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Dudley Bradstreet — a Tipperary Spy & Adventurer

By James O'Donoghue

There are reasons for thinking that the famous decision to retreat to Scotland taken on 5 December 1745 at Derby was precipitated by the work of a Whig secret agent called Dudley Bradstreet.¹

INTRODUCTION

In the decades after James II's flight from England in November 1688, Jacobite exiles, and their supporters in Britain and Ireland, planned numerous invasion attempts, negotiated for support with various continental powers, and failed abysmally in their primary object of restoring the Stuarts. George I's peaceful accession in 1714 after the death of Anne (the last Stuart monarch) and the defeat of Mar's hasty and ill-advised rising in 1715-16 when the Pretender James III landed in Scotland, appeared to cement the Brunswick succession and to condemn Jacobitism to an uncertain future in Europe — first at St Germain's and later at Rome.

True, 1719 saw an Ormonde-led invasion of England from Spain, foiled by that unreliable Jacobite accomplice the weather. It also witnessed a small Jacobite landing in Scotland; Sarsfield's son, the Earl of Lucan, visited Connaught on a mission to organise a diversionary Jacobite rising, and during the 1720s fear of a Jacobite invasion persisted. But, as the years passed, the prospect of a Jacobite restoration faded and became less and less likely.

Periodic invasion scares continued to surface, but James III had neither the will nor the personality to harness and co-ordinate a restoration. He had failed in 1708 and 1715 to take advantage of favourable conditions. Moreover, one of the great paradoxes of Jacobite history is that 1745-46, when the immediate prospects appeared very unfavourable for the deposed monarchy, almost saw a restoration as Charles Edward came within a whisker of overthrowing George II.

Bonnie Prince Charlie's daring exploits after his landing with the immortal 'Seven Men of Moidart'² resulted in his Highland army threatening London. French reinforcements were expected; George II was in Germany, and London was "in the greatest Apprehensions".

It was this juncture that a Tipperary-born adventurer, Dudley Bradstreet, made his fleeting but seemingly crucial intervention in English history. In the light of the great Jacobite historian Petrie's remarks that "it is difficult to resist the conclusion that if Charles had marched forward from Derby he would have won the crown for his father",³ it is hardly an overstatement to declare that Bradstreet, if he is to be believed, helped to change effectively the course of British history. Prince Charles himself reportedly asserted: "Bradstreet will do me more harm than all the Elector's army".⁴

Who was Dudley Bradstreet? Courtesy of an entertaining autobiography,⁵ the remarkable career of this clever manipulator, ambitious adventurer and intriguing personality can be traced. The autobiography, belonging to the picaresque genre,⁶ was written "with vivacity and descriptive power".⁷ Before reviewing his career, a consideration of Bradstreet's reliability is necessary. Rupert Jarvis debated the merits of the autobiography in the early 1970s.⁸ Prior to the 1929 reprint, Bradstreet had not been taken seriously, but discovery of authentic records in both the Duke of Newcastle papers in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office seemed to rehabilitate his importance and confirm his story.



T H E
L I F E
A N D
Uncommon Adventures
O F
Capt. *Dudley Bradstreet*.
B E I N G
The most Genuine and Extraordinary,
perhaps, ever published.

CONTAINING,

<p>A full Account of his and others Amours. His being employ'd in Secret Services by the Ministry of Great Britain, in the late Rebellion. His Majesty's Present to him, receiv'd by the Hands of Mr. Secretary. His Letters to his Majesty, and the Answers received from the King. The Reward he got for his Services, occasioning his Scheme of the BOTTLE CONJURER. His passing as a Magician in Covent-garden, where many</p>	<p>of high Birth and Fortune of both Sexes, and even famed for Wisdom, resorted to him, upon his promising to renew their Age, making them thirty or forty Years younger than they were, informing others when their Husbands or Wives should die. His being made Governor and Judge of the finest Seraglio in England, and his promised Fealt to the City of London; Facts well known to all the Courts of Europe.</p>
<p>With the Lives of Mrs. <i>Winnett</i>, Mrs. <i>Collifon</i>, Miss <i>Churcbill</i>, &c. &c.</p>	

D U B L I N :

Printed and Sold by S. POWELL in *Crane-lane*,
for the AUTHOR.

M DCC LV.

The title-page of Bradstreet's 1755 book

Jarvis, however, proceeded to demolish Dudley's credibility, highlighting the inaccuracies in his autobiography and sceptically questioning Dudley's exact role in the drama of 1745. Jarvis treated Dudley dismissively and refused to take him seriously. Nevertheless, Dudley's autobiography is fascinating, and, taking Jarvis's provisos on board, well worth recalling.

— 1 —

Dudley Bradstreet was born in county Tipperary in 1711. His father, John, a Protestant, had received Cromwellian land grants, had command of a troop of horse and was in the Commission of the Peace. John Bradstreet⁹ had received lands in county Kilkenny which were confirmed by the Court of Claims in September 1668: "John Bradstreet, gent., Part of Curraghmore, with ye improvements made by him 132 A 1 R 7 P plant. (214 A 1 R 23 P stat.)".¹⁰ There are three Curraghmore townlands in Kilkenny, but the Books of Survey and Distribution confirm the grant to have been in the parish of Kilcolumb, Barony of Ida, just five miles north-north-east of Waterford, on the River Barrow, in the diocese of Ossory.¹¹ These lands had belonged to John Fitzgerald before the upheavals of the 1640s.¹²

Unfortunately, Dudley did not give a precise location for his Tipperary home. However, the Bradstreet family probably resided somewhere in the south-east of the county near to the Kilkenny/Waterford county bounds where their land was situated.¹³

Dudley's father was comfortably well-off. By the 1750s the possessions he had held in 1711 were being let at £3,000 p.a. Dudley explains that high-living reduced the family fortune; consequently his father moved his large family to Dublin. Only just the youngest child, Dudley, remained in Tipperary for the first seven years of his life with a foster-father. The independence, daring and recklessness later displayed by Dudley originated in these early years. He acknowledged "the Injury my being thus abandoned, did my future Conduct and Morals".¹⁴

He was first educated at a school, 'the Master of which was remarkably the greatest Pedant, and most ignorant Wretch that ever attempted to communicate Learning to Youth'.¹⁵ The only benefit accrued there was an interest and knowledge in what became a life-long love, card-playing. It is tempting to identify this school as the Erasmus Smith Grammar School in Tipperary town which catered for the sons of New English settlers and which, for two and a half centuries, was "a prestigious Protestant boys college".¹⁶

But a report from 1718, when Dudley would have been a student (he transferred to another school in 1719) apparently gives lie to this possibility. The archbishop of Cashel and Emly gave "a good character of Mr [Robert] Morgan, the Master of the said School [from 1701-1728]" and reported that



"the School begins now to increase". The Grammar School's governors expressed satisfaction with the report.¹⁷

Dudley was next sent boarding to a school run by a Mr. Dunlevie near Templemore. Here discipline was initially rigidly enforced and Dudley's burgeoning card-playing career was rewarded with solitary confinement punishment. Within six months of attending this school pressures of space resulted in Dudley sleeping with the Master - who allegedly confided in the young boy - and the Master's young wife. Dudley was witness to a romantic rendezvous between Mrs Dunlevie and a young gentleman boarder, Gregory. Pretending to be asleep, he had his first experience, albeit only as an observer, of sexual intercourse:

"I had heard of Love before, but did not think it so frightful ... I imagined then it would have ended in Murder, and nothing but Fear prevented an Outcry from me, to save my poor Master's Wife."¹⁸

Consequent on Dunlevie's marital distractions, the boys under eight years of age were entrusted to the worldly-wise Dudley, who candidly admitted to exploiting his position:

"In this Station my Avarice soon appeared for there was not a Penknife, Inkhorn, or Penny of Money among the young Fry that I did not take a Liking to, and try to get".¹⁹

The rest of his life was to be dominated by similar pecuniary schemes. Within two more years, however, as the school was neglected by the distracted master, the boys were called home. Dudley joined his family who were then living in King Street, near Stephen's Green, Dublin.

Dudley now received tuition from his brother Redmond, who was "bred to the law" but was to die young, and he became a confidant of a family-friend, Mrs. Ingram, whose husband John was imprisoned in the Four Courts Marshalsea, "for several great sums". His wife, instead of grieving, was engaged in an affair with an army officer, Captain Sutton. Dudley unwittingly played a crucial role in re-uniting the Ingrams after he had mistakenly given letters, intended for the officer, to the husband. The twelve-year-old was increasingly sexually aware, beginning to "have an Inclination to see Mrs Ingram garter her Stockings, or take a view of her Bubbies"²⁰ After his father was left a freehold interest in county Longford worth £100 a year the family moved to the midlands. Dudley attended a 'good' Latin school at Granard, about two miles from his home, and a relatively tight rein was kept on him for three years.

— 2 —

In his fifteenth year a Maid "instructed me in Bed, and was the first who initiated me in the Mysteries of Love".²¹ After a two-year relationship with the girl, during which time he adopted what he considered to be very gentlemanly poses, duelling and fighting, his affections for a lady-friend of his father's resulted in his banishment to Dublin to the care of Counsellor John Fitzpatrick, who taught law in Peter Street.

After a reunion with this lady-friend, and a trip to England with her after which his father temporarily withdrew his credit, Dudley was called home where he became a trooper in Captain Welch's Regiment of Horse at Granard. The regiment was cantoned to Carlow, where "I learned, when at a Loss for Words, to swear pretty gracefully" and where he married "a distant Relation ... famed for Beauty but [she] had no Fortune".²² A discharge was arranged for him within ten months.

His father died soon after and Dudley and his wife were to live with his mother for the next two years before her death, which resulted in a four to five-year family struggle over his parents' money. Eventually his nephew - his father's heir-at-law — came from America and took possession but gave Dudley a freehold lease worth £36 a year 'to make life tolerable',²³ an amount which was 'but little for one cursed with the Vices in which I abounded, especially the Love of Women and Gaming'.²⁴

His wife died shortly after, though not before giving him a number of children, a point on which



he is singularly vague. Indeed, throughout the autobiography Dudley is reticent about his own family.

In all his dealings it was a maxim of Dudley's 'to know the Enemy's weak Side', and he implemented this truism when he captained the men of Westmeath against their Longford counterparts, in what has been accepted as one of the first recorded inter-county football games played at Aghamore²⁵ one August, in either 1735 or 1736.²⁶ The longevity of intense county rivalries is evident in Dudley's comments. "I never observed between hostile Armies greater Animosity than between these two neighbouring Counties".²⁷

Having employed a woman's charms to weaken the enemy's champion, and a friend to cause disunity among them, the discipline of the Westmeath men won the day after the game deteriorated into a battle. To complete a good day for Dudley he made love to his mistress, Moll Roe, "after a decent Resistance of hers".²⁸

In 1736, now aged 25, Dudley headed back to Dublin where he became an apprentice to an attorney for nearly a year. A now pregnant Moll was also in Dublin but Dudley became involved with a society lady, whom he calls "Messalina" to protect, he asserts, the identity of the lady and her wealthy family.

Disputes between his new lover and Moll and the forces of the law resulted in his arrest by four bailiffs on a writ for £170, after he had worked ten days at the Cavan Assizes. The mercenary in him once more surfaced; "to help my future Chastity and mend my Fortune", he courted and married a widow from Pill Lane within a month after getting bail.²⁹

On a journey back from Westmeath in the late 1730s with two friends, Dudley explained how a row developed after an evening of heavy drinking and when, only for his pistol failing, a fatality could have occurred. Fifteen years later Dudley wrote that after this episode he 'seldom drank to Excess, nor enter'd into warm or fruitless Arguments'.³⁰ In his second book, *Bradstreet's Lives*, Dudley presaged his fellow, rather more chaste, countyman, Fr. Mathew. Referring to the Seraglio, "a little Female Commonwealth . . . in the Eastern Nations of the World", he asserted that:

"Drunkenness was not forbid [there] which I think was a great Defect ... for in the Course of my Experience I have known more Evils proceed from that one Vice, than from all others we are liable to".³¹

After dabbling in the linen industry, Dudley and his wife became successful brewers and, consequently, he was presented with the freedom of Dublin and made a warden of the Corporation of Brewers. After illness, however, and the thieving of malt and liquor by his servants, his financial position, already weakened by the cost of establishing a brewery, deteriorated considerably. The great frost of 1739,³² "the Severity of which entirely ruined me and many others of the same trade",³³ obliged him to sell his properties to pay his creditors. After arranging his monetary affairs satisfactorily, he took leave of his family and sailed to England in the hope of enlisting in the army to make his fortune.

— 3 —

Dudley first spent a week at Liverpool where he 'discovered the unaccountable Contempt the English have for the unfortunate Irish'. Having reached London, his hopes of getting an ensigncy were dashed when an Irish relation reneged on a promise to finance him. With typical honesty, Dudley exhorted his readers "to prepare yourself to hear nothing from me but Vices, Schemes, and Immoralities"³⁴ and proceeded to be as good as his word.

Through involvements in selling liquor, gaming, prostitution and, more nobly, saving a doctor from a blackmailing scheme, Dudley was able to save £500 in nine months. In 1744 this same doctor encouraged Dudley to offer himself to the government's service as an agent or spy, and paid him a back-handed compliment in that, 'had they known my Abilities, they would give me such Encouragement as would soon make my Fortune'!³⁵



"In the midst of these foreign and domestic Troubles", as the Pretender and his 5,500-strong army encountered initial success and marched triumphantly through England, the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, employed Dudley. Initially he was sent to mingle among his fellow-countrymen, many of whom arrived in England for the harvest season.

Irish Catholics were automatically assumed to be rabid Jacobites, a not altogether unfair assessment as the Irish Brigades in Europe were most likely to assist Charles. Dudley "found none who had any regard for the Pretender's Cause", and his report pleased Newcastle. After next being ordered "to mix with all the disaffected Company I could in London", Dudley explains how he unearthed a Jacobite plot to capture the Tower of London which was foiled by a strengthening of the guard.

He alleged that to guarantee Dudley's authenticity among the disaffected, he was "jailed" for a fortnight, where rather unbelievably he maintained he met "the Girl with whom I had my first Amour". Dudley's self-importance begins to overtake his senses at this stage. He also claimed to have succeeded in preventing a planned uprising at Portsmouth Castle and other places where 1,500 French and Spanish prisoners were being held.

By 1 December 1774 Prince Charles and his Highland army reached Manchester; the English administration was in turmoil. Newcastle³⁶ intimated how crucial it was for Dudley to link up with the rebels and to "delay them by some Stratagem". One of the Duke's private secretaries, Andrew Stone, addressed Dudley at that time, "which made me conclude, that Commission was intended for me".³⁷

Dudley took the title of captain, assumed the name "Oliver Williams", was given £100 to equip himself, and the Duke of Cumberland was informed about his reliability.³⁸ Before setting out with a fake pass for Ireland on December 2 Dudley settled his worldly affairs. Having at Litchfield met Cumberland, who exhorted Dudley to try and delay the rebels for at least 12 hours if he could, he set out for the rebel camp, now at Derby, on Thursday 5 December, 1745.

Dudley could not be accused of understating the magnitude of the task he faced, nor of his own importance. He declared that "Queen Elizabeth's Deliverance from the Invincible Armada was not greater than ours from the Rebels".³⁹ In Derby he adopted the role of a gentleman and demanded to see Charles. Dudley would have his readers believe that he was immediately brought before the Jacobite leaders when, to numerous questions about the state and size of the government's resources, he brazenly lied and sowed the seeds of doubt by articulating what McLynn describes as "a farrago of nonsense".⁴⁰

He concocted the notion that the Government intended to ambush the rebels on the road to London by armies under the Dukes of Richmond and Cumberland and one commanded by Sir John Ligonier or General Henry Hawley at Northampton which, he alleged, was eight or nine thousand strong. Dudley gleefully observed that:

there was not nine Men at Northampton to oppose them, which shews what mighty Events are often effected by the smallest Causes: for this Report . . . I am . . . certain . . . was the only Reason . . . for that fortunate and dreaded Army . . . to retreat, from which Period date their inevitable Ruin.⁴¹

This account was readily believed by all, except for "Cameron of Lochiel . . . and Colonel Sullivan, both which were for marching to London". The rebels, however, most of whom favoured retreat and were only too glad to use his intelligence to achieve their wish, never checked his claims and Dudley believed that this information convinced the wavering leaders to retreat. C. S. Terry quotes Lord George Murray's Journals to illustrate the Prince's despondency after the decision: "it was observed he was much disappointed to be so near London, and not yet in a condition to march forwards".⁴²

The Prince was one of the few not totally convinced by Dudley's account. On the second day with the rebels, despite his friendship with Lord Kilmarnock, Dudley's horse and arms were confiscated. That night Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sullivan, Hay and Cameron, discussed the campaign and Dudley



was invited to give his views, which "were for temporizing, and retiring into Scotland".⁴³

The Prince, who was dressed "in a Plaid and Bonnet, and the only Mark of Distinction he wore was a blue Ribbon", remained distrustful of Dudley and on his third day with the rebels, Charles "could almost pierce me thorough with his Frequent Looks, riding very near me".⁴⁴ However, Dudley told of how even the Prince warmed to him, after Dudley insisted on giving him his own much-admired horse as a present. Wearing the Jacobite symbol of a white cockade, Dudley had his arms restored to him.⁴⁵

The Tipperary man claimed that the Prince was so impressed by him that he offered him the position of ambassador to France, "because I best knew how England was circumstanced". His Excellency-elect considered this a joke, as he could not even speak French! When Prince Charles asked Dudley to carry out a reconnaissance mission Dudley was able to effect his escape from the rebel troops and, after arriving in Wigan, became roaring drunk.

In this condition he wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, which he later acknowledged was unsubtle, informing the Duke that if he forwarded three pardons for those who would support him he would bring Prince Charles as a prisoner to London. "Oliver Williams" had saved England!

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Dudley travelled to the capital where "I was frequently invited by one or other of the Nobility to their Houses, to relate my Adventures". Ruefully he admitted that "depending upon the Great is generally attended with Expence, which I experienced almost to my Ruin". By now Bradstreet was short of finance and Newcastle refused his approach for monetary compensation and financial support; Dudley did claim that he refused a Lieutenancy of Foot, which he considered an insulting offer to a 'Captain'.⁴⁶

Jarvis has, however, unearthed a much more complex and interesting account from the State Papers of what transpired on Dudley's return. Newcastle accused Dudley of being a papist with a criminal record, having been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for prostitution. As Jarvis notes, Dudley did not deny this but rather corrected the Duke, as his jail term was only "14 days and fined 40 shillings".⁴⁷

This appears to confirm that Dudley's later claim in *The Life* that the imprisonment was to ensure his credibility among Jacobites, was pure fabrication. Dudley continued professing his loyalty, and "If it be thought convenient to confine me for any long time", he intimated preferences for Dover, Edinburgh or on a Man of War, to serve his monarch!⁴⁸

In an attempt to shore up his importance and to impress his employers, Dudley remembered overhearing Jacobite plans for inciting a rebellion in Ireland. Curiously, if this was the truth, he omitted it from his *Life*:

The Rebels intended to send 20 or 30 men only to Connaught . . . and most of them papists, to raise a Rebellion there. One Gordon who was in King George's Army in Ireland, was to be the most active man in this affair.⁴⁹

Never a man for half-measures, Dudley next approached the King with four memorials, arguing that his expenses had amounted to £204.⁵⁰ Ultimately it was decided that he should receive £120 from the Duke who was angry that Dudley had taken his claim to the monarch. Dudley was unhappy with this amount and continued to agitate for an official position, claiming that the King's secretaries assured him that he would be taken care of.

Not surprisingly, he felt that on the Duke of Cumberland's return from Scotland Oliver Williams would be suitably applauded and, to greet the Duke, he dressed in expensive clothing to the value of £35. Again, however, he was ignored, and he spent a further fruitless half-year soliciting reward. According to his own testimony, his loyalty never wavered. As late as August 1747 he forwarded information relating to a French plot to invade England.⁵¹ Dudley wrote that he was "then, and am now firmly of Opinion, the k - g was sure I was provided for".⁵²



Dudley's money-making ability again manifested itself as he pursued a whole series of elaborate and ingenious plans. He started "Bradstreet's State Lottery-Office" to sell "Shares and Chances" in the wheels of the State Lottery, though we learn that he lost £20 through this experiment. His motivation was candidly admitted: "a projector is to consider the most prevailing and general Weakness of those he schemes against; and attack them there".⁵³

In January 1748, with a lady-friend and two Irishmen as associates, Dudley took advantage of the general gullibility when claiming to have the power to restore youth to old age, to allow people converse with the dead. Most infamously, he introduced "the noisy and famed Bottle Conjurer to the World:, whereby Dudley, "six Foot high, and very lusty", was to get into a quart bottle! He never explained how he managed this remarkable feat!⁵⁴

He continued scheming successfully and, by his own estimations, he was worth £1,500; "that is to say, my Concerns and Furniture in 'Blue Anchor Alley' estimated at seven hundred Pounds, my Freehold in Ireland at four hundred, and about four hundred in ready Money".⁵⁵ These successes induced a casual and lethargic attitude, and he proceeded to lose much of the fortune.

He decided "to quit the busy World" and to retire to Ireland but once more another extreme of fortune impoverished him. A relation in London to whom Dudley leased his concerns double-

crossed him: "This misfortune obliged me to think of some Business, I accordingly set up a small Brewery within fifty miles of Dublin".⁵⁶

Though he initially enjoyed success, he was soon competing with the godson of the local surveyor who hindered him and put him "under all the illegal Hardships that were permissible".⁵⁷ Frustrated, he sold off his freehold for £440 to pay his creditors as his income plummeted, and moved to Multyfarnham, "a place of great Antiquity, and out of that Surveyor's District". Dudley built a house, a brewery and offices there which cost him his remaining finance and eventually took friends' advice to publish his autobiography.

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Dudley ended his life-story with an account of how he canvassed countrywide for subscribers to finance the project after starting with just a half-guinea in his pocket.⁵⁸ Many of the distinguished men who

May it please your Majesty / Feb^r 24th 1745
I have been Employed for a year past by the Duke of Newcastle to serve y^r Majesty, in w^{ch} time I discovered several things against y^r Majesty, that the first of Dec^r last I was ordered to put my self in the hands of the Rebels that before I went to them, I got a Horse from his Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberland whom god for ever bless at Ditchfield, that in three hours after I got the Horse I was among the Rebels in Derby and in their Councils for some days after and sent y^r brave and Royall son Egbertes from among them and to the Duke of Newcastle, while I was wth them I did y^r Majesty what service I c^d that in this time I spent 20^l in y^r Majesty's Service and am not yet paid that Expence that I am every day attending at the Duke of Newcastle in hopes to be rewarded or paid my Expences, but to my great Disappointment and to the Comfort of those who hate y^r Majesty and knows of my surprizing Danger and Suceess I am neither paid nor rewarded, and have not now a piece of Godd bless, that my family and I are ruined if not reliev'd by y^r Majesty, that I will never hesitate at any Danger to serve your Majesty or your Royall family and am your Majestys Most humble obedient and devoted Servant and Soldier
Bradstreet

A letter from Bradstreet to King George II.
 — BRIT. MUS. ADD. MSS. 32706, FOLIO 209.



subscribed were named and he referred to the favourable treatment he received in the northern parts of the country, "which I heard was the dearest Part of Ireland".

He had arrived in Tipperary at the time of the "Cloheen Races" and Mr. Robert O'Callaghan was particularly generous to him, helping him get 68 subscribers, including Newenham, MP for the city of Cork. Dudley explained that O'Callaghan — who was "not a Fleecing" landlord — intended standing as a candidate in the next Fethard election and Dudley heartily advocated his candidacy because, "he has all the requisite Excellencies to qualify him for a shining Senator and Patriot".⁵⁹

Dudley's printer, Powell, had been recommended to him, and he "gave him up my Copy and ten Pounds in Hand" on 14 November 1754. Publication was delayed "three Months longer than intended" by "threats and Menaces", and the autobiography was published in 1755.

Dudley's second publication, *Bradstreet's Lives*, published in 1757, with twelve pages of subscribers, motivated by "the kind Reception my first Work received", outlined the careers of several men and women he had been acquainted with, "Remarkable for their Virtues or their Vices". Many of Dudley's own opinions on various topics were included. He asked for forgiveness for any mistakes in it, as he had been sick and "obliged to stay in the Country, till it was almost done". He begged the nobility and gentlemen who were named in the book, without having had their permission sought, to pardon him, weakly asserting that "it has always been the Practice of Grateful Authors to hand down their Patrons to Posterity".⁶⁰

In *Bradstreet's Lives*, after condemning "the fighting Bucks of this Age" who lacked "so much as a Glimpse of Honour or Virtue", Dudley betrayed a humanity and social conscience scarcely expected from the author of *The Life*. In the wake of a famine which had begun in 1756, he accounted for the mass poverty. Graziers received his wrath: "where Herds flourish, mankind . . . must be thinned to make way for them".⁶¹

He estimated that more people were in exile, or dead from hunger and cold, than in "the bloody Massacre of 1641". He advocated laws for tillage to increase the yeomanry, and to limit farm-size to as near 50 acres as possible. He exhorted his fellow-writers to join him "in Defence of the Poor . . . [to] prevent such Scenes of woful Wretchedness as we behold for Years past by Scarcity",⁶² and to encourage self-sufficiency.

Like Lord Macaulay in the nineteenth century, Bradstreet acknowledged the fame of Irish exiles and quoted from a June 1737 London newspaper to confirm it: "We can hardly meet with a foreign Gazette but we find some Irishman or Scotchman that makes a great military Figure in it".⁶³

Dudley's autobiography had acknowledged his fondness for female company, and he portrayed blatantly feminist leanings. Similar to modern feminist historiographical methodology, Dudley queried the influence exerted by queens on their husbands, who were often "led in their delightful bondage". He referred to men's arrogance in looking at history from a king's point of view, "when in all Probability it ought to be from that of his Queen or Concubine" Moving into the realm of private families Dudley acknowledged that "there you will generally find the vulgar Saying made good, of the grey Mare's being the better Horse".⁶⁴ His references to the huge numbers who paid in to judge whether an Italian or an English lady had the best legs parallel contemporary controversies. Dudley's judgment was that "to a Reasonable Person it must be astonishing, to see so many Persons assembled on so foolish an Occasion."⁶⁵

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Enticingly and frustratingly, in the light of its non-appearance, Dudley stated that he had another work "ready to bring forth into the World". One can only surmise that the reception to his *Lives* was hostile or indifferent, or that he had trouble gaining a third group of subscribers, or perhaps that his health impeded work on it, resulting in its non-publication. Dudley died in the week of Monday September 5 to Sunday September 11 1763. George Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* of September 13-17,



1763, carried the following death-notice: "DEATH. Last week at Multifarnham in the Co of Westmeath, the renowned Capt. Dudley Bradstreet".⁶⁶

Others in his family also garnered fame and renown, though in rather more orthodox fashion. Dudley's brother Simon was called to the Irish Bar in 1758. He became a baronet the following year⁶⁷ and died in 1762. He was succeeded by his son, Sir Simon, who died in 1774, and the third baronet was a younger son, Sir Samuel (1735?-1791). The latter was appointed to the Recordership of Dublin in 1766, was elected MP for the city of Dublin in June 1776, was re-elected in October 1783 and was a distinguished member of the "patriotic party". He became a judge in 1784 and died at his seat at Booterstown, county Dublin, on 2 May 1791.⁶⁸

We learn a little about him in Henry Grattan the Younger's *Memoirs* of his father Sir Samuel, who could never be "prevailed upon to speak openly for the Government party" and was, apparently, Chief Secretary William Eden's great opponent in winning over some of the leaders of the patriots to the government side in 1780-82.⁶⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. F. J. McLynn: *The Jacobites* (London, 1985), p.184.
2. Four of the seven were Irishmen — Sir Thomas Sheridan, Colonel John O' Sullivan, Rev. George Kelly and Sir John MacDonnell. See Owen Dudley Edwards, 'The Long Shadows - A View of Ireland and the '45', Lesley Scott-Moncrieff (ed), *The '45 - to gather an image whole* (Edinburgh 1988).
3. Charles Petrie: *The Jacobite Movement* (London, 1959), p.374.
4. Dudley Bradstreet: *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Captain Dudley Bradstreet* (Dublin, 1755; reprint, New York n.d. [1929]), p.128.
5. In 1755 a Dublin printer, S. Powell of Crane Lane, printed Bradstreet's autobiography, *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Captain Dudley Bradstreet*. The John Day Company, New York, reprinted it, edited by G. S. Taylor and with an introduction by E. H. W. Meyerstein. Though the reprint is undated, the *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975* 40 (London 1979) p.397, informs us that *The Life and Uncommon Adventures*, edited by G. S. Taylor and published by John Hamilton in London, dates from 1929. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the New York edition also dates from 1929. All quotations from the autobiography are taken from the New York reprint. The *British Library General Catalogue* contains a surprising coincidence. In 1897 a thirty-two page booklet was published containing a diary kept by another Dudley Bradstreet, a native of Groton, Massachusetts. This Bradstreet, an army lieutenant, wrote his diary during the Siege of Louisburg, April 1745-January 1746, at the same time as his namesake was actively involved in other military affairs in England!
6. Meyerstein, in his introduction to the 1929 reprint, categorised it with *Tereisa Phillips Apology* and *Silas Told*. Bradstreet, *The Life*, ix.
7. J. T. Gilbert: 'Dudley Bradstreet', *Dictionary of National Biography* 6 (London, 1886), p.187.
8. R. C. Jarvis, *Collected Papers on the Jacobite Risings* 2 (Manchester, 1973).
9. A series of remarkable coincidences, noted in various biographical dictionaries, offer clues on the English origins of John Bradstreet. Thomas Dudley, father of the famous seventeenth-century American poetess Anne Bradstreet, had been employed by the Puritan Earl of Lincoln in England. She was to marry Simon Bradstreet, son of Simon Bradstreet, a non-conformist minister in Lincolnshire. See Jennett Humphreys: 'Anne Bradstreet', *Dictionary of National Biography* 6 (London, 1886), p.187; L N R: 'Anne Bradstreet (1612?-72)', *Dictionary of American Biography* 1 (New York, 1964), pp.577-78; V.F.B.: 'Simon Bradstreet (1603-97)', *ibid.* pp.579-80. Puritan families, such as these Bradstreets and Dudleys, and John Bradstreet who came to Ireland, were among Oliver Cromwell's strongest supporters. As Simon was also a common christian name in Dudley Bradstreet's family - he had a brother and nephew named Simon - perhaps it indicates that his own father came from a non-conformist Lincolnshire family. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Dudley was a relation of Anne Bradstreet.
10. This grant was dated 19 September and 'Inrolled' on 18 November 1668. The Claim had been dated 14 September 1666. See Supplement to *Public Record Office of Ireland 8th Report* (1816-20) p.251 and *Public Record Office of Ireland 15th Report* (1820-25) p.180.
11. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* 2 (London, 1837), p.65.



12. National Library of Ireland Ms 975: "Books of Survey and Distribution" for counties Wexford and Kilkenny, compiled circa 1703, p.149. Captain James Stopford and Emanuall Palmer were also granted lands in Curraghmore. Stopford amassed a huge landed interest in Ireland in 13 different counties. Palmer received, in total, 500 acres in County Kilkenny.
13. Jarvis circumspectly states that Dudley's "early background was in Templemore". Jarvis: *Collected Papers* 95.
14. Bradstreet: *The Life* 9.
15. Ibid.
16. Bourke, M.: 'Erasmus Smith and Tipperary Grammar School', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1989), p.82.
17. See Michael Quane, 'The Abbey School, Tipperary', *JCHAS*, 65 (1960) 60.
18. Bradstreet, *The Life*, p.12.
19. Ibid, p.14.
20. Ibid, p.25.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid, p.35.
23. Ibid, p.37. This confirms that some of Dudley's family were, indeed, in America and gives added weight to the suppositions in note 9 above on Bradstreet's origins.
24. Ibid, p.56.
25. There are three Aghamores and an Aghamore Upper and Lower in county Longford and two in county Westmeath, according to the Townland Index. Aghamore Upper and Lower and one of the Aghamores in Longford are in the barony of Granard, in the parishes of Columbkille and Clonbroney respectively, relatively close to the county bounds, unlike the Westmeath Aghamores, in the parishes of Killucan and Kilbeggan, which are a good distance from the Westmeath/Longford border. The third Longford Aghamore, in the parish of Rathcline, is also too far from the county bounds to be a possible site for the game. Thus, we can narrow the site down to one of the Aghamores in the Granard barony.
26. See Liam P Ó Caithnia: *Bairí Cos in Éirinn*, (Baile Átha Cliath, 1984).
27. Bradstreet, *The Life*, p.46.
28. Ibid, p.55.
29. Ibid, p.74.
30. Ibid, p.75.
31. Dudley Bradstreet: *Bradstreet's Lives* (Dublin, 1757) p.162.
32. A Royal Irish Academy Manuscript includes the 1739 frost as one of the five outstanding events of the eighteenth century: RIA 23 N 33.
33. Bradstreet: *The Life*, p.77.
34. Ibid, pp.77-8.
35. Ibid, p.110.
36. The Duke of Newcastle employed many agents. McLynn names John Vere as the most talented. He was captured near the Cheshire county line by Lord George Murray's feinting column and escaped execution only through the Prince's intercession. As McLynn notes, it was a misplaced act of charity, for Vere's testimony condemned many Jacobites to the gallows. FJ McLynn: "'Good Behaviour'": Irish Catholics and the Jacobite Rising of 1745', *Éire-Ireland* 16 (1981), p.44.
37. Bradstreet, *The Life* p.117. Jarvis explains that the version in the State Papers has Dudley proposing to meet with Prince Charles, so that he might "be commissioned by him to go to France or Ireland wch shall all be made known to your Grace to make what use you please". Quoted in Jarvis: *Collected Papers* 97.
38. Again, the State Papers portray a less important role for Dudley than the one he assigned himself. Newcastle, writing to Cumberland, far from viewing Dudley as England's saviour, asserted that "far from being sure that this will be of any Service at a Time like this nothing ought to be omitted". Quoted in Jarvis, *Collected Papers* 99.
39. Ibid, p.124.
40. McLynn: *The Jacobites* p.184.
41. Bradstreet, *The Life* pp.126-7. Dudley declared that he actually had two nephews serving in George's army, one a major and the other a captain.



42. Quoted in C. S. Terry: *The Jacobite Rising of 1745* (London, 1903), p.97. Terry does not mention Bradstreet in his narrative, but includes him in a bibliographical section.
43. Bradstreet: *The Life*, p.132.
44. *Ibid*, p.133.
45. Much of the value of Dudley's autobiography comes from the following descriptions of the rebel leaders. Kilmarnock was: "genteel in Person and Manners, the Duke of Perth was prodigious tall and thin, and next in Command to the Rebel Prince, his Hair, when loose, came down to the Small of his Back; Lord Ogilvie was a young handsome Man; Lord Elcho was young, smooth-faced, inclined to Fat, and passionate, he commanded the Hussars, and wore a Fox Skin Cap with the Ears pricked up, which made him, when on Horseback at the Head of his Men, look very formidable; Colonel Sullivan was a fat, well-faced Man; Sir Thomas Sheridan was a drooping old Man; the Rebel Prince reposed his greatest Confidence in those two and Secretary Murray; Lord Balmerino I had but a slight Acquaintance with; the Marquis of Tullibardin, called by the Rebels Duke of Athol, was old and infirm." Bradstreet: *The Life* pp.137-8. O'Callaghan noted this description from the "hostile contemporary, Captain Bradstreet" in his history of the Irish Brigades. J. C. O'Callaghan: *A History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France* (Dublin, 1870), pp.387-88.
46. Bradstreet: *The Life*, pp.140-1.
47. Quoted in Jarvis: *Collected Papers*, pp.102-3.
48. *Ibid*, pp.104-5.
49. *Ibid*, p.104.
50. Dudley Bradstreet to George II, 24 February 1745/6. British Library, Add Mss 32706 209; see transcript of this letter.
51. Dudley Bradstreet to Andrew Stone, 8 August 1747 (*Ibid*, 352); see transcript of this letter.
52. Bradstreet, *The Life*, p.164. Dudley also claims to have been a witness to the public executions of Kilmarnock and Balmerino, though he insists that "I never swore any thing against them, or any others concerned in the Rebellion". pp.160-4.
53. *Ibid*, p.210.
54. *Ibid*. pp.211-12. After these experiences Dudley wrote what he labelled an 'Historical Comedy', 'The Bottle Conjurer'. After having it corrected by 'some of the best Judges and Players in England', he hired an acting company and a theatre and produced it. Ever-modestly, Dudley acknowledged its success and claimed that only for its suppression on the fifth night when, 'at the Publick's Request', Dudley performed, by the Westminster magistrates, who thought the bottle-conjurer a devil, 'it was thought it would run sixty'. *Ibid*, pp.213-4.
55. *Ibid*, pp.219-20.
56. *Ibid*, p.220. He does not name this 'little Town' but we learn that it was within eleven miles of Multyfarnham, indicating that it was probably Mullingar, or a neighbouring Westmeath town.
57. *Ibid*, p.223.
58. In the original 1755 edition pages ix-xxiii contain an alphabetical list of all the subscribers. This edition also contains the text of his play, 'The Bottle-Conjurer', on pages 249-333, which was omitted from the reprint.
59. Bradstreet: *The Life*, p.231. Dudley utilised the question and answer technique to illustrate O'Callaghan's virtues. Robert O'Callaghan was sworn MP for Fethard, County Tipperary, along with Matthew Jacob, on 15 January 1756. *Commons Journal of Ireland* 5.
60. In 1757 a case between Dudley and an attorney, F.G., who claimed he was owed £36 by Dudley, was still pending, though the latter claimed he was confident of victory; *Ibid*, pp.388-89.
61. *Ibid*, pp.399-400. William Smith of Barberville, county Westmeath, was excluded from criticism as he fed the poor of his neighbourhood three days a week.
62. *Ibid*, p.403.
63. *Ibid*, p.399. Lord Macaulay wrote: "There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition; but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland . . . One exile became a Marshal of France. Another became Prime Minister of Spain. If he had staid in his native land, he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who had signed the Declaration against Transubstantiation . . . These men, the natural chiefs of their race, having been withdrawn, what remained was utterly helpless and passive. Quoted in Dudley Edwards, 'The Long Shadows', 73-4.
64. Bradstreet: *Bradstreet Lives*, 157.



65. Ibid, pp.168-9.
66. FDJ No. 3797, 13-17 September 1763.
67. On 14 July. See National Library of Ireland Ms 13,900 for the patent of George II creating him a baronet.
68. A. H. Grant, 'Sir Samuel Bradstreet', *Dictionary of National Biography* 6 (Dublin, 1886), p.188.
69. He was also 'perhaps the largest man in the three kingdoms ... the Government called him "slippery Sam" as he always contrived to slip through their fingers'. Henry Grattan the Younger, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Right Honourable Henry Grattan* 2 (Dublin, 1839), p.184. Grattan asserted that the best measure of the Carlisle ministry of the early 1780s was the Habeas Corpus Bill - Liberty of the Subject Act (22 George III, c.11) - which clarified the right of habeas corpus, introduced by Sir Samuel and returned approved of from England; Ibid. p.202.

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