the worth of ‘[t]he Addisonian figure’ apparently ‘increased with only slight demur for almost two centuries’[[10]](#footnote-10) The gradual idolisation of Addison can be clearly traced through a series of landmark biographies, each more panegyric than the last. 1805 saw the release of Nathan Drake’s *Essays, Biographical, Critical and Historical, Illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator and Guardian*, establishing a narrative of Addison’s life which would later provide the basis for Lucy Aikin’s *The Life of Joseph Addison* and Thomas Macaulay’s response for *The Edinburgh Post*: *The Life and Writings of Addison*, each first appearing in 1843.[[11]](#footnote-11) The century draws to a close with W.J. Courthope’s *Addison,* which proved fractionally more sceptical than Macaulay’s earlier efforts, to which it acknowledges a substantial debt. The trend of praise is moderated and complicated by occasional exceptions which regard Addison’s reputation with knowing incredulity, such as Thackeray’s ‘English Humanists of the Eighteenth Century’ and Johnson’s earlier entry for Addison in *The Lives of the English Poets.*[[12]](#footnote-12)As will be seen, Bonamy Dobrée provided a highly atypical biography of Addison casting him as a nihilistic and ‘unsatisfactory’ figure, self-consciously writing against the anointed ‘Addisonian figure’ that the Blooms would later identify.

Nevertheless, despite this effort to complicate the untouchable ‘genius of Addison’, the appearance of Peter Smithers’s celebratory *Life of Addison* in 1954 demonstrates the durability of Addison’s reputation, reasserting (albeit in a more balanced and thorough biography than had ever been written before) that as Thomas Gordon had predicted in 1719, not only was Addison ‘universally admired in our own time but also that he was expected to achieve immortal fame.’[[13]](#footnote-13) These works gave rise to the unstainable vision of Addison popularly understood in the twenty-first century which has subsequently prompted fears in recent decades that the lack of intrigue around Addison might see him written out of curriculums and canons alike.[[14]](#footnote-14)

In tracing Addison’s *Critical Heritage* (1980) Edward and Lilian Bloom affirm the trajectory of Addison’s literary reputation, establishing Drake’s biography as ‘the apotheosis of Addison’ and confirming that ‘[t]he road paved with Addisonian glory from Drake to Macaulay ran straight and uncluttered.’[[15]](#footnote-15) Drake does little to hide his admiration for Addison, writing a biography surprisingly light on biographical detail but emphatic in its assertions of Addison’s character, stating that the ‘great man’ could:

effect so much improvement, and [….] acquire a kind of moral dominion over his countrymen, must be ascribed, in a good measure, to that suavity of disposition and goodness of heart so visible throughout all his compositions, and which give to his reproof and censure, his precepts and admonitions, the air of parental affection and monitory kindness.[[16]](#footnote-16)

Here, Addison becomes more than a writer. He becomes a guardian, a teacher and a father to the nation, improving his readers by teaching them to be better people. Drake’s work undoubtedly influences Macaulay’s, which the Blooms claim to have imbued Addison with a ‘secular transcendence’:

[Addison] moved through the pages of the ‘Edinburgh Review’ without flaw, his eminence increasing when he was measured against his contemporaries. […] As Macaulay sketched in the details of the portrait, he himself became mesmerized by its splendour.[[17]](#footnote-17)

This mesmerising effect that Addison has upon Macaulay in the Blooms’ description can be discerned in his writing. Macaulay’s own ability to sustain objectivity when presenting the case of Addison is, from the outset of his essay, portrayed as being somewhat suspect:

As a man, he may not have deserved the adoration which he received from those who, bewitched by his fascinating society, and indebted for all the comforts of life to his generous and delicate friendship, worshipped him nightly, in his favourite temples at Button’s. But, after full inquiry and impartial reflection, we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can be justly claimed by any of our infirm and erring race. Some blemishes may undoubtedly be detected in his character; but the more carefully it is examined, the more it will appear, to use the phrase of the old anatomists, sound in noble parts, free from any taint of perfidy, of cowardice, of cruelty, of ingratitude, of envy. Men may easy be named, in whom some particular good disposition has been more conspicuous than in Addison. But the just harmony of qualities, the exact temper between the stern and the human virtues, the habitual observance of every law, not only of a moral rectitude, but of moral grace and dignity, distinguished him from all men who have been tried by equally strong temptations, and about whose conduct we possess equally full information.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Macaulay begins here by acknowledging the ‘bewitching’ effect that Addison had upon his contemporaries, hinting that this cannot have been entirely deserved. However, upon conducting a ‘full inquiry’ Macaulay’s scepticism fades away, reiterating instead that Addison deserved as ‘much love and esteem as can be justly claimed.’ In this extract alone he finds Addison to be exceptional, contrasting him favourably with the rest of the human race. Notably it is his self-control that Macaulay finds particularly impressive: a characteristic that would become a common theme in biographies of Addison. Ultimately, despite couching his biography as an ‘impartial reflection’ Macaulay soon finds himself accounting for any ‘blemishes’ in Addison’s character and freeing his memory ‘from all taint’, protecting and preserving the ‘spotless name’ that Thackeray had earlier identified.[[19]](#footnote-19)

Despite introducing ‘the great man’ as ‘one of the kindest benefactors that society ever had’, the awe in which Thackeray holds Addison is tempered by a wariness, or as Edward and Lilian Bloom put in, an ‘ambivalence’ and a ‘suspicion.’ [[20]](#footnote-20) Writing in 1853 Thackeray’s Addison cannot help but exist beneath the shadow of Macaulay’s portrayal of his subject’s towering genius. Thackeray imagines himself into the mind of the ‘great man’, and deduces that having been such a ‘lord of intellect’ Addison could only have been ‘lonely.’ Thackeray’s Addison measures life on a ‘higher standard than common people’, and as such despite greeting all with ‘graciousness and smiles’ he rarely finds himself impressed or truly stimulated. This, for Thackeray, accounts for Addison’s reticence and reluctance to commit to making personal expressions of opinion, justifying his silence on such matters by stating that ‘[a] great and just man ought not to praise indiscriminately, but give his idea of truth.’[[21]](#footnote-21) In attempting to explain Addison’s ‘impartiality’ and reserve, Thackeray’s account is indebted to Samuel Johnson’s, which attributes Addison’s evasion of ever presenting his personal thoughts or opinions to ‘shyness.’

Johnson, the self-appointed spokesperson for the Tory generation to follow that which Addison wrote against in *The Free-Holder*, is frustrated by Addison’s calculated reserve. He accuses Addison of writing commentary rather than criticism and laments his lack of conviction:

His own powers were such as might have satisfied him with conscious excellence. […] The abundance of his own mind left him little need of adventitious sentiments; his wit always could suggest what the occasion demanded.[[22]](#footnote-22)

Johnson goes on to predict that it is Addison’s ‘deliberate caution’ and avoidance of ‘anything that offends’ that will prevent him from sustaining the reputation as ‘excelling both in poetry and criticism’ that he enjoyed whist alive:

[T]ime quickly puts an end to artificial and accidental fame, and Addison is to pass through futurity protected only by his genius. Every name which kindness or interest once raised too high, is in danger, lest the next age should, by the vengeance of criticism, sink in the same proportion. A great writer has lately styled [Addison] an *indifferent poet, and a worse critic.* […] Yet if he seldom reaches supreme excellence, he rarely sinks into dullness, and is still more rarely entangled in absurdity. He did not trust his powers enough to be negligent. There is in most of his compositions a calmness and equability, deliberate and cautious, sometimes with little that delights, but seldom with anything that offends.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The guarded praise with which Johnson flatters the late Addison is constantly tempered with salubrious salutations and underscored with censure and critique. It is, however, ultimately a positive portrayal, and Johnson’s discussion of the admiration held for Addison by friends and enemies alike would provide material for the many more generous biographers that would follow. Johnson makes a point of stressing Addison’s ‘shyness’ and ‘improper and ungraceful timidity’, each of which comes to account for his emphatic reserve in almost all subsequent retellings of Addison’s life:

Of his habits, or external manners, nothing is more often mentioned as that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends call modesty by too mild a name. Steele mentions with great tenderness “that remarkable bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit”; and tells us, that “his abilities were covered only by modesty, which doubles the beauties which are seen, and gives credit and esteem to all that are concerned.” Chesterfield affirms, that “Addison was the most timorous and awkward man that he ever saw.” And Addison, speaking of his own deficiency in conversation, used to say of himself, that, with respect to intellectual wealth, “he could draw a bill for a thousand pounds, though he had not a guinea in his pocket.” […] That he wanted current coin for ready payment, and by that want was obstructed and distressed; that he was often oppressed by an improper and graceful timidity; every testimony concurs to prove: but Chesterfield’s representation is doubtless hyperbolic. [[24]](#footnote-24)

Johnson also here fore-tells the ‘vengeance of criticism’ that would be wrought upon Addison, when, just as Johnson predicted, after Addison’s ‘lofty genius’ is raised to staggering heights in the nineteenth century the ‘next age [sought to] sink it in the same proportion.’

This vengeance was eventually delivered in the form of Bonamy Dobrée’s unprecedented portrait, characterised by the Blooms as being ‘a cartoon of villainy.’[[25]](#footnote-25) Here, Dobrée identifies the very same ‘Addisonisan constancy’ and reconfigures it in fitting with his thesis that Addison was ‘the first Victorian’, reading it as ‘the mark of a fossilised mind and an enfeebled but lulling prose style’:

To us, in rebellion against the Victorian view, with more faith in the human being, and much less in his ideals, approaching as we do indeed a nihilism in values, a character such as Addison’s must seem unsatisfactory.[[26]](#footnote-26)

As the Blooms’ paraphrase teases out, it is again Addison’s guarded constancy that Dobrée latches onto:

The [Addison] “character” took on a multitude of vices, as Dobrée depicted him with unalloyed contempt. Thus the once-virtuous essayist revealed a sick need to patronize and possess; to feel safe, that is, ‘superior’. His dwarfed soul was locked in an obsessive secrecy that at one and the same time hid a conscious hypocrisy at one and the time hid a hypocrisy and exhibited a committed prudence.[[27]](#footnote-27)

Whilst Dobrée’s biography is exceptional in many ways to the others surveyed here, embodying as it does a twentieth-century backlash to the previous generation’s production and propagation of Addison the ‘unsullied statesmen’, it does share a commonality in its acknowledgement and utilisation of Addison’s ‘constancy’ and ‘obsessive secrecy.’ Only, where this had once been attributed to the man’s shyness, tact or ‘suavity of disposition’, Dobrée finds it to be a screen of ‘hypocrisy’ from behind which Addison enacts sinister machinations and indulges a ‘sick’ sense of superiority. C.S Lewis and T.S Eliot are similarly troubled by Addison’s guardedness, resenting his reluctance to express a discernible personal opinion and reading this as either indicative of a weak character or a lack of conviction respectably. Of Addison, Lewis wrote that ‘[i]f he is not at present the most hated of our writers, that can only be because he is so little read.’[[28]](#footnote-28) T.S Eliot adds only that ‘Addison is a writer towards whom [he] feels something very alike antipathy.’[[29]](#footnote-29)

The most significant biography of Addison published in the twentieth century appears in the form of Edward and Lilian Bloom’s own *Joseph Addison’s Sociable Animal* of 1971, an often-cited volume which presents a refreshingly objective telling of Addison’s life. Dividing his character into three, the Blooms discuss Addison as proto-journalist, as statesman and as preacher, revealing in each Addison’s dedication to the ‘middle way’. Finding the titular figure of the ‘sociable animal’ as the ‘fixed centre from which Addison initiated his concept of interrelated activities and obligations as though he were making concentric circles with a stone of water’, the Blooms work hard to repair and discredit the damage inflicted to Addison’s character by Dobrée.[[30]](#footnote-30) The Blooms contribute a new critical approach and language to the nineteenth-century celebrations of Addison’s life and writing, drawing the balanced conclusion that:

As a social thinker he exhibits both the weakness and enlightenment of Augustan England. Although lacking intellectual originality, he had a genius for embracing and communicating contemporary social issues, both large and small. His literary concern with the fops and their ladies was no less than his concern with England’s mercantile wars and Protestant succession. He had a sure instinct for singling out ideas that were much in men’s mind and explaining them in a style that was at once plain and relaxed. His readers identified themselves with the point of view of his essays even as he identified himself with the thinking of the public which, paradoxically, he helped to formulate.’[[31]](#footnote-31)

But, like their nineteenth-century predecessors, and like Johnson, the Blooms attribute Addison’s guardedness to his ‘shyness’. When accounting for the final decades of his life in *Critical Heritage* they discuss his aversion to entering into barbed exchanges with his contemporary opponents, and in making this assertion they entirely omit to mention *The Free-Holder.* Instead, they focus upon his work for *The Whig Examiner,* an explicit response to the Tory’s own *Examiner*.

Edward and Lilian Bloom assert that despite being the Whig party’s most ‘elegant’ writer he lacked the ‘belligerence’ to inflict severe damage upon the opposition. They even speculate that Addison himself would have acknowledged that his own writing style was not fit to fight for his party in a print war characterised by ‘irony, invective, scurrilous heat and fibre’:

But for all its vigorous intention, the journal could not endure: it lacked the excitement of new ideas; it had the defeatist tone of a doomed cause. The Whig command, desperate in its journalistic need, capitulated to the fact that the most poised and elegant writer in its stable wanted the editorial belligerence necessary for party journalism in a crisis year. He was therefore relieved of his assignment, one that both [Arthur] Mainwaring and Oldmixon took up when they published the ‘Medley’ from 5 October 1710 to 6 August 1711.The Whig-Examiner, unable to make headway in its argument with the opposition, died after only five numbers. [A]s a political realist [Addison] knew his journal was beyond salvage in a paper war that demanded blatant irony and invective, scurrilous heat and fibre.[[32]](#footnote-32)

This now familiar want of ‘belligerence’ is consistent with characterisations of Addison seen both during his lifetime and over the preceding three centuries as a man who avoided conflict, controversy and calumny at all costs. Thomas Tyers typified this perception in 1783 when expressing his own frustration in the face of Addison’s personal guardedness:

If Mr. Addison, the intended hero of this essay, had been the Plutarch of his own life (for Plutarch enters into a thousand interesting particulars and brings his hero into the closet) it must have made an entertaining volume; though the modesty and diffidence that accompanied him thro’ every scene of his life, would have prevented him from enlarging on a multitude of things to his own glory and disadvantages of others. For on many occasions he chose rather to hide himself than be seen, and to practice reserve than to open his lips.[[33]](#footnote-33)

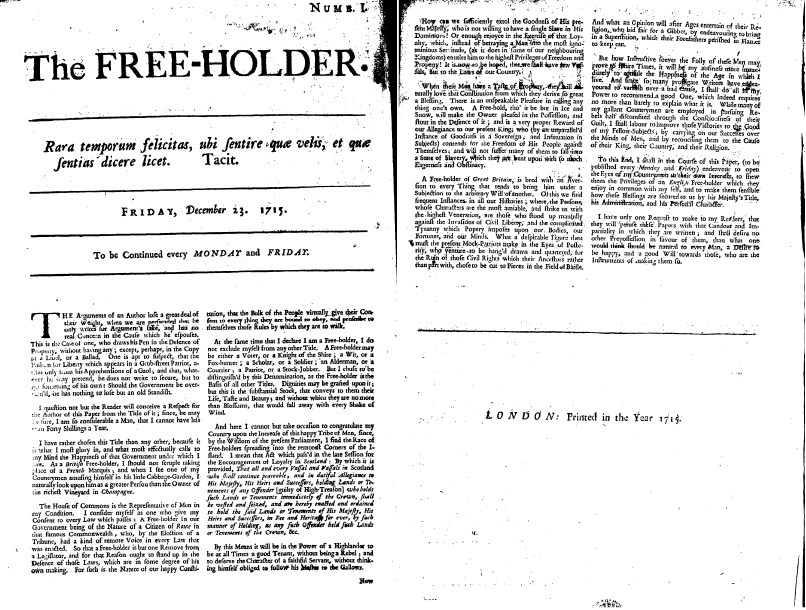
When narrating Addison’s actions during 1715-1716 the Blooms opt to comment on his resignation from *The Whig-Examiner* and the ‘unqualified failure [of his play] ‘The Drummer’ [in] March 1716’ but entirely gloss over his work on *The Free-Holder* during the very same period.

In doing so, their *Critical Heritage* makes an omission typical of the vast majority of the criticism that has been written on and of Addison’s life and works. It is a startling oversight amidst an otherwise representative selection of materials collected by Edward and Lilian Bloom, especially given that in writing *The Free-Holder* Addison was answering the very same ‘journalistic need’ as the earlier *Whig-Examiner. The Free-Holder* sees Addison writing for party and according to James Leheny there is little evidence to suggest that ‘it was not an unqualified success.’[[34]](#footnote-34) If anything, *The Free-Holder* demonstrates Addison’s alternative to the ‘belligerence’ that the Blooms find him lacking, unleashing a strategy that might have lacked the ‘scurrilous heat’ of its opponents but when properly appreciated can still be seen to commit extraordinary acts of partisan manipulation.

Thomas Tyers’s eighteenth-century account laments that, rather than asserting his true thoughts and beliefs, Addison most often ‘chose rather to hide himself than be seen’, striking the same pose as the fictional persona of his earlier periodical, *The Spectator,* who claimed to observe ‘an exact Neutrality between the Whigs and Tories.’[[35]](#footnote-35) And, like Mr. Spectator, it is from this allegedly non-combatant position that Addison could covertly strike the heaviest blows. In this Addison appears to have been incredibly successful with even Edward and Lilian Bloom, who are for the most part more sceptical than most, deducing that ‘[a]s an adept politician, Addison made compromises, but only where principle was not involved.’[[36]](#footnote-36) Addison, significantly, is remembered primarily as being a man of principle. This study, which intends to interrogate and illuminate the strategy of *The Free-Holder*, will find Addison not only writing successfully for the Whig ministry but also encouraging readers to favour political effectiveness above personal integrity in such a way that cannot help but complicate perceptions such as those surveyed here of both Addison and his periodical writing during the reign of George I.

***The Free-Holder* in print**

Though Addison’s *Free-Holder* would later make frequent appearances in a series of book editions, the *Free-Holder* essays first appeared as a periodical on Friday 23rd December 1715.



**Figure 1.** *The Free-Holder*, ‘Number one’, in *17th and 18th Century Burney Newspaper Archive,* <http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/dispBasicSearch.do?prodId=BBCN&userGroupName=su\_uk>[accessed 26th Sept 2014]

Pragmatic in their publication, these essays were typical examples of early eighteenth-century cheap print. Aesthetics came second to content, with every number of *The Free-Holder* appearing in the same template, devoid of wood-cuts, illustrations or variations in type. As James Leheny notes, ‘like the *Spectator*, the *Freeholder* was printed on both sides of a folio half-sheet with two columns to the page.’[[37]](#footnote-37) The purpose of this periodical was primarily to disseminate these essays. *The Free-Holder* was printed and sold in London by ‘S. Gray in Amen-Corner’, the very same Gray who first published *The Daily Courant*.

Given Addison’s collaboration on *The Whig-Examiner* with Arthur Maynwaring (chief pamphleteer and propagandist for the Whig ministry) and their subsequent close working relationship, it is apparent that *The Free-Holder* was funded by the Whig ministry.[[38]](#footnote-38) This is consistent with Steele’s description of the paper as being a ‘flute for the ministry’ in Johnson’s *The Lives of the English Poets.*[[39]](#footnote-39) John Oldmixon is recorded as having claimed that Addison demanded and received a place on the commission for Trade and Plantations for writing *The Free-Holder,* and in his critical edition James Leheny is content to describe Addison as being a ‘successful Whig propagandist.’[[40]](#footnote-40) Leheny also makes the point that *The Free-Holder* ‘published only one advertisement, and the first three issues were distributed gratis; all evidence that the government was underwriting the venture.’[[41]](#footnote-41) The implications of this (both formally and thematically) are many. On a pragmatic level, this affected the price of the paper. In terms of regulation *The Free-Holder* was not stamped, so it would be incorrect to describe it as a newspaper. Each issue was priced at three half-pence, making it more expensive than Addison’s collaborations with Steele (*The Tatler* was a penny per copy). However, a brief survey of the serials in print in 1714 and 1715 reveals that *The Free-Holder* was still half of the price of many other periodicals.[[42]](#footnote-42)

The paper was originally published anonymously. The attribution of Addison’s name was delayed until the end of March 1716, by which time a Jacobite reporter had already linked the paper to its author: ‘The *Freeholder* is writ by Mr Addison… as is generally believed.’[[43]](#footnote-43) According to the few surviving primary accounts that refer to *The Free-Holder* it seems to have been generally well-received, if not a little divisive. A month before the paper was properly attributed to Addison, law student and diarist Dudley Ryder revealed the affection and esteem with which he regarded these essays:

When we sat down to conversation we talked about the manner of writing which was brought so much to fashion by the *Tatlers* and *Spectators* and which the town has by this means got a relish. The *Freeholder* is writ now in the same manner, in which they say Addison and [William Fleetwood] and Hoadly and some of the greatest pens in England are engaged.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Ryder likens *The Free-Holder*’s reception to that of Addison and Steele’s enormously successful collaborations on *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*. We are told here that *The Free-Holder* proved ‘fashionable’, constituting the type of periodical writing for which London had developed a ‘relish.’ Although Ryder was yet to confirm the paper’s true author, he does suspect that it is the product of ‘the greatest pens in England’, suggesting that he considers *The Free-Holder* to be a highly accomplished paper. In the contemporaneous paper, *Weekly Remarks,* Addison’s *Free-Holder* split opinion. In the same issue, published 18 February 1716, one reader writes in to admonish *The Free-Holder*’s ‘scandalous misinterpretation […] concerning the political faith of the Tory’, whilst another commends its ‘gentle satire’ and likens it to Alexander Pope’s *Rape of the Lock*.[[45]](#footnote-45)

The high survival rate of those original *Free-Holder* papers recorded by the British Library’s ‘English Short Title Catalogue’suggests that the paper was widely disseminated, with copies still existing today in nineteen different repositories around the world.[[46]](#footnote-46) The majority of copies reside in the south of England, reflecting the paper’s original area of distribution, with seven collections held by the British Library, three by the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, and others held at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Eton College Library in Windsor. There are also a few stray numbers held at John Rylands at the University of Manchester, which along with the existence of the *Yorkshire Free-Holder* (an unofficial sequel published in York at the end of the eighteenth century) suggests that *The Free-Holder* did occasionally make it out of London, although it was certainly first and foremost a metropolitan paper. There are also an abundance of original *Free-Holder* papers currently held in the United States of America, with odd copies on record at the University of California’s William Andrew Clark Library, Yale University’s Beincke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and at the Universities of Illinois, Texas and North Carolina. As the final chapter of this thesis demonstrates, *The Free-Holder* remained popular well into the late eighteenth century, with the book edition reappearing consistently until 1797. In the mid-eighteenth century, forty years after the final number was originally published, diarist Thomas Turner was still ‘reading several numbers of *The Freeholder.*’[[47]](#footnote-47) Likewise, in 1814, when writing to Thomas Murray upon the topic of nationhood in Sir Walter Scott’s *Waverley*, it is *The Free-Holder* No. 2 that Thomas Carlyle reaches for.[[48]](#footnote-48)

*The Free-Holder* resists the five reductive categories of periodical form suggested by W.O.S. Sutherland’s study of *The Prompter,* which were: ‘simple, integral, topical, commentary and narrative.’[[49]](#footnote-49) Addison employs each of these (often in the same issue) creating something more in character with Bond’s description of the *Tatler* essays as fluctuating between ‘formal, informal and digressive.’[[50]](#footnote-50) Successfully synthesising the approach of previous commentators on periodical form with the work of Jürgen Habermas and subsequent champions of his model of an early eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere, Knight offers a succinct and accurate summary of *The Spectator*’sform:

Addison (who, rather than Steele wrote most of *The Spectator*’s indirect political papers) attacks not the substance of the opponent’s remarks but the general character, and he focuses on the large moral issues rather than on small political ones. The strategy was to outflank the opponent and to threaten an encounter on higher ground of one’s own choosing. […] Freeing itself from political factionalism, *The Spectator* replaced propaganda with ideology as a mode of political discourse.[[51]](#footnote-51)

As this thesis will demonstrate, close analysis reveals that *The Free-Holder* is constructed to achieve much of the same. However, by the time that *The Free-Holder* reaches print this is an approach complicated by a new political context and the paper’s official sponsorship by the Whig ministry.

A noticeable difference between *The Free-Holder* and Addison’s earlier periodicals is that itprovides no opportunity for readers to send letters to the author. This is a significant formal departure, given the emphasis that scholarship has placed on the role of these letters, particularly with reference to the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere. Discussing the form of *The Spectator*, Terry Eagleton lists this practice as an important feature:

The flexible, heterogeneous forms of the magazine and periodical reflect [a] relaxed capaciousness: fictional and non-fictional materials co-exist, moral essays slip easily into anecdote and allegory, and the collaboration of the readership is actively solicited in the writing. (In danger of running out of material, Steele at one point warns his audience that unless they write in the journal, it will have to close.) The frontiers between literary genres, as between authors and readers, or genuine and fictitious correspondents, are comfortably intermediate.[[52]](#footnote-52)

Rather than entering into a dialogue with readers, Addison goes to great lengths to feign the illusion of conversation. *The Free-Holder* frequently referred to its readers, often generating entire sequences of essays which reported on the public’s responses and subsequent actions based on its own suggestion. However, no evidence - in the form of reader’s letters, real or imagined - is ever presented. In the closing number, the paper asserts that it always had a clearly defined plan and ambition, which it has achieved:

It would not be difficult to continue a paper of this kind, if one were disposed to resume the same subjects, and weary out the Reader with the same thoughts in a different phrase, or to ramble through the same thoughts in a different phrase, or to ramble through the cause of Whig and Tory without any aim or certain method, in every particular discourse.[[53]](#footnote-53)

Mr. Free-Holder is certainly keen here to assert that there has always been a ‘certain method’, one that has taken fifty-five issues to achieve completion. The sheer duration over which the paper continued to appear raises questions as to whether it was a response to any one topical event in particular.

**A self-proclaimed success: *The Free-Holder* on *The Free-Holder***

When, on the 29th June 1716, Addison publishes the fifty-fifth issue of *The Free-Holder* he is also drawing his one-man periodical to a close. Privileged by a position of hindsight, he retrospectively describes what it is that the paper’s own approach and ambition has been, making this assertion with a clarity and confidence which has been conspicuously absent in previous issues:

It is obvious that the design of the whole work, has been to free the people’s minds from those prejudices conveyed into them by the enemies to the present establishment against the King and Royal family, by opening and explaining their real characters; to set forth his majesty’s proceedings, which have been very grossly misrepresented, in a fair and impartial light; to show the reasonableness and necessity of our opposing the Pretender to his Dominions, if we have any regard to our Religion and Liberties: And, in a word, to incline the Minds of the people to the desire and enjoyment of their own happiness. There is no question, humanly speaking, but these great ends will be brought about insensibly, as Men will grow weary of a fruitless opposition; and be convinced by experience, of a necessity to acquiesce under a government which daily gathers strength, and is able to disappoint the utmost efforts of its enemies. In the meanwhile, I would recommend to our malcontents, the advice given by a great Moralist to his friend upon another occasion; that he would show it was in the power of wisdom to compose his passions and let that be the work of reason which would certainly be the effect of time.[[54]](#footnote-54)

*The Free-Holder* claims to have delivered something more authentic than its competition ever has: a ‘real’ explanation of the King and his current administration. The paper’s declarations that it has sought to present an image which is cast in ‘a fair and impartial light’ recall similar poses of ‘gentlemanly neutrality’ found in Addison’s earlier work on *The Spectator* (1711-1712)*.* They do not, however, acknowledge that any reality Addison seeks to represent in this partisan publication will inevitably be as self-consciously constructed as the ‘grossly misrepresented’ perceptions that he claims here to be writing against.[[55]](#footnote-55) The summation that follows might be couched within a lexicon of reason, sense and an overriding concern for the ‘happiness’ of its readership but it remains an unrelenting endorsement of the current King-in-Government. It refuses to tolerate any opposition. *The Free-Holder* is confident that through the proper application of reason, and an avoidance of intense ‘passions’, all dissenting positions will realise that their opposition is not only ‘fruitless’ and ‘insensible’ but also a self-inflicted cause of their own unhappiness.

It is, of course, far from unusual to find an early eighteenth-century periodical supporting a political party. Jeremy Black paraphrases well the long held conceptions of the symbiotic relationship between politics and the press during the period, and the extent to which they proliferated and perpetuated one another:

The political impact of the culture of print was different, for politics was a sphere of activity that suited the technology of print with its capability for producing new stories rapidly. It also thus offered much, in particular, to newspapers. The press could make politics, if not immediate at least diurnal by publishing fresh accounts, offering new angles on current controversies and creating new issues. It thus offered a new medium for political discussion.[[56]](#footnote-56)

More unusual is Addison’s aversion to admitting his partisan intention when contributing his opinion to this ‘political discussion.’ Even in the closing lines of his final issue he avoids naming his party of choice, framing his political recommendation as being anything but partisan (defending the King and warning against the Pretender in the name of ‘religion and liberty’). Throughout *The Free-Holder* Addison strikes a pose of partisan disinterestedness whilst enacting deeply partisan manoeuvres: namely, the defence and propagation of the Whig ministry.

Central to these manoeuvres, masked beneath *The Free-Holder*’stitular interest in property and its own stated interest in examining (and recommending) models of citizen behaviour, there is a carefully orchestrated partisan manoeuvre, articulated using a polite discourse insistent on the importance of harmony and friendliness. This polite discourse, which is more thoroughly introduced and discussed in later chapters, is built upon the eighteenth-century understanding of politeness, characterised well by Abel Bayer in 1702 as being ‘a dexterous management of words and actions whereby we make other people have better opinions of us and themselves.’[[57]](#footnote-57) Addison describes the print culture of *The Free-Holder*’s moment of publication as one perennially harassed by shrill polemics. *The Free-Holder* characterises itself as being different to this, recommending instead a strategy of reconciliation to resolve opposing dichotomies of political opinion. His opening number reveals this to be key to his own ambition, stating in the first issue that he hopes that the paper will find success in ‘reconciling [rebels] to the cause of the King, their country and their religion.’[[58]](#footnote-58) By repeatedly prescribing reconciliation as a solution to a range of problems and conflicts *The Free-Holder* endeavours to teach its readers that such an approach should characterise not only the personal behaviour of the propertied gentleman, but his political behaviour too. This model of citizen conduct is not only prescribed by the paper, but embedded in its own production, articulation and approach.

In the forty-second number Addison claims that: ‘[a] mere politician is but a dull companion, and, if he is always wise, is in great danger of being tiresome or ridiculous.’[[59]](#footnote-59) Up until this point *The Free-Holder* has always previously fashioned itself as being a serious commentator, which deals with serious topics affecting all men of property. As Leheny surmises: ‘[t]he issues [discussed in *The Free-Holder*] generally related to the most important institutions in early eighteenth-century government – the monarchy, the church and parliament.’[[60]](#footnote-60) Even ignoring Addison’s own position as a statesman, the paper’s official funding from the Whig ministry means that the editorial voice could easily be classed as being something of a ‘politician.’ Yet here we are reminded of the truism that a politician can be a ‘dull companion’; particularly if he is all-knowing for this is ‘tiresome and ridiculous.’ Despite this moment of acute sprezzatura in which Mr. Freeholder attempts to suggest through contrast that he is not a politician who is always wise (and by extension, not always dull), the paper is usually keen to stress that it is a reliable, credible and knowledgeable source of opinion. Addison’s choice here to focus on the character and approach of the politician rather than the politics he represents is also indicative of the paper as a whole; with *The Free-Holder* concerning itself more with a how a message is articulated and orchestrated than clarifying what that message is.

In this paper Addison is writing about writing, and the action he either reports or recommends is situated firmly on a discursive level. As seen at the outset of this chapter, it is his approach rather than his effect that Mr. Free-Holder dwells upon in the paper’s closing numbers:

A writer who makes fame the chief end of his endeavours, and would be more desirous of pleasing than of improving his Readers, might find an inexhaustible fund of mirth in politics. Scandal and satyr are never-failing gratifications to the public. Detraction and obloquy are received with as much eagerness as wit and humour. Should a writer single out particular persons, or point his raillery at any order of men, who by their profession ought to be exempt from it; should he slander the innocent, or satirize the miserable; or should he, even on the proper subjects of derision, give the full play to his mirth, without regard to decency and good manners; he might be sure of pleasing a great part of readers, but must be a very ill man, if by such a proceeding he could please himself.[[61]](#footnote-61)

Typically, Addison here attempts to characterise his periodical by describing everything that he hopes it is not. Its author is not (we are told) writing for ‘fame’ but with the didactic ambition of ‘improving his readers.’ To be wary of writers seeking recognition is a familiar suspicion that had haunted the written word long before the advent of the printing press.[[62]](#footnote-62) The accusation here is that the hypothetical writer who privileges private gain above the public weal might prove entertaining (mirth being, as Addison proves elsewhere, the most assured way to attain and sustain success) but will lack the discipline of one who writes to ‘improve’ rather than ‘please.’ This writer will pander to his audience’s wishes. His humour will get the better of his decency and he will ultimately become a very ill man who in attempting to please everyone else has failed to please himself. By sacrificing the periodical’s didactic potential for commercial gain this writer has produced a paper lacking in ‘good manners.’ It is not polite. In contrast to this Addison has suggested that his paper *is* polite. Its humour will only be used to furnish any lessons he hopes to recommend and, since it has loftier ambitions than its own fiscal success, it can be trusted not to become corrupt or vindictive (like the papers it writes against). Addison has also provided an alibi for any readers who are dissatisfied upon reaching the final numbers of his paper. If they have not enjoyed *The Free-Holder* it is because Addison has not written it in order to satisfy their tastes. To do so would have been to reveal himself as being inclined to the pursuit of his own personal gain. In addition to all of this though, as this final observation hints, Addison is also recommending a model of citizenship in which individuals work to ‘improve’ one another rather than improving only their private interest; and he reaches this generalized level of reflection by discussing writing. Writing about writing frequently provides Addison with a safe topic from which he can address much more pertinent, pressing and controversial subjects and themes.

Viewed in its entirety, *The Free-Holder* is seen to explore a series of such re-occurring themes, namely: the evil of rebellion, the perils of absolute monarchy, the importance of a national community (grounded in the ownership of property), the political utility of women, and the danger of misrepresentation and propaganda. However, it claims to be first and foremost a defence of the newly arrived Hanoverian King George and of his government, intending to make its readership of ‘fellow free-holders […] sensible to [the] Blessings secured to us by his Majesty’s Title, his Administration, and his personal character.’[[63]](#footnote-63) It hopes to prove to its free-holder readers that they are an important part of the community and that they have a public duty to proactively endorse their party of choice. Inactivity and disinterestedness are states of being likened to the ‘dead limbs’ of a tree:

Our obligation to be active […] appears from the very nature of civil Government; which is an institution, whereby we are all confederated together for our mutual defence and security. Men who profess a state of neutrality in times of publick danger, desert the common interest of their fellow-subjects; and act with independence to that constitution into which they are incorporated. The safety of the whole requires our joint endeavours. When this is at stake, the indifferent are not properly a part of the community; or rather are like dead limbs, which are an encumbrance to the body, instead of being of use to it.[[64]](#footnote-64)

As will be seen in the third chapter of this thesis, *The Free-Holder* spills a lot of ink attempting to present itself as being unique. It claims not to engage in the exchange of barbed comments or attacks on oppositional papers, but to instead provide an aspirational example to readers. This is explicit in both the paper’s first and last numbers:

[S]ince many writers have endeavored to varnish over a bad cause, I shall do all in my power to recommend a good One. […] I shall labor to improve those Victories to the Good of my Fellow-Subjects; by carrying on our successes over the minds of men, and by reconciling them to the cause of their King, their Country, and their Religion.[[65]](#footnote-65)

I have taken particular care that [these papers] should be conformable to our constitution and free from the mixture of violence and passion, which so often creeps into the works of Political Writers. A good cause doth not want any Bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot submit without it. It is indeed observable that an Author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull; and seems rather to be in a passion because he cannot find out what to say for his own Opinion.[[66]](#footnote-66)

Mr. Free-Holder wants his readers to understand from the very first number that he is interested in celebrating the success of George and the Whigs, rather than criticising the actions of the opposition, claiming that ‘since many writers have endeavoured to varnish over a bad cause, I shall do all in my power to recommend a good one.’ In this Addison is attempting to distance his paper from the majority of periodicals in print at the time. As will be seen, Mr. Free-Holder imagines a vision of a print culture dominated by polemic and uncivil turmoil, lamenting the calumny which has subsequently come to characterise critical perceptions of the period. Mr. Free-Holder wants to be seen to be doing something different. He believes that not only is it easier for periodical writers to be negative, aggressive and critical; it also smacks of desperation: ‘[w]hen they cannot refute an Adversary, the shortest way is to libel him; and to endeavour at making his Person odious, when they cannot represent his Notions as absurd.’[[67]](#footnote-67)

Addison reasserts this point at the end of *The Free-Holder’s* run, adding further reasons for why a ‘negative’ approach is less fruitful than that which he claims to have adopted. Again he makes the point that ‘[a] good cause doth not want any Bitterness to support it’, emphasizing that there is no need to be uncivil, and to be bitter is the sign of a ‘bad cause.’ [[68]](#footnote-68) There is now, however, seen to be another crime implicit in simply using your periodical to vent spleen: ‘[i]t is indeed observable that an Author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull.’ It is dull, and ‘dull’ is the same accusation that Mr. Free-Holder was earlier seen to level against the hypothetical politician: ‘[a] mere politician is but a dull companion.’ Recalling the theme of Pope’s earlier *Dunciad,* being dull is in the eyes of Mr. Free-Holder a significant crime; particularly within this world of periodical print. *The Free-Holder* has a serious ambition; it is about serious topics, but it does not want to be dull. In its closing issues it begins to reflect on its own past approach and remains cheerfully unapologetic for its more light-hearted numbers:

As for those Papers of a gayer Turn, which may be met with in this Collection, my Reader will himself, consider, how requisite they are to gain and keep up an Audience to Matters of this Nature; and will perhaps be the more indulgent to them, if he observes, that they are none of them without a moral, nor contain anything but what is consistent with decency and good manners.[[69]](#footnote-69)

Here in the final essay, Mr. Free-Holder thanks readers for tolerating those ‘papers of a gayer turn’, asking them to remember ‘how requisite they are to gain and keep up an audience to matters of this nature.’ It hopes to keep its serious readers on side whilst satisfying those of a more light-hearted disposition, but it wants *everyone* to understand that these ‘gayer papers’ are (perhaps paradoxically) very important. How the serious and the playful can be reconciled is a question which this thesis will prove to be crucial to understanding what it is that Addison is doing in *The Free-Holder.* Whilst play and a lightness of touch guard against dullness and help to convey a message, I will argue that these facets of Addison’s strategy also help to do something politically shrewd. Play is one of the many components, features and approaches that Addison employs as a persuasive device, enacting acts which are virtually undetectable under the guise of politeness, but when closely interrogated prove startlingly violent.

*The Free-Holder* represents a significant solo project for Addison after his work with Richard Steele on *The Tatler* and *The Spectator.*[[70]](#footnote-70)Their final collaboration saw Addison contribute two essays to Steele’s journal *The Lover* in 1714. Steele went on to produce several more periodicals, which included *The Englishman* (1714-15) and *The Plebian* (1719), whilst Addison developed projects such as *The Free-Holder* and *The Old Whig* (1719)*.*[[71]](#footnote-71) The separation of Addison and Steele is also significant, as their contributions to periodical prose after the ‘Spectator Project’ demonstrate an increasingly different approach; illustrating the growing complexity of periodical writing and partisan attitudes during the early years of King George’s reign and highlighting the extent to which the context of these later periodicals contrast with that of those written during the reign of Queen Anne.[[72]](#footnote-72)

During their earlier collaborations Addison and Steele were writing in opposition; a condition which enabled a degree of unity. However, the Hanoverian succession saw a drastic change in Whig fortunes, suddenly thrusting them overwhelmingly into power whilst simultaneously foregrounding the fact that Whiggism was perhaps ‘the most flexible and pervasive political label of the eighteenth century.’[[73]](#footnote-73) Following the arrival of George I Addison became increasingly attached to the post-junto Whig ministries of James Stanhope and Robert Spencer, whilst Steele moved towards the Whig opposition of Robert Walpole.[[74]](#footnote-74) This shift in their politics (and the effect that this had upon their periodical writing) did not go unobserved by contemporaries. Whilst discussing the advantages of political patronage in his own journal, Henry St John (Viscount Bolinbroke) employs the characters of Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* in order to compare Addison’s post-Spectator work unfavourably to that of Steele:

[T]he celebrated *Tatlers* and *Spectators* had no reward except from Booksellers and Fame: But when those others made the Discovery I have made and applied their Talents better, in writing the *Englishman* and *The Free-Holder*, one was created a *Knight,* and the other became S[ansfoy] or S[andsjoy].[[75]](#footnote-75)

Bolingbroke here applauds Steele’s *Englishman* for being transient in openly acknowledging its partisan ambition, whilst Addison’s more subtle *Free-Holder* is equated with the manipulative and subversive characters that attempt to mislead and ultimately destroy Spenser’s Red Cross Knight.[[76]](#footnote-76)

Addison’s work during the early years of George I’s reign has seen a degree of neglect when compared to the attention paid to his contributions to ‘the Spectator Project.’ Powell goes as far as to cite *The Spectator* as an instance in which the authors are ‘best known for their periodical work [...] at the detriment of our understanding of their career as a whole’, rightly identifying that ‘while *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* are known to almost every student of the eighteenth century, other substantial works by their authors, including several *other* periodicals [...] are comparatively neglected.’[[77]](#footnote-77) This critical oversight has begotten the conception, recently articulated by Brian Cowan, that Addison and Steele’s ‘more blatantly partisan writings of George I’s reign compare unfavourably to the Spectatorial periodicals.’[[78]](#footnote-78) Tellingly, when stating this Cowan is keen to emphasise that his own argument in this instance ‘does not extend its purview to the equally contentious years of George I’s reign’, reflecting as he does so a general trend in periodical research that can be traced back to some of the field’s most foundational studies. Walter Graham can be seen to identify this disparity as early as the 1930s, warning in his landmark text *English Literary Periodicals* that ‘literature has, since the death of Queen Anne, claimed the periodical as its handmaiden.’[[79]](#footnote-79)

**Periodical studies and *The Free-Holder***

The reading of *The Free-Holder* offered in this thesis will complicate assumptions that have been inherent in scholarly understandings of the periodical since the pioneering work of R. P. Bond. Here, we find that the periodical form is defined as the more ‘leisurely’ sibling of the newspaper:

The periodical is usually a series of numbered and dated issues produced under a continuing title and a definite frequency for an indefinite period of time. It differs from a collection of related pamphlets or allied books in its very periodicity, and from its older, often mercurial brother-in-print the newspaper in that the latter is more concerned with momentary matters and proceeds in a less leisurely course. The periodical is a published enterprise with editorial problems of contents and methods and deadlines, with business problems of production and circulation and solvency. Every issue of a periodical is a unit in serialization subject to the limitations and challenges of date, length, format, audience, purpose, material, techniques, editorship, authorship, and temper of time; each number is part of a whole.[[80]](#footnote-80)

This definition does prove useful in foregrounding many of the practical considerations which undoubtedly had formal and stylistic implications for the periodical (such as the ‘problems of contents and methods and deadlines’ and ‘business problems of production and circulation and solvency’) and in stressing that due to serialization each number is at once separate and ‘part of a whole.’ Each of these facets of the periodical are essential to my reading of *The Free-Holder*.However, this thesis will argue that *The Free-Holder*’s course, far from being ‘leisurely’, was carefully plotted, deliberately orchestrated, and directly related to the ‘momentary matters’that Bond here cordons off as the province of the newspaper. The ghost of Bond’s pioneering work can be traced in subsequent work, such as Charles A. Knight’s studies into *The Spectator*’s ‘generalizing discourse.’[[81]](#footnote-81) Whilst it is entirely appropriate to identify that one of the key innovations of both *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* was their ability to move effectively between the general and the specific, the latent characterisation of the periodical as being in some way more sedentary or less urgent than the newspaper implicit in both the writing of Knight and Bond is not accurate and needs to be both addressed and refined. *The Free-Holder* provides a good case-study for this task. It appears during the fledgling decades of the periodical’s rise in popularity, as a culmination of well-documented factors contributed to a burgeoning culture of print:

Periodical writing was a formal, professional, and highly popular genre for writers to work in and readers to consume [...] Parliament’s non-renewal of the lapsed Licensing Act in 1695; the rise of the coffee-house, the penny-post, and the newspaper; the emergence of writing as a viable paid (albeit not hugely paid) profession; and the new, faster give-and-take relationship between readers and writers that all these changes enabled, allowing [the] birth of literary criticism, theatre criticism, and book reviewing.[[82]](#footnote-82)

Writing of the sort documented here by Powell is often referred to as ‘periodical *literature*’; a genre of literature which James Basker argues ‘changed the face of criticism between 1660 and 1800.’[[83]](#footnote-83) Basker writes:

The genres and publishing vehicles that came to dominate critical discourse by 1800, particularly review criticism and the review journal, would have been all but unrecognisable to Dryden and his contemporaries. The impact of journalism on critical practice, and on underlying principles, was broad and complex. It introduced new, more accessible forms of critical discussion; it multiplied and diversified the opportunities for critical expression; it fostered new critical values, drew attention to new literary genres, systemised the treatment of established ones, and expanded the audience for criticism.[[84]](#footnote-84)

Whilst Basker’s survey of the rise and impact of periodical literature is generally very useful for framing an analysis of *The Free-Holder*, its unquestioning acceptance of the periodical as a literary genre is especially significant given that a sensitivity to the paper’s ‘literary qualities’ will be central to this project.[[85]](#footnote-85) By reading Addison’s periodical as a literary entity (rather than a cultural object or purely historical source) this study is capitalising on an increasing field of scholarship intent on stressing the extent to which the story of the periodical is entwined with the rise of the novel. In recent decades there has been a sustained effort to complicate and advance Ian P. Watt’s *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding*, a pioneering study that has for a long time provided the structure for subsequent narratives of the novel’s emergence during the eighteenth century.[[86]](#footnote-86) Notably, one such narrative presents itself in Michael McKeon’s influential revision, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1714*, which situates the genre’s emergence (now in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) amidst a range of diverse printed materials to argue that the novel was born of both an increasing instability of literary categories and a radically changing attitude towards truth in narrative. Lennard J. Davis similarly reads the novel alongside supposedly non-fictional materials, such as political and scientific tracts, newspapers and periodicals. In both *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* and *Resisting Novels: Ideology and Fiction* Davis leans on the genre of periodical literature to question both the faculty and inclination of eighteenth-century readers to discern between truth and fiction.[[87]](#footnote-87) The novel’s inheritance from the periodical is rendered overt in both Robert D. Mayo’s *The English Novel and the Magazines 1740-1815* and Clifford Siskin’s *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain 1700-1830,* each of which are dedicated to interrogating the interconnections and interdependence of the century’s different genres of literature.[[88]](#footnote-88) This thesis will demonstrate that there are frequently instances in which *The Free-Holder* utilises literary devices similar to those found in early examples of the novel and extended prose fiction. Often Addison employs specific techniques and rhetorical devices to establish credibility and authenticity that are akin to those found in the paratextual apparatus that prefaced such early examples of the novel as *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Moll Flanders* (1722). The question of the relationship between periodical writing and the novel is not, however, one that the scope of this study will allow to be addressed directly or at great length, but it will utilise the methodology of approaching the periodical as a work of literature that this field has produced*.*

The paper’s literary character is seen most explicitly in the sustained construction and development of the periodical’s editorial persona. When Addison announces in the opening number of *The Free-Holder* that although he may be ‘a voter, a knight of the shire; a wit, or a fox-hunter; a scholar, or a Soldier; an alderman, or a courtier; a patriot, stock-jobber’ he has chosen to be known by the ‘distinguished denomination’ of Freeholder, he is not speaking as Joseph Addison.[[89]](#footnote-89) Tellingly, neither is it as ‘Addison’ that the paper signs off in its final number:

I shall only add, that if any writer shall do this paper so much honour, as to inscribe the title of it to others, which may be published upon the laying down of this work; the whole praise, or dispraise of such a performance, will belong to some other author; this 55th being the last paper that will come from the Hand of the *Free-Holder.*[[90]](#footnote-90)

Addison speaks using the persona of his periodical: a voice which he fashions continuously throughout the paper’s fifty-five issue run. The employment of such a persona can be seen overtly in such well-remembered periodicals as *The Tatler* (articulated by the fictional Isaac Bickerstaff), *The Spectator* (with Mr. Spectator) and in later works such as *The Craftsman* (edited by the imaginary Caleb Danvers). In a recent study Manushag N. Powell has applied the term ‘eidolon’ to describe this phenomenon of the periodical persona, making an easy (but not insignificant) parallel to our own historical moment as she does so:

The newness and popularity of London’s eighteenth-century periodical culture generated questions not unlike ones we face today, because the periodical essay enabled anonymous nobodies to become popular and sometimes even proper authors. Further, they allowed men and women to propagate brilliant prose and spiteful vulgarities under the fictional personas (here called *eidolons*) that they invented specifically for the new periodical medium, and forced a general populace to reconsider the relationship between public and private – a relationship that was not very clear in the first place.[[91]](#footnote-91)

Powell usefully glosses this context but the term ‘eidolon’ is not one that I shall be adopting, and I would stress instead that all written representations are constructed (especially that of the author).[[92]](#footnote-92) What is different about these ‘eidolons’ is that the author is deliberately constructing a *separate* authorial identity without the obvious novelistic frame that highlights the character’s fictionality. Powell makes this point herself in an earlier essay, summarising the conclusions drawn in Emily Anderson’s *Eighteenth-Century Authorship and the Play of Fiction* with the more nuanced observation that:

Periodicals develop - arguably originate - the idea of the author as literary figure, and yet their ability to collapse multiple writers into unified, fictional, yet real personalities, disturbs the very notion of authorship itself.[[93]](#footnote-93)

Although distinct, there exists primary evidence suggesting that readers did not always successfully distinguish between author and fictional editor. This is a point that a frustrated Richard Steele makes in the final issue of *The Tatler*:

This work has indeed for some time been disagreeable to me, and the purpose of it been wholly lost by being so long understood as the author […] This and a thousand other nameless things, have made it an irksome task to me to personate Mr. Bickerstaff any longer.[[94]](#footnote-94)

Powell takes the case of Isaac Bickerstaff as a case-study with which to forcefully stress the disjunction between author and ‘eidolon’, reminding readers that ‘[w]e should know better than to forget that Richard Steele and Isaac Bickerstaff are not one and the same.’[[95]](#footnote-95) In contrast to the other fictional personae mentioned here, the voice of *The Free-Holder* is never named, but is referred to only by his social rank as a ‘free-holder.’ He is fashioned as a personification of this figure: a term first employed in medieval property law to ‘denote a person who owns an estate worth forty shillings or more.’[[96]](#footnote-96) James Leheny argues convincingly that the term ‘freeholder’ was also synonymous with ‘voter’, which immediately links property and politics in the very title of Addison’s paper:

The property qualification for the country voter had been fixed at property which yielded forty shillings per annum in 1429, and inflation, particularly during the sixteenth century, had enlarged these electorates considerably.[[97]](#footnote-97)

Yet, as this study will demonstrate, the persona of the paper is a literary character with opinions and discernible characteristics that are most obvious when he recites accounts of events that have happened to him.[[98]](#footnote-98) In this, the study owes a debt to the recent re-evaluative works of David Brewer and George Justice, who each stress the literary significance of fictional editorial personae.[[99]](#footnote-99) In these studies characters such as Mr. Spectator are a ‘cultural industry’ in their own right, becoming ‘detachable public properties’ that go on to outlive the author’s original design.[[100]](#footnote-100)

As an in-depth study on a single author periodical from the early eighteenth century this thesis is contributing to a ‘rising’ field of scholarship, recently surveyed thoroughly by Powell, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes.[[101]](#footnote-101) This body of work sees the periodical employed tangentially, often as evidence for related fields of research rather than as a subject in its own right. For instance, Erin Mackie’s landmark studies (*Market a’La Mode: Fashion, Community, and Gender in The Tatler and The Spectator* and *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections from The Tatler and The Spectator*)each provide exemplary examples of how the periodical can be used to attempt a reconstruction of eighteenth-century culture.[[102]](#footnote-102) When the periodical is studied as a cultural artefact it can also be employed in all manner of imaginative investigations into lived experience during the eighteenth century (a point proved by Stuart Sherman’s discussion of time and commerce in *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785*).[[103]](#footnote-103) Though informed by such approaches, this study does not analyse *The Free-Holder* as a cultural artefact to be used in the writing of a social history. It is interested in the literary nature and construction of partisan periodical writing. It is, however, indebted to previous conceptualisations of eighteenth-century print culture in imagining *The Free-Holder*’sreaders, and its reception. Mackie’s works are not only highly indicative of their field in the methodology that she makes use of, but also in their reliance on Addison and Steele’s ‘Spectatorial essays.’ Following Habermas and Eagleton’s use of these essays as evidence for their respective visions of the public sphere, such discussions have become the context in which Addison is most frequently cited. This is seen time and again in surveys of the rise of the coffee house public sphere, with notable examples of the last two decades including T.C.W Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789*,James van Horm Melton’s *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*,and Steve Pincus’s ‘Coffee Politicians Does Create.’[[104]](#footnote-104) Even in more sceptical reappraisals of Habermas’ foundational study of the public sphere, such as Cowan’s ‘The Rise of the Coffee House Reconsidered’, there remains a heavy reliance on Addison’s ‘Spectatorial essays’ as primary evidence.

As hinted previously, the study of Addison’s earlier collaborations with Steele constitute a substantial field of research all on their own. Cowan has suggested that this body of work can be as easily divided as the broader study of newspapers, which he groups as being either ‘generalised’ or ‘more Whiggish.’[[105]](#footnote-105) This study will later demonstrate in further detail that commentary on the ‘Spectatorial essays’ tend to either take Mr. Spectator’s proclaimed political neutrality as granted, or attempt to read this as itself being a subversive act of partisan misdirection. As will be seen, Donald F. Bond’s notes to the 1965 Clarendon edition of *The Spectator* prove a startling example of the former, referring to the paper’s ‘total avoidance of politics.’[[106]](#footnote-106) This largely characterises mid-twentieth-century perceptions of the paper (as seen in the work of Bonomy Dobrée) and it remains present in the later study of Michael Ketcham.[[107]](#footnote-107) In parallel to this trend an opposing body of scholarship has arisen asserting Mr. Spectator’s partisan credentials, arguably originating in Calhoun Winton’s influential essay ‘Steele, the Junto and the Tatler No. 4’ and in Bertrand A. Goldgar’s *The Curse of Party: Swift’s Relations with Addison and Swift*, the second of which has been heralded as remaining the ‘best study of Spectatorial projects.’[[108]](#footnote-108) By performing a detailed study of Addison’s later and lesser known paper, *The Free-Holder*, this thesis hopes to further the cause of the latter strand of Addisonian research, foregrounding his partisan intent and in doing so building upon and bolstering the work already done by figures such as J.A.W. Gunn, Nicholas Phillipson, Lawrence Klein, J. A. Downie, and most recently, Brian Cowan.[[109]](#footnote-109)

*The Free-Holder* offers something new and vital to this debate, as it has been characterised as being far more overtly partisan than it ever actually is; the strategy that Addison employs is perhaps far more akin to that identified in Goldgar’s reading of *The Spectator* than has been previously identified. For instance, of the eleven-page entry written for Joseph Addison by Leslie Stephen in the first volume of the 1885 edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, these are the lines afforded for *The Free-Holder*:

The death of Queen Anne and the triumph of the Whigs restored Addison to politics. He was appointed secretary to the lords justices, and, on Sunderland becoming lord-lieutenant, to his old secretaryship. On Sunderland’s retirement from the office after ten months’ tenure, Addison was appointed one of the lords commissioners of trade. During the same period he had published the ‘Freeholder’ (fifty-five papers, from 23 Dec. 1715, to 9 June 1716), a political ‘Spectator’ in defence of orthodox Whig principles imperilled by the rebellion in Scotland, and now remarkable chiefly for two numbers devoted to the tory fox-hunter.[[110]](#footnote-110)

Although slight these lines are revealing, explicitly attempting to address the question of how *The Free-Holder* is remembered: as a ‘political “Spectator”, and for the ‘two numbers devoted to the tory fox-hunter.’ Despite its brevity Stephen’s commentary proves complicit in perpetuating reductive readings of both *The Spectator* and *The Free-Holder*,subscribing to a political/apolitical binary that is more complex than it appears here. As Downie has argued, *The Spectator* is able to enact deeply persuasive and manipulative political manoeuvres precisely because it gives the impression that it is not interested in politics.[[111]](#footnote-111) Simultaneously, *The Free-Holder* is never as overtly political as it is made to sound here, framing its primary interest (as discussed earlier) as one of property. Stephen’s entry is largely in keeping with the biography offered by the Tory Samuel Johnson, who, writing over a century earlier had also indicated in an equally brief overview of *The Free-Holder* that the paper was remembered chiefly for its Whig politics and its Tory fox-hunter:

[Addison] was better qualified for *The Freeholder,* a paper which he published twice a week, from Dec. 23, 1715, to the middle of the next year. This was undertaken in defence of the established government, sometimes with argument, sometimes with mirth. In argument he had many equals; but his humour was singular and matchless. Bigotry itself must be delighted with the Tory fox-hunter.[[112]](#footnote-112)

On the whole *The Free-Holder* is described unfavourably by Johnson, who, whilst keen to stress the literary greatness of Addison’s works, is not prepared to fully endorse the explicitly Whiggish *Free-Holder*:

There are [….] some strokes less elegant, and less decent. That which might be expected from Milton’s savageness, or Oldmixon’s meanness, was not suitable for the delicacy of Addison.[[113]](#footnote-113)

Indeed, such Tory bias against Whig literature has undoubtedly affected *The Free-Holder*’s position in posterity. In approaching Addison’s Hanoverian periodical writing with a cautious awareness of the long last effects of the Tory critique of Whig literary culture this project is indebted to the work of Abigail Williams, who, in charting the much neglected Whig poetry of the eighteenth century identified, revised and articulated the workings and rationale of ‘Tory literary criticism’:

Pope’s version of literary history has been enormously influential in determining later perspectives on eighteenth-century poetry, and partly as a result of this [Charles] Montagu’s poetry has vanished into apparently deserved obscurity. In this respect, Montagu and Pope can stand as a metonymic example of the interconnected fortunes of Whig poetry and Tory literary criticism. The critical fates of the majority of the poets that form the subject of this book were shaped by the attacks of their political adversaries.[[114]](#footnote-114)

In this instance Williams identifies the effect that the Tory critique has had upon Whig poetry, arguing that Pope’s self-conscious (and successful) attempts to manipulate canonical forces are partly to blame for the Montagu’s ‘apparently deserved obscurity.’ Williams uses this case as a metonym for the relationship between Whig poetry and Tory literary criticism, but it is just as analogous to Whig literature more generally. Where Pope is actively seeking to undermine the legacy of his political opponents, in the case of Addison’s Whig *Free-Holder* it is figures such as Samuel Johnson either wilfully casting the paper as the failed sequel to the ‘Spectator project’ or ignoring it entirely. Like Montagu’s poetry, Addison’s Hanoverian periodical is almost entirely lost to us today, with one critical edition of *The Free-Holder* produced during the twentieth century.[[115]](#footnote-115) Tellingly, in Addison’s current entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* the existence of *The Free-Holder* hardly registers. For Pat Rogers the paper is little more than an impulsive attempt to capitalise on the failure of the Jacobite risings, easily dismissed with the claim that ‘naturally such matters dominated the contents of *The Freeholder*.’[[116]](#footnote-116) Williams’s *Poetry and the Creation of Whig Literary Culture 1681-1714* forms part of an increasing tendency amongst scholars of the early eighteenth century to recover and revise a previously silenced Whig literary culture that was not only very active but also celebrated in its own time. The most recent example of this has been the *Digital Miscellanies Project*, which endeavours to add balance to the process of canonisation by making digitally available vast amounts of material published throughout the eighteenth century in miscellanies. Much of this material is written by authors who are not remembered today:

Study of poetry in the eighteenth century, and especially in relation to the reception of poets, and poetic movements, has always been based on the use of a few standard sources of measurement of popularity, neglect and quantities of publication. But such studies substantially ignore a significant body of poetic collections. [...] Poetic miscellanies represent a particularly important and popular mediation of poetry in the eighteenth century, since they represent one of the most visible points of contact between the shaping of the literary canon, and the commercial demands of print culture.[[117]](#footnote-117)

This thesis shares the ethos of this revisionist impulse and hopes to contribute to the recovery of a lost literary culture. To suggest that a text has been obscured by canonical forces is not to necessarily suggest that it is an accomplished piece of work, but it does raise questions about the construction of literary value and in this instance it forces us to reflect upon our engagement with ‘political texts’ and their potential status as literature:

Of course, an assertion that of the political concerns underwriting the attack on ‘bad’ poetry is not in itself evidence of the literary merit of Whig verse. But it does open up the authority of Tory critical dismissals to questioning. Our post-Romantic tendency to regard the aesthetic and the political as distinct, separate, even oppositional categories serves poorly for comprehending a historical period in which aesthetics were understood to be inherently political.[[118]](#footnote-118)

As Leslie Stephen’s brief summary of *The Free-Holder* exemplifies, Addison’s paper is embroiled in the complex social and political surroundings of its immediate publication to such an extent that its own literary merit is often overlooked in the effort to uncover its context. By foregrounding the text’s literary qualities this thesis will highlight previously unremarked facets of *The Free-Holder*’s rhetorical strategy, arguing that its choice of topics and its style of address suggest that it imagines its readers as not only being the Whig party faithful, but the opposition also.

Addison pragmatically employs a polite approach with the hopes that, by disguising acts of re-appropriation as reconciliation, he will be able to rebrand the fundamental principles of the Tory country gentleman and prove to him, through an imitation of reasoned conversation and learning, that he was in fact a Whig all along. On the topic of Addison’s *Free-Holder* the biography presented by Edward and Lilian Bloom spends more time than most, concluding generously, that:

[Addison] had to confront head-on the issues of life in the organized community, to discuss the relationship of ethics to politics, and to confirm the immorality of rebellion and the morality of liberal government. He discussed all these matters in the pages of the *Freeholder* (sic.), sometimes objectively, sometimes Whiggishly, but almost always with an absence of “that mixture of violence and passion, which so often creeps into the works of political writers.”[[119]](#footnote-119)

The Blooms here cite *The Free-Holder*’s own fifty-fifth number when describing the paper’s approach, in which Addison distanced his periodical from those more ‘violent’ political papers in circulation at the time. This ‘violence’ metaphorically represents the splenetic exchanges between partisan periodicals which could cause damage to the reputations of people and parties, rather than the bodily harm that ‘violence’ usually denotes.[[120]](#footnote-120) Taking Addison at his word, the Blooms exempt Addison from the charge of committing such ‘violence’ in his own ‘political’ writing, adhering once again to the vision of Addison perpetuated in Augustan myth and captured for posterity in Alexander Pope’s ‘Epistle to Mr. Addison’:

Statesman, yet friend to Truth! Of soul sincere,

In action faithful, and in honour clear;

Who broke no promises, serv’d no private end,

Who gain’d no title, and who lost no friend;

And prais’d, unenvy’d, by the Muse he lov’d.[[121]](#footnote-121)

Here, Addison’s political rival, Alexander Pope, immortalised his subject as the secular saint that would still be walking the pages of Thomas Macaulay’s essay for the *Edinburgh Review* over a century later. Though flattering, this is an Addison robbed of his partisan credentials. This is an Addison incapable of the violence that *The Free-Holder* and the Blooms attribute to Pope, Swift and their fellow Tory propagandists. However, this thesis will argue that a closer inspection of *The Free-Holder*’s design, sensitive to its articulation, imagined addressee and over-all strategy, reveals that the periodical is equally culpable of committing discursive acts of partisan violence. The Addison behind *The Free-Holder* was a Whig evangelist, out to convert the opposition without overtly telegraphing his attention. Unlike the violence associated with Pope and Swift, this violence was neither committed upon the physical person or reputation of the target. Instead, the reader was the target, and the violence was to be committed upon their mind. Almost paradoxically, Addison’s was a polite violence, which occurred without harm or disturbance, painlessly attacking the very principle and personality of the subject. Addison was out to recalibrate the core beliefs of an interested Tory readership, revealing to them after fifty-five numbers that they were more attuned to the ideas and ambition of the opposing Whig party than they were to the party of their own choosing. Then, once this conversion has taken place, Addison attempted to prove to his readers the necessity for changing sides, providing also a logical justification intended to free the former Tory from any shame or guilt. Instead, Addison hoped that the reader would discover it to be their patriotic duty to always support the party in power at the time.

**The structure of this thesis**

Before an analysis of *The Free-Holder* can begin, it is first necessary to explore the contexts in which it was first published. Though this thesis will see *The Free-Holder* deliver fifty-five issues in accordance with a ‘certain design’, the paper always remained topical, responding to (and capitalising upon) the events, debates and discourses that circled its original appearance in print. The first chapter of this thesis will establish these contexts. It will observe the way that *The Free-Holder* situated itself amidst arguments regarding property, liberty and dependence. It will introduce *The Free-Holder*’s fruitful resistance to Jacobitism, and question the extent to which the Jacobite risings that precipitated its first number are responsible for its initial publication. Finally, it will introduce the way in which Addison capitalised upon the inherent kinship between literature, rhetoric and politeness to package his argument in such a way as to effectively disguise his ‘violent’ intent.

The main body of this thesis will begin by investigating the position that the paper imagines for itself within the print culture of its time, favourably contrasting its own approach to the shrill polemics it sees in other papers. Examining Addison’s insistence on there being a ‘war in print’ characterised by the ‘rage of party’ even after the reign of Queen Anne, this chapter will view *The Free-Holder* alongside some examples of political poetry from the year of its original publication, evaluating the extent to which such descriptions of partisan print influence both contemporary accounts and subsequent criticism. Sustained comparison of *The Free-Holder* to rival examples of partisan poetry of the period, represented here by the anonymous pro-Hanoverian poem ‘The Arrival of the King’ (1714) and Alexander Pope’s Tory panegyric ‘Windsor Forest’ (1713) will reveal that Addison does appear to be attempting something different to the flagrantly partisan texts he warns readers against. Addison apparently presents a Whig paper that is increasingly happy to court oppositional readers with its easy employment of Tory language and iconography. However, by close reading some of the papers that Addison targets as needlessly violent and aggressive, such as *The Examiner*, this chapter will reveal the disjunction between Addison’s description of *The Free-Holder* and *The Free-Holder* itself. It will argue that Addison is imagining the severity of the ‘war in print’ in order to exaggerate his difference from it. His employment of Tory ideas and rhetoric will be revealed as a shrewd appropriation of the opposition’s language and imagery, which is then used to enthral casually inquiring readers and enact a partisan manoeuvre as violent as those that he imagines in the papers of other writers.

Having established that, despite any claims to the contrary, *The Free-Holder*’s core ambition is to reinforce the beliefs of the Whig party faithful whilst also engaging and converting inquiring members of the opposition, the thesis will then consider the extent to which such a strategy is consistent with early eighteenth-century conceptualisations of politeness. It will argue that the maneuverers encountered in the previous chapter, and in particular the paper’s insistence on reconciliation, in fact signify the pragmatic application of politeness to a partisan cause. This chapter will begin by raising the question of the actual type of Whiggism that Addison is articulating, and how embedded his vision of politeness is within this. It will argue that Addison deliberately employs a polite approach in order to not only further the Whig cause, but also to reconcile inherent contradictions in his stated ambition, promoting a methodology of harmony and reconciliation from the very outset of his paper. The innovative (and potentially ethically questionable) nature of this manoeuvre will be revealed through sustained comparison to a range of contemporaneous periodicals. These periodicals have been carefully selected to contrast *The Free-Holder*’s own protean form with a survey of different genres. It will be read alongside other partisan periodicals (*The Observator* and *The Controller*,Whig and Tory respectively), a religious periodical more in keeping with Francis Atterbury’s original *Address to the Freeholders of England* (*The Scourge*), an example of aggregated news (*The Charitable Mercury*) and a literary journal of opinion (*The Monitor*).

The thesis will then consider the legacy of *The Free-Holder*; comparing and contrasting Addison’s original with later texts to fashion themselves as responses, revivals or sequels and employ the *Free-Holder* title. It will reveal that it is Addison’s attempts to utilise discourses of liberty and citizenship which invite the revisions seen in the later *Free-Holder* papers: *The Free-Holder Extraordinary* (1716)*, The Freeholder’s Journal* (1721-23), *The Yorkshire Free-Holder* (1780) and the final collected edition of *The Free-Holder*, *or Political Essays* (1779). Each of these papers demonstrates the end product that Addison seems to be recommending. He does actively encourage political involvement, and even partisan behaviour. His only caveat is a subtle one, and it is best seen when contrasted to these later texts which either miss this point or wilfully ignore it. In each of the instances examined throughout this chapter, be it the *Occasional Paper*’sdesire to contend Walpole or the *Yorkshire Free-Holder*’sintention to end state-sanctioned monopoly, Addison’s *Free-Holder* would recommend that the aggrieved parties join the party in power and make their desired changes from within, applying the very theories of politeness, harmony and reconciliation that are demonstrated repeatedly throughout the original *Free-Holder*.

This project will prove that *The Free-Holder* facilitates Addison’s construction of a model of active partisan citizenship. As *The Free-Holder*’s own print run hopes to demonstrate, the appropriation of oppositional ideas and rhetoric can prove a ‘polite’ means of achieving the ‘harmony’ that he and fellow Whig thinker the Earl of Shaftesbury claimed to strive for.[[122]](#footnote-122) As part of this the subtle rebranding of well-worn ideas is recurrently seen by Mr. Free-Holder as a positive act. The paper’s stated interests in property and liberty allow Addison to access a range of discussions which all contribute to his presentation of this model of partisan behaviour. However, his construction of this model is a means to an end. That end is the subtle conversion of the opposition. This thesis will demonstrate that it is Addison’s ambition to reclaim the act of changing sides from any dubious amoral connotations and instead brand it as an act of politeness. Politeness and harmony will be seen to be used repeatedly to reassure his readers that there are no serious moral or ethical implications to siding with the opposition. It does not matter where your allegiance lies, as long as you are acting with the nation’s best interests in mind.

Addison had rendered this very same recommendation dramatically in his earlier play of 1712: *Cato.* Hugely popular throughout the eighteenth century this play charts the final days of Cato (Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis), whose resistance to the tyranny of Julius Caesar ultimately rendered him an icon of republicanism, virtue and liberty. In the final scenes of the play Cato and his men are faced with the oncoming march of Caesar’s army. Cato recognises that the only realistic opportunity for peace in Rome is for his men to yield to Caesar. He hopes that as each party shares a love of their shared nation they will be able to reconcile their differences. As Caesar’s most implacable foe he identifies that a peaceful resolution is unlikely as long as he lives so he commits suicide, leaving instruction for any grievance the Caesar may have to be attributed to him in death:

I conjure you; let him know, whate’er was done against him, Cato did it. Add, if you please, that I request of him, - That I myself, with tears, request of him, - The virtue of my friends may go unpunished.[[123]](#footnote-123)

Before this final moment of self-sacrifice, however, Cato must explain to his supporters that for the greater good they must now essentially surrender and join with the antagonist against which they have been resisting for the previous four acts. In doing so Cato takes a stance identical to that of Mr. Free-Holder, addressing any readers from the opposition:

There, the brave youth with love of virtue fired, who greatly in his country’s cause expired, shall know he conquered. The firm patriot there, who made the welfare of mankind his care, though still by faction, vice and fortune crost, shall find the generous labour was not lost. [[124]](#footnote-124)

How peace is achieved (and who happens to be in charge) is of no consequence, as long as the nation remains safe. For both Cato, and Mr. Free-Holder, this is always the highest priority:

‘Tis Rome requires our tears, the mistress of the world, the seat of the empire, the nurse of heroes, the delight of gods, that humbled the proud tyrants of the earth, and set the nations free.[[125]](#footnote-125)

2. The Contexts for *The Free-Holder*

For the Tories, every enemy – whether it be the Duchess of Marlborough or only a Shakespearian editor found guilty of some real English scholarship – becomes a grotesque. All who have, in whatever fashion, incurred their ill will are knaves, scarecrows, whores, bugs, toads, bedlamites, yahoos; Addison himself a smooth Mephistopheles. It is good fun, but it is certainly not good sense; we laugh, and we disbelieve. Now, mark Addison’s procedure. The strength of the Tory party is the smaller country gentry with their Jacobite leanings and their opposition to the moneyed interest. All the material for savage satire is there. [Instead] the figure of the dear old squire dominates – possibly, on some views, corrupts – the national imagination to this day. This is indeed to ‘make a man die sweetly.’ That element in English society which stood against all that Addison’s party was bringing in is henceforth seen through a mist of smiling tenderness – as an archaism, a lovely absurdity. What we might have been urged to attack as a fortress we are tricked into admiring as a ruin.[[126]](#footnote-126)

Though C. S. Lewis is here referring to Addison and Steele’s creation of Sir Roger de Coverly, this description also foregrounds the key components of what would later become Addison’s strategy in *The Free-Holder*, targeting and destabilising the figure of the property-owning Tory gentleman through the careful application of popular discourses, appearing benign, benevolent and non-partisan. We have here, in C. S. Lewis’s summation of what he terms ‘the Addisonian method’, an alertness to the Tory tendency for splenetic critique, an emphasis on property, and a nod to the landed gentry and their typical association with Jacobitism.[[127]](#footnote-127) Before interrogating Addison’s full partisan strategy in *The Free-Holder* it is first necessary to introduce its constituent elements. Though it is the job of this thesis to argue that, fundamentally, Addison did maintain a certain design when penning *The Free-Holder*, the paper still remained topical throughout, using popular and timely examples to illustrate the prescience of its argument. As R. P. Bond reminds us, the most discernible characteristic of the eighteenth-century press was its instinctive ability to capitalise upon ‘momentary matters.’[[128]](#footnote-128) Thus, before any discussion of how *The Free-Holder* articulates its message can properly begin, we must first consider the key contexts that provided Addison with the subjects on which he could test and demonstrate his ideas, advice and recommendations. This chapter will consider the significance of property in the public consciousness that Addison capitalized upon when adopting his titular editorial person, the discourses of liberty, freedom and dependence that he reaches for when packaging his Whiggish agenda, the popular Jacobite risings that have been said to have motivated the periodical’s initial appearance, and the fundamentally symbiotic relationship between rhetoric, politeness and literature at this time that enabled Addison to mount his argument in these terms.

**‘Property, the Grand Enchantress’**

As might be expected, Addison dedicates *The Free-Holder*’s opening issue to a discussion of the term that it takes to be its title, painting as he does so a vivid picture of his intended readership.[[129]](#footnote-129) The introduction of the paper’s intentions is buried within a discussion of the ‘defence of property’ and the aspirational character of ‘the free-holder’: a ‘considerable man’ with no ‘less than forty shillings a year.’[[130]](#footnote-130) The past few decades have seen figures such as Paul Langford and Laurence Klein reconsidering, and indeed complicating, the role of property throughout the long eighteenth century. Klein, for instance, hints at the significance that perceptions of property (and the propertied gentleman) played in Whiggish conceptualisations of politeness.[[131]](#footnote-131) Langford, meanwhile, adopts a broader approach, considering the subject of property from a range of perspectives: political, religious, and cultural.[[132]](#footnote-132) In doing so Langford emphasises well the centrality of property to eighteenth-century life:

A world without property was almost inconceivable to eighteenth-century Englishmen. The most divisive thinkers shared the assumption that law and government alike must be based on propertied foundations. There was a notable tendency to remove all other evidence of alternative ways of looking at social and political relations. [...] It became almost impossible to conceive of rights and liberties except in terms of implied individual proprietorship.[[133]](#footnote-133)

Addison is not only deliberately associating himself with a topic of universal import to his prospective readers, but the centrality of property to everyday discourses allows him to explore a wide range of related subjects. Whilst property is obviously central to any discussion of the character and position of the propertied gentleman, it is the gentleman rather than the property that Addison is interested in. He suggests that the ‘quality’ and ‘security’ of such a gentleman are not qualities which are innately bestowed upon him by the owning of land, but instead benefits revealed to him through the good management of state and government by the King and his parliament.[[134]](#footnote-134) These might be the ‘privileges of an English Free-Holder’, but they are not inherited. Instead they are ‘blessing [that] are secured to us by his Majesty’s title, his administration, and his personal character.’[[135]](#footnote-135) This observation has at least two serious ramifications.

The first is the apparently egalitarian suggestion that there are no essential pre-requisites for one to become a freeholder other than the need for forty-shillings. As the third chapter of this thesis will demonstrate, this distinction immediately puts Addison’s paper at odds with the most recent high-profile utilisation of the freeholder figure: Francis Atterbury’s *Address to the Free-Holders of England*. This deeply partisan Tory tract is seen to assert that property resides with the most ancient families of England, who instinctively know how best to manage it having shared a connection with it that can be tied back to a mythic origin of England. This will be revealed as a common trope in the partisan poetry of 1713-1715. Not only disputing these long held notions, Addison also actively encourages the dissemination of property, claiming that it would bolster investment in the broader community. He positively reflects upon ‘the increase of this happy tribe of men, since by the wisdom of the present parliament, I find the Race of Freeholders spreading into the remotest corners of the Island.’[[136]](#footnote-136) Whilst clearly contrasting with previous applications of the ‘freeholder’ figure this recommendation is not singularly unique, and indeed became increasingly commonplace in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Writing in 1769 Frances Brooke is seen to make similarly egalitarian claims, observing what she generously describes as the ‘democratic freedom and equal distribution of property.’[[137]](#footnote-137) Langford records Brooke as stating that:

When I mention equal property, I would not be understood to mean such an quality as never existed, nor can exist but in idea, but that general, that comparative equality, which leaves to everyman the absolute safe possession of the fruits of his labours; which softens offensive distinctions, and curbs pride, by leaving every order of men in some degree dependent upon the other.[[138]](#footnote-138)

Whilst Brooke takes more care than Addison to stress that (paradoxically) the equality prescribed is not for all (but instead a more a ‘comparative equality’) she is making the same assertion that the possession of property leads to an investment in the community: ‘leaving every order of men in some degree dependent upon the other.’ The public interest becomes directly related to the freeholder’s own private interests.

Brooke’s acknowledgement of ‘dependence’ brings into focus the second implication of Addison’s assertion that the character and virtues of the propertied gentleman are not innate but the ‘blessings’ of the King. The ownership of property is no longer an inherited right, but it is not arbitrarily determined either: it is the will of the King. This is implicit throughout the opening issue, which whilst painting this as a being positive condition also recurrently asserts the reader’s subordinate position:

For such is the nature of our happy constitution, that the bulk of people virtually give their approbation to everything they are *bound* to *obey*, and prescribe to themselves those *rules* by which they walk.[[139]](#footnote-139)

Towards the close of the eighteenth century John Jebb was recorded as describing property as ‘the grand enchantress of the world’, and it is certainly the case that by foregrounding it as his titular interest Addison provides himself strong camouflage for prescribing a highly subversive model of partisan behaviour which might otherwise have attracted more controversy than it initially did.[[140]](#footnote-140)

Despite his rhetoric to the contrary, the vision of freeholdership that Addison is actually seeking to perpetuate in *The Free-Holder* is more clearly discernible when compared to an earlier text upon a shared topic, the anonymous *Letter from a Freeholder of the County of Norfolk, to one of the Knights of the Shire*.[[141]](#footnote-141) As already hinted at in the case of Atterbury’s *Address****,***when Addison adopts the position of ‘freeholder’ as the title for paper he is entering into a loosely defined tradition of writing. *Letter from a Freeholder* utilises this same position, although significantly opts to make this freeholder geographically specific. Addison instead speaks to a readership of universal freeholders. The letterchampions the existing status-quo, chiding against the dangers of freeholders becoming too involved in politics and government, a stance which initially bears startling contrast to Addison’s claims that every freeholder has a role to play in the governance of their country. The innate conservatism of the *Letter from a Freeholder* also stands in opposition to Addison’s desire to propagate the ‘happy tribe’ of freeholders until all men have property. However, comparison of the two reveals that they are not as diametrically opposed as they might hope to sound and illustrates helpfully the vision of active citizenship that Addison’s periodical is actually championing.

*A Letter from a Freeholder* is uncomfortable with the suggestion that fellow freeholders may take an active role such as that championed in Addison’s *Free-Holder*. Itbegins:

I have always disapproved of Freeholders pretending to direct their Representatives what they should do, and what they should not do: ‘Tis assuming a Power not ever practised in England til of late years; it seems fitter to be practised in a Popular state than a Monarchy: My present design is quite otherwise, humbly to beg my Representative’s Opinion to clear doubts I now labour under.[[142]](#footnote-142)

The letteris immediately keen to assert that it should have no say in how the country should be governed but is instead happy to be told what to do by its MP: an elite and qualified figure elected by the people. The Norfolk freeholder’s message to fellow freeholders is to be passive and to defer judgement to your representative. This final point is manifested in the epistolary form of the pamphlet, which itself affirms the vertical flow of influence from citizen to government, channelling power through representation. The frontispiece pitches the pamphlet as a ‘letter’, written by a freeholder of Norfolk (used here to signify a remote and provincial space far removed from the capital). This rural gentleman is addressing a ‘knight of the shire’, a figure used to signify a country establishment.[[143]](#footnote-143) In his introduction to Addison’s *Free-Holder* Leheny sets out to define the relationship between freeholders and knights, and to help him do so he reaches for the words of Jonathan Swift: ‘It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the dispositions of the people in the choice of their representatives, is by computing the country elections.’[[144]](#footnote-144) Swift, writing here in 1711, is legitimising the previous Tory victory by suggesting that the current model of representative government and the management of elections serve as a genuine and fool-proof reflection of public opinion. Whilst this is unlikely, Leheny uses it to explain the faith that the public had in this system, acknowledging as he does so the role of Knights such as that addressed here in *A Letter from a Freeholder*:

[Swift’s] readers might have agreed with him since the country electorates, composed of forty-shilling freeholders, were responsible for sending Knights of the shire to the House of Commons, and these voters were so numerous and geographically scattered that it was difficult for either party or for the court to buy votes or to use coercive measures which were certain to persuade voters.[[145]](#footnote-145)

In *A Letter from a Freeholder* we find the Norfolk freeholder appealing, in print, to his local Knight for instruction and in doing so revealing his own opinions and preconceptions about how this representative system should work:

Some that have the honour of a free Conversation with You tell me that you are not a little dipped in these modern opinions, that in some cases Resistance is unlawful: That I may not be any longer groping in the dark, be pleased to tell me in what cases, convince me of the justness and convenience of this Modern Principle.[[146]](#footnote-146)

The letter’s opening claim (that freeholders should not harbour the misconception that they have any right to meddle in the governance of the country) is directly contradicted in Addison’s first number, which claims that through his vote the freeholder has a ‘remote voice’ in parliament: ‘[t]he House of commons is the representative of men in my condition. I consider myself as one who gives my consent to every law that passes.’[[147]](#footnote-147) For Mr. Free-Holder, the paper’s fictional editor, this is a privilege and responsibility that forces him to be a proactive contributor to the governance of his country.[[148]](#footnote-148) For Addison active engagement is the basis of liberty. Whilst the Norfolk freeholder is using the same system as Addison’s Mr. Free-Holder, his belief that he has voted in order to ensure that his choice of MP can make decisions *on his behalf* renders him a less active figure. For him it is not his responsibility to monitor or be involved with the decisions that his MP might make. Instead, the Norfolk freeholder cites the urge to stand up for a belief held by the individual that is not shared by ruling power or government as a problematic impulse and one that should not be acted upon.

This is not as dissimilar from Addison’s *Free-Holder* as it might first appear. Addison also discourages any action that takes place outside of the ‘frame of the Laws, which is established in every community for the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty.’[[149]](#footnote-149) The endorsements given of the governmental system by both the Norfolk freeholder and Mr. Free-Holder are almost identical, each drawing their language from the lexis of the ancient Roman republic.[[150]](#footnote-150) However, the reason given by the Norfolk freeholder is notably different to that given by Addison. Addison’s resistance comes from a faith in the system of government, and a concern for the greater community should it be negated. The Norfolk freeholder is more concerned about the limitations of the individual freeholder, arguing that such fellow subjects do not have the faculty or understanding to formulate and perpetuate a belief that has not been disseminated by the establishment. In total contrast to Addison’s *Free-Holder*,the Norfolk freeholder asserts that its readers should know their place and do as they are told:

Now, to be satisfied when to Obey and when to Resist seems to me a Point not yet fully settled and determined; and I being inclined to behave myself as in Duty I ought, desire to know what Act of our Prince will absolve me from my Allegiance and justify my Resistance.[[151]](#footnote-151)

Addison takes the freeholder figure and adds further characteristics, suggesting that the entitlement to ‘the privileges of an English Free-Holder’ comes with a responsibility to be personally aware and involved in the process of politics. It is no longer acceptable to allow your MP to act on your behalf, you must be aware of the decisions he is making.

The world of print (to which Addison has been contributing at this point for well over a decade) allows citizens to make political decisions that are far more informed than had previously been possible. This phenomenon has been well documented in scholarship, with it becoming an increasingly accepted observation that the rise of the press corresponds with the rise of petitioning and the rise of extra parliamentary activities.[[152]](#footnote-152) Steven Zwicker goes to great lengths to stress this point when drawing to a close a series of case studies on early modern polemic:

The range of polemic is, then […] just as important is the vibrancy of political argument across and among all the genres of the period – pamphlets and pastoral, political meditation and panegyric, satire and epic, philosophical treatise and tragedy. I have tried to suggest this range and quality of expression by allowing the reach of polemic to cross from one side of contest to another, from the most clearly marked points of contest […] to the middle ground of public genres […] to the abstractions and syntactical neutralities of Locke’s *Second Treatise.* […]Centring the aesthetic within the political, a geometry that was second nature to those who wrote the politics and the imaginative literature of the seventeenth century, allows us to appreciate the contestative force of its literature and the complex ways in which the aesthetic performed and transformed the political.[[153]](#footnote-153)

When contributing to *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914* (a collection that can now be seen to offer a cumulative survey of much of the criticism on the periodical over the preceding half century) Black states that this is still the case in the eighteenth century:

The press was central to the process of politicisation, the strengthening, sustaining and widening; if not of a specific political consciousness, then at least of a national political awareness […] There was, therefore, a symbiotic relationship between the press and public politics. The consequences of this nexus or sphere of opinion and activity are, however, more problematic.[[154]](#footnote-154)

The link between the politician and the writer is made in *The Free-Holder*’sopening paragraphs, as Addison draws a parallel between the hack who is not invested in his writing and the partisan who has no stock in his party’s beliefs. Addison tells us that the figure of the freeholder should not be a ‘mock-patriot’ who is disengaged and uninvolved, but on the contrary, one of a group of persons recognisable from history ‘whose characters are the most amiable, and strike us with the highest veneration, are those who stood up manfully against the invasions of civil liberty.’[[155]](#footnote-155) However, whilst Addison’s freeholder is involved and aware, he will only ever act in accordance with the government and the monarchy, and only ever articulate his beliefs through the established protocols, procedures and mechanics of government. Dissent enacted on any level other than rhetorical against the government in power is categorised as rebellion or oath-breaking, and these are each things which are never to be celebrated:

That rebellion is one of the most heinous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit, may appear from several considerations. First, as it destroys the end of all government, and the benefits of civil society. [...] Now rebellion disappoints all these ends and benefits of government, by raising a power in opposition to that authority which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare and defence. So that rebellion is as great an evil to society, as government itself is a blessing. […] The guilt of rebellion increases in proportion as these engagements are more.[[156]](#footnote-156)

Addison is careful not to endorse the ‘raising of power in opposition to [government]; that authority which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare and defence.’[[157]](#footnote-157) All action must take place within ‘that frame of laws which is established in every community.’ Despite his encouragements of active partisanship, *The Free-Holder* is perhaps surprisingly conservative when dictating how this action should manifest. Whilst his freeholder readers should be involved, their liberty is not infringed by the existence of their superiors, both in parliament and in the palace; nor is it at all problematic that their status is granted to them by ‘their majesty.’

Any model of citizenship, partisanship or active participation recommended in *The Free-Holder* is always informed by coalescing and persistent discourses of liberty and dependence, not least because of its core stated interest in property. As hinted, Addison’s ambition to celebrate the freedom of fellow subjects whilst also championing the virtues of the King and his ministry is not unproblematic. On the one hand Addison capitalises upon the anti-dependence rhetoric of his civil war predecessors, as discussed earlier in this chapter: ‘A Free-holder of Great Britain, is bred with an aversion to everything that tends to bring him under a subjection to the arbitrary will of another.’[[158]](#footnote-158) However, in contrast to the majority of his Civil War precursors Addison finds it entirely consistent to celebrate the monarchy in the same essay, refusing to class the King as signifying such an ‘arbitrary will’: ‘I […] endeavour to open the eyes of my countrymen […] to the blessings secured to us by his Majesty’s title, his Administration, and his personal character.’[[159]](#footnote-159) In the opening number Addison is cautiously situating his periodical within discussions of liberty and dependence, aligning his message with aspects of each to help further his own agenda: the defence of the King and government. The opening paragraph of the first number signals his desire to capitalise on these arguments whilst also displaying a scepticism regarding what has been said before:

One is apt to suspect, that the passion for Liberty which appears in a Grub-street patriot, arises only from his apprehension of a gaol; and that, whatever he my pretend, he does not write to secure, but to get something of his own: should the government be overturned, he has nothing but his Standish.[[160]](#footnote-160)

Within Addison’s general reticence towards the hack ‘passion for liberty’ that he perceives in print at the time, he is also keying into a question first raised during the English Civil War. Flippancy aside, Addison is here stating that the threat of jail does not truly threaten the freedom of the ‘grub-street patriot.’ This is a significant observation.

**Hobbes, Locke, Liberty and Dependence**

As early as 1628, commentators had identified the arbitrary threat of imprisonment as a coercive act, recalling neo-Roman definitions of a free-man as a citizen who does not live ‘subjected to the dominion of someone else.’[[161]](#footnote-161) Henry Sherfield, a lawyer, used it as an opportunity to highlight the increasingly blurred boundaries between freemen, villains and slaves: ‘[i]f the King may imprison a freeman without cause [then] he is in a worse position than a villain [for at least a villain enjoys personal liberty, whereas] to be imprisoned without cause, that is a thraldom.’[[162]](#footnote-162) This threat was later cited as a motive for abolishing the office of the king in the Parliamentary Act of 1640. The act cited that the monarchy ‘is dangerous to the liberty, safety and public interest of the people’, arguing that the King’s implementation of prerogative right served to ‘oppress and impoverish and enslave every subject.’[[163]](#footnote-163) As Quentin Skinner surmises, a life under the threat of such coercion was seen as a life without freedom:

To be free as a citizen, therefore, requires that the actions of the state should reflect the will of all its citizens, for otherwise the excluded will remain dependent on those whose wills move the state to act. The outcome was the belief – crucial both to the republicanism of the Italian Renaissance and to that of the Dutch and English in the seventeenth-century – that it is possible to enjoy individual liberty if and only if we live as citizens of self-governing republics. To live as subjects of a monarch is to live as slaves.[[164]](#footnote-164)

Addison’s suggestion that the anxiety expressed by the ‘grub street patriot’ regarding the threat of jail is in some way feigned and invalid contradicts the conclusion Skinner is here paraphrasing, and is instead more akin to what followed.

Writing in vindication of absolute sovereignty Thomas Hobbes produced in the *Leviathan* a thorough response to such anti-monarchical arguments, building a sturdy counter-argument upon the presumption that the parliamentarians had failed to fully understand the concept of liberty. He controversially proposed that liberty was not directly related to conditions of dependence or independence. Skinner articulates Hobbes’s position well, explaining that: ‘[f]reedom is taken away, in other words, only by identifiable acts of interference on the part of external agents, acts of interference that have the effect of rendering actions within our powers impossible to perform.’[[165]](#footnote-165) As Hobbes himself writes, to be free is simply to be unhindered by ‘external impediments’ from exercising one’s powers:

By liberty, is understood, according to the proper signification of the word, the absence of external impediments; which impediments, may oft take away a man’s power to do as he would; but cannot hinder him from using the power left to him, according as his judgement, and reason shall dictate him. [It is only when someone] is so tyed, or environed, as it cannot move, but within a certain space, which space is determined by the opposition of some external body, [that] we say it hath not liberty to go further.[[166]](#footnote-166)

To apply this to Addison’s ‘mock-patriot’, if he were to be forcibly confined to the gaol his liberty would be compromised, but his apprehension that this might happen has no impact on his liberty at all. According to Hobbes, ‘fear and liberty are consistent.’[[167]](#footnote-167) The fear of imprisonment enables the hack to choose to obey the law, just as the man who ‘throweth his goods in the sea for fear the ship should sink.’ [[168]](#footnote-168) This man performs this action ‘very willingly, and may refuse to do it if he will: It is therefore the action of one who is free.’[[169]](#footnote-169) The result of Hobbes’s analysis is that coercion leaves liberty unimpaired, and it is entirely plausible to live under a monarch and still be a free citizen. This is a useful interpretation of liberty for Addison, who hopes to recommend a brand of active citizenship whilst also celebrating and defending George I and his government. Rather than being defined by a lack of coercion or dependence, the liberty championed in *Free-Holder* is one defined by participation: active citizenship is freedom. As is often his way Addison draws upon classical history to stress this point:

It was a remarkable law of *Solon*, the great Legislator of the *Athenians,* that any person who in the Civil Tumults and Commotions of the Republic remained neuter, or an indifferent Spectator of the contending parties, should, after the Re-establishment of the public peace, forfeit all of his possessions, and be condemned to perpetual banishment. This law made it necessary for every Citizen to take his party, because it was highly probable the majority would be so wise as to espouse that cause which was most agreeable to the public weal, and by that means hinder a sedition from making a successful progress. At least, as every prudent and honest man, who might otherwise favour any indolence in his own temper, was hereby engaged to be *active*, such a one would be sure to join himself to that side which had the good of their Countrymen most at Heart.[[170]](#footnote-170)

Mr. Free-Holder is encouraging a positive form of partisanship, suggesting that it is in the best interests of the community (‘the public weal’) that such men are ‘engaged’ and ‘active.’ Indeed, he goes on to seriously chastise those who attempt to do anything otherwise: ‘[f]or this reason their famous Lawgiver condemned the persons who sat idle in divisions so dangerous to the government, as aliens to the community, and therefore to be cut off from it as unprofitable members.’[[171]](#footnote-171) So, in *The Free-Holder*, the role of the King does not infringe personal liberty, but it is important to ensure that all citizens are politically engaged to ensure that this remains to be the case.

In promoting a vision in which liberty is not determined by dependence but by active participation (in which monarchy and government can all function without contradiction or infringement of civil liberties) Addison is instinctively capitalising on Hobbes’s vision of a leviathan state. However, Hobbes’s response to the parliamentarian charges against monarchy following the English Civil War did not go unchallenged. On the contrary, many of Hobbes’s contemporaries were shocked by his contention that ‘coercion leaves liberty unimpaired’; with figures such as John Locke and Algernon Sidney writing in an attempt to reinstate the traditional view that ‘under such conditions of duress [as dependence] no one can be said to act freely.’[[172]](#footnote-172)In response to Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha,* a text that adopts Hobbes’s stance, Locke argues in *The Two Treaties* of 1690 that an awareness of living in dependence on arbitrary power has the effect of limiting the freedom of citizens.[[173]](#footnote-173) Sharing Locke’s anxiety that the nation was facing a steady drift towards absolutism, Algernon Sidney emphatically reasserted the definitions of liberty and independence previously articulated by civil war commentators such as Edward Coke, Henry de Bracton and Sir Thomas Littleton:

Liberty solely consists in an independency upon the will of another, and by the name of a slave we understand a man, who can neither dispose of his person not goods, but enjoys all the will of his maser. [We cannot accept that] those men or nations are slaves, who have no other title to what they enjoy, than the grace of the prince, which we may revoke whatsoever he pleaseth.[For] if it be liberty to live under such a government, I desire to know what is slavery.[[174]](#footnote-174)

Externally the model of citizenship that this logic dictates does not seem very different to that espoused in Addison’s *Free-Holder*. In No 12 Mr. Free-Holder has cause to describe the function of government, surmising that:

By the frame of our constitution, the duties of protection and allegiance are reciprocal; and […] the safety of the community is the ultimate End and Design of government.[[175]](#footnote-175)

Much of the same diction can be found throughout *The Second Treatise of Government*,in which Locke proffers a definition of ‘political power’; recommending active citizenship grounded in the owning of property and the defence of the community:

Political power, then, I take to be a right of making laws with the penalties of death, and consequently all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in the execution of such laws, and in the defence of the commonwealth from foreign injury; and all this only for the public good. [[176]](#footnote-176)

Edward and Lilian Bloom make much of Addison’s intellectual indebtedness to Locke in their political biography, *Joseph Addison’s Sociable Animal*, during which they appropriately attribute to Addison a ‘complex liberalism [which] originated in the law of nature and extended to the […] contractual partnership between the governed and the governing.’[[177]](#footnote-177) Leheny makes a similar assertion, prioritising Locke’s influence on Addison when arguing that:

‘[Addison’s] principal debt in *The Freeholder* is to John Locke because Locke had argued that sovereignty was derived from the consent of property owners, an assumption which other nature-law philosophers did not share.’[[178]](#footnote-178)

Whilst this is often true, Addison’s borrowing of Locke is not entirely consistent throughout *The Free-Holder*;and the two are certainly not as analogous as Leheny’s brief introduction to Addison’s periodical suggests. The schism between the two arises in Locke’s assertion that there is an ‘equality of men by nature […] so evident in itself that it is beyond question.’[[179]](#footnote-179) The consequence of this is that ‘all men may be restrained from invading other’s rights, and from doing hurt to one another’; including the monarch.[[180]](#footnote-180) Locke presents a vertical vision of government which channels power through representation, seemingly pre-empting Addison’s assertion that every freeholder has a say in the laws and policies of his government by using his vote as a ‘remote voice’ in parliament:

Wherever, therefore, any number of men are so united into one society, as to quit every one his executive power of the law of nature, and to resign it to the public, there, and there only, is political, or civil society. And this is done wherever any number of men, in the state of nature, enter into society to make one people, one body politic, under one supreme government, or else when any one joins himself to, and incorporates with any government already made. For hereby he authorizes the society, or, which is all one, the legislative thereof, to make laws for him, as the public good of the society shall require, to the execution whereof his own assistance (as his own decrees) is due. And thus puts men out of a state of nature into that of a commonwealth, by setting up a judge on earth with authority to determine all the controversies and redress the injuries that may happen to any member of the commonwealth; which judge is legislative, or magistrates appointed by it.[[181]](#footnote-181)

However, unlike Addison, for Locke this is potentially undermined by the existence of the King; particularly when the monarch has the power to award himself a prerogative right as was seen in the lead up to the civil war. As Locke goes on to explain:

[I]t is evident that absolute monarchy which by some men is counted the only government in the world, is indeed inconsistent with civil society, and so can be no form of civil government at all. For the end of civil society being to avoid and remedy those inconveniencies of the state of nature which necessarily follow from every man’s being judge in his own case, by setting up a known authority to which every one of that society may appeal upon any injury received or controversy that may arise. [[182]](#footnote-182)

Locke’s concern regarding the implications of an absolute monarchy can be read as an endorsement for justified resistance, should the office of sovereign come to compromise the liberty of the citizen; as was seen to happen in Locke’s reading of the civil war.

Locke favours a model of state in which citizens are not dependent on the will of a monarch but rather free to control their own destiny. Crucially, this destiny is still to be realised through the mechanics of government, ensuring they are participating in a state of society rather than a state of nature. However, as later commentators would demonstrate, this can be read as only being the case as long those mechanics of government are serving the citizen’s best interests, and cannot be seen as corruptive or coercive. These sentiments continued to stimulate political discourse throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century, fuelling the writings of radical Whigs in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution and contributing to later texts such as John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon’s *Cato’s Letters* (composed after Addison’s *Free-Holder*)*.* Published in the early 1720s *Cato’s Letters* again sought to compare the citizen’s dependence upon ‘executive tyranny’ to slavery, arguing that real freedom could only be found when ‘people have no masters but the law [and] both laws and magistrates are formed by the people.’[[183]](#footnote-183) In this Addison’s *Free-Holder* does not agree, written as it is in support and defence of King George I and to a greater extent the position of monarch.

For Mr. Free-Holder the system of government provides the apparatus through which propertied citizens can express their views, whilst any action in opposition to the King or his government cannot be viewed as justified resistance but rather rebellion: the most heinous crime it is the power of man to commit.’[[184]](#footnote-184) For Addison’s *Free-Holder* the civil war was not an instance in which citizens took action in the interests of securing their independence, but instead a ‘great rebellion’ which is not to be applauded:

This day having set apart by public authority to raise in us an abhorrence of the great rebellion, which involved the nation in so many calamities, and ended in the murder of their sovereign; it may not be unseasonable to show the guilt of the rebellion in general, and of that rebellion in particular which is stirred up against our present majesty.[[185]](#footnote-185)

Property and citizenship, arguably the essence of all parliamentary politics, are unsurprisingly central to Addison’s paper. However, as Mr. Free-Holder himself has been seen to tell us, he is no ‘mere politician’, and these topics are ultimately camouflage for the real argument that Addison is advancing. Property is usually used by Addison as either a synecdoche for state, or as a route into the discussions of citizenship, liberty and by extension partisan behaviour that he is truly interested in. The latter interest is a facet of Addison’s *Free-Holder* yet to be attributed due attention in existing scholarship on the early eighteenth-century periodical.

**The Pretender, Jacobitism and the Jacobite Risings**

Such an approach is typified by James Leheny’s 1979 edition of *The Freeholder*; the only critical edition of the text to appear in the twentieth century.[[186]](#footnote-186) Carefully researched, the thirty-five page introduction to this substantially annotated text goes to great pains to visualise the intricate tensions and recent political events that make up the paper’s original context. Leheny states at the outset of his edition that the text is best used as ‘a good resource for students of early Georgian society and politics’, instantly subordinating any intrinsic literary value that the text might hold.[[187]](#footnote-187) For Leheny *The Free-Holder* is the Whig ministry’s attempt to capitalise on the failed Jacobite rising that precedes its first printed appearance:

The Protestant succession, the preservation of the Church as well as the civil liberties and the properties which many English subjects enjoyed: these were the blessings which the Jacobites threatened and which the Whigs were eager to defend. As the party regularly defamed for endorsing revolution, republicanism, and atheism, and for rarely showing much concern for the welfare of small landowners, the Whigs could in 1716 proclaim themselves defenders of the monarchy, the Church and the traditional liberties of all Englishmen. With the defection of Bolingbroke and Ormonde to France, many Tories, particularly High Church Tories, were suspected as Jacobite sympathises, so that fears of Jacobitism bolstered support for the Whigs. To exploit these circumstances for propaganda, the ministry chose Joseph Addison, who published his *Freeholder* essaystwice weekly from 23 December 1715.[[188]](#footnote-188)

The Jacobite risings remain a plausible stimulus for the paper, although perhaps not for its longevity after their resolution.[[189]](#footnote-189) In England, very little physically happened to constitute these risings (a surprising observation considering how frequently Addison likens the risings to the English civil wars).[[190]](#footnote-190) Julian Hoppit comments on the peculiar challenges faced by historians investigating the history of Jacobitism during the final years of Queen Anne’s reign, stating that it ‘must be a history particularly based upon fears as well as realities, of fictions as well as facts.’[[191]](#footnote-191) It is difficult to read the following survey of primary accounts without retrospectively attributing to them a lacklustre sense of bathos:

On June 10, James’s birthday [...] there were great demonstrations throughout the North and West. In Manchester, a Presbyterian meeting-place was raised to the ground. There were riots in Leeds, and in Somerset James’s health was drunk openly. In Gloucester there were disgraceful happenings. A correspondent to the *Flying-Post* described them. Various Jacobites were getting progressively drunker as toast followed toast in the Swan Inn, and the singing of ‘tumultuous songs’ was well underway, much to the annoyance of a neighbouring alderman.[[192]](#footnote-192)

The action was more pronounced in Scotland, where two thousand government troops under the English Duke of Argyll engaged the Earl of Mar, who (acting upon the written instructions of James Francis Edward, the Pretender) had occupied Perth and encouraged many of the northern towns to declare for ‘King James III.’ The battle came to an ambiguous conclusion as ‘the right wing of each army had been victorious and the left wing had been defeated.’[[193]](#footnote-193) The following ‘old ballad’ emphasises the inherent absurdity of the situation, proving also indicative of a strangeness that seems to characterise well the attempted rebellion of 1715:

There’s some say that we wan,

Some say that they wan,

Some say that anne wan at a’, man:

But ae thing I’m sure,

That at Sheriffmuir,

A battle there was, that I saw, man. [[194]](#footnote-194)

Although the battle had been drawn, Mar’s decision to retreat to Perth meant that by the time it reached the London press it was a solid win for King George’s men. On the same day that this battle took place government troops also seized the northern town of Preston, which had been occupied by the Jacobites: ‘[the Jacobite army] beat off the small force which tried to drive them from the town, but reinforcements arrived, and two days later they surrendered unconditionally.’[[195]](#footnote-195) The tide seemed to turn in favour of the Jacobites when James appeared in Scotland, but vastly outnumbered by Argyll’s army he soon retreated, drawing the 1715 risings to a close before they had the chance to gain any traction.

The threat posed by these risings to both the King and the Whig ministry bore very serious implications, posing questions last asked half a century previous during the English civil wars. To summarise a well-documented moment in British monarchical history, the death of Queen Anne and the Hanoverian Succession saw her distant German cousin George I take the throne rather than her half-brother: James Francis Edward, the son of the Catholic James II. The Succession Act that ensured this course of action was not only hotly contested but the highly publicised existence of James Francis Edward provided the British reading public with an alternative monarch who (as he shared the Stuart bloodline) had a seemingly valid claim to the throne. As Sinclair-Stevens concedes, this aspect of the risings proved highly significant:

The accession of George had been engineered so smoothly that no one had an opportunity to protest. A few hotheads had proclaimed James in Devon, and there had been a Jacobite-inspired riot in Bristol the previous October, but the atmosphere had remained comparatively calm until the Whig-dominated Parliament met in March. From that moment, the more extreme Tories began to consider very seriously the Jacobite alternative […][[196]](#footnote-196)

It is important not to understate how plausible a candidate James Francis was for many British citizens at the time of Anne’s death, and to stress that the arrival of the Hanoverian King George was by no means a foregone conclusion. James had been fashioned as a natural Stuart successor since the time of his father’s death on the 16 September 1701. On this day, whilst exiled in Saint-Germain, France, he was immediately announced by the French King, his supporter and protector, to be the rightful King of England. Upon hearing news of the Pretender’s coronation the then King of England, William III, set into motion a series of offensive and defensive strategies which would characterise not only the final months of his own reign, but those of his immediate successors.

As a short term response William commissioned the publication of a pamphlet which ‘endeavoured to disprove James Francis Edwards’ legitimacy in contradiction to innumerable eye-witnesses.’[[197]](#footnote-197) This pamphlet was far from the first of its kind, and it would not be the last. *The Free-Holder* itself contributes to this loosely defined tradition of writing, most explicitly in its ninth number.[[198]](#footnote-198) William’s next immediate response was to declare James guilty of high treason and liable to execution without trial. He then began making provisions to defend against the Pretender in the long term, expressing before his death a desire to see the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland united by Act of Parliament, and beginning the search for a legitimate successor to his sister-in-law Anne who could eclipse any claims made by her half-brother. That candidate proved to be none other than George, the son of Electress Sophie and the cousin of Queen Anne.[[199]](#footnote-199)

In 1698, within months of his father’s funeral, the young George and his mother were already in discussions with William III, and his name would continue to reoccur in all discussions of who should succeed the British crown upon Anne’s death. However, whilst the house of Hanover patiently waited as the death of William III, the passing of the Act of Succession and the signing of the Treaty of Utrect brought the young German Prince closer to the English throne, the Pretender (still for many the original successor) was making his own advancements upon the crown.

Indeed, as R.L. Mackie records, not long after the Union of 1707 James even made an abortive attempt to land in Scotland:

There were some people who drew comfort from the discontent in Scotland after the Union; to the Jacobites it seemed a sure sign that Scotland was ready to fight for the exiled Stuarts. [...] A French fleet did indeed escort the Pretender to the coast of Fife in 1708, but when British warships were sighted at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, it slipped back to France without landing its royal cargo.[[200]](#footnote-200)

Meanwhile, history paints Anne as being a far from certain figure on the subject of who should be her successor.[[201]](#footnote-201) When she died her Tory ministry collapsed and George was invited to take the throne, having already drawn up a list of Regents to manage the government between his predecessor’s death and his own arrival, thirteen out of the eighteen of which were Whigs. Crucially, George’s succession was far from a foregone conclusion, and many ministers in government had not only expected James to ascend but had actively championed his cause.

That the legitimacy of the reigning monarch’s position could plausibly be questioned for the first time since the execution of Charles I was unsurprisingly the subject of much polemic debate. For many commentators, including Tory poet Alexander Pope, it was necessary not only to write upon the subject of who should be King, but also to write against the threat of another civil war. Faced with the proposition of such a rebellion, Pope wrote to warn anyone with Jacobite sympathises what it was that they were suggesting, painting a picture of London harrowed by the destruction and devastation of war:

[y]ou may soon have your wish to enjoy the gallant sights of armies, encampments, standards waving over your brother’s cornfields, and the pretty windings of Thames stained with the blood of men.[[202]](#footnote-202)

Whilst arguing that polemic and calumny were intrinsic elements of the early eighteenth-century press, Zwicker pauses to highlight that for the majority of writers a repeat of the civil war was never something to be celebrated:

[n]o one was yawning when the angel of the common weal stirred the healing waters of 1654, or when, at the height of Exclusion, Locke allowed himself to imagine the dissolution of civil society. Dullness is one kind of cultural demise, Civil War, quite another.[[203]](#footnote-203)

Although few authors would actively champion a return to the events of the mid-seventeenth century, the threat of such a return provided them with a serious and pertinent topic. They could make suggestions and recommend opinions on the basis that they were guarding against civil war. It is just such a hook that the Jacobite risings present Addison with, allowing him a heated context in which he can discuss monarchy, dependence and active citizenship. Just as the limited scholarship on the 1715 risings are (as Sinclair-Steven puts in) ‘hedged around with talk of “if” and “what might have happened” the risings are primarily discussed in the periodical press in terms of what they *could* have led to, rather than what they actually were. Hoppit nods towards the opportunity that the existence of the Pretender offered commentators and propagandists, noting that ‘it suited both Whigs and Jacobites to play up the Pretender’s prospects – to the former as a stick to beat the Tories, to the latter as a means of encouraging support from among the waverers.’[[204]](#footnote-204) In the same way the imagined prospect of further Jacobite risings provided a threat to which Addison could respond to sparingly (but emphatically) throughout *The Free-Holder*; notably in its presentation of a Jacobite journal and in its imaginary address to the Pretender. However, to say that *The Free-Holder* is simply a response to the spectral threat of rampant Jacobitism is to overstate the case.

Leheny admits that the paper’s initial run long outlives the threat presented by the 1715 risings, confessing that this is a point he cannot definitively explain: ‘[o]ne puzzling question about the publication of the *Freeholder* is why Addison continued it after the rebellion was over and the King had assented to the Septennial Act (7 May 1716).’[[205]](#footnote-205) This thesis will argue that there is truth in Addison’s ‘aim of a certain design’, and that the paper was always intended to run for fifty-five issues. Whilst the Jacobite risings were clearly one of a number of catalytic factors in the paper’s genesis (alongside the arrival of a new German King and the recent collapse of the Tory ministry) this ‘design’ suggests that whilst responding to these events it is not *about* them. The confidence of its continued existence after the resolution of the uprisings suggests that *The Free-Holder* is doing more than touting anti-Jacobite propaganda, and it is the intention of this project to foreground the full rhetorical strategy that Addison is enacting.

The remainder of Leheny’s introduction provides an invaluable survey of other pressing contexts that would have influenced Addison’s writing, notably the protestant succession, the arrival and reception of George I and the aftermath of the Sacheverell controversy. Surprisingly little of the introduction is used to discuss *The Free-Holder* itself, and perhaps due to the nature of the edition’s approach (to provide context with which the primary text can be best accessed) barely any attention is paid to how *The Free-Holder* is composed. On the contrary, Leheny states dismissively that ‘no one would argue that the whole periodical deserves a new edition for its literary merit.’[[206]](#footnote-206) In Leheny’s only reference to the ‘style’ of the paper Addison is not the artist, but the pragmatist and statesmen:

Addison’s rhetoric in *The Freeholder* – his arguments, his tone, even his elegant language and style – is the voice of a Whig conservatism which was founded on the King’s favour, a monopoly of power, and the pleasing prospect of an extended tenure for their majority in power.[[207]](#footnote-207)

This thesis will argue that not only is a study of the paper’s literary merit ‘deserved’, but that it is only when fully investigating the very qualities that Leheny here glosses as ‘argument, tone, language and style’ that Addison’s true, nuanced, intention becomes clear. How does he articulate his ‘Whig conservatism’? How does he justify this position and render it attractive? Leheny does hint sparingly at some of the themes that this project hopes to explore, but perhaps due to limitations of space he is unable to fully assert their implications. He notes the apparent fluctuations in Addison’s views on party struggle (‘Addison is not consistent in his attacks on the Tories, nor is he consistent in his attitude towards party struggle in general’), and acknowledges almost in passing that for Addison ‘Tories are either loyal, active supporters of the Whig ministry or else they are no better than rebels.’[[208]](#footnote-208) This final point provides the crux of this project’s reading of *The Free-Holder*. The suggestion that rebellion is synonymous with any and all forms of opposition is both the key innovation and the horror of Addison’s *Free-Holder*, and demonstrates that, contrary to Leheny’s assertions there is more to Addison’s critique of rebellion than anti-Jacobitism. If anything the Jacobite risings simply provide Addison with an opportunity to present a carefully articulated justification for changing sides to his readers from the opposition. With Leheny’s historically sensitive volume the only critical edition of *The Free-Holder* produced during the twentieth century this periodicalis now barely known. It is always to be overshadowed by *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, canonical texts that have to a certain extent distorted current scholarship’s perspective on the early eighteenth-century periodical.

**Literature, Rhetoric and Politeness**

When Addison adopted the form of the literary periodical to speak to (and on behalf of) the popular concerns and discourse discussed thus far, he made a very shrewd decision. As the remainder of this chapter will demonstrate, this form allowed Addison to combine and capitalise upon the periodical’s implicit polite, rhetorical and literary components. In doing so he utilised the periodical’s full persuasive potential. The question of what constitutes ‘the literary’ was as perplexing to Addison and his contemporaries as it has been for critics and commentators over the three hundred years that followed.[[209]](#footnote-209) Memorably, upon asking his friend ‘what is poetry?’ James Boswell records Johnson as replying: ‘[i]t is much easier to say what it is not. We all *know* what light is; but it is not easy to *tell* what it is.’[[210]](#footnote-210) This becomes a theme in Johnson’s reflections on the categorisation of literature. Writing in *The Rambler* amidst the enlightenment impulses that characterise the second half of the eighteenth century, Johnson (a man who knew more than most about writing definitions) discourages attempts to define literature, arguing instead that the imagination is important precisely because it cannot be defined:

Definition is indeed, not the province of man: everything is set above or below our faculties. The works and operations of nature are too great in their extent, or too much diffused in their relations, and the performance of art too inconsistent and uncertain, to be reduce to any determinate idea… Definitions have been no less difficult or uncertain in criticisms than in law. Imagination… has always endeavoured to baffle the logician, to perplex the confines of distinction, and burst inclosures of regularity.[[211]](#footnote-211)

In this Johnson pre-empts a tendency in twentieth- and twenty-first-century criticism to confess that the question of what literature is can never be answered, a perspective typified in Hazard Adams’s immediate acknowledgement that he cannot say what literature is and that he ‘know[s] of no book that does.’[[212]](#footnote-212) Building on Adams’s rejection of a formal or linguistic definition of literature, John M. Ellis suggested that the literary function of a text is instead determined by its community of readers:

The membership of the category [of literature] is based on the agreement to use the texts in the way required and not on the intent of the writer that the text shall be used. […] The question, What is literature? is not then, as Sarte treats it, a matter of why writers write and what they are attempting to do; it is concerned with the acceptance of the text as literature by the community.[[213]](#footnote-213)

According to this approach a text’s identity as literature is dependent on whether or not the ‘community’ identifies and values it as being such. *The Freeholder Extraordinary* (1716), written in the wake of *The Free-Holder*’s final number, offers an indication that contemporary readers considered Addison’s periodical to be a ‘literary’ text. *The Freeholder Extraordinary* appeared ‘under the Freeholder’s Cover’ and celebrated the earlier periodical for its ‘story-telling’:

Give me leave, Dear Countrymen, upon an extraordinary occasion, to tell you an extraordinary story, under the Freeholder’s Cover. [...] The Freeholder is a great Lover of Story-telling.[[214]](#footnote-214)

*The Free-Holder*’scasting here as a ‘story-teller’ chimes with Arthur Koestler’s twentieth-century attempts to offer a more inclusive definition of literature in *The Act of Creation*.[[215]](#footnote-215) According to Koestler, a text’s ability to tell a ‘story’ and the application of the techniques through which this story is conveyed are fundamental to its classification as literature. Koestler’s definition provides a useful basis for identifying the ‘literary’ features of Addison’s text:

Literature begins with the telling of a tale. The tale represents certain events by the means of auditory and visual signs. The events this represented are mental events in the narrator’s mind. His motive is the urge to communicate these events to others, to make them relive his thoughts and emotions; the urge to *share.* […] To achieve this aim, the narrator must provide patterns of stimuli as substitutes for the original stimuli which caused the experience to occur. This obviously is not an easy task, for he is asking his audience to react to things which are not there, such as the smell of grass on a summer morning. Since the dawn of civilisation, bards and story-tellers have produced bags of tricks to prove such *ersatz* stimuli. The sum of these tricks is called the art of literature.[[216]](#footnote-216)

Koestler’s ‘ersatz stimuli’ refers to the devices an author must use to replicate an analogous experience for the reader, through writing, to that which is being described.[[217]](#footnote-217) *The Freeholder Extraordinary* celebrates Addison’s paper for its role as ‘a story-teller’ and in doing so praises the very ‘tricks’ that Koestler identifies as constituting the ‘art of literature.’ Such ‘tricks’ are manifested in Addison’s application of persona, his use of analogy, allegory, fictional accounts, humour, a conversational style and a carefully constructed and consistent form of reader-address. Addison uses such ‘tricks’ to package his opinions and conveys the core sentiments of *The Free-Holder* (and, conversely, the same ‘tricks’ allegedly prompted in the next generation a reluctance to class Addison as a ‘critic’).[[218]](#footnote-218) It is as a ‘describer of life’ that Samuel Johnson argues Addison was most distinguished, and in hinting at the techniques with which Addison delivers this description Johnson presents a list of components which adhere to Koestler’s specifications of the ‘literary’:

All the enchantment of fancy, and all the cogency of argument, are employed to recommend the reader his real interest, the care of pleasing the author in his being. Truth is shown sometimes as the phantom of a vision; sometimes appears half veiled in an allegory; sometimes attracts regard in the robes of fancy; and sometimes steps forth in the confidence of reason. She wears a thousand dresses, and in all is pleasing.[[219]](#footnote-219)

However, for Addison, (writing three decades before Johnson) the question of what it was that constituted the ‘literary’ nature of a text would have had a very precise answer drawn from an understanding of classical and strictly defined notions of ‘rhetoric.’

Following a humanist revival across early modern Europe interest in classical rhetoric was restored ‘first in Italy and by 1500 in France, Germany, the Low Countries and Britain.’[[220]](#footnote-220) By the eighteenth century rhetoric was taught in British grammar schools and universities. George A. Kennedy notes that the effect of this was to provide ‘the general literate public with a theoretical basis for reading, interpreting, and evaluating texts.’[[221]](#footnote-221) For an eighteenth-century reader the literary and artistic value of a text (the socially determined value which critics such as Ellis would argue allow a text to be recognised to function as literature) would be dictated by the text’s adherence to and engagement with the strictly define rules of classical rhetoric:

[W]e need to remember that for most readers of the time the most important literary genre was oratory […]. Nor should we forget that for most readers what made composition artistic, in any genre, was the use of tropes, or ‘turns’, figures, or ‘schemes’, and topoi, or ‘places’. An educated person instinctively recognized and appreciated these, had been practised in their use, and could give them Greek or Latin names. In addition to the rules for invention and style, rhetoric provided rules for arrangement, memory, and delivery, and a number of the most popular critical techniques were adapted from ancient writers on rhetoric, including *synkrisis,* judging the merit of an author’s works by comparing them with those of another. Comparisons of Homer, Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, pagan and patristic writings, and ancients and moderns is a commonplace of the times.[[222]](#footnote-222)

Addison’s use of such rhetorical features as those listed here correlate with the ‘tricks’ that this thesis has already established as constituting a text’s ‘literary’ status, but it is important to note the additional meaning with which such features would have been burdened for both Addison and his readers. Kennedy identifies ‘at least seven’ debates that characterised the history of rhetoric throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Addison’s *Free-Holder* is certainly entwined explicitly with one of these: ‘the continued debate of Ciceronianism.’[[223]](#footnote-223) Discussed at length in W.S. Howell’s *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700*,this debate sought to determine whether or not Cicero still provided the best model for composition, or if alternatively a new model should be devised which would be better suited for the times.[[224]](#footnote-224) Addison adopted the position of the former, heavily (and openly) indebted to classical models, not only of rhetoric and language but also of society and government; a trait foregrounded in the argument to be presented in this thesis that *The Free-Holder* is recurrently used to recommend and lay claim to a classical past.

In *The Spectator* Addison offers a brief account of the prose styles available to authors at the time of composition and demonstrates a personal bias towards the order and method found in the classical rhetoric of ancient Rome:

Among my Daily-Papers which I bestow on the Public, there are some which are written with Regularity and Method, and others that run out into the Wildness of those Compositions which go by the name of *Essays.* As for the first, I have the whole Scheme of the Discourse in my Mind before I set Pen to Paper. In the other kind of Writing, it is sufficient that I have several Thoughts on a Subject, without troubling my self to range them in such an order, that they may seem to grow out of one another, and be disposed under the proper Heads. *Seneca* and *Montaigne* are Patterns for Writing in this last kind, as *Tully* and *Aristotle* excel in the other. When I read an Author of Genius who writes without Method, I fancy myself in a Wood that abounds with a great many noble Objects, rising among one another in the greatest Confusion and Disorder. When I read a methodical Discourse, I am in a regular Plantation, and can place myself in its several Centres, so as to take a view of all the Lines and Walks that are struck from them. You may ramble in the one a whole Day together, and every Moment discover something or other that is new to you; but when you have done, you will have but a confused imperfect Notion of the Place: In the other, your Eye commands the whole Prospect, and gives you such an Idea of it, as is not easily worn out of the Memory.[[225]](#footnote-225)

The preferable experience of reading a text ‘written with regularity and method’ (which Addison describes here as being analogous to the memorable experience of visiting a well ordered ‘plantation’) is one which adheres to each of the core components of Ciceronian structure, listed by Kennedy as being: ‘invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery.’[[226]](#footnote-226) In ‘ranging’ his own works Addison did in fact prove himself to be ‘universally acknowledged [as] the most conscious classicist among the writers of his time.’ [[227]](#footnote-227)

In what still remains the most thorough and dedicated analysis of Addison’s prose style Jan Lannering has stressed the appearance of this Augustan fixation throughout his works, noting a ‘marked dependence on the letters and philosophy of the Golden Age of Rome.’[[228]](#footnote-228) At the outset of this study Lannering acknowledges that:

[a]s regards Addison there are one or two facts that are likely to be of some importance for a complete picture of his prose style. Addison, we know, was thoroughly read in the classics; while still at Oxford he wrote Latin poems and criticism on the classical authors, and in his critical papers he constantly refers to Aristotle, Homer, Virgil, Horace and Cicero.[[229]](#footnote-229)

Systematically addressing parallelism, sentence structure, cadence and diction Lannering’s analysis of Addison’s application of classical rhetoric foregrounds his self-conscious applications of classical rhetorical styles, concluding that throughout his works the way in which he distributes emphasis bears a ‘striking resemblance to the *copia verborum* of Augustan Latin, particularly manifest in Cicero.’[[230]](#footnote-230) Lannering also adds that, as the above extract from *The Spectator* suggests, ‘in the choice between Ciceronian and Senecan style Addison preferred the former.’[[231]](#footnote-231) Addison’s preference for Ciceronian rhetoric is especially significant to this study, which is interested primarily in *The Free-Holder*’s assertion of ideas pertaining to politeness and reconciliation.

When establishing the fundamental rationale behind applications of classical rhetoric during the eighteenth century Kennedy notes that ‘the whole process of expression, whether in conversation or literary composition, is one of finding the most precise way to convey the ideas and images present in the mind of the author.’[[232]](#footnote-232) Classical rhetoric, and for Addison that of Cicero in particular, provided a methodology to aid in this task. Two examples of classical rhetorical features that could facilitate effective expression presented themselves in the form of tropes and figures; the proper use of which was established and asserted in texts such Bernard Lamy’s *La Rhétorique, ou L’Art de parler* (which first appeared in 1675 but continued to be published until its fifth and final edition in 1715). Kennedy offers a reading of Lamy’s text, explaining that for Lamy tropes which were distinguished as words which ‘do not represent the things to which they are applied’ (the most common of which is metonym), are used ‘to make us [the writer/orator] more intelligible.’[[233]](#footnote-233) Crucially, tropes are designed to aid an author in expressing and conveying an idea. Figures, on the other hand, such as ellipsis, aposiopesis and exclamation provide a means to ‘convert emotion […] illustrate obscure truths and render the mind attentive.’[[234]](#footnote-234) Significantly, the application of each of these serves to facilitate the role of orator as dictated by Ciceronianism; a figure whose duty was ‘to teach, to please, to move.’[[235]](#footnote-235) It is in servicing this role that rhetoric, and Addison’s use of rhetoric in *The Free-Holder* in particular, is related to early eighteenth-century conceptualisations of politeness.

As the third chapter of the thesis will go on to discuss at greater length, the term ‘politeness’ did not necessarily connote the same to Addison’s readers as it does to us today; and furthermore, what it meant to those readers would also itself change throughout the course of the eighteenth century. For Addison, the most recent articulation of politeness presented itself in the works of Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury.[[236]](#footnote-236) Lawrence Klein, whose recent work is dedicated to exploring the importance of politeness to Shaftesbury’s philosophy, writes that to Shaftesbury politeness signified ‘the conventions of good manners, convey[ing] the fundamental rhetorical necessity of making concessions to the knowledge, interests and attention spans of an audience.’[[237]](#footnote-237) Peter France similarly defines early eighteenth-century politeness as meaning: ‘learning to accommodate to others within a given social group.’[[238]](#footnote-238) Crucially, this politeness is primarily a ‘rhetorical necessity’; it is a means of effectively conveying a message and achieving the Ciceronian goal of simultaneously teaching and pleasing. The same sentiment can be found in Shaftesbury’s understanding of ‘literature’, cited in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: ‘[i]n mere Poetry, and the Pieces of Wit and Literature, there is a Liberty of Thought and Easiness of Humour indulg’d to us.’[[239]](#footnote-239) For Shaftesbury literature distinguishes itself in its ability to convey thought by indulging ‘us’, the readers, through easiness and humour. In Shaftesbury’s view literature is polite as it makes concessions to its audience.

France is explicit in foregrounding the intrinsic kinships between rhetoric, politeness and literature: ‘the rhetoric of classical literature – and by literature I mean all kinds of writing – was very much a rhetoric of politeness. It allowed a place for the vehemence of passion, but it was ultimately ruled by the urbanity of polite society.’[[240]](#footnote-240) Thus, Addison’s understanding of the ‘literary’ in terms of classical rhetoric is central to his composition of *The Free-Holder* and the argument of this thesis, as his very utilisation of rhetoric is in essence an act of politeness (in the eighteenth-century sense). Addison’s style in *The Free-Holder* unifies both Cicero’s prescription of the orator’s duty and Shaftesbury’s vision of politeness, making as it does concessions to the knowledge, interests and attention span of the audience whilst delivering its argument with easiness and humour. These qualities, simultaneously indicative of classical rhetoric and polite discourse, are even noted by Johnson:

[Addison’s] prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not grovelling; pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences.[[241]](#footnote-241)

Thus, *The Free-Holder*’s‘literariness’ is central to an understanding of its unified application of classical rhetoric and, more pertinently for this study, politeness. The following two chapters of this thesis will observe how, within the pages of *The Free-Holder*, Addison was able to capitalise on the anxieties and debates sparked by the Jacobite Risings to mount a politely persuasive partisan argument, camouflaged by a titular interest in the topic of property and couched within a discourse reminiscent of those popular debates surrounding the vital issues of liberty and dependence.

3. Appropriation and Assimilation: The Rationale of Addison’s ‘War in Print’

I am firmly persuaded that there is not a better sort of men, generally speaking, than the Freeholders of England.

Francis Atterbury*, English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714)

I question not but the reader will conceive respect for the author of this paper, from the title of it [*The Free-Holder*]; since he may be sure, I am so considerable a man, that I cannot have less than forty shillings a year […] I have rather chosen this title than any other, because it is what I most glory in and what most effectually calls to my mind the Happiness of the government under which I live.

Joseph Addison, *The Free-Holder* (1715)

***The Free-Holder*’schallenge to polemic print**

The tenth number of Joseph Addison’s *Free-Holder* makes the startling observation that there is in fact little difference between Whig and Tory:

One may venture to affirm, that all honest and disinterested Britons of what Party so ever, if they understood one another, are of the same opinion in Points of Government: And that the gross of people, who are imposed by terms which they do not comprehend, are *Whigs* in their heart.[[242]](#footnote-242)

This is especially surprising given that Addison himself notes elsewhere the stark contrast between party politics:

But as the Spirit of the *Whigs* and *Tories* shows itself, upon every occasion, to be very widely different from one another; so is it particularly visible in the Writings of this Kind, which have been published by each Party.[[243]](#footnote-243)

To reveal that Whig and Tory are the same ‘in their heart’ is apparently to present a formidable challenge to accepted visions of early eighteenth-century polemic. It is not, for instance, consistent with Stephen Zwicker’s vision of an innately polemic early modern literary culture, first touched upon in the open opening chapter of this thesis:

[c]entring the aesthetic within the political, a geometry that was second nature to those who wrote the politics and the imaginative literature of the seventeenth century, allows us to appreciate the contestative force of its literature and the complex ways in which the aesthetic performed and transformed the political.[[244]](#footnote-244)

Contemplating the close of the seventeenth century, Zwicker surmises that the recent turmoil of the civil wars and the Glorious Revolution nurtured a violent print culture characterised by incendiary polemic and vitriolic assertion. Joad Raymond has invested a great deal of time investigating this tendency, suggesting that regardless of attempts to distinguish those newsbooks intended for delivering simply ‘news’ and those with a more ‘aggressive, overtly propagandist’ approach, the ‘contestative force’ that Zwicker identifies is ever present:

[T]he most significant division among the group of publications collectively known as newsbooks [is] the opposition […] between bland, plain-style texts, which describe the news in a dry, factual narrative, though sometimes with a more informal editorial; and the racy, rhetorical newsbooks, filled with spleen and invective, which relegated news to a secondary place. The aggressive, overtly propagandistic newsbook tends to be associated with Royalist cause and with greater mendacity, though also with higher quality entertainment. This distinction has been exaggerated. [[245]](#footnote-245)

Raymond cites Nedham’s *Mercurius Pragmaticus* as an example of a newsbook which straddled both sides of this line, simultaneously ‘gloriously vitriolic about the parliamentary independents and the grandees in the Army Juncto’ but also ‘mysteriously accurate.’[[246]](#footnote-246) When Addison talks of other periodicals on offer, this is the image he presents, fashioning himself (much as his seventeenth-century predecessors had) as the one reliable paper amidst a market of print by what Raymond here terms ‘spleen and invective.’[[247]](#footnote-247) But, significantly, Addison is not writing in the immediate aftermath of the civil wars. Times had changed.

With reference to the early eighteenth century, much has been done in recent scholarship to complicate this vision of two clearly defined poles locked in an on-going diatribe of pre-emptive and retaliatory attack, a vision playfully characterised by Julian Hoppit as being a tug of war between the ‘orange of the Whigs and the blue of the Tories.’[[248]](#footnote-248) Over the past ten years scholars such as Christine Gerrard and Abigail Williams have gone a long way in emphasising the heterogeneity at play within the politics of this period and warn against the temptation of applying twentieth-century political models to a time when very few people had the vote (and those that did could easily be influenced by unfair means).[[249]](#footnote-249) Gerrard describes a broad political base, which whilst dominated by the ‘orange’ and ‘blue’ of the two main parties was in a constant state of flux, affected by such factors as the monarch on the throne, the personalities in court and parliament and economic and foreign policy. To complicate things further, as the last chapter indicated, between the two extremes of Arch-Tory and Arch-Whig there fell a substantial middle ground in which existed a myriad group of political dissenters, partially hybrid clusters and other less clearly defined sub-groups. This made for a well-populated hinterland, where the differences between Whig and Tory were often difficult to distinguish. As Williams states, within the Whig party alone ‘there exists significant political diversity.’[[250]](#footnote-250) Williams identifies a dialectic relationship in which the policies and rhetoric of one party is almost always ‘defined in opposition to the principles and opinions espoused by [the other party’s] writers.’[[251]](#footnote-251) Thus, political writing of the early eighteenth-century has always been (and continues be) defined by it ‘polemic’ character. There has been, thus far, little evidence that such writing ever concurred, collaborated with or attempted to seek reconciliation with its oppositional counterparts; and yet on first reading this is often exactly what *The Free-Holder* claims to be doing.

More startling still might be Addison’s overarching insistence that you can be a Whig and still maintain a ‘landed interest’, given that landowning was typically considered the domain of the Tory voter. Rather than contesting the interests and arguments of the opposition, as might be expected following Zwicker’s model, *The Free-Holder* instead seemingly boasts a cheerful willingness to blend the attitudes of Whig and Tory partisans, no doubt prompting Leheny’s description of the paper’s ‘Whig Conservatism.’[[252]](#footnote-252) Never is this inclination brought into sharper focus than when Addison’s paper is compared to one of its most direct namesakes: a thirty-one page tract published in 1714 by Francis Atterbury titled *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*.[[253]](#footnote-253)

Atterbury’s tract first appeared upon the collapse of the Tory ministry in 1714. Prior to the party’s collapse, Atterbury had already publicly demonstrated his high Tory leanings upon publishing *Considerations upon the Secret History of the White Staff*. In this pamphlet Atterbury complained about the management of the Tory party over the previous four years, leaving the blame for their misfortunes and eventual collapse firmly at the door of Robert Harley.[[254]](#footnote-254) Having been an open supporter of James Francis Edwards’s claim to the throne during the final years of Queen Anne’s reign he was also the subject of suspicion upon George’s accession, leaving him open to fierce accusations of Jacobitism.[[255]](#footnote-255) He soon found himself once again thrust before the public eye when obliged to defend against such claims when attacked in the press by Daniel Defoe.[[256]](#footnote-256) Distraught upon the collapse of the Tory ministry, Atterbury ‘did what he could to rally the party faithful, both privately and in print.’[[257]](#footnote-257) The tract is particularly important for Addison’s periodical as its author enables him to link Tories to Jacobitism. Throughout his *Advice* Atterbury speaks to and defends the familiar ‘landed interest’ of the Tory gentleman, describing it as the ‘political blood of the nation.’[[258]](#footnote-258) Claiming that this is not only the case at the time of writing but has always been true of England, he writes that it is for endless generations that ‘the country gentlemen have stood the heat of day.’[[259]](#footnote-259) These men are resilient, consistent and dependable. When seeking a personification of this hereditary ‘landed interest’, Atterbury introduces the figure of the ‘freeholder’:

I am firmly persuaded that there is not in their way a better sort of men, generally speaking, than the Freeholders of *England*. They are a brave, open, plain and direct People, and when fairly left to themselves to choose their Representatives, always chose such as are, or appear to be, true friends to their Country.[[260]](#footnote-260)

This recalls the suggestion touched upon at the outset of this thesis that, as Leheny stressed, the figure of the freeholder was primarily identified as being a voter.[[261]](#footnote-261) Referred to throughout the essay as ‘the honest Part of the Nation’, the freeholder comes also to signify the good Englishman, whose property physically invests him in the nation. Since this inheritance gives him an untainted connection back to England’s origins, he instinctively knows what is best for his country. He knows who to vote for: ‘when fairly left to themselves to choose their Representatives, [they] always chose such as are, or appear to be, true friends to their Country.’ With his property, wealth and reluctance to subscribe to the ‘Whiggish Moderation, [which], like Death, sooner or later strikes all that come in its way’, Atterbury’s freeholder is also intrinsically Tory.[[262]](#footnote-262)

The tract is as interested in addressing these Tory gentlemen as it is in protecting them. It is intent on galvanising a resistance against the rising Whig influence. Whig gentlemen, on the other hand, are not addressed at any point, and they are only ever discussed with palpable distaste:

If [...] we find the Whigs are generally men of more honour and religion, truer to the interests of their country, and less addicted to strangers than their competitors: if their views and designs square better with the establishment in church and state, than those of their rivals, in the name of God let all the persons in England, that have votes to give, declare for a Whig parliament: But if the reverse of all this be true, or if the Whigs are at best but men liable of making mistakes, and open to Bribery: If their avowed designs tend to the overthrow of the constitution, and at the same time it be their interest to pursue those designs, whilst the only prospect, the only safety the Church men can propose to themselves, consists in the preservation of our Religion and Laws as now settled; If this I can say be the case, then I presume it will follow, that it is the interest of both the Church and Party of England, to choose Churchmen for the ensuing parliament.[[263]](#footnote-263)

Even when making a concession to the Whig party Atterbury’s tone is steeped in bitter irony. Feigning to give the Whigs the benefit of the doubt Atterbury’s speculative and incredulous tone here manages to imply that they are not men of ‘honour and religion’, that their ‘designs’ are not laid out for the betterment of the church and state, and that they prefer the company of strangers to that of the opposition. This final mention of ‘strangers’ is undoubtedly a thinly veiled reference to the foreign King George. The severity of Atterbury’s critique magnified as he hints that ‘the reverse of all this be true’, grounding his attack in the familiar accusation that an opponent precedents private interest over the public weal. We are told that the Whigs are ‘liable of making mistakes, and [are] open to Bribery’, that they are blinded by their own ambition, and that unless the people of England are keen to see ‘the overthrow of the constitution’ they will surely vote for the Tory ‘Churchmen’ in the next election.[[264]](#footnote-264)

Atterbury’s tract is adamant that the Whigs are wrong. There is no room for negotiation or compromise: to join the Whigs is to destroy the constitution*.* The intensity of Atterbury’s resolve and his reluctance to acknowledge a rival perspective recalls the zeal of one-man papers such as *The Scourge* (1717).[[265]](#footnote-265)Significantly, not only is Atterbury’s tract clearly Tory but the ‘freeholders’ that he describes and addresses are also Tory, uniting author and reader against the dangers of ‘Whiggish moderation.’ In contrast, Addison never explicitly characterises his readership as having a discernible political inclination. They are simply men who have a ‘forty-shilling estate’ who would benefit from being reminded of ‘the blessings secured to [them] by his Majesty’s Title, his Administration, and his Personal Character.’[[266]](#footnote-266) It also largely avoids implying that members of the opposition are intrinsically bad or wrong but instead suggesting that they might be misguided or exploited. The opposition Addison gestures to are never beyond redemption. *The Free-Holder* does not overtly attack or insult the Tory faithful, but instead appeals to their sense of reason whilst attempting to emphasise any common ground that they might share. This is well demonstrated in No. 7, in which rather than criticising Tory supporters *The Free-Holder* makes an appeal to them, urging them to realise that they are being misled:

I would therefore advise this blinded set of men, not to give credit to those persons by whom they have been so often fooled and imposed upon but on the contrary, to think it an affront to their parts, when they hear from any of them such accounts, as they would not dare tell them upon the presumption that they are idiots.[[267]](#footnote-267)

Here the Tories are addressed as being weak, misguided and in need of help. *The Free-Holder* never offers censure when it can offer advice, emphasising the strengths of ‘preferable’ Whiggish values rather than castigating the perceived absence of such virtues in the Tory party; for Mr. Free-Holder the opposition are not the enemy but the uninitiated.

Unlike Atterbury’s tract, which cannot defend its party without chastising the opposition, Addison’s paper is Whig without explicitly insulting it opponents. On the contrary, by calling his periodical *The Free-Holder* Addison is making his paper attractive to the opposition. In the first instance, the title would no doubt bring to the original reader’s mind the last popular text to use of the antiquated medieval term ‘free-holder’ in its title: Atterbury’s controversial Tory tract, *English Advice to the Free-Holders of England*.This tract provoked a host of responses, inciting a pamphlet war constituted of such texts as John Oldmixon’s *Remarks on a Late Libel Privately Dispersed by the Tories, entitled English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1715) and the anonymous *British Advice to the Free-Holders of Great Britain: Being an Answer to a Treasonable Libel entitled English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1715).The term ‘freeholder’ was no longer singularly a feudal term used to signify a man owning a ‘forty-shilling estate’, but it also brought to mind connotations of Tories in print, potentially making vehement and libellous assertions. The conceptual baggage with which the figure of the ‘freeholder’ was burdened also proved innately useful to Tory rhetoric, signifying as it does the possession of property. Atterbury chooses the figure of the ‘freeholder’ because it embodies for him ‘[t]he country gentleman who have stood the heat of day.’ [[268]](#footnote-268) These men are with a ‘landed interest, who I take to be the political blood of the nation.’[[269]](#footnote-269) Their property provides them with a link back to an essentially English past and as a consequence they instinctively know what is best for it.

As the title of Atterbury’s tract suggests, it is addressed exclusively to the Tory party faithful. It is a rallying call designed to ensure that its readers resist the urge to change sides. The freeholders that Atterbury imagines himself addressing are fellow Tories who need only reminding that they are more righteous than their Whig counterparts. The intended readership of Addison’s *Free-Holder*, however, is harder to identify. *The Free-Holder* is essentially Whig, which suggests that like Atterbury’s tract it is designed to reinforce the beliefs of the party faithful. At the same time, though, it takes a title emblematic of the opposition’s cause, and unlike Atterbury, Addison addresses a non-specific political demographic of ‘freeholders.’ While it is clear that his editorial voice is Whig, all that we know of his imagined readership is that they possess property. Although it is almost impossible to say definitively who *The Free-Holder*’s intended readership was, the remainder of this chapter will argue that the paper was designed to address both Whig and Tory freeholders, reinforcing the beliefs of one existing readership whilst attempting to galvanise and convert another.

One of *The Free-Holder*’sfirst insistences is that it is doing something different. In contrast to the vitriolic tract from which it takes its name, it does not want to be characterised as another antagonistic voice in a print culture harrowed by endless exchanges of censure, spleen and calumny: ‘[s]ince many writers have endeavoured to varnish over a bad cause, I shall do all in my power to recommend a good one.’[[270]](#footnote-270) The print market Addison singles himself out from is reminiscent of that described in the aforementioned polemic press of the civil wars, immortalised in Andrew Marvell’s apostrophized address: ‘*O Printing!* How has thou disturb’d the Peace of Mankind! That Lead, when moulded into Bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into Letters!’[[271]](#footnote-271) However, unlike Marvell, Addison is not writing amidst the uncertainty and turmoil of an unprecedented civil uprising. Fortunately, a ‘war in print’ did exist, but much like Baudrillard’s infamous twenty-first century reading of the Gulf War this was only a war in the sense that it was presented as being such within the mediated reality of the printed press.[[272]](#footnote-272) Although poetry and the press referred to the ‘war in print’ and the ‘rage of party’, surveys of early Hanoverian periodical press tend to characterise it as having been a calmer period, especially when compared to the preceding reign of Queen Anne. Richard Cook simultaneously condemns and celebrates the partisan print of this earlier reign by observing that:

[i]f so exalted a title could properly be applied to a subject so essentially mundane, one might call the reign of Queen Anne ‘the golden age of British political pamphleteering.’ Never before nor after was there a time when so many prominent literary figures were to devote so much skill and passion to undisguised political controversy.[[273]](#footnote-273)

As the last chapter stressed, the arrival of George I brought about a new political context which has been typified by historiography as being one of greater ‘political stability’ than the preceding ‘turbulent period [under] Anne.’[[274]](#footnote-274) Unsurprisingly Addison is implicated by the Tory Samuel Johnson in the cooling of polemic debate, thanks to his earlier work with Steele on *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*. [[275]](#footnote-275) Initially he paints an image of ‘factious zeal’, transmitted and perpetuated by ‘cheap print and easy knowledge’, writing that ‘[i]t was much the interest of either party to raise the prejudices of the people.’[[276]](#footnote-276) However, Johnson goes on to suggest that Addison and Steele played a role in the recalibration of the contestative impulses that had previously been implicit in periodical writing, describing their earlier periodicals as ‘cooler and more inoffensive’ and concluding that the ‘Tatler and the Spectator reduced [...] the unsettled practice of daily intercourse to propriety and politeness; and like La Bruyere, exhibited the Characters of the age.’[[277]](#footnote-277) The war, it seems, was much like the threat of Jacobitism after the attempts to kindle an uprising in 1715: it held most power in the imagination of the press and its readers. Like this spectral threat of Jacobitism, the vision of such a printed war was a useful image (particularly for partisan writers) and it became a familiar trope of political poetry upon the ascension of George I.[[278]](#footnote-278) Looking briefly outside *The Free-Holder*,this chapter will now consider a poem published anonymously in 1714 titled ‘The Arrival of the King’, which exemplifies well the way in which this war was visualised and employed, contributing to the perceptions that Addison would later capitalise upon.

Dedicated to Sir Andrew Fountaine, an art collector best remembered for the friendship he shared with Jonathan Swift documented in *Journal to Stella*, the poem celebrates the arrival of the George I.[[279]](#footnote-279) ‘Arrival of the King’ deliberately aligns itself with the epic tradition, composed as it is in strict iambic pentameter and heroic couplets, and prefaced with an epigraph by Virgil. For the anonymous poet, the topics to be considered are akin to those discussed by figures such as Homer, Virgil, Edmund Spenser and, most recently, John Milton. They are to be celebrated and respected.

Painting a vivid picture of England’s glorious past, the poem finds itself looking forward to the revival of such glory whilst describing the present with bitter resignation. When outlining his ambition in the opening dedication the poet is not subtle when describing the state of the nation, nor in identifying a culprit for this condition:

I sing how Britain’s Genius Pensive fate,

Mourning th’ unhappy Nation’s wretched State:

How giddy Rage, and Factious Zeal possess’d

Our Canker’d Hearts, and reigned in every Breast.[[280]](#footnote-280)

The apostrophised Nation watches on, ‘Pensive’ and ‘wretched’, as the personified entities of ‘Rage’ and ‘Factious Zeal’ spread throughout the land. Described as a ‘Canker’, these entities are a dangerous contagion. They infect all, even the poetic voice, as it is ‘Our canker’d hearts’ that he alludes to. Furthermore, this ‘canker’ is not merely the embodiment of an invasive infection, but the product of a splenetic self-realised decay. ‘Factious Zeal’ is produced by the very men it corrupts. The opening section of the poem is spent introducing the host through which these symptoms have been transmitted: they are ‘[s]prung from the evils of the wordy War, / And all the Plagues of the litigious Bar.’ It is ‘words’ that are the ‘plague’ carriers.

Words are dangerous, it suggests, because they make things worse. Words can turn a resolvable issue into a ‘Fantastic Woe.’ It is likely that the poet is responding to the proliferation of polemic print that emerged during the preceding reign of Queen Anne. As Julian Hoppit reminds us, Anne’s reign ‘saw party politics conducted with an intensity and clarity that is difficult to find in William’s.’[[281]](#footnote-281) The continued war with France, Union with Scotland, the question of succession and the on-going issue of religion posed difficult questions, and suggesting solutions became a full time occupation for early eighteenth-century print culture. The concern of this poem is that the arguments themselves have superseded the issues at hand, and that print is more concerned with winning the debate than it is resolving the problem that initiated it:

Her [Britannia’s] Sons saw with Factious Zeal possess’d,

For wilde Divisions reigned in ever Breast;

For empty and unmeaning Words begun,

And with unthinking Fury carried on.

Argument for argument’s sake is the product of ‘empty and unmeaning words’ and can perpetuate a pointless fury that has no ends but destruction. Ironically, this concern provides a useful metaphor for both the war in print and the Jacobite threat, which held most weight when discussed in the press. Whilst print can form and cement communities, bringing to light similarities in interests and sympathy for causes (as Atterbury’s tract will later be seen to attempt), this poet warns that it can also fragment and polarise communities; bringing to light differences in opinion and rivalling sympathies.

The tyes of nature all were laid aside,

Brothers the Rage of Party did divide,

Fathers opposed Sons, and Bridegroom shun’d his Bride.

Hatred and endless Feuds, Confusion, Strife,

All the direful Ills of Human Life

Infect each Breast; destructive Passion blinds

Their Hood-Wink’d Reason, and inflames their Mind.

Here words (transmitted by a print that is intrinsically political, as ‘Party’ and ‘Words’ are used interchangeably) have facilitated an unnatural loss of community. Familial bonds have been broken, and individuals have been ‘infected’ with a blinding destructive passion, which counters their reason and urges them to destroy their former friends and relatives. Crucially, this is not a warning or morbid prediction, but is instead presented in the past and present tenses. As the poem progresses, events that happened previously (‘all were laid aside’, ‘the Rage of Party did divide’) invade the reader’s own temporal moment: passion ‘blinds’ and ‘inflames their minds.’ It has happened before, and it is happening now. Britain’s ‘Genius’, characterised as the reason of the nation’s collective consciousness, has no choice but to retreat and watch from afar as the demonic personification of ‘Discord’ arrives to reap the fruits of the county’s self-destruction:

The trembling Genius now from far decries,

Amidst her Sons, but in a strange Disguise,

Fell DISCORD with her soft deceitful Smiles,

Enticing Frauds, alluring subtle Wiles.

Discord is followed by her ‘darlings’: ‘Suspicion, Fraud, Fear, Avarice, and Pride.’ When describing the weapons at Discord’s disposal the poet again points to the corrosive nature of print. Discord is undoubtedly a demon born out of the rage of party that will continue to wreak damage on a once glorious nation using the very medium from which it came:

About her waist another Garment bound,

Hangs dangling with its Borders on the Ground,

Which Writs, Citations, and Arrests compose,

Long Bills, and Answers, which the Poor foreclose.

‘Writs’, ‘Bills’ and ‘Answers’: these are the ingredients of early eighteenth-century polemic print culture. *The Free-Holder* itself, as this chapter hopes to demonstrate, is at least in part an ‘answer’ to Atterbury’s *Address*,which names itself a ‘tract’ and could easily be described as a ‘writ.’ ‘The Arrival of the King’writes to the moment into which both Atterbury’s and Addison’s texts were published, conjuring well the popular conception that a ‘Rage of Party’ waged at this time: discord rules and communities are destroyed by an anger initiated and perpetuated by ‘empty words.’

The ‘war in print’ was not entirely imagined. There were still instances of calumny. This is a fact well demonstrated by the vicious retaliations to Atterbury’s *English Advice.* Atterbury’s intensely partisan tract prompted a series of alternate addresses to a freeholder audience, prefaced with the explicit intention of discrediting Atterbury’s ‘treasonable libel.’[[282]](#footnote-282) When reading Addison’s *The Free-Holder* amidst the Atterbury backlash its unique tone is brought into sharp focus, but this is no mistake. By taking a title which implicates his paper in a notoriously fierce pamphlet war Addison’s ‘different’ approach instantly registers as a cooling balm to the otherwise heated rage of party. An anonymous pamphlet published in 1715 states on its title page that Atterbury’s advice is the ‘last Effort of the *Jacobite* Faction, who have nothing left ‘em now, but by Calumnies to alienate the Heart of His Majesty’s Subjects.’[[283]](#footnote-283) In the response of John Oldmixon, a Whig pamphleteer and historian, the ‘faction’ behind *English Advice* is both Jacobite and Tory:

There has been every new Parliament, *Advice to Freeholders,* of various kinds, but surely the most *insolent* and *seditious* Libel of that sort, which ever was made public in *England,* is a pamphlet lately dispersed by the *Jacobites* and Tories, under the Title of, *England’s Advice to the Freeholders of England*. In which there is not a page, but there are almost as many false things as words said with the greatest spite and inveteracy against the present ministers, who are so worthily in possession of his majesty’s and the Nation’s favour.[[284]](#footnote-284)

Oldmixon’s pamphlet situates Atterbury’s tract within a tradition of such writing, revealing that with each new parliament there is always an ‘advice to freeholders of various kinds’ furnishing Addison’s title with further connotations.[[285]](#footnote-285) However, Oldmixon suggests that Atterbury’s *English Advice* is a ‘most insolent and seditious libel’, which he is now duty bound to contend. Each of these responses are self-consciously framed as a Whig defence against enemy factions. Oldmixon makes this explicit when justifying his going to print, stating that as a Whig supporter he finds that his public response is ‘absolutely necessary’:

The great care the *Faction* have taken to hand this *Libel* about, makes it absolutely necessary to expose his *sedition* and *insolence* which he has been guilty of, at the greatest expense of *Reason, Truth* and *Conscience*,that ever an abandoned and prostituted *Scribler* had to answer for.[[286]](#footnote-286)

The anonymous author of *British Advice* adopts a similar pose, discrediting Atterbury (addressed here only as ‘the Libeller’) by hoping to demonstrate that ‘his Jacobitism gets the better of his judgement.’[[287]](#footnote-287) Each response works through the points made in Atterbury’s *English Advice*, offering counter-arguments and destabilising his credibility as they do so. Oldmixon discredits Atterbury’s accusations by drawing attention to their discontinuity with previous claims made in Tory propaganda, highlighting that in the past it has been a Tory tradition to label the Whigs as republicans rather than absolutists. In a move that recalls Atterbury’s own attack on the Whigs (which used ‘if the reverse of all this be true’ to provide a damning hypothesis upon Whig behaviour and attitudes) Oldmixon reverses this charge, suggesting that if any party were to harbour such sympathies it would be the Tories:

‘Tis no matter that all the Tory Scriblers that ever wrote, that a hundred nonsensical Addresses in the late *Times*, charged the *Whigs* with *Republican Principles,* and a Design against the *Prerogative.* This *Libeller* thinking ‘twou’d be for his Turn, unsays all that has been said by his *Faction* on that subject. And now the Whigs are all of a sudden in a *Scheme* to make the *Government Arbitrary,* which indeed would be one way to unite the Two *Parties,* tho’ a bad one; for ‘twou’d not leave a *Whig* in *England,* they cou’d not attempt it, but they must at first conception of such a Thought, be downright Tories.[[288]](#footnote-288)

Despite many of the points made in both the anonymous response and Oldmixon’s pamphlet relying on such reversals, Oldmixon is reluctant to subscribe to Atterbury’s representation of the two political parties as polar opposites. Atterbury’s tract visually represents Whigs and Tories as being locked in a dichotomy through the use of a diagrammatic table, which claims to illustrate the core contentions between the parties. This table actually lists simply ‘Tory strengths’ and ‘Whig weaknesses’, concluding that whilst the Tory ‘Church-Party’ works towards ‘no alteration of the constitution of Church and state’, Whig rule can only result in ‘an entire and thorough revolution.’

Oldmixon resists a model that figures the two parties as being so diametrically opposed, warning that if such a scenario ever came to pass it would result in naught but an infinite blame game with no possible resolution. Oldmixon wishes he could write something more than retaliation. Unfortunately he finds Atterbury’s tract to be so dangerously offensive and misleading that on this occasion has no choice but to grudgingly succumb to the temptation of reversing many of Atterbury’s claims:

It would be very easy to turn every word the Adviser says of the *Whigs* against the Tories, and to prove by many notorious Instances; but there’s no dealing with these Wretches in the common way, they are dexterous fencers in falsehoods and nonsense, and cut reason quite out of play. So it is, and so it will be to Eternity, while there is a *Tory* upon Earth; if his lies last but a day, he cares for no more, he has new ones for the next, and the same over again, without mattering for detection and reproof.[[289]](#footnote-289)

As it happens Oldmixon’s pamphlet does ‘turn every word the Adviser says of the Whigs against the Tories’, rigorously working through and contending every single paragraph of Atterbury’s tract. The more subtle response that Oldmixon aspires to but fails to achieve is perhaps closer to that later promoted by Addison’s *The Free-Holder*, which often presents its own arguments without directly engaging with its Tory counterparts, appealing to its reader’s ‘candour and impartiality’, relying on proving its own validation rather than discrediting that of its opponents.[[290]](#footnote-290)

This is what most distinguishes Addison’s periodical from the other printed polemical responses to Atterbury’s tract. It does function as a response and it can be seen to share attitudes and opinions with Oldmixon’s *Remarks* and the anonymous *Advice*.For instance, they each counter the fierce nationalism written into Atterbury’s title (‘*English* Advice to the Free-Holders of *England*’) by stressing the ‘British’ identity of their intended readership. The anonymous *Advice* subtly updates Oldmixon’s title to *British Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain*,Oldmixon lists amongst the objectives on the his title page a desire to offer ‘True *English* Advice offered to all the Loyal Freeholders of *Great Britain’*, and Addison frequently addresses his readers as ‘British Freeholders.’[[291]](#footnote-291) However, despite clearly sharing lifeblood with these fellow Whig responses to Atterbury’s Tory call-to-arms, for Addison’s *Free-Holder* the Atterbury debate also functions as something else. It presents Addison with a notorious example of how the ‘war in print’ might have manifested itself, in fierce accusatory exchange, and it allows him to present himself as something different. When read in contrast to Oldmixon, *The Free-Holder*’sapproach emphatically avoids the trap of calumny to become more than a retort. It performs a resistance to description in ‘The Arrival of the King’ of ‘empty and unmeaning words begun, / And with unthinking fury carried on.’[[292]](#footnote-292)

**Print as a weapon of war**

In order to foreground the calumny that *The Free-Holder* sees in the efforts of rival periodical authors Addison adds to the sense that he writes amidst a ‘war in print’ by exploiting a metaphorical slippage between military and rhetorical action. Returning to No. 19, which was seen in the previous chapter to make an uncharacteristic jab at rival Tory paper, *The Examiner*,Addison deliberately uses the language of war to describe impolite polemic:

When a Man thinks a Party engaged in such Measures as tend to the Ruine of his Country, it is certainly very laudable and virtuous Action in him to make War after this Manner upon the whole Body. But as several Casuists are of Opinion, that in a Battle you should discharge upon the Gross of the Enemy, without levelling your Piece at any particular Person so in his Kind of Combat also, I cannot think it fair to aim at any one Man, and make his Character the Mark of your Hostilities.[[293]](#footnote-293)

Here the setting shifts from the ephemeral news market to the field of ‘battle’, as periodical authors are no longer enacting hostilities through their written compositions but ‘levelling [their] piece’ at an ‘enemy’ in ‘combat.’ The implication here is that the power of the press could just as easily obliterate an individual as that of cannon fire. *The Free-Holder* builds on this analogy to suggest an ethical contrast in the way each party approaches print and by extension the public good of the nation. Describing *The Examiner*’s role in polemic debate, *The Free-Holder* capitalises on the previously established figment of war to heighten the severity of its accusations:

The *Examiner* was a paper, in the last Reign, which was the Favourite Work of the Party. […] Who would not have expected, that at least the Rules of Decency and Candour would be observed in such a Performance? But instead of this, you saw all the great Men, who had done eminent Services to their Country but a few Years before, draughted out one by one, and baited in Turns. No Sanctity of Character, or Privilege of Sex, exempted Persons from this barbarous Usage. Several of our Prelates were the standing marks of public Raillery, and many Ladies of the first Quality branded by Name for Matters of Fact, which as they were false, were not heeded, and if they had been true, were innocent. The Dead themselves were not spared.[[294]](#footnote-294)

The ‘rules of decency and candour’ become almost the rules of war, which this essay laments are worryingly absent when the Tory propagandists go to print. Gossip and rumour are seen to be devastating weapons to be employed sparingly, but that are here unleased indiscriminately, culminating in the grotesque revelation that even the dead are not to be spared. Addison is able to suggest by contrast that the Whigs obey such rules, restrained by both a code of civility and a lack of inclination.[[295]](#footnote-295) The ‘print as war’ analogy that Addison is here playing with is far from original.

In 1661 the same metaphorical analogy was simultaneously identified and exploited by Lewis Griffin, who wrote:

Printing and Guns are two modern inventions, & the one as well as the other hath made the leaden mile as destructive to mankind as the golden; men may be said to shoot from the press as well as from the artillery, some (like Jehu) to wound, others (like Johnathan) to warn; that is either by writing of raillery invectives, or sober exhortations; polemical discourse are like shooting at a mark, which might ought be true, schismatical pamphlets are Granada’s, Playes, and Romances are squids & crackers which though they wound not with their bullets, yet they blind with their powder.[[296]](#footnote-296)

Here we find precisely the same imagery used to make exactly the same observation; the press is a dangerous weapon and close kin to the artillery of the battlefield. By foregrounding the fact that bullets and type are each made of lead, Griffin is contributing to the perpetuation of a steadfast seventeenth-century trope, typified by Andrew Marvell’s *The Rehearsal Transposed* (1672/1673).[[297]](#footnote-297) As Raymond observes, it was not only that ‘the pen, or moveable type, was mightier than the sword’ but that ‘the war was fought on paper as well as on the battlefield.’[[298]](#footnote-298) The only problem Addison has in reviving this trope so precisely is that he is not writing at a time of war. He is not even writing at a time of pamphlet war, such as that seen during the closing years of Queen Anne’s reign. So, in moments such as his critique of *The Examiner* he deliberately employs linguistic strategies that create a war around his periodical, recalling the civil war in particular.

By contrasting his periodical to that of *The Examiner* Addison can foreground his own approach*.* As the next chapter will argue in more depth, comparison between *The Free-Holder* and *The Examiner* reveals the extent to which Addison’s *Free-Holder* is littered with distortions, notable for their subtlety and plausibility. There is a host of problems which arise when offering a generalised description of an eighteenth-century periodical, such as that which Addison attempts to provide for *The Examiner*. For one, they consist of many numbers that are not necessarily penned by the same author. *The Examiner* had several contributors (including Francis Atterbury and Henry St John), and ran for four years.[[299]](#footnote-299) Periodicals by their very nature evolve, demanding a more nuanced summation than that afforded *The Examiner* by Addison’s accusations. What is more, close inspection of *The Examiner* reveals that there are instances in which the tone and content are remarkably similar to Addison’s own, such as No. 13:

It is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties; and it was never without some contempt that I have observed persons, wholly out of employment, affect to do otherwise. I doubted whether any man could owe so much to the side he was of, although he were retained by it; but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.[[300]](#footnote-300)

Not only does this contradict Addison’s broad-brush claims about *The Examiner*, but the suggestion (from the opposition) that there are ‘deserving men of both parties’ also complicates his overarching vision of an on-going vitriolic war in print. Whilst not necessarily lying about *The Examiner*, Addison is mercilessly offering a distorted image of a rival paper, sacrificing its credibility to boost his own and arguably committing the very atrocities he identifies in the rival press.

Any singular vision of print culture presented in *The Free-Holder* should be regarded with suspicion. Just as Addison’s seventeenth-century predecessors demonstrated, the press lent itself well to distortion, or as Joad Raymond has termed it, ‘propaganda.’[[301]](#footnote-301) James Leheny makes it the business of his edition of *The Free-Holder* to untangle distortions perpetuated by Addison’s paper:

Distortions like Addison’s were common practise among political writers and it seems unlikely that anyone who read other newspapers carefully would be swayed by them. […] There were also those gullible subjects, however small in number, who would believe anything they read or heard, and those in court who read anything that flattered them.[[302]](#footnote-302)

James Leheny cites No. 31 as evidence for this claim, a number in which Addison commends the King’s pardoning of six rebel lords when in fact this mercy was forced by the House of Lords, noting that Addison often had a habit of ‘flatter[ing] the King with compliments which rightly belonged to Parliament.’[[303]](#footnote-303) However, in suggesting that Addison’s distortions were always this obvious Leheny does *The Free-Holder* something of a disservice. Whilst there are examples which would undoubtedly have tested the incredulity of more discerning readers, it is unclear as to whether such overt distortions were ever intended to be believed, or if in some instances they served an alternate purpose. *The Free-Holder*’sdirect engagements with Jacobitism will be seen to illustrate this well, but even these overt distortions play a part in broader distortions enacted throughout the paper’s entire sequence, disguised by the very duration over which they are played out. Appropriately for this discussion, Addison’s views on the rival authenticities of print and manuscript typify such long running distortions.

Throughout *The Free-Holder*,the editorial voice recurrently expresses a concern regarding the circulation of misleading or libellous information. In No. 7 he reluctantly acknowledges that there are far too many falsehoods being disseminated far too widely for him or his party to ever locate and dispute them all:

We observe upon this occasion that there are many particular falsehoods suited to the particular climates and latitudes in which they are published, according as the situation of the place makes them less liable to discovery: there is many a lye that will not thrive within a hundred miles of London. As the mints of calumny are perpetually at work, there are a great number of curious inventions issued out from time to time, which grow current among the party, and circulate through the whole Kingdom.[[304]](#footnote-304)

These falsehoods are ‘published’, implicating the printing press in their composition and propagation. These ‘lyes’ are reaching provincial quarters, where there are not the apparatus to neither identify nor intercept them, and as such they ‘can thrive’ and ‘circulate’ with a far greater degree of success than if they were published ‘within a hundred miles of London.’ *The Free-Holder* can do nothing to stop these rumours, which are gaining more credence outside of London under the ‘current [...] party’: Addison’s own Whig ministry. Instead he hopes to help readers to develop the critical faculties to be discerning when sifting through the news they receive and be able to distinguish between fact, fiction, opinion, polemic and propaganda.

Addison is not content raising awareness of such inventions though; he also wants to ascribe to them a moral character:

There is no greater sign of a bad cause, than when the patrons of it are reduced to the necessity of making use of the most wicked artifices to support it. Of this kind there are the falsehoods and calumnies, which are invented and spread abroad by enemies to our King and Country.

That it claims that these artifices are symptomatic of a ‘bad cause’ instantly establishes a moral dimension to what comes next; these ‘falsehoods’ are not merely misleading, they are morally objectionable. The cause alluded to could also be ‘bad’ in the sense that its success is not assured; it is poorly planned and badly executed. *The Free-Holder* describes the falsehoods here as ‘calumnies’: a word defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the ‘false and malicious misrepresentation of the words or actions of others, calculated to injure their reputation.’[[305]](#footnote-305) These falsehoods, ‘invented and spread abroad by enemies to our King and Country’, are born of malicious intent. The use of the pronoun ‘our’ unites writer and reader and polarizes them against the liars this article writes against, who, four lines into the essay, are already enemies of the country.

Once again, *The Free-Holder* endeavours to define itself in contrast to the texts and situations it sees elsewhere. We are encouraged to trust Addison because he has raised our attention to the processes by which lies are invented and disseminated elsewhere, a typical mechanism for generating an impression of authenticity in print at an opponent’s expense in Stuart England.[[306]](#footnote-306) Returning to the newsbooks of the civil wars we find identical claims, lamenting the excessive falsehoods saturating the printed market and assuring readers that the text that they hold in their hands is the exception that proves the rule:

The world hath long enough beene abused with falsehoods: And there’s a weekly cheat put out to nourish the abuse amongst the people, and make them pay for their seducements. And that the world may see that the court is neither so barren of intelligence, as it is conceived; nor the affaires thereof in so unpropsperous a condition, as these pamphlets make them: it is thought fit to let them truly understand the estate of things that so they may no longer pretend ignorance, or be deceived with untruthes: which being premised once for all, we now go unto the businesse; wherein we shall proceed with all truth and candour.[[307]](#footnote-307)

Taken from the first dedicated Royalist newsbook this extract is seen to use the problem of ‘falsehoods’ to achieve the same ends as Addison’s *Free-Holder*. The paper’s rival, here ‘a weekly cheat’, is accused of furthering an ‘abuse’ of the people and threatening the public weal through its propagation of ‘untruthes.’ This paper, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, defines itself in opposition to such practises and can thus be trusted to proceed with ‘truth and candour.’

Much of *Aulicus* is marked by its contentious relationship with the oppositional pro-parliamentary paper the *Mercurius Britanicus*.The reclamation of the moral high ground through the presentation of rival truth claims accounts for much of the material produced in these papers. For instance, on 17th December 1643 *Aulicus* brought news of what it is that the ‘rebels’ opposing the King ‘doe on sundays’, couching the account within assurances of its own credibility:

You may remember this day three weekes, how the rebels railed on us for telling the world what they does on *Sundayes.* Their reason for this is (for some allow Them to be reasonable creatures) this day revealed by an Expresse from *Shrewsbury*; wherein it was certified among other particulars, that on *Sunday* last *Decemb.* 9. while His Majesties forces were at Church, on of their Prisoners were missed by his Keeper, who searching for him, and looking through a cranny into the stable, he saw a ladder erected, and the holy rebell (busie at a conventicle) committing Buggery on the keepers owne Mare. The keeper seizing on him, brought him instantly before *Richard Leveson,* where being examined, he openly and plainly confessed the whole fact, for which they will speedily proceed against him, though the poore Keeper is like to lose his Mare, which (according to the Statute) must be burned to death.[[308]](#footnote-308)

This claim, that a Roundhead prisoner of the Cavalier army escaped custody only to then be discovered committing sex acts upon a horse is quickly disputed by *Britanicus*,who not only seeks to offer a ‘truthful’ explanation for events but also criticise the ethics and morality that led *Aulicus* to draw such crass conclusions:

He tells us that one of our party, their *prisoner*, that he sayes committed buggery on a Mare, now the truth is, for ought I hear yet, he committed but onely burglary; that is, he got into the stable, and bridled the Mare, and was endeavouring to get away; but you may see what a lewd generation they are, and how they interpret everything as sin; and now they have bethought them of this kinde of impiety, you will have them *sinning* with the very beasts of the field shortly, and for *breeding* Cavaliers on, and they may do it as lawfully as ladies of honour may keep Stallions and Monkies [...] But of all your sinners, your *Cathedral Men* are the worst, some of your priests make nothing of sinning with the little singing boys after an Anthem; Oh! this is prodigious lust, which rages after *Organ Pipes,* and *Surplisses*;I could tell you a strange story of a reverend *Prelate* that you all know, you would little imagine what doings he hath had in his Vestry, but I leave his transgression to be inserted in the next century.[[309]](#footnote-309)

Explaining that the Roundhead in question actually committed ‘burglary’ and not ‘buggery’ *Britanicus* wastes no time in criticising the ease and speed with which *Aulicus* jumped to the (allegedly) wrong conclusion. *Britanicus* reads this as a Cavalier tendency to ‘interpret everything as sin’, quickly moving the grounds of discussions away from whatever events happened in the barn and tactfully ignoring the lack of evidence used to dispute the claims that have been made. Within moments *Britanicus* has reversed *Aulicus*’saccusations and now it is the Cavaliers ‘sinning with the very beasts of the field’, their own guilty conscience providing the inspiration for their misreading of a relatively mundane scene: a prisoner bridling a mare. Despite feigning moral indignation at such an accusation, *Britanicus* wastes no time in returning the favour, swapping bestiality for homosexual paedophilia, rendered blasphemous by the setting of a Cathedral and the implication of priest and congregation. Again, no evidence is presented, and the hypocrisy of meeting one libellous claim with another is left untroubled.

Unsurprisingly, serial news publications of this kind were met with justified scepticism. As Marcus Nevitt has noted, ‘[c]omments about the unreliability of the stories were legion in the early seventeenth century.’[[310]](#footnote-310) It was in a large part this framework of scepticism, confirmation, contradiction and retaliation that led to the polemic visions of civil war print discussed earlier in this chapter. Raymond makes exactly this observation: ‘[t]he conflicts between truth and rhetoric as they appeared in exchanges between rival newsbooks no doubt gave ammunition to those who thought all newsbook writers were scurrilous incendiaries.’[[311]](#footnote-311) The strategies employed in the rival truth claims of civil war newsbooks such *Aulicus* and *Britanicus* arereplicated precisely in Addison’s *Free-holder*, which imagines itself to be writing in a context which is in some way analogous. Like these papers, *The Free-Holder* sees no hypocrisy in enacting the very acts that he criticises elsewhere. By establishing his own credibility in opposition to ‘falsehoods’ perpetuated by ‘that odious party’ *The Free-Holder* is defining itself using the very contestative and oppositional dynamics identified by Zwicker and Williams at the outset of this chapter, demonstrating that on an innate level it is still a product of polemic, despite its own claims to the contrary. Further to this though, it is also guilty of disseminating its own ‘falsehoods’, as seen in its more overt distortions, which again recall the newsbook strategies of the seventeenth-century.

After No. 22, which will be revealed in the following chapter to wear its fictionality brazenly on its sleeve, *The Free-Holder*’sthird number is perhaps the hardest to believe.[[312]](#footnote-312) This essay finds Mr. Free-Holder coming into possession of a journal previously belonging to one of the Jacobite soldiers present at the Battle of Preston.[[313]](#footnote-313) Whilst the Duke of Argyll’s force marched in Scotland to engage the Jacobite Earl of Mar in Perth, the town of Preston had been taken by an army of northern Jacobites. When a small group of government troops attempted to reclaim the town they were held at bay until reinforcements arrived. After two days the Jacobite army unconditionally surrendered and Preston was reclaimed.[[314]](#footnote-314) When accounting for how he came to possess the journal Addison constructs for Mr. Free-Holder an elaborate frame narrative, pre-empting those tropes that would soon come to regularly preface examples of the early novel:

Everyone knows, that it is usual for a *French* Officer, who can Write and Read, to set down all the occurrences of a campaign, in which he pretends to have been personally concerned; and to publish them under the Title of his *Memoirs*, when most of his Fellow-Soldiers are dead that might have contradicted any of his Matters of Fact. Many a gallant young fellow has been killed in Battle before he came to the third page of his secret history; when several, who have taken more care of their persons, have lived to fill a whole volume with their military performances, and to astonish the world with such instances of bravery, as has escaped the notice of everybody. One of our late *Preston* heroes had, it seems, resolved upon this Method [that of the French Officer] of doing himself justice; and, had he not been nipped in the bud, might have made a very formidable figure in his own works, among posterity. […] A friend of mine, who had the pillage of his pockets, has made me a present of the following memoirs.[[315]](#footnote-315)

We are told that Mr. Free-Holder has been presented with these ‘memoirs’ by a ‘friend’ who happened to have ‘the pillage of his pockets.’ Already their appearance in *The Free-Holder* has been preceded by at least two stages of mediation. We have only Mr. Free-Holder’s word that the journal was given to him by a friend who discovered it, and Mr. Free-Holder has only his friend’s word that it was actually pillaged from a Jacobite rebel. By detailing a back story for the document he is about to present Addison is employing a truth claim technique described by Maximilian Novak as ‘circumstantial realism.’[[316]](#footnote-316) As a mechanism for establishing credibility it was present across a broad strata of printed genres, ranging across legal, scientific, medical and political texts.[[317]](#footnote-317) Novak examines its employment by Defoe in his early novels, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)and *Moll Flanders* (1722),claiming that ‘[D]efoe didn’t invent circumstantial realism but he gave it significance for fiction that it never had before.’[[318]](#footnote-318) This trope was however present in Defoe’s writing prior to the composition of his novels. It can also be found in Defoe’s 1706 text *A True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal,* which shares a host of devices with Addison’s introduction to No. 13.[[319]](#footnote-319) Defoe, like Addison, prefaces his account with an elaborate history of composition. In each instance the text becomes an artefact: itself a piece of evidence. Defoe makes the text of Mrs. Veal’s account not only a testimony but also an object with a history of its own.

Like the voice of the rebel journal, Defoe’s authorial voice is also complicated by the different stages of mediation implicit in his text’s history. Defoe takes on the role of an editor who has received this account at a point at which it is already at least four times removed. He claims that the main-text is the words of ‘one Mrs. Bargrave’ relative of a Kinswoman who lived ‘within a few doors of [Mrs. Bargrave]’, then told to a ‘Gentleman, a justice of the peace’ by his friend, who then sent it to Defoe.[[320]](#footnote-320) In *Moll Flanders* he again casts himself as editor.In this textwe are told on the title-page that it is ‘[w]ritten from her own MEMORANDUMS.’[[321]](#footnote-321) Moll is not the author, but the account is based on her memorandums: further fictitious documentary evidence. Addison is even more self-conscious in taking on the role of editor, acknowledging that he has adapted the journal extract for its appearance in his periodical: ‘I have omitted the Introduction [and] shall only set down so much of the memoirs as seem to be a faithful narrative of the wonderful expedition.’ Mr. Free-Holder is deliberately ‘only’ including details which ‘seem’ to give a ‘faithful’ narrative. In addition to Addison’s employment of modal language, the innately subjective understanding of what constitutes a ‘faithful’ retelling foregrounds that what follows will be at best an approximation of the original journal. An acknowledgement of textual transmission prior to the present publication allows both Addison and Defoe to portray their fictional accounts with an amount of creative vigour without compromising the illusion that what he is describing was at one time ‘true.’

It is not the validity of his own recounting of the Preston hero’s tale that Addison is interested in complicating though. There is a satire present in No. 3’s ‘circumstantial realism’ that is absent in Defoe’s employment of the same in *Mrs Veal* and *Moll Flanders.* Like his seventeenth-century predecessors, Addison hopes to challenge the legitimacy and credibility of Jacobite print, here using an unfortunate comparison to the alleged efforts of French Officers to misrepresent their own heroism for personal gain and notoriety to implicate this Jacobite ‘Hero’ in an attempt at the same. Audaciously, Addison is at once utilising and perpetuating a stereotype of anti-French propaganda to galvanise a similar stereotype for the Jacobite rebels, all whilst supposedly warning against the dangers of such propaganda. The credibility of any material attributed to surviving French officers is painted as dubious due to a lack of supporting witness evidence to corroborate such accounts: ‘most of his fellow-soldiers are dead that might have contradicted any of his matters of fact.’ What is more, any soldiers putting pen to paper after battle are criticised for their very survival, which, Addison implies, suggests that they were not as brave as they could have been when in combat: ‘[m]any a gallant young fellow has been killed in Battle before he came to the third page of his secret history.’[[322]](#footnote-322) So, this journal is suspect by virtue of the facts of its very existence.

Addison’s rationale for printing extracts from this journal is apparently clear. He is highlighting the hyperbole, excess and absurdity of Jacobite propaganda. However, what follows could hardly be accused of glorifying the efforts of the Jacobite uprisings, and it soon becomes clear that Addison’s description of it as detailing noteworthy ‘instances of bravery’ is quickly revealed to be steeped in bathetic irony:

We sat till midnight, and our party resolved to give the enemy battle, but the next morning changed our resolution, and prosecuted our march with indefatigable speed. [Later] we had success against a flock of sheep, which we were forced to eat with great precipitation, having received advice of General Carpenter’s March as we were at dinner. [In the end] We did little remarkable in our Way, except setting Fire to a few houses, and frightening an old woman into fits.[[323]](#footnote-323)

The duration for which the rebels held Preston before retreating in the face of government reinforcements is contradicted. This is no longer a tactical retreat, but a last minute change of resolution. The Hero is left with little to fashion into substantial victories, furthering the bathos of the episode by boasting of success ‘against a flock of sheet’ and ‘an old woman.’ The joke is accentuated by Addison’s prefatory implication that this is an example of Jacobite propaganda actually *exaggerating* Jacobite success and heroism. This is, clearly, an instance in which *The Free-Holder* is adhering to the function that Leheny paints as its primary purpose: as anti-Jacobite propaganda.[[324]](#footnote-324) Addison is playing down the fact that the Jacobite risings did happen and reassuring his coffee-house readers that they should remain loyal to King George and never seriously consider the alternative. He is doing this by casting the Jacobite rebels as figures of fun. Through bathos he represents the Jacobite cause as an absurd alternative to the establishment currently in power.

Returning to Leheny’s dismissal that it is unlikely that many would have been ‘swayed’ to believe Addison’s distortions, the account in No. 3 would indeed surely offer little challenge to the critical faculties of even Leheny’s most ‘gullible readers.’[[325]](#footnote-325) However, No. 3 does not need to be believed. Whist the Jacobite journal may never be read as real, the bathos that it creates is real. Like the long term damage inflicted upon the country Tories by Mr. Free-Holder’s light-hearted encounter with the fox-hunter in No. 22, the damage done to Jacobite credibility is real. As Raymond is right to remind us, it is important not to forget ‘the influence the distribution of information has upon human realities.’[[326]](#footnote-326) Furthermore, as ever, No. 3 is about more than the propagation of Jacobitism.

There, Addison is again contributing to his broader distortions, perpetuating scepticism of all other sources of information. This rebel’s private writings are, for Addison, yet another component in this endless, harrowing, war in print. Addison is continuing to imagine a vitriolic print culture related to that experienced in and around the civil wars of the preceding century, perpetuating a distortion which, like the threat of Jacobitism, experienced a surer and more varied life in print than it ever did in reality. As has been suggested, Addison is creating a heated printed context which he can then distance himself from, giving the outward impression that he is attempting something new and different: reconciliation with the opposition. However, as this chapter has gone to great lengths to stress, neither the impulse to exaggerate the aggression of a print culture one hopes to define oneself against nor the adoption of a pose of neutrality or ‘honest’ disinterestedness were new. Addison’s innovation was in articulating throughout his paper a friendly disinterestedness which lends itself well to a disarming appropriation of oppositional rhetoric. The moral outrage with which the civil war newsbook chastised its opponents and bolsters its own reliability and credibility becomes in *The Free-Holder* something akin to politeness in distress. From this position Addison can perform a reluctance to enter into antagonist calumny with rival papers, and instead appear to engage them in friendly conversation on the topics of their choice.

**Enacting reconciliation: The employment of Tory interests**

By examining the way in which *The Free-Holder* engages with and utilises Tory interests in property the next section of this chapter will investigate how exactly this approach works. Property is central to *The Free-Holder*, constituting not only the paper’s title but also the core identity of its editorial persona. Mark Knights argues that a rhetorical strategy often employed by Whigs and Tories alike during the early eighteenth century was one in which they endeavoured to redefine those words and concepts central to their rivals campaign. Knights reveals that it was often the case that ‘property’ was targeted in such a way:

Both sides, ironically, recognized that a good deal of the partisan struggle involved disputing the meaning of key words and phrases. Contemporaries even listed them for us. “Monarchy, Prerogative, Liberty, Property, the Church, Popery and Fanaticism are words that in this kingdom enchant and enflame and almost bereave us of our senses’, observed Charlwood Lawton.[[327]](#footnote-327)

As seen, the term ‘freeholder’ is a legal term, defined in the *OED* as being ‘a person who possesses a freehold or Forty Shilling estate.’[[328]](#footnote-328) A freehold is a ‘permanent and absolute tenure of land or property with freedom to dispose of it at will.’[[329]](#footnote-329) Chris Roberts explains that a ‘freehold is the ownership of real property, being the land and all immovable structures attached to such land […], ownership of it must be of an indeterminate duration.’[[330]](#footnote-330) The term ‘freeholder’, however, was already an antiquated term at the time that Addison was writing, dating back to the parliamentary rolls of 1414.[[331]](#footnote-331) Crucially, the figure of the ‘freeholder’ was old, and it was English. It brings forth connotations of inheritance, property, and a power that can be traced back to England’s medieval origins. When introducing this editorial voice Addison writes:

At the same Time that I declare myself a Free-Holder, I do not exclude myself from any other Title. A Free-holder may be either a Voter, or a Knight of the Shire; a Wit, or a Fox-Hunter; a scholar, or a Soldier; an Alderman, or a Courtier; a Patriot, a Stock-jober. But I chuse to be distinguished by this Denomination, as the Freeholder is the basis of other Titles. Dignities may be grafter upon it; but this is the substantial stock that conveys to them their Life, Taste, Beauty; and without which they are no more than Blossoms that would fall away with each Shake of Wind.[[332]](#footnote-332)

Status as a freeholder is only one facet of this identity. These men of ‘taste’ may also be ‘a Voter […] a Knight […] a Wit, or a Fox-Hunter; a scholar, or a Soldier; an Alderman, or a Courtier; a Patriot, a Stock-jober.’ However, it is their status as property owners that most dictates their character, for without this property their presence would be fleeting and inconsequential. As Addison metaphorically illustrates, without the stability and constancy offered by their land they ‘are no more than Blossoms that would fall away with each shake of the wind.’ Their identity as freeholders provides them with a base background and character; it is ‘the substantial stock that conveys to them their Life, Taste, Beauty.’ On first inspection this recalls Atterbury’s description of the ‘landed interest’: those fine men who have ‘stood the heat of day.’ Addison’s editorial voice continues, demanding respect from the reader due to his status as a freeholder:

The reader will conceive Respect for the Author of this paper, from the Title of it; since, he may be sure, I am so considerable a man, that I cannot have less than forty shillings a Year.[[333]](#footnote-333)

This persona commands an authority derived from inheritance, property and worth. These are the justifications of the Tory squirearchy. Addison’s ‘considerable’ man appears initially very much akin to the ‘better sort of men’ addressed in Atterbury’s tract.[[334]](#footnote-334)

The importance of property to both the readers of Addison and Atterbury cannot be overstated. It was not only a central concern, but it also provided an imagined framework through which people could understand (or attempt to impose an understanding on) the society forming around them. When commenting on the alternative models of Englishness generated by disputes over the Hanoverian Succession, Linda Colley hints that political activism was secondary to the protection of property:

However much [Jacobite sympathisers] hated the Hanoverians, these people had no stomach for engineering civil war and the death of fellow Britons, nor perhaps for putting their own property at risk.[[335]](#footnote-335)

For the Tories their property signified not only their wealth but their inheritance; it proved that they were physically invested in England through their family lineage. Property demonstrated at once that they were established and exclusive.

Property signified inheritance, primogeniture and law based on hereditary right. Primogeniture can be succinctly defined as inheritance by the first born. Zouheri Jamoussi defines it as being an ‘artificial social rule imposed on the family [...] conferring unnatural socio-economic privileges and power on the first born.’[[336]](#footnote-336) Jamoussi argues that during this period primogeniture was difficult to justify, given that it is almost entirely determined by a kind of providence that transcends reason. However, this is precisely the reason for which primogeniture was difficult to dispute:

Primogeniture has always been denounced by its enemies as “unnatural” and combated on moral as well as social, economic and political grounds. While various counter-arguments were put forward by its defenders, no adequate response to the moral objections were ever convincingly formulated. However, there must have been enough weight in the social, economic and political arguments to counterbalance the drawback and explain why primogeniture continued to dominate the system of inheritance of nobility and gentry estates for a little under a millennium.[[337]](#footnote-337)

The concept of ‘primogeniture’ lends itself well to arguments for essentialism. The Tory gentry could claim that they were the elite, that their inherited property invested them in the nation and that they were the true distillation of Englishness simply because they were. Hereditary right exists outside of rational reason. As Jamoussi highlights, it operates outside of moral, social, economic or political frameworks: it is simply the way it is and the way it has always been. For the Tory gentleman his property (delivered to him through this transcendental providence) gives him a material link back to England’s origins. This is not a link that everybody can share.

The poetry of this period is nostalgic for England’s mythologized origins, harking after an imagined golden age in which the nation was unanimously glorious rather than plagued by disputes over King and government. As seen earlier, ‘The Arrival of the King’ opens by mourning the ‘Nation’s wretched state.’ The poem’s impact is derived from an opening position in which England’s glory has already been lost. It appeals to the once infamous and universally respected English people, who are on the brink of irreversibly sacrificing this reputation to Discord born of the ‘Wordy War’:

Oh! my brave sons, for valour far renowned!

Whose praises through the conquer’d world redound

[...]

Let not that direful Fiend abuse your Ears,

Mislead your Hearts with idle Names and Fears.

Will you for empty Names your joys forego?  
Will you give Triumphs to your vanquished Foe?[[338]](#footnote-338)

The tone here is one of desperation, pleading with readers not to destroy entirely their glorious origin. There were a host of similar poems printed in 1714 and 1715, either lamenting the loss of Britain’s greatness or making a final rallying call for these times to be revived: Edmund Stacey’s ‘Britannia’s Memorial’and Richard Chapman’s ‘Britannia Rediviva, or Britain’s Recovery’providing notable examples.[[339]](#footnote-339) Alexander Pope goes even further in 1713 poem ‘Windsor Forest’ when describing (and politicising) this origin:

Oh would’st though sing what heroes *Windsor* bore,

What Kings first breathed upon her winding shore,

Or raise old warriors whose adored remains

In weeping vaults her hallowed earth contains!

With Edward’s acts adorn the shining page,

Stretch his long triumphs down thro’ ev’ry age,

Draw Monarch’s chain’d, and *Cressi’s* glorious field,

The lilies blazing on the regal shield.[[340]](#footnote-340)

Pope is not merely recording history, but reshaping it. He appeals to the ‘old warriors’ and original ‘heroes Windsor bore’, those early ‘Kings [who] first breached upon her winding shore.’ He appeals to a time when the lineage of the crown was undisputed. These are the true ancestors of the Stuart bloodline, the untainted genesis of English royalty. He hopes to take the acts of these truly English ancestors and ‘stretch […] long triumphs down thro’ ev’ry age.’ His ambition is to fill recent history with *their* history, ‘stretch[ing]’ it over the inconsistencies or corruptions of the idea of monarchy in the previous century. The civil war, the execution of Charles I (‘Monarch’s chain’d’), the interregnum, the Glorious Revolution are all replaced by ‘Edward’s acts [left to] adorn the shining page.’ Pope is re-writing history explicitly in the Tory image, creating as he does so a pure genesis from which both the Stuart Pretender and the property-owning country gentleman are descended.

For these writers property becomes a physical representation of their bloodline. Like their family blood, their property (and by association their ‘Englishness’) is passed down through the generations. Their property also gives them a physical link to the landscape, and as a brief survey of the poetry of this period reveals, the landscape itself is often employed as a symbol of innate Englishness. Returning once more to ‘The Arrival of the King’, when the poet needs to illustrate a purely English response untainted by the ‘unthinking Fury’ propagated by the ‘rage of party’, he animates the landscape. It is the rivers of England that rise to welcome King George:

The *Humber, Medway, Severn* join to meet,

Their sovereign Lord, and play beneath his Feet;

The *Tweed* conducting th’ *Albanian* Fry,

Ev’n those, that far as distant *Orkney* lye,

Rush out to view great GEORGE, and leave their channels dry.[[341]](#footnote-341)

The landscape, in this case the rivers of England, are used to signify an English identity that transcends print or party. The landscape *is* England. These rivers had been in England since the formation of the island, and intrinsically know what it best for it. This poet uses their impartiality and divine judgement to endorse King George, suggesting that he has been welcomed by England itself; and that this endorsement is not the result of party bickering or petty self-interest. Pope uses the land similarly in ‘Windsor Forest’, appealing in repeated moments of personification and apostrophe to England itself, addressing his nation with historical names or metonymic vessels: ‘Albion’, ‘Britannia’, ‘Thy forests, Windsor’, ‘The Thames, Great Father of British Floods.’[[342]](#footnote-342) For Tory writers, the possession of property meant that they were also physically a part of the landscape, and can commentate on events with the same authority and impartiality as the rivers personified in these poems. This recalls Atterbury’s ‘landed interest’, described as the ‘political blood of the nation.’[[343]](#footnote-343) He claims that this is not only the case at the time of writing but that it has always been true of England, writing that it is for generations that ‘the country gentlemen have stood the heat of day.’[[344]](#footnote-344) Atterbury’s choice of metaphor carries an important double meaning. On the one hand, the nation becomes a living entity, and its life blood is represented by these ‘country gentleman.’ On the other hand, this is a reference to their hereditary status, in that their bloodline can literally be traced back to Tory imagined origins of England.

Whilst this emphasis on the importance of inheritance and hereditary right had an obvious bearing on the personal, it also had formidable implications on the political. ‘Hereditary right’ became an often employed term during the mid-1710s, referring not only to the privilege and character of the country gentleman, but also the legitimacy of the newly arrived King. The briefest survey of political tracts published during this period reveals a significant number that feature this term. For example, Whig propaganda can be seen to discredit primogeniture whilst accusing its users of Jacobite sympathy, with texts emerging such as John Asgill’s *The History of The Pretenders to the Crown of England* carrying the prefix ‘with some remarks upon the now revived assertion of *hereditary right*’; and Thomas Barnett’s *A Caveat Against the Tories*,which claims to give ‘some account of what may be expected from them at present, by their reviving the assertion of *hereditary right*.’[[345]](#footnote-345) The Hanoverian Succession and the hypothetical alternative succession presented by the ‘Old Pretender’ also presented readers with a potentially alternative version of Englishness. Jacobitism remained a powerful idea precisely because it suggested a rival national consciousness for the people of England to imagine. Poems such as Pope’s ‘Windsor Forest’and Matthew Prior’s ‘An Ode humbly inscribed to the Queen’ work hard to imply that the old Pretender’s Stuart bloodline gives him the more legitimate claim to the throne. This is an argument derived from the same indisputable ideas of inheritance and primogeniture as those implicit in Atterbury’s discussion of property.

Pope utilises the same idea: that family bloodline represents a clear untainted link back to an uncorrupted origin of England, this time applying this logic to the royal family. The Stuarts, he argues, are related by blood to the ‘Kings [who] first breathed upon [Albion’s] winding shore.’ When the poem first arrives in Windsor Forest, Anne (‘a Stuart’) remains upon the throne, and consequently her nation (to which she is bound by blood) is in order: ‘Rich industry sits smiling on the plains, / And peace and plenty tell, a *Stuart* reigns.’ The personified presence of ‘industry’, ‘peace’ and ‘plenty’ signify the residence of a legitimate English monarch upon the throne. Preceding his attempts to ‘stretch’ England’s early history from Edward to the present he briefly laments his nation’s recent history, suggesting that it can still serve a didactic function as a warning for the future:

What could be free, when lawless beasts obeyed,

And even the elements a tyrant swayed?

In vain kind seasons swelled the teeming grain,

Soft showers distilled, and suns grew warm in vain;

The swain with tears to beasts his labour yields,

And famished dies amidst his ripened fields.

No wonder savages or subjects slain

Were equal crimes in a despotic reign?

During the period Pope is describing the Stuart line was broken. In the first instance, the English civil war still resonates throughout this verse. The divinely appointed King was slain and politicians and the common man attempted to take his place. Secondly, by commentating on the removal of a Stuart monarch the poem recalls the more recent events of the Glorious Revolution, which saw the arrival and reign of the Dutch William and Mary before Anne’s succession. Again, the crown was not held by an English Stuart, but instead a foreign monarch. Anne’s presence at the outset of the poem is seen to effect the natural scene around her, promoting ‘industry’, ‘peace’ and ‘plenty.’ The replacement of a Stuart with a ‘lawless beast’ and ‘tyrant’ is seen to have the opposite effect.

The monarchical metaphors are temporarily replaced with the non-demotic language of unwanted revolution: ‘tyrant’, ‘despotic’. The ‘free’ are condemned and justice is lost, whilst Windsor is left to wilt and die: ‘[t]he swain with tears to beasts his labour yields, / And famished dies amidst his ripened fields.’ This is the fate that Pope predicts should the Hanoverian Succession be carried out (as it would be), and Anne is followed by the Germanic King George. Before this fate becomes true, Pope offers a final forlorn celebration of Anne, the last Stuart: ‘There Kings shall sue, and suppliant slates be seen, / Once more to bend before a *British* Queen.’ This reminder that Anne was not the first British Queen invites comparison to the last Queen to rule alone: the Tudor, Elizabeth. Pope is making a final attempt to assert the purity of the Tudor / Stuart bloodline. By briefly recounting the recent destruction of his Windsor Forest in the period preceding Anne’s reign, and prophesying similar destruction in the future, the second half of the poem serves to make its opening description of Windsor Forest all the more precious. This is a snap-shot of a golden age, where English history and the monarchical bloodline are untainted and as a result all is peace and prosperity. Atterbury’s emphasis on the importance of hereditary right with regards to property is just as much a justification for the continuation of the Stuart monarchy in the face of the Hanoverian Succession.

In Addison’s *Free-Holder* property is still important, it is still valuable, and it still instils in its owner an interest in the good of the nation. In its opening lines *The Free-Holder* presents property as being a privilege that brings with it a vested interest in freedom, honesty and the public good. It immediately makes a connection between physical and intellectual property, suggesting that those without property are as untrustworthy as the hack writer, who is without a cause and therefore not truly invested in anything that he argues:

The arguments of an author lose a great deal of weight, when we are persuaded that he only writes for Arguments sake, and has no real concern in the cause which he espouses. This is the case of one who draws his pen in the defence of property without having any; except, perhaps in the copy of a libel, or a ballad.[[346]](#footnote-346)

It goes on to explain that when men have property they are physically invested in the constitution: they literally own a part of it. This means that if they wish to protect their property, they must also protect the constitution. It is in their own best interests to preserve and further the interests of their fellow countrymen:

When […] Men have a Taste of property, they will naturally love that Constitution from which they derive so great a Blessing. There is an unspeakable pleasure in calling anything one’s Own. A Free-Hold, tho’ it be but in Ice and Snow, will make the Owner pleased in the Possession, and stout Defense of it; and is a very proper Reward of our Allegiance to our present King, who (by unparalleled Instance of Goodness in a Sovereign, and Infatuation in Subjects) contents for the Freedom of his people against themselves; and will not suffer many of them to fall into a state of slavery, which they are bend upon with so much Eagerness and Obstinacy.[[347]](#footnote-347)

Addison claims that it is not the status or appearance of the property that makes it special. He claims that a ‘Free-Hold’ might be made of ‘Ice and Snow’, but the owner will not be denied an ‘unspeakable pleasure’ in calling it ‘one’s own.’ Already the Tory emphasis on the permanence of property (as an immovable and indisputable part of England’s landscape) is absent. Addison’s example is made of ‘ice and snow’, properties that melt. They are far from permanent, and yet they are still important and they can still be enjoyed. *The Free-Holder* is not troubled by the paradoxical nature of one’s becoming part of the constitution (of the whole) by becoming more independent (residing in the property of ‘one’s own’). By having their own individual property Addison’s freeholders have in fact entered into an interdependent collective. This theme is later explored in more depth in No. 5, which describes (and prescribes) the duties that stem from a freeholder’s investment in the community. They must commit to ‘the practice of that virtue, for which their ancestors were particularly famous, and which is called, *The Love of One’s Nation*.’[[348]](#footnote-348) *The Free-Holder* explains that this is the ‘obligation’ and ‘great duty’ of every man of property:

This love to our country as a moral virtue is a fixed disposition of the mind to promote the safety, welfare, and reputation of the community in which we are born, and of the constitution under which we are protected.[[349]](#footnote-349)

Once again, for these freeholders, to promote and protect this community is to promote and protect themselves. The intrinsic instinct of Atterbury’s ‘country gentleman’ to know what is best for the nation has been replaced with a greater emphasis on civic duty and ‘public spiritedness.’ Furthermore, whilst the instinct of Atterbury’s gentleman is identified as being derived from England’s mythic origin, Addison frequently appeals to an older source: Roman law. There are numerous instances in which Addison invokes Solon:

It was a remarkable law of *Solon,* the great Legislator of the *Athenians*, that any person who in the civil tumults and commotions of the Republick remained neutral, or an indifferent spectator of the contending parties, should, after the re-establishment of the publick peace, forfeit all his possessions, and be condemned to perpetual banishment.[[350]](#footnote-350)

Here, Addison leans on Solon when re-stating one of the *The Free-Holder*’score ambitions: to demonstrate that the partisan reader must be proactive, and take an active interest in his party and the policies it produces. Already we have seen similar moments in which Addison casually derives authority from the ancient world, repainting England in the image of ‘that great republic, Rome’ as he does so:

The House of Commons is the representative of men in my condition. I consider myself as one who gives my consent to every Law which passes: A Freeholder in our government being of the Nature of a Citizen of Rome in that famous Commonwealth; who by the Election of a Tribune had a kind of remote Voice in every Law that was enacted. So that a Free-holder is one Remove from a Legislator, and for that Reason ought to stand up in the Defence of those Laws which are in some degree his own making.[[351]](#footnote-351)

In the meantime, this Undertaking shall be managed with that generous Spirit which was so remarkable among the *Romans*, who did not subdue a Country in order to put the Inhabitants to Fire and Sword, but to incorporate them into their own Community, and make them happy in the same Government with themselves.[[352]](#footnote-352)

In each of these instances Addison is referring to *The Free-Holder*’score interests and ambitions. First he is highlighting the political duties and privileges that come with property (‘a kind of remote voice in every law’) and by extension emphasising the liberty of its readers within a democratic system. He supports this by drawing parallels with Rome. Similarly, in the second instance he outlines the way in which he hopes his periodical will be received by the opposition: as a conciliatory attempt at ‘incorporating’ them into his own community. In doing this he again likens his own tactics to those employed by the Roman army. By drawing authority from the ancient world, Addison is contributing to a Whig tradition well documented by T.J. Hochstrasser, appealing to a Roman law built largely on reason rather than an English law plagued by argument of privilege and primogeniture.[[353]](#footnote-353) By discussing property within this Roman framework, Addison is slowly (almost imperceptibly) beginning to divorce it from Tory arguments of hereditary right.

*The Free-Holder* presents a vision of property that appears familiar to Tory readers, even described in the same terms. It is still exceptional and it still maintains a landed interest. The difference comes in recognising that whilst Atterbury’s ‘Country Gentlemen’ are presented as the latest incarnation of a bloodline that can be traced back to the imagined Tory origins of Albion, Addison’s ‘happy tribe of men’ have not necessarily attained their property by hereditary means. Instead he is keen to suggest that any man with forty shillings can join their ranks, and that people continue to do so:

I cannot take occasion to congratulate my country upon the increase of this happy tribe of men, since by the wisdom of the present parliament; I find the race of Freeholders spreading into the remotest corners of the island. […] By this means it will be in the power of a Highlander to be at all times a good tenant without being a rebel.[[354]](#footnote-354)

For Addison’s *Free-Holder* this does not detract anything from the importance or legitimacy of the ‘Country Gentleman.’ For him Atterbury’s ‘political blood’ remains untainted. Neither does the inclusion of non-hereditary freeholders amidst the landed gentry detract anything from Britain’s exceptional status. Addison’s *Free-Holder* is still proud of its national history, its national identity and future glories still to come. *The* *Free-Holder* suggests that its own model of an increasing body of freeholders not only contributes to previous traditions of English greatness, but offers a rival model, that finds a genealogy within Roman law rather than in ancient English history. Speaking of the pubic duty implicit in the freeholder model it promotes, Addison writes that:

No nation was ever famous for its morals, which was not at the same time remarkable for its public spirit: Patriots naturally rise out of a Spartan or Roman Virtue: and there is no remark more common among the ancient historians, than that when the state was corrupted with avarice and luxury, it was in danger of being betrayed or sold.[[355]](#footnote-355)

There is still an exceptional tradition of English essentialism at play here, but it is no longer one guarded by a hereditary gate-keeper. Instead it is the cost of entry, forty-shillings, that determines who can enter. Once a person joins this company of noble and virtuous gentleman they will take on these characteristics as they are determined by the necessities of owning property. Crucially this is also a system in which the King of England does not need to be of Stuart decent. Addison presents a model in which, if they were to join, Tory readers could still enjoy all of same benefits of property (as the editorial voice itself demonstrates, they can still be a ‘considerable gentleman’) but they are also freed from any hereditary concerns or the implicit Jacobite endorsement that these contain. In doing so, Addison’s *Free-Holder* presents an attractive justification for the Hanoverian monarchy. As seen earlier in this chapter, Knights has argued that to wrestle words from the rhetoric of the rival party was not only commonplace in early eighteenth-century political culture but a central facet of the partisan struggle. Knights claims that:

Party produced a pressure, a kin to that of casuistry, by which the meaning of words and terms became subject to specialized and even private meanings. […] Party conferred different meanings on the same words and thus created not just sectional but also competing languages.[[356]](#footnote-356)

Rather than redefining ‘property’, however, Addison presented a vision of property that a Tory reader would recognise, complete with all of the necessary associations and pre-requisites, and demonstrated that all of this apparently remains consistent from a Whig perspective. Addison did not try to redefine the language of his reader, but instead attempted to use language to redefine his reader.

In *The Lives of English Poets* Johnson claims that Addison and Steele ushered in a new age of ‘cooler’ periodical print, replacing a polarised model that had evolved out of the civil war which had been designed only to persuade and convert the enemy. Within this model the appropriation of an opponent’s rhetoric was common place:

It is said that when any title grew popular, it was stolen by the antagonist, who by this stratagem conveyed his notions to those who would not have received him had he not worn the appearance of a friend.[[357]](#footnote-357)

What Johnson unintentionally describes here is exactly the strategy that Addison employs in *The Free-Holder*, taking on the ‘appearance of a friend’ in order to appropriate a symbol of the innate qualities of the Tory gentleman (the figure of the landed ‘freeholder’) and subverting it to such an extent that it comes to epitomise his own Whig interests. He has deliberately chosen ‘this title’, which thanks to Atterbury’s tract now connotes both polemic calumny and Tories in print. It allows Addison to situate *The Free-Holder* within a severely barbed print culture of contestative forces which it is in part imagining, fashioning itself as an alternative to polemic. Simultaneously the title allows *The Free-Holder* to appeal to the Tory reader; attracting them with familiar ideas and rhetoric. Despite claiming that it hopes to provide a peaceful alternative to the ‘print as war’ scenario that it identifies as taking place around it, *The Free-Holder*’sattempts to convert through stealth are just as politically violent as anything perpetrated by contemporaneous partisan print. Whilst not overtly polemic, *The Free-Holder* shares the same intention as any of the papers it defines itself in contrast to. Addison’s persona speaks as a friend to all but carries out an act far more mercenary than anything achieved by the polemic assertions of either the Tory Atterbury or the Whiggish Oldmixon. If his strategy works, Addison’s targets are not even aware that they are being converted. If we return again to the startling moment used to introduce this chapter, we no longer find Addison suggesting merely that Whig and Tory share common ground:

One may venture to affirm, that all honest and disinterested Britons of what Party so ever, if they understood one another, are of the same opinion in Points of Government: And that the gross of people, who are imposed by terms which they do not comprehend, are *Whigs* in their heart.[[358]](#footnote-358)

Rather than proposing an amalgamation of Whig and Tory interests, Addison is here suggesting that all Tories *are* Whigs, they have just yet to realise it. Addison’s pose of friendly disinterestedness allows him to use the very language of the opposition - seemingly becoming Tory. But upon assimilating their language and engaging them in improving discourse he can re-signify their core beliefs. He will not become you, but you will become him. If anything, Addison’s *Free-Holder* demonstrates that, in contrary to the protestations of Addison’s earlier periodical, words are never neutral; they are always persuasive. *The Free-Holder* claims, truthfully, that its end game is a peaceful resolution. What it does not reveal is that this is a resolution found in unanimous Whiggish victory through full Tory conversion. That this is achieved by the friendly and inviting tone of Addison’s persona recalls characterisation of Discord’ in ‘The Arrival of the King’: ‘Striving with nice Address and tempting art, / First to corrupt, and then possess the Heart.’[[359]](#footnote-359)

4. Conveying the ‘full spirit of politeness’: *The Free-Holder*’s harmonious politics of reconciliation

There is a contradiction in *The Free-Holder*’s proclaimed interests. On the one hand it encourages active participation in its readership, championing a model of partisanship in which politically engaged citizens should stand up for the party and principles that they believe in. On the other hand, as the last chapter revealed, it chastises flagrantly partisan behaviour, claims to be deeply anxious about the ethics and effects of polemic writing, and self-consciously distances itself from the ‘war in print’ as it talks extensively of reconciliation between the two parties. Whilst telling readers to contribute, defend and commit to their party, it does itself appear sympathetic to the ‘misled’ members of the opposition and seeks to adopt their language and interests. As seen, the very title of the paper foregrounds ideas of property and hereditary identity that were typically associated with the interests of a Tory readership.

It is the premise of this thesis at large to argue that this contradiction forms the heart of *The Free-Holder*’sagenda, reinforcing the confidence of the Whig party faithful whilst also subversively targeting and converting any inquiring readers from the opposition. It is not only Mr. Free-Holder’s goal to strive to put an end to a partisan ‘war in print’, but to achieve a peace gained through total Whiggish conversion of the Tory opposition. This chapter will explore the way in which this strategy can be read as an application of contemporary ideas of politeness, which are used by Addison to not only persuade and convert the opposition but also to reconcile the inherent contradiction in his stated ambition.

The most thorough discussion of politeness to appear in *The Free-Holder* is presented in the form of a eulogy dedicated to Addison’s close friend and patron, Lord John Somers.[[360]](#footnote-360) The essay, which is both elegiac and panegyric, establishes Somers as the very personification of the ‘most exquisite taste of politeness.’[[361]](#footnote-361) In this account, Somers also comes to usefully blazon the fundamental principles of politeness presented in the Earl of Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics*: a text which will be used in this chapter to identify and explore Addison’s application of ‘polite’ techniques. *Characteristics* will prove a useful aid in this task, for as Laurence Klein has noted, ‘Shaftesbury’s writings [can provide] perspectives on […] what politeness was intended to convey and what historical circumstances it was intended to conceptualize.’[[362]](#footnote-362) Klein, who figures *Characteristics* as a foundational articulation of eighteenth-century politeness, hints at the text’s kinship to Addison’s work with Steele before the *Free-Holder*:

Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics* was one of several works during the reign of Queen Anne in which politeness assumed a classic form: it need only be remembered that, within weeks of the publication of *Characteristics*, the *Spectator* began its extraordinarily influential run. Whereas Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, in the *Tatler* and *Guardian* as much as in the *Spectator*, used the resources of print culture to disseminate polite moralism to a broad audience, Shaftesbury was, much more, the philosopher of politeness, aiming at intellectual and social elite. Nonetheless, Shaftesbury’s opinions had resonance and exercised considerable persuasiveness through much of the eighteenth century.[[363]](#footnote-363)

The relationship between the writing of Addison and Shaftesbury and the significance of their shared Whiggish affinities will be established later in this chapter. For now it is Shaftesbury’s philosophy of politeness, grounded in an appreciation of classical form, which I hope to trace in Addison’s description of Somers. Addison writes:

His great Humility appeared in the minutest Circumstances of his Conversation. You found it in the Benevolence of his Aspect, the Complacency of his Behaviour, and the Tone of his Voice. […] By approving the Sentiments of a Person, with whom he conversed, in such particulars as were just, he won him over from those Points in which he was mistaken; and had so agreeable a way of conveying Knowledge, that whoever conferr’d with him grew the wiser, without perceiving that he had been instructed. […] He enjoyed in the highest Perfection two Talents, which do not often meet in the same Person, the greatest Strength of good sense, and the most exquisite Taste of Politeness. Without the first, Learning is but an Encumbrance; and without the last, is ungraceful. My Lord Somers was Master of these two Qualifications in so eminent a Degree, that all the Parts of Knowledge appeared in him with such an additional Strength and Beauty, as they want in the Possession of others. If he delivered his Opinion of a Piece of Poetry, a Statue, or a Picture, there was something so just and delicate in his Observations, as naturally produced Pleasure and Assent in those who heard him. […] His Stile in Writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of Spirit and Politeness; and fit to convey the most intricate Business to the Understanding of the Reader, with the utmost clearness and Perspicuity.[[364]](#footnote-364)

It is explained here that Somers ‘had so agreeable a way of conveying Knowledge, that whoever conferr’d with him grew the wised, without perceiving that he had been instructed.’ We are told by Shaftesbury that the ability to convey knowledge, without incurring that which Addison describes here as the ‘encumbrance [of] learning’, is the essence of politeness.[[365]](#footnote-365) Klein writes that for Shaftesbury politeness denoted:

[…] the conventions of good manners, convey[ing] the fundamental rhetorical necessity of making concessions to the knowledge, interests and attention spans of an audience. As well, the word ‘polite’ had a more idiomatic meaning at this time, referring to matters of refined conversation.[[366]](#footnote-366)

Somers ability to make such ‘concessions’ to his audience is seen in his ability ‘[approve] the sentiments of a person,’ and in doing so strike a harmony which will be seen throughout this chapter as being central to Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics.*[[367]](#footnote-367) This harmony, encompassing an aversion to disruption and calumny, is manifested in the ‘Benevolence of [Somers’s] Aspect, the Complacency of his Behaviour, and the Tone of his Voice.’[[368]](#footnote-368) All of these polite attributes are epitomised ‘in the minutest Circumstances of his Conversation.’ This is a quality emphasised throughout the writings of both Shaftesbury and Addison, each of whom recommend ‘learned discourse’ as a means of achieving ‘mutual understanding.’ So, to be polite is to be aware of the audience and to tailor the delivery of lessons accordingly. As Klein explicitly states, politeness is a ‘rhetorical necessity’, and as such it is persuasive.

This is something stressed in Peter France’s definition of early eighteenth-century politeness, which describes it as being the facilitation of ‘learning [designed] to accommodate others within a given social group.’[[369]](#footnote-369) Of Somers we are told that in applying the polite qualities listed above when conversing with anyone of opposing views he always ‘won him over from those Points in which he was mistaken.’ Furthermore, politeness does not only allow Somers to convey facts but also critical opinions:

If he delivered his Opinion of a Piece of Poetry, a Statue, or a Picture, there was something so just and delicate in his Observations, as naturally produced Pleasure and Assent in those who heard him.[[370]](#footnote-370)

The word-pair that Addison employs in this final clause again reiterates the central goal of politeness; it achieves ‘pleasure and assent.’ It can convey knowledge and opinion in a way that is both informative and enjoyable. As Klein reminds us, Shaftesbury (and, we can also assume, Addison) wrote for:

English gentleman bored and bullied by clerics and academics. […] Sermons and lectures [were] notably unsuitable vehicles for education, and often dismissed and ridiculed for their characteristics traits: the formal, the systematic, the consistent, the methodological and the abstract.[[371]](#footnote-371)

Klein states a ‘more polite approach’ was instead required; consisting of such ‘Shaftesburian values’ as ‘humour, playfulness, variety and open-endedness.’[[372]](#footnote-372) The polite coupling of pleasure and persuasion also recalls the role of the Ciceronian orator, identified by George A. Kennedy as being ‘to teach, to please, to move.’[[373]](#footnote-373) Again, it is essential to acknowledge the indebtedness of Addison’s understanding and application of politeness to models of classical rhetoric.

Significantly, Addison’s description of Somers reveals that although politeness has origins that can be traced back to rhetorical oratory and is highly effective when applied through conversation, it can also be written down:

His Stile in Writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of Spirit and Politeness; and fit to convey the most intricate Business to the Understanding of the Reader, with the utmost clearness and Perspicuity.[[374]](#footnote-374)

Writing with the ‘spirit of politeness’ implies the same attributes listed previously, but it is now the reader who is cast as the recipient of written conversation. The same concessions are made and the same emphasis on harmony remain, described here as being ‘the utmost clearness and perspicuity.’[[375]](#footnote-375)

It is this written iteration of politeness that will be discovered in both the articulation and overall design of *The Free-Holder*. This chapter will argue that the paper simultaneously recommends to its readers a polite approach to politics (based upon a harmonious reconciliation between partisan rivals) whilst also participating with its readers in a printed replication of polite conversation, conveying to them its own message in an ‘agreeable way.’[[376]](#footnote-376) These fundamental principles of politeness will be traced in *The Free-Holder*’sformal and stylistic features, revealing the techniques that Addison employs in order to create a harmony within his text through which he can inform and ‘win over’ his readers.[[377]](#footnote-377) Many of these techniques will be seen to be adapted from classical rhetoric (and from Cicero in particular). Addison’s distribution of emphasis, his use of word-pairs, symmetry, cadence, humour and reader-address will all be seen to demonstrate this approach.

This chapter will also explore the extent to which the persona of ‘Mr. Free-Holder’ is constructed using ideas of politeness, applying Terry Eagleton’s suggestion that in the early eighteenth-century public sphere ‘[d]iscursive identities are not pre-given, but constructed through the very act of participation in polite conversation.’[[378]](#footnote-378) For Shaftesbury politeness, and more broadly ‘philosophy’ in general, functioned as part of a broader Socratic project to ‘know oneself.’[[379]](#footnote-379) As Klein reminds us, Shaftesbury ‘insisted on the imperative of self-knowledge and self-transformation’, emphasizing ‘the workmanship that went into being a moral agent, the improvement to which the self should aspire, and the creative energy required to be its own author.’[[380]](#footnote-380) Addison’s fictional persona is seen to carry out such ‘workmanship’ throughout *The Free-Holder*, considering the printed world of partisan rhetoric and discourse in which he finds himself submerged and gradually deciding which party best deserves his support.

However, this is a carefully constructed ploy as rather than actually encouraging readers to become ‘their own authors’ he recommends them a course of self-realisation culminating in a prescribed conclusion. Like Mr. Free-Holder, by No. 54 they will have developed a ‘Preference of what is generally called the Whig-Scheme, to that which is espoused by the Tories.’[[381]](#footnote-381) This is the facet of Addison’s recommendation and enactment of politeness that this chapter hopes most to foreground. Just as Somers is celebrated by Addison for his employment of politeness to deliver his own ‘observations’, it is not simply knowledge that *The Free-Holder* hopes to convey but a persuasive opinion. Addison is employing politeness as a rhetorical necessity in order to ensure a very real effect: the enactment of the partisan strategy detailed in the previous chapter. This will be seen most explicitly in Addison’s adaptation of Shaftesbury’s advice on dealing with irrational fanatics in his *Letter Concerning Enthusiasm* of 1708 and his application of it to the cause of converting faithful members of the opposition. The final section of this chapter will compare and contrast Addison’s ‘polite’ approach to the style of a series of contemporaneous papers, demonstrating that Addison’s application of politeness to such a partisan initiative was an innovation. By thoroughly investigating the relationships between *The Free-Holder* (both the periodical and the persona) and emerging articulations and representations (rather than constructions) of politeness, this chapter will show that *The Free-Holder* finds in the politeness propagated by the Earl of Shaftesbury a lexis and structural framework that he subsequently puts to pragmatic and political use.

**Whig politics and politeness**

Before turning to *The Free-Holder*’semployment of politeness as a way of furthering its Whiggish causes, it is first necessary to establish the periodical’s understanding of both politeness and Whiggism. The following section will highlight that whilst politeness sought to be perceived as a modern form of virtue on an idealistic level, politeness had in fact been employed previously in the ‘Spectator Project’ as a way of both policing and rebranding Whiggism. [[382]](#footnote-382) It is employed again in *The Free-Holder* to the same ends. Throughout *The Free-Holder* Addison is not creating a polite Whiggism, but adopting and contributing to a pre-existing *vision* of politeness and Whiggism. However, although *The Free-Holder* rigorously champions and defends its Whig cause, this section will also stress that a definitive Whiggism did not exist, and Addison does not invent one. He makes no serious attempts to define Whiggism, or suggest any reforms to the party’s agenda or membership. Instead the only reforms he recommends or attempts to enact take place on the level of discourse; privileging concerns about the terms of polemic debate, the way in which party is discussed, and the broader perception of the party which he hazily endorses.

There has been an abundance of scholarship exploring the relationship between Addison’s periodicals and concepts of politeness; indeed, this has proved central to many landmark conceptions of the early eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere.[[383]](#footnote-383) However, as in Jürgen Habermas’s foundational text (and Addison scholarship more generally) these studies tend to focus on his writing during the reign of Queen Anne. J. W. Burrows, for example, has articulated a narrative of the rise of ‘the concept of politeness’ from the post-1688 decades to its effect upon the 1870’s, characterising it as ‘the distinctly modern form of virtue.’[[384]](#footnote-384) He plots a clear progression from Shaftesbury, through Addison and Richard Steele and onto Whig thinkers of the late nineteenth century, but does not discuss the role of the early Hanoverian periodical. Similarly, speculation on the extent of Addison’s partisanship and the relationship between politics and politeness within his periodical writing tends to be confined to the reign of Queen Anne.

Discussions of the presence of politics in the ‘Spectator Project’ tend to be decidedly divided. Often earlier twentieth-century scholarship takes Addison’s Mr. Spectator at his word, reading his periodical as a politically neutral project. As stated in the previous chapter, Donald F. Bond even writes in his notes to the 1965 Clarendon edition that the paper maintains a ‘detached, reflexive point of view [indicative of a] total avoidance of politics.’[[385]](#footnote-385) Bond’s notes are symptomatic of a trend of apolitical readings of Addison which can be traced back as far as the late nineteenth century (Beljame, 1881) and seen as recently as the 1980s (Ketcham, 1985).[[386]](#footnote-386) The most cited of such readings is likely the aggressively nonpartisan interpretation presented by Bonomy Dobrée in *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century 1700-1740.*[[387]](#footnote-387)This actually fits with accounts of newspaper and periodical scholarship more generally, with some accounts opting to avoid politics whilst others view politics as a central driving force behind popular print. A telling comparison can be made, for instance, between the apolitical narrative of Adrian Johns and notably more Whiggish accounts of James Sutherland or Frederick Seaton Siebert.[[388]](#footnote-388) The same pattern can be seen in Addison scholarship, with the narrative of neutrality emerging in tandem to an alternate trend geared towards teasing out and investigating Addison and Steele’s political agenda. Calhoun Wilton pre-empts Dobrée’s neutral reading by exploring *The Tatler’s* relation to the Whig Junto, whilst in 1961 Goldgar investigates the antagonistic relationship between Swift’s Tory papers and Addison and Steele’s Whiggish response, foreshadowing Downie’s more recent claim that the Spectator project represented a polemic strategy to offer an effective counter to a rampant ministerial Tory press led by Swift in *The Examiner.*[[389]](#footnote-389) This is a point made even more emphatically by Brian Cowan, who eloquently paraphrases the argument of Nicholas Philipson by stating that:

Spectatorial Whiggery was born out of the collapse of junto Whiggery in 1709–10. The resurgence of high church Toryism occasioned by Henry Sacheverell’s firebrand preaching at St. Paul’s cathedral on 5 November 1709 and his subsequent show trial in the first months of 1710 laid the groundwork for the cashiering of junto Whig ministers and the election of a solidly Tory parliament later in the year. The Spectator project was a product of this crisis of Whig political fortunes*.*[[390]](#footnote-390)

Adding to work done by J.G.A. Pocock and J.A.W. Gunn, it is currently Downie and Cowan championing partisan readings of ‘the spectator project’ with Downie’s ‘Periodicals in the Reign of Queen Anne’ and Cowan’s ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ heavily informing current scholarship on Addison’s periodical publication.[[391]](#footnote-391)

Whilst *The Free-Holder* is notably less interested than *The Spectator* in proclaiming itself as being an observer intending to maintain ‘an exact Neutrality between the Whigs and Tories’, when contrasted to later issues its early numbers are surprisingly tentative in overtly naming political parties.[[392]](#footnote-392) It is not until No. 4’s discussion of the ‘women of our island’ that the term ‘Whig’ is actually used.[[393]](#footnote-393) The explicit use of the name ‘Tory’ is delayed even further: unused until as late as No. 7.[[394]](#footnote-394)  Furthermore, to assert that Addison’s periodical writings (in the case of *The Free-Holder* in particular) are partisan is one thing, but to assert that it is simply ‘whiggish’ is quite another. There was no such thing as simple whiggism. As Cowan puts it:

Although the Whiggery of Addison and Steele was well known in their own day and continues so today, the precise nature of their partisan politics remains as opaque as it was when the papers were originally published.[[395]](#footnote-395)

Scholarship has recurrently (and increasingly) found ‘Whiggism’ to be a tremendously flexible and complex label. Commentating on politics during the reign of Queen Anne, W. A. Speck warns that it is not advisable to imagine the Whigs and Tories as two clearly established and firmly opposing parties: ‘although there were two major parties this does not mean to say that there was a two party system.’[[396]](#footnote-396) Problematically, as Abigail Williams has recently warned: ‘[a]ny attempt to describe Whiggism in this period is complicated by the diversity of early Whig ideology.’[[397]](#footnote-397) Commentary on the Whig party during the late restoration era often characterises ‘Whiggism’ as being more a term used to group together people of similar political sympathies than the name of a fully formed party as we might understand it today.[[398]](#footnote-398) Even the etymology of the word ‘Whig’ hints at the party’s amorphous journey into being, assimilating as it did different people and groups who shared fundamental common ground. The use of the word ‘Whig’ within an early eighteenth-century London-centric context is itself an appropriation of an earlier term. It originates from ‘Whiggamore’, a word for Scottish Presbyterians, which during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also came to signify a ‘predominantly English […] high political grouping’ that grew out of the Exclusion Movement.[[399]](#footnote-399)

H. T. Dickinson has attempted to offer a rough definition of eighteenth-century Whiggism. Dickinson identifies a series of traits that are consistently Whig throughout the early modern period and into the eighteenth century, claiming that to be a Whig is always to be committed to ‘a balance between liberty and political order, the freedom of conscience, government by consent and a mixed and balanced constitution.’[[400]](#footnote-400) These are each values that *The Free-Holder* clearly dedicates itself to establishing and preserving. Dickinson goes on to explain that during the eighteenth century Whiggism took on further objectives, with sub-groups forming as different Whigs furthered different causes. He suggests that to be a Whig in the early eighteenth century was also to ‘support the Revolution of 1688, the Hanoverian Succession, the sovereignty of the King-in-Parliament, and freedom of Worship for Protestant dissenters.’[[401]](#footnote-401) Although *The Free-Holder* very rarely makes overt reference to the Revolution of 1688 andis curiously secular in its evasion of Protestant dissenter debate, its support for the King-in-Parliament and the Hanoverian succession make up its core stated objectives and ambition. The opening number of *The Free-Holder*,printed just over a year after the crowning of King George on 20 October 1714, concludes by laying out its over-arching objectives:

I shall in the course of this paper (to be published every *Monday* and *Friday*) Endeavour to open the Eyes of my Countrymen to their own interest, to show them the Privileges of an *English* Free-Holder, which they enjoy in common with myself, and to make them sensible to how these Blessings are secured to us by his Majesty’s Title, his Administration, and his personal character.[[402]](#footnote-402)

It endeavours to assist fellow freeholders in appreciating the benefits of their position as subjects to the newly arrived Hanoverian King. This will be achieved by championing King George directly (as No. 2 demonstrates by listing the many virtues of ‘his personal character’) and by emphasising the advantages and ‘blessings’ that fellow freeholders enjoy in terms of politics, property and their everyday life. As the previous chapter of this thesis saw, the opening number is also keen to examine the political implications of the editorial voice’s status as a ‘free-holder’:

The House of Commons is the representative of men in my condition. I consider myself as one who gives my consent to every Law which passes: A Freeholder in our government being of the Nature of a Citizen of Rome in that famous Commonwealth; who by the Election of a Tribune had a kind of remote Voice in every Law that was enacted. So that a Free-holder is one remove from a Legislator, and for that Reason ought to stand up in the Defence of those Laws which are in some degree his own making.[[403]](#footnote-403)

The Government does not represent all British citizens, but instead ‘men in [his] position’. His status gives him an active role in government, and theoretically by voting he is giving personal ‘consent to ever Law that passes.’ He continues to suggest that rather than being a subject, his ownership of property makes him physically a part of the country and an active participant in the democratic process: ‘A Free-holder is one Remove from a Legislator.’

*The Free-Holder* thus adheres to all of the broader traditional Whiggish traits established by Dickinson (an interest in a balance between liberty and political order, the freedom of conscience, government by consent and a mixed and balanced constitution), whilst also intrinsically including in its ambition uniquely eighteenth-century Whiggish interests in its support for the sovereignty of the King-in-Parliament and the Hanoverian Succession. Its endorsement of George I also sets it in firm opposition to much of the Tory print of the time, with the majority of Tory writers instead criticising the unfamiliar German King. However, we should remain cautious. Whilst helpful, Dickinson’s model is reductive and gives rise to the misconception that Addison and his contemporaries harboured a clear idea of what Whiggism was. Cowan is right to complicate this, stressing the malleability of eighteenth-century Whiggism: ‘[b]y virtue of its very success after the Hanoverian accession, Whiggery became perhaps the most flexible and pervasive political label of the eighteenth century.’[[404]](#footnote-404) Crucially, not only does this mean that Addison and his readers might not have shared the same conceptualisation of Whiggism, it also means that Addison’s own Whiggism need not be consistent throughout *The Free-Holder*’s full fifty-five issue run.

Although it can be agreed that Addison’s periodical writing in *The Free-Holder* promoted some form of Whiggism, a further complication is added by the question of the extent to which this Whiggism can be connected to *The Free-Holder*’sengagement and application of ideas relating to politeness. The same question has been raised with reference to Addison’s earlier work on the ‘Spectator Project’. Whilst acknowledging that Addison’s project sought both to advance Whiggism and reform society by laying down a polite model of public behaviour, Caroline Robbins’s early study avoids linking the two, presenting them as two separate agendas: ‘[e]ssayists like Addison and Steel spread mild Whiggery everywhere, but devoted almost as much attention to manners as politics.’[[405]](#footnote-405) In contrast, whilst discussing Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics,* a text which investigates politeness to great lengths, Klein goes some way in suggesting that the early eighteenth-century construction of ‘politeness’ was a predominantly politically motivated manoeuvre:

[Shaftesbury’s] *Characteristics* main contribution to Whiggish thinking was analysing the moral and cultural concomitants of politics: it is precisely by articulating for Whiggism a cultural ideology, a politics of manners and culture, that *Characteristics* approaches the status of political discourse.[[406]](#footnote-406)

However, Klein is more interested in politeness as some kind of moral discourse, crediting Shaftesbury with the construction of a new Whig ethic. Returning to discussions of the ‘Spectator Project’ Cowan offers a more pragmatic explanation for the application of politeness in these papers:

The “politeness” espoused by Mr. Spectator was a social ethic in which the regulation of proper behaviour, both through external shaming as well as internalized guilt, was as important as social “polish” or an urban lifestyle. Whig politeness was a form of policing just as stringent, and just as socially exclusive, as Tory persecution.[[407]](#footnote-407)

Cowan and Klein do however each concur that in the works of both Addison and Shaftesbury politeness is perpetuated and employed with the intention of rebranding public perceptions of the Whig party. Discussing the potential for politeness to reverse cultural perceptions of the Whigs as ‘poor rival Presbyterians… unpolite, uninformed and without literature or manners’ Klein states that ‘to claim politeness for the Whigs was a way to attack the Tories.’[[408]](#footnote-408) Cowan goes even further, suggesting that it offered the ‘Spectator Project’ a means of distancing Whiggism from associations with volatile political action following the Glorious Revolution, the Exclusion Crisis and most recently the trial of Henry Sacheverell:

In the short term, when Whig goals were the prosecution of Sacheverell and a desperate attempt by the junto ministers to retain hold on office, the *Tatler* and *Spectator* might well have been seen to have a “mild political influence,” but in the long run, they provided the foundations for a view of Whiggery as moderate, progressive, and polite.[[409]](#footnote-409)

Given *The Free-Holder*’swillingness to appropriate Tory ideas and iconography, and the extent to which it attempts to portray Whiggism as a sensible and attractive proposition without providing specific details about either party or policy, the suggestion that Addison employed politeness with the intent of perpetuating a ‘view of Whiggery’ is at once a highly plausible and attractive reading. However, crucially, as Cowan also hints, *The Free-Holder* comes later:

The “polite” Whiggery of the Spectator project was successful because of its own extreme malleability and its refusal to engage in overtly partisan politics at a point when the popularity of Whig principles were tenuous, but the Spectatorial strategy ultimately could not accommodate the variety of different uses to which Whig principles and politics would be put after the Hanoverian accession dramatically transformed Whig political fortunes*.* We should remember that both Addison and Steele largely abandoned the Spectatorial strategy during George I’s reign in favour of a return to more blatantly partisan political argument.[[410]](#footnote-410)

Whilst the political context after the Hanoverian Succession is undoubtedly different to that of Queen Anne, the remainder of this chapter will argue that Addison’s careful application of the lexis of politeness in *The Free-Holder* demonstrates that he did not ‘abandon’ the ‘Spectatorial strategy’ of using such a language and framework to rebrand and perpetuate a positive ‘view of Whiggery’, but rather amplified this strategy, taking it to greater and more subversive extremes. In doing so it will also complicate the suggestion that *The Free-Holder* represents ‘a return to more blatantly partisan political argument’ by arguing that although the intent is potentially more politically violent than that of the ‘Spectator project’, its articulation and insistence on reconciliation is notably less polemic.

The extent of the contrasting political contexts of the reigns of Queen Anne and George I is frequently stated. In painting a picture of the Hanoverian era as one of ‘tranquillity’ when compared to the volatility of the preceding decade, W.A. Speck offers up a typical account of the transition:

Walpole’s world was a very different one from that of Queen Anne. […] The political stability over which he presided is now considered as one of the major achievements of the early Hanoverian era. […] The machinery of government became more complex as the state mobilized unprecedented resources for the conflict against Louis XIV, and its very complexity contributed to the growth of political stability as it created vested interests dependent upon the survival of the Revolution settlement. […] Although there had been signs of increasing stability before 1714, its development was by no means assured by the death of Anne. The main contribution to the transition from an age of party strife to a more tranquil era was the cooling off of the political issues which had divided Tory from Whig since the Exclusion crisis and which had kept passions at boiling point.[[411]](#footnote-411)

Although this sounds like a fairly straight-forward progression, Speck does credit it with great complexity on the level of government mechanics. The vision of the era as being ‘a cooling off period’ is one that *The Free-Holder*’semphasis on assimilation and reconciliation helps to perpetuate, coupled with its insistence that it is not like earlier print. If we return again to *The Free-Holder*’s discussion of *The Examiner* we find that this is exemplified well by Mr. Free-Holder’s attempts to distance himself from Jonathan Swift’s earlier Tory paper, described here generally and with bias:

The *Examiner* would not allow such as were of a contrary Opinion to him, to be either Christians or Fellow-subjects. […] They were often put in mind of some approaching Execution, and therefore all of them advised to prepare themselves for it, as Men who had then nothing to take care of, but how to die decently.[[412]](#footnote-412)

*The Free-Holder* defines itself in contrast to such texts, which it hints have been written in a darker, less civilized and ultimately less ‘polite’ moment in recent history. At the time of *The Free-Holder* the Whigs are no longer writing in opposition, but instead enjoying a dramatic change in fortunes. Despite insistences that this was ‘a more tranquil era’, this was not something that the Tory party took lightly. ‘A farewell to the year 1714’, an anonymous poem published in 1714, does a fair job of capturing the feeling amidst the Tory party faithful at this time:

Farewell old year, for Thou to us did bring

Strange changes in our State, a stranger King;

Farewell old year, for thou with Broomstick hard

Hast drove poor Tory from St. James’s Yard;

Farewell old year, old Monarch, and old Tory,

Farewell old England, Thou has lost thy glory.[[413]](#footnote-413)

This is an elegy to everything that the conservative country gentleman holds dear. As each of these elements fade, they are replaced with ‘[s]trange changes in our State [and] a stranger King.’ Not only have the Tories lost majority in parliament, but the Stuart monarch of undisputed Royal blood has been replaced by the Hanoverian King George, a German monarch who can speak very little English. The poem’s repetition of ‘strange’ undoubtedly alludes to the new King’s foreign identity. As the stanza draws to a close this is no longer merely the end of an era, but the end of a glorious national history: ‘Farewell old England, Thou has lost thy glory.’ As this poem pre-empts, the war in print would continue. As the last chapter of this thesis saw, *The Free-Holder* even takes its name from a fierce printed debate provoked by the publication of an Arch-Tory manifesto*.*[[414]](#footnote-414) If anything, it is the new perception that times were more ‘tranquil’ that Addison is helping to perpetuate in *The Free-Holder* that provides him with exactly the cover needed to enact a more mercenary partisan manoeuvre than anything found in the ‘Spectator Project’; as the remainder of this chapter argues, politeness was to aid in this task.

*The Free-Holder* avoids articulating itself as being a partisan project, but closer inspection of its chosen values and causes shows it to also be a fundamentally Whiggish partisan paper. However, the same close inspection reveals early eighteenth-century Whiggism to be both complicated and not at all coherent. As Cowan succinctly explains, whilst Addison may have been one of the ‘partisan capital “W” Whigs who sought broadly to preserve the “revolution principles” of 1688-89’ he was ‘by no means [one of] the triumphant self-satisfied Macaulayite Whigs of a later era who would later read their political victories as steps along an inexorable evolutionary path from absolutist monarchy to Parliamentary democracy.’[[415]](#footnote-415) The case of *The Craftsman* well illustrates the diversity and fluidity of what constituted Whig ‘ideology’ during the period immediately following *The Free-Holder* and on into the 1720’s. A periodical written by the then out-of-favour Lord Bolingbroke, Henry St John, this long running paper challenged Walpole’s Whig government by using the language of an ancient constitutional Whiggism.[[416]](#footnote-416) Significantly, it found a healthy audience as a Whig paper writing in opposition to the Whig regime in power. So, a definitive Whiggism does not exist, and (despite potentially being born of an anxiety over the lack of a consistent political identity for the Whig party) Addison’s *The Free-Holder* does not invent one. It does, however, knowingly target a broad spectrum of readers, attempting to pitch a vision of Whiggism that is acceptable to as many people as possible. It also does this whilst retaining (and furthering) its main “W” Whig interests.

This chapter will now investigate how *The Free-Holder* attempts this, arguing that it is achieved through the careful application of ‘politeness.’ Crucially, just as with Whiggism, it is a *vision* of politeness that Addison employs rather than a politeness that he invents. Klein has credited Shaftesbury with constructing in politeness a ‘paideia’ (‘a programme of intellectual and aesthetical as well as ethical cultivation’).[[417]](#footnote-417) *The Free-Holder*’s ends are without such pedagogical pretensions. Instead, it takes from Shaftesbury a structure and a lexis which it puts to political use. Shaftesbury, then, offers us a *framework* for navigating and discussing what Addison is doing in *The Free-Holder*. This chapter will also demonstrate that in the first instance *The Free-Holder* is interested in reforming discourse before society, ever grounding its discussions of politics, politeness and behaviour in the sphere of periodical print. The only model of Whiggism that it actively proposes is one that can be purchased from a magazine stand and circulated in coffee houses: *The Free-Holder* writes about writing. In doing so it adheres to Powell’s observation that ‘[p]eriodicals invented a space for their authors to think out loud about what it meant to be a professional writer.’[[418]](#footnote-418) This, as already seen, is in evidence from the opening lines of the very first number:

This is the Case of one who draws his Pen in the Defense of Property without having any; except, perhaps, in the Copy of a Libel, or a Ballad […] One is apt to suspect, that the Passion of Liberty, which appears in a Grub-Street Patriot, arises only from his apprehensions of the Gaol; and that whatever he may pretend, he does not write to secure, but to get something of his own.[[419]](#footnote-419)

The grounds of battle are always laid out on the field of print. This will now be demonstrated through a close reading of *The Free-Holder*’s application of a series of rhetorical and thematic aspects of politeness.

**Shaftesbury’s ‘harmony’ and Addison’s written ‘politeness’**

Returning, then, to Shaftesbury’s conceptualisation of politeness in *Characteristics*, we find the assertion that the pursuit of harmony is central to a society’s success. Shaftesbury argued that the need for harmony was reflected in the ordering of the Universe:

[I]t can be no strengthening to the moral affection, no great support to the pure Love of Goodness and Virtue, to suppose there is neither Goodness and Beauty in the Whole itself; not any example, or precedent of good affection from anything amiable or self-worthy, and to the suppressing the very habit and familial Custom of admitting natural Beautys, or whatever in the Order of this is according to just Design, Harmony, and Proportion. For how little disposed must a Person be, to love or admire any thing as orderly in the Universe, who thinks the Universe itself a Pattern of Disorder? How unapt to reverence or respect any particular subordinate Beauty of a Part; when even the whole itself is thought to want perfection and to be only a vast and infinite Deformity?[[420]](#footnote-420)

For Shaftesbury the cosmic could be made domestic if human interactions were to attempt to attain such order. This provides the basis for the model of politeness that Shaftesbury recommends, and such harmony can be discerned in Addison’s prose style.

Jan Lannering situates Addison’s writing as a watershed moment in the history of English prose, observing the dominance of a ‘curt’ style throughout the preceding seventeenth century, populated by ‘short, terse main clauses, often not connected syntactically and often with variation of subject.’[[421]](#footnote-421) This style, inspired by Seneca rather than Cicero, is that which Addison would later liken to the experience of wandering into a wild wood: ‘[y]ou may ramble in the one a whole Day together, and every Moment discover something or other that is new to you; but when you have done, you will have but a confused imperfect Notion of the Place.’[[422]](#footnote-422) Similarly, as the eighteenth century dawned Shaftesbury expressed that he too had grown weary with the Senecan style, lamenting that it had become ‘so much admired and imitated in our age that we have scarce the idea of any other models.’[[423]](#footnote-423) For Lannering Addison heralded a necessary revival of the Ciceronian style, ensuring that the sentence would once again return to being ‘harmonious and balanced’:

[T]here was, during the latter half of the [seventeenth] century, a growing need of perfection of form or a just proportion between the units of language, and of grace and ease of expression. The demand for measured and balanced prose began to make itself felt as early as about the middle of the century. Grace and ease of expression implied order and coherence of the parts of the period. […] By this means a just distribution of emphasis on the different parts of the sentence would be possible, in other words, the sentence would be harmonious and balanced.[[424]](#footnote-424)

To achieve this harmony Addison self-consciously applies the core characteristics of Cicero, appropriately bringing the rules of classical rhetoric to bear in the task of politely educating his audience. In doing so he adopts the Ciceronian role of orator, endeavouring ‘to teach, to please, to move.’[[425]](#footnote-425) When classifying the attributes of the oratorical style of Cicero (who is introduced as being ‘the supreme master of prose’ in ‘the Golden Age of Rome’) Lannering lists the ‘[c]opiousness of words, the elaborate symmetry of the members of the sentence, and the harmonious fall of the clauses.’[[426]](#footnote-426) Each of these is employed (sometimes to excess) throughout *The Free-Holder*,and are well exemplified by the formal parallelism demonstrated in No. 39; the eulogy to Lord Somers cited at the outset of this chapter.

Addison’s diverse use of word-pairs and triplets in the following extract is indicative of the extent of ‘harmonious’ symmetry manifest in *The Free-Holder*’sprose style. Word-pairs in themselves are neither uncommon nor extraordinary, but throughout *The Free-Holder* they are striking in both their high frequency and the versatility of their application. Addison’s usage is often pleonastic, but rarely without effect. In writing his panegyric elegy to Somers he employs word-pairs and triplets to achieve symmetry and range, to imply antithesis and commonality, and in each instance to assert emphasis without force or disruption:

His character was uniform and consistent with itself, and his whole conduct of a piece. His principles were founded in Reason, and supported by Virtue; and therefore did not lie at the Mercy of Ambition, Avarice, or Resentment. His Notions were no less steady and unshaken, than just and upright. In a Word, he concluded his Course among the same well-chosen Friendships and Alliances, with which he began it.

This Great Man was not more Conspicuous as a Patriot and a Statesman, than as a Person of universal Knowledge and Learning. As by dividing his Time between the publick Scenes of Business, and the private Retirements of Life, he took care to keep up both the Great and Good Man; so by the same Means he accomplished himself not only in the Knowledge of Men and Things, but in the Skill of the most refined Arts and Sciences.[[427]](#footnote-427)

Some of these word-pairs are broadly synonymous and apparently serve a wholly pleonastic function, recalling Cicero’s ‘copiousness of words.’[[428]](#footnote-428) Such examples are seen in ‘uniform and consistent’ and ‘great and good’, where the typical claim of redundancy associated with pleonasm might be made.[[429]](#footnote-429) In these instances Addison uses word-pairs in a way similar to repetition, building on commonalities between his chosen words to emphasise their shared traits. ‘Uniform’ and ‘consistent’, for example, are almost entirely synonymous, with the *OED* stating that since at least 1540 ‘uniform’ has meant ‘the same form always; that is or remains the same in different places, at different times, or under varying circumstances, exhibiting no difference, diversity, or variation’ whilst since 1648 ‘consistent’ has been taken to mean: ‘remaining in the same state or condition, persistent; durable.’[[430]](#footnote-430) Appearing together ‘consistency’ is embellished by the dynamism implied by ‘uniform’, which remains unchanged even under varying circumstances. Taken in the context of the clause in which it appears, ‘[h]is character was uniform and consistent with itself’, this word-pair portrays Somers as being of immensely durable and entirely unchanging character; he has achieved the self-realisation prescribed by Shaftesbury and is entirely his own ‘author.’[[431]](#footnote-431) He can be depended upon, without exception, to always be the same Somers described throughout the passage that follows. The pairing of ‘great and good’ serves the same function, bolstering Addison’s unanimously positive representation of Somers. This pair implies a range indicative of a more exhaustive survey of Somers’ characteristics than if Addison used the single term, ‘great’. That the result of this survey finds that Somers is also ‘good’ suggests that Addison’s findings are consistent and Somers is without any antithetical attributes. Again, a neoplastic word-pair is being used to assert emphasis.

There are also instances in which two synonymous word-pairs appear in the same sentence. Addison continues to emphasise the consistency of Somers character by stating that his notions are ‘no less steady and unshaken, than just and upright.’ Each of these pairs functions in the same manner as ‘great and good’; ‘steady’ serving precisely the same role here as ‘unshaken’, whilst ‘just’ cannot be distinguished from ‘upright.’ However, here, the balancing of two neoplastic word pairs amplifies the emphasis further, and also creates a further symmetry within the sentence. Grouped together in the same clause these pairs serve the same underlying point, that Somers is dependable and consistent. Elsewhere the same symmetrical technique is used to generate antithesis.

For instance, ‘reason’ is paired less directly with ‘virtue’, which implies that despite their not being synonymous there is a complimentary commonality between these two abstract terms: ‘[h]is principles were founded in Reason, and supported by Virtue […].’ Following a pause, this sentence is immediately offset by the claim that he ‘did not lie at the Mercy of Ambition, Avarice, or Resentment.’ This triplet serves to illustrate a range of vices which are not synonymous whilst also emphasising that which they do share in common; they are all vices. The alliteration across ‘ambition’ and ‘avarice’ is not typical of Addison’s style, the absence of which has often been attributed by critics to his dismissal of unnecessary adornments and conceits.[[432]](#footnote-432) It is therefore significant that Addison employs such a conceit, indicative of sophism and ingenuity, to denote vice. Viewed as a whole this sentence sees such views juxtaposed against the ‘reason’ and ‘virtue’ of the preceding clause, with the interceding semicolon providing the mirror for this reflection:

His principles were founded in Reason, and supported by Virtue; and therefore did not lie at the Mercy of Ambition, Avarice, or Resentment.[[433]](#footnote-433)

In other instances, the grouping of apparently antithetical concepts can serve to suggest an unacknowledged commonality. ‘[P]ublick Scenes of Business’ are juxtaposed with the ‘private Retirements of Life’, but the two share both a sentence and the ‘care’ of Somers. In this case, the symmetrical alignment of contrasting concepts (‘public’ and ‘private’) is used to demonstrate range. Somers exhibits the same degree of ‘care’ in public and private spheres. Similarly his character and skills enable him to deal with both ‘Men and Things’ and to succeed in the realms of both ‘Arts and Science.’

Word-pairs also provide Addison with the means of inviting complication by listing words which are perhaps not as synonymous in actuality as they are in language. In Somers Addison discovers an ideal ‘Patriot and a Statesmen’, but the fact that it’s mentionable that Somers is both suggest that the two do not always imply each other. As seen elsewhere in the paper, Addison is recurrently perturbed by the notion of ‘mock-patriots’, writers and statesmen who further their own self-interests in the name of the nation’s. He also groups ‘Friendships and Alliances.’ In appearing together, their distinction again implies that the two are not always the same whilst also asserting their kinship; friendship, Addison here warns, can have a political motivation.

Without raising it explicitly as an overtly didactic caution, Addison’s use of apparently pleonastic word-pairs hints at an implicit political dimension to the politeness he personifies in Somers. These word-pairs provide Addison with a means of distributing emphasis without rhetorically labouring his points in such a way that might appear dull, dogmatic, repetitive or overly formal and systematic. This is complicated by his use of cadence. Cadence, understood here as the trochaic movement at the end of clause to end on an unstressed syllable, was a characteristic way of ending phrases in the Augustan Latin of such orators as Cicero and Seneca.[[434]](#footnote-434) In this extract, such cadence can be found in use of ‘Knowledge and Learning’, with the transition from dactyl into trochee prohibiting the opening sentence of the second paragraph from culminating on a stressed note. The effect of this is that Addison is able to inform his readers without forcefully instructing them, achieving a ‘harmonious’ exchange that actually recalls the ‘benevolence’ with which Somers was said to converse in the extract used to open this chapter.[[435]](#footnote-435)

Addison’s stylistic balance throughout *The Free-Holder*, exhibited here through his use of word-pairs and triplets alone, presents a written manifestation of the harmony prescribed by politeness and detailed in Shaftesbury’s *Characteristcs.* This harmony, largely created through the application of Ciceronian devices, serves a rhetorical and persuasive function, allowing Addison to act in the manner that he attributes to Somers, demonstrating ‘so agreeable a way of conveying Knowledge, that whoever conferr’d with him grew the wised, without perceiving that he had been instructed.’ The polite harmony that Addison strives to achieve in his text is the same as that which he will also now be seen to prescribe to partisan society.

The pose of partisan disinterestedness, which encourages readers to look beyond artificial political distinctions and work towards some form of reconciliation can now be seen to bare a notable resemblance to the emphasis placed on the idea of ‘harmony’ throughout Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics.* However, as *The Free-Holder* ultimately demonstrates by the time that it reaches its closing number, political ‘harmony’ will only ever be achieved if a single party were to achieve an unchallenged supremacy. Polemic debate does not promote harmony, but instead, as Addison was seen to stress in the previous chapter, it galvanises difference and perpetuates divergence. It is in this that Addison finds a partisan application, as the pursuit of social and political harmony becomes an endorsement for unanimous Whig victory through total Tory conversion.

Thus, whenever *The Free-Holder* explicitly discusses the topic of partisanship it is frequently the case that its conclusions sound surprisingly non-partisan:

The general division of the *British* nation is into Whigs and Tories, there being very few, if any, who stand neuters in the dispute, without ranging themselves under one of these denominations. One would therefore be apt to think, that every member of the community who embraces with vehemence the principles of either of these parties, had thoroughly sifted and examined them, and was secretly convinced of their preference to those of that party which he rejects. And yet it is certain, that most of our fellow subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendship, or deference to the judgement of those, who, perhaps in their own hearts disapprove of the opinions which they industriously spread among the multitude.[[436]](#footnote-436)

The emphasis here is not on whom people should vote for, but the process by which they decide. Mr. Free-Holder is not condemning an opposition but instead foregrounding an anxiety that external factors might determine a party’s success. If there is an enemy here it is the mechanism by which ill-founded ‘opinions’ are ‘industriously spread among the multitude’: printed political discourses which make the voters’ minds for them. Indeed, just as it is not the ‘Tories’ that are under fire here, Addison’s ‘freeholder’ persona never attacks the opposition. Instead it emphatically represents itself as a cooling balm to a tired and brutalised readership, endlessly harrowed by the on-going ‘war of print’ discussed in the previous chapter. It affects to look beyond party divisions, and appeal to logic and reason. It presents itself as being sympathetic, accepting and understanding of the reservations held by the opposition. It longs for an end to the ‘rage of party’, and self-consciously sets itself the task of achieving reconciliation. Restating its ambition in No. 46 it reminds readers that it hopes to propose ‘considerations [which] ought to *reconcile* to his majesty the hearts and tongues of all his people.’[[437]](#footnote-437) This is an approach which the paper both recommends and enacts.

*The Free-Holder*’sown preoccupation with achieving within its pages a state of ‘harmony’ (or ‘reconciliation’) can also be seen to account for its critical reception, with commentators finding it difficult to state exactly what it was that Addison was attempting. Writing in 1777, Samuel Johnson hints at the seemingly paradoxical heart of Addison’s *Free-Holder*. He claims that for him, the paper contains ‘some strokes less elegant, and less decent’, citing that the paper is too ‘savage’ and ‘mean’ and not in keeping with ‘the delicacy of Addison’.[[438]](#footnote-438) Johnson then immediately reveals that Addison’s close friend and frequent collaborator, Richard Steele, found it to be ‘too nice and too gentle for such noisy times.’[[439]](#footnote-439) *The Free-Holder* is at once too harsh for the Tory Johnson, and too soft for the Whiggish Steele.

*The Free-Holder* wrote to reinforce the ideas and beliefs of the party faithful, like Steele, whilst presenting these ideas in such a way that they were attractive to the interested Tory reader as well, like Johnson’s predecessors. However, as Johnson’s later remarks intimate, by attempting to be acceptable to two sides of a conflict Addison runs the risk of becoming alienated from both. This is not a concern that *The Free-Holder*’s persona ever pauses to consider, instead opting to present itself as being a paper that can always encompass seemingly uncompromising polar opposites. It is, on first reading, deliberately oxymoronic on a range of scales. Broadly, it remains a staunchly Whiggish paper whilst constantly articulating itself in Tory terms. It champions the active over the passive, demanding its readers to be proactive whilst it itself remains contemplative and only ever *imagines* having a quantifiable effect.[[440]](#footnote-440) There are even contradictions on a minute scale, such as the way in which the paper alternates between favouring print and manuscript evidence, often championing one whilst attempting to destabilise the credibility of the other, before switching and doing the exact opposite.[[441]](#footnote-441) *The Free-Holder* can never truly be all of these things simultaneously. The foregrounding of these contradictions (both broad and specific) is again symptomatic of the paper’s intrinsic interest in ideas of reconciliation, or more specifically, re-appropriation under the guise of reconciliation. By claiming to encompass so many contradictions and opposing viewpoints the paper can fashion itself as being attractive to a wide variety of readers. In articulating itself in accordance with the very same approach that it demonstrates and recommends to readers *The Free-Holder* uses the principles of politeness to embody an absolute unification of style and content.

In recommending the harmonious and reconciliatory approach implicit in politeness as a means of resolving partisan polemics Addison demonstrates precisely the approach proposed in Shaftesbury’s *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm* (1708).[[442]](#footnote-442) Writing in response to the appearance of a group of prophetically inspired Christians in London, Shaftesbury suggests in this letter that the most efficient way to disarm dangerously deluded people is good humour and tolerance (as opposed to shrill polemics and publicity-orchestrated persecutions). The dilemma that Shaftesbury identifies and writes to address is one of self-regulation: how can a society police itself and guard against the dual threat of ‘vice’ and ‘infirmity’?[[443]](#footnote-443) Shaftesbury concedes that at the time of writing his society exhibits an admirable tendency towards satire and self-reflection, appropriately sensitive to the emergence of ‘folly and extravagance of every kind’:

If the knowing well how to expose any infirmity or vice were a sufficient security for the virtue which is contrary, how excellent an age might we be presumed to live in! Never was there in our nation a time known when folly and extravagance of every kind was more sharply inspected or more wittily ridiculed. And one might hope, at least, from this good symptom that our age was in no declining state since, whatever our distempers are, we stand so well affected to our remedies.[[444]](#footnote-444)

For Shaftesbury, the problems begin to arise when certain topics or behaviours are considered to be beyond censure, and whilst they might easily be remedied if found in the mind of a few individuals it presents a greater challenge if it takes hold in the greater ‘public.’ Such topics, discussed here with reference to religious practices, can be extended to include any ideas built upon essentialist and undisputable justifications, such as primogeniture:

To bear being told of faults is in private persons the best token of amendment. It is seldom that a public is thus disposed. For where jealousy of state or the ill lives of the great people or any other cause is powerful enough to restrain the freedom of censure in any part, it in effect destroys the benefit of the whole. There can be no impartial and free censure of manners where any peculiar custom or national opinion is set apart, and not only exempted from criticism but even flattered with the highest art.[[445]](#footnote-445)

Shaftesbury acknowledges that once something has been placed publically above censure the techniques of critique and ridicule that might be employed to remedy ‘folly or extravagance’ can no longer be applied. The public as a whole are less likely to accept being ‘told of faults’, and in such circumstances the prioritisation of liberty prevents such ideas and practices from being controlled or prohibited by the state:

It is only in a free nation, such as ours, that imposture has no privilege and that neither the credit of a court, the power of a nobility, nor the awfulness of a church can give her protection or hinder her from being arranged in every shape and appearance. It is true, this liberty may seem to run too far. We may perhaps be said to make ill use of it. So everyone will say when he himself is touched and his opinion feely examined. But who shall be judge of what may be freely examined and what may not, where liberty may be used and where it may not? What remedy shall we prescribe to this in general? Can there be a better than from that liberty itself which is complained of?[[446]](#footnote-446)

Shaftesbury concludes that whilst criminal behaviour can be regulated by the state, matters of thought, opinion and belief should be a domain regulated by the polite gentleman, who, through the protection and propagation of reason can converse with those labouring under irrational misconceptions and help them to realise on their own the error of their ways. Likewise, engagement in such enlightened conversation will prevent the reasoning gentleman falling foul of such dangerous and misguided notions himself. For this, Shaftesbury suggests that no persuasive techniques is more appropriate or effective than demonstration and experience. It is better to show rather than tell:

If men are vicious, petulant or abusive, the magistrate may correct them. But if they reason ill, it is reason still must teach them better. Justness of thought and style, refinement of manners, good breeding and *politeness* of every kind can come only from their trial and experience of what is best. [[447]](#footnote-447)

Politeness here denotes Shaftesbury’s encouragement to make concessions to the audience being addressed, recalling again France’s definition of politeness as being ‘learning [designed] to accommodate others within a given social group.’[[448]](#footnote-448)

Addison’s most emphatic demonstration of this approach is found in No. 22. As one of *The Free-Holder*’s more literary episodes No. 22 proves emblematic of the overall style and ambition of the periodical. This issue finds Mr. Free-Holder encountering a ‘fox-hunter’ whilst walking in the country and entering into a lengthy conversation during which he is recurrently insulted and startled by the gentleman’s wilful ignorance. It is one of the paper’s best remembered issues. Peter Smithers describes the episode as being amongst Addison’s ‘best prose works’, recalling Macaulay’s description of No. 22 as being ‘delicious.’[[449]](#footnote-449) W. J. Courthorpe selects No. 22 as one of *The Free-Holder*’s finest contributions, likening it to Addison’s earlier work on *The Spectator* in stating that the ‘best papers in the series are undoubtedly the “Memoirs of a Preston Rebel” and the “Tory fox-hunter,” both of which are full of the exquisite humour that distinguishes the sketches of Sir Roger de Coverley.’[[450]](#footnote-450) It is similarly handpicked by Edward and Lilian Bloom, who, in their less than generous gloss of *The Free-Holder* cite it as one of the paper’s redemptive features, claiming that ‘[e]ven the *Freeholder* can delight with instances of satirical wit in pictures of the Tory fox-hunter and his loud-mouthed innkeeper.’[[451]](#footnote-451) Although less than enthusiastic about *The Free-Holder* Samuel Johnson similarly concedes that No. 22 is a fine issue:

In argument [Addison] had many equals; but his humour was singular and matchless. Bigotry itself must be delighted with the Tory fox-hunter.[[452]](#footnote-452)

That this issue, which is fairly overt in satirising the Tory opposition, should later receive praise from Samuel Johnson (himself an arch-Tory), raises interesting questions about readership and reception, and provides some proof that Addison’s Whiggish *Free-Holder* could somehow be read and enjoyed by Tory readers. Tellingly, No. 22 does not promote itself as a satire on Tory behaviour. Instead, citing Cicero, the classical epitaph suggests that the essay is concerned with championing print over orality:

Studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impteu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer.

Zeal is savage and uncivilized when roared or bellowed in speech, but agile and reflective when written.[[453]](#footnote-453)

The paper is again asserting its classical credentials and foregrounding its self-conscious interest and awareness in rhetoric and discourse. At the outset Addison is framing the issue as an attack on the abstract and anonymous idea of inflammatory spoken endorsements of party, reviving his on-going suspicion and anxiety regarding the ‘zeal of party.’ The epitaph suggests that it will be making a case for the written word, arguing that it is preferable to the spoken word which can be uttered out of instinct. It can be ‘savage and uncivilized’ since it can exist without prior consideration, whereas an author must make a series of decisions before committing an idea to the page. Conversely this epitaph also suggests the exact opposite, hinting that written zeal can be made to sound ‘agile and reflective’ when in fact it would sound ‘savage’ when spoken. It is fairly typical of *The Free-Holder*’s epigraphs in that it can be interpreted in at least two strikingly different ways. Although the ‘fox-hunter’ that Mr. Free-Holder encounters can easily be read as a personification of ‘zeal [which is] savage and uncivilized when roared or bellowed in speech’ No. 22 never actually articulates itself as a discussion of the respective merits and shortfalls of written and spoken zeal. Instead, despite its efforts to frame itself as otherwise, it remains predominantly a satire on the behaviour of provincial Tory gentleman.

The essay opens by establishing Mr. Free-Holder’s primary point of interest for this issue, those ‘fox-hunters’ who prove repeatedly to be the unwitting enemies of the King and government:

For the honour of his majesty and the safety of his government, we cannot but observe that those who have appeared the greatest enemies to both are of that rank of men, who are commonly distinguished by the title of *fox-hunters*. As several of these have had no education in cities, camps or courts, it is doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or use to the nation in which they live. It would be an everlasting reproach to politics, should such men be able to overturn an establishment which has been formed by the wisest laws, and is supported by the ablest heads.[[454]](#footnote-454)

Although Johnson later identified these men as ‘*Tory* fox-hunters’, Mr. Free-Holder never actually refers to them as this; they are simply ‘the fox-hunters.’ This ‘rank of men’ are immediately characterised as ‘the greatest enemies to both […] the honour of his majesty, and the safety of his government.’ This is no idle accusation, particularly given that *The Free-Holder* considers itself to be predominantly a defender of the Hanoverian monarch and his Whiggish government. The essay continues to configure these ‘fox-hunters’ as being antithetical others to the narrative persona of Mr. Free-Holder. He explains that they have ‘no education in cities, camps or courts.’ This rule of three, emphasised through consonance, comparatively encompasses *The Free-Holder*’s three main areas of interest. Mr. Free-Holder goes on to suggest that with no urban or political education these gentleman have no political utility, and as such fail to adhere to *The Free-Holder*’smain prerequisite for readers: that they must be politically proactive, and that they must prove themselves useful to the public. These ‘fox-hunters’ have no such purpose: ‘it is doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or use to the nation in which they live.’ Given the paper’s emphasis on the importance of civic duty, this is once again a serious charge.

However, whilst the existence of such people is troubling to Mr. Free-Holder, it is the suggestion that men of such a background and inclination should actually become involved, without acquiring in the meantime an adequate ‘education’, that he finds most disturbing: ‘It would be an everlasting reproach to politics, should such men be able to overturn an establishment which has been formed by the wisest laws, and is supported by the ablest heads’. Addison’s use of the word ‘would’is the crucial moment in this sentence. *The Free-Holder* is merely speculating at this point, although it does so with authority, not giving the reader a chance to question where or when this suggestion has actually been made. It then proceeds to respond to this speculation, which it has seemingly generated itself, as though it has already happened. For the remainder of the issue it is adamant that these country gentleman, who know nothing of the city (and indeed nothing of worth to the greater good) might somehow find their way into a position of power. It is this jeopardy (a jeopardy which Mr. Free-Holder has imagined) that drives the essay in *No 22*.

Having introduced his readers to the type of gentleman he is interested in discussing, Mr. Free-Holder concedes that they are hard to imagine if you have not had personal experience of them yourself. This becomes the conceit for the remainder of the issue, during which he recounts his encounter with such a gentleman, for the benefit of those readers who have yet to suffer a similar misfortune:

The wrong notions and prejudices which cleave too many of those country-gentlemen, who have always fled out of the way of being better informed, are not easy to be conceived by a person who has never conversed with them. That I may give my readers an image of these rural statesmen, I shall without farther preface set down an account of a discourse I chanced to have with one of them some time ago.[[455]](#footnote-455)

Mr. Free-Holder continues here to build an ever more damning characterisation of these ‘country-gentleman’, introducing the idea that they are not only ignorant and misguided, but wilfully so. They actively avoid knowledge, for fear that it might affect their long held ‘notions and prejudices’: they ‘have always fled out of the way of being better informed.’ The subtle emphasis on the power and significance of conversation in this sentence is profoundly Addisonian. We are told that these ‘country-gentlemen’ avoid knowledge by resisting ways of being ‘better informed’; they will not engage in conversation on these topics for fear that their mind may be changed. They evade polite learning.

This is the very same accusation levelled against Shaftesbury’s fanatics in *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm,* with reference to whom Shaftesbury writes: ‘Men, your Lordship knows, are wonderfully happy in a faculty of deceiving themselves whenever they let heartily about it.’[[456]](#footnote-456) Shaftesbury implores his addressee to converse with such gentleman, and *The Free-Holder* asks the same of its readers here. If No. 22 is (as the epitaph suggests) about orality, it is not about ‘zeal […] bellowed in speech’, but about cool and considered conversation. Mr. Free-Holder goes on to describe these country-gentlemen as ‘rural statesmen’, employing the term oxymoronically to observe the absurdity of rural gentleman wishing to be involved with the running of state, a fundamentally urban role. As far as Addison is concerned, the state is run from London. This is reflected in *The Free-Holder*’s own identity and distribution: it is a paper about politics, so it is circulated in London. The mockingly hyperbolic style of description that Mr. Free-Holder reserves for characterising the gentlemen remains throughout, recalling Addison’s bathetic approach to presenting the Jacobite rebel introduced to readers in No. 3.[[457]](#footnote-457)

By concluding this introduction to the following tale by apologising for a rambling (but necessary) preface Addison strikes a chord reminiscent of the early novel. His claim that he ‘shall without farther preface set down an account of a discourse I chanced to have with one of them some time ago’ is deeply reminiscent of the writing that often prefaced lengthy works of prose fiction during the early eighteenth century. The suggestion that the authenticity of the following tale is self-consciously dubious, existing only as the recollection of an anecdote told conversationally ‘some time ago’ recalls the establishment of circumstantial realism at the outset of countless examples of the early novel.[[458]](#footnote-458) Mr. Free-Holder takes time to set the scene of the following exchange, stressing as he does so the distance at which it takes place from London and government: ‘I was travelling towards one of the *remotest* parts of England, when about three-a-clock in the afternoon, seeing a country-gentleman trotting before me with a spaniel by his horse side, I made up to him (emphasis added).’[[459]](#footnote-459) The introduction of this gentleman, proudly ‘trotting’ with ‘a spaniel by his horse side’ is already approaching the realms of absurdity, caricature and picaresque.

Obeying the protocol of polite conversation, Mr. Free-Holder engages the country-gentlemen with a fairly conventional opening gambit, opting to begin with an observation on the topic of the weather: ‘Our conversation opened, as usual, upon the weather; in which we were very unanimous; having both agreed that it was too dry for the season of the year.’[[460]](#footnote-460) Again, the importance of conversation is highlighted, and Mr. Free-Holder demonstrates an awareness of routine and proper conduct when conversing, referring to weather as the ‘usual’ topic with which to engage in conversation with a stranger. In immediately seeking to establish a common ground Mr. Free-Holder is making the first concession to his audience, looking to generate a harmonious conversation in which each might teach the other without incurring the ‘impediment of learning.’[[461]](#footnote-461) This opening gambit is laden with polite intent. The country-gentleman’s limited understanding (or adherence to) such protocols provides the crux of the following satire, as the gentleman precedes to employ the state of weather (the most neutral of topics) as highly unlikely evidence for his own political beliefs; beliefs which Mr. Free-Holder has shown no interest or inclination in discussing:

My fellow traveller, upon this, observed to me that there had been no good weather since the revolution. I was a little startled at so extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him till he proceeded to tell me of the fine weather they used to have in King *Charles* the second’s reign. I only answered that I did not see how the badness of the weather could be the king’s fault; and without waiting for his reply asked him whose house it was we saw upon a riding ground a little distance from us.[[462]](#footnote-462)

The fox-hunter has politicised the weather, arguing that it has not been ‘good […] since the revolution’, pinpointing the moment at which the Stuart King Charles II was replaced by the Dutch King William as the end of good British weather. At this moment Addison is satirising the Tory emphasis on the importance of maintaining the Stuart bloodline, an emphasis of particular relevance at the time of the paper’s publication. *The Free-Holder* is in part always a defender of the Hanoverian King George, and writes against Jacobite supporters of his main rival, James Francis Stuart. Support for the ‘Old Pretender’ relied on the very same emphasis on maintaining the Stuart bloodline that had been asserted previously to resist King William. However, such arguments rely on ideas of essentialism and hereditary right, ideas which Addison is here foregrounding as being absurd, unquantifiable and unjustifiable. Such arguments, he is hinting, are as ridiculous as suggesting that the weather is determined by who sits on the throne. They also bear more than a passing resemblance to the fanatical beliefs that Shaftesbury warns can take hold of the public consciousness in *The Letter Concerning Enthusiasm.* As Shaftesbury has been seen to suggest, it falls to the reasoning gentlemen to police such fanatical beliefs through enlightened conversation.

The fox-hunter can be seen to make no concessions to Mr. Free-Holder, a stranger he is encountering for the first time, and presumes that they share the same political and religious beliefs. This is not the polite response Mr. Free-Holder had anticipated, and he is left to rationally observe that he ‘did not see how the badness of the weather could be the king’s fault.’ Mr. Free-Holder does not contend the fox-hunter outright, but instead unspoken codes of conduct (which bind him, but do not appear to affect his opponent) prevent him from presenting a discernible challenge: ‘I was a little startled at so extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him.’[[463]](#footnote-463) Instead, Mr. Free-Holder is left only to ask tentative questions of the fox-hunter’s logic, or attempt to avoid divisive topics by suggesting more neutral subjects for conversation. In again trying to find a topic of commonality with his partner Mr. Free-Holder is looking for a point of harmony from which mutually beneficial conversation can begin. However, instead, further comedy ensues as, despite Mr. Free-Holder’s best attempts, each ‘neutral’ topic that he suggests is crudely politicised by the fox-hunter. For instance, upon turning to the topic of the house in the distance, Mr. Free-Holder is told that it belonged to ‘an old fanatical cur. Mr. Such a one.’[[464]](#footnote-464)

This dynamic proceeds throughout the entirety of their conversation, during which the Whigs are heavily insulted (often in quite immature and banal ways), and the gentleman reveals himself to be very misguided, deeply hypocritical and almost devoid of any degree of self-awareness whatsoever. ‘Mr. Such a one’, the ‘fanatical old cur’, is revealed to be a friend of Mr. Free-Holder (‘I knew the gentleman’s character […] he was a good Christian’), the current parliament is described as ‘a parcel of factious sons of whores’ (though when pressed, little evidence can be drawn upon to justify such a claim), whilst ‘dissenters’ and all ‘these foreigners’ are extensively ridiculed. Whig voters are also particularly insulted as the two walk in to town:

I was let into the characters of all the principal inhabitants whom we met in our way, One was a dog, another a cur, and another the son of a bitch, under which several denominations were comprehended all that voted on the Whig side in the last election.[[465]](#footnote-465)

Increasingly the fox-hunter demonstrates that he has little evidence for his beliefs, and when grasping for such he resorts to name calling or violent demonstrations of spleen. In the final portion of the essay this is best exemplified by the fox-hunter’s discussion of foreigners, which begins with that self-aware discussion of newspapers, and in particular, ‘the style’ in which news is articulated. Addison is not only aware of the potential of the periodical press to inform (and influence) partisan readers (this is implicit in the Whig ministry’s decision to finance *The Free-Holder*,just as it had been previously with *The Whig-Examiner* and *The Medley*, and the Tory equivalent: *The Examiner*), but he actively incorporates the discussion of what readers should expect from periodical writing into his own periodical:

*Sir,* says he, *I make it a rule never to believe any of your printed News. We never see, Sir, how Things go, except now and then in* Dyer’s *Letter, and I read that more for the style of the news. The man has a clever pen it must be owned. I read that more for the style of the news. [I]s it not strange that we should be making War upon the Church of* England *Men, with* Dutch *and* Swiss *Soldiers, Men of Antimonarchical Principles? These foreigners will never be loved in* England, *Sir; they have not that wit and good breeding that we have*.[[466]](#footnote-466)

It is telling that Addison chooses to give the fox-hunter a taste for ‘Dyer’s letter’. This is a reference to John Dyer, a coffee-house keeper in Whitefriars who also produced a well-known manuscript newsletter. Brian Cowan has estimated that ‘he may well have employed as many as fifty scribes to work for his news scriptorium and he was producing perhaps 500 copies thrice weekly.’[[467]](#footnote-467) The newsletter was also deeply Tory and often courted controversy.[[468]](#footnote-468) That when imagining the fox-hunter’s argument Addison introduces the idea that readers were conscious of style, and were aware that they were choosing a type of news, suggests that the exchange and contrast between Mr. Free-Holder and the fox-hunter can be read as being analogous to the picture that the *Free-Holder* paints of itsrelation to other political periodicals, such as *The Examiner.*

As the last chapter demonstrated, *The Free-Holder* makes a point of distancing itself from the ‘war on print’ claiming instead to long for a peaceful alternative. It is now apparent that the papers that constitute this ‘war’ are ones that Addison considers to be impolite. In No*.* 19, Mr. Free-Holder suggests that writers should aim to attack policy, principle and ideology, but that there is no need to make it personal:

When a Man thinks a Party engaged in such Measures as tend to the Ruine of his Country, it is certainly very laudable and virtuous Action in him to make War after this Manner upon the whole Body. But as several Casuists are of Opinion, that in a Battle you should discharge upon the Gross of the Enemy, without levelling your Piece at any particular Person so in his Kind of Combat also, I cannot think it fair to aim at any one Man, and make his Character the Mark of your Hostilities.[[469]](#footnote-469)

However, it states that it is often the case that Tory print, such as *The Examiner*, not only attacks individuals but does so without any polite restraint. ‘This is not the style that *The Free-Holder* aspires to, and aside from being uncivil, Addison’s periodical hints that it also smacks of desperation: ‘[w]hen they cannot refute an Adversary, the shortest way is to libel him; and to endeavour at making his Person odious, when they cannot represent his Notions as absurd.’[[470]](#footnote-470) However, considering Addison’s criticism in light of his textual indebtedness to Shaftesbury and emerging articulations of politeness, it seems that Addison’s main problem with *The Examiner* (or at least, his vision of it) is that it is not articulating its arguments in a polite manner. Rather than attacking its rivals, if it were a polite paper it would identify a point of commonality with its readers and gently prove its supremacy over the opposition through demonstration. This initial point of empathy is essential to Shaftesbury’s model of politeness. He writes that ‘[t]he appearance of reality is necessary to make any passion agreeably represented. And to be able to move others we must be moved ourselves, or appear to be so.’[[471]](#footnote-471) According to *The Free-Holder*, Swift’s paper merely attacks those with whom it does not agree, without making any attempt to compromise. For Mr. Free-Holder *The Examiner* never attempts to empathise, it simply chastises:

The *Examiner* would not allow such as were of a contrary Opinion to him, to be either Christians or Fellow-subjects. With him they were all Atheists, Deists, or Apostates, and a separate Common-Wealth among themselves, that ought either to be extirpated, or when he was in a better Humour, only to be banished out of their Native Country. They were often put in mind of some approaching Execution, and therefore all of them advised to prepare themselves for it, as Men who had then nothing to take care of, but how to die decently.[[472]](#footnote-472)

According to Addison *The Examiner* is not looking to make friends, it is out to destroy its enemies: ‘[i]n short, the *Examiner* seemed to make no distinction between Conquest and Destruction.’[[473]](#footnote-473)

In No. 22 papers such as *The Examiner* are like the fox-hunter’; they privilege style over substance and further under developed, one-sided and naive viewpoints, without ever attempting a meaningful dialogue with the opposition or indeed any alternate viewpoint. However, as with the fox-hunter, they do this without any understanding or experience of what it is that they are discussing. Both *The Examiner* and the fox-hunter are made to illustrate for Addison an absence of politeness, and the damaging ramifications that this can have.

Returning to Addison’s account of the fox-hunter, it transpires that on the topic of ‘all these foreigners’ he is quickly revealed as yet again presenting a vehement opinion on something he knows nothing about. Again, he actively avoids being better informed, and when pressed, can only resort to dismissive ridicule:

I must confess I did not expect to hear my new acquaintance value himself upon these qualifications, but finding him such a critic upon foreigners, I asked him if he had ever travelled; he told me, he did not know what travelling was good for, but to teach a man to ride the great horse, to jabber *French*.[[474]](#footnote-474)

Mr. Free-Holder never succumbs to trading insults with the gentleman, though his parenthetical asides reveal that he is frequently shocked by the gentleman’s rhetoric and fails to agree with him on all of his points. Nevertheless he appears to remain almost entirely passive, telling the reader privately that ‘I had a mind to see him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him.’[[475]](#footnote-475) Initially, this seems very out of character for *The Free-Holder*. It could even be identified as being a ‘crime of omission’, which No 13tells us is the greatest crime imaginable.[[476]](#footnote-476) However, given the narrator’s condescension at this point, it might be that *The Free-Holder* is warning readers not to engage with people as wilfully ignorant as this foxhunter, since it is a waste of time and resources. This remains problematic though; since avoiding conversation with this man could be read as the fox-hunter’s own desire to avoid discussion with the opposition. How can *The Free-Holder* be sure that he is not fleeing away from being better informed?

The answer comes in the closing paragraph, as Mr. Free-holder does eventually voice an alternative opinion for the fox-hunter’s consideration. When this moment eventually arrives, Mr. Free-Holder delivers it in a very subtle and suggestive manner. Ever the amiable gentleman, he tentatively pushes the fox-hunter to acknowledge his own mistakes rather than revealing them himself. In this, Mr. Free-Holder enacts Shaftesbury’s recommendation that the best form of persuasion is demonstration. The subject is again that of ‘these foreigners’ and international trade. The fox-hunter has previously ‘expatiated on the inconveniencies of trade’ arguing that:

[Trade] carried from us the commodities of our country, and made a parcel of upstarts as rich as men of the most ancient families of *England.* He then declared frankly, that he had always been against all Treaties and Alliances with foreigners; *our wooden walls,* says he, *are our security, and we may bid defiance to the whole world, especially if they should attack us when the militia is set out*.[[477]](#footnote-477)

It is when the fox-hunter then produces some of his own prized possessions – the products of trade – that Mr. Free-Holder finally raises this to his attention and encourages him to reflect on his own views and opinions; pushing him to realise himself that his argument is hypocritical. He does not tell, he shows:

After supper he asked me if I was an admirer of punch; and immediately called for a sneaker. I took this occasion to insinuate the advantages of trade, by observing to him, that water was the only native of *England* that could be made use of on this occasion; But that the lemons, the brandy, the sugar, and the nutmeg, were all foreign. This put him in some confusion.[[478]](#footnote-478)

It is the word ‘insinuate’ that is intrinsic to this manoeuvre. This is how Addison wants *The Free-Holder* to be perceived. It will not attack or insult the opposition, nor will it fill its pages with ‘savage’ and unsupported ‘zeal’. It wishes to be seen as a paper which will listen, and using rational thinking and reason, help its readers to appreciate that it is correct, and that in the cases of its Tory readers, that they are mistaken. This approach is emblematic of Shaftesbury’s politeness, and through politeness Mr. Free-Holder has successfully persuaded a member of the opposition who, like Shaftesbury’s ‘fanatics’, would usually have actively avoided being better informed. This is Addison’s application of politeness writ large.

In a rare discussion of *The Free-Holder*’s strengths, Peter Smithers observes that ‘[t]he virtue of [Addison’s] was that it was easily familiar. As Johnson put it, “his readers fancy that a wise and accomplished companion is talking to them.”’[[479]](#footnote-479) This is a deliberate effect on Addison’s part, signifying a conscious application of the principles of politeness. *The Free-Holder* is unanimously amiable to its readers, always addressing them in an understanding and sympathetic manner. Its stated purpose is to help, advise and maybe even entertain. In many instances the paper adopts a form of reader-address similar to that found in prefatory writing, recalling the apologetic stance of many novelists replicated explicitly at the outset of No. 22, begging the attention of ‘My fair readers’ or ‘my gentle readers.’ This extract from No. 12 is typical of this style of address, appealing to the reader’s patience as the essay makes its final point:

*I shall only add*, that as in the subordination of a government the King is offended by any insults or oppositions to an inferior Magistrate; so the sovereign Ruler of the universe is affronted by a breach of allegiance to those whom he has set over us.[[480]](#footnote-480)

The difference, however, between this and a prefatory appeal to the reader is that where a preface typically appears once, with a single chance to dictate the reader’s interpretation of the following text, Mr. Free-Holder’s address is made twice a week over fifty-five issues cementing and bolstering this fictionalised author/reader relationship. It is not however entirely submissive, but situates itself on an equal footing with its readers who are referred to predominantly as ‘my *fellow* Free-Holders’:

There needs no clearer Proof of the Spirit and Intention with which they act: I shall therefore advise my *fellow Free-Holders* to consider the Character of any Person who would possess them with the Notion of a Hardship that is put upon the Country by this Tax. If he be one of known Affection to the present Establishment, they may imagine there is some Reason for Complaint.[[481]](#footnote-481)

This is not the model presented by Daniel Defoe in his earlier periodical *The Review*, in which the author characterises himself as a ‘thief at the gallows making a final speech to the people.’[[482]](#footnote-482) Mr. Free-Holder is not positioned above the reader, preaching his views from a pulpit, or to continue Defoe’s metaphor, from the gallows; and nor is he in a position of self-defence. He and his ‘fellow Free-holders’ are not positioned as being in a hostile situation; they are as friends, engaging in what Mr. Free-Holder himself terms it ‘improving discourse.’[[483]](#footnote-483) Rather than viewing itself as being apart from its readership, *The Free-Holder* never targets or chastises readers, but creates the illusion of conversation. It insists on a mutual understanding.

Shaftesbury makes a direct parallel between prefatory styles of address and his own manner of address in *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm* in which he encourages readers to imagine him ‘as a friend.’ After opening with a catalogue of the different customs employed by poets ‘at the entrance of their work’, Shaftesbury turns to the question of his own style:

And thus, my Lord, have I chosen to address myself to your Lordship, though without subscribing my name, allowing you, as a stranger, the full liberty of imagining you read all with particular notice, *as a friend,* and one whom I may justifiably treat with the intimacy and freedom which follows.[[484]](#footnote-484)

Establishing a perception of intimacy and friendship with the reader is central to the polite approach of both Addison and Shaftesbury, and each demonstrate that such a form of reader-address can prove very useful when persuading an opponent. In No. 22 Mr. Free-Holder does not chastise the fox-hunter for his absurd and bigoted notions. He does not ridicule the fox-hunter for thinking the weather is affected by the identity of the monarch. Rather than telling him that he is wrong Mr. Free-Holder enables the fox-hunter to realise on his own that he is not right. As a paper, *The Free-Holder* demonstrates the same approach in its engagement with readers. For instance, this is seen in the paper’s discussion of ‘falsehoods’ issued by the opposition.[[485]](#footnote-485) Mr. Free-Holder does not criticise the Tory faithful for accepting such ‘absurdities’ without question, but is first interested by the conditions under which they do so and is then concerned on their behalf. In *The Free-Holder* No. 14 he defines this phenomenon, explaining that: ‘[t]his strange alacrity in believing absurdity and inconsistence may be called the *Political Faith* of a Tory.’[[486]](#footnote-486) Here, Addison’s description again recalls that of religious fanatics offered in Shaftesbury’s *Letter*: ‘Men […] are wonderfully happy in a faculty of deceiving themselves.’[[487]](#footnote-487) The similar temperaments of Shaftesbury’s fanatics and Addison’s ‘politically faithful’ account for the shared tactics which each adopt in dealing with them. It is then without judgment that Addison describes the symptoms of the condition that he claims to have identified:

A person who is thoroughly endowed with this political faith, like a man in a dream, is entertained from one end of his life to the other with objects that have no reality or existence. He is daily nourished and kept in humor by fiction and delusion.[[488]](#footnote-488)

Elsewhere Addison expresses a concern for these individuals, emphasizing the human consequences of such ‘falsehoods’. However, even then, he does not tell them to change their ways, but like the case of the fox-hunter he ‘advises’ them in the hopes that they will themselves realize their condition:

How many persons have starved in expectation of those profitable employments, which were promised them by the authors of these forgeries! How many of them have died with great regret, when they thought they were within a month of enjoying the inestimable blessings of a popish arbitrary reign! I would therefore *advise* this blinded set of men, not to give credit to those persons by whom they have been so often fooled and imposed upon but on the contrary, to think it an affront to their parts, when they hear from any of them such accounts, as they would not dare tell them but upon the presumption that they are idiots.[[489]](#footnote-489)

He does not criticise ‘this blinded set of men.’ The Tory faithful are not being critiqued here. Just so, No. 22 is never framed as a satirical attack on the Tories; indeed the Tories of the city are never even alluded to by Mr. Free-Holder. If this is an open attack on anyone, it is the figure of the conceited country hypocrite that does not understand. Crucially, city Tories can laugh at this as well (and as Dr Johnson’s later comments suggest, they did). Potentially Addison is establishing common ground between the two parties; they can all laugh at the self-important and wilfully ignorant country ‘gentleman’. However, the fox-hunter is undeniably Tory, even if he is unable to explain why. The comedy of this issue unites Whigs and Tories in undermining (in a very broad sense) the Tory party faithful. Mr. Free-Holder may be polite, amiable and friendly, but throughout No. 22he has utterly destroyed the credibility of the Tory country gentleman. Mr. Free-Holder allows the fox-hunter to prove himself the fool again and again, before destabilising his long held assumptions and prejudices to the extent that he is left ‘in some confusion’; and in a wider sense *The Free-Holder* publicly stages this deconstruction to the audience of its own readership. Together *The Free-Holder* and its fictional persona are enacting deeply violent political manoeuvres in an extremely friendly and inviting manner.

**Reading *The Free-Holder* against other contemporary papers**

The ‘friendly’ traits with which Shaftesbury invests his mode of address (of intimacy and freedom) are ever implicit in Mr. Free-Holder’s style of reader address. However, the implementation of such a polite cause was not typical of partisan print at the time of *The Free-Holder*’s original publication. The ‘friendliness’ with which this address is made is brought into sharp focus when read alongside the reader address found in contemporaneous periodicals such as Thomas Lewis’s *The Scourge, in Vindication of the Church of England*.[[490]](#footnote-490)First printed within twelve months of *The Free-Holder*’s final issue (and then printed every Monday for a further 44 issues), the most noticeable contrast to Addison’s secular paper is that *The Scourge* is vehemently evangelical and zealous in the extreme. Neither is *The Scourge* ambiguous in identifying the targets of its censure; presenting a challenge to the broad generalisation, offered by Downie and Corns, that periodicals of the early eighteenth century preferred allegory to overt political and religious topics:

The early eighteenth century saw the emergence of oblique rather than explicit political comment. This contrasts with the work of civil war and exclusion crisis journalists, who had worn their ideological hearts on their sleeves. […] From Queen Anne’s reign onwards it is increasingly difficult to be dogmatic about the objectives of the periodical essayists. Defoe, in *The Review,* often camouflages his political position for specific polemical purposes. The essays of Addison and Steele in *The Tatler* and *The* *Spectator* take this one step further, disguisingtheir political commentary as simple moral essays.[[491]](#footnote-491)

Whilst this might be true of *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* (and later well remembered periodicals such as Samuel Johnson’s *The Rambler*) which have each come to define the literary canon, evidence presented by periodicals like *The Scourge* (or indeed papers examined later in this chapter, like *The Monitor* and *The Controller*) suggest that papers building arguments on ambiguity and obscurity were at the time the exception that proved the rule.

As Lewis’s entry in the *Oxford Dictionary for National Biography* explains, in *The Scourge* he published ‘a highly polemic periodical [which] consisted of violent and abusive attacks on dissenters, Roman Catholics and broad churchmen alike.’[[492]](#footnote-492) The most surprising feature of these attacks is that they are aimed squarely at the reader (who has paid 2*d* for this privilege). As the biblical epitaph to No. 1 announces, there are no guiltless parties (except possibly Lewis himself); instead, *all* are to blame: ‘Who can stretch forth his hand against the anointed and be guiltless?’[[493]](#footnote-493) This is consistent with the dogmatic, accusatory and damning tone throughout; everyone is guilty, there can be no redemption. Lewis identifies the cause of this universal damnation as the civil war, the restoration and the Glorious Revolution, locating his emphasis on the importance of an undisputed royal bloodline in opposition to *The Free-Holder*’ssupport of the newly arrived King George I. Recalling the tendency of Addison’s ‘fox-hunter’ to still view everything as a negative repercussion of the execution of Charles I, Lewis opens his first issue by recalling the moment of regicide:

The Murder of King Charles the First, is a Transaction of such a figure in history, as may for ever be a stain upon the EnglishNation, and derive a Blemish upon us to remotest ages: how hardly will posterity be induced to believe that a generation of men, could so far extinguish the Universal Light of Nature (which pronounces an inviolable sanctity upon the persons of Kings) and prostitute religion in so audacious a manner, as to wash their profane hands in the blood of their sovereign, and in the face if the sun, expose the headless monarch to the rabble.[[494]](#footnote-494)

In these opening lines Lewis sets the tone for all that follows in *The Scourge*, recounting the execution in prosaic and emotive terms. However, though it begins with a moment of retrospection, the paper quickly moves to the present tense. Lewis deliberately emphasises that the events of 1649 are not confined to history or to that ‘generation of men’, but that the implications are still being played out *now*:

Happy would it be for the people of *England*, if the shame that attends that Treasonable Act, would be accepted by Heaven as an *Atonement;* but we justly fear there is a portion of divine vengeance unpoured out, and that guilt is yet unexpiated.[[495]](#footnote-495)

The people of England are yet to be punished, and it is not exclusively those who were directly involved upon whom divine justice will be unleashed, but instead all the ‘people of England.’ However, though all are to blame, Lewis does concede that some are more to blame than others (predominantly the Presbyterians and the Independents):

The Presbyterian must certainly be apprehensive of the [impending punishment], when he labours so hard to vindicate himself from acting a part in the tragedy, and would willingly shift the sin at the door of the independent ; but in cases of Murder the accessory becomes a principle, and therefore we may fairly pronounce them both equally guilty.[[496]](#footnote-496)

Lewis resists the urge to construct a binary between the two groups, and liberate one at the expense of the other. According to *The Scourge,* they are in it together: ‘In short, the Independent finished what the Presbyterian began, the first, I confess, cut off the head of CHARLES STUART, when, the other, (to use their own wicked distinction) had before murdered the King.’[[497]](#footnote-497) Whilst, the ‘murdering [of] his anointed’ is not the only crime that Lewis is interested in, it is the greatest. The remainder of the paper is spent explaining that if actions committed at the time of writing can be traced back to the regicide, they share in its magnitude. Unfortunately for Lewis’ readers, he can trace *everything* back to the regicide, particularly since the Stuart bloodline is still yet to be restored. Lewis foregrounds the fact that the Church of England was itself established by the English monarchy. To replace this figure-head with a foreign King is to Lewis absurd, and no better than ‘deliver[ing] the monarch over to Satan to be buffeted.’[[498]](#footnote-498) Personifying ‘[t]his English Church’, Lewis writes that ‘she’ is:

Sincere, loyal, uniform and generous in her obedience; she has a just and sacred esteem for majesty, and disowns those wild and pernicious opinions which cramp the dignity and the prerogative of kings.[[499]](#footnote-499)

However, writing from a position of opposition, with the Hanoverian King firmly established on the throne, Lewis is in a position where he has little else to do but attack anyone who he sees to be acting against the best wishes of the Church of England. Given that in his first issue alone he manages to target ‘Presbyterians’, ‘roman Catholics’, ‘broad churchmen’, ‘dissenters’, ‘puritans’ ‘atheists’ and ‘independents’, it seems that (as he warned at the outset) everyone is to blame. Crucially, he attacks so many quarters, that it is highly likely that he will strike his reader at some point. Neither is not restrained in his attacks. Not only is the reconciliatory tone that we have seen in Addison’s writing absent, so is any remotely apologetic stance, or even any attempts at levity, irony or humour. If you buy *The Scourge*, it is a safe bet that at some point you will be dressed down.

There are analogous moments in which Mr. Free-Holder finds himself in a position where he is required to level criticism against society as a whole, which means criticising his readership. This is something that Shaftesbury’s letter advises against, suggesting that if you alienate an addressee you are not able to advise them, and the shortest route to alienation is censure:

To bear being told of faults is in private persons the nest token of amendment. It is seldom that a public is thus disposed. For where jealousy of state or ill lives of the great people or any other cause is powerful enough to restrain the freedom of censure in any part, it in effect destroys the benefit of the whole.[[500]](#footnote-500)

However, in such moments, Mr. Free-Holder avoids attacking his readers by including himself as a member of the guilty party. *The Free-Holder* No. 52 illustrates this, as it attempts to critique a current social trend:

There is in all governments a certain temper of mind, natural to the patriots and lovers of their constitution, which may be called state-jealousy. It is this which makes them apprehensive of every tendency in the people, or in any particular member of the community, to endanger or disturb that form of rule, which is established by the laws and customs of their country.[[501]](#footnote-501)

Here, by addressing a problem inherent in ‘all governments’, *The Free-Holder* is writing against Whigs and Tories alike. Addison is obviously also making a target of his own Whiggish ministry: a fact he openly acknowledges:

The Tories tell *us* that the Whig-scheme would end in Presbyterianism and a commonwealth. The Whigs tell us at the other side, that the Tory scheme would terminate in Popery and Arbitrary government. Were those reproaches mutually true, which would be preferable to any man of common sense? Presbyterianism and a republic form of government, or popery and tyranny?[[502]](#footnote-502)

He is explicitly highlighting the distortion and exaggeration that can take place within persuasive polemic writing on *both* sides. He is foregrounding how confusing this can be for the proactive partisan citizen, described here as ‘us.’ Addison does not fashion Mr. Free-Holder as a Whiggish mouthpiece, but as an interested gentlemen trying to make sense of a difficult printed political hinterland of fact, opinion, public spiritedness and private interest. The ‘state-jealousy’ he talks of is endemic, and not confined to a hypothetical opposition that he and his reader can unite against. This is the political equivalent of Lewis targeting blame at all religious denominations simultaneously. According to Mr. Free-Holder, both Whig and Tory supporters who happen to be reading are each a party to this ‘state-jealousy.’ However, Mr. Free-Holder tactfully avoids causing offense because, unlike Thomas Lewis, he never obviously puts himself above the reader. Just as when Mr. Free-Holder is speaking to the Country Gentleman in No 22, the paper presents its critique as an attempt to advise rather than chastise.[[503]](#footnote-503) Mr. Free-Holder constantly aligns himself with the reader. If his readers have failed to take action, or the political system is not working the way that it should, he includes himself in the guilty party. This is seen in Addison’s careful use of first-person pronouns when addressing readers, which increase in frequency whenever Addison complains of behaviours that he might also be guilty. It is no secret that Mr. Free-Holder is just as much to blame as those he hopes to advise:

*Our* streets are filled at the same time with zeal and drunkenness, riots and religion. *We* must confess, if noise and clamour, slander and calumny, treason and perjury, were articles of their communion, there would be none living more punctual in the performance of their duties; but if peaceable behaviour, a love of truth, and a submission to superiors, are the genuine marks of *our* profession, *we* ought to be very heartily ashamed of such a profligate brotherhood.[[504]](#footnote-504)

A great strength of *The Free-Holder* is that it works through issues with the reader. It creates the impression that although it has carefully considered the topics it discusses it has not yet reached a conclusion, until it reaches this conclusion alongside the reader. This creates in the reader’s mind the impression that they have shared Mr. Free-Holder’s thought process and drawn an opinion on their own. Addison creates the impression that this opinion has been reached through dialogue, conversation, or ‘improving discourse.’[[505]](#footnote-505) Crucially, this conversation is entirely feigned by Addison. The absence of any letters from readers throughout the entirety of *The Free-*Holder’s run is a significant indication of the extent to which Addison was actually broadcasting, rather than conversing. He establishes the illusion of discussion, in which the reader is made to feel like a participant. This rhetoric is one in which ‘we’ (Mr. Free-Holder and us, the readers) occupy an intellectual middle ground, from which ‘we’ can attempt to rationally determine a response to the oppositional politics and viewpoints in constant play. *The Free-Holder* maintains a friendly reader-address throughout, building on Shaftesbury and his own theories on the importance of conversation to create a sense of dialogue with the reader, casting his address as one half of an ‘improving discourse.’[[506]](#footnote-506)

This ‘discourse’ is one which Addison himself hopes to cast as one characterised by a lightness of touch.Mr. Free-Holder reveals in No. 45that this has always been his intention, explaining that: ‘[a] mere politician is but a dull companion, and, if he is always wise, is in great danger of being tiresome or ridiculous.’[[507]](#footnote-507) In this his approach recalls that of Shaftesbury. On this subject, Klein claims that ‘Shaftesbury took great care to give *Characteristics* play.’[[508]](#footnote-508) Humour, playfulness, variety, open-endedness are all values central to Shaftesbury’s project. In *Enthusiasm,* Shaftesbury cites Horaceto make this point: ‘Mirth, for the most part, cuts through weighty matters with greater firmness and ease than seriousness.’[[509]](#footnote-509) Addison’s *Free-Holder* is also remembered favourably for its playfulness, with Dr Johnson claiming that it demonstrates well that ‘Addison’s humour is matchless.’[[510]](#footnote-510) Mr. Free-Holder encourages a degree of levity, counting such a quality as a virtue of ‘polite learning’:

*Inservi Deo et Laetare, Serve God and be Cheerful.* Those [who] supply the world with such Entertainments of Mirth as are Instructive, or at least harmless, may be thought to deserve well of Mankind; to which I shall only add, that they retrieve the honour of polite learning, and answer those who affect to stigmatize the finest and most elegant authors, both ancient and modern (which they have not read).[[511]](#footnote-511)

Shaftesbury wrote for those whom Klein describes as ‘men of the world’, and humour, playfulness, variety and open-endedness recommended themselves as ways to reach them. Shaftesbury invoked the importance of regulating ‘style or language by the standard of good company and people of the better sort.’[[512]](#footnote-512) The ‘polite manner’ implied writing that was more ‘informal, miscellaneous, conversational, open-ended and sceptical.’[[513]](#footnote-513) When *The Free-Holder* is contrasted directly with contemporary polemic writing, such as Thomas Lewis’ *The Scourge*, it is clear to see that his approach is much closer to that recommended here by Shaftesbury. When commenting on practise in other periodicals, Mr. Free-Holder places greater confidence in his own ‘polite’ approach than that of rivals such as Lewis:

No periodical author, who always maintains his gravity, and does not sometimes sacrifice to the Graces, must not expect to keep in vogue for any considerable time.[[514]](#footnote-514)

At the outset of *Soliloquy,* Shaftesbury discusses the art of giving advice in a way relevant to the practice of philosophy. Klein offers a concise summary of the dilemmas that this foregrounded for Shaftesbury:

The central quandary of giving advice in a way that an effort ostensibly devoted to the good of the advisee degenerated so easily into a means to celebrate the advisor or, worse, to establish the dominance of the advisor over advisee. The challenge for the adviser, for the philosopher, and indeed, for all who would teach and edify, was how to create and encourage, and not undermine, the autonomy of the subject: philosophy had to create moral agents.[[515]](#footnote-515)

The form of *Characteristics* was meant to meet this challenge, to make philosophers of readers and to ensure that, as philosophers, they would be morally intelligent agents in the world. *The Free-Holder* troubles itself with this same ‘quandary’ but also recommends itself as a solution. As already seen, No. 22 gives a literary exemplification of how *The Free-Holder* addresses its readers. As Shaftesbury recommends, it is always amiable. *The Free-Holder* never speaks down to readers, but enacts a process in which they work through issues together: it is always ‘we’ and never ‘I’. Countless times Mr. Free-Holder reinforces the importance of conversation, ‘mutual understanding’ and ‘improving discourse.’[[516]](#footnote-516)

Lewis’s *Scourge* is an extreme example of negative reader-address. There are, contrastingly, examples of papers which attempt a similarly amiable tone to that voiced by Mr. Free-Holder. *The Observator* and *The Controller* are each examples of contemporaneous party papers which demonstrate this. Slightly preceding *The Free-Holder* with its first appearance in February 1715 *The Observator* fashions itself as a ‘sequel to *The Englishman’*: an earlier periodical written by Richard Steele.[[517]](#footnote-517) However, whether this is also by Steele, or in any way an official continuation of *The Englishman*, is unclear. The opening issue describes itself as acting ‘by way of a preface’, suggesting that the public are resistant to reading any printed opinion unless they are aware of the character, party and full design of the author:

There are multitudes of men in this city of such bigoted principles, so tied to their infirmities, as to deny the author the small boon of perusing (tho’ his favours, as these, are distributed gravitas) till they know his principles, and can fix the stamp of party on him. Now in order to oblige such curious chaps as these, and in further compliance to the mode and humour of this (an indeed most other nations in Europe) who exact somewhat by way of preface; we shall premise some things concerning our persons, professions and principles, as will serve by way of introduction to our design.[[518]](#footnote-518)

*The Observator* apparently longs for authorial ambiguity, and is resentful of having to reveal its background and intentions. In principle, such ambiguity should not be welcome in *The Free-Holder*,which encourages all men to stand up for the party they believe in at any opportunity. Though in practise *The Free-Holder* does regularly take a neutral pose, it usually still finds that the Whig way is best. It is performed neutrality. *The Observator* goes on to reveal itself as being produced by three anonymous individuals: a scholar who has been priced out of higher education despite his high level of genius, a lawyer and a retired Captain who is struggling for an income. They hope to offer commentary on current events from these three perspectives. In doing so *The Observator* (like *The Free-Holder*)makes use of first-person pronouns to align itself with its readers, referring to ‘*our* principles’, ‘*our* wits’ and even ‘*our* company.’[[519]](#footnote-519) It appears to be ‘polite’ and is at times highly complementary of its readership, claiming at one point in *No.* 1 to ‘leave the judicious reader to determine the truth’, or elsewhere in the same issue attributing readers with the ‘utmost solemnity [and] Orthodox Consistency of Whiggism with reason.’[[520]](#footnote-520) Crucially, the politicisation of this second compliment reveals the key difference between *The Observator’s* style of address, and that employed by Mr. Free-Holder. *The Observator* is very clear about its intended readership: fellow Whigs. The three editorial voices behind *The Observator* are each staunchly Whiggish and most clearly defined by their intolerance of the Tory opposition. Framing the paper’s ambition the editorial voice sets out to:

[…] use our utmost endeavours in the preservation of the rights and liberties of this freeborn people; to expose the undermining destructive practices of a malevolent party, who by their inglorious actions had near brought a flourishing, potent and victorious nation to the last gasp.[[521]](#footnote-521)

There is little doubt here that the ‘malevolent’ party have not acted for the public good of the nation; indeed, their ‘destructive practices’ are here directly juxtaposed with a nostalgic image of England’s former state, which was ‘flourishing, potent and victorious.’ The paper goes on, revealing this party to not only be incompetent, but also actively corrupt:

Nothing more scandalous, more shocking and disagreeable to an honest mind, than a faithful review of their past actions, which in due time and place shall be painted out and described with their proper shades and colours. The art of bribing was then brought to its utmost perfection, and men were equally immortal with the collegiate of Chelsea. Some voted 10 years after they had been dead; others by proxy, that were then resident in the *East* or *West Indies*; others of less principles sold their voices for 6 or 10 Guineas.[[522]](#footnote-522)

*The Observator* opens here with a sensationalist tone, the likes of which Mr. Free-Holder would never commit to. *The Observator* is not speculating, but is instead convinced that the opposition is guilty of crimes which it finds to be ‘scandalous’, ‘shocking’ and ‘disagreeable.’ The feigned naivety which follows as it sarcastically lists the many unconventional votes that the Tories won in the last election (from supporters both dead and living abroad) is perhaps closer to Addison’s ‘singular and matchless’ humour, but even these are used to thinly veil very serious accusations.[[523]](#footnote-523) When finally stating its agenda *The Observator* is seen to closely share many of its objectives with *The Free-Holder*, although it appears to be as overtly interested in destabilising the opposing party as it is in celebrating its own.[[524]](#footnote-524) By attempting to add ‘shades and colours’ to its painting of the previous administration, *The Observator* falls into a category of paper which *The Free-Holder* attempts to distinguish itself from. Mr. Free-Holder explains at the outset of the project that there are those who support their party by attacking the weakness of the opposition, and then there are those which offer support by celebrating the strengths and success of their own party, destabilising the opposition through unspoken comparison. *The Free-Holder* casts itself as the latter: ‘I shall labour to improve those victories to the Good of my fellow subjects; by carrying on our successes over the minds of men, and by reconciling them to the cause of their King, their country, and the religion.’[[525]](#footnote-525) *The Observator,* meanwhile, is undeniably an example of the former:

[I]t shall be the business of this paper to explode and canvas a 4 year administration, and demonstrate the glorious achievements of a preceding ministry, to justify and explain the proceedings of the present, to clear any injured dissenters from those malicious aspersions, which a malevolent party have so liberally charged them with; to convince bigoted misled *Tories* how consistent the principles of *Whiggism* are with the present safety, honour and true interest of these nations; to ridicule the *Hocus Pocus* doctrines of unlimited passive obedience and absolute hereditary right.[[526]](#footnote-526)

Again, the opposition are presented in unanimously negative terms: a ‘malicious’ and ‘malevolent party.’ Mr. Free-Holder’s feigned position of joining the uncertain reader in establishing the best choice is absent. Where Mr. Free-Holder addresses the misled and tentatively suggests that together he and the reader can assess the evidence and determine the best solution (admittedly always drawing the conclusion that Whiggism is the way forward), *The Observator* begins from the position that anyone supporting the Tories are ‘bigoted and misled’, and that Whiggism is certainly in the ‘true interest of these nations.’ It does not attempt to recognise the opposition’s perspective as Mr. Free-Holder frequently pretends to do, but outright dismisses it as ‘hocus pocus’ and sets out to ‘ridicule’ it for being such. Whilst *The Observator* opens with a longing for the sort of ambiguity that Downie and Cornes speak of when characterising the periodical print of this period, it in fact reveals itself to be brutally explicit, closing with a biblical coda which strikes a particularly military stance:

Go on, Brave Prince, perfect what is already begun, crush the enemies of God and Israel. *Why should they be exalted, who sought they destruction; or, why should they rejoice, who would that* Israel *should mourn?*[[527]](#footnote-527)

Whilst Mr. Free-Holder addresses readers with the hopes of politely ‘reconciling them to the cause of their King, their country, and the religion’, *The Observator* will crush any opposition; asking its staunchly Whig readership why they should not destroy those who have previously ‘sought [their own] destruction.’[[528]](#footnote-528) Whilst *The Free-Holder* and *The Observator* may share an ambition, their approach (and specifically the way in which they articulate this approach) is startlingly different. Given *The Observator*’s self-proclaimed association with Steele’s *Englishman* it is perhaps not unreasonable to assume that though he may not have penned it himself Steele would have been aware of this paper. *The Observator* may have been more of what Steele had in mind when he suggested that Addison’s efforts were ‘too nice and too gentle for such noisy times.’[[529]](#footnote-529)

Despite being an opposing paper, *The Controller* adopts an approach recognisably similar to that which would shortly be applied in *The Observator* in the following February. Just as *The Observator* establishes its credentials by claiming to be a descendent of *The Englishman, The Controller* also relies heavily on a previous publication, claiming to be a ‘sequel’ to the long-running Tory *Examiner*.[[530]](#footnote-530) As seen Addison takes issue with *The Examiner’s* approach to political commentary throughout *The Free-Holder*, chastising what he sees as its tendency to discredit the oppositional party by making unfounded personal attacks upon its members. *The Controller* does exactly this, although its attacks are tempered by a satirical acknowledgement that the whole arena of politics has become so absurd that there is not very much left that it could damage any further. *The Controller* indicates from the outset that it will be delivering its views and opinions with a pre-requisite degree of levity:

There are some misfortunes that, tho’ they are never so great and afflicting, have so much of the queer and the ridiculous in them, that a man of good sense and a constitution with the least dash of mirth in it, if he dies with pain, must die laughing.[[531]](#footnote-531)

*The Controller* maintains this comical tone and initially appears to share Addison’s later opinion that personal attacks on members of parliament are neither necessary nor constructive; although, *The Controller* does couch this opinion in more inflammatory terms:

Some *topping fellows* and their *creatures* who were always full of *venom,* and who have now slyly crept on to a *Sunshiny* Bank and are in their *happy season* of *stinging* and *darting* out their *forked* tongues, whenever they come into thy head, give me a multitude of very facetious ideas.[[532]](#footnote-532)

Once again, the editorial voice is not attacking his reader in the way that Lewis was seen to do, but inviting them to join him in ridiculing an opposition, pictured here as being aggressively serpentine. *The Controller* and the reader are united in responding to the threatening stings of this ‘forked tongued’ party. However, whilst *The Free-Holder* is covert in its retaliatory ambition when responding to attacks made on its party by *The Examiner*, *The Controller* sees no paradox in answering personal political attacks with the same. In *The Controller* No. 4 the arena of politics is quickly established as a ‘farce’, and the article reviews events as though they actually did take place in a stage production. The main character of this farce is an allegorically veiled politician labelled ‘Little Count Proteus.’ *The Controller* introduces him as:

Little Count Proteus, that withered Sinner, that old Offender of the first magnitude, who in an hour’s time will be of all religion and of none, anything and nothing, and who is, like an Anti-Paul all to all, that he may safely lead man-kind to damnation.[[533]](#footnote-533)

Given the timing of this issue, which coincides with the height of Robert Harley’s power (as he assumed the roles of Lord Treasure and Chancellor of the Exchequer following Sidney Godolphin’s dismissal during the Sacheverell Crisis) he provides a likely candidate for ‘Little Count Proteus.’ The figure of Proteus was an early sea-god in Greek mythology, known as ‘God of elusive sea change’, associated with constant change, reflecting the liquid and ever moving nature of the ocean.[[534]](#footnote-534) Coupled with his characterisation as a fickle supporter of paradoxical causes, switching sides on the hour, it is likely that this is a reference to Harley’s resistance to overtly stating his political preference. When commentating on Harley’s political stance, Julian Hoppit states that: ‘[t]hough he came from a Presbyterian and Whiggish background, he adopted a middle ground during the 1690s, and tended if anything towards Toryism.’[[535]](#footnote-535) As his power increased during the mid-1710s he attempted to ‘rework the ministry in favour of moderate Toryism’, but this proved unsatisfactory to many Tory supporters who were ‘baying for blood’, still recovering from the Sacheverell Crisis and facing the growing strength of the Whig opposition.[[536]](#footnote-536) Harley’s attempts to secure and maintain a middle-ground by paying equal attention to each party could easily be read as inconsistency. Meanwhile his unique position following his promotion to Earl of Oxford as being ‘effectively the Queen’s chief minister’ might provide the inspiration for his ironic title here as a ‘Little Count’; oxymoronically undermining any power and influence he might believe himself to have. The remainder of the issue, characterised as this ‘farce’ which *The Controller* is now reviewing, is constituted of an extensive anecdotal attack on the ‘Little Count’, which largely retains a comical tone but sometimes strays into uncomfortably harsh territory, concluding with the Count exiting the ‘stage’:

[H]e huddled away in odd pomp, and magnificence into an awkward machine, pretended he had two or three great friends at court to whisper private advices to, that might carry the whole point. Them the scenes were shut, the Curtain dropped, *Risum Teneatis Amici!* As Rochester says, Were there ever such Chits in Story.[[537]](#footnote-537)

*The Controller’s* Latin oath here (which translates as ‘Can you help laughing, friends’) strikes a similar chord to this issue’s opening line, which suggested that if partisans are to die, they will likely die laughing.[[538]](#footnote-538) However, here, this resigned laughter is focused singularly upon the little count; before he is described as a ‘chit’, which is defined as ‘a person considered no better than a child.’[[539]](#footnote-539) This is neither ‘polite’ laughter nor the ‘sense of play’ recommended by Addison or Shaftesbury.

As the issue’s argument develops the Count’s behaviour becomes emblematic of the behaviour of ‘t’other side’; rendering him a metonymic stand-in for the entire Whig party. Like *The Observerator, The Controller* is seen to maintain an amiable (and even at times complimentary) address to readers (who it casts unambiguously as fellow Tory supports) whilst speaking of the opposition wholly in inflammatory terms of contempt and condescension. The paper’s political position, and the polemic configuration of party at this time, are each intrinsically present in its very tone and style of address. In contrast, as already seen, *The Free-Holder* repeatedly claims to have an interest that looks beyond party. There are, for Mr. Free-Holder, greater issues at stake than a person’s party of denomination:

But it is not to be hoped we are not so fond of party as to look upon a man, because he is a bad Christian, to be a good Church of *England* Man.[[540]](#footnote-540)

As mentioned previously, there are often moments in which Mr. Free-holder implores the reader to agree that there are some things which surely *all* men must agree upon:

One may venture to affirm, that all honest and disinterested Britons of *what party so ever,* if they understood one another, are of the same opinion in points of government: And that the gross of people, who are imposed by terms which they do not comprehend, are Whigs in their heart.[[541]](#footnote-541)

However, as ever, it is important to recognise the distinction between what Mr. Free-Holder is saying, and what Addison’s rhetoric is actually doing. This appeal states that it is looking beyond party, but it does remain a crushing endorsement for the Whigs. The true message here is that if readers fully understood the issues at hand, they would draw the only logical conclusion: that the Whigs have the best interests of the nation at heart and are the only sensible option. *The Free-Holder* is here enacting a manoeuvre identical to that carried out by Mr. Free-Holder when interacting with the country gentleman in No. 22. In each instance Mr. Free-Holder poses as an interested listener, but in each case he has every intention of reaching his pre-formed conclusion: that his party is best. The above extract sees the Mr. Free-Holder persona at its most distilled and revealing: it longs for reconciliation (for all to ‘understand one another’), but tells us that if this were ever to be, everyone would become Whig. Once again, the only reconciliation it truly strives for is total Whiggish victory.

If we return again to the paper’s penultimate number we find that this concept of a sentiment that transcends party is explored in more depth, with Mr. Free-Holder seemingly despairing at ‘the division of the British Nation’:

The general division of the *British* nation is into Whigs and Tories, there being very few, if any, who stand neuters in the dispute, without ranging themselves under one of these denominations. One would therefore be apt to think, that every member of the community who embraces with vehemence the principles of either of these parties, had thoroughly sifted and examined them, and was secretly convinced of their preference to those of that party which he rejects. And yet it is certain, that most of our fellow subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendship, or deference to the judgement of those, who, perhaps in their own hearts disapprove of the opinions which they industriously spread among the multitude. Nay, there is nothing more undoubtedly true, than that great numbers of one side concur in reality with the notions of those whom they oppose, were they able to explain their implicit sentiments, and to tell their own meaning.[[542]](#footnote-542)

Initially it seems as though Mr. Free-Holder is concerned with ‘the general division of the nation […] into Whigs and Tories.’ However, closer inspection reveals that it is not ‘party’ itself that Mr. Free-Holder is despairing about, but the process through which people choose parties. Again though, despite the reconciliatory tone, the true suggestion of *The Free-Holder* No. 54 is that the nation should not be divided, but that it should be unanimously Whig. It is once again building up to the conclusion that if everyone thought about these issues in a logical and impartial manner there would be no opposition, only the Whigs. Staging such a moment as this could easily backfire. Though the reader might be convinced that division across the nation is not productive and that there should be one unified party, they might also decide that this one party should be the Tories. Acknowledging members of the opposition as reasoning participants of the public sphere is not a strategy that either *The Observator* or *The Controller* are willing to risk. *The Controller* in particular is uncompromisingly harsh when referencing members of the rival camp. *The Free-Holder* defines itself in its difference to oppositional papers of this kind.

Like Mr. Free-Holder speaking to the Country Gentleman, *The Free-Holder* repeatedly claims to have presented evidence and opinions to its readers before stepping back and allowing them to decide whether or not they agree. This suggests that, unlike *The Observator* and *The Controller,* at least some of his readers do not agree already. A fundamental difference between these three papers is that of readership, which has intrinsic implications on their tonality and style of address. Mr. Free-Holder’s reader is potentially both the party faithful (whose conviction Addison hopes to bolster) and the inquiring member of the opposition intrigued by the title’s stated interest in property (who Addison hopes to convert). In the last ever issue, Mr. Free-Holder concedes that his readers come from a diverse background, and once again enacts a moment in which he withdraws from the opinion-forming process, and ‘leaves [the reasoning of these papers] to the judgements of others’:

As to the reasoning in these several papers, I must leave them to the judgements of others. I have taken particular care that they should be conformable to our constitution, and free from that mixture of violence and passion, which so often creeps into the works of political writers. A good cause does not want any bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot subsist without it. It is indeed observable, that an author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull; and seems rather to be in a passion, because he cannot find out what to say for his own opinion, than because he has discovered any pernicious absurdities in that of his antagonists. A man satirized by writers of this class, is like one burnt in the hand with a cold iron: There may be ignominious terms and words of infamy in the stamp, but they leave no impression behind them.[[543]](#footnote-543)

When read alongside *The Observator* and *The Controller*, *The Free-Holder* is undoubtedly attempting something (both tonally and in terms of readership) that is different. In this extract Mr. Free-Holder is excessively emphasising here his Addisonian identity, claiming that in presenting his ‘reasoning’ (notably *not* his conclusions) for which he has ‘taken particular care’ and avoided that ‘mixture of violence and passion’ found in other political works. He recalls his ambition stated in No. 1 to praise his party’s success rather than criticising the opposition by restating the proverbial truism that ‘a good cause does not want any bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot subsist without it.’ This also frees him from the responsibility of responding to any attacks made by the opposition, since the very fact that they have presented such a challenge is symptomatic of the ‘bitterness’ which is itself ‘the sign of a bad cause.’[[544]](#footnote-544) Indeed, this closing issue is more preoccupied with the style and agenda of other political writing than it is with the issue of party or the defence of the Hanoverian government. His target here is not exclusively the misled Tories he has sympathetically been attempting to persuade for the previous fifty four issues, but the aggressive polemic writer who is ‘scurrilous in proportion as he is dull.’ The description of such writers as being ‘rather [...] in a passion, because he cannot find out what to say for his own opinion’ is strikingly reminiscent of that of Addison’s country gentleman of No. 22, who relied on inflammatory (and often nonsensical) statements because he did not fully understand the topics at hand and thus had nothing else to contribute. It seems, in this final issue, that Addison is again interested in process over product. It asks: why is politics always articulated through a system of oppositional dynamics? Why is political writing so inflammatory? And most importantly, how can people decide who to vote for?

According to Mr. Free-Holder’s closing assessments, each of the editorial voices employed in each of the periodicals examined so far in this chapter (*The Scourge, The Controller* and *The Observator*) are examples of ‘men burnt by cold irons.’ They are angry, and they have a great deal of ‘violence and passion’ to convey when discussing their opposition. They are not prepared to consider the perspective of this opposition and in the cases of *The Controller* and *The Observator* they only ever address those who are already on their side. They are preaching to the converted. Mr. Free-Holder suggests that this is counter intuitive, and that without addressing or sympathising at least partially with the opposition, nothing will ever change. He suggests that using a periodical to merely vent spleen may have short-term gains (such as immediate commercial success) but little long-term implications: ‘There may be ignominious terms and words of infamy in the stamp, but they leave no impression behind them.’

So, on the level of ideology and methodology Mr. Free-Holder writes against both the malicious Tory *Controller* and the aggressively Whiggish *Observator*, addressing a readership interested predominantly in property that could hail from either side of the ‘war in print.’ Although when compared to these militantly partisan papers Addison’s approach is strikingly different, *The Free-Holder* was not alone in attempting to address a broad readership of potentially conflicting parties and opinions. Indeed, there was a growing genre of periodicals which presented ‘aggregated news’, that is, extracts and stories from different papers qualitatively complied into one publication. These were intended to be read by all, and could present items sourced from politically opposing papers.

An example of such a paper is Eliza Powell’s *The Charitable Mercury*, which appeared towards the end of *The Free-Holder*’s original print run in April 1716. *The Charitable Mercury* is a useful text to read alongside *The Free-Holder*,since Powell can be seen to go even further than Mr. Free-Holder in attempting to make an address to everyone. The format of this paper is notably different from the other examples examined in this chapter. Its innovative ambition is signalled by its title, which sets out to explain to the unfamiliar reader exactly what it is designed to be:

The Charitable Mercury or Female Intelligencer. Being a Weekly Collection of News, Foreign and Domestic, with some notes on the same.[[545]](#footnote-545)

It opens with an editorial introduction, before presenting summaries of news printed in other sources over the previous week. Each section of news is then followed by a short paragraph headed ‘Notes’, in which Powell gives her opinion. In doing this Powell delivers exactly what she has offered in her title: a ‘collection’ of ‘material news’ with ‘some notes on the same.’ The reader is buying factual commentary with appended opinion. Separating her opinion in this manner has the dual effect of helping the reader find an opinion quickly, whilst also lowering their guard when reading the preceding section of neutral fact. The introduction is far more tentative and apologetic than seen in the other papers. It explains that the public have been expecting her to release a separate paper, but that this has fallen through. However, an unnamed ‘Gentleman’ has helped her come to edit this paper, and any authority she commands is derived from him. Like Defoe’s introduction to *The Review* Powell anticipates the worst of the public’s reception, but hopes to be proved wrong. However, she claims that after what happened last time she attempted such a project she’d be foolish not to be pessimistic; likening herself to ‘a burnt child [who] might dread fire.’[[546]](#footnote-546) Powell aims for a much broader and inclusive readership than any of the other papers examined previously, not targeting an individual reading community, but hoping to please everyone. She hopes that the paper will ‘benefit [her] own sex’, but also wishes that ‘this paper be acceptable to all sorts of readers, by inserting, as occasion shall offer, any essay that shall come to hand, for the entertainment of the public of both sexes and all conditions.’[[547]](#footnote-547) The opening editorial concludes by making a similar point: ‘I hope all our correspondents, in town and country, will be pleased to promote this paper.’[[548]](#footnote-548) The result of applying to the broadest of readerships, however, is dilution. Any character, personality or argument dissolves away into an informative omniscience. Although there is potential for this to become the perfect tool for subtle but highly effective persuasion, the *Charitable Mercury* did not appear for a second issue. The premature death of Powell’s paper foregrounds the risk that *The Free-Holder* is in constant risk of running. By ‘politely’ appealing to all, it targets no one in particular.

Daniel Defoe’s *The Monitor,* which was in print until 1714, runs a similar gambit to Powell’s *Charitable Mercury.* Not exclusively a political paper, Defoe’s *Monitor* has been described as presenting ‘essay[s] of opinion commenting upon press and party, pamphlets, newspapers, scribblers, and news makers.’[[549]](#footnote-549) Like in *The Observator,* Defoe’s editorial voice here is that of a ‘plurality’, presenting a multiplicity of voices that reflects the paper’s fluid and digressive approach to topic:

We who write this paper (for we own ourselves to be a plurality, as shall appear when we give a farther account of our present undertaking) do not design to be long diverted from the true end thereof by any kind of intervention whatsoever yet we do not confine ourselves so to our subject.[[550]](#footnote-550)

The use of this ‘plurality’ also enables Defoe to employ the ‘we’ pronoun to excess, uniting his editors and readers in a way reminiscent of that employed in each of the political papers examined previously. By exercising this device to so great an extent, the effect is even more potent. The tone of this issue, No. 13, is initially humorous and amiable, opening with a lengthy digression on the paper’s ambition to avoid unnecessary digression. It then quite quickly takes issue with another periodical: Richard Steele’s *The Lover*.[[551]](#footnote-551) *The Monitor* has previously criticised Steele’s paper for being ‘filthy’, ‘bawdy’, ‘immoral’ and unsuitable to be read in a ‘Christian Country.’[[552]](#footnote-552) *The Lover* has responded, and much of the response is reprinted here. Steele’s persona, ‘Myrtle’, answers *The Monitor’s* accusations, concluding that anyone who reads *The Lover* in this way must be a ‘stupid fellow’, a ‘heavy rogue’ and ‘an awkward tool.’[[553]](#footnote-553) *The Monitor* answers again, clarifying his initial criticism and deconstructing Myrtle’s response. The tone is passive-aggressive at times, but reaches a diplomatic and reconciliatory conclusion, forgiving Myrtle for being so stupid:

We believe he did foresee the just exception, and that the design was not evil and we are likewise willing to believe he will avoid the like; which will fully atone for his mistake.[[554]](#footnote-554)

Of the papers examined in this chapter *The Monitor* is the most similar to *The Free-Holder*,although, if anything, it takes the idea of victory through reconciliation to an even further extreme than Addison would later do. Significantly, *The Monitor* offers ‘comment and opinion on the writing of *both parties*.’[[555]](#footnote-555) Like *The Free-Holder* it writes to Whigs, Tories and other members of the early eighteenth-century literati. Tonally, it is also strikes a chord that foreshadows that later employed by Mr. Free-Holder. It is friendly, it places itself amidst its readers, and (like many of *The Free-Holder*’sbest remembered numbers) it is playful. It is ‘polite’. *The Monitor* No. 13’s digression on the unnecessary nature of digression surely serves a function not unlike the ‘gayer’ elements of *The Free-Holder*. Mr. Free-Holder himself reflects on in these moments in his concluding number:

As for those [previous *Free-Holder* papers] of a gayer turn, which may be met with in this collection, my reader will of himself, consider, how requisite they are to gain and keep an audience to matters of this nature; and will perhaps be indulgent to them, if he observes, that they are none of them without morals nor contain anything but what is consistent with decency and good manners.[[556]](#footnote-556)

However, despite making an amiable address to a very broad readership, *The Monitor* does retain its bite. Although both Powell’s *Charitable Mercury* and Defoe’s *The Monitor* each set out to survey what is happening in the wider printed landscape and relate their findings back to a non-politicised readership, the way in which the opinion of Defoe’s editorial voices are delivered is radically different to Powell’s informative omniscience. *The Monitor* is overtly making an argument; it is constantly providing analysis and presenting opinion. However, unlike political papers such as *The Observator* and *The Controller,* Defoe’s paper does not articulate these arguments in aggressive and inflammatory terms. *The* *Monitor*’s dialogue with *The Lover* in No. 3 demonstrates that its preferred method of dispute is to attempt victory through polite reconciliation:

Thus the *Monitor* thinks the charge effectually cleared from any objection, and the author of the *Lover* proved to have written obscenely. Let the impartial be judges. The *Monitor* admonishes the Lover, for his own sake, to let it drop and say no more of it, for it will but expose him. We believe he did not foresee the just exception, and that his design was not evil; and we are likewise willing to believe he will avoid the like; which will fully atone for the mistake.[[557]](#footnote-557)

Although *The Monitor* remains adamant that *The Lover* has ‘written obscenely’, it also takes time to point out that ‘his design was not evil.’ It avoids openly condemning Steele’s paper by suggesting that the author would retract his statements if it had time to properly consider its position. This is a strategy deeply akin to those employed by Mr. Free-Holder.

In terms of style and tonality *The Monitor* and *The Free-Holder* are notably similar. However, where *The Free-Holder* is different is in applying this style on behalf of a partisan cause. It is not until *The Free-Holder*’spenultimate issue that the paper’s ‘polite’ strategy becomes clear. Over the prior fifty-three issues Mr. Free-Holder has problematized the processes by which people choose party, promoted reason over instinct and encouraged proactive involvement over passive speculation. Whilst doing so he has avoided overtly stating that the reader should vote Whig, instead agonising over how an individual can ever confidently make such a decision to such an extent that the process of voting begins to appear impossible. As seen earlier, Mr. Free-Holder appears to have very little confidence that voters make decisions based upon the actions or policies of either party, but are instead the subject of other influences over which politicians have very little control:

[I]t is certain, that most of our fellow subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendship, or deference to the judgement of those, who, perhaps in their own hearts disapprove of the opinions which they industriously spread among the multitude.[[558]](#footnote-558)

However, having firmly established how hard it is to decide, Mr. Free-Holder then proceeds to demonstrate that even in this unfavourable context he candecide. Having hinted that very few English gentlemen could actually put down in words whythey support their party, he proves that he cando exactly this:

However, as it becomes every man to examine those principles by which he acts, I shall in this paper select some considerations, out of many that might be insisted on, to show the preference of what is generally called the Whig scheme, to that which is espoused by the Tories.[[559]](#footnote-559)

This is a carefully staged moment, as after seven months of understanding, empathy and reconciliation, during which Mr. Free-Holder has apparently shared with his readers his own thought-processes and political agonising, he finally draws a conclusion. In doing this Mr. Free-Holder succeeds in achieving the ultimate goal of the politeness promoted by Shaftesbury; he has achieved self-realisation. By engaging in a prolonged conversation with readers he has carefully considered the world of political print in which he finds himself engulfed and concludes that for him, it is the ‘Whig scheme’ that deserves his vote. Crucially though, this realisation is staged, but due to the nature of the paper’s polite dialogue with readers they have joined Mr. Free-Holder on the same journey to self-realisation. They are not supposed to realise their destination is predetermined. Any casually inquiring Tory reader with whom he tentatively connected in the early numbers has now been led fully over the border into the camp of the Whig party faithful.

*The Free-Holder* does represent a different approach to other partisan papers in print at the time, such as *The Observator* and *The Controller.* The key difference is its reluctance to explicitly attack the opposition, instead retaining a ‘friendly’ address to all readers. This address to a broader readership was uncommon but not unique. *The Monitor,* for instance,shares a similar persuasive style in politely enacting victory by feigning reconciliation. Where *The Free-Holder* does appear unique is in applying this style to a political cause: retaining the ambition of papers such as *The Observator* and *The Controller* but articulating it in a manner more like that employed by *The Monitor.* Crucially, *The Free-Holder*’s strategy is one based on the partisan application of politeness, an application which is only fully realised when a reader is subjected to the paper’s entire run. Significantly, the reforms and models of behaviour that Addison recommends throughout the paper are all applied to the realm of print. It is important to *The Free-Holder* that readers engage with the full sequence of issues. *The Free-Holder* is littered with advertisements for previous issues, the first example of this occurring as early as the end of No. 5:

The Three First Numbers of this Paper (which were separately distributed Gratis) are now printed together on a Sheet and half, to be sold for 2 d. by S. Gray in Amen-Corner. Where may be had Number IV and V.[[560]](#footnote-560)

Before the bound book edition appears, Mr. Free-Holder is already encouraging readers to familiarise themselves with back-issues. Addison wants to teach his readers by allowing them to ‘experience’ *The Free-Holder*, recalling Shaftesbury’s advice in *Letter*: ‘[j]ustness of thought and style, refinement of manners, good breeding and *politeness* of every kind can come only from their trial and experience of what is best.’[[561]](#footnote-561) *The Free-Holder* utilises the approach proposed in Shaftesbury’s *A Letter Concerning Enthusiam* for dealing with fanatics, and applies it to its own Whiggish agenda. Just as Mr. Free-Holder does with the fox-hunter, *The Free-Holder* attempts to show rather than tell all of its readers (both Whig and Tory) that on an innate level the Whig-scheme is best:

I would recommend to our malcontents, the advice given by a great moralist to his friend upon another occasion; that he would show it was in his power of wisdom to compose his passion, and let that be the effect of time.[[562]](#footnote-562)

5. Opposition and Rebellion: The Legacy of *The Free-Holder*

I shall only add that if any writer shall do this paper so much honour, as to inscribe the title of it to others, which may be published upon the laying down of this work; the whole praise or dispraise of such a performance, will belong to some other author; this 55th being the last paper that will come from the hand of the Free-holder.

Joseph Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2).

**Addison’s vision of partisanship**

In *The Free-Holder*’sthirteenth number Addison indulges in a moment of Augustan nostalgia emblematic of the paper’s approach and ambition, referring once again to the ‘remarkable law of Solon’:

It was a remarkable law of *Solon,* the great Legislator of the *Athenians,* that any person who in the civil tumults and commotions of the Republick remained neutral, or an indifferent spectator of the contending parties, should, after the re-establishment of the publick peace, forfeit all his possessions, and be condemned to perpetual banishment.[[563]](#footnote-563)

Whilst laying claim to a classical past Addison reaffirms the paper’s on-going contention that its freeholder readers should be active participants within the community, engaged with the running of the country and defenders of the public weal. Building on the claims made in the paper’s early issues that it is the duty and privilege of every property-owning gentleman to be aware and involved in the political process Addison begins here to critique the alternative. Addison reaffirms these initial claims that it is in the private individual’s best interests to be concerned with the management of the state to suggest through classical analogy that to remain ‘neutral, or an indifferent spectator’ is akin to criminal activity. It goes on to state that ‘[t]he great crime of omission, is an indifferencein the particular members of society, when a Rebellion is actually among them.’[[564]](#footnote-564) *The Free-Holder* gently chastises lack of involvement as much as it commends participation. Here it argues that if a citizen fails to prevent a crime they are as guilty as those who have committed it, clarifying that a ‘crime of omission’ is as bad as (if not worse than) a ‘crime of commission.’[[565]](#footnote-565) Throughout the paper’s entire run Addison consistently encourages a positive form of partisanship whilst seriously chastising any alternate form of citizen behaviour. Resuming his classical analogy he briefly considers those who choose to be ‘neutral’, reminding readers that in Ancient Rome those who ‘sat idle’ were considered ‘aliens to the community’ and were ‘therefore to be cut from it as unprofitable members.’ [[566]](#footnote-566)

This thesis has thus far examined the way in which Addison disseminates and articulates his message in *The Free-Holder* by appropriating Tory rhetoric and iconography, whilst recommending and applying theories of harmony and politeness. It has revealed that the construction of an editorial persona has been central to recommending a model of proactive partisan behaviour and in exemplifying the paper’s key message. This chapter will interrogate exactly what this message is by contrasting the original paper with later readings and adaptations of its stated interest.By contrasting *The Free-Holder* with these later re-imaginings it will reveal (and confirm) the precision and ambition of Addison’s partisan project; and in doing so it will foreground the extent to which Addison employs and engages with on-going discourses of liberty and citizenship to frame (and disguise) this ambition. It will argue that later texts which appropriate or associate themselves with *The Free-Holder* all succeed in sustaining, celebrating or in some cases advancing Addison assertions that property owning citizens must be active, alert and engaged. Such texts include *The Free-Holder Extraordinary* (1716)*, The Freeholder’s Journal* (1721-23), *The Yorkshire Free-Holder* (1780) and the final collected edition of *The Free-Holder*, *or Political Essays* (1779). All of these texts use Addison’s paper as a foundation, coming to view the paper’s readership of ‘freeholders’ as a distinct community within Britain who are always prepared to unite and take action on behalf of the public good. Making use of biblical analogy *The Free-Holder Extraordinary* alludes in the epigraph to its opening number to a group of people within the greater community who are prepared to ‘rise up’ in defence of the whole, even if this means confronting existing hierarchies of power and authority: ‘The men of Nineveh shall rise up in judgement with this generation, and shall condemn it – Matthew 2.41.’[[567]](#footnote-567) Much later *The Yorkshire Free-Holder* defends the formation of the ‘Freeholder Association’, which again prepared to ‘go further than the country committee would have gone.’[[568]](#footnote-568) Although these texts are attempting to align themselves with Addison’s model of proactive citizenship, this chapter will argue that they are in fact misreading his recommendations.

Certainly such texts *are* right to identify that Addison is self-consciously evoking finely chosen aspects of civil war rhetoric in order to present itself as a paper primarily interested in the nature of citizenship and the quest for true liberty. By adopting the figure of the freeholder as his title and stated topic of interest Addison immediately (and instinctively) accesses discussions of what it might mean to be a citizen. Addison states in the opening issue that for him freeholders are not ‘mock-patriots’ who remain disengaged and uninvolved, but instead a group of persons recognisable from history ‘whose charters are the most amiable, and strike us with the highest veneration, are those who stood up manfully against the invasions of civil liberty.’[[569]](#footnote-569) In doing so he explores the apparent oxymoron implicit in the character of the man of property: he has his own assets but is still expected to be invested in the interests of the community as a whole. In his valiant attempt to provide a genealogy of ‘citizenship’ in western culture Gianfranco Poggi describes this phenomenon as ‘the citizen as private individual.’[[570]](#footnote-570) Drawing on the same Augustan and seventeenth-century discourses as Addison, Poggi details how this can be seen in the twenty-first century, offering as he does so an explanation that could just as easily be applied to Addison’s vision of the freeholder:

[Citizenship] is a qualification or a set of capacities pertaining to individuals who are not *only,* and indeed not *primarily* citizens, but who possess resources and interests which do not pertain to the political sphere, and to which they may well attach higher priority than to those which do not pertain to that sphere.[[571]](#footnote-571)

Addison pre-empts any suggestion that a man of property is unlikely to value the public interest above his own private interest, highlighting that the good of the public is in the free-holder’s private interest:

When […] men have a taste of property they will naturally love that constitution from which they derive so great a blessing. There is an unspeakable pleasure in calling anything one’s own. A Free-hold, tho’ it be but in Ice and Snow, will make the Owner pleased in the possession; and stout in the defence of it.[[572]](#footnote-572)

Mr. Free-holder is here suggesting that it is the very possession of property that inspires fellow freeholders to participate in public affairs, taking a public interest in order to defend their private assets. It is this self-interest that motivates Addison’s freeholders to be involved in the political process, encouraging them to be ‘one remove from a legislator, and for that reason [able] to stand up in the defence of those laws, which are in some degree their own making.’[[573]](#footnote-573) As Poggi would much later conclude: ‘it is possible […] for the political involvement and participation of individuals to be motivated and orientated chiefly by the concern of each with their private condition.’[[574]](#footnote-574) Theoretically the state can be ‘secured’ by ‘the maximisation of private welfare across a given society.’[[575]](#footnote-575) Addison paints a picture of political participation which is consistent with basic imagery that was as familiar in Ancient Rome as it is in political rhetoric today. He describes a vertical flow of influence carried by a representative system from the citizen-voter to the parliamentary policy makers: ‘A Free-holder in our government being of the nature of a Citizen of Rome in that famous commonwealth, who, by the election of a Tribune, had a kind of remote voice in every law enacted.’[[576]](#footnote-576) However, whilst Addison’s freeholder is involved and aware, he will only enact political engagement in accordance with the government and the monarchy, and only ever articulate his beliefs through the established protocols, procedures and mechanics of government. It is this caveat that subsequent authors have a tendency to neglect when seeking to associate their work with Addison’s *Free-holder*.

At this point it will be useful to briefly consider *The Free-Holder*’s treatment of female communities, one of the paper’s on-going themes which at once demonstrates Addison’s encouragement of pro-active citizenship and the ease with which these sentiments could (and as this chapter will reveal, would) be misread. Brian Cowan has acknowledged a tendency to read overly aspirational or egalitarian sentiments into Addison’s writing, claiming that in his earlier work on *The Spectator*:

[T]he coffeehouse was not the practical realisation of the Habermasian public sphere, it was rather the seat of a whole host of anxieties about proper behaviour in that public space. Coffee-house activities such as newspaper reading, political discussion, and club socialisation were all objects of the Spectatorial reform project. The object of this reformation was not the perpetuation of a rational public sphere. The goal was rather to construct a social world that was amenable to the survival of Whig politics during a time in which the future of Whiggery was unclear.[[577]](#footnote-577)

Cowan’s point is that the primary motivation behind any reform encouraged or enacted throughout Addison and Steele’s ‘Spectatorial project’ was to assert control over the immediate social environment in order to ensure the security and perpetuation of their own political ideologies. To save Whig politics Mr. Spectator needed to defend and organise the coffee house. Similarly, *The Free-Holder*’sessays on the political utility of Whig women can be seen to promote a model of proactive partisan engagement but are at the same time intended to assert control and order over an element of society which, if properly organised, could effectively serve the Whig cause.[[578]](#footnote-578)

Throughout *The Free-Holder* Addison urges ‘the beautiful half’ of the nation to become actively involved in the political process, even allegedly proving instrumental in the formation and continuation of a ‘female association’ of Whig women.[[579]](#footnote-579) He encourages all women to realise that it is their duty to be in some way engaged with the political process and, just as he does his male readers, he implores them to defend their party of choice. From the outset this appears be an egalitarian effort to ensure that as many citizens as possible, regardless of sex, are informed and participating in the governance of their nation, a nation in which Addison hopes they are all invested.

*The Free-Holder* No. 4 is the first to see Addison urging his readers to realise the political utility that women can offer their party. He writes that:

[T]he Women of our Island, who are the most eminent for Virtue and good Sense, are in the Interest of the present Government. As the fair Sex very much recommend the Cause they are engaged in, it would be no small Misfortune to a Sovereign, tho’ had he all the Male Part of the Nation at his Side, if he did not find himself King of the most beautiful Half of his subjects. Ladies are always of great use to the party they espouse, and never fail to win over numbers to it.[[580]](#footnote-580)

Women, Addison states here explicitly, ‘have a great use to the party, and never fail to win over numbers to it.’ Pre-empting any reservations these women might have, Addison suggests they should act in recognition of the excellent condition in which they are kept, a condition which is counted as yet another source of national pride: ‘The Freedom and Happiness of our British Ladies is so singular, that it is a common saying in foreign Countries, *If a Bridge were built cross the Seas, all the Women in* Europe *would flock into* England.’[[581]](#footnote-581)

Having established the responsibility that women have to serve a political utility, Addison begins to list ways in which they might serve their party. In No. 4, the first essay on this topic, these uses all relate to a woman’s ability to control voting men through love and affection:

A Lover is always at the Devotion of his Mistress. By this means it lies in the Power of every fine Woman, to secure at least half a Dozen able bodied men to His Majesty’s Service. [No] man of tolerable Breeding is ever able to refute them. Arguments out of a pretty mouth are unanswerable.[[582]](#footnote-582)

The second number to resume this theme, No. 8, reveals that ‘ladies of distinction’, who have come into contact with *The Free-Holder*,have subsequently begun ‘studying methods to make themselves useful to the public.’[[583]](#footnote-583) *The Free-Holder* No. 4 has seemingly had the desired effect, and Addison is now in a position to report on the ways in which these women have begun to apply themselves, embracing the proactive role that *The Free-Holder* has recommended to them:‘One has a design of keeping an open tea-table, where every man shall be welcome that is a friend of King George.’[[584]](#footnote-584) Here, using the political power of the promise of inclusion, the Whig woman’s suggestion of an ‘open tea-table’ that caters only to ‘friend[s] of King George’ explicitly recalls the suggestion in No. 4 that ‘[a] Lover is always at the Devotion of his Mistress. By this means it lies in the Power of every fine Woman, to secure at least half a Dozen able bodied men to His Majesty’s Service.’[[585]](#footnote-585) This activity is also public-spirited, beneficial to society and the community and serves to aid the King. It is an action emblematic of everything *The Free-Holder* stands for, and in reporting this Addison can use these female figures to blazon each of the virtues recommended by this periodical.

There are moments of reader address in which *The Free-Holder* appears to speak directly to these Whig women, referring throughout No. 4 and No. 8 to its ‘gentle’ and ‘fair’ readers:

I would therefore advise these, my gentle Readers, as they consult the Good of their Faces, to forbear frowning upon Loyalists, and pouting at the government. In the meantime, what may we not hope from a cause, which is recommended by the allurement of beauty, and the force of Truth! It is therefore to be hoped that every fine woman will make this laudable use of her Charms; and that she may not want to be frequently reminded of this great Duty I will only desire her to think of her country every time she looks in her Glass.[[586]](#footnote-586)

Here we also see a platonic equation of beauty and truth, illustrating a further dutiful obligation assigned to these readers. If beauty is truth, then the more attractive party is the truer one. Vice versa, if you are a woman and you want to champion a cause, be beautiful, and everyone will believe in it. This is the duty of the Whig woman: ‘to be frequently reminded of this great Duty I will only desire her to think of her country every time she looks in her Glass.’[[587]](#footnote-587)

At this stage *The Free-Holder* is no longer simply suggesting models of partisan behavior, but by reporting in No. 8 on events facilitated in No. 4, this reveals it was also already generating them. *The Free-Holder* is not presenting itself as a passive commentary, but a proactive and discursive utterance. This is seen explicitly as No. 8 concludes with a manifesto, which it proposes for a newly formed ‘female association’ which has been ‘unable to agree among themselves on a form.’[[588]](#footnote-588) Described as a ‘rough draft’, the manifesto begins:

WE the consorts, relicts, and spinsters of the isle of *Great Britain*, whose names are under-written, being most passionately offended at the Falsehoods and perfidiousness of certain faithless men, and at the Luke-warmth and indifference of others, have entered into a voluntary association for the good and safety of the constitution.[[589]](#footnote-589)

These women are establishing a community by way of retaliation to two of the key political traits that Addison’s paper writes against: ‘falsehoods’ and ‘indifference.’ They establish strength through the construction of a community and they assert a partisan application for that community. This female association functions in exactly the same manner as the community of freeholders that Addison imagines and endorses throughout *The Free-Holder*.Just as the male freeholders areempowered by their communal investment through their property in the governance of their nation, this female association is united through its investment in the Whig cause and its determination to contribute to its defence and propagation.

This contribution, however, remains mediated. Despite moments of apparent direct address to women readers, Addison is unequivocally clear in his first number that *The Free-Holder* is addressed to ‘fellow free-holders’, and these readers are unanimously male: ‘[a] Free-holder may be a voter, or a knight of the shire; a wit or a fox, hunter, a scholar or a soldier; an Alderman, or a Courtier; a patriot or stock-jobber.’[[590]](#footnote-590)A freeholder is ‘a considerable man.’ He can be many things in addition to this title but he cannot, apparently, be a woman. Any message in *The Free-Holder* intended for female consumption is to be telegraphed to them through its male readers. Close inspection reveals that on the majority of occasions *The Free-Holder* is speaking about women, rather than to them:

It has been observed, that the Laws relating to *them* are so favourable, that one would think they themselves had given Votes in enacting them. […] *They* have all the Privileges of English-born subjects, without the Burdens. I need not acquaint my fair Fellow-Freeholders that every Man who is anxious for our sacred and civil Rights, is a Champion in their Cause.[[591]](#footnote-591)

We may therefore justly expect from *them*, that *they* will act *in concert with us* for the Preservation of our Laws and Religion, which cannot submit, but under the Government of His present Majesty; and would necessarily be subverted, under that of a Person bred on the most violent Principles of Popery and arbitrary Power.[[592]](#footnote-592)

These women are constantly characterised as ‘them’ or ‘they’, they are emphatically apart from the reader. The point of these papers is to emphasise that women have a political utility, not for their own use, but for the politically engaged freeholders. Mr. Free-Holder stresses that ‘they will act in concert with us’, elsewhere stating ‘[t]here are many Reasons why the Women of *Great Britain* should be on the Side of the Free-Holder.’[[593]](#footnote-593)

*The Free-Holder* seems to recommend these women join together independently to aid in the task of promoting and protecting their constitution, but their manifesto is written by Addison. *The Free-Holder* is not interested here in promoting a democratic and inclusive public sphere in which everyone is a participant. He is seeking to assert control over such as sphere, in this instance instructing his readers on how to guide the participation of their wives and even writing a manifesto prescribing exactly how this proactive engagement should work. Crucially for this chapter, it is important to recognise that at no point in *The Free-Holder* is Addison envisioning a situation in which all citizens are expressing their political beliefs in an individual manner. Ultimately he is suggesting that readers should conform to the ‘frames of law’ imposed by the government in power, and, as this chapter will now reveal, this conservative advice is in stark contrast to that given by *The Free-Holder*’sunofficial sequels.[[594]](#footnote-594)

Whilst Addison does extensively utilise discourses of liberty and republicanism, and does indeed recommend partisanship, he is actually endorsing a very specific type of such behaviour. The epigraph to this chapter clearly illustrates Addison’s wish that readers do not remain neutral. However, the context in which he makes this claim is highly significant: ‘[t]he great crime of omission, is an indifferencein the particular members of society, when a Rebellion is actually among them.’[[595]](#footnote-595) Freeholders must not be neutral in the face of rebellion. Despite *The Free-Holder*’s playful negotiation of styles, perspectives and party rhetoric the topic of rebellion is one about which it is never ambiguous: ‘[r]ebellion is one of the most heinous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit.’[[596]](#footnote-596)Addison’s Mr. Free-Holder might be involved and politically aware but he will only enact political engagement in accordance with the government and the monarchy. Dissent enacted on any level, other than rhetorical, directed against the government in power is categorised as rebellion or oath-breaking, and these are things never to be celebrated:

That rebellion is one of the most heinous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit, may appear from several considerations. First, as it destroys the end of all government, and the benefits of civil society. Government was instituted for maintaining the peace, safety, and happiness of a people. These great ends are brought about by a general conformity and submission to that frame of laws which is established in every community, for the protection of the innocent, and the punishment of the guilty. [...] Now rebellion disappoints all these ends and benefits of government, by raising a power in opposition to that authority which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare and defence. So that rebellion is as great an evil to society, as government itself is a blessing. […] The guilt of rebellion increases in proportion as these engagements are more.[[597]](#footnote-597)

Addison is careful not to endorse the ‘raising of power in opposition to that authority [government] which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare and defence.’ All action must take place within ‘that frame of laws which is established in every community.’[[598]](#footnote-598) *The Free-Holder* encourages partisanship, imploring readers to be involved with the managing and propagation of their party and discouraging disengagement and neutrality. However, *The Free-Holder* also forbids any act of rebellion, which includes all opposition to government. Addison is endorsing partisanship, but only if you support the party in power at the time, any alternative constitutes the ‘heinous crime’ of rebellion. The question of what happens if you attempt to adopt Addison’s model of partisanship when your party is not in power is one raised by the later ‘freeholder’ papers to be discussed in this chapter.

**A text in transmission**

On the 23rd December 1715 the first number of *The Free-Holder* appears. It does not give the name of its author or bookseller, and gives no paratextual indications that it is about anything other than championing the interests and actions of its ‘freeholder’ title. In 1779 the same text appears as part of a collected book edition, now politically charged with the expanded title: *The Free-Holder or Political Essays.* The title page celebrates its late author, emphatically telling us that this work is the composition of ‘the right honourable Joseph Addison Esquire.’ Where the original periodical was revealed in its fourth number to have been published by a single gentleman, ‘S. Gray’, this book has been brought to print by no less than eight. Prompted by an unprecedented sequence of events across the Atlantic, the 1770s saw writers such as Joseph Priestley, Richard Price, David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, John Lynd and William Paley looking back to discussions and arguments inspired by the similarly unprecedented upheavals of the Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian Succession. It is as part of this revived interest in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century political philosophy that *The Free-Holder* is again brought to light, sixty-four years after its original appearance.

However, this is no longer entirely the same text that Addison had printed in 1715. Despite the omission of a new preface, *Political Essays* now comes adorned with a contents page summarising the arguments of each of the essays within. The tone of the original paper never approaches anything as heated or explicit as these titles, which charge the essays with ferocity absent in the ambiguities of the original. Whilst the 1715-1716 print run takes special care not to openly dictate party allegiance, the 1779 edition is adorned with such headings as: ‘Preference of the Whig Scheme to that of the Tories.’[[599]](#footnote-599) The subtlety and suggestiveness of Addison’s original arguments are rendered overt (or reinterpreted entirely) with new headings such as a ‘The Sickness of British Politics’ and ‘The Unchristian Spirit of our late Party Writings.’[[600]](#footnote-600) This edition’s newly embittered framing resembles the indignant tone found in some of the papers that had been seen to reference or adopt the ‘freeholder’ title over the preceding sixty years. The collected edition of *The Freeholder’s Journal,* published in 1722,demonstrates this in a preface from the publisher to the reader:

The design is what he has chiefly to boast of, and tho’ he is proud, that any attempt of his towards his Country’s Good, should be kindly received, yet he is much more proud, to find his country join in opinion with him, that upon the conduct of the ensuing Parliament, the liberties of England do in a great measure depend; that the late Parliament hath brought us to the brink of the precipice, and there needs now but small force to push us off.[[601]](#footnote-601)

Like Addison, this publisher attributes to the author’s intention an interest and investment in the good of ‘his country.’ This patriotism is twinned with a concern with the ‘liberties of England’, much like the original. However, where Addison fears that a threat to the nation’s liberty might come in the form of opposition to the government in power, Payne’s bookseller hints that the government itself might represent this threat. The preface explains that this new collection has been ‘published at the request of several gentlemen, who have very eagerly demanded a set of these papers.’[[602]](#footnote-602) Like the heated 1779 edition of *The Free-Holder, or Political Essays*, *The Freeholder Journal* has been produced by a small community of elite gentleman. But whilst the *Journal* might share Addison’s proclaimed interest in the liberties of his readers, this text writes to a freeholder elite who claim to be prepared to contend the current government who have ‘brought [them] to the brink.’[[603]](#footnote-603) This theme appears again in *The Yorkshire Freeholder,* which goes even further in attempting to reclaim the word ‘association’ from negative connotations in order to justify a series of perceived ‘free-holder uprisings.’[[604]](#footnote-604) By 1780 Addison’s *Free-Holder* has come to be drawn upon as a foundational text for authors looking to incite fellow freeholders to take action in defence of their liberty, even if that action involves contending the political infrastructure and hierarchies in power at that time. Such action, ironically, recounts exactly that oppositional action and rebellion that Addison claims to be picking up his pen to write against. In order to explain how Addison’s *Free-Holder* of 1715 became the newly antagonistic edition of 1779, and how it could have come to be used as justification for elite uprisings and opposition, this chapter will now trace the text’s transmission throughout the eighteenth century.

As the periodical edition of Addison’s *Free-Holder* drew to a close in January 1716 plans were already afoot for it to appear again as a collected book edition, following exactly the model previously established by *The Tatler*.[[605]](#footnote-605) Rather than being printed by S. Gray, who had to this point printed *The Free-Holder*’sentire run and Addison’s *An Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled, An Argument to Prove the Affections of the People of England to be left to the best Security of the Government,* the collected edition was to be printed by Jacob Tonson the younger.[[606]](#footnote-606) Tonson the younger was the nephew of Jacob Tonson the elder, who had famously found astonishing success printing the works of John Dryden and John Milton whilst also handling the first printed poetry of Alexander Pope. As Raymond N. Mackenzie stresses, the first decade of the eighteenth century saw Tonson the elder increasingly embracing and promoting his Whiggish tendencies as a founding member of the Kit Kat club.[[607]](#footnote-607)

Given Addison’s official connections to the Whig ministry, and Tonson’s lucrative success two years previous when publishing Addison’s *Cato,* it is not surprising the Tonson dynasty should act as bookseller for the first collected edition of this new text, which Steele had already reportedly described as being a ‘lute’ for the Whig ministry.[[608]](#footnote-608) Although only Tonson is listed on the book’s title page, the Stationer’s Company *Entries of Copy* reveals that he shared the publication with David Midwinter.[[609]](#footnote-609) Now re-branded and wearing its partisan credentials on its sleeve, the collection appears with the slightly embellished title, *The Free-Holder*, *or, Political Essays.*[[610]](#footnote-610)

This edition appeared again in Dublin almost immediately. Printed by George Greirson and titled only *The Freeholder*, this edition set a trend for the papers appearing across Britain for the next three decades.In April of the same year numbers 22 and 25 of *The Free-Holder* are appended to George Stuart’s Edinburgh aggregated newspaper *The Weekly Packet* (imaginatively re-branded for that week as *The Free-Holder and the Weekly Packet*).[[611]](#footnote-611) The text’s popularity across all of Great Britain stems from its affirmative stance on the then recent Union with Scotland (which had taken place less than a decade earlier in 1707) and a recurrent assertion that Britain will be stronger if the Scottish and the Irish are allowed to own substantial amounts of property, again materially investing them in their nation:

And here I cannot take occasion to congratulate my Country upon the Increase of this happy Tribe of Men [Free-Holders], since by the Wisdom of the present Parliament, I find the Race of Freeholders spreading into the remotest Corners of the Island.[[612]](#footnote-612)

Meanwhile, *The Free-Holder and Political Essays* continues to be reprinted in London, reaching its third edition in 1723 on which D. Midwinter’s name now also appears. Midwinter remains on board for the fourth edition in 1729 and the fifth edition in 1732.[[613]](#footnote-613) By the sixth edition the text finds itself descending down through the Tonson dynasty, with both Tonson the younger and elder passing away in 1735 and 1736 respectively, leaving *The Free-Holder and Political Essays* in the hands of the younger Tonson’s two sons, Jacob and Richard.[[614]](#footnote-614) It is these two sons who publish the sixth edition alongside S. Draper in 1739.[[615]](#footnote-615) This is followed in 1746 by the appearance of a Glasgow edition with the slightly embellished title, *The Free-Holder, or Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq*, which claims to be the seventh edition (presumably hoping to appear to be an official continuation of the Tonson edition).[[616]](#footnote-616) However, the text’s front matter reveals no connection to the Tonson dynasty, published as it is by a completely different set of booksellers: R. Urik and J. Gilmour.[[617]](#footnote-617) The existence and success of this text indicates a market still existed for Addison’s own brand of British citizenship in Scotland well into the mid-eighteenth century.

Five years later Jacob and Richard Tonson (still working with S. Draper) publish a ‘new’ London edition, abandoning the edition numbers and unexpectedly adopting the title of the previous Glasgow edition. Once again this edition is almost immediately reproduced in Dublin as the product of a large ensemble of booksellers: P. Wilson, J. Exshaw, R. James, S. Price and M. Williamson.[[618]](#footnote-618) The following year also sees a further pirated Glasgow edition printed by a further set of booksellers.[[619]](#footnote-619) Two editions of *The Free-Holder, or Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq* also appear in 1758 and 1761, published by Jacob and Richard Tonson alone.[[620]](#footnote-620)

The 1761 edition signals the end of the relationship between *The Free-Holder* and the Tonson dynasty, and but for a forlorn reference to the paper in the epigraph to the seventh edition of Thomas Edward’s *Canons of Criticism* Addison’s *Free-Holder* vanishes entirely for almost two decades.[[621]](#footnote-621) After an eighteen year gap a final ‘new edition’ appears in London: *The Free-Holder, or Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq: A New Edition.*[[622]](#footnote-622) With both Jacob and Richard Tonson now deceased this edition is brought to press by the ensemble of gentlemen mentioned at the outset of this chapter. Such a large group of booksellers recalls the sizable collaborations that had previously been producing editions in Glasgow and Dublin: S. Dampier, R. Newton, J. Davidson, R. Cowley, C. Bland, H. Towlins, W. Napiers and A. Gray.[[623]](#footnote-623)

Whilst the title page clearly states this edition was published in London, its absence from the Stationers’ Company register and the involvement of figures such as William Napier and John Davidson, is indicative of a strong connection to Edinburgh, the print and cultural capital of eighteenth-century Scotland. Originally courting fame as a celebrated musician, Napier also forged a career as a well-regarded bookseller, a position securing his place amidst the artistic and literary elite of his time.[[624]](#footnote-624)

As well as being a lawyer, an antiquarian, deputy keeper of the signet and the crown agent John Davidson was also no stranger to the higher echelons of respected society.[[625]](#footnote-625) Davidson was also an agent for a number of Scottish noblemen and landowners making it no surprise that he was involved in financing a new edition of Addison’s *Free-Holder.* The recurrent appearance of Davidson’s name in conjunction with different groups and societies indicates that he was not only a member of small elite communities, but he was a driving force in financing and organising them into action. For instance, in 1763 he is recorded as being the writer of the signet and treasurer for ‘the society for propagating Christian Knowledge, to Christianise the North American Indians.’ [[626]](#footnote-626) This society which would have been coming to ahead as the 1779 ‘new edition’ of *The Free-Holder* went to print, hopes to propagate ‘the advancement of the kingdom of Christ in the dark places of the earth, that are full of the habitations of cruelty.’[[627]](#footnote-627)

This 1779 publication is the product of a small elite community, newly adorned with inflammatory essay titles and charged with a new sense of fierce urgency, signifying the changes that had taken place within the pages of Addison’s paper since its initial genesis in 1715. Change was even more pronounced in other freeholder productions. Here the ‘freeholders’ are addressed as a distinct community who find it their patriotic duty to voice dissenting opinions. Simon Varey describes *The Free-Holder’s Journal* (1722)as opening with what ‘looks like a statement of disinterested purpose […] that might actually bring about some significant change.’[[628]](#footnote-628) This opening statement of intent at once channels and contradicts the ethos of Addison’s original paper: ‘A man is either to enter his *Protest against Corruption,* whether he can prevent it or not.’[[629]](#footnote-629) This instruction appeals to the same sense of duty to the public weal as Addison’s paper, making a similar assertion to his mantra that a ‘crime of omission’ is equal to a ‘crime of commission.’ However, the corruption to which this journal alludes is within the government itself. Therefore, in order to protect the public good readers must contradict the establishment in power, a manoeuvre that Addison would never endorse. Addison’s sentiments are similarly cherry-picked in *The Craftsman*, which is amongst the first periodicals to appropriate the original *Free-Holder* in a way that is directly contradictory to Addison’s original project.

Bolingroke is a surprising figure to be invoking Addison’s staunchly anti-rebellion periodical, given the periodical he is best remembered for – *The Craftsman* – was openly acknowledged as ‘unofficial mouth piece of the opposition during the Walpole era.’[[630]](#footnote-630) As Simon Varey explains, like the *Free-Holder’s Journal* it was the intention of *The Craftsman* to articulate (and make acceptable) a dissenting view:

*The Craftsman* first appeared on 5 December 1726 at the instigation of Lord Bolingbroke and William Pulteney. These two appointed Nicholas Amhurst editor, and very probably invited some of their friends to contribute essays to the fictitious editor, Caleb D’Anvers of Gray’s Inn, Esq. The stated purpose of the new paper was to expose political craft, but the overriding purpose was to unseat Robert Walpole.[[631]](#footnote-631)

In *The Craftsman*, and in his earlier periodical *The Occasional Papers*, Bolingbroke appeals to the civil duty of every freeholder in Britain to act in the best interest of the public weal as justification for opposition to the government. He identifies with Addison’s arguments regarding citizenship and liberty and attempts to align his organised opposition with Addison’s suggestion that citizens must be active. For Bolingbroke, however, Addison’s ‘active participant’ has become a ‘political activist’, forming the exact type of opposition the original *Free-Holder* discourages.

As previously demonstrated, the active participation that Addison recommends is always in support of the party in power, proving Jeremy Black’s observation that: ‘[s]upport for government policies could be just as significant and valid an expression of public opinion as opposition to them.’[[632]](#footnote-632) The alternative is to take a step closer to that which Addison deems the ‘most heinous crime’ imaginable.[[633]](#footnote-633) In the majority of cases ‘[p]artisanship [was considered] morally dangerous, and, one might say, aesthetically unappealing.’[[634]](#footnote-634) Quentin Skinner even suggests that for many it was considered ‘unpatriotic.’[[635]](#footnote-635) To engage in the sort of ‘formed opposition’ conducted by Bolingbroke and his party between 1728 and 1734 was to engage in an activity which was regarded at the time as ‘immoral’ and ‘tainted with disloyalty.’[[636]](#footnote-636) Associating his oppositional writing with the essays of Joseph Addison, a figure typically regarded as a polite and rational participant in the public sphere - described by Johnson as having a ‘timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too kind a name’ - is a shrewd move.[[637]](#footnote-637)

Bolingbroke’s familiarity with *The Free-Holder* is first seen in his work on *The Occasional Papers* in 1717.By way of epigraph for the ninth number of the paper’s second volume Bolingbroke cites *The Free-Holder* before referencing it again a decade later in two numbers of *The Craftsman* (No. 57 and No. 59).[[638]](#footnote-638) *The Free-Holder* is employed as a sound and logical voice of authority, propagating a civilised and functional political system. This is well illustrated by the epigraph used for *The Occasional Paper*, which quotes the ‘Good Friday’ number of *The Free-Holder* (No. 29):

Common sense, as well as the Experience of all Ages, teaches us that no government can flourish which does not encourage and propagate religion and morality among all its members. It was an observation of the ancient Romans, that their empire had not more increased by the strength of their arms, than by the sanity of their manners: Cicero makes it a doubt, whether it be possible for a community to exist that had not a prevailing mixture of piety in its constitution? A man who would hope to govern a society without any regard to these principles, is as much to be condemned for his folly as to be detested for his impiety.[[639]](#footnote-639)

Bolingbroke’s performed association with Addison’s *Free-Holder* serves to imply that his own paper is as sound a commentator and that it envisions the same finished model of civil society, one based on a vertical model of political representation founded on a moral imperative and principles of active participation and liberty.

In the fifty-seventh number of *The Craftsman* Bolingbroke cites *The Free-Holder*’s first essay, at length, as justification for the political advice he is about to offer. This advice offers guidance on how to vote and ultimately warns the reader to exercise a degree of scepticism when supporting the party in power. Having shown that ‘the preservation of our constitution […] absolutely depend[s] on the freedom and uncorrupt fidelity of that august body [of the House of Commons’ it promises to now ‘offer you some advice […] by pointing out to you those persons*,* who, in my poor judgement, are proper, as well as those, who are not proper to fit in that illustrious assembly.’[[640]](#footnote-640) Bolingbroke strikes a tone very similar to Addison’s earlier paper, echoing *The Free-Holder*’sadvice that citizens should choose the best policies rather than make decisions based on prior party affiliations, ‘begging’ his readers to ‘give the finishing stroke to all party distinctions, by voting for such persons as are well-affected to the present establishment.’[[641]](#footnote-641) However, the claim to objectivity is not made without partisan intent. Bolingbroke goes onto discuss the types of representatives that have recently made up the cabinet, hinting at their potential for corruption and sophistry. In the closing paragraphs of the essay he reflects that despite starting from a position of neutrality he has in fact conducted a survey of the ‘unwarrantable methods, which evil ministers have taken.’[[642]](#footnote-642) He concludes that he has yet to discover evidence of corruption amidst ‘our present most incomparable ministers’, but ends by warning readers to be wary of partisan persuasion:

I think a neighbouring gentleman, of a moderate income but a middle-sized understanding, (if he be withal a man of known integrity) is much preferable to the most artful, insinuating flatterer, who comes to you from London with an insolent recommendation from Men in Power and a great bag of ill-gotten guineas.[[643]](#footnote-643)

Bolingbroke concludes by recommending the figure of the propertied and informed gentleman as an ideal role model. This figure bears a striking resemblance to the romanticised vision of the freeholder promoted in Addison’s earlier periodical, an influence foreshadowed in the opening lines of Bolingbroke’s essay:

[t]he late ingenious Mr. Addison [who] was pleased to begin his paper, called the *Freeholder*, with an introduction concerning the importance of your denomination, and the particular privileges of a *British Freeholder,* which he sets forth in this just and beautiful manner.[[644]](#footnote-644)

Bolingbroke’s use of the pronoun ‘your’ here is central to his use of *The Free-Holder*, manoeuvring his paper into position to address Addison’s existing readership of British freeholders. This becomes more crucial two numbers later in *The Craftsman* No. 59. The extract Bolingbroke chooses begins by establishing a proud sense of national exceptionalism through an unlikely comparison between the celebrated ‘vineyards’ of the French and the ‘little cabbage garden’ of the British:

As a British Freeholder, I should not scruple taking place of a French Marquis; and when I see one of my countrymen amusing himself in his cabbage-garden, I naturally look upon him as a greater person than the owner of the richest vineyard in Champagne.[[645]](#footnote-645)

The quotation that follows is one that has featured heavily in this thesis, remaining central to the *Free-Holder* throughout each of its fifty-five issues. Addison goes onto explain that the reason Britain is great (and the reason that British cabbage-gardens surpass vineyards in Champagne) is because Britain is governed by its people, and every freeholder has ‘a kind of remote voice in every law that follows.’[[646]](#footnote-646) Bolingbroke adopts Addison’s sentiment to justify his critique of the cabinet, stressing that if it is through their representative that readers are involved in processes of government and law making then it is essential they choose the best candidates. In aligning his writing to that Addison Bolingbroke is also able to capitalise on the former writer’s reputation, explaining in panegyric terms his rationale for quoting *The Free-Holder* at such great length:

I thought fit to quote the authority of so great a man (who was not, I think, ever esteemed as either a Jacobite, or a Malcontent) to justify the Liberty, which I design to take in this paper, and to obviate any charge of presumption, which might possibly have been brought against me, for taking upon me to direct you in the choice of your representatives.[[647]](#footnote-647)

As this argument develops over the following issues the ambition stated here in the final clause expands and develops to such an extent that it could no longer be said to share any intent with Addison’s earlier periodical. The grounds for this difference is that Bolingbroke writes in opposition, so whilst Addison’s advice regarding voting and representation affirms and defends the existing cabinet, Bolingbroke will always be recommending an alternative to the established party in power.

By the time *The Craftsman* No. 59 appeared in print, Bolingbroke had moved beyond his initial speculative stance; rather than tentatively offering he is now attempting to rouse fellow citizens to reclaim their liberty at all costs. To do this he again moves in on Addison’s previously established readership, addressing his essay to the ‘Freeholders […] of Great Britain’ and encouraging them to take action with their innately ‘unwearied diligence and incorruptible fidelity.’[[648]](#footnote-648) Beyond this opening address the essay is littered with sentiments and manoeuvres recognisable from Addison’s earlier political writing. He frames his attack with a polite reluctance, suggesting that it his own manners which prevent him from critiquing the previous government as harshly as he could:

I chose to be silent on the failings and blemishes of this illustrious body, which is now politically deceased, and say with an ingenious writer, on much the same occasion, Peace be to the manners of the Parliament![[649]](#footnote-649)

But, in a manner reminiscent of Addison’s own applications of politeness although Bolingbroke is happy to acknowledge the burden of politeness, this does not stop him making the critique. If anything it has the contrary effect, implying the MPs he intends to discuss are guilty of greater crimes than those listed here, but that our author is bound by codes of conduct from revealing their true extent. This application of politeness to disguise serious acts of political violence is startlingly akin to Addison’s previously discussed reliance on politeness to enact similarly violent manoeuvres. Bolingbroke is unequivocal in identifying his intended readership, and like Addison’s *Free-Holder*,he is addressing fellow men of property who share his condition. The ‘countrymen and fellow subjects’ of this extract are undoubtedly the ‘freeholders’ of the essay’s opening address:

I must therefore content myself, in so large a field, with hinting at those remarkable particulars of their conduct, which at this time require the notice and consideration of all my countrymen and fellow subjects.[[650]](#footnote-650)

It is only when introducing the problems that have brought him to press that the stark differences between the periodical writing of Bolingbroke and Addison becomes clear. At this point Bolingbroke introduces a new polarising threat, revealing that the land-owning gentlemen with whom he shares his condition are justifiably anxious upon the emergence of a new class of ‘monied men’:

It is to be hoped, Gentlemen, that you, who have the honour of being British Freeholders, and have any property in Land, will have the candour to remember how unalterably attached the last house of Commons (that is to say, the Majority of them) were to your interest; with what unwearied Diligence and incorruptible fidelity they maintained your cause against the continual attempts of your new rivals, the monied men; and with what remarkable caution and difficulty they came into any measures, which could possibly affect your declining interest, in the minutes article. [[651]](#footnote-651)

Rather than fearing this new demographic Addison’s periodical had always celebrated their coming of age, championing from the first number that ‘race of freeholders [which are] spreading into the remotest corners of the island.’[[652]](#footnote-652) This extract also reveals the most fundamental difference between Bolingbroke and Addison. *The Craftsman* is attached to the ‘last House of Commons’, favouring it over the current administration. *The Craftsman* writes against the government in power at the time of writing, opposing their ‘extraordinary duties and taxes’ which he does not believe are justified by ‘the pretended reason’ of the ‘grievous debt of the nation.’ [[653]](#footnote-653) In contrast, Addison celebrates and defends his government, attacking only the hypothetical future government that might follow it. The ramifications of this difference are extensive and severely convolute any deliberate attempts that Bolingbroke might make to genuinely employ Addison’s vision of partisanship.

Bolingbroke capitalises on Addison’s fashioning of his freeholder readers as diligent and politically active citizens. However, Bolingbroke’s freeholders are more than active partisans who support the current administration. They are now a landed elite who will defend their liberty regardless of who happens to be in government. Bolingbroke’s own politics and applications of periodical print stand in marked contrast to those of Addison, revealing the problematic nature of *The Free-Holder*’s advice when applied in opposition. Bolingbroke tries to take action against a government he does not agree with. In doing so he appears to satisfy Addison’s charge that ‘omission’ is as serious a crime as ‘commission.’ The problem that arises is that *The Free-Holder* also states clearly and repeatedly that opposition is akin to rebellion.

Therefore, *The Free-Holder*’s advice cannot work as a justification for opposition. The shift in what it is that *The Free-Holder* is perceived as recommending, seen here in *The Craftsman*, continues to be reflected and amplified in later ‘freeholder’papers. Like Bolingbroke’s use of the ‘address to freeholders’, later non-Addison *Free-Holder* papers always see the editorial voice acting as a freeholder addressing fellow freeholders, and in each the ‘freeholder’ is seen as more than a legal position. Increasingly ‘freeholders’ are fashioned as they are in *The Craftsman*:as a distinct community within Britain that when called upon can join together and take action on behalf of the public good. They appear to have become the politically proactive group encouraged and envisioned in Addison’s paper. *The Free-Holder Extraordinary* sets this trend by alluding in its epigraph to a group of people within the greater community who are prepared to rise up and take action. A single-numbered publication, *The Free-Holder Extraordinary* functions primarily as an advertisement for Tim Goodwin’s 1701 text, *The History of Rome*. *The Free-Holder* is used primarily, as it was by Bolingbroke, to identify an interested readership. The aforementioned history, we are told, is not only an example of the same Augustan nostalgia peppered throughout Addison’s earlier periodical but a text which probes the concept of monarchy and considers the nature of absolutism. The text is described as an ‘authentic and exemplary history’ which ‘the most zealous Whig need not be afraid of; nor the most cautious politician suspect it.’[[654]](#footnote-654) When explaining why this might be of interest to *The Free-Holder*’spreviously established readership the author is more explicit in distancing himself from Addison’s ambition than later ‘free-holder’ papers. In specifying his reservations, the author also lists the components for which it seems *The Free-Holder* was immediately remembered:

Give me leave, Dear Countrymen, upon an extraordinary occasion, to tell you an extraordinary story, under the *Freeholder’s* cover. You need not be afraid of a weekly tax; I design not to appear again unless upon some very notable emergency. The *Freeholder* is a great lover of stories; how apposite his tastes are I leave you to judge: We must not suppose him an enemy of the monarchy, at least not a monarch of his own direction.[[655]](#footnote-655)

The author deliberately publishes this story ‘under the *Freeholder’s* cover’, stating that he does this because what follows is in keeping with the ‘stories’ that Addison’s paper was known for. The author is keen to emphasise that the only reason it has taken Addison’s title is because it shares its passion for such ‘stories’; it distances itself from either acknowledging Addison’s periodical as a success or condoning any of its politics, leaving the reader ‘to judge.’ This faint praise infers that although it claims not to pass judgement it is deliberately stopping short of fully endorsing Addison’s *Free-Holder*.The final clause of this passage offers a perfect paraphrase for Addison’s views on citizenship, freedom and opposition: ‘[w]e should not suppose him an enemy of the monarch, at least not a monarch of his own direction.’ Whilst Addison encourages readers to act on their beliefs, in such a way that can be read as an encouragement to take an oppositional pose if necessary, he also discourages any action against the King (or, as *A Free-Holder Extraordinary* stresses, King George I specifically). Whether or not Addison would be as quick to preach this message if he were not writing in defence of a King he supported is here called into question.

The means by which *A Free-Holder Extraordinary* came to be printed suggests that it comes from an oppositional background and is at cross purposes with Addison’s prior publication. The paper is printed by John Morphew, who, whilst admittedly being a prolific bookseller, has an output which ties him to both the previously published *Letter from a Norfolk Free-Holder* (analysed in the opening chapter of this thesis and seen to pitch a contrasting vision of free-holdership to Addison’s own) and latterly to Bolingbroke’s organised opposition.[[656]](#footnote-656) However, in foregrounding its different approach from Addison’s original, *A Free-Holder Extraordinary* is unique amongst later ‘freeholder’ papers and the fairest in its open appropriation and clearly sign-posted departure from *The Free-Holder.* In contrast *The Freeholder’s Journal* makes no such distinction, and instead happily reimagines Addison’s previously established freeholder readership as some kind of public standing army. *The Freeholder’s Journal*, which was printed for an impressive 76 issues (1721-1723), wastes no time before emphasising the political clout offered by freeholders en masse:

The appearance and endeavours of a single man, may be, perhaps, of little weight; the powers of each private man may be final, in proportion to such an end, but yet he is to exert them, whatever they be: If others join their endeavours as they ought, he will attain his end, if they do not, he has done his best to incite their emulation; he has done all required of him in the way of duty […] *He has delivered his soul.*[[657]](#footnote-657)

The ‘end’ to which this community have a ‘duty’ to act is the public weal of Addison’s original. The *Journal* is even more explicit than Addison in describing the duty of every gentleman, using an extended metaphor of finance and banking to articulate the sense of ‘investment’ in the community that *The Free-Holder* often alluded too:

The case of every man in England, is like that of several persons engaged in Bond for payment of a sum; they are bound all jointly, and every one separately, for payment of the whole, and by one or other of the sum must be paid […] The good, the welfare, the being of the society, requires everyone to contribute to that end.[[658]](#footnote-658)

It is in pursuit of this ‘good’ that the author now writes but in contrast to Addison’s editorial persona he writes from a stance of dissatisfaction, and finds it his duty to challenge the government for the sake of the ‘whole community.’ As a ‘good’ Englishman he must do ‘all in his power to remove the unhappiness’:[[659]](#footnote-659)

In compliance with this obligation, the author takes pen in hand, to serve, if it may be, his country, in that manner; for he that will not go thus far to serve it, can hardly be expected to serve it in another way, whatever necessity required it. He would not press others to dangers he would not run; the fatigues and troubles he would not bear; the expenses he could not approve; or to steps he would not take himself; but being resolved to do his duty at any rate, he hopes he may with decency recommend it to others, and whatever Conduct they may think fit to observe, he trusts they shall never approach him for his own. [[660]](#footnote-660)

Once again the word ‘duty’ takes on a prominent role, repeated again and again throughout the essay as a whole; this is a duty which manifests in whatever ways ‘necessity’ requires. Our editor is prepared to do whatever he must, and his job here is to ‘recommend’ his readers do the same in as polite and understanding a manner as possible. Much of this is reminiscent of Addison’s own editorial persona, but once again inciting readers to take whatever action is necessary, against *whoever* is threatening their happiness, is not always what *The Free-Holder* recommends. Again, if that person is the government then organised action against them is seen by Addison as rebellion. The tendency in both *The Free-Holder Extraordinary* and *The Freeholder’s Journal* to extrapolate Addison’s model of active citizenship whilst jettisoning his exclusively positive partisan activism both persists and intensifies in *The Yorkshire Freeholder.*

Writing towards the end of the eighteenth century Christopher Wyrill’s *Yorkshire Freeholder* of 1780 goes even further than its predecessors: reporting on and defending what it describes as ‘Free-Holder Uprisings’ by attempting to reclaim the word ‘association.’ That something of Addison’s original has been fundamentally altered by the time *The Yorkshire Freeholder* appears is foregrounded by this later paper’s antithetical motivation for going into print. Whilst it is generally believed that Addison’s *Free-Holder* was initially commissioned to ‘meet the emergency of the 1715 rebellion’, quelling and reducing the aftermath of the Jacobite risings, Wyrill’s *Yorkshire Freeholder* is initiated for precisely the opposite purpose: actively endorsing and defending a civil uprising.[[661]](#footnote-661) Beyond *Freeholder Extraordinary, The Yorkshire Freeholder* appears the most self-conscious of the ‘freeholder’ publications, capitalising on the paper’s revived cultural currency following the release of the ‘new’ book edition of *The Free-Holder, or Political Essays* appearing in 1779. Whilst clearly aligning itself with the earlier *Free-Holder* it does also fashion itself as something slightly different, claiming to be a provincial counterpart to Addison’s overtly metropolitan paper. The paper’s editorial persona, ‘Lancelot Lackrent’ (an editor who, we are told, follows the ‘laudable practise of weekly writers from Isaac Bickerstaff, Author of *The Tatler*’), cites the recent ‘freeholder uprisings’ as justifying the need for such a paper. It is his ambition to consider and ultimately ‘justify’ these civil disturbances:

A periodical essayist, printing his lucubrations at the distance of two hundred miles from the metropolis, will undoubtedly be thought a literary phenomenon: but the county and city of York have of late made themselves of such national consequence, that is humbly presumed a paper, written professedly to explain and justify their proceedings, may, for a month or two at least, circulate so far into the neighbouring counties as to destroy the expense of paper and print, and perhaps of advertisements too, which latter article, on consulting my printer, I find will be likely hang a dead weight on my public-spirited undertaking, and in a very little time contract the small sphere of my activity. [[662]](#footnote-662)

As is consistent with the ‘freeholder’ papers discussed thus far, Lackrent ascribes his motivation to a sense of ‘public-spiritedness’ and a passion for ‘liberty.’[[663]](#footnote-663) Lackrent encourages the formation of a ‘Yorkshire Association’ as part of an on-going argument that recalls Addison’s claims to have instigated and perpetuated a Whiggish ‘Female Association.’[[664]](#footnote-664) He begins by explaining why it is his duty to highlight the unfairness of the connotations often attributed to the word:

[This essay] is a laudable attempt to remove from the minds of his Majesty’s liege subjects certain strange apprehensions, which I am credibly, informed the word ASSOCIATION, as it appears in the second resolution of the country meeting, has raised their Pericrania [skull]; a word of which they give a hostile, if not even a rebellious signification. [[665]](#footnote-665)

Here, Lackrent’s tone and diction could hardly be accused of attempting to incite rebellion. Instead he refers to his readers as ‘his Majesty’s liege’ subjects, actively foregrounding their innate allegiance to the King. That he hopes to prove that ‘association’ should not instinctively be charged with a meaning indicative of rebellion also highlights from the outset that Lackrent is not intentionally endorsing rebellion, but on the contrary, he is explaining why the action he hopes to ‘justify’ cannot technically be classed as rebellion. To prove this assertion Lackrent narrates a history of ‘freeholder’ uprisings in which propertied gentleman have been seen to act illegally in the ‘public interest.’ The actions of such groups, dubbed ‘freeholder associations’, are listed in the opening issue of *The Yorkshire Free-Holder*:

The first is the very memorable Association in the year 1745, in which the greatest part of the Freeholders in the country, with an archbishop at their head, associated themselves against a set of their fellow subjects, “who were attempting to bring in a Popish fugitive, and to settle him, by blood and devastation, on the ruins of all law and all liberty, upon the throne of these kingdoms.” [...] The second is a union of men at present congregated together in this very city. [...] they have acted by a committee, and have even set foot on an actual contribution, or subscription, to support their measures, which is going a great step farther than the country committee would will have gone, even in the plan of Association they are appointed to prepare should meet with the approbation and signature of their fellow Freeholders.[[666]](#footnote-666)

The first occasion sees a community of freeholders taking action against a popish conspiracy, legitimizing their actions by appointing an arch-bishop as their figure head. Lackrent does not pause to consider this example as needing any further discussion, presuming that the defence of the national faith is justification enough for the formation of an ‘association.’

The second example lacks the overt sense of hierarchical leadership that the presence of the arch-bishop lends the first. By contrast this association is literally ‘run by committee’, foregrounding the themes of an independent community implicit in each of the previous freeholder papers. This ‘federate union of very respectable gentlemen’ cannot claim to be acting in the interests of the church, but are instead rising up to ‘abolish an unconstitutional monopoly of fish, which has long obtained in this ancient city.’[[667]](#footnote-667) Having tried and failed to challenge the longstanding protection of this monopoly through official means this group of men (we are told) decide to take the law into their own hands in the interests of fairness, liberty and their shared constitutional rights. By considering the relatively mundane and domestic origin of this dispute, Lackrent is successful in making the motivations of these men easily relatable, enabling him to ask his readers whether it is plausible to consider the members of this association to be rebels in the Addisonian sense:

Now, will any man venture to tell me, that either Dr Hunter, or the Gentleman in Union with him, or even that Mr. William Cobb himself ever meant, or now mean, to make an assault on the person or fish-shop of Mrs Wetherhill [the ‘monopolist’]? This supposition is impossible. No; these public-spirited gentleman only endeavour *to take effectual measures that the gross abuse*.[[668]](#footnote-668)

The editor concedes that the nature of their dispute is not without a whiff of comical potential, but the principles upon which they act are far from humorous:

I am well aware that this last instance (though a more true parallel one cannot well be imagined) will, from the mention of fish and fish stalls, be considered ludicrous, and will consequently lead my more solemn readers to think, that what is grave I wish to turn into farce. I will own to them freely that I do wish to put the objection to the term in the most ridiculous light I can, because I think it the most frivolous objection that can be conceived; but as to the intention of the *Association* itself, I will be serious as they would want me to be, and shall therefore employ the remainder of this paper in vindicating the resolution of the meeting, in which the offensive term has been employed.[[669]](#footnote-669)

Lackrent’s ambition is to assert the distinction between ‘public-spirited gentleman’ taking action in the interests of the public good and that which Addison refers to as the ‘most heinous crime of rebellion.’[[670]](#footnote-670) He concludes that rather than there being any shame in the former, if truthfully enacted, a citizen can gain the respect of the very hierarchy he finds himself acting against:

No man that has appeared for a certain space of time to promote the public good by a uniform series of well-meant and disinterested actions, but will in the end obtain the esteem and honest popularity, of which even Kings may envy him the possession.[[671]](#footnote-671)

Once again, the true intention of Addison’s periodical is fully subverted in his own name. This chapter’s narrative of the transmission and adaptation of Addison’s *Free-Holder* paused at the outset to consider how the 1779 ‘new edition’ could be repackaged as such a departure from the original. No longer the production of a single printer but the culminated efforts of a small elite community of gentlemen, this ‘new edition’ charged Addison’s words with an urgent ferocity previously absent from his writings. The 1779 edition is almost militant in tone, calling those men who are both its producers and intended readership to take action in memory of a government that existed over sixty years ago. A survey of ‘freeholder’ papers appearing between these two publications has revealed that rather than the 1779 text being a radical departure from typical eighteenth-century revisions of Addison’s original; it is in fact relatively typical. All of the papers examined capitalise on Addison’s insistence that citizens should actively contribute to and defend the public weal, and all ignore his reservation that this should never manifest itself as opposition to the government in power.

*The Freeholder’s Journal* speaks to a community of freeholders who will not stand for the ‘unhappiness’ of the people regardless of where it is coming from, whilst also stressing that this is not the duty of ‘a single man’ but the burden of ‘everyman […] bound all jointly.’[[672]](#footnote-672) In a similar vein, *The Yorkshire Free-Holder* draws a distinction that Addison does not, categorising action such as those described in the *Journal* as something distinct from rebellion. The question of how Addison can expect a citizen to actively defend the interests of the community whilst never acting in opposition to the government is playfully touched upon in *A Free-Holder Extraordinary*, which foregrounds that Addison is against all forms of rebellion when writing on behalf of a King that he has chosen. This point is well made by Bolingbroke’s attempts to align himself with Addison whilst writing against Robert Walpole;indeed, Addison’s true sentiments are derailed as early as Bolingbroke’s *Craftsman,* which illustrates through contrast what is unique to Addison’s original periodical. It just does not work in opposition. Without the distinction later made by Wyrill all of the actions advised by subsequent ‘freeholder’ papers would be classed by Addison as rebellion.

It is Addison’s attempts to utilise discourses of freedom, liberty and citizenship which invite the revisions seen throughout this chapter. Each of the papers discussed demonstrate the end product that Addison’s *Free-Holder* seems to suggest. He actively encourages political involvement, and even partisan behaviour. His only caveat is a subtle one, and is best seen in contrast to these later texts that either miss or wilfully ignore it. In each instance, be it Bolingbroke’s desire to contend Walpole or Wyrill’s intention to end a state-sanctioned monopoly, Addison’s *Free-Holder* would recommend the aggrieved individuals join the party in power and make any desired changes from within, by applying the theories of politeness, harmony and reconciliation that he demonstrates repeatedly throughout his paper’s full run. He would not encourage anyone to take unlawful action outside the ‘frame of law’ established by the government.[[673]](#footnote-673)

On a pragmatic level this is a deeply partisan manoeuvre on Addison’s part. Addison’s *Free-Holder* encourages partisan behaviour only if you are on the winning side, as it is at the time of publication: a fact which divides it from the majority of later ‘freeholder’ papers. If you do find yourself in opposition, Addison recommends you join the party in power and make your desired changes from *within* that government. *The Free-Holder* speaks on behalf of the Whigs, who are at the time of writing the winning party. As previous chapters have illustrated, it is also hoping to attract (and convert) inquiring Tory readers. It tells these readers that opposition is tantamount to the ‘heinous crime’ of rebellion, and by virtue of the fact they are not Whig, they are part of such an ‘odious’ opposition. Mr. Free-Holder is telling them that instead of remaining in this unpatriotic pose they should instead join the Whig party and make any changes from inside using the same principles of reconciliation and politeness that he is using himself. Again his goal is to turn Tories into Whigs; this is *always* his ambition. As ever, Addison is recommending politeness and harmony (even as a form of political engagement) whilst also applying them to further his own partisan ambition. Whilst this chapter demonstrates that this does not work outside of the *Free-Holder*’s original context, the contrast between this and later texts highlights the precision of Addison’s paper. This suggestion, carefully shielded by civil war rhetoric and a preoccupation with the liberty of its readers, fits perfectly with the ambition revealed in previous chapters: to convert casually inquiring Tory readers. This is not an ambition shared by later revisions and is conspicuous by its absence; instead, *The Free-Holder* is revised to become a very different entity to that created by Addison in 1715.

**Addison’s message to readers**

At the outset of this thesis, Addison’s *Free-Holder* appeared to be a very inviting proposition: longing for political harmony, recommending readers to defend and stand up for their civil liberties and ensuring they remain active participants in the running of a nation in which they are all investors. While all of this remains true the way in which Addison hopes to achieve this state of being has now been revealed, and to a modern reader it appears to be deeply unprincipled. Born of the Jacobite rebellion, *The Free-Holder* doubtlessly first appeared to defend and promote the Whig cause. However, it was to be written by Joseph Addison, an author acknowledged as being both ‘the most poised and elegant writer in [the Whig] stable’ and the very editor whose earlier work on *The Whig-Examiner* had found him wanting the ‘editorial belligerence necessary for party journalism in a crisis year.’[[674]](#footnote-674) The paper had to counter the very real support that still existed (and in some quarters, continued to grow) for the Jacobite cause, quell the threat of the civil uprising in England and win as many votes as possible to galvanise the still precarious hold that the new Whig government had upon the cabinet. To do this Addison would need to explicitly enter the arena of partisan print: a field historically remembered now for the scurrilous satire and damning calumny of his Tory counter-parts. And, as his previous work on the equally partisan *Whig-Examiner* had suggested he might, Addison would attempt to do this whilst still maintaining a carefully cultivated aversion to polemic that had come to characterise all of his periodical writing from *The Spectator* onwards.

Rather than presenting a paper which simply lacked the impassioned diatribes of its political rivals, Addison foregrounded this aversion to polemic, making it a central theme and characteristic of his periodical address to the freeholders of Britain. Addison deliberately cast a spotlight upon the barbarous print war that surrounded his own paper, contrasting his own reconciliatory approach to that of his contemporaries whose words he claimed were charged with the irrational and unreasonable rage of party. However, as the second chapter of this thesis argues, this harrowing war in print is largely a fiction of Addison’s own creating. Although the situation he describes suits the polemic newsbooks of the civil war it fits neither with the periodicals he writes against nor historiographical depictions of his own period as a more ‘tranquil era.’

It serves Addison’s cause well to imaginatively recreate the contestative conditions of print published during the civil wars; a series of civil uprisings which wrought regime change of previously unimaginable proportions and, at the time of writing, still lingered on the borders of living memory. By suggesting to his readers that he is writing at an analogous period of print in which his paper, like the old roundhead and cavalier newsbooks of the previous generation, should expect direct attack from political rivals and will be required to defend both itself and its government accordingly, Addison allows himself to write as though at a time of war. With this justification he can present his arguments with haste, emphasis and urgency.

By describing a polemic model of partisan print Addison also creates a canvas upon which he can define himself through contrast. *The Free-Holder* poses as a cooling balm to a tired and brutalised readership. The freeholders to whom the paper speaks are painted as endlessly harrowed victims caught in the cross fire of aggressively opposing periodicals. *The Free-Holder* suggests that such a model of political debate is neither productive nor easily resolvable, whilst presenting itself as a viable alternative. It is reluctant to make its own political affiliation known and instead talks of neutrality, reconciliation, and eventually assimilation. *The Free-Holder* does not, apparently, enter the fray with a view to attacking or defeating its opponents, but instead longs for a peaceful resolution to the ‘war in print’ that it claims to have found itself surrounded by.

Mr. Free-Holder enacts the advice that *The Free-Holder* prescribes to readers. The paper assures its readership that as property-owning gentlemen they are materially invested in their nation and thanks to an exceptional representative system they are directly involved with its governance. This privilege, *The Free-Holder* argues, also incurs a responsibility. It becomes the duty of every freeholder to remain informed and actively involved with decision making. To do this properly, *The Free-Holder* warns, readers must be discerning and learn to distinguish the reliable from unreliable, and the informative from sophistic. Mr. Free-Holder is thus, for the most part, characterised as a disinterested partisan, discussing the rhetoric and approach of other partisan commentators whilst agonising over his own political decision making. Significantly though, he ultimately concludes that the Whig scheme is best.

Contemporary notions of politeness have been revealed in the third chapter of this thesis as being deeply implicated in *The Free-Holder*’sperformed resistance to polemic and insistence upon reconciliation. Addison’s use of politeness, being a rhetorical necessity, sees him adopt a role reminiscent of the Ciceronian orator attempting to simultaneously teach and please a discerning audience of worldly gentleman. Addressing his readers in a conversational manner, Mr. Free-Holder does not appear to lecture or chastise his readership, but instead engages them in an ‘improving discourse.’[[675]](#footnote-675) They are each ‘fellow freeholders’ and any point Addison hopes to make is rendered through humour and demonstration, a strategy epitomised by Mr. Free-Holder’s fictional encounter with the fox-hunter in No. 22. The emphasis on harmony upon which the vision of politeness set out in Shaftesbury’s *Characteristcs* is built can be seen to be thoroughly entwined within both *The Free-Holder*’sadvice and the style in which it is articulated. Addison employs such Ciceronian devices as cadence, pleonastic word-pairs and triplets to distribute emphasis without appearing dogmatic, repetitive or overly instructive; a feature of his prose style which is brought into sharp focus when compared to other contemporary papers such as *The Scourge* or *The Monitor.* At the same time, his recommendation that both parties should strive for reconciliation is an endorsement of political harmony, the very harmony that Shaftesbury insists upon for the survival of society. However, in a democratic system in which there are two (broadly defined) parties locked in polemic debate (as demonstrated in the second chapter of this thesis) the only way to attain such a harmony would be if one party were to achieve unprecedented supremacy. Thus, Addison politely employs *The Free-Holder* to try and help any inquiring readers from the opposition to realise that they are in fact ‘Whigs in their hearts.’[[676]](#footnote-676) The journey upon which Mr. Free-Holder embarks becomes one of Shaftesburian self-realisation, as he analyses the partisan discourses and periodical press to which he has been subjected and, after participating in an enactment of ‘improving discourse’ with the paper’s readership, ultimately realises that it is the Whig party that deserve his vote.

Whilst articulated in notably different terms, Addison’s polite emphasis on harmony and reconciliation is designed to achieve the same aims as those polemic papers written and distributed by the political opponents he hopes to define himself against. *The Free-Holder* is still furthering the Whig cause and inflicting damage upon that of its Tory rivals; a polite approach simply enables Addison to commit this act without appearing visibly belligerent or contestative, and as comparison to other political periodicals in print at the time reveals his partisan application of politeness is an innovation. Politeness, frequently defined as the means of conveying knowledge in a manner appropriate to the audience addressed, is employed by *The Free-Holder* to facilitate the transmission of a specific political opinion. The paper performs a process of learning, during which the reader acquires the skills necessary to become a rational and independent participant in the public sphere, able to make informed decisions when voting, and, by extension aiding in the governance of a nation in which he is materially invested through property. However, this process of learning has a prescribed conclusion. Addison is not actually teaching readers to become discerning participants in an egalitarian public sphere, but instead he is teaching them to be Whig. As the paper outlives the panic surrounding the Jacobite risings from which it was born, this point is further emphasised byits escalating position on opposition.

Addison’s vision of the ideal freeholder figure is that of a proactive citizen familiar with the workings of government; he understands his rights and knows how to direct and influence government policy. However, as this chapter has discovered, this freeholder has no imaginative space for the concept of opposition. In Addison’s understanding, if you are a freeholder and you find yourself on the side of the party not in power, you do not oppose it. Opposition is always synonymous with rebellion, and freeholders do not rebel; rather, you join the side in power and continue to be officially involved with policy making through the established ‘mechanics of government.’ Bolingbroke misreads *The Free-Holder*, and in doing so entirely misses the point. If Bolingbroke had really followed Addison’s lead he would not be so visibly in opposition; he would be on the side of the prime-minister, making his desired changes with polite subtlety. Politeness and harmony allow Addison to reassure his readers that there are no severe moral or ethical implications to changing sides; instead, you make the best of common ground and tactfully (and politely) work to change the system once you are inside it. He reassures readers that they can join the Whigs, turn their back on the unattractive pose of opposition, and fashion the party more to their own liking from within.

In the final weeks of January 1715 Joseph Addison drew *The Free-Holder* to a close, and at last, after six months and fifty-five issues, his message was clear. As this thesis has endeavoured to reveal, *The Free-Holder*’s overarching advice to readers is that if they should find themselves affiliated with a party that is not in power the only acceptable action (and the one dictated by Addison’s discourse of politeness and reconciliation) is to join the opposition. It happens that on this occasion the party in power are the Whigs, and in this immediate context Addison is informing his readers that the appropriate thing for them to do, as freeholders, is to join the Whig party. His emphasis on reconciliation absolves them of guilt or dishonour, suggesting instead that it is their duty to always side with the party in power. It is only from within the party that they can effectively enact change. This thesis has argued that Addison ultimately promotes political effectiveness over personal integrity in such a way that might now be considered problematic and ethically dubious. That he employs a discourse of politeness to achieve this deeply persuasive act of partisan manipulation is also significant, dirtying what might have been considered an amiable discourse and contributing to our suspicion of politicians and political rhetoric that persists to this day.

6. Epilogue: Remembering *The Free-Holder*

***The Free-Holder* and the Politics of Today**

This thesis has demonstrated that Addison favoured political effectiveness over personal integrity in a manner that might now be considered morally reprehensible. A discourse of politeness is put to pragmatic and partisan use, dirtying what might once have seemed an amiable discourse built upon notions of harmony and mutual understanding. Significantly, Addison picked up his pen at a time when the legitimacy of the monarch was subject to intense public scrutiny. As George I ascended to the throne, many looked to James Francis, the exiled ‘Old Pretender’, whose claim to the crown seemed just as legitimate as those made by the new German King. In the aftermath of the Hanoverian Succession, whilst the civil wars and Glorious Revolution still lingered in living memory, the Whig party managed to secure a precarious dominance in the house. Appropriately, the Whig party remained wary, painfully aware of the sudden and near catastrophic collapse of the out-going Tory party. When, on the 23rd December 1715, Addison began *The Free-Holder*,he was writing to a sceptical and fragmented public. He was acutely aware that to secure Whig supremacy he must reach beyond the party faithful, casting his net wide to catch marginal and floating voters in addition to paid-up members of the opposition. This Addisonian approach is reflected and refracted in the politics and printed rhetoric of twenty-first-century Britain. In the opening section of this epilogue I will critique the keynote lecture delivered by Edward Miliband at the 2012 Labour conference in Addisonian terms, revealing not only stylistic and thematic similarities to *The* *Free-Holder* but also a shared imperialistic impulse to acquire the successful rhetoric of the opposing political party.

On October 2nd 2012, almost exactly three centuries after Addison brought *The Free-Holder* to a close, Ed Miliband took to the stage at Newham Dockside to deliver the keynote lecture of that year’s Labour party conference. Surprisingly, Miliband chose to stress a lineage between the message he hoped to convey and a concept posited one hundred and sixty-eight years earlier in Benjamin Disraeli’s novel of 1845: *Sybil, or the Two Nations*.[[677]](#footnote-677) The ‘two nations’ of this text are the rich and the poor who, as Disraeli reveals, have grown so disparate that they may as well belong to two different countries. Disraeli imagines a future in which this gulf is diminished, forming instead ‘one nation.’ In his closing lines Disraeli explains his ambitions in writing this novel, lamenting his own ‘age of political infidelity, of mean passions, and petty thought’ and concluding that he ‘lives in an age when to be young and indifferent can no longer be synonymous.’[[678]](#footnote-678) In 1872 Disraeli would revive the metaphor of the ‘one nation’ and employ it in a political speech, encouraging his party to address the gaping chasm between rich and poor. It is to this speech that Miliband’s lecture is intertextually indebted. This in itself is not surprising, given that Miliband hopes to make the same encouragement, one hundred and forty years later, in the same geographical location. ‘[A]nother Leader of the Opposition gave a speech’, Miliband tells his audience: ‘[i]t was in the Free Trade Hall that used to stand opposite this building. [...] His name was Benjamin Disraeli.’[[679]](#footnote-679) However, what is more surprising is Disraeli’s political affiliation. As Miliband admits:

He was a Tory. But don’t let that put you off, just for a minute. His speech took over three hours to deliver, don’t worry, don’t worry, and he drank two whole bottles of brandy while delivering it. That is absolutely true. Now look, I just want to say, I know a speech that long would probably kill you. And the brandy would definitely kill me. But let us remember what Disraeli was celebrated for. [[680]](#footnote-680)

This admission immediately follows a pause in which Miliband considers the implications of the then recent Olympic Games. He concludes that they were fuelled by a national spirit that has forever ‘echoed [down] through British history.’ [[681]](#footnote-681) This is a spirit which, crucially, compelled the Tory Disraeli to pick up his pen in order to write against the ‘two nation’ divide. Miliband is tapping into an essentialist British history, contriving a lineage by virtue of space and time that links him first to Disraeli and then to the great ‘spirit’ of Britain. This is the same essential past from which both Addison and Atterbury derive an authority. Miliband is also using humour and a lightness of touch to sustain the interest and attention of the audience. This is a key component of politeness, recommended by Shaftesbury and employed by Addison.[[682]](#footnote-682) He performs an awareness and sympathy for the attention span of the audience, his ‘don’t worry, don’t worry’ reassuring them that this speech will not take over three hours to deliver. He avoids Addison’s character of the ‘dull’ politician who is ‘always’ wise by having a joke at his own expense, confessing to his audience with a jovial use of hyperbole that a bottle of brandy would ‘definitely kill [him].’ Incidentally, this is also a joke which simultaneously reassures his viewers of his own good character; in contrast to his self-appointed Tory predecessor, Disraeli, whose professionalism is now subtly cast into doubt. In a similar manoeuvre we also see him here feigning sympathy with the opposition, whilst rendering this sympathy ironic, revealing that Disraeli ‘was a Tory, but let’s forgive him that.’ He is being polite to the opposing party, but also using them as the punch line to his joke. This is deeply reminiscent of the overt references made by Addison to the Tory party, most explicitly in No. 22, which sees him empathising and conversing with the Tory fox-hunter whilst the very existence of this account renders his Tory companion an absurd caricature to be laughed at by Whig and Tory alike.

Before revealing why he is employing a metaphor originally coined by the Tory opposition Miliband offers a brief, but selective, genealogy of the ‘One Nation’ vision:

It was a vision of Britain. A vision of a Britain where patriotism, loyalty, dedication to the common cause courses through the veins of all and nobody feels left out. It was a vision of Britain coming together to overcome the challenges we faced. Disraeli called it “One Nation”. “One Nation”. We heard the phrase again as the country came together to defeat fascism. And we heard it again as Clement Attlee’s Labour government rebuilt Britain after the war.[[683]](#footnote-683)

Here Miliband revives the context of war, drawing a secondary lineage between the context of his speech and that of the ‘One Nation’ speeches made during, and in the immediate aftermath of, the Second World War. Conflating his own condition with that of Clement Attlee, Miliband can rebrand the current age of austerity under the Tory government as something a kin to the condition of a past Britain under the threat of fascism. Just as Addison painted the ‘war in print’ he saw around him as a context comparable to the English Civil Wars of half a century previous, Miliband’s World War Two analogy allows him to speak as though in a time of war, acquiring the urgency and jingoism that this enables.

However, whilst this Tory idea of ‘One Nation’ is useful to Miliband, he is not a Tory. He is taking the phrase and the conveniently nebulous ‘spirit’ of the Tory idea, and explaining why the Labour party can deliver it rather than the opposition:

Friends, I didn’t become leader of the Labour Party to reinvent the world of Disraeli or Attlee. But I do believe in that spirit. That spirit of One Nation. One Nation: a country where everyone has a stake. One Nation: a country where prosperity is fairly shared. One Nation: where we have a shared destiny, a sense of shared endeavour and a common life that we lead together. That is my vision of One Nation. That is my vision of Britain. That is the Britain we must become […] And with so many people having been told for so long that the only way to get on is to be on your own, in it for yourself, we just can’t succeed as a country. Yes friends, to come through the storm, to overcome the challenges we face, we must rediscover that spirit. That spirit the British people never forgot. That spirit of One Nation. One Nation. A country where everyone plays their part. A country we rebuild together.[[684]](#footnote-684)

Just as Addison framed his address to readers as one of mutually improving discourse, speaking to his ‘fair readers’ and ‘fellow freeholders’, Miliband here speaks to ‘friends.’ He explains how he hopes to revive the ‘spirit’ of this ‘One Nation’ by encouraging everyone to invest in their country. Everyone should be a proactive citizen in one large community. He chastises the private interest promoted by such prime ministers as Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair, explaining that if ‘the only way to get on is to be on your own’ then ‘we can’t succeed as a nation.’ Instead he implies that the public interest is in the best interests of the private individual. This is the very same message as that found within the pages of Addison’s *Free-Holder.* This is Addison’s ‘happy tribe of men’, spreading across the Britain and taking on a responsibility for its upkeep and welfare as they do so:

And here I cannot take occasion to congratulate my Country upon the Increase of this happy Tribe of Men, since by the Wisdom of the present Parliament, I find the Race of Freeholders spreading into the remotest Corners of the Island.[[685]](#footnote-685)

Both Addison and Miliband appear to be addressing the party faithful, one in a party-sponsored ‘propaganda’ piece, the other at his own party conference. This thesis has, however, argued that Addison is also deliberately addressing an audience of floating voters and the opposition; avoiding polemic diatribes and selecting themes and topics familiar to them in their own respective party rhetoric. The culture of print in which *The Free-Holder* appeared meant that it could be widely disseminated, and likewise, comparable advances in technology enable Miliband’s speech to be received by far more than the audience present at the conference. Television and the internet allow the speech to be accessed, circulated and re-watched by infinite numbers of people. These viewers are the contemporary equivalents to Addison’s floating voters and inquiring opposition. Miliband uses this opportunity to speak directly to Tory voters. Like Addison, who always opts to sympathise rather than chastise such voters (lamenting that they have been ‘misled’, or commenting that could plausibly make a mistake whilst voting), Miliband performs an empathy with, and understanding of, the decision that they made at the last election:

I want to talk very directly to those who voted for David Cameron at the last general election. I understand why you voted for him. I understand why you turned away from the last Labour government. This Government took power in difficult economic times. It was a country still coming to terms with the financial crisis. A financial crisis that has afflicted every country round the world. I understand why you were willing to give David Cameron the benefit of the doubt.[[686]](#footnote-686)

Miliband is working hard not to present his speech as a work of polemic or calumny, demonstrating his rationality and maturity in offering credit to the Tory governments of the past:

And here is the genius of One Nation. It doesn’t just tell us the country we can be. It tells us how we must rebuild. We won the war because we were One Nation. We built the peace because Labour government’s and Conservative governments understood we needed to be One Nation. Every time Britain has faced its gravest challenge, we have only come through the storm because we were One Nation. But too often governments have forgotten that lesson.[[687]](#footnote-687)

Miliband is showing that he is not in politics to ‘win’. He is not contesting the Tories for the sake of contesting the Tories. Rather than being a politician perusing a personal interest he is fashioning himself as a man who genuinely has the nation’s best interests at heart. However, regardless of this pose, Miliband’s speech is partisan, and it is polemic. As the lecture draws to a close it becomes apparent that he has appropriated the Tory’s ‘One Nation’ to suggest that he is himself a more appropriate fit for the Tory vision of ‘One Nation Prime Minister’ than the actual Tory Prime Minister:

So here is the big question of today. Who can make us One Nation? Who can bring Britain together? What about the Tories? What about the Tories? I didn’t hear you, what about the Tories? […] You can’t be a One Nation Prime Minister if you raise taxes on ordinary families and cut taxes for millionaires. You can’t be a One Nation Prime Minister if all you do is seek to divide the country. Divide the country between north and south. Public and private. Those who can work and those who can’t work. And you can’t be a One Nation Prime Minister if your Chief Whip insults the great police officers of our country by calling them plebs.[[688]](#footnote-688)

It is only in the closing moments of his speech that he makes his case against the Prime Minister, and in offering a fairly generalised paraphrase of Tory policy (which certainly panders to public perception) he is able to present David Cameron as being the very antithesis of Disraeli’s ‘One Nation Prime Minister’, explicitly claiming that Cameron is deliberately dividing the nation rather than working towards its unification. According to Miliband, the current Tory Prime Minister has failed to adhere to the Tories’ own model of what a Prime Minister should be. Significantly, Miliband is still not attacking the Tory voters. He is appealing to them, hoping to help them realise that Cameron is not what they want; but that he himself might be, despite his political affiliations. Miliband’s speech is polite, but through its appropriation of Tory ideas and iconography and its carefully articulated address to the undecided, disappointed or simply intrigued members of the opposition, it is attempting to galvanise the Labour party faithful whilst also converting any Tory voters who happen to tune in. Miliband is not making a flagrantly partisan speech. Far from it in fact: he is being friendly, he is being polite, but as far as his speech is concerned he will get your vote.

Having considered throughout this thesis the approach of Addison’s *Free-Holder*, the rationale and strategy of Miliband’s speech is far from unfamiliar. In Miliband’s case, his overtly telegraphed appropriation of the opposition’s rhetoric was identified and widely reported across the British press. It appears that two centuries after Addison’s pioneering use of such tactics the voting public have become accustomed to (and desensitised by) such manoeuvres. Offering a summary of the three party conferences to take place during the autumn of 2012, Andrew Rawnsley playfully challenged readers of *The Observer* to identify which party leader had uttered the following lines:

This government took power in difficult economic times. Our mettle has been tested. Though the challenge before us is daunting, I have confidence in our country. This summer, as we cheered our athletes to gold after gold, Britain remembered how it feels to win again. The Olympics put up a mirror to Britain and showed us the best of ourselves. United behind one goal. One Nation. We can do big things. Real achievement in the real world takes time, effort, perseverance, resilience. To come through the storm, to overcome the challenges we face, we must rediscover that spirit. The job of this party is to bring out the best in this country. To come together, to join together, to work together as a country. To unleash and unlock the promise in all our people. That’s the prize. A country for all, with everyone playing their part. So let’s get out there and do it.[[689]](#footnote-689)

He then reveals that this is in fact an amalgamation of all three of the speeches, unveiling the extent to which the parties are employing precisely the same language, rhetoric and approach.[[690]](#footnote-690) Rawnsley’s point is two-fold, highlighting that in chasing the middle ground all parties now sound the same, and that the sounds they are producing are proving ineffective because their audience has become overly familiar with these tactics:

[Ed Miliband](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/oct/05/ed-miliband-one-nation-appalling) did not quote Benjamin Disraeli on “One Nation” because the son of a Marxist academic believes that there is no one more to be admired than that 19th-century Tory prime minister. He did so because he wants to position [Labour](http://www.theguardian.com/politics/labour) as the party that can embrace the majority. David Cameron similarly sought to represent himself as a compassionate Conservative because he knows that victory for his party at the next election can only be secured by reaching beyond his own tribe to people who are not traditionally Tory.[[691]](#footnote-691)

When such strategies becoming recognisable and parties are apparently able to adapt their most fundamental principles to appeal to the broadest possible strata of voters imaginable, the approach espoused by Addison’s is robbed of its appeal. This ‘polite’ approach can no longer parade as one based on mutual understanding and empathy, but is instead revealed as what it always truly was: an attempt to endear itself to voters only in order to manipulate them.

The trick, however, has grown old. In the closing months of 2013 the self-fashioned polymath and populist-prophet Russell Brand caught the attention of the British press when he used his position as guest editor of the *New Statesman* to try and encourage people to stop voting.[[692]](#footnote-692) Brand, writing three years after an unprecedented hung-parliament (in which two parties secured a precarious hold on power in the face of the sudden and catastrophic collapse of the outgoing Labour party) addressed a sceptical and fragmented public reminiscent of those readers addressed by Addison in the early years of the eighteenth-century. Both Addison and Brand speak to a public all too aware that for the parties in power every vote counts. Commenting upon the existing two-party system (in which he sees two groups of people removed from the bulk of society clambering to make the most attractive promises) Brand surmises that any choice made by the voter is rendered redundant by the fact that all parties are now virtually indistinguishable. Drawing upon a recent civil uprising as evidence for his perspective, Brand lends a voice to the disenfranchised youth he finds involved in the London riots of 2011, reading events as an expression of justifiable apathy. In his editorial for *The New Statesman* he writes that:

They see no difference between Cameron, Clegg, Boris, either of the Milibands or anyone else. To them these names are as obsolete as Lord Palmerston or Denis Healey. The London riots in 2011, which were condemned as nihilistic and materialistic by Boris and Cameron (when they eventually returned from their holidays), were by that very definition political. These young people have been accidentally marketed to their whole lives without the economic means to participate in the carnival. After some draconian sentences were issued, measures that the white-collar criminals who capsized our economy with their greed a few years earlier avoided, and not one hoodie was hugged, the compliance resumed. Apathy reigned. There’s little point bemoaning this apathy.[[693]](#footnote-693)

For Brand, ‘Cameron, Clegg, Boris [and] the Milibands’ cannot be easily distinguished because they share the same appearance and rhetoric. All of the politicians listed, regardless of party, are using the same representative strategies to present a positive and broadly attractive image of their ‘positions [and] personal characters.’[[694]](#footnote-694) To an informed voter there is ‘no difference’ between them. In Brand’s opinion, the natural response to a government whose only addresses to the public rarely transcends this superficial level of benign representation is ‘apathy.’ Brand’s apathetic youth are the descendants of Addison’s readership: dis-engaged and disenchanted. Addison, and his fellow participants in the partisan print culture that he helped to create, moved the grounds of argument away from action and into the field of rhetoric; moving away as they did so from lived experience. He achieves this political manoeuvre through a pose of friendliness, and recommends that his readers do the same. The polemic print of the eighteenth century gave birth to a politician who fashioned themselves as polite and friendly for mercenary means. Two centuries on, and Brand gives a voice to a public now painfully aware of such techniques:

But we are far from apathetic, we are far from impotent. I take great courage from the groaning effort required to keep us down, the institutions that have to be fastidiously kept in place to maintain this duplicitous order. Propaganda, police, media, lies.[[695]](#footnote-695)

However, a full understanding of Addison’s approach reveals that even here, in his editorial for *New Statesman,* Brand is using the same ‘polite’ techniques; persuasively delivering his argument with a lightness of touch, a reader-address based on mutual understanding, and in relation to a recent civil uprising (the London Riots) which provides him with an additional urgency that excuses any distortions or inconsistencies within.

In 2014 we find Addison’s approach being employed by not only the three main parties in power, but also by their critics. We live in a world thoroughly indebted to the very models of partisanship and propaganda that Addison was experimenting with in 1716. The true legacy of Addison’s *Free-Holder* was the invention of the politician who will not defeat the opposition by heckling, insulting or discrediting them, but by befriending their voters and converting them without their realisation. *The Free-Holder* dirtied politeness by way of canvassing votes, and now, two centuries later, the Addisonian project is fully present.

***The Free-Holder* and the ‘delicacy of Addison’**

This thesis opened with Thackeray’s incredulous acknowledgement of Addison’s implausibly ‘spotless’ reputation. When writing the life of Addison Samuel Johnson revealed that ‘lives’ are always, ultimately, crafted by posterity:

The necessity of complying with times, and of sparing persons, is the great impediment of biography. History may be formed from permanent monuments and records; but Lives can only be written from personal knowledge, which is growing every day less, and in a short time is lost forever. What is known can seldom be immediately told; and when it might be told, it is no longer known. The delicate features of the mind, the nice discriminations of character, and the minute peculiarities of conduct, are soon obliterated; and it is surely better that caprice, obstinacy, frolick, and folly, however they might delight description, should be silently forgotten, than that, by wanton merriment and unseasonable detection, pang should be given to a widow, a daughter, a brother, or a friend.[[696]](#footnote-696)

Johnson notes that history will inevitably have a flattening effect and that ‘nice discriminations of character’ will be obliterated. It is for this reason that, within the pages of *The Free-Holder*,Addison himself dismisses the writing of biography as a hack profession*,* complaining that:

There is a race of men lately sprung up […] whom one cannot reflect upon without Indignation as well as Contempt. These are our *Grub-Street* Biographers, who watch for the Death of a Great Man, like so many Undertakers, on purpose to make a Penny of him. He is no sooner in his Grave, but he falls into the Hands of an Historian; who, to swell a Volume, ascribes to him Works which he never wrote, and Actions which he never performed; celebrates Vertues which he was never famous for, and excuses Faults which we was never guilty of.[[697]](#footnote-697)

If, when writing these words (in what would be his final periodical), Addison was concerned that biographers might swell his posthumous character with the erroneous attribution of such ‘works’ and ‘actions’ he need not have worried, for it seems that the story of his afterlife is one of subtraction and omission. Johnson, unsurprisingly, is reluctant to invest the figure of the biographer with such mercenary intent, but he does conclude that the job is one laden with responsibilities. It becomes the biographer’s duty to ensure that any of the subject’s unattractive characteristics are ‘silently forgotten,’ making certain the best possible image of the deceased is preserved for their surviving relatives. As Thackeray’s words invite the reader to realise, this is especially (and perhaps suspiciously) so in the case of Addison.[[698]](#footnote-698)

As this thesis has shown, during the three centuries since its original publication *The Free-Holder* has been almost entirely excised from the canon of Addison’s work. In literary studies there has been seen a tendency to overlook Addison’s writing after the death of Queen Anne. Meanwhile, influential biographical works offer either a brief acknowledgement of *The Free-Holder* or expel it entirely from the story Addison’s life and writing.[[699]](#footnote-699) In the final section of this epilogue I will build on Johnson’s comments to question the extent to which the ‘editing’ of Addison’s ‘life’ might account for the consistent removal or dilution of *The Free-Holder* in subsequent biographical and literary studies, asserting that this recovery of *The Free-Holder* challenges our understanding of Addison and his periodical writing, whilst also offering us a useful means of understanding and engaging with our own political moment.

Appearing in the final years of Addison’s life, *The Free-Holder* represents his last substantial work in periodical print, and his most atypical. The closing numbers of the paper immediately precede Addison’s appointment to office and his marriage to the Countess of Warwick in 1716, and his advancement to the position of Secretary of State in 1717. In 1889, W. J. Courthorpe read a correlation into this sequence of events, speculating that ‘[i]t was probably in reward for his services in publishing the *Freeholder* that [Addison] was made one of the commissioners for Trade and Colonies. Soon after his appointment to the office he married Charlotte, Countess of Warwick.’[[700]](#footnote-700) For some contemporary commentators it was Addison’s marriage and advancement that heralded his demise, with Lady Mary Wortley allegedly putting her concerns in writing:

I received the news of Mr. Addison’s being declared secretary of state with the less surprise, in that I know that the post was almost offered to him before. At that time he declined it, and [I] really believe that he would have done well to have declined it now. Such a poet as that, and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be, in prudence, eligible for a man that is asthmatic; and we may see the day when he will be heartily glad to resign them both.[[701]](#footnote-701)

Addison did not resign, and instead validated Lady Wortley’s prophesy. As Johnson writes, ‘[t]he end of this life was now approaching. Addison had for some time been oppressed by a shortness of breath, which was now aggravated by a dropsy; and, finding his danger pressing, he prepared to die comfortably.’[[702]](#footnote-702) Addison died on the seventeenth of June 1719, almost exactly three years after the original publication of *The Free-Holder*’sclosing number on the twenty-ninth of June 1716. His final moments were immortalised by Thomas Tickell, who upon learning that within hours of his death Addison sent for his son-in-law so that he ‘may see how a Christian can die’ wrote these elegiac lines:

He taught us how to live, and, oh! Too high

The price of knowledge, taught us how to die.

This episode was subsequently recorded by Johnson and was noted by Macaulay as being ‘universally known’ a century later.[[703]](#footnote-703) For those commentators such as James Leheny, who draw a tentative correlation between Addison’s work on *The Free-Holder* and his promotion to secretary of state, a position largely acknowledged to account for the rapid decline of his health, this Whig periodical is implicated in his premature and untimely death.[[704]](#footnote-704)

These events, along with the unsuccessful performance of *The Drummer* in 1716*,* frequently provide the subject matter that biographers have tended focus upon at the expense of examining what is often perceived as being Addison’s ‘political *Spectator* in defence of orthodox Whig principles.’[[705]](#footnote-705) Tellingly, even though Peter Smithers uses the periodical to title the chapter of *The Life of Joseph Addison* dedicated to years 1714-1716, the chapter spends far more time detailing Addison’s courtship and marriage to the Countess of Warwick than it does discussing *The Free-Holder*.[[706]](#footnote-706) Although Smithers does include *The Free-Holder* in his biography (and he does describe it at greater length and in more generous terms than the majority of Addison’s other biographers) his commentary remains fairly generalised and his main intention is to rebrand *The Free-Holder*, like Stephens, as a ‘political *Spectator.*’ Smithers claim that ‘the *Freeholders* were essays which brought politics out of the cabinets and parliamentary committees and that all-male society of the coffee-houses, and into the circle of the family tea-table’ is a thinly veiled homage to Mr. Spectator’s stated aspiration in Addison and Steele’s earlier periodical.[[707]](#footnote-707) Smithers stresses an explicit kinship between the two papers, writing that *The Free-Holder* represents a ‘political crusade parallel with the social crusade of the *Spectator.*’[[708]](#footnote-708) Such a comparison is unhelpful to scholars of both *The Spectator* and *The Free-Holder*,presupposing as it does that the former was composed without political intent.[[709]](#footnote-709)

The tendency to approach *The Free-Holder* through the lens of *The Spectator,* noted here in the biographies of Smithers and Stephen, is a tempting one, and is likely in part symptomatic of a broader impulse to conflate the characters of Addison and Mr. Spectator. Thackeray’s account, for instance, might begin by troubling our perception of Addison and inviting sympathy for a ‘lord of intellect’ who cannot have been anything but solitary, but it quickly moves on to discuss the adventures and exchanges of the his fictional Mr. Spectator with far greater ease and at noticeably greater length. As Thackeray writes, seemingly predicting with extraordinary accuracy the shape of Addison scholarship for the next century and a half:

[I]t s not for his reputation as the great author of ‘Cato’ and the ‘campaign’, or his merits as secretary of state, or for his rank and high distinction as my Lady Warwick’s husband, or for his eminence as an Examiner of political questions on the Whig side, or a Guardian of British liberties, that we admire Joseph Addison. It is as a ‘Tatler’ of small talk and a ‘Spectator’ of mankind, that we cherish and love him, and owe as much pleasure to him as to any human being that ever wrote.[[710]](#footnote-710)

Strikingly, nor is it as a ‘freeholder’ that Addison is remembered here by Thackeray. Mr. Spectator, the neutral commentator, is a far easier figure than Mr. Free-Holder to draw from when painting a portrait of Addison, and far more in fitting with the character of Addison encountered in the opening pages of this project: ‘[the] unsullied statesman, the accomplished scholar.’ This image of a shy, reticent and moderate Addison who in some way embodies the best of Mr. Spectator and will avoid conflict and ‘belligerence’ at all costs has undoubtedly affected readings and representations of *The Free-Holder*.

Macaulay’s account, for example, praises *The Free-Holder* more than most by celebrating it as the best of Addison’s ‘political’ papers. However, Macaulay is presumably using ‘political’ to denote those papers written on behalf of the Whig ministry, which places *The Free-Holder* above the abortive *Whig Examiner* only: ‘[t]owards the close of the year 1715, while the Rebellion was still raging in Scotland, Addison published the first number of *The Freeholder.* Among his political works *The Freeholder* is entitled to first place.’[[711]](#footnote-711) Macaulay presents a reading of *The Free-Holder* as a broadly moderate and pacifist text, conceding that: ‘[i]t is difficult to extol too highly the candour and humility of a political writer whom even the excitement of civil war cannot hurry into unseemly violence.’[[712]](#footnote-712)

Even the most accurate and concise nineteenth-century summation of *The Free-Holder*’sintent, presented by W.J. Courthorpe, underplays the mercenary intention of *The Free-Holder*:

What was wanted was not party invective but, but the calm persuasiveness of reason; a pen that could *prove* to all Tory country gentleman and through going High Churchmen that the Protestant succession was indispensable to the safety of the principles which each respectively considered to be of vital importance. This was the task which lay before Addison, and which he accomplished with consummate skill in the *Freeholder*.[[713]](#footnote-713)

Courthorpe rightly identifies Addison’s paper as an ‘alternative’ to party invective and an embodiment of ‘calm persuasive reason.’ Exactly as this thesis has argued, it is often Addison’s strategy in *The Free-Holder* to show readers from the opposition why the Whig scheme is best: Addison writes with ‘a pen that can prove.’ Courthorpe does not, however, stress the extent to which this perception of the paper is one propagated by the paper itself, constantly reassuring readers that it is not a participant in the ‘war in print’ and telegraphing its own, alleged, use of reason.

Accounts such as those presented by Thackeray and Macaulay, and to a lesser extent Courthorpe, do not easily correlate with the findings of this thesis. Whilst this study has seen Addison making claims to moderation and reconciliation it has also found him attempting to convert oppositional readers without their knowledge. It has also seen Addison draw the surprising and ethically dubious conclusion that citizens should always support the party in power regardless of their personal political beliefs. If anything, this project has suggested that in the case of *The Free-Holder* the ‘guardedness’ previously identified by Addison’s biographers and commonly attributed to ‘shyness’ or an aversion to conflict is actually a carefully constructed pose from behind which he can commit almost unnoticeable and yet highly effective acts of partisan violence.

The account that proves most consistent with this reading of *The Free-Holder* is (somewhat ironically) that of the Tory Samuel Johnson. Johnson’s profoundly influential *Life of Addison* is one of the few to stress the dissimilarities between Addison and his most famous creation, Mr. Spectator, encouraging his readers to remember that Addison and his works are distinct entities:

If any judgement be made, from his books, of his moral character, nothing will be found but purity and excellence. Knowledge of mankind indeed, less extensive than that of Addison, will show, that to write and to live, are very different. Many who praise virtue, do no more than praise it.[[714]](#footnote-714)

Johnson does quickly concede that in the case of Addison it should still be admired that ‘amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed […] the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies.’[[715]](#footnote-715) Johnson finds Addison to be a kind, virtuous and much loved figure. This point is made when Johnson affectionately cites Swift’s quip that ‘if he had proposed himself King, he would hardly have been refused.’[[716]](#footnote-716) However, like many other biographers of Addison, it is ‘that timorous or sullen taciturnity, which his friends called modesty by too mild a name’ that most interests Johnson.[[717]](#footnote-717)

Johnson is not satisfied with the explanation that this could simply be shyness, or as Steele is said to have put it: ‘that remarkable bashfulness, which is a cloak that hides and muffles merit.’[[718]](#footnote-718) Instead he reads into Addison’s constancy a playful mischievousness, no doubt planting the seed for the composition of Bonamy Dobrée’s ‘cartoon of villainy’ over two hundred years later.[[719]](#footnote-719) There are suggestions that Johnson’s Addison is a sly creature, ‘always reserved to strangers’ as he gets to know their character and calculates the topic on which they can be most easily manipulated.[[720]](#footnote-720) Citing Swift, Johnson writes that:

One slight lineament of his character Swift has preserved. It was his practice when he found any man invincibly wrong, to flatter his opinions by acquiesce, and sink him yet deeper in absurdity. This artifice of mischief was admired by Stella; and Swift seems to have approved her admiration.[[721]](#footnote-721)

The tendency described here can clearly be discerned in *The Free-Holder*.It is at its most concentrated in No. 22 in which Mr. Free-Holder infamously encounters the Tory fox-hunter and, through polite conversation, invites him to share his ridiculous, implausible and bigoted ideas, attitudes and prejudices with the audience of the paper’s readership. This tendency also accounts for the paper’s overall strategy, flattering its inquiring Tory readers by positively employing their own ideas and rhetoric to then slowly reveal each to be insufficient or absurd before recommending the Whig alternative. This is a dimension of Johnson’s biography omitted from Leslie Stephen’s entry for Addison in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which is surprising as the entry is otherwise heavily indebted to its eighteenth-century predecessor.Neither is it a characteristic commented on by Macaulay, Courthorpe, Thackeray, Smithers or even Edward and Lilian Bloom: all are reluctant to read into Addison’s ‘reserve’, ‘constancy’ or ‘taciturnity’ anything but shyness.

This study of *The Free-Holder* proves that such a ‘reserve’ can be used to disguise a very deliberate application. Addison’s pose of friendly disinterestedness in this paper allows him to commit retaliatory and discursive acts, appropriating and rebranding the opposition’s language and ideology without resorting to the belligerence of his opponents. However, Addison’s ability to disguise what are in essence highly subversive acts of political violence has previously been mistaken for an aversion to violence. This pose provides a way for Addison to write for party, and to contend successfully with his more invective opponents through assertions of reconciliation and the careful application of politeness.

As this thesis has argued, Addison adopts this pose in *The Free-Holder* to deliver a message far from fitting with the ‘virtuous’ and ‘spotless’ figure encountered in its opening pages. We opened with Edward and Lilian Bloom surmising that ‘[a]s an adept politician, Addison made compromises, but only where principle was not involved.’[[722]](#footnote-722) However, upon concluding *The Free-Holder* we find that its moral is not one about preserving integrity but seemingly the precise opposite. In its closing numbers *The Free-Holder* becomes a justification for abandoning your party when they are not in power. Opposition of all kinds is, in *The Free-Holder*, always synonymous with rebellion. Addison’s recommendation, should readers find themselves supporting a party in opposition, is to change sides and, employing the very same techniques of politeness and reconciliation demonstrated throughout his paper, enact any desired changes from within. Ultimately, *The Free-Holder* encourages readers to promote political effectiveness above personal integrity and make any necessary comprises that this might involve.

What is more, Addison is apparently successful in delivering this message, enacting the political violence implicit in *The Free-Holder*’s intention to convert inquiring readers from the opposition and (to a certain extent) dirtying the discourse of politeness to achieve these aims whilst also maintaining his ‘unsullied’ reputation: a reputation which has posthumously taken on a life, significance and political utility all of its own. So distinct and clearly defined did the biographical figure of Addison become that by the dawn of the twentieth century he had fallen subject to the affectionate satire of the Bloomsbury movement. In 1918 Lytton Strachey published *Eminent Victorians,* a landmark in literary biography in which he presented heavily caricatured and highly self-conscious portraits of Cardinal Manning, Dr Arnold, Florence Nightingale and General Garden. When embarking on this task, Strachey was atypically keen to assert that he was not prepared to let truth inhibit his ambition to do justice to the lives of his subjects. On Strachey’s irreverent approach to the task of writing lives Diana Adams has noted that ‘[h]is words became the pilot of all modern biography. It was, after all, his role as a writer to recreate the lives as he saw fit.’[[723]](#footnote-723) In his preface to *Eminent Victorians*, Strachey notes that:

It has been my purpose to illustrate rather than to explain. It would have been futile to hope to tell even a *précis* of the truth about the Victorian age, for the shortest *précis* must fill innumerable volumes. […] I have sought to examine and elucidate certain fragments of the truth which took my fancy and lay to my hand.[[724]](#footnote-724)

Strachey’s *Victorians* instigated a new wave of self-conscious biographical writing with a heightened sensitivity to its own fictional potential and to the speculative prerequisites upon which the biographical task often hinged. It was in the midst of this moment that the daughter of Leslie Stephens (orchestrator of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and author of Addison’s own aforementioned entry) produced Addison’s first appearance as a character in a piece of fiction. The novel, published in 1928, was *Orlando: A Biography*, and the author was Virginia Woolf.

In *Orlando*, Woolf playfully presents a diagnostic parody of the biography genre, charting the life of Orlando, an ageless figure of no fixed gender who has lived since the sixteenth century. Upon arriving in the eighteenth century, Orlando is immediately drawn to the infamous society of the coffee house, where she soon encounters Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift and Joseph Addison. These famous men of letters take it in turns to visit Orlando for tea. Orlando is excited to meet each of these legendary writers, but, in a surprising turn, the narrator advises readers that you needn’t actually meet an author to know everything about them:

In short, every secret of a writer’s soul, every experience of his life, every quality of his mind is written large in his works, yet we require critics to explain the one and biographers to expound the other. That time hangs heavy on people’s hands is the only explanation of the monstrous growth.[[725]](#footnote-725)

Woolf’s narrator wryly suggests that the biographer’s task is a redundant one, given that writers have already preserved their ‘life’, ‘mind’, ‘experience’ and ‘soul’ for readers in their writing. The narrator also hints at the persistent popularity of biography, alluding to its ‘monstrous growth’, recalling *The Free-Holder*’s own sketch of the genre as a parasite that feasts upon the dead. Although, where Addison looked to market forces to explain the vast amount of biographical writing in circulation, Woolf’s narrator opts for the more satirical suggestion that people simply have too much free time on their hands. What is a formidable commercial enterprise to Addison is, in *Orlando*, a genre fuelled by procrastination.

It is when Addison comes for tea that the narrator can prove the redundancy of the biographer, staging a direct comparison between the character of Addison’s writing, and the character of the man who sits before Orlando:

In came Mr. Addison. Let us, as he takes his seat, read the following pages from the *Spectator*:

“I consider woman as a beautiful, romantic animal, that may be adorned with furs and feathers, pearls and diamonds, ores and silks. The lynx shall cast its skin at her feet to make her a tippet, the peacock, parrot and swan shall pay contributions to her muff; the sea shall be searched from shells, and the rocks for gems and every part of nature furnish out its share towards the embellishment of a creature that is the most consummate work of it. All this, I shall indulge them in, but as for the petticoat I have been speaking of, I neither can, nor will allow it.”

We hold that gentleman, cocked hat and all, in the hollow of our hands. Look once more into the crystal. Is he not clear to the wrinkle in his stocking? Does not every ripple and curve of his wit lie exposed before us, and his benignity and his timidity and his urbanity and the fact he would marry a Countess and dies very respectably in the end? All is clear.[[726]](#footnote-726)

Woolf, like Thackeray, is of course incredulous in her celebration of Addison. We are encouraged to agree that the true character of Addison, the man, is revealed to us in high definition whenever we read his work. Within the pages of *The Spectator* we find Joseph Addison, visible to within a ‘wrinkle in his stocking.’ However, the satire behind this suggestion begins to come into focus as our narrator lists all we can discern about Addison from this small fragment of his writing. Of course, the listed benignity, timidity and urbanity, which all typify the self-consciously ‘neutral’ figure of Mr. Spectator, can be easily detected. The same cannot be said of Addison’s marriage to Charlotte, Countess of Warwick, or the anecdotal scene of his death famously immortalised by Johnson. Woolf wants us to challenge her narrator’s advice. Like Strachey, she implores us to interrogate biographical assumptions based on literary fragments. This warning is foregrounded by the fact that this extract is not actually taken from *The Spectator*, but is instead from an essay in *The Tatler* that might just as easily be attributed to Richard Steele.[[727]](#footnote-727) The mistake is deliberate, emphasising the fragile and arbitrary evidence upon which a biography can be built. In this instance, a misattribution has produced a fictionalised Addison that bears an uncanny resemblance to the Addison painted by his eighteenth- and nineteenth-century biographers. Here we encounter an Addison defined by the ‘timidity’ noted by Johnson, Tyers, Lewis and Elliot, and the ‘benignity’ that makes him almost a secular deity in the writing of Macaulay, Courthorpe and to a fractionally lesser extent Smithers and the Blooms. The real irony in finding Woolf’s Addison in *Orlando* is that it is this fictionalised Addison that has, since the nineteenth century, come to characterise literary scholarship on Addison’s writing.

At the turn of the twentieth century biography and criticism merged, and figures such as T. S. Eliot and C. S. Lewis began looking for Mr Spectator in the works of Addison, rather than looking for Addison himself. During the search for the author, the texts themselves have been reduced to inert biographical evidence. Perceptions of Addison (as a man) have had a canon-forming influence. Woolf’s Addison personifies a biographical figure consistently doused in panegyric and hyperbole since the time of his death, and those works that prove to be inconsistent with this Augustan myth of the great gentleman have been excluded, silence, ignored, or seemingly in most cases, simply forgotten. The Addison of *Orlando* is not, however, the Addison we find behind the mask of *The Free-Holder*.

This project opened by considering what blemishes might have been removed in order to preserve the ‘spotless’ name of Addison. *The Free-Holder* is one such blemish, contradicting and complicating as it does so many of the characteristics that came to constitute the biographical Addison of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Johnson predicted with remarkable accuracy, the *Free-Holder* has not previously been found to be ‘suitable to the delicacy of Addison.’[[728]](#footnote-728) However, as this project has demonstrated, not only does *The Free-Holder* deserve to be recovered but its approach and articulation encourages us to reconsider our perceptions of Joseph Addison and his works. *The Free-Holder* reveals to us a new vision of Addison, whose polite alternative to partisan belligerence can still help us understand, appreciate and interrogate political rhetoric today.

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1. William Makepeace Thackeray, ‘The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century’ (1853) in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980),pp. 442-451 (p. 447). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Ibid., p. 447. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. In his infamous essay in *The Edinburgh Review* Thomas Macaulay claimed that ‘when examined’ the ‘blemishes [that] may undoubtedly be detected in [Addison’s] character’ fade away to reveal ‘the noble parts, free of all taint.’ See Thomas Barbington Macaulay, *The Life and Writings of Addison*, ed. by R.F. Winch (London: Macmillan and Co Ltd., 1898). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. When commenting on Addison’s partisan writing in the aftermath of the Hanoverian succession Edward and Lilian Bloom claim that ‘the Whig command, desperate in its journalistic need, capitulated to the fact that the most poised and elegant writer in its stable wanted the editorial belligerence necessary for party journalism in a crisis year.’ In this text the Blooms discuss only Addison’s work on *The Whig-Examiner* and omit *The Free-Holder* entirely. Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980), pp. 1-40 (p. 24).  [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. W. J. Courthorpe, *Addison,* ed. by John Morley (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), p. 160. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Ibid., p. 164 and p. 168. See also: Thomas Barbington Macaulay [1843], *The Life and Writings of Addison*, ed. by R. F. Winch (London: Macmilan and Co Ltd., 1898). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. In *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) Julian Hoppit characterises the polemic print of the final years of Anne’s reign as being dominated by the ‘rage of party’ (pp. 283-287), capitalising as he does so on the vivid imagery used to describe such partisan print both by contemporaries and subsequent commentators. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Addison’s final collaboration with Richard Steele took the form of an essay in Steele’s *The Lover.* On the 12 April 1717, less than a year after the final number of *The Free-Holder,* Addison accepted the position of Secretary of State. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. This trend is illustrated by J. A. Downie’s forthcoming *A Political Biography of Joseph Addison* (Pickering and Chatto, 2016), and will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980), pp. 1-40 (p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Nathan Drake, *Essays, Biographical, Critical and Historical, Illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator and Guardian* (1805), Lucy Aiken, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (1843), Thomas Barbington Macaulay [1843], *The Life and Writings of Addison*, ed. by R. F. Winch (London: Macmilan and Co Ltd., 1898). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Samuel Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 456. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Brian McCrea, *Addison and Steele Are Dead: The English Department, Its Canon, and the Professionalization of Literary Criticism* (Newark: Delware University Press, 1989). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980) pp. 1-40 (p. 32). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Nathan Drake, *Essays, Biographical, Critical and Historical, Illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator and Guardian,* 1805, cited in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, (1980), pp. 1-40 (p. 32). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980), pp. 1-40 (p. 33). [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Thomas Barbington Macaulay, *The Life and Writings of Addison*, ed. by R.F. Winch (London: Macmilan and Co Ltd., 1898) p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. The most noticeable blemish on Addison’s character was put there by Samuel Johnson who detailed Addison’s cutting remarks about Richard Steele after their legendary friendship came to an abrupt end. These became a sticking point in nineteenth-century biographies of Addison and would later provide ammunition for Bonamy Dobrée’s unreserved assassination of Addison’s character. However, Macaulay comes up with a fairly unconvincing explanation for these comments, which to his mind did the job of rescuing Addison and preserving his ‘spotless’ reputation for posterity. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. William Makepeace Thackeray, ‘The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century’ (1853) in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, (1980),pp. 442-451 (p. 442), and Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980), pp. 1-40 (p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ibid., p. 442. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 20) Revealingly, the section of Johnson’s ‘Addison’ which discussed *The Free-Holder* is cut from the version reprinted in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, (1980),pp. 386-389, proving indicative of the canonical violence and censure that has limited *The Free-Holder*’s longevity and culture currency throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 23). [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 19). [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980) pp. 1-40 (p. 35). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Cited in Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980), pp. 1-40 (p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980), pp. 1-40

    (p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Cited in Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 451. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Ibid., p. 451. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom, *Joseph Addison’s Sociable Animal* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971), p. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ibid., pp. 208-209. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980) pp. 1-40 (pp. 24-25). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Thomas Tyers, *An Historical Essay on Mr. Addison* (London: 1783), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. When accounting for Richard Steele’s reported dismissal of *The Free-Holder* as being ‘a lute when the ministry needed a trumpet’ James Leheny writes: ‘Steele’s remark about the *Freeholder* (sic), the only contemporary comment to suggest that it was not an unqualified success, was perhaps prompted by professional jealous, since two other contemporaries- Bolingbroke being one of them –claimed that Addison’s appointment as Secretary of State in 1717 was a reward form the *Freeholder* essays.The complexity of political advancments makes it doubtful that an appointment to such high ministerial office would be made that simply, but his appointment also suggests that the ministry was not displeased with its lute.’ James Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 29). [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Joseph Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Spectator,* 1 March 1711, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980) pp. 1-40

    (p. 26). [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. James Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 32). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* explains that Addison replaced Maynwaring as the Whig Ministry’s chief propagandist following his death in 1712. See: Pat Rogers, ‘Addison, Joseph (1672–1719)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*,

    <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/156>> [accessed 24 March 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15) [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. John Oldmixon, *The History of England during the Reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, George I* (London: Thomas Cox, 1735), p. 683; and Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Free-Holder,* pp. 1-35 (p. 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 32). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Whilst difficult to establish, research conducted as part of this project’s third chapter has revealed three half-pence to have been a popular price for periodicals in 1715. This was the price charged by *The Charitable Mercury, The Daily Benefactor* and Daniel Defoe’s *The Monitor.* Meanwhile, the Tory *The Controller,* Steele’s *The Lover*, and Thomas Lewis’ deliberately controversial *The Scourge* all charged two pence. Steele’s *Town-Talk* and Thomas Burnett’s *The Grumbler* went even further, charging a full three pence. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. HMC Stuart MSS. ii. 62 (26 Mar. 1716), cited in Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35(p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. W. Matthews, ed. *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716* (London: 1939), cited in Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. ‘Number Twelve’, *Weekly Remarks and Political Reflections* (London: 18th February 1716) pp. 1-6 (p. 5-6). [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. ‘English Short Title Catalogue’, *British Library*, <estc.bl.uk> [accessed 26 September 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. David Vaisey ed., *The Diary of Thomas Turner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Charles Richard Sandes ed., *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1970) I, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. W.O.S Sutherland, ‘Essays Forms in *The Prompter’,* in *Studies in the Early English Periodical,* ed. by Richmond P. Bond (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), pp. 137-149 (p. 137). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Richmond P. Bond, *The Tatler: The Making of a Literary Journal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 130-32 (p. 130). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Knight, ‘The Spectator’s Generalizing Discourse’, in *Telling People What to Think,* pp. 44-57 (p. 55). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism: From the Spectator to Post-Structuralism,* (London: Verso,1984), p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Joseph Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2).  
    Unlike some later scholars, and the existing critical edition, James Leheny’s *The Freeholder,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,1979), I have chosen to retain the hyphen present in Addison’s original title and refer to the paper as ‘The Free-Holder.’ This will also help to distinguish between the title of the paper and the legal position of freeholder. When referring to other texts which use the term I have preserved their original usage.  [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. For a discussion of the ways in which eighteenth-century authors attempted to fashion their own authorial identity as passive or neutral see: Scott Paul Gordon, *The Power of the Passive Self in English Literature, 1640-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Jeremy Black, ‘Politicisation and the Press in Hanoverian England’, in *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993), pp. 63-82; see also G. A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962). [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Abel Bayer, *English Theophrastus* (London: W. Turner, 1702), cited in ‘Politeness’ in *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* Oxford University Press,

    <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/146882?redirectedFrom=politeness&print>> [accessed 25th September 2014]

    ‘Politeness’ is discussed as a key context for Addison’s *Free-Holder* in the following chapter, and Addison’s discursive application of politeness as a rhetorical form is discussed in Chapter 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Addison, ‘Number Forty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 14 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder*, pp. 1-35 (p. 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Addison, ‘Number Forty-Five’, *The Free-Holder*, 25 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).  [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. This is a familiar trope in early modern writing, which regards self-interest and ambition with suspicion. Stephen Greenblatt discusses this at length in *Renaissance Self Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005)*,* which in part examines the ways in which authors needed to present themselves in order to avoid such accusations. Wendy Wall’s *Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993)also touches upon this theme when detailing the ‘stigma of the printed word’ in the late Seventeenth-Century. It is also a reoccurring theme in Elisabeth Einstein’s account of the origins of the printing press: *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change,* vol.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, p. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2. (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 24February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Four’, in *The Free-Holder,* 25 June 1717, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. *The Spectator* has taken on additional critical significance in the final decades of the twentieth century, proving vital to such landmark works as Jürgen Habermas’ *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by T. Burger and F. Laurence (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology press, 1986) and Terry Eagleton’s *The Function of Criticism: From the Spectator to Post-Structuralism,* (London: Verso,1984)*.* [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Addison’s work on *The Old Whig* apparently sees him return to the flavour of the periodical writing he did on a much earlier periodical titled *The Whig Examiner*; a project designed to explicitly counter Jonathan Swift’s Tory paper *The Examiner.* [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. The phrase ‘Spectator Project’ is coined by J. A. Downie and employed throughout the work of Brain Cowan to denote Addison and Steele’s collaboration on both *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* and will be put to the same task here. ‘Spectatorial essays’ is also a term employed in these works to denote essays from each of these periodicals, and will also be similarly employed in this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Brian Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 37.3 (2004), 342-366 (366). [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. The increasing division between Addison and Steele is discussed at length in Ophelia Field’s *The Kit Cat Club* (St Ives: Harper Collins, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Henry St John, *The Occasional Writer*, No. 1 (London, 1727). [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. Edmund Spenser, *The Fairey Queene* (Harlow: Longman, 2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Powell, ‘New Directions in Eighteenth-Century Periodical Studies’, (243). [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’, (347). [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Walter Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1930), p. 391; see also: Walter Graham *The Beginnings of English Literary Periodicals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926). [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. R.P. Bond, ‘Introduction’, in *Studies in the Early English Periodicals,* ed. by W.F. Belcher and R.P. Bond(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), pp. 1-48 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Charles A Knight, ‘The Spectator’s Generalizing Discourse’, in *Telling People What to Think: Early Eighteenth-Century Periodicals from The Review to the Rambler,* ed. by Thomas N. Corns and J. A. Downie (London: Frank Cass Ltds., 1993), pp. 44-57 (p. 44). [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Manushag N. Powell, ‘New Directions in Eighteenth-Century Periodical Studies’, *Literature Compass* 8/5 (2011), 240-257 (243). [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. James Basker, ‘Criticism and the Rise of Periodical Literature’ in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), iv, pp. 316-332 (p. 316). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Ibid., p. 316. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. The question of what constitutes ‘the literary’, and of what the concept ‘literature’ would have meant to Addison and his eighteenth-century readers, is treated in the following chapter. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Ian P. Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1987) and *Resisting Novels: Ideology and Fiction* (New York: Methuen, 1987). [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Robert D. Mayo, *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740-1815* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), and Clifford Silkin, *The Work of Writing: Literature and Social Change in Britain 1700-1830* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder*, 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals* (Lanham: Bucknell University Press, 2012), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Powell borrows the term ‘eidolon’ from Greek mythology, where, according to the *OED*, it signified ‘an unsubstantial image, spectre, phantom.’ See ‘Eidolon’ in *Oxford English Dictionary Online Edition* <http://www.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/Entry/59971?redirectedFrom=eidolon#eid> [accessed 11th September 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Powell, ‘New Directions in Periodical Studies’, (243). [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Richard Steele, ‘Number 271’, *The Tatler,* 2 January 1710, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals,* p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. ‘Freeholder’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online Edition*

    <<http://www.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/Entry/74402?redirectedFrom=freeholder#eid>> [accessed 9th March 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. James Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder,* ed. by James Leheny(London: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. The best example of this is his encounter with a fox-hunter in ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2. This issue is discussed at greater length in the third chapter of this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. David Brewer, *The Afterlife of Character* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005) and George Justice, *The Manufacture of Literature: Writing and the Literary Market Place in the Eighteenth-Century* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Brewer, *The Afterlife of Character*. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Powell, ‘New Directions in Eighteenth-Century Periodical Studies’, 240-257 and Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, ‘The Rise of Periodical Studies’, *PMLA,* 121.2 (2006), 517-31. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Erin Mackie, *Market á la Mode: Fashion, Commodity and Gender in The Tatler and The Spectator* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1997) and *The Commerce of Everyday Life: Selections of The Tatler and The Spectator* (New York: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. T.C.W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Steve Pincus, ‘Coffee Politicians Does Create’, *Journal of Media History,* 67 (Dec, 1995) 807-34. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Brian Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (365). Cowan appropriately cites Adrian Johns’s *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) as being a relatively apolitical narrative, before branding the following works as being indicative of a more Whiggish approach: James Sutherland, *Restoration Literature 1660-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Frederick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Donald F. Bond, ‘Introduction’, in *The Spectator,* ed. by Donald F. Bond 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, pp. xiii-xcvi (p. xviii). [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Bonomy Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth-Century 1700-1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); Michael Ketcham, *Transparent Designs: Reading, Performance and Form in the Spectator Project* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985). [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Calhoun Winton, ‘Steel, the Junto and the Tatler No. 4,’ *Modern Language Notes,* 72.3 (Mar. 1957), 178-82; Bertrand A. Goldgar, *The Curse of Party: Swifts Relations with Addison and Steel* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961). The latter is celebrated in Brian Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Public Sphere.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’; J.A.W. Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1983); Klein, ‘Property and Politeness in Early Eighteenth-Century Whig Moralists: The Case of the Spectator’, in *Early Conceptions of Property*, pp. 221-33; Nicholas Phillipson, ‘Politics and Politeness: Anne and the Early Hanoverians,’ in *The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 213-45. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Leslie Stephen, ‘Joseph Addison’, in *The Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. by Elder Smith (London: Elder Smith, 1885-1912), p. 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. J. A. Downie, ‘Periodicals and Politics in the Reign of Queen Anne’, in *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993), pp. 54-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 14). When reading Stephen’s account directly against Johnson’s there has clearly been a substantial influence, highlighting the canon forming effects of Johnson’s earlier biography. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Ibid., pp. 14-15. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Abigail Williams, ‘The Tory Critique of Whig Literature’, in *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 2-36 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder,* ed. by James Leheny(London: Clarendon Press, 1979). [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Pat Rogers, ‘Addison, Joseph (1672–1719)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/156>> [accessed 12 Dec 2013]. The tendency to read *The Free-Holder* exclusively as a documentary evidence for the reaction in London to the Jacobite Rising will also been seen to characterises James Leheny’s introduction to the 1979 collected edition of the paper. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. ‘Miscellanies’, in *Digital Miscellanies Index* <<http://digitalmiscellaniesindex.blogspot.co.uk/>> [accessed 12 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture* (2005), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom, *Joseph Addison’s Sociable Animal* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971), p. 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Addison’s commentary on the polemic that he perceived to characterise the partisan press of the eighteenth-century is discussed and challenged in chapter 3 of this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Alexander Pope, ‘Epistle to Addison’, in *Pope: Poetical Works*, ed. by Herbert Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990) pp. 323-324. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times*, ed. by Lawrence E. Klein(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Joseph Addison, *Cato: A Tragedy in Five Acts* (Seaside: Watchmaker Publishing, 2001),p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Ibid.*,* p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Ibid.,p. 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. C. S. Lewis, ‘Addison’, in *Eighteenth Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. by James L. Clifford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 144-157 (p. 146). [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. Ibid., 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. R.P. Bond, ‘Introduction’, in *Studies in the Early English Periodicals,* ed. by W.F. Belcher and R.P. Bond(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), pp. 1-48 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. The term ‘Free-Holder’ and the figure Addison fashions for this role is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2. (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Lawrence Klein, ‘Property and Politeness in the Early Eighteenth-Century Whig Moralists: The Case of the Spectator,’ in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London: Routledge, 1995),

     pp. 221-233. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Paul Langford, *Public Life and the Propertied Englishman 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2. (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Brooke, Francis, *The History of Emily Montague,* 4 vols(London: J. Dodsley, 1769), iii, 20-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Quoted by Langford in *Public Life and the Propertied English Gentleman 1689-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1991), p. 9; *The History of Emily Montague* (London, 1769), iii. 20-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2. (p. 1). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. J. Disney, *The Works Theological, Medical, Political and Miscellaneous, of John Jebb,* 3 vols(London, 1787), iii, 412. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. *A Letter from a Freeholder of the County of Norfolk, to one of the Knights of the Shire, Occasioned by Dr. Sachervall’s Tryal* (London: John Morphew, 1710). [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. *A Letter from a Freeholder of the County of Norfolk, to one of the Knights of the Shire, Occasioned by Dr. Sachervall’s Tryal* (London: John Morphew, 1710), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Tellingly, the pamphlet was not a product of the provincial press but was instead sold and printed in London by John Morphew. Morphew, a prolific printer strongly associated with the Tory opposition, is discussed at greater length in the closing chapter of this thesis. That this pamphlet situated itself in Norfolk but appeared in London might suggest either that it had been reprinted in anticipation of interest from the metropolis (perhaps because it dealt explicitly with questions of citizen, state and the behaviour of the landed gentleman), or that it originated in London and imagines its provincial status for satirical effect. Either way, its rural credentials are by no means beyond suspicion. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Jonathan Swift, *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift,* ed. by H. Davis, 14 vols (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1939-62), iii, p. 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (London: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. *A Letter from a Freeholder of the County of Norfolk, to one of the Knights of the Shire, Occasioned by Dr. Sachervall’s Tryal* (London: John Morphew, 1710), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. *A Letter from a Freeholder of the County of Norfolk, to one of the Knights of the Shire, Occasioned by Dr. Sachervall’s Tryal* (London: John Morphew, 1710), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. This is a point asserted throughout the essays collected in both *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993) and J. A. Downie’s *To Settle the Succession of State: Literature and Politics , 1678-1750* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1994) and it is apparent in recent overviews of the newspaper’s origin and evolution, notably C. John Sommerville’s *The News Revolution in England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) and Joad Raymond’s essay ‘The Newspaper, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century, *Prose Studies 21.2* (Aug 1998), 109-40. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Steven Zwicker, *Politics and English Literary Culture 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) p. 201. [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Black, ‘Politicisation and the Press in Hanoverian England’, in *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914,* pp. 63-82 (p. 69). [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 30January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. Addison, ‘The Free-Holder Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. *The Digest of Justinian,* ed. by Theodor Mommsne and Paul Krueger, trans. by Alan Watson, 4 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970) iv, p. 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. *Commons Debates 1628, Volume 2: 17 March-19 March 1628,* ed. by Robert C. Johnson and Maija Jansson (New Havan, Conn. 1977), pp. 189-208. [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660,* ed. by S. R. Gardiner (Oxford, 1906), p. 385. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Quentin Skinner, ‘State and the freedom of Citizens’, in *States and Citizens,* ed. by Quentin Skinner and Bo Stråth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 11-26 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Ibid., p. 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 91 and 145.

     The fourth chapter for this thesis investigates *The Free-Holder*’s attitudes to resistance, opposition and rebellion and in doing so realises in detail the differences in the models proposed by Addison and Hobbes. The extent to which Hobbes can endorse the right to resist as well of absolutism has most recently been argued by Susanne Sreedher in *Hobbes on Resistance: Defying the Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). In this text Sreedher’s insistence that Hobbes actually advances a theory of resistance rights strives to contend widely accepted readings of *The Leviathan*, such as those presented by: Aloysuis Martinich, *The Two Gods of Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes on Religion and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), David P. Graithier, *The Legacy of the Leviathan: the Moral and Political Theory of Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), F.S. McNeilly, *The Anatomy of Leviathan* (London: Macmillan, 1968) and Francis Campbell Hood’s *The Divine Politics of Thomas Hobbes: An Interpretation of Leviathan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). The questions that this development in scholarly debate has roused are the very same as those which Addison strives to address in *The Free-Holder*: To what extent to citizens retain dependence when subjects of a sovereign state? If they do not have the facilities to resist how are they not slaves? How can republicanism and absolutism ever be consistent? [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Ibid., p. 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. Ibid., p. 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1) [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. Ibid., p 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. Quentin Skinner, ‘State and the freedom of Citizens’, in *States and Citizens,* ed. by Quentin Skinner and Bo Stråth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 11-26 (p. 16). [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government,* ed. by Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government,* ed., by Thomas G. West (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1990), p. 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 30 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. Locke, ‘Second Treatise’, in *Two Treatises of Government,* ed. by Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 265-428 (p. 268). [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. Bloom and Bloom, *Joseph Addison’s Sociable Animal* (1971), p. 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 30). [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. Locke, ‘Second Treatise’, in *Two Treatises of Government,* ed. by Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 265-428 (p. 269). [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Ibid., p. 269. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Ibid., p. 325. [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. Ibid., p. 326. [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard, *Cato’s Letters, or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects,* ed. by Ronald Hamowy, Vol. 1 (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1995), p. 484. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 30January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder,* ed. by James Leheny(London: Clarendon Press, 1979) [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Leheny, ‘Preface’, in *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. I-III (p. I). [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. The study of Jacobitism in the eighteenth-century is a large and diverse field. Both George Hilton Jones, *The Main Stream of Jacobitism* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954) and Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Cause* (Glasgow: National Trust for Scotland, 1986) have proved significant and often cited examinations of Jacobitism itself, as a cultural phenomenon and political ideology. In 1994 Murray G. H. Pittock’s, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) examined a range of literature, much of which remains non-canonical, written to celebrate and condemn Jacobitism. In doing so he reveals that a fuller understanding of Jacobite literature troubles our understanding of national literature and ‘augustan’ conceptualisations of the early eighteenth century. Outside of dedicated studies of Jacobitism, there is a wealth of scholarship which discusses it in relation to the union with Scotland in 1707, such as: Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Linda Colley’s *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); John Lucas, *English and Englishness: Ideas of Nationhood in English Poetry 1688-1900* (London, Hogarth Press, 1991); J.W.P. Riley, *The Union with England and Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978). The risings of 1715 are not in themselves subjected to a great deal of individual attention, and in surveys of the period they are often characterised (appropriately) as precursors to the risings of 1745. This is seen in: Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Pelican, 1982); J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); J.C.D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); J.P. Kenyon, *Revolutionary Principles: The Politics of Party 1689-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725* (London: Macmillan, 1967); W.A. Speck, *Tory and Whig: The Struggle in the Constituencies 1701-1715* (London: Macmillan, 1970). For studies dedicated entirely to the risings of 1715 it is necessary to go back to early twentieth-century scholarship (to the 1930’s specifically). Useful, if not dated, accounts can be found in Alistair and Henrietta Tayler’s *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Risings of 1715* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1934) and *1715: The Story of the Risings* (London, 1936). The 1970’s also saw a brief spike in interest, with two accounts appearing in the same year. John Baynes *The Jacobite Rising of 1715* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1971) offers a detailed description of the conflicts and battles that took place, mostly in Scotland, whilst Christopher Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1971) situates the 1715 risings within a tradition of similar disturbances. There are a similar spread of studies investigating the 1745 risings throughout the twentieth century, which again frame the events of 1715 as a false start for what would eventually follow: Charles Sanford Terry in *The Rising of 1745* (London: David Nutt, 1903) and *The Forty Five: A Narrative of the Last Jacobite Risings,* ed, by Charles Sanford Terry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922); Rupert C. Jarvis, *Collected Papers on the Jacobite Risings* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971); Eveline Cruikshank, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the ‘45,* (London: Duckworth, 1979). [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Addison’s tendency to offer distorted accounts of the risings is considered in the third chapter of this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 306. [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. Christopher Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1971), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. R. L. Mackie, *A Short History of Scotland,* ed. by Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. Ibid., p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Ibid., p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (1971), p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. Sinclair-Steven cites Saint-Simon’s record of the King’s immediate reaction, stating that ‘he flushed scarlet and pulled his hat over his eyes, for he could not control his emotions.’ See Christopher Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (1971), p. 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. This issue demonstrates the *Free-Holder’s* first direct foray into polemical printed debate, following on from a response in another newspaper, *The Town-Talk,* to a declaration allegedly printed by James Francis Edward (the Old Pretender) which argued that he should be King of England, and not King George I. The *Free-Holder* approved of *The Town-Talk*’s response, but where it responded on behalf of all ‘English-men’, the *Free-Holder* will now respond on behalf of all Free-Holders. The essay is in two parts, a brief introduction followed by ‘The Declaration of the Free-holders of Great-Britain, in answer to that of the Pretender’, which begs paratextual questions of textual status allocation. The declaration itself works through many of James’ claims, demonstrating them to be opposed to the values and ideas expressed in previous issues of *The Free-Holder.* [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. Electress Sophia was the daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, who had married Fredrick V, Elector of Palestine; making her the granddaughter of James I of England. Once again, Sinclair-Steven delivers an erudite and entertaining description of this discovery in *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (1971), p. 56. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. Mackie, *A Short History of Scotland* (1962), p. 233. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. George’s ascension was eventually sealed by the Treaty of Utrect, although even in this some have speculated that Anne had intended to ensure that the crown went to James. To negotiate the Treaty with France the British Government had made the unprecedented decision to send an ambassador to Versailles, and the Queen’s first choice had been Colonel John Hamilton (a figure who had publicly opposed the Act of Union, and who would later become a Jacobite leader in Scotland). It has been noted that this appointment sent out a clear message: ‘Hamilton was travelling to Versailles, not only to hasten on the peace treaty, but also to prepare the way for James’s return on the death of Anne.’ However, in a shocking turn of events Hamilton was killed in a duel the night before his departure to France and the Whiggish Duke of Shrewsbury went in his place. Rather than furthering the cause of the Pretender the terms of the Treaty as eventually brokered saw Louis XIV reneging on his promise to support the Jacobite court in France, prompting James’s imminent departure from Saint-Germain. See: Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (1971),

     p. 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. Alexander Pope, cited in Christopher Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (1971), p. 73. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. Steven Zwicker, *Politics and English Literary Culture 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 203. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (2000), p. 306. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (1979), p. 33. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. Leheny, ‘Preface’, in *The Freeholder* (1979), pp. I-III (p. I). [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 23). [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Ibid., p. 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. The question, ‘what is literature?’ is one that has been asked frequently throughout the history of criticism. For famous examples of such works see J. P. Sarte’s 1948 book *Qu’est-ce que la literature?*  (Paris: Gillimard, 2008), Laurence Lerner, *The Truest Poetry. An Essay on the Question: What is Literature* (New York: Horizon, 1964), there are chapters dedicated to the topic in both John M. Ellis’s *The Theory of Literary Criticism: A Logical Analysis* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974) and René Wellek and Austin Warren’s *Theory of Literature*, 3rd ed. (London: Pelican, 1980), and in more recent works such as Peter Widdowson’s, *Literature* (London: Routledge, 1999) and J. Hillis Miller’s *On Literature*  (London: Routledge, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson,* ed. by G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), iii, p. 38. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. Samuel Johnson, ‘The RamblerNo 125 (28 May 1751)’, in *The Yale Edition of Samuel Johnson,* ed. by Walter Jackson and Albrect B. Straus (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 300. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Hazard Adams, *The Interest of Criticism: An Introduction to Literary Theory* (Harcourt: Brace and World, 1969), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. John M. Ellis’s *The Theory of Literary Criticism: A Logical Analysis* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), p. 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. *Freeholder Extraordinary* (London: John Morphew, 1716), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (London: Hutchinson, 1964). [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Ibid., p. 301. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. ‘Ersatz’ is a German word literally meaning substitute, compensation or replacement. The *OED* notes that it can also refer to substitution of an inferior article in place of the real thing. ‘Ersatz’, in *The Oxford English Dictionary Online,* Oxford University Press,

     <<http://www.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/Entry/64134?redirectedFrom=ersatz#eid>> [accessed 18th April 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. Samuel Johnson notes that ‘Addison is now to be considered a critic; a name which the present generation is scarcely willing to allow him. His criticism is condemned as tentative or experimental, rather than scientific; and he is considered as deciding by taste rather than by principles.’ Samuel Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 36). [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 38). [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. George A. Kennedy, ‘The contribution of rhetoric to literary criticism’, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), iv, pp. 349-364 (p. 349). [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. Ibid., p. 349. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. Ibid., pp. 349-351. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Ibid., p. 350. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 282-341. See also Howell’s subsequent study, dedicated to following the development of the trends discussed here throughout the following century: *Eighteenth Century British Logic and Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971). [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Addison, ‘Number 467’, in *The Spectator,* 5 September 1712, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. George A. Kennedy, ‘The contribution of rhetoric to literary criticism’, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), iv, pp. 349-364 (p. 353). [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Jan Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951) p. 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. Idid., p. 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. Ibid., pp. 16-17. [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. Ibid., p. 195. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)
231. Ibid., p. 195. [↑](#footnote-ref-231)
232. Kennedy, ‘The contribution of rhetoric to literary criticism’, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (1997), iv, pp. 349-364 (p. 353). [↑](#footnote-ref-232)
233. Bernard Lamy, ‘Rhétorique, ou L’Art de parler’, in *The Rhetoric of Thomas Hobbes and Bernard Lamy,* ed. by John T. Harwood(Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), pp. 131-337 (p. 214). [↑](#footnote-ref-233)
234. George A. Kennedy, ‘The contribution of rhetoric to literary criticism’, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* (1997), iv, pp. 349-364 (p. 353). [↑](#footnote-ref-234)
235. Ibid., p. 356. [↑](#footnote-ref-235)
236. There is a diverse and sizable body of scholarship dedicated to the life and works of Shaftesbury on which this chapter hopes to capitalise. Scholarship in Shaftesbury spans a range of approaches and disciplines. Shaftesbury is read for his contributions to philosophy, literature and sociology whilst also presenting contemporary discussions of eighteenth-century religion and politics. See: Alfred O. Aldridge’s ‘Shaftesbury and the Deist Manifesto’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 41.2 (1951), 207-385; R. L. Brett, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (London: Hutchinson’s University Library, 1951); J.W. Burrows, *Whigs and Liberals: Continuity and Change in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); Stephen Darwall, *The British Moralists and the Internal ‘Ought’, 1640-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Mark Goldie ‘Priestcraft and the Birth of Whiggism’, *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Community and Conduct in the Republic of Letters* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); Stanley Grean, *Characteristics*: *Shaftesbury’s Philosophy of Religion and Ethics: A Study in Enthusiasm* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1967); Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Douglas J. Den Uyl, ‘Shaftesbury and the Modern Problem of Virtue’, *Social Philosophy and Policy* 15 (1998) 275-316; Robert Voitle, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1984). [↑](#footnote-ref-236)
237. Klein, Lawrence E., ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. vii-xxxii (p. viii). [↑](#footnote-ref-237)
238. Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-238)
239. ‘Literature’ in *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* Oxford University Press,

     <<http://www.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/Entry/109080?redirectedFrom=literature#eid>> [accessed 18th April 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-239)
240. Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-240)
241. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 38). [↑](#footnote-ref-241)
242. Joseph Addison, ‘Number Ten’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-242)
243. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 24 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-243)
244. Steven Zwicker, *Politics and English Literary Culture 1649-1689* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 201. [↑](#footnote-ref-244)
245. Joad Raymond employs the term ‘newsbook’ to describe small, weekly pamphlets referred to by contemporaries as ‘weekly pamphlets of news’, ‘newsbooks’, ‘diurnalls’, ‘mercuries’, ‘currants’, ‘corantos’ or, occasionally, ‘gazettes.’ He emphatically avoids the term ‘newspaper’ to stress that there is a significant difference between these printed entities and that which we recognise as newspapers today. ‘Introduction’, in *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1993), pp. 1-26 (p. 2 and p. 19). [↑](#footnote-ref-245)
246. Ibid. p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-246)
247. Civil war newsbooks frequently made claims to being more truthful or reliable than there oppositional counterparts. This will be seen later in the chapter, with examples such as the Royalist *Mercvirus Avlicus* (Jan 1643). [↑](#footnote-ref-247)
248. Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 283. [↑](#footnote-ref-248)
249. Christine Gerrard, ‘Political Passions’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Literature,* ed. by John Sitter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 27-62 and Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1668-1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-249)
250. Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1668-1714*, p. 12. [↑](#footnote-ref-250)
251. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-251)
252. James Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 23). [↑](#footnote-ref-252)
253. Francis Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (London: 1714). [↑](#footnote-ref-253)
254. D. W. Hayton, ‘Atterbury, Francis (1663–1732)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/871> [accessed 19 Jan 2012] [↑](#footnote-ref-254)
255. Christopher Sinclair-Steven, *Inglorious Rebellion: The Jacobite Risings of 1708, 1715 and 1719* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1971), p. 63. [↑](#footnote-ref-255)
256. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-256)
257. D. W. Hayton, ‘Atterbury, Francis (1663–1732)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/871> [accessed 19 Jan 2012]

     D. W. Hayton, casts the piece as a core Tory document, whilst also drawing out its often aggressive and quietly militant tone: ‘[Atterbury] published *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*, which painted a dismal picture of a country governed by the Whigs, and rashly included a vehement personal attack on George I, which so enraged the government that a proclamation was issued against it and a reward offered for information. Fortunately for Atterbury, his tracks were well covered and his friends discreet. Despite debilitating attacks of gout, he proved an effective leader of the Tories in the House of Lords.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-257)
258. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-258)
259. Ibid.,p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-259)
260. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-260)
261. In his introduction to Addison’s *Free-Holder* Leheny sets out to define the relationship between freeholders and knights, and to help him do so he reaches for the words of Jonathan Swift: ‘It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the dispositions of the people in the choice of their representatives, is by computing the country elections.’ The ‘people’ making these decisions are ‘forty-shilling Freeholders’. Jonathan Swift, *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift,* ed. by H. Davis, 14 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939-62) iii, p. 66. Cited in Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (1979), pp. 1-35 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-261)
262. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-262)
263. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-263)
264. ‘Church men’ or ‘Church-Party’ are each often employed euphemistically to signify the Tory party, referring to the Tory defence of the ‘traditional’ Church of England in the face of Whiggish sympathy for Whiggish dissenters. [↑](#footnote-ref-264)
265. Thomas Lewis, *The Scourge,* 44 No’s (London, 1717). This paper is examined as a counterpoint to *The Free-Holder* in the following chapter of this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-265)
266. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-266)
267. Addison, ‘Number Seven’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-267)
268. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-268)
269. Ibid., p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-269)
270. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-270)
271. *The Rehearsal Transposed and The Rehearsal Transposed The Second Part,* ed. by D.I.B. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 5.  [↑](#footnote-ref-271)
272. Jean, Baudrillard, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place,* trans. by Paul Patton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).  [↑](#footnote-ref-272)
273. Richard I Cook, ‘“Mr. Examiner” and “Mr. Review”: The Tory Apologists of Swift and Defoe’, *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 29.2 (1966) 122-146 (1). [↑](#footnote-ref-273)
274. W. A. Speck, ‘Politics’, in *The Context of English Literature: The Eighteenth-Century,* ed. by Pat Rogers (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1978), pp. 81-199 (p. 92). [↑](#footnote-ref-274)
275. Johnson is keen to undermine any instances of literary competence or merit originating from the Whig quarter. Despite his Whiggish identity, Addison’s literary skill had even come to be praised by his Tory contemporaries; notably Pope, whose *Dunciad* has been seen as the gatekeeper of literary worth ever since. Johnson’s solution is to present Addison as being primarily ‘a judge of propriety’, or an ‘aribter’ intent on freeing daily conversation from vitriolic ‘thorns and prickles’ which ‘tease’ but do not ‘wound’. Johnson writes that: ‘It has been suggested that the Royal society was instituted soon after Restoration, to divert attention from public discontent. *The Tatler* and *Spectator* had the same tendency: they were published at a time when two parties, loud, restless, and violent, each with plausible declarations, and each perhaps without any distinct termination of its views, were agitating the nation; to minds heated with political contest, they supplied cooler and more inoffensive reflections; and it is said by Addison, in a subsequent work, that they had a perceptible influence upon the conversation of that time, and taught the frolic and the gay to unite merriment with decency; an effect which they can never wholly lose, while they continue to be among the first books by which both sexes are initiated in the elegance of knowledge.’ Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 7). This serves his purpose, stripping Addison’s infamous work of its Whig character. Johnson’s depiction of the print of this period as being ‘calmer’ thanks to the influence of *The Spectator* and *The Tatler* fits with this agenda, allowing him to discuss and celebrate writers from the opposition without acknowledging their personal politics. [↑](#footnote-ref-275)
276. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 8). [↑](#footnote-ref-276)
277. Ibid., (p. 7). [↑](#footnote-ref-277)
278. For a comprehensive overview of such poetry see Richard Terry’s *Poetry and the Making of the English Past, 1660-1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).  [↑](#footnote-ref-278)
279. Andrew W. Moore, ‘Fountaine, Sir Andrew (1676–1753)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9994> [accessed 20 July 2012]

     Given that Fountaine was also returning home from a second grand tour of Europe at the time of the poem’s publication, the poet may have intended to conflate the figures of Fountaine and George when celebrating the rejuvenation triggered across the land upon ‘the safe arrival of Britannia’s King’. See also: Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713,* ed. by Abigail Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-279)
280. *The Arrival of the King. A Poem,* (London: F. Roberts, 1714), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-280)
281. Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (2000), p. 283. [↑](#footnote-ref-281)
282. *British Advice to the Free-Holders of Great-Britain: Being an answer to a Treasonable Libel, entitled, English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (London, 1715), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-282)
283. Ibid.,p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-283)
284. John Oldmixon, *Remarks on a Late Libel Privately Dispersed by the Tories, Entitled English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (London: J. Roberts, 1715), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-284)
285. Ibid.,p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-285)
286. Oldmixon, *Remarks on a Late Libel Privately Dispersed by the Tories* (1715), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-286)
287. *British Advice to the Free-Holders of Great-Britain* (1715), p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-287)
288. Oldmixon, *Remarks on a Late Libel Privately Dispersed by the Tories* (1715), p. 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-288)
289. Oldmixon, *Remarks on a Late Libel Privately Dispersed by the Tories* (1715),p. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-289)
290. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-290)
291. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-291)
292. *The Arrival of the King. A Poem* (London: F. Roberts, 1714), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-292)
293. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder*,24 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-293)
294. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-294)
295. Ibid., p. 2. Addison is again here leaning on the Whig claim to politeness. [↑](#footnote-ref-295)
296. Lewis Griffin, *Essayes and Characters* (London, 1661), cited in *Making the News: An Anthology of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond, (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1993), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-296)
297. Andrew Marvell, ‘The Rehearsal Transposed’, in *The Works of Andrew Marvell, Esqu.* 3 vols (London: Henry Badlwin, 1776), ii, pp. 5-223. [↑](#footnote-ref-297)
298. *Making the News: An Anthology of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (1993),p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-298)
299. Frank H. Ellis, “Arthur Mainwaring as Reader of Swift’s ‘Examiner’” *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 11.2. (1981), 49-66. [↑](#footnote-ref-299)
300. Jonathan Swift, ‘Number Thirteen’, in *The Examiners of the Year 1711,* vol. 1 (London: John Morphew, 1712), pp. 95-100 (p. 95). [↑](#footnote-ref-300)
301. Although Raymond goes onto complicate the term ‘propaganda’ with reference to printed news, he offers the following as an initial definition of propaganda as ‘that part of print culture that was sponsored by identifiable political interests, that articulated not the author’s own views, but a patronage relation between a writer and the government or an influential public figure. This functional approach offers a means of classifying a body of writings that are approximate to the idea of propaganda. To official propaganda commissioned by the state or its representatives can be added semi-official propaganda, which includes writings that attempt to cultivate patronage by reflecting views that are perceived to belong to the government or an influential figure. In both cases, the texts promote an official or semi-official point of view and are motivated by personal or financial interests rather than public interests. These texts appeared to contemporaries to be associated by shared characteristics, and they fit a modern definition of how propaganda performs.’ Joad Raymond, ‘Introduction: Networks, Communication, Practise’, in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 1-19 (p. 7). For a detailed discussion of the language of what would become ‘propaganda’ see also J.A.W. Gunn, *Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1969). [↑](#footnote-ref-301)
302. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 5). [↑](#footnote-ref-302)
303. Ibid., p. 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-303)
304. Addison, ‘Number Seven’, 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-304)
305. ‘Calumny’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online,*

     <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/26554?rskey=i4CeDC&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> [accessed 4 May 2012] [↑](#footnote-ref-305)
306. Mark Knights explores such attempts to assure readers of truth and authenticity in *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-306)
307. ‘Mercurius Aulicus Communicating the intelligence, and affairs of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdom. The first weeke.’, 1-7 January, 1643, in *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (1993), p. 92. [↑](#footnote-ref-307)
308. ‘Mercurius Aulicus, 17-23 December, 1643’, in *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (1993), p. 106. [↑](#footnote-ref-308)
309. ‘Mercurius Britanicus, No. 19, 28 December – 4 January 1643’, *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660* (1993), p. 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-309)
310. Marcus Nevitt, ‘Ben Johnson and the Serial Publication of News’, in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Milton Park: Routledge, 2007), pp. 51-66 (p. 53). [↑](#footnote-ref-310)
311. *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1993), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-311)
312. Addison, ‘Number Three’, *The Free-Holder,* 30 December 1715, pp. 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-312)
313. The Battle of Preston is discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. The logistics of the battle are detailed in John Baynes’s very thorough *The Jacobite Risings of 1715* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1971). [↑](#footnote-ref-313)
314. John Baynes, *The Jacobite Risings of 1715* (1971). [↑](#footnote-ref-314)
315. Addison, ‘Number Three’, *The Free-Holder,* 30 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-315)
316. Maximillian E. Novak, *Realism, Myth and History in Defoe’s Fiction* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), p. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-316)
317. A sizable survey of such texts is presented by Barbara Shapiro’s *A Culture of Fact: England, 1500-1720 (*New York: Cornell University Press, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-317)
318. Maximillian E. Novak, *Realism, Myth and History in Defoe’s Fiction* (1983), p. 8. [↑](#footnote-ref-318)
319. Daniel Defoe, *A True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs Veal* (London: B. Bragg, 1706). [↑](#footnote-ref-319)
320. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-320)
321. Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders,* ed. by Linda Bree and G.A. Starr(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-321)
322. Addison, ‘Number Three’, *The Free-Holder,* 30 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-322)
323. Addison, ‘Number Three’, *The Free-Holder,* 30 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-323)
324. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (London: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35. [↑](#footnote-ref-324)
325. Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder* (1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 5). [↑](#footnote-ref-325)
326. *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England, 1641-1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Moreton-in-Marsh: The Windrush Press, 1993), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-326)
327. Mark Knights*, Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 286. [↑](#footnote-ref-327)
328. ‘Freehold’, *Oxford English Dictionary,* online edition, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/74402>> [accessed 12 January 2012] [↑](#footnote-ref-328)
329. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-329)
330. Chris Roberts, *Heavy Words Lightly Thrown: The Reason Behind Rhyme*. (Waterville: Thorndike Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-330)
331. ‘Freehold’, *Oxford English Dictionary,* online edition, <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/74402>> [accessed 12 January 2012] [↑](#footnote-ref-331)
332. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*, 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-332)
333. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-333)
334. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-334)
335. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837,* Revised Edition(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-335)
336. Zouheir Jamoussi, *Primogeniture and Entail in England: A Survey of their History and Representation in Literature* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 1999), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-336)
337. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-337)
338. *The Arrival of the King. A Poem* (London: F. Roberts, 1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-338)
339. Edmund Stacey, *Britannia’s Memorial* (London: J. Baker, 1715) and Richard Chapman, *Britannia Rediviva: Or, Britains Recovery* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1714). [↑](#footnote-ref-339)
340. Alexander Pope, ‘Windsor Forest’ in *Poetical Works,* ed. by Herbert Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 37-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-340)
341. *The Arrival of the King. A Poem* (London: F.Roberts, 1714), p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-341)
342. Pope, ‘Windsor Forest’ in *Poetical Works,* ed. by Herbert Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 37-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-342)
343. Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-343)
344. Ibid.,p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-344)
345. John Asgill, *The History of Three Pretenders to the Crown* (London: E. Curll, 1714), p. 1 and Thomas Barnett, *A Caveat Against the Tories* (London: A. Dodd, 1714), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-345)
346. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*, 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-346)
347. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-347)
348. Addison, ‘Number Five’, *The Free-Holder*,6 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-348)
349. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-349)
350. Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-350)
351. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-351)
352. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder*,24 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-352)
353. T.J. Hochstrasser, *Natural Law and the Early Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). [↑](#footnote-ref-353)
354. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-354)
355. Addison, ‘Number Five’, *The Free-Holder*,6 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-355)
356. Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-356)
357. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 7). [↑](#footnote-ref-357)
358. Addison, ‘Number Ten’, *The Free-Holder*,23 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p.1). [↑](#footnote-ref-358)
359. *The Arrival of the King. A Poem* (1714), p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-359)
360. For Addison’s relationship with Somers see Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954)*,* pp. 30-4. For a comprehensive biography of Lord Somers see: William Sachs, *Lord Somers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975). [↑](#footnote-ref-360)
361. Joseph Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder* (4 May 1716), pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-361)
362. Lawrence Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-362)
363. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-363)
364. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-364)
365. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-365)
366. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (1999), pp. vii-xxxii (p. viii). [↑](#footnote-ref-366)
367. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-367)
368. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-368)
369. Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-369)
370. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-370)
371. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (1999), pp. vii-xxxii (p. xiii). [↑](#footnote-ref-371)
372. Ibid., p.xiii. [↑](#footnote-ref-372)
373. George A. Kennedy, ‘The Contribution of Rhetoric to Literary Criticism’, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), iv, pp. 349-364 (p. 356). [↑](#footnote-ref-373)
374. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-374)
375. ‘Perspicuity’, a term which became rare after the eighteenth century, is defined in the *OED* as meaning ‘transparency’ and ‘in speech, writing, etc.: clearness of statement or exposition; lucidity.’ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*

     <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/141538?redirectedFrom=perspicuity#eid>>

     [accessed 23rd April 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-375)
376. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-376)
377. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-377)
378. Terry Eagleton’s *The Function of Criticism: From the Spectator to Post-Structuralism,* (London: Verso, 1984), p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-378)
379. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (1999),

     pp. vii-xxxii (p. viii). [↑](#footnote-ref-379)
380. Ibid., (p. viii). [↑](#footnote-ref-380)
381. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Four’, in *The Free-Holder,* 25 June 1717, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-381)
382. The phrase ‘Spectator Project’ is coined by J. A. Downie and employed throughout the work of Brain Cowan to denote Addison and Steele’s collaboration on both *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* and will be put to the same task here. [↑](#footnote-ref-382)
383. Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by T. Burger and F. Laurence (Cambridge, Mass., Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1986) [↑](#footnote-ref-383)
384. J.W. Burrow, *Whigs and Liberals: Continuity and Change in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). [↑](#footnote-ref-384)
385. Donald F. Bond, ‘Introduction’, in *The Spectator,* ed. by Donald F. Bond 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, pp. xiii-xcvi (p. xviii). [↑](#footnote-ref-385)
386. See: Alexandre Beljame, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660–1744* ([Paris],1881; reprint London: Routledge, 1948), pp. 245–6; Michael Ketcham, *Transparent Designs: Reading, Performance and Form in the Spectator Papers* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1985). [↑](#footnote-ref-386)
387. Bonomy Dobrée, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century 1700–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-387)
388. As Brian Cowan recommends in ‘Mr Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 37.3 (2004), 342-366, contrast Adrian Johns, ‘Miscellaneous Methods: Authors, Societies and Journals in Early Modern England,’ *British Journal for the History of Science,* 33 (2000), 159–86; or, Adrian Johns*, The Nature of the Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 174–5 and 539–40, with James Sutherland, *Restoration Literature 1660–*1700 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 233–44; or, Frederick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). [↑](#footnote-ref-388)
389. Calhoun Winton, ‘Steele, the Junto and the Tatler No. 4’, *Modern Language Notes,* 72.3 (1957), 178–82; J. A. Downie, ‘Periodicals and Politics in the Reign of Queen Anne’, in *Serials and Their Readers 1620–1914,* ed. by in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993) pp. 554-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-389)
390. Brian Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 37.3 (2004), 342-366. See also: Nicholas Phillipson, ‘Politics and Politeness: Anne and the Early Hanoverians,’ in *The Varieties of British Political Thought 1500–1800*, ed. by J. G. A. Pocock and Gordon Schochet (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), 213–45 (p. 225), [↑](#footnote-ref-390)
391. J.G.A. Pocock*, Virtue, Commerce and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 235–9; J. A. W. Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1983), pp. 58–62 and J. A. Downie, ‘Periodicals and Politics in the Reign of Queen Anne’ in *Serials and Their Readers 1620–1914*; Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (2004), 342-366. [↑](#footnote-ref-391)
392. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Spectator,* 1 March 1711, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-392)
393. Addison, ‘Number Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 2 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-393)
394. Addison, ‘Number Seven’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-394)
395. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (2004), 342-366. [↑](#footnote-ref-395)
396. W. A. Speck, ‘Politics’, in *The Context of English Literature: The Eighteenth-Century,* ed. by Pat Rogers (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1978), pp. 81-199 (p. 89). [↑](#footnote-ref-396)
397. Abigail Williams, ‘Reading Whig Poetry’, in *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1-21 (p. 11). [↑](#footnote-ref-397)
398. Steven Zwicker offers a succinct description of this evolution in *Lines of Authority: Politics and Literary Culture, 1649-1689* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993). [↑](#footnote-ref-398)
399. ‘Whiggamore’, in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228328> [Accessed 27 June 2012] and Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture,* p. 11. [↑](#footnote-ref-399)
400. H.T Dickinson, ‘Whiggism in the Eighteenth-Century’, in *The Whig Ascendancy: Colloquies on Hanoverian England,* ed. by John Cannon (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 22-44 (p. 42). [↑](#footnote-ref-400)
401. Ibid.,p. 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-401)
402. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-402)
403. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-403)
404. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (2004), p. 359. [↑](#footnote-ref-404)
405. Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealth Man* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-405)
406. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (1999),

     pp. vii-xxxii. [↑](#footnote-ref-406)
407. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (2004), p. 351. [↑](#footnote-ref-407)
408. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (1999),

     pp. vii-xxxii. [↑](#footnote-ref-408)
409. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (2004), p. 358. [↑](#footnote-ref-409)
410. Ibid., p. 359. [↑](#footnote-ref-410)
411. W. A. Speck, ‘Politics’, in *The Context of English Literature: The Eighteenth-Century,* ed. by Pat Rogers (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1978), pp. 81-119 (p. 92). [↑](#footnote-ref-411)
412. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 24 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-412)
413. ‘A Farewell to the year 1714’, in *Poems in the Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse 1660-1714,* ed. by F.H. Ellis, 7 vols (Connecticut: Yale university press, 1975), vii, p. 613. [↑](#footnote-ref-413)
414. Francis Atterbury, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England* (London, 1714). [↑](#footnote-ref-414)
415. Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’ (2004), p. 352. [↑](#footnote-ref-415)
416. For a detailed analysis of *The Craftsman* and its significance in discussions of ‘the fourth estate’ see: J.A.W. Gunn, *Beyond Liberty and Property* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University press, 1983), pp. 58-62. *The Craftsman* is also discussed in the final chapter of this thesis: ‘Opposition and Rebellion: The Legacy of *The Free-Holder.*’ [↑](#footnote-ref-416)
417. Lawrence E. Klein, 'Introduction', in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. Vii-xxxii (p. ix). [↑](#footnote-ref-417)
418. Manushag N. Powell, *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals* (Lanham: Bucknell University Press, 2012), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-418)
419. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2(p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-419)
420. Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times,* ed. by Lawrence Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 70. [↑](#footnote-ref-420)
421. Jan Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-421)
422. Addison, ‘Number 476’, in *The Spectator,* 5 September 1712, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-422)
423. From Cooper, *Characterisics* cited in George Williamson, ‘Seneca Style in the Seventeenth Century’, *Philological Quarterly,* XV (1936), pp. 321-351 (p. 322). [↑](#footnote-ref-423)
424. Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (1951), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-424)
425. George A. Kennedy, ‘The contribution of rhetoric to literary criticism’, in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism,* ed. by H. B. Nisbet and Claude Rawson, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), iv, pp. 349-364 (p. 356). [↑](#footnote-ref-425)
426. Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (1951), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-426)
427. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-427)
428. Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (1951), p. 85. [↑](#footnote-ref-428)
429. The OED defines ‘pleonasm’ as ‘using more words than are necessary […]: superfluous or redundant’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*

     <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/145717?redirectedFrom=pleonastic#eid>> [accessed 24 April 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-429)
430. ‘Uniform’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*

     <<http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=uniform+&_searchBtn=Search>> [accessed 24 April 2014] and ‘Consistent’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*

     *<*<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/39645?redirectedFrom=consistent#eid>> [accessed 24 April 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-430)
431. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (1999) pp. vii-xxxii

     (p. viii). [↑](#footnote-ref-431)
432. On this topic Lannering notes that ‘[a]lliteration very rarely occurs in Addison’s prose. Such devices he probably class as conceits.’ Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (1951) p. 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-432)
433. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-433)
434. Lannering traces the extensive use of such cadence in Addison’s writing for *The* *Spectator* and *The Tatler*, mapping it directly onto the cadence of classic oratorical prose. Lannering, *Studies in the Prose Style of Addison* (1951). [↑](#footnote-ref-434)
435. ‘His great Humility appeared in the minutest Circumstances of his Conversation. You found it in the Benevolence of his Aspect, the Complacency of his Behaviour, and the Tone of his Voice.’ Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, in *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-435)
436. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 25 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-436)
437. Addison, ‘Number Forty-Six’, *The Free-Holder,* 28 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-437)
438. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the* Poets (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-438)
439. Ibid., p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-439)
440. Addison, ‘Number Eight’, *The Free-Holder,* 16 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). Addison’s description and discussion of this ‘female association’ of Whig women is examined in Chapter 4 of this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-440)
441. *The Free-Holder* is sometimes anxious that because the printed word is subjected to so many stages of mediation it can never truly be trusted. Such an instance occurs in No. 7, in which Mr. Free-Holder complains of the ‘falsehoods and calumnies, which are invented and spread abroad by enemies to our King and Country.’ Time and time again print is foregrounded as a vehicle of misrepresentation. However, there are also contradictory instances in which *The Free-Holder* favours print over manuscript evidence precisely because these stages of mediation are present. It is significant that in No. 22 Addison stresses that the bigoted fox-hunter enthusiastically endorses ‘Dyer’s Letters’; a hand-written paper exempt from the licensing rules incurred by its printed counterparts. Likewise, in No. 3 Mr. Free-Holder encourages readers to be sceptical of the ‘truth’ recorded in hand-written memoirs because often they have not been corroborated: ‘Everyone knows, that it is usual for a *French* Officer, who can Write and Read, to set down all the occurrences of a campaign, in which he pretends to have been personally concerned; and to publish them under the Title of his *Memoirs*, when most of his Fellow-Soldiers are dead that might have contradicted any of his Matters of Fact.’ See Addison, ‘Number Seven’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2; Addison, ‘Number Three’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 December 1715, pp. 1-2; Addison, ‘Number Twenty-two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-441)
442. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. 4-28. [↑](#footnote-ref-442)
443. Ibid., p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-443)
444. Ibid., p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-444)
445. Ibid., p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-445)
446. Ibid., p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-446)
447. Ibid., p. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-447)
448. Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-448)
449. Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 336. [↑](#footnote-ref-449)
450. Courthorpe, W. J., *Addison,* ed. by John Morley (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), p. 152. [↑](#footnote-ref-450)
451. Edward A.Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom, ‘Joseph Addison: The Artist in the Mirror’, in *Educating the Audience: Addison, Steele, and Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Los Angeles: The Castle Press, 1984), pp. 3-48 (p. 34). [↑](#footnote-ref-451)
452. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-452)
453. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2, (p. 1). Translation my own. [↑](#footnote-ref-453)
454. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2(p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-454)
455. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-455)
456. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in Characteristics (1999), pp. 4-28 (p. 9). [↑](#footnote-ref-456)
457. Addison, ‘Number Three’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-457)
458. See Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, ed. by Linda Bree and G. A. Starr(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), *Robinson Crusoe,* ed. by Thomas Keymer and James Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) and *Gulliver’s Travels,* ed., by Claude Rawson and Ian Higgins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). [↑](#footnote-ref-458)
459. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-two’, *The Free-Holder,* March 5 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-459)
460. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-460)
461. Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Nine’, *The Free-Holder,* 4 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-461)
462. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* March 5 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-462)
463. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-463)
464. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-464)
465. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-465)
466. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-466)
467. Brian Cowan, ‘Dyer, John (1653/4–1713)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/94251>> [accessed 30 March 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-467)
468. Unlike printed newspapers, handwritten newsletters were unlicensed and offered a much more convenient medium for more flagrantly partisan or hyper-critical commentary. [↑](#footnote-ref-468)
469. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 24 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-469)
470. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-470)
471. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in *Characteristics* (1999) pp. 4-28 (p. 5). [↑](#footnote-ref-471)
472. Addison, ‘Number Nineteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 24 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-472)
473. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-473)
474. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2(p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-474)
475. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-475)
476. Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-476)
477. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2(p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-477)
478. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-478)
479. Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) p. 337. [↑](#footnote-ref-479)
480. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 30 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). Emphasis added. [↑](#footnote-ref-480)
481. Addison, ‘Number Twenty’, *The Free-Holder,* 27 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-481)
482. Daniel Defoe, ‘Number One’, in *The Review,* 19 February 1704, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-482)
483. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-483)
484. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. 4-28 (p. 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-484)
485. Addison, ‘Number Seven’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-485)
486. Addison, ‘Number Fourteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 6 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-486)
487. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’*,* in *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times*, ed. by Lawrence E. Klein(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999),pp. 4-29 (p. 6). [↑](#footnote-ref-487)
488. Addison, ‘Number Fourteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 6 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-488)
489. Addison, ‘Number Seven’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-489)
490. Thomas Lewis, *The Scourge,* 44 No’s (London, 1717). [↑](#footnote-ref-490)
491. Thomas N. Corns and J. A. Downie, ‘Introduction’, in *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993) pp. 1-8 (p. 5). [↑](#footnote-ref-491)
492. Thomas Seccombe, ‘Lewis, Thomas (*b.* 1689, *d.* in or after 1737)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16604>> [accessed 25 March 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-492)
493. Thomas Lewis, ‘Number One’, *The Scourge*, 1 January 1717, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-493)
494. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-494)
495. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-495)
496. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-496)
497. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-497)
498. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-498)
499. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-499)
500. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. 4-28 (p. 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-500)
501. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 18 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1) [↑](#footnote-ref-501)
502. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-502)
503. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2. However, as No. 22 also reveals in a brief aside to the reader, this does not mean that Mr. Free-Holder does not actually think himself superior: ‘I had a mind to see him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him’ (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-503)
504. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 18 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-504)
505. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-505)
506. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder*, 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-506)
507. Addison, ‘Number Forty-Five’, *The Free-Holder*, 25 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).  [↑](#footnote-ref-507)
508. Klein, ‘Introduction’ in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. vii-xxxii (p. xiii). [↑](#footnote-ref-508)
509. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. 4-28 (p. 9). [↑](#footnote-ref-509)
510. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-510)
511. Addison, ‘Number Forty-Five’, *The Free-Holder*, 25 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).  [↑](#footnote-ref-511)
512. Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions and Times* (1999), p. 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-512)
513. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. vii-xxxii (p. xiv). [↑](#footnote-ref-513)
514. Addison, ‘Number Forty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 21 May 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-514)
515. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Characteristics* (1999), pp. vii-xxxii (p. xiv). [↑](#footnote-ref-515)
516. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder*, 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-516)
517. ‘Number One’, *The Observator,* 25 February 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-517)
518. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-518)
519. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-519)
520. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-520)
521. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-521)
522. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-522)
523. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-523)
524. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 2715, pp. 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-524)
525. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-525)
526. ‘Number One’, *The Observator,* 25 February 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-526)
527. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-527)
528. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-528)
529. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-529)
530. ‘Number Four’, *The Controller,* 29 October 1714, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-530)
531. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-531)
532. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-532)
533. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-533)
534. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 169*.*  [↑](#footnote-ref-534)
535. Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (2000), p. 303. [↑](#footnote-ref-535)
536. Ibid., p.303. [↑](#footnote-ref-536)
537. ‘Number Four’, *The Controller*, 29 October 1714, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-537)
538. Translation my own. [↑](#footnote-ref-538)
539. ‘Chit’, *Oxford English Dictionary Online,*

     <<http://www.oed.com.eresources.shef.ac.uk/view/Entry/31929?rskey=cllW2y&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>> [accessed 21st December] [↑](#footnote-ref-539)
540. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Two’, *The Free-Holder,* 18 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1) [↑](#footnote-ref-540)
541. Addison, ‘Number Ten’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-541)
542. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 25 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-542)
543. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 26 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-543)
544. Addison, ‘Number Seven’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-544)
545. *Charitable Mercury and Female Intelligence*, ed. by Elizabeth Powell(London: Elizabeth Powell, 1716), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-545)
546. *Charitable Mercury and Female Intelligence* (1716), p. 1.Powell references Defoe frequently throughout her ‘notes’, which indicates that he might have been the anonymous Gentleman who has helped her into print. [↑](#footnote-ref-546)
547. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-547)
548. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-548)
549. ‘NCBEL, II: 1275’ in *W R A Graphical Directory of English Newspapers A Periodicals, 1702-1714*, ed. by V. B. A. McLeod (1982). [↑](#footnote-ref-549)
550. Daniel Defoe, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Monitor,* 20 May 171, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-550)
551. Richard Steele, *The Lover,* 28 No’s (London: Ferdinand Burleigh, 1714).

     Steele’s *The Lover* was sold three times a week for 2 pence per issue in Spring 1714. Describing itself as being ‘Written in imitation of *The Tatler*’ the paper followed ‘Mr. Marmaduke Myrtle, Gent’ and his satirical courtship with ‘Miss Anne Page’, who is committed to marrying another man (see ‘Number One’, 25 Febuary 1714). Over the course of the paper Myrtle finds that the more passionate he becomes, the more volatile the public response and the more elusive Miss Page becomes. [↑](#footnote-ref-551)
552. Daniel Defoe, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Monitor,* 20 May 171, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-552)
553. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-553)
554. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-554)
555. NCBEL, II: 1275’ in *W R A Graphical Directory of English Newspapers A Periodicals, 1702-1714*, ed. by V. B. A. McLeod (1982). [↑](#footnote-ref-555)
556. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 26 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-556)
557. Defoe, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Monitor,* 20 May 171, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-557)
558. Addison, ‘Fifty-Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 15 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-558)
559. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-559)
560. Addison, ‘Number Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 6 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-560)
561. Cooper, ‘A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm’, in *Characteristics* (1999) pp. 4-28 (p. 4). [↑](#footnote-ref-561)
562. Addison, ‘Number Fifty-Five’, *The Free-Holder,* 29 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-562)
563. Joseph Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 February, 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-563)
564. Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-564)
565. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-565)
566. Ibid.,p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-566)
567. *A Free-Holder Extraordinary* (London: John Morphew, 1716), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-567)
568. Christopher Wyvill, ‘Number One’, in *The Yorkshire Free-Holder,* 20 January 1780, pp. 1-6 (p. 3). [↑](#footnote-ref-568)
569. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-569)
570. Gianfranco Poggi, ‘Citizens and the state: retrospect and prospect’, in *States and Citizens,* ed. by Quentin Skinner and Bo Stråth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 39-48 (p. 43). [↑](#footnote-ref-570)
571. Ibid.,p. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-571)
572. Addison, ‘Number One’, in *The Free-Holder*, 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-572)
573. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-573)
574. Poggi, ‘Citizens and the state: retrospect and prospect’, p. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-574)
575. Ibid., p. 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-575)
576. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*, 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-576)
577. Brian Cowan, ‘Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 37.3 (2004), pp. 345-366 (347). [↑](#footnote-ref-577)
578. There is an ever-growing field of scholarship concerning the subject of female communities and their representation in (and engagements with) the press of the long eighteenth century. As part of her extensive survey of eighteenth-century erotica, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Karen Harvey also draws attention to the emergence of periodicals in the late eighteenth century marketed explicitly to a female readership, such as Eliza Haywood’s *Female Spectator*. Elsewhere scholarship has also began to pay attention to the practical roles played by women in the press of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries press, with works such as Marcus Nevitt’s *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England* (Cornwall: Ashgate, 2006)and Paula McDowell’s *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics and Gender in the London Literary Market Place, 1678-1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) revealing that women were amongst the first to seize the press as a vehicle for public political expression. Indeed, both works sit amidst a wave of gender-centric revisions to Jeremy Black’s pioneering account of the rise of the British press and its impact on eighteenth-century culture: *The English Press in the Eighteenth-Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987). However, the work most useful when considering *The Free-Holder*’s portrayal of female communities is Margaret Hunt’s ‘Hawkers, Bawlers and Mercuries: Women and the London Press in the Early Enlightenment’, *Women and History,* 9 (1984), 41-68, a work which promotes representation over reality to identify the few reductive roles assigned to women in the metropolitan periodicals of eighteenth-century London. [↑](#footnote-ref-578)
579. Addison, ‘Number Eight’, *The Free-Holder,* 16 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-579)
580. Addison, ‘Number Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 2nd June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-580)
581. Ibid.,p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-581)
582. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-582)
583. Addison, ‘Number Eight’, *The Free-Holder,* 16 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-583)
584. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-584)
585. Addison, ‘Number Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 2 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-585)
586. Addison, ‘Number Eight’, *The Free-Holder,* 16 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-586)
587. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-587)
588. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-588)
589. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-589)
590. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-590)
591. Addison, ‘Number Four’, *The Free-Holder,* 2 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-591)
592. Ibid., p. 2. My emphasis. [↑](#footnote-ref-592)
593. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-593)
594. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 20 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-594)
595. Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder,* 3 February 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-595)
596. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 20 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-596)
597. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-597)
598. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 13 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-598)
599. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq: A New Edition.* (London: Sold by S. Dampier, R. Newton, J. Davidson, R. Cowley, C. Bland, H. Towlins, W. Napier, A. Gray, 1779) p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-599)
600. Ibid. p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-600)
601. T. Payne, ‘The Publisher to the Reader’, in *A Collection of Political Essays and Letters in the Freeholder’s Journal* (London, T. Payne, 1722), p. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-601)
602. Ibid.,p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-602)
603. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-603)
604. Wyvill, ‘Number One’, *The Yorkshire Free-Holder,* (1780) p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-604)
605. For a thorough account of the process by which collected periodicals appeared in book edition see Calhoun Winton’s ‘*The Tatler*: From Half-Sheet to Book’, *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism,* 16:1 (1993), 23-33. [↑](#footnote-ref-605)
606. Joseph Addison, *An Answer to a Pamphlet Entitled, An Argument to Prove the Affections of the People of England to be left to the best Security of the Government, By the Author of the Free-Holder*( London: S.Gray,1716). [↑](#footnote-ref-606)
607. Raymond N. MacKenzie, ‘Tonson, Jacob, the elder (1655/6–1736)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27540> [accessed 24 June 2013]. [↑](#footnote-ref-607)
608. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-608)
609. Reel 6, Film no. 0520 in ***The Records of the Stationers’ Company 1554-1920*** (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-609)
610. Joseph Addison**,** *The Free-Holder, or, Political Essays* (London: J. Tonson, 1716). [↑](#footnote-ref-610)
611. *The Free-Holder and the Weekly Packet* (Edinburgh: George Steuart, 1716). [↑](#footnote-ref-611)
612. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-612)
613. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays,* 3rd edition (London: D. Midwinter and J. Tonson, 1723); Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays,* 4th edition (London: D. Midwinter and J. Tonson, 1729); Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays,* 5th edition (London: D. Midwinter, A.Ward, and J. Tonson, 1732). [↑](#footnote-ref-613)
614. MacKenzie, ‘Tonson, Jacob, the elder (1655/6–1736)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [accessed 24 June 2013]. [↑](#footnote-ref-614)
615. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays,* 6th edition (London: J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1739). [↑](#footnote-ref-615)
616. This edition is not recorded in the records of the Stationers’ Company. [↑](#footnote-ref-616)
617. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq,* 7th edition (Glasgow: Printed by R. Urik and Company for J. Gilmour, 1746). [↑](#footnote-ref-617)
618. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq* (London: J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper, 1751); Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq.* (Dublin: P. Wilson, J. Exshaw, R. James, S. Price, M. Williamson, booksellers, 1751). The latter of these editions is not recorded in the records of the Stationers’ Company. [↑](#footnote-ref-618)
619. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq,* 8th edition (Glasgow: J. Bryce, D. Paterson and D. Baxter, 1752). [↑](#footnote-ref-619)
620. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq.* (London: Printed Jacob and Richard Tonson, 1758); Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq.* (London: Printed by J. and R. Tonson in the Strand, 1761). [↑](#footnote-ref-620)
621. Thomas Edwards, *The Canons of Criticism,* 7th edition (London: C. Bathurst, 1765), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-621)
622. Joseph Addison, *The Free-holder, or, Political Essays by the Right Honourable Joseph Addison Esq: A New Edition.* (London: Sold by S. Dampier, R. Newton, J. Davidson, R. Cowley, C. Bland, H. Towlins, W. Napier, A. Gray, 1779). [↑](#footnote-ref-622)
623. Ibid., p. 2-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-623)
624. Of Napier’s connections David J. Golby writes: ‘His employees included the musician George Smart and the caricaturist James Gillray, and strong associations with composers such as J. C. Bach and William Shield helped to create a wide-ranging catalogue of publications, from dance collections to popular ballad operas such as Rosina and The Maid of the Mill.’ Golby, ‘Napier, William (c.1741–1812)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67181> [accessed 18 Oct 2013] [↑](#footnote-ref-624)
625. John Davidson appears in the 1784, 1785 and 1786 editions of *The Aberdeen Almanac,* listed as ‘an agent before the court’ and ‘officer of his Majesty’s reverence and excise’, *The Aberdeen Almanack for the year 1784* (Aberdeen, J. Chalmers & Co. Printers, 1784), p. 234. Davidson is recorded as having known ‘many of the city’s eminent literati and antiquarians, including Lord Hailes, William Tytler, George Paton, David Herd, and Callander of Craigforth; he frequently located rare books for Bishop Percy.’ W. W. Wroth, ‘Davidson, John (*c.*1724–1797)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7218> [accessed 18 Oct 2013] [↑](#footnote-ref-625)
626. *An Account of some late attempts by the correspondents of the Society for the Propagating of Christian Knowledge, to Christianize North America* (Edinburgh: 1763) p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-626)
627. Ibid., p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-627)
628. Simon Varey, ‘The Craftsman’, in *Telling People What to Think: Early Eighteenth-Century Periodicals from The Review to The Rambler,* ed. by J. A. Downie and Thomas N. Corns (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1993), pp. 58-78 (p. 60). [↑](#footnote-ref-628)
629. *The Freeholder’s Journal* (London: T. Payne, 1721), pp. 1-6 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-629)
630. Simon Varey, ‘The Craftsman’, in *Telling People What to Think,* (1993), p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-630)
631. Ibid., p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-631)
632. Jeremy Black, ‘Politicisation and the Press in Hanoverian England’, in *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914,* ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1993), pp. 63-82 (p. 72). [↑](#footnote-ref-632)
633. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 20 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-633)
634. Poggi, ‘Citizens and the state’, in *States and Citizens,* p. 43 and Quentin Skinner, ‘Augustan Party Politics and Renaissance Constitutional Thought’, in *Visions of Politics, vol. 2: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 344-367 (p. 354). [↑](#footnote-ref-634)
635. Skinner, ‘Augustan Party Politics and Renaissance Constitutional Thought’ (2002), p. 354. [↑](#footnote-ref-635)
636. Ibid., p. 354. [↑](#footnote-ref-636)
637. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), p. 19 and p. 20. [↑](#footnote-ref-637)
638. Henry St John ‘Of Societies for the Reformation of Manners; with an Address to Magistrates’, in *The Occasional Paper,* 3 vols (London: J. Knapton, 1717), ii, pp. 235-261; Henry St John, ‘Number Fifty-Seven’, *The Craftsman,* 5 August 1727; Henry St John, ‘Number Fifty-Nine’, *The Craftsman,* 19 August 1727. [↑](#footnote-ref-638)
639. Henry St John, ‘Of Societies for the Reformation of Manners’, in *The Occasional Paper,* (1717), ii, p. 237. [↑](#footnote-ref-639)
640. Henry St John, *The Craftsman*; *Being a Critique upon the Times,* 14 vols (London: R. Franklin, 1731), ii, pp. 117-126 (p. 119). [↑](#footnote-ref-640)
641. Ibid., p. 199. In *The Free-Holder* Addison similarly warns against making decisions based purely on political affiliation. As noted earlier in this thesis, Addison writes that the ‘general division of the British nation is into Whigs and Tories, there being very few, if any, who stand neuteral in the dispute, without ranging themselves under one of these denominations. […] And yet it is certain, that most of our fellow subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendship, or deference to the judgement of those, who, perhaps in their own hearts disapprove of the opinions which they industriously spread among the multitudes.’ ‘Number Fifty-Four’, *The Free-Holder*, 25 June 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-641)
642. Ibid., p. 122. [↑](#footnote-ref-642)
643. Ibid., p. 123. [↑](#footnote-ref-643)
644. Ibid., p. 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-644)
645. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, cited in Henry St John, *The Craftsman*; *Being a Critique upon the Times,* 14 vols (London: R. Franklin, 1731), ii, pp. 117-126 (pp. 117-118). [↑](#footnote-ref-645)
646. Ibid., p. 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-646)
647. Henry St John, *The Craftsman* (1731), ii, p. p. 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-647)
648. Ibid., p. 100, p. 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-648)
649. Ibid., p. 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-649)
650. Ibid., p. 101. [↑](#footnote-ref-650)
651. Ibid., p. 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-651)
652. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder*,23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-652)
653. Henry St John, *The Craftsman* (1731), ii, p. 104. [↑](#footnote-ref-653)
654. *A Free-Holder Extraordinary* (London: John Morphew, 1716), p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-654)
655. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-655)
656. Reel 6, Film no. 0520 in ***The Records of the Stationers’ Company 1554-1920*** (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986) reveals that J. Morphew bought ‘The whole shares for the Representation of the Right Honourable Lord Bolingbroke’ (April, 1715). [↑](#footnote-ref-656)
657. *The Freeholder’s Journal* (London: T. Payne, 1721), pp. 1-6 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-657)
658. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-658)
659. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-659)
660. Ibid., p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-660)
661. Peter Smithers, *The Life of Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 331. [↑](#footnote-ref-661)
662. Wyvill, ‘Number One’, *The Yorkshire Free-Holder,* 20 January 1780, pp. 1-6 (p. 3). [↑](#footnote-ref-662)
663. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-663)
664. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-664)
665. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-665)
666. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-666)
667. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-667)
668. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-668)
669. Ibid., p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-669)
670. Addison, ‘Number Thirteen’, *The Free-Holder*, 3 February, 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-670)
671. Wyvill, ‘Number One’, in *The Yorkshire Free-Holder,* (1780), p. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-671)
672. *The Freeholder’s Journal* (London: T. Payne, 1721), pp. 1-6 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-672)
673. Addison, ‘Number Twelve’, *The Free-Holder,* 20 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-673)
674. Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980), pp. 1-40 (pp. 24-25). [↑](#footnote-ref-674)
675. Addison, ‘Number Twenty-Two’, *The Free-Holder*, 5 March 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-675)
676. Addison, ‘Number Ten’, *The Free-Holder*, 23 January 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 1). [↑](#footnote-ref-676)
677. Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil, or The Two Nations,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). [↑](#footnote-ref-677)
678. Ibid., pp. 421-422. [↑](#footnote-ref-678)
679. ‘Ed Miliband’s Speech to Labour Party Annual Conference 2012’,

     *Labour* <<http://www.labour.org.uk/ed-miliband-speech-conf-2012>> [accessed 5 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-679)
680. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-680)
681. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-681)
682. Politeness being ‘the conventions of good manners, convey[ing] the fundamental rhetorical necessity of making concessions to the knowledge, interests and attention spans of an audience’ See: Lawrence E. Klein, ‘Introduction’, in *Shaftesbury; Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinion, Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. vii-xxxii (p. viii). [↑](#footnote-ref-682)
683. ‘Ed Miliband’s Speech to Labour Party Annual Conference 2012’,

     *Labour* <<http://www.labour.org.uk/ed-miliband-speech-conf-2012>> [accessed 5 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-683)
684. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-684)
685. Addison, ‘Number One’, *The Free-Holder,* 23 December 1715, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-685)
686. ‘Ed Miliband’s Speech to Labour Party Annual Conference 2012’, *Labour*

     <<http://www.labour.org.uk/ed-miliband-speech-conf-2012>> [accessed 5 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-686)
687. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-687)
688. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-688)
689. Andrew Rawnsley, ‘Leaders Still Don’t Connect with Voters’, *The Observer,* 14 October 2012, available online <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/14/andrew-rawnsley-leaders-still-dont-connect-with-voters>> [accessed 5 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-689)
690. Ed Miliband providing the first, fifth, seventh, tenth, twelfth and fifteenth sentences, David Cameron contributing sentences three, eight, eleven, thirteen and sixteen, Nick Clegg the rest. [↑](#footnote-ref-690)
691. Rawnsley, ‘Leaders Still Don’t Connect with Voters’, *The Observer,* 14 October 2012, available online <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/14/andrew-rawnsley-leaders-still-dont-connect-with-voters>> [accessed 5 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-691)
692. Russell Brand, ‘We No Longer Have the Luxury of Tradition’, *New Statesman,* 24 October 2013, Available online, <<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/10/russell-brand-on-revolution>> [accessed 7 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-692)
693. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-693)
694. Commenting on the increasing complexity of what is described by John W. Self the ‘television age of politics’, Peter R. Schrott cites ‘position’ and ‘personal qualities’ as the facets of a politician’s represented character that have the most resonance with watching voters. See: ‘Electoral Consequences of “Winning” Televised Debates’, *American Association for Public Opinion Quarterly,* 54.4 (1990), 567-585 (567). William Dinan and David Miller have recently defined ‘spin’ as ‘the ubiquitous term for public relations tactics. It was initially applied to the news management techniques of political parties and the image polishing of politicians, particularly during election campaigns, but spin has recently come to be used in relation to corporate and government activity.’ Though Miller and Dinan argue that ‘spin’ is an invention of the twentieth century, this study has surely demonstrated that it was a tactic readily employed during the early eighteenth; with Addison’s project chiefly managing and ‘image polishing’ both George I and his Whig ministry. See William Dinan and David Miller, *A Century of Spin: How Public Relations Became the Cutting Edge of Corporate Power* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), p. 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-694)
695. Brand, ‘We No Longer Have the Luxury of Tradition’, *New Statesman,* 24 October 2013, Available online, <<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2013/10/russell-brand-on-revolution>> [accessed 7 January 2014] [↑](#footnote-ref-695)
696. Samuel Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 18). [↑](#footnote-ref-696)
697. Joseph Addison, ‘Number Thirty-Five’, *The Free-Holder*, 20 April 1716, pp. 1-2 (p. 2). [↑](#footnote-ref-697)
698. To recap, this thesis opened with William Makepeace Thackeray’s claim that: ‘If Swift’s life was the most wretched, I think Addison’s was one of the most enviable. A life prosperous and beautiful – a calm death – an immense fame and affection afterwards for his happy and spotless name.’ ‘The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century’ (1853) in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lillian D. Bloom (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980),pp. 442-451 (p. 447). [↑](#footnote-ref-698)
699. For further detail in the discrepancies in the amount of critical attention paid to Addison’s Hanoverian periodical writing when compared to that given to his writing during the reign of Queen Anne, see the opening chapter of this thesis. This section will survey some of the brief appearances made by *The Free-Holder* in Addison’s nineteenth-century biographies. Though touched upon in Edward and Lilian Bloom’s *Joseph Addison’s Sociable Animal* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1971) *The Free-Holder* is notably absent from their lengthy ‘Introduction’ to *Addison and Steele: A Critical Biography* (1980), despite the essay featuring a section on Addison’s Whig writing during the same period. More startling still is that the reproduction of Johnson’s ‘Life of Addison’ within this volume has been edited in such a way that Johnson’s brief discussion of *The Free-Holder* is missing (pp. 386-399). The single critical edition mentioned here is *The Freeholder,* ed. by James Leheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979). [↑](#footnote-ref-699)
700. W. J. Courthorpe, *Addison* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), p. 154. [↑](#footnote-ref-700)
701. Cited in Peter Smithers, *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 365. Smithers casts doubt over the authenticity of the note, but concludes that ‘it probably represents the substance of Lady Mary’s thoughts. [↑](#footnote-ref-701)
702. Samuel Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 18). [↑](#footnote-ref-702)
703. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 19) and Thomas Barbington Macaulay [1843], *The Life and Writings of Addison*, ed. by R.F. Winch (London: Macmilan and Co Ltd., 1898) p. 86. Macaulay maximises the sentimental potential, writing that ‘[t]he last moments of Addison were perfectly serene. […] “See,” he said, “how a Christian can die.” The piety of Addison was, in truth, of a singularly cheerful character. The feeling which predominates in all his devotional writings is gratitude. God was to him the all wise and all powerful friend who had watched over his cradle with more than maternal tenderness […].’ [↑](#footnote-ref-703)
704. James Leheny cites a claim made by Bolingbroke in the first number of *The Occasional Writer* that Addison’s appointment was a reward for his *Freeholder* essays, adding that ‘[t]he complexity of political advancement makes it doubtful that an appointment to such a high ministerial office would be made that simply, but his appointment also suggests that the ministry was not displeased with [*The Free-Holder*].’ James Leheny, ‘Introduction’, in *The Freeholder,* ed. by James Leheny(London: Clarendon Press, 1979) pp. 1-35 (p. 29). [↑](#footnote-ref-704)
705. Leslie Stephen, ‘Joseph Addison’, in *The Dictionary of National Biography,* ed. by Elder Smith (London: Elder Smith, 1885-1912), p. 129. [↑](#footnote-ref-705)
706. Peter Smithers, ‘A Forty Shilling Freeholder’ in *The Life of Joseph Addison* (Oxford: 1954), pp. 328-364. [↑](#footnote-ref-706)
707. Ibid., p. 331. Famously Addison claimed in *The Spectator* to endeavour to bring ‘[p]hilosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses.’ Joseph Addison, ‘Number Ten’, *The Spectator,* 12 March 1711, pp. 1-2 (p. 1).  [↑](#footnote-ref-707)
708. Peter Smithers, ‘A Forty Shilling Freeholder’ in *The Life of Joseph Addison* (1954), pp. 328-364. [↑](#footnote-ref-708)
709. As the introduction to this project states, the view of *The Spectator* as a neutral project has been severely complicated and challenged in recent decades, particularly in the works of J. A. Downie and Brian Cowan. [↑](#footnote-ref-709)
710. Thackeray, ‘The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century’ (1853) in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, (1980),pp. 442-451 (p. 444). [↑](#footnote-ref-710)
711. Macaulay [1843], *The Life and Writings of Addison* (1898) p. 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-711)
712. Ibid., p. 72. [↑](#footnote-ref-712)
713. W. J. Courthorpe, *Addison* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889) p. 151. [↑](#footnote-ref-713)
714. Samuel Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 22). [↑](#footnote-ref-714)
715. Ibid., p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-715)
716. Ibid., p. 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-716)
717. Ibid., p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-717)
718. Ibid., p. 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-718)
719. Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Edward A. Bloom and Lilian D. Bloom (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1980) pp. 1-40 (p. 35). [↑](#footnote-ref-719)
720. Samuel Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 21). [↑](#footnote-ref-720)
721. Ibid., p. 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-721)
722. Bloom and Bloom, ‘Introduction’, in *Addison and Steele: The Critical Heritage* (1980) pp. 1-40 (p. 26). [↑](#footnote-ref-722)
723. Diana Adams, ‘Introduction’, in *Eminent Victorians* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2003), pp. xi-xvi (p. xvi). [↑](#footnote-ref-723)
724. Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2003), p. xviii. [↑](#footnote-ref-724)
725. Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), pp. 145-146. [↑](#footnote-ref-725)
726. Ibid., 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-726)
727. This passage is taken from *The Tatler,* No. 116, 5 Jan 1710. [↑](#footnote-ref-727)
728. Johnson, ‘Addison’, in *The Lives of the Poets* (2006), iii, pp. 1-38 (p. 15). [↑](#footnote-ref-728)