‘THE AULD STUARTS BACK AGAIN’:
JACOBITE POLITICAL THOUGHT AND CULTURE IN VERSE

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCN	Burney Collection of Newspapers. The British Library.
DSL	*Dictionary of the Scots Language*. University of Glasgow.
EEBO	Early English Books Online.
The Jacobite Relics	Hogg, James, ed. *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: Being the Songs, Airs, and Legends of the Adherents of the House of Stuart, 2nd edition, 2 vols.* Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1874.

Introduction

'REDEAT':
THE JACOBITE VERSE AS POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

December 1694 was cold. The Thames froze and the roads were in a poor state. In the last days of the year, a woman, just thirty-two and in the peak of good health, contracted smallpox. She died quickly and alone. It took more than a week for the news to reach Bristol that Queen Mary was dead and her body laying in state at Whitehall. When it did, on January 8, the city's Jacobites banded together and "made publick rejoycings," ringing bells and singing "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again."[1] News of the Jacobites' antics made its way quickly back to court and numerous officers were promptly dismissed for "their disrespectful behaviour towards the government."[2] At many universities in England and Scotland, Jacobite students raised their glasses of claret for a cryptic toast: "Redeat," may he return.

Jacobite ballads were a problem recognized by the authorities of the day. The cycle of Jacobite popular disturbance, aided by music, followed by a government crackdown — these varied in severity — was a common one. The Lord Mayor of London issued a proclamation against ballad sales in 1716, noting that the practice "stirr[ed] up Seditions and Riots."[3] The early 1720s saw a crackdown against the Jacobite press across the nation.[4] This did little, since

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[1] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714, vol. 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), 423; see also Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 170.

[2] Ibid., 423-4.

[3] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 47.

[4] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 146.

journeymen singers, wont to perform in alehouses, were a common mode of dispensation for ballads and were far harder to suppress.[5] Between 1689 and 1714 a total of 49 books and papers were censured by Parliament and half of those were burnt by the common hangman.[6] Most were Jacobite texts. The State Papers indicate that it was relatively common practice to seize Jacobite songs printed as broadsheet ballads to stop their distribution, and in the period of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 through at least 1724 Jacobite printing was rampant with as many as thirty ballads printed in London in 1718 and a dozen or so printed each year for the following six years.[7] In Scotland, printing was harder to trace; in the case of Gaelic and Scots ballads, almost all were spread by word-of-mouth, Nonetheless, it seems that the Scottish output of verse may have been even more extensive, in part due to the innumerable variations created on popular tunes.

Suppressing Jacobite balladry was next to impossible for the Williamite and Hanoverian governments. Stopping a printer or two and seizing a few broadsheets was viable, but music spread in taverns and in streets, at riots and during celebrations. It got about more by word of mouth than through print and, even when printed, a single broadsheet might be seen by and heard hundreds, either by being handed about or being posted and sung publicly, most likely in an alehouse. This was the fundamental utility of verse to the Jacobite cause: it could be spread, even among the illiterate, with little fear of direct repercussion. Executing a man for printing a clear treasonous tract was one thing; killing someone for singing a song that was indirect and allusive

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[5] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 48.

[6] Mark Goldie, "Tory Political Thought, 1689-1714" (doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1977), 350-6.

[7] Paul Chapman, "Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766" (doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983), 34, 46, 85.

was quite another. And in most cases it was the latter form that could travel faster and further into a stratified and divided society.

For these reasons, Jacobite songs became one of the movement's most important tools in the expression and spread of its beliefs. The Stuart kings and their supporters were able to project in song to large audiences what might otherwise have taken many pages of prose and an impossible to support illegal printing operation to convey. The songs were samizdat without all the trouble, just as illegal but far harder to trace or stamp out. They could serve as a recruitment tool but, just as critically, a method of ideological reinforcement for the already converted. Additionally, Jacobite music could be targeted in different ways to varying sorts within society; a song might, for instance, contain both ribald insults and Classical references, appealing to both high and low cultural elements. An argument addressed to those already convinced is often called "preaching to the choir," to which the response is sometimes given: how else would you get them to sing? So it was with Jacobitism.

Jacobite ideology — far from being primarily romantic, aesthetic, or entirely reactionary and outdated even in its own time, as some have argued — was a cogent and well-articulated philosophy that had remarkable staying power in large part because it was persuasive to a wide array of people. Divine right theory may today seem like an outmoded and arcane oddity, but in the age of the Stuarts it still held a degree of sway; while active Jacobites would rarely have comprised anything above a third of the British population, more generalized opposition to the Whig and Hanoverian regimes helped to drive the otherwise ambivalent toward the movement and its strong parliamentary support. Until roughly 1722, its significant but often unstated support from the clergy also helped to keep Jacobitism alive and kicking.

So did the movement's music. Many Jacobite ditties survive to this day, a few in something like their original form — "Cam ye o'er frae France" and "Donald Macgillavry" are the two leading examples of this trend — and others by way of co-option. The Whigs and Hanoverians scored propaganda victories when they seized "God Save the King" from the Jacobites around the time of the Forty-Five.[8] Also taken was "Over the Hills and Far Away," a version of which was used for pro-government purposes in 1706 by George Farquhar. The song, however, had its origin in "Over the Seas and far awa',"[9] a song that criticized "Disloyal Whigs" and mourned the Revolution that sent the Stuarts away from Britain. "Auld Lang Syne," that most famous of Scottish songs, had its start as a Jacobite tune before its significant alteration into a song of parting by Robert Burns.[10] Thus, most people in the twenty-first century Anglophone world will have heard a Jacobite tune of one sort or another, even if few realize it.

Of the most striking elements of Jacobite music was its ability to appeal to numerous groups simultaneously. The Jacobite songwriters often made Classical and learned references — for instance, to medieval Italian politics — while also invoking base insults. In some cases, songs aimed at high and low were unique. In others, a single song would have, in effect, parallel arguments that reached the same conclusion. George I might be a continental tyrant with ties to the evils of medieval Florence and little dynastic claim while also being, simply, a cuckold, a cheat, and an inadequate moron. "Cam ye o'er frae France" is likely the best example of this

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[8] Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7.

[9] "Over the Seas and far awa'," in James Hogg, ed., *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: Being the Songs, Airs, and Legends of the Adherents of the House of Stuart, 2nd edition, vol.1* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1874), 51-2.

[10] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 7.

tradition, but it is far from alone. Several attacks on bishops Gilbert Burnet and Benjamin Hoadly placed complex theological positions alongside particularly vile insults about the low churchmen's physical conditions or their supposed base sins. This was another critical element in the matrix of Jacobite songwriting that allowed the movement to appeal to large elements of British society with linked and mutually compatible, yet still discrete and highly targeted, messaging.

Jacobitism was in short the belief that the members House of Stuart were the rightful kings of England (including Wales), Scotland, and Ireland.[11] The Stuarts, in the person of James I and VI, assumed the throne of England in 1603 with the death of Elizabeth I. The family had ruled in Scotland since Robert II became King of Scots in 1371. James was succeeded by his son, Charles I, who was executed in January 1649 during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Charles's son, Charles II, assumed the throne in the Restoration of 1660 (though Royalists held that he had been king since his father's death). Charles II was succeeded by his brother, James II and VII, in 1685. James ruled less than four years before he was deposed by his daughter Mary and her husband, William, Prince of Orange.

At that point, the Jacobite movement, like the Royalists before them, began, seeking to restore the "rightful" monarch. At first, this was James II who led the exiled court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye until his death in 1701. He was succeeded in the claim by his son, James Francis ("James III and VIII"), whose death in 1766 occasioned the rise to the "throne" of his son, Charles Edward ("Charles III"). When Charles Edward passed in 1788, the last real hopes of

[11] Technically also France, though by 1689 this claim was rarely asserted. The official British claim to the French throne ended in 1802, but the Jacobite claimants never officially relinquished their claims on the title. (This was somewhat ironic, since the French monarchs actively supported the Jacobite cause at several points.)

the Jacobite claimants died with him. His brother, however, claimed the throne as "Henry IX and I," though the papacy did not recognize him as it had his father and brother, calling him instead Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York. When Henry died on July 13, 1807, the male line of the House of Stuart died with him.[12]

In support of their claims, the Jacobites launched nearly endless schemes and plots. They also pursued several rebellions against the Williamite and Hanoverian regimes. There were various attempts to effect a restoration in 1689, 1708, 1715, 1718, 1719, 1722, 1744, 1745, 1749-51, and other less full-fledged attempts. The most notable of these were the Williamite War in Ireland in 1689-90 and the 1715 and 1745 rebellions, respectively known as the Fifteen and the Forty-Five. The Atterbury plot (occasionally known as the Atterbury-Layer plot) was perhaps the most notable non-military attempted restoration; it was quashed in 1722.

The Jacobites gained critical support from the high church faction of Church of England clergy; from the remaining British Catholic population; from Quakers; from the Scottish Episcopal Church; and from the populaces of rural areas and areas governed by traditional social systems. One of the most substantial bedrocks of Jacobite support and Jacobite writing was the nonjuring movement. The nonjurors — not to be confused with earlier uses of the term referring to those primarily Tory bishops who refused to swear oaths to James II and VIII in 1688 — were those who refused the new oaths to William and Mary following the Revolution, believing that to swear an oath to a new monarch while a former oath was yet active would be, in essence,

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[12] The conventional Jacobite succession holds that the current *de jure* king is Franz, Duke of Bavaria ("Francis II" in the judgment of ardent Jacobites). He has not himself advanced any claim. His successor would be Sophie, Hereditary Princess of Liechtenstein, whose son is Prince Joseph Wenzel. The prince is currently the presumptive heir to the Liechtensteiner throne, second in line after his father.

adultery against a sacred pledge to God. The nonjurors were often amongst the most erudite of the Anglican clergy and, as such, they were prolific in their defense of Stuart positions through at least 1720.[13]

Jacobite ideology was at times self-contradictory in character and was always complex. It also seems, to many twenty-first-century observers, to be inherently bizarre, taking as core values those things that even the most reactionary politician in today's world would reject. However, the movement was, in spite of its oddities and occasional factionalism, surprisingly coherent in its core values and its messaging. In summation, Jacobitism can be said to include the following doctrines:

1) *The theory of Divine Right*. The answerability of kings to God alone, the patrilineal and indefeasible hereditary succession of those rulers, and the necessity of subjects to be obedient to those kings were the core elements of this doctrine, and it formed the primary basis upon which all other elements of Jacobite thought were based. John Neville Figgis laid out the basic tenets of this belief system: that monarchy is divinely ordained; that the hereditary right must be indefeasible and is regulated by the law of primogeniture; that kings are accountable only to God and never to man and cannot be limited by laws; and that non-resistance and passive obedience even to unjust rulership is ordained by God, and resistance or rebellion against a rightful king is under any circumstance a sin, and should a king counter the laws of God, God is to be obeyed but the king may not be countered.[14] James I and VI was a key proponent of these doctrines,

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[13] Thereafter, internal theological controversies within the nonjuring movement caused some distractions for leading nonjuring writers and theologians. Therefore, the explicitly Jacobite output of these clergymen lessened for some time.

[14] John Neville Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings, 1st. ed.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 5-6.

sometimes lecturing Parliament on the matter during his rule from 1603 to 1625. Sir Robert Filmer's posthumously published *Patriarcha* was perhaps the most notably defense of the doctrine of divine right before the Glorious Revolution. These theories were the basis upon which all other Jacobite doctrine rested, though there is some debate as to their applicability to the larger Tory party.[15]

2) *Ruralism and the Stuart cult of fertility*. The Stuart tradition was one of Britishisms; the family promoted itself as the answer to those who felt the country was moving too quickly into a new age and projected an aura of almost demigod-like splendor. The Stuarts were the manorial leaders of a Britain perhaps fading. In Scotland, they emphasized their Scottishness. In England, their traditional ties to kingly virtue and to the king-as-father image dominated. A key element to the Stuart image was the supposed healing power of the kings as "high-priests of a state cult"; frequently in the days of Charles II but continuing through the "reign" of Charles Edward, the Stuarts would lay their hands upon those afflicted with scrofula, which their touch supposedly had the power to cure.[16] This and the image of the Stuart kings as handsome and fertile, as well as solidly British, created a nexus of nationalist imagery and Godly unction that was a critical part not just of Stuart symbolism but of the political myth of the dynasty.

3) *Country principles, independence from centralized authority, and manorialism*. Jacobite paternalism was based heavily upon a rejection of centralized authority. This is, at first glance,

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[15] Further elucidation of these principles is best found in the works of Figgis's works. Though it has now been almost a century since the publication of even the the second edition of his seminal work *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, Figgis' work stands as the defining text in the study of that particular ideology. Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings, 1st. ed.*; John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings, 2nd. ed.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).

[16] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 127.

inherently contradictory to a theory that otherwise promoted absolute monarchy and authoritarianism. However, with some consistency Jacobites advocated for a doctrine in which the king was absolute but light of touch (in a governmental sense). That is, while the king would maintain theoretically absolute power, and while it would be requisite upon subjects to passively obey even if the king abused his power, in principle the king should not abuse his power, and should in fact delegate much of his own power to the nobility and gentry who, in an almost feudal capacity, would have a paternalistic overlordship of their various holdings. Those lords and squires would then be largely autonomous, and would have a sort of liberty and freedom from national governmental structures in practice if not in theory. This, then, created a matrix of manorial principles that overlaid a theory of Country aristocracy-as-independent-actors, wherein local leadership would have a large degree of autonomy and could act in traditional and communitarian ways in regard to their own seats of power.[17] Between the Hanoverian succession and the Forty-Five, Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, was the primary proponent of "Country" principles, though his doctrine differed in certain points from that of earlier Country politicians. Bolingbroke's published works, notably "The idea of a Patriot King"[18] and his journal the *Craftsman*[19] espoused Country thinking during the nadir of public Jacobite activism between the Atterbury plot and the Forty-Five.

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[17] For more information on Country principles, particularly during the reign of Anne, see Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne, rev. ed*. (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), 116-47.

[18] "The idea of a Patriot King," in Henry St John, *The works of the late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, vol.3* (London: David Mallet, 1777), 35-126.

[19] See entries for *Craftsman* in BCN, 1725-35.

4) *Three kingdoms organization and anti-Unionism*. The Jacobite movement consistently opposed the Acts of Union, in part as a way to gain additional support from anti-Union allies in Scotland, but also as part of their general focus on decentralization and devolution of power, practically applied. This devolutionist argument persisted in Jacobite treatment of religion. From the time of James Francis, the Pretenders promised religious freedom to both Catholics and Dissenters, a doctrine that fit well with devolutionist ideas since nonconformist groups and recusants were spread unevenly throughout the country. The Jacobite vision of the British Isles was essentially a "Three Kingdoms" interpretation, in which England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland would be ruled largely as separate states under a shared monarch. This was contrary to the Williamite and Hanoverian scheme of increased centralization around London.

5) *Episcopacy*. Jacobite conceptions of religion emphasized the need for church self-governance, largely rejecting Whig Erastianism even as it emphasized the centrality of faith, and particularly High Church Anglicanism, to the spiritual and political life of Britain. Additionally, the Jacobite conception of Divine Right saw episcopal governance as a mirror to the king and subsidiary lords. While the Jacobites aimed to grant large-scale religious toleration to nonconformist groups, particularly Catholics, they nonetheless hoped to maintain the organization of the Church of England as an episcopal body and sought to restore the Church of Scotland's episcopal structure, lost following the Revolution. The emphasis upon episcopacy became more prominent as time went on. The emphasis on High Church doctrine drew in new supporters — most notably Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester — during the reigns of Anne and George I, as the power of the Church of England was reduced, and also gained steam within the exiled Jacobite court after the death of James II, since his son and grandson were more

willing to separate their private Catholicism from public commitment to Anglicanism. The entire nonjuring schism, from John Findon's perspective, was based on the decline of divine right theory in the Church of England, and the varying degrees of willingness of clergymen to acknowledge that indefeasible hereditary succession might not be paramount after 1689. According to Findon, with "the added sanctity conferred on Kingship by the Royal Supremacy, what had been a mere part of the Church's teaching was elevated into the distinguishing glory of the Church of England."[20] It was this doctrine that the nonjurors and, to a lesser extent, the high churchmen advanced.

6) *Authoritarianism and absolutism*. Despite their philosophy of decentralization, Jacobites fundamentally believed that kings ought to have absolute power. The idea of the king-in-parliament was odious to high monarchical theory in that it presupposed that the king could be created and uncreated by parliament and could act only with the support and authority of that parliament. The idea that the parliament could make or unmake a king was inherently opposed to the conception of divine right. Thus, while the Jacobites tended to believe in decentralization and a light-handed ruler, the ruler must needs be light-handed out of his own choice and not from any obligation placed upon him by others. G.R. Elton's dismissal of a divide between "royalist-absolutist (Court) and parliamentarian-libertarian (Country)"[21] is then apt in any discussion of

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[20] John Findon,"The Nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689-1716" (doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978), 126. Findon's dissertation is perhaps the most thorough single examination of nonjuring political thought in relationship to its historical context, though it is now somewhat superseded by a collection of articles and interventions by other scholars, albeit without any single work published in book form that has replaced it.

[21] G.R. Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Papers and Reviews, 1946-1972: Vol. 2: Parliament/Political Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 183.

the Jacobites, who embodied both of those ideals, except perhaps the "parliamentarian" part of the latter.

All six of these elements of Jacobite thought will be considered, to varying degrees, in the following chapters. Each will be referenced in relation to the musical culture that worked to promote Jacobite views in the listening public and to solidify such views in those already supportive of the movement's aims.

The study of Jacobite music — unlike Jacobitism in general — has only gained traction since the late 1980s. A major reconsideration of Jacobitism and eighteenth-century Tory politics began in the 1970s and has substantially reshaped the scholarly view of the movement and the political climate surrounding it, with a later interest emerging in Jacobite verse. That said, the study of Jacobite music remains somewhat fragmentary and is almost always too focused on post-Jacobite works. The most complete work on Jacobite music is William Donaldson's *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity*. The subtitle is telling: Donaldson's focus is on the mythos of Jacobitism and its impact on Scottish identity, not upon the songs as a means of conveyance for political ideas or as an object of political thought in themselves. Donaldson begins his book focusing on "the legendary history of Scotland"[22] and transitions fairly quickly to post-Jacobite music. Only one of his chapters focuses on political history in the slightest and the entire contents of his argument covers just 114 pages. The contribution, then, is a laudable one insofar as the Jacobite song's influence on Scottish identity and post-Jacobite romantic verse is considered. As a study of Jacobite verse in its contemporary context, it is lacking.

[22] William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), v.

At the start of his book *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion*, Daniel Szechi includes the entirety of "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation," one of the most famous of the Jacobite ballads, as an epigraph. He also took each of his chapter titles from the lyrics: "To Mark Where England's Province Stands," "Fareweel e'en to the Scottish Name," "Brought and Sold for English Gold," and so on.[23] The decision is a logical one: "Parcel of Rogues" is amongst the best-written and most moving of the Jacobite songs, and it has remained amongst the most popular, having a brief moment in the spotlight during the late twentieth century folk revival. There's only one problem: it was written in 1791 by Robert Burns, almost half a century after the last Jacobite rising and at least 30 years after Jacobitism had died as a political force.

Any analysis of Jacobite music almost inevitably faces this problem. Some of the greatest Jacobite verses are, in fact, post-Jacobite. Some cannot be successfully dated, or else can be dated, but are known today in heavily altered form. Others existed in oral tradition, or in unpreserved printed tradition, only to be rewritten later with different titles. Much of the music written after 1760 could be called post-Jacobite romanticism. It uses Jacobite imagery and history without embracing any actual Jacobite ideas. This, of course, is worthy of study in itself; Jacobitism became a tool of Scottish nationalism after its political death despite being, during its political life, neither particularly Scottish nor notably nationalist when compared to its ideological contemporaries. But it is of little help when considering the Jacobite movement as a political cause within its own historical context.

The problem of authenticating, or at least dating, Jacobite songs looms large over their study. Murray Pittock described the situation well: "the scholarly position is plain. Not much faith can

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[23] Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), vi, 9, 30, 51, 77, 102, 138, 170, 199, 230.

be placed in the contemporaneity of the Jacobite song."[24] Pittock went to great lengths to disprove the assumption, and his view — that, while dating of Jacobite songs is inexact thanks in large part to the "strong disincentive which existed to writing down Jacobite songs in the Jacobite period," many of the songs we have "may well have been" authentic[25] — is now more broadly accepted. In his archival research on Jacobite pamphlet literature, Paul Monod has confirmed the contemporaneous existence of numerous songs,[26] while others are confirmed to have existed in court records and accounts of riots.[27] It is therefore hard to know if a precise version of a song existed contemporaneously, barring surviving broadsheet records, but it is generally possible to tell if a song did exist in some form.

Additional problems are presented by the linguistic difficulties that often arise, since most Gaelic and Scots songs were not printed when they first emerged. As such, these songs existed largely in records, often handwritten, kept privately, many of which have been lost. Those that were preserved were done so, in the main, by nineteenth-century chroniclers like Hogg and Alexander Balloch Grosart whose trustworthiness as sources is often questionable. Hogg, however, was a true believer in "oral culture and the authority of tradition, against the backdrop

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[24] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 4.

[25] Ibid., 5.

[26] Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 170.

[27] Nicholas Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England," in *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 71, 76; Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 107; Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics,* 81.

of philosophical narrative that marginalized the people with whom he so closely identified."[28] While Hogg may have been bamboozled into believing that some of the post-Jacobite tunes were Jacobite, he was ideologically predisposed not to invent his own, or at least not to pass off his inventions as authentic. His account can perhaps be trusted more than some have assumed, though it is certainly worthy of hefty skepticism insofar as Hogg's methods were those of an anthropologist or collector, not of an historian or literary analyst.

Fortunately, some of the most notable of the Gaelic and Scots works, including "Cam ye o'er frae France,"[29] were published in varying forms around the same time as they appeared in large studies of folk music, indicating that there were likely actual records behind those chronicles. A substantial effort has been made to corroborate the works cited within, though with Jacobite songs there remain continual question marks.

There are, of course, other methods for verifying Jacobite songs, most of which involve close reading of the texts themselves. Post-Jacobite lyricists naturally had the entire range of Jacobite history from which to draw, and often did so, meaning that references to historical events or figures appear anachronistic. Other post-Jacobite writers were simply vague. As Pittock explains, "many of the Regency or Victorian compositions are sentimental as much due to their vagueness as anything else."[30] Specificity, then, is an important indicator of contemporaneity, and the exact assortment of details given can be helpful in correctly dating a song. For instance, many Jacobite songs can be precisely dated to between August 1714 and fall 1715, since they reference the

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[28] Suzanne Gilbert, "James Hogg and the Authority of Tradition," in *James Hogg and the Literary Marketplace: Scottish Romanticism and the Working-Class Author*, eds. Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 109.

[29] E.g., "Four Excellent New Songs." Edinburgh, 1825. National Library of Scotland.

[30] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 5.

Hanoverian succession but make no reference of the Jacobite Rising in the latter half of that year. Many of those songs that were written in 1716 directly reference the rising's defeat. And so on.

While it is not usually possible to determine a Jacobite song's contemporaneity with absolute surety, particularly in the versions which are currently available — and many songs are extant in numerous versions[31] — it is often possible to work with some confidence that a song is, at least, available in a version similar to one that would have been sung in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Since songs tend to evolve in the signing in any case, particularly when writing them down or singing them was treason punishable by death, this is likely the best scholars of Jacobite verse can do. In general, it seems sufficient, and Pittock's work has demonstrated the reliability of much of the Jacobite verse canon.

Jacobite political doctrine is somewhat better understand than Jacobite music, yet substantial issues exist, particularly in relation to the Jacobite influence upon and within the Tory party in the eighteenth century. Additionally, while Jacobite divine right theory is frequently discussed, other aspects of Jacobite political thought — notably adherence to Country principles, religious policy, ruralism and manorialism, and anti-unionist "three kingdoms" thinking — have been less thoroughly studied.

Ever since David Hume asserted in 1742 that Tories and Jacobites were often one-in-the-same,[32] a debate has existed upon that point. The first question to be asked, which has largely

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[31] James Hogg lists three versions of "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again," for instance. Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics, 2nd edition*, 1-3, 49, 170.

[32] David Hume, "Of the Parties of Great Britain," in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1987), 70-1.

been answered in the affirmative based on scholarship from the 1970s and 1980s,[33] is whether the party existed at all as a formalized entity at that time. The second question is to what extent the principles of the Jacobites and the principles of the Tories[34] aligned, and the third asks if the Tory party was itself Jacobite.

Those historians, like Linda Colley, who believe Jacobitism was essentially irrelevant to the Tory party after around 1720 have not yet adequately explained why, if the Stuart cause was so fully expunged, parliamentary Tories were led by ardent Jacobites as late as 1750, when Sir Watkin Williams Wynn was heading the party. Colley herself noted that the Tory leadership, in 1741, included Williams Wynn, Lord Charles Noel Somerset, and Sir John Hyde Cotton, a cabal that took over from Sir William Wyndham, were, like him, known to be Jacobites.[35] This is clearly a major flaw in arguments of Jacobite irrelevance. Parliamentary parties, particularly before the twentieth century introduction of members' ballots for the leadership, tend not to choose or tolerate as their leaders those with whom the bulk of the caucus disagrees on key issues. The view that the Tory party was frequently Jacobite in character was advanced most prominently by Eveline Cruickshanks, whose 1979 monograph *Political Untouchables* argued that the Tory party was "a Jacobite one."[36] Cruickshanks argued that the Tories, largely due to the

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[33] Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 7; J.C.D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 73-4; J.C.D. Clark, "A General Theory of Party, Opposition, and Government," *The Historical Journal* 23, no. 2 (1980), 296-299.

[34] Some historians have de-capitalized "Tory" and "Whig." Most others prefer to capitalize the terms, although no parties formally existed in the sense we know today, meaning capitalization is, technically speaking, incorrect.

[35] Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy*, 56-68.

[36] Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 6.

proscription against them that barred many from holding office or from finding careers for their sons, remained Jacobite; that, in fact, the suspicion of Jacobitism that caused them to be barred from office paradoxically led to a greater degree of Jacobitism within the party. She also stressed the 1730 shift in Tory-Whig cooperation, when the Tory party appeared "in perfect coalition" with the opposition Whigs, a shift attributable to a circular letter sent by James Francis urging his parliamentary supporters to unite against the government even with those opposing it for reasons different from theirs.[37] This piece of evidence is compelling as it indicates a substantial influence from the Pretender upon activity in the Commons at a late stage.

Christie and J.C.D. Clark have sought, in different ways, to present an answer to the Tory-Jacobite dilemma. To determine the extent of Jacobitism in the parliament elected in 1741, Christie simply started counting. His figures put the Jacobite contingent at between two-fifths and one-half of the 136 Tory MPs,[38] but notably he failed to consider both 1) the percentage of clear and known Hanoverians in Parliament at that time and 2) the number of MPs about whose beliefs little or nothing is known, meaning that he may have underestimated the number of Jacobite Tories by some margin. Clark attempted to demonstrate that the Tories and Jacobites "shaded ambiguously and equivocally into each other," jointly presenting "a powerful and credible ideology" through at least 1760.[39] Exactly how many Tory politicians were Jacobites in the mid-eighteenth century is an almost impossible question to answer to satisfaction. Bolingbroke, known for his waxing and waning, perhaps opportunist, Jacobite sympathies is an

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[37] Ibid., 12.

[38] Ian Christie, "The Tory Party, Jacobitism, and the 'Forty-Five: A Note," *The Historical Journal* 30 no. 4 (1987): 930-1.

[39] Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832*, 279.

illustrative example. He frequently professed no loyalty to the Jacobite cause, a protestation made less believable by his extensive Stuart ties and anti-Hanoverian expressions. Max Skjönberg, in essentially taking Bolingbroke at his word, fails to account for the riskiness of publicly held Jacobite opinions in the early Hanoverian British state. "Bolingbroke repeatedly argued that the Jacobite party had become an inconsiderable faction in the state,"[40] a position that held little basis in the reality of the tory party in 1734, when Bolingbroke wrote *A Dissertation Upon Parties*. Ian Christie's work is informative. Of the roughly (party loyalty was less fixed in the mid-eighteenth century than it is today) 136 tory members of parliament elected in 1741, he counts twenty who were willing, treasonous Jacobite conspirators; sixteen more who can assuredly be classed as Jacobites, if less active ones; and a further twenty who held some degree of Jacobite sympathy; and further contends that many more, of whose views nothing or little is known, may well have held some Jacobite sympathies, putting the total number of Jacobite MPs in the tory parliamentary party at between two-fifths and one half of its total strength.

This view is supported in large part by the fluidity of Jacobite support amongst those Tories of whom we know most, that is, the party leadership. There remains debate over the extent to which Bolingbroke was ever a Jacobite — and he served the Pretender in his palace at St. Germain for several years. Some, nonetheless, continue to claim that Bolingbroke worked with the Jacobites largely as a part of a plot to undermine their cause and strengthen the Hanoverian succession. This view, advanced in particular by Edward Gregg and G.V. Bennett,[41] seems almost to willfully discard conflicting evidence. This is an inherent aspect to Jacobite

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[40] Max Skjönberg,"Lord Bolingbroke's Theory of Party and Opposition," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 4 (2016): 962.

[41] G.V. Bennett, "English Jacobitism, 1710-1715; Myth and Reality," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982): 145-6.

scholarship, since Jacobitism involved a great degree of conspiracy and plotting, so that it is possible to accuse almost any participant of having been, in fact, working for the other side. Monod has noted the difficulties presented by events like the Atterbury plot, which Jacobites were inclined to hush up, while Hanoverians were inclined to broadcast the event for political gain.[42] Bennett was quite correct when he wrote that "to study [Jacobitism] is to enter a world both of illusion and deliberate misrepresentation."[43] Still, it seems unfair to dismiss, as many have done, the publicly expressed views of political figures in an attempt to conclude that, no, in fact, they really must have been scheming and committing wanton acts of pro-Hanoverian skullduggery. Of course, the reverse is also true, but scholars who attempt to demonstrate an individual's Jacobitism tend to be less guilty of dismissing clearly expressed views.[44]

The Jacobitism of nearly every figure associated with the Stuart cause has been called into question by various scholars. Since many Jacobite figures publicly repudiated Jacobite views at various points, and since most were reluctant to share blatantly Jacobite views publicly, determining who was a Jacobite can be challenging enough, even before accounting for views

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[42] Paul Kléber Monod, "A Restoration? 25 Years of Jacobite Studies," *Literature Compass* 10 no. 4 (2013): 315-6.

[43] Bennett, "English Jacobitism," 137.

[44] In part, this may be due to the controversial nature, even centuries on, of accusing an individual of treason. The best example of such controversy came when a cadre of Jacobite scholars wrote, in the 1990s, that Samuel Johnson had in fact been a Jacobite. Wrote Monod:

> "The critical phalanx that rose to counter this view of Johnson saw itself as defending a *modern* writer against those who sought to reduce him to a mere reactionary or an antiquarian relic. The sundry offensives in the paper war over Johnson are too complicated to relate; they included painstaking debates over the various oaths taken by Oxford undergraduates, as well as seemingly endless re-readings of minor literary works… That he never took an oath to the ruling monarch seems clear; why this was so is still arguable."

The example is a telling one. Similar debates have played out over the lives of several other figures, while the Jacobitism of others (for instance, John Dryden) remains well established. Monod, "A Restoration?" 319.

that changed over time and the potential for conspiracy. Proving Jacobite sentiments has been easiest in areas that were heavily Jacobite, notably Shropshire, Staffordshire, Oxfordshire, Aberdeenshire and northeast Scotland generally, and the Highlands.[45] Since many Tory families destroyed politically tinged letters between 1715 and 1760,[46] the record of private communications is also spottier for Jacobite individuals than for their opponents. After the succession actually occurred, Jacobite views were even less acceptable. One publisher, John Matthews of London, "was try'd and convicted of High Treason, at the Old Baily, before the Lord Mayor and ten of the Judges, for Printing a Treasonable Pamphlet."[47] He was executed shortly thereafter.[48] This, of course, was the matter of the incredibly controversial Jacobite pamphlet *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, but Matthews's case was not unique. Trials — and even some executions — for Jacobitism were relatively frequent.

The study of reprisals against Jacobites has gained popularity in the context of British imperial history. The Highland Clearances and Jacobite convictions in assizes represent, to some observers, a precursor or forerunner to greater British abuses in the following decades and centuries, from the Grand Derangement to Amritsar. Geoffrey Plank has been a significant voice in this subfield of Jacobite studies, examining in particular the career of Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, known to his Jacobite and Tory opponents as "Butcher

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[45] Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism," 83; Kieran German, "Jacobite Politics in Aberdeen and the '15," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, eds. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 93; Geoffrey Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Risings of 1745 and the British Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 32; Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 84-5.

[46] Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 45.

[47] *Plymouth Weekly Journal Or General Post*, Oct. 30-Nov. 6, 1719, in BCN.

[48] *Weekly Medley or the Gentleman's Recreation*, Dec. 19-Dec. 26, 1719, in BCN.

Cumberland." The reprisals against Jacobite supporters — and Highlanders generally[49] — that Cumberland carried out generated sympathy for the Jacobites. Similarly, the case of the Cambridge undergraduate James Dawson, who supported Charles Edward during the Forty-Five, was influential: "The spectacle of James Dawson, a young undergraduate from St. John's Cambridge, being half hanged, disemboweled, drawn, and quartered killed his sweetheart of shock, and produced public revulsion."[50] Interest in the reprisals against Jacobites may have been prompted by neo-Marxist examinations of Jacobite social history, but it has since expanded beyond that set. Depictions of reprisals in Jacobite propaganda, particularly Jacobite verse, remain understudied, however.

Clark's work on Jacobitism has sought to reject both Whig political history and neo-Marxist social history. The existing paradigms of Jacobite scholarship, Clark believed, were fundamentally flawed. He held that many historians of what he calls the "Old Hat" and "Old Guard" models — that is, Whig historians and neo-Marxist historians, respectively — understood Toryism and Jacobitism anachronistically, viewing the early eighteenth century through the context of their own liberal and left-wing views.[51] Clark, who has himself been characterized as a "neo-jacobite,"[52] categorized Jacobite and Tory scholarship into three main groups: those who argued that there was no significant Tory party after the Fifteen, and that therefore Jacobitism was denied a parliamentary presence; those who argued that a Tory party

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[49] Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, 1.

[50] Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 106.

[51] Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion*, 92-3, 125-6; Monod, "A Restoration?" 311-3.

[52] W.A. Speck, "The Current State of Sacheverell Scholarship," *Parliamentary History* 31 no. 1 (2012): 27. Speck's classification should raise eyebrows since at no point has Clark advocate Jacobite aims. Speck likely means that Clark is rethinking Jacobite studies, but the language in the relevant section of his article is ambiguous.

existed, but that Jacobitism was largely an irrelevance within it; and those, led by Cruickshanks, who argued that not only did a Tory party exist, but that it was largely supported through Jacobitism both as an ideology and as a practical tactical option.[53] Those historians whose work is today most prominent in the field of Jacobite studies — notably Cruickshanks, Howard Erskine-Hill, Monod, Szechi, and Clark himself — were those listed by Clark in the 1986 book in which he advanced this view of Jacobite scholarship. It seems reasonably fair to describe the view that Jacobitism was at least somewhat prominent within the Tory party until the mid-eighteenth century as the current prevailing scholarly position, based largely on the realignment facilitated by Cruickshanks and Clark in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The current prevalence of this viewpoint is reasonable. Jacobite views were illegal; those who advanced them risked severe punishments. Yet, as a movement, Jacobitism not only continued to exist but remained relatively strong for the better part of a century after the Glorious Revolution. There is, then, an essential fallacy in the writings of those who claim that Jacobitism was an inconsequential movement at the margins of eighteenth century British society. In dismissing as backward romantics or mere dilettantes those who expressed Jacobite views in rhetoric or action, these scholars are promoting the idea that those willing to risk gruesome execution and attainder were of course simply engaging in momentary flirtations with the Stuart cause. Each time a riot or speech is dismissed as a momentary fling with ideological nonconformity, a fundamental mistake is made. Those who participated in Jacobite riots or spoke of a Stuart restoration, even outside the context of the actual risings, were risking their lives, livelihoods, and the future of their heirs. This was not, then, a cause to be casually taken up and

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[53] Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion*, 125-6.

set aside, a fleeting ideological love affair. It was a life-and-death proposition for both its supporters and opponents, and its gravity should not be forgotten. As Pittock put it: "the reader might consider how few in Britain today would give their lives for a cause, when many would not give a higher marginal rate of income tax. It is important to demand of those who minimize Jacobitism an awareness of such comparators, too seldom shown."[54]

Bennett, a sceptic of the political importance of Jacobitism following the Fifteen, wrote during the 1980s debates on the Tory party's role in eighteenth-century English society that the "significance of Jacobitism… lies not so much in its chances of success as in the fact that it provided the Whigs with an effective weapon."[55] This view has been refuted most effectively by Cruickshanks and Monod, in addition to Clark, who have painted a clear picture of the continued influence of Jacobitism, perhaps even its centrality, on and within Tory doctrine as late as 1760. Notably, Bennett presents no counterfactual analysis. He basis his view of Jacobite irrelevance largely on the failure of the Fifteen and subsequent Atterbury plot, but spends no time considering the ways in which these plots could have succeed. Bennett's analysis here is similar to looking at a baseball team and assuming that, because that team lost a single game, it had no chance of ever winning another. A more nuanced view of Jacobite political strength would indicate that the movement stood a real chance of success up to, and possibly after, the Forty-Five. The view advanced by Bennett and Colley disregards Jacobite strength because the movement did not succeed, largely ignoring the evidence that it quite possible could have succeeded.

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[54] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 12.

[55] Bennett, "English Jacobitism," 150.

It is precisely because the Jacobite movement failed, however, that it is so appealing in the popular mind. Sir Walter Scott — alongside Robert Burns and Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne — can be largely credited with creating an alternative Jacobitism, one that advanced not Jacobite political aims but rather a sort of romantic Scottish nationalism. Jacobitism itself had never been particularly focused on Scottish nationalism except insofar as Scotland fit into the Stuart Britannic fertility mythos, which inherently included an element of Scottish nationalism due to the family's ancestral ties to the country.[56] Romantic post-Jacobite Jacobitism focused in large part on a similar "Lost Cause" mentality to that found in the American South following the Civil War (albeit without the racial elements of that ideology). It emphasized Charles Edward Stuart as a personality rather than a political figure, and it was through this movement that the appellation "Bonnie" was applied to him, "a subtle denigration that implied its subject's descent into a slightly fey irrelevance."[57] It is upon the romantic version of Jacobitism, an invention of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that most study of Jacobite music has focused.[58]

Within this context, almost the entire study of Jacobite verse has focused on two interrelated subfields: romantic nationalism and cultural identity. The former has been addressed primarily in the study of Burns, Nairne, and other post-Jacobite composers, the latter most notably by Murray Pittock in his 1994 monograph *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, a work particularly notable for its analysis of the translation of Classical verse into cryptically Jacobite text, including John

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[56] Monod, "A Restoration?" 313.

[57] Clark, "The Many Restorations of King James," 36.

[58] See, e.g., Steve Sweeney-Turner, "The Political Parlour: Identity and Ideology in Scottish National Song," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945*, eds. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001): 213-15; Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 9-20.

Dryden's translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*.[59] Although these studies tend to examine similar themes — Stuart ruralism, Scottish iconography, Jacobite nationalism, and the Stuart fertility mythos — they fall into starkly contrasting intellectual traditions. Pittock's emphasis on Jacobite poetry is largely unique (it is, however, closely linked in intellectual tradition to Clark's studies of Samuel Johnson's possible Jacobitism),[60] and, unlike scholars of post-Jacobite romantic verse, he focuses on political Jacobitism rather than romantic Jacobitism.

The distinction between "political Jacobitism" and the "romantic Jacobitism" that came after is critical; the former was a distinct set of political beliefs that functioned as an active, well-articulated ideological standpoint until at least 1760. The latter was a more or less politically irrelevant thing of painting, engraving, kilts, and yarns. However, it is romantic Jacobitism that has shaped popular perception of the movement, meaning that it is easy for those not versed in the history of the Stuarts' supporters to see the Jacobite risings not as a primarily conservative, legitimist, and at times countercultural backlash against oligarchy and usurpation, but rather as an expression of Scottish nationalism rooted in a traditionalist respect for clan politics and the Highland way of life. Both Burns and Scott were Jacobites of the romantic sort,[61] which is to say they were not political Jacobites. They were distanced from the political realities of the movement and outside the timespan in which it had any credible chance of success, yet heavily influenced by the Scottish national story of which they believed it was part. Burns, certainly, would never have dreamed support an actual Stuart restoration, and even wrote or rewrote

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[59] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 10-21, 94-133.

[60] For a discussion of divergent views on Johnson's political beliefs, see Monod. "A Restoration?" 319-20.

[61] Clark, "The Many Restorations of King James," 18-22.

several biting anti-Jacobite songs, most notably "Ye Jacobites By Name,"[62] to emphasize their critiques of anti-Hanoverian sentiment rather than their contemporary political messages, which tended to focus on the psephological realities of eighteenth-century party politics.

Jacobite verse, within the context of political Jacobitism, had substantially different connotations than that of romantic Jacobitism. Political verse sought to convey its perspectives to the listener who would, ideally, find those arguments persuasive. In other contexts, political verse could be used to rally those already supportive of the Jacobite cause, much in the way protest songs could be utilized to build a communal atmosphere or stoke popular support amongst twentieth century anti-war advocates. Additionally, Jacobite songs existed in a unique context, one in which they were required to serve both as a call to arms and as a sort of ideological (legislative) whip to keep the Stuarts' supporters fixated on doctrines of passive obedience and submission to kings answerable only to God. That is, Jacobite verse had to first assert the correctness of a theory of divine right, absolute monarchy, and passive obedience while simultaneously encouraging resistance to the incumbent Hanoverian monarch.

There is also the matter of divine right theory. The reconsideration of the doctrine began with Figgis's 1896 volume *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*,[63] before which there was little serious scholarly consideration of what had been seen as a backward, ill-conceived notion.[64] Elton, in his 1973-4 survey of Stuart political theory, wrote that study of early modern British

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[62] "Ye Jacobites by Name," in *The Jacobite Relics*, 53-4, 222.

[63] The book also appeared in a second edition, entitled *The Divine Right of Kings*, in 1922.

[64] Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, vol. 2*, 196-200. It should be noted that Elton's sketch of Figgis's life is well deserving of readership, as it is a compelling and quite moving piece of biographical writing. It serves as an excellent example of considering the historian in historiography.

kingship "has in the main concentrated on theories in justification of royal power and on the symbolism with which monarchy surrounded itself; the result — perhaps predictably — has been to bring out the mystic, semi-priestly, and potentially autocratic elements, to the relative neglect of such limitations, theoretical and practical, as undoubtedly existed."[65] Within the context of verse, it has been symbolism that is studied, echoing Elton's comments. The actual application of divine right theory — and the related Jacobite-Tory theories of indefeasible hereditary right, passive obedience, and the culpability of kings only to God — in lyric verse has been studied little, and arguably not studied at all.

The field of Jacobite studies has evolved substantially since around 1970, when interest in the movement was renewed by scholars like Linda Colley and Eveline Cruickshanks. Since then, Colley's views on the role of Jacobite thought have largely fallen by the wayside, although her ideas on Tory political thought remain prominent. The mainstream of Jacobite scholarship today emphasizes the viability of the cause of Stuart restoration. It is increasingly accepted that the Jacobite movement stood a very real chance of success in several of its risings and plots, a position established through extensive counterfactual analysis.

However, the study of Jacobite verse has not entirely caught up to the study of Jacobitism generally. With the exception of the works of Murray Pittock, study of Jacobite verse remains fixated on the post-Jacobite romantic Jacobitism of Burns and Nairne with little regard for pure ideological messaging. Even Pittock has focused his research on pure symbolism and the Stuart mythos within song rather than on ideological persuasion and the conveyance of ideas. As a

[65] Ibid., 199.

result, the role of Jacobite verse in conveying concepts of divine right, indefeasible succession, passive obedience, and the answerability of kings to God alone has remained under-explored.

The following chapters will examine Jacobite verse as a tool for political messaging. Stated briefly, their unifying argument is that Jacobite verse presented an effective and critically important method of conveying the movement's political thought. Divine right theory, manorialism, patriarchalism, anti-unionism, and the Stuart ruralist cult all found ample expression within the Jacobites' lyrics. Though decentralized in authorship, Jacobite songs maintain a remarkably consistent ideological tone from the inception of the Jacobite cause after the Revolution through roughly the collapse of Jacobitism as a politically viable movement in about 1760. While there were some changes over time — notably, religiously themed songs were most prominent in Anne's reign and those emphasizing the personality cult gained newfound popularity immediately before, during, and after the Forty-Five — the general emphasis and messaging of these verses remained remarkably consistent. This allowed them to be used both as tools for the reinforcement of existing beliefs amongst those already sympathetic to the cause and for the recruitment of those not previously affiliated with Jacobitism.

The first chapter will deal most directly with political messaging in Jacobite verse. It will consider both divine right theory and other Jacobite ideas — notably "three kingdoms" anti-unionism and patriarchalism — in the context of verse. The prose writings of people like Sir Filmer and the nonjuror Charles Leslie will be compared with Jacobite verses and the expression and clarity of ideas will be discussed.

The second chapter will focus directly on the culture and social context that surrounded Jacobite music. The Jacobites, like the Cavaliers and Royalists before them, developed a unique

drinking culture that was exalted in verse. In addition, many Jacobite songs, whether or not they were about drinking, were intended for drinking. These songs fit within a matrix of ritualized drinking, particularly "healthing" (toasting to a political figure or idea), that was a key element of Jacobite political culture. Drinking helped to spur riots, aided in recruitment, and presented a fundamental cultural contrast with Whiggery.

In the third chapter, the issue of faith and religion in Jacobite songs will be considered. Religion in Jacobite thought was tied closely to the theory of divine right that underpinned Stuart claims of legitimacy. Somewhat ironically, the Stuart mythos and doctrines were founded in the Church of England, even as the monarchs themselves were Catholic since James II's conversion. The role of individual religious leaders will also be addressed, with a particular focus on Jacobite attacks against men like Gilbert Burnet and Benjamin Hoadly. Jacobite popular support was heavily based in the Roman Catholic and high church communities,[66] and the high church and nonjuring clergy were perhaps the most prolific authors of Jacobite propaganda and pamphlet literature. Nonjurors — those students and clergymen who refused to take new oaths to William and Mary in 1689, believing that to take an oath to a new monarch when the monarch previously sworn to still lived — were Jacobites almost to a man and, despite comprising a only small segment of the clergy, they represented amongst the most learned men of the Church of England and their presence in the Jacobite camp was a significant boon to the Stuarts.

The fourth chapter will address the cult of personality around Charles Edward Stuart and will examine his role within the movement's verse. Additionally, brief consideration will be given to James Francis's role in Jacobite songs as a precursor to that of his son. Most discussion of the

[66] The support of Quakers, another key element in the Stuart coalition, will not be addressed herein.

Forty-Five will occur in this section. Charles Edward was a capable and charismatic leader who energized Jacobitism even as the movement flagged. The Forty-Five was the closest the Stuarts ever came to restoration, yet it came at a moment that was far less opportune than previous risings. The near-success can be attributed in large part to Charles Edward's personal verve and vigor; although many of his worst qualities were in evidence during his army's retreat from Derby, many of his best were on display during its initial organization and march south. With only a handful of men, Charles Edward was able to raise up an army and take over the entirety of Scotland in a matter of months. That achievement — and the man behind it — loom large in Jacobite verse.

Jacobitism as an ideology was heavily influenced by its music and relied on its verse for much of its persuasive power. Jacobite political beliefs are well reflected in the music of the movement and the study of that music provides significant insights not only into those beliefs themselves but also into the format of their expression and conveyance.

Chapter One

'THEIR SUBLIME THEORY':[1]

THE IDEOLOGY OF JACOBITISM IN THE MOVEMENT'S VERSE

After the Jacobite rising of 1745 ended in stinging defeat at Culloden the next April, the Stuarts' adherents remained relatively defiant. During election proceedings in Staffordshire in 1746, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Trentham,[2] Hanoverian Tories, were horsewhipped on a racecourse and cudgeled, respectively, to the tune of the notorious Jacobite ballad "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again" by a crowd wearing white Stuart cockades.[3] Thirty years earlier, on the day set to celebrate the Hanoverian succession, a Tory constable had marched through his town with a gang of fiddlers, playing the same song.[4] The studentry of Aberdeen[5] and Oxford, both Jacobite havens, were in the habit of taking to the streets for riotous marches dedicated to the exiled kings. In November 1754, William Pitt stood in parliament to disclaim the treasonous songs sung by undergraduates at Oxford during their carousing and rioting.[6] These incidents were hardly

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[1] David Hume, "Of Passive Obedience," in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: LibertyClassics, 1987), 490. Hume wrote of the Tories: "Even our high monarchical party, in spite of their sublime theory, are forced, in such cases, to judge, and feel, and approve, in conformity to the rest of mankind."

[2] John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford, and Granville Leveson-Gower, known by the courtesy title Viscount Trentham. The latter was the son of John Leveson-Gower, first Earl Gower, the prominent Hanoverian Tory. The Duke of Bedford was also associated with the Patriot Whig faction, but in this instance was supporting Lord Gower's Hanoverian Tories against Jacobite Tory candidates in Staffordshire.

[3] Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 107.

[4] Nicholas Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England," in *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 71.

[5] Kieran German,"Jacobite Politics in Aberdeen and the '15," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, eds. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 85-9.

[6] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 154.

unique, but rather part of a pattern of Jacobite protest, riot, and general skullduggery that continued from the Hanoverian succession in 1714 — and since 1690 in Ireland — until at least two decades after the Battle of Culloden.[7] And most of the riots featured the singing of Jacobite songs.

Although Jacobitism benefited from its status as the de facto opposition to the established Whig and Hanoverian rulership of the first half of the eighteenth century, it was at no point merely a protest movement or a countercultural blip. Rather, Jacobitism benefited from a fairly consistent and well-articulated political theory that worked aggressively to appeal to a broad audience, drawing support from the landed gentry to the lower classes, particularly in rural areas and university towns. Songwriting and distribution was critical to the Jacobite appeal, as songs could be utilized to reach large groups simultaneously and served as an efficient means of dissemination, particularly during riots and protests. Jacobite songwriters typically found ways to appeal to listeners across the socioeconomic divide while remaining within a close party line that changed relatively little between the Hanoverian succession in 1714 and the defeat of the Forty-Five in 1746. Jacobite verse has received relatively scant scholarly attention, and what work has been done on the subject has not focused on the expression of ideology and political theory in song. To comprehend the conveyance of Jacobite belief, particularly in the inter-rising period of 1715 to 1745, an understanding of verse as a not just politically charged but, in fact, ideologically expressive medium must be established.

The cardinal belief of the Jacobites was in the necessity of restoring the Stuart dynasty to the British throne following first the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9 and the Hanoverian succession

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[7] Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 195-202.

of 1714, but their political identity was substantially more complex than mere legitimism. Jacobite belief found its roots in those faiths that emphasized obedience and featured top-down — that is, episcopal — polity: High Church Anglicans; Scots episcopalians; the remaining Catholic populations in the British Isles; and particularly those within the Anglican and Episcopal churches who refused to swear allegiance to the Williamite and Hanoverian dynasties, known as "nonjurors." Daniel Szechi has persuasively argued that

> most of the men and women involved in Jacobitism were piously, deeply committed to their respective faiths. Indeed, it was through religious motifs that Nonjurors, Anglicans and Scots Episcopalians all shared, such as the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance and indefeasible hereditary right, that Jacobitism was able consistently to draw fresh recruits from among the more devout Tories.[8]

Naturally, there were many in each of these faith groups — even many nonjurors — who were not Jacobites, notwithstanding the observation of one Captain Edward Burt in the 1720s that he had never met a nonjuror "that was not a professed Jacobite."[9] The Jacobite political doctrine was one that emphasized the theory of divine right, a belief in indefeasible hereditary succession, the accountability of kings to God alone, and the doctrine of passive obedience. Certain elements of the Jacobite cause also emphasized Stuart ruralism. This component of Jacobite ideology is frequently apparent in the pastoral and traditionalist themes frequently found in Jacobite verse.

Jacobite rhetoric also had the distinct advantage of echoing what were officially sanctioned, dynastically held beliefs until 1688, meaning many of the messages expressed in Jacobite

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[8] Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 15-21, 26.

[9] Rogers, "Riot and Popular Jacobitism," 95.

pamphlets and songs could be perceived not as radical, but as quite establishment by many.[10] This veneer of retroactive official approval was backed by the subordination found in social systems of the more rural bastions of Stuart support, generally those same locations that had lent their voices to the Royalist cause during the English civil wars.[11] Tories tended to represent large counties and boroughs within large counties;[12] these areas, particularly those towns in which powerful local families held sway, maintained certain elements of manorial political establishment. Additionally, outside larger cities and towns, the earlier dynastic sanctioning of ideological traditions and in which Jacobite theorists wrote may have been less thoroughly undermined by the post-revolution official line. This was assuredly the case in the Highlands and parts of rural Wales. In the latter, Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn was elected variously for Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, and Beaumaris; he was a member of the landed gentry who had large holdings around Wrexham and in the Conwy valley.[13] These same areas were rife with Jacobite activity in the form of clubs like the Society of the Sea Sergeants, the Cycle of the White Rose, and others besides.[14] Wynn famously burnt an image of George I in public while

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[10] Howard Erskine-Hill, "Literature and the Jacobite Cause: Was There a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?" in *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 51.

[11] Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 19; David Underdown,"The Chalk and the Cheese: Contrasts among the English Clubmen," *Past & Present* 85 (1979): 25-6.

[12] Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 5.

[13] Eveline Cruickshanks, "Williams (afterwards Williams-Wynn), Watkin (1693-1749), of Wynnstay, Denb.," in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754*, ed. Romney Sedgwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[14] Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 34.

campaigning for election in 1722[15] (he was returned successfully). Notably, Wynn promoted his political views in part through the use of traditional Welsh harpers whose work he promoted even as Whigs sought to extinguish lower-class music.[16] The continued existence of manorial social structures and aid of Jacobite societies in more rural areas, in addition to the potential for lessened general awareness of cosmopolitan trends and the current official line, could create ideal environments for Jacobite politicians and polemicists.

The Jacobite emphasis on obedience to traditional authority — the authority of kings, of bishops, of landed elites — was, notably, an asset within the context of the cohesiveness of their movement, as has been argued persuasively by figures including Szechi, J.C.D. Clark, and Eveline Cruickshanks.[17] (Howard Erskine-Hill has, however, noted that a doctrine of passive obedience occasionally presented difficulties for a movement committed to rebellion.)[18] These key tenets were occasionally combined with ruralist thinking. Stuart ruralism tended to focus on traditional manorial social structures coupled with a cult of kingship that idealized the Stuart monarchs as paragons of a British countryside ethos. The ruralism of the Jacobite cause promoted an "awareness of the role of the Stuarts as symbolic redeemer-kings like Arthur… part, at times, of a fertility myth."[19] In addition, Jacobite political theory often played upon themes of

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[15] Richard Sharp, "'Our Common Mother, the Church of England': Nonjurors, High Churchmen and the Evidence of Subscription Lists," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, eds. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 172.

[16] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 71.

[17] Szechi, *The Jacobites*, 15-21, 26; Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832*, 125; Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 4-5.

[18] Erskine-Hill, "Literature and the Jacobite Cause," 52.

[19] J.C.D. Clark, "The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688-2006," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, edited by Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 43.

authority and community found within episcopal and Catholic doctrines to supplement its governmental aims. In this, Jacobitism was simultaneously conservative and radical. The key tenets of divine right theory, coupled with Jacobite ruralism and religious themes, were the cornerstones of a remarkably consistent ideology which could be, with relative ease, transferred to verse, a key tool for the dissemination of the movement's propaganda.

Almost the entire study of Jacobite verse has focused on two interrelated subfields: romantic nationalism and cultural identity. The former has been addressed primarily in the study of Robert Burns, Carolina Nairne, and other post-Jacobite composers, the latter most notably by Murray Pittock in his 1994 monograph *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, a work partly focused on analysis of the translation of Classical verse into cryptically Jacobite text, most notably in the case of John Dryden's translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*.[20] Although these studies tend to examine similar themes — Stuart ruralism, Scottish iconography, Jacobite nationalism, and the Stuart fertility mythos — they fall into starkly contrasting intellectual traditions. Pittock's emphasis on Jacobite poetry is largely unique (it is, however, closely linked in intellectual tradition to J.C.D. Clark's studies of Samuel Johnson's possible Jacobitism[21]), and, unlike scholars of post-Jacobite romantic verse, he focuses on political Jacobitism rather than romantic Jacobitism.

The distinction between "political Jacobitism" and the "romantic Jacobitism" that came after is critical. The former was a distinct set of political beliefs that functioned as an active, well-articulated ideological standpoint until at least 1760. The latter has been dismissed as a more or less politically irrelevant thing of painting, engraving, kilts, and yarns. However, romantic

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[20] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 10-21, 94-133.

[21] For a discussion of divergent views on Johnson's political beliefs, see Monod. "A Restoration? 25 Years of Jacobite Studies," *Literature Compass* 10 no. 4 (2013): 319-20.

Jacobitism has shaped popular perception of the movement, making it is easy for those not versed in the history of the Stuart's supporters to see the Jacobite risings not as a primarily conservative, legitimist, and at times countercultural backlash against oligarchy and coup d'état, but rather as an expression of Scottish nationalism rooted in a traditionalist respect for clan politics and the Highland way of life. Romantic Jacobitism, and thus popular perceptions of the movement, largely originated with Burns and Sir Walter Scott, both of whom were Jacobites of the romantic sort,[22] distanced from the political realities of the movement and outside the timespan in which it had any credible chance of success. These early romantics were heavily influenced by the Scottish national story of which they believed Jacobitism was a part. Burns, certainly, would never have dreamed to support an actual Stuart restoration, and even rewrote several biting anti-Jacobite songs, most notably "Ye Jacobites By Name,"[23] to emphasize their critiques of anti-Hanoverian sentiment rather than their contemporary political messages, which tended to focus on the psephological realities of eighteenth-century party politics.

Jacobite verse, within the context of political Jacobitism, had substantially different connotations than those of romantic Jacobitism. Political verse sought to convey its perspectives to the listener who would, ideally, find its arguments persuasive. In other contexts, political verse could be used to rally those already supportive of the Jacobite cause. Jacobite songs were required to serve both as a call to arms and as a sort of ideological whip[24] to keep the Stuarts' supporters dedicated to doctrines of passive obedience and submission to kings answerable only to God. That is, Jacobite verse had first to assert the correctness of a theory of divine right,

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[22] Clark, "The Many Restorations of King James," 18-22.

[23] James Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: Being the Songs, Airs, and Legends, of the Adherents to the House of Stuart, v.1* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819-21), 53-4, 222.

[24] In the legislative, not literal, sense.

absolute monarchy, and passive obedience while simultaneously encouraging resistance to the incumbent Hanoverian monarch. In 1742, David Hume wrote in "Of Passive Obedience" that the Jacobite Tories were faced with such contradictions in numerous situations: "Even our high monarchical party, in spite of their sublime theory, are forced, in such cases, to judge, and feel, and approve, in conformity to the rest of mankind."[25] Thus, Jacobite writers and lyricists were required to imbue their work with both revolutionary zeal and a subservient ideological message.

To comprehend this distinction, Jacobites sometimes turned to Classical analogues, a favorite tool for playwrights, songwriters, and propagandists of a Jacobite bent, though Classical references were employed liberally across the political spectrum, notably by so-called "Real Whigs." They also emphasized the role of the Hanoverian and Williamite regimes as usurpers and, later, questioned the Hanoverian succession by observing the cuckoldry of George I. These images, alongside metonymic and allegorical allusions to objects, individuals, and concepts associated with the Stuarts, formed the basis of Jacobite ideological messaging in verse. It was, to a Jacobite songwriter, essential to honor the rightful king; disobey and rise against his usurpers; and to remember, always, that no matter how far removed were James II, "James III," and "Charles III," they remained the rightful, God-given monarchs.

References to Roman history and myth were frequent in Jacobite verse, even beyond Dryden's *Aeneid*, with the Stuart kings and pretenders likened to Cato[26] while the Hanoverian monarchs were compared to Nero, as in the late Jacobite composition "Nero the Second."[27] The Jacobites utilized Classical mythos to illustrate the virtuousness of their own credos, with Caesar,

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[25] Hume, "Of Passive Obedience," in *Essays*, 490.

[26] "Cato's Ghost," in *English Jacobite Ballads, Songs & Satires, etc.*, ed. Alexander Balloch Grosart (Manchester: Charles E. Simms, 1877), 101-4.

[27] "Nero the Second," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 6-8.

the usurper of history and trust, usually seen as a villain, while those in traditions of obedience, moral fortitude, and heredity — Cato, sometimes even Brutus — were viewed quite positively. The last was somewhat ironic, or perhaps even pointedly appropriative: Jacobites, supporters of the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right, found for heroes leading figures of the Roman Republic, which, while certainly oligarchical and patriarchal in the extreme, was nonetheless electoral. Additionally, they found in Brutus, famed for treason, a role model, since his alleged treason came when he put loyalty to an established political norm — that of the Republic — ahead of a usurping political norm — Caesar's dictatorship. "Cato's Ghost," which dates from around the time of the Fifteen, deals extensively with themes of virtue, loyalty, and the sinfulness of treason. One section emphasizes passive obedience and heredity:

> From Age to Age, from father to the Son,
> Is each man's rule of Action, & had he
> Been subject to a King's Authority,
> Even Cato's self had bled for Monarchy.[28]

The messaging is not subtle. (Nor is it necessarily accurate, as both famous Catos — Marcus Porcius Cato (B.C. 234-149) and Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis[29] (B.C. 95-46) — lived during the period of the Republic, the latter committing suicide to thwart Caesar's autocratic aims.[30]) The first line echoes the Stuart doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right while also evoking thoughts of a Britain of the past; this was, then, a way to invoke not only the ideological doctrine of Jacobite Tories but a comparison with the Hanoverian kings. George I could not speak English; born Georg Ludwig, he spent his first fifty-four years in Germany. By comparison, the

[28] "Cato's Ghost," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 101-4.

[29] The use of the cognomen "Uticensis" is debated; it is used here to distinguish Cato the Younger from the otherwise identically named Cato the Elder.

[30] Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Younger*, in *Parallel Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Lexundria: A Digital Library of Classical Antiquity), 70.

Stuarts could appear to be the height of Britishness — despite having ruled over a vaguely foreign land just a century earlier and occasionally verging into what their less favorable contemporaries saw as Francophilia — and, through their continued references to British folk traditions, notably their dynastic myth's emphasis on King Arthur,[31] they sought to ensure their (nominal) subjects knew it.

The notion that Cato would have "bled for Monarchy," while debatable, serves a clear ideological role. In principle, Jacobites were not inherently opposed to government by a non-hereditary system; their ideology emphasized the role of hereditary monarchy in a British context and as the natural state of English-, Welsh-, Irish-, and Scottishness. The point is a relatively insignificant one in the context of the British Stuarts, but gains prominence when Jacobite propaganda is considered. Since the doctrine of passive obedience prized subservience to an extant regime, the Jacobites felt it possible to use as an example those systems of government that were not themselves hereditary absolute monarchies if they nonetheless upheld other Jacobite ideals. Jacobites, wrote Hume, "draw the bond of allegiance very close, and consider an infringement of it, as the last refuge in desperate cases."[32] The Jacobites saw in Cato an honorable, obedient servant of the nation in its context, that is, the Republican government of Rome. What mattered was the subservient obedience and that Cato would oppose tyranny, not that that obedience was directed toward a republic, thus the contention that "Even Cato's self" would support the doctrine of "a King's Authority" if only he had lived within a monarchy.

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[31] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 16-18.

[32] Hume, "Of Passive Obedience," in *Essays*, 490.

The song also makes more direct attacks agains the Hanoverians, comparing them to Caesar, a perennial foil in Jacobite art. Caesar, seen as a usurper against a legitimate authority (the republic) and as an autocrat restrictive of rights in their locally conceived traditional sense (that is, rights as they were viewed by Republican Romans or Caroline and Restoration Britons, respectively), was, for Jacobites, a near-perfect analogue for George I. In the period shortly after the Fifteen, with the bitter feelings of both the succession and the failed rebellion fresh, the analogy was apt:

> Caesar had all the courtly winning ways,
> Caesar had Balls, Caesar went to plays
> Caesar would whore, rant, drink, fight,
> Caesar had Gold, but Caesar had no right
> This was the Case of Rome, consider well,
> If Britain's be not just the parallell [sic];
> But will you wanton in your Misery,
> And for diversions sell your Liberty;
> You See the Man in a false glaring light,
> Which Empire sheds on him, but view him right;
> You'll find him black with Crimes of deepest dye,
> Murder…….. Usurpation….. Tyranny.[33]

"Cato's Ghost" does not stand out amongst Jacobite verse for its subtlety. In this section of the ballad, the connection to the British situation is made explicit, with Caesar's corruption, immorality, and autocratic orientation emphasized as a warning lesson to Britons. Without the Stuarts, the way of life, the Britain of liberty and paternalistic social hierarchy over which they had presided, would die, or so Jacobite propagandizing claimed.

The concept of liberty-within-obedience was central to Jacobite political theory. In Jacobite thought, the form of obedience and servitude that the Stuart monarchy represented was itself a

[33] "Cato's Ghost," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 101-4. The number of periods in each over-long ellipsis in the final quoted line are exact to the original text.

form of liberty, albeit a somewhat distinct concept from Whig ideas of liberty. To a Jacobite, liberty was not contained within submission, but was in fact an inherent part of it. To submit to a true sovereign was to be at liberty, for a true sovereign would protect liberties in a way that a false organ of government could not. The Jacobite conception of liberty was utterly different from that of many later political theorists and was couched in ideas of monarchy as a God-given institution, a political polity but also a way of life and the inherent right organization of society as conceived by the Almighty. Jacobites and their detractors spoke of two different sorts of liberty, in effect. To the former, liberty was encompassed within a view of kingship as divinely ordained and justified; the king would protect liberty as part of his holy mission, in effect. To detractors of Jacobites, a monarch was a potential agent of oppression, and even the best of kings could sire a successor that was the worst of rulers and an enemy of liberty. The dialectic of liberty in this context is therefore incredibly fraught, as neither side conceived of liberty and its preservation in the same way. Thus, Bolingbroke's (likely correct) claim that Tories were associated with "non-resistance, slavery, nay and sometimes popery, too"[34] advances a view of Toryism and Jacobitism that was largely inaccurate. Hume held that

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[34] Henry St. John, "A Dissertation on Parties," in *The Works of the Late Right Honorable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, Vol. 2* (London: David Mallet, 1754), 4 (ECCO 32). Bolingbroke's wording is somewhat ambiguous; the word "nay" is, I am confident, an intensifier associated with "and sometimes popery too," not a negation of "slavery." That is, I do not believe that he is asserting that the Jacobites are never associated with slavery. With that said, the exact meaning is unclear. The sentence in its entirety reads:

> Divine, hereditary, indefeasible right, lineal succession, passive-obedience, prerogative, non-resistance, slavery, nay and sometimes popery too, were associated in many minds to the idea of a tory, and seemed incommunicable and inconsistent in the same manner, with the idea of a whig.

The matter is further complicated by a version of the same text, in the version hosted by Eighteenth Century Collections Online, that features a comma following "nay" as well as before it, making the sentence read "slavery, nay, and sometimes popery, too," which naturally changes the reading. This edition seems to have been from a simultaneously printed version that was bound smaller, i.e., possibly in something like chapbook form.

> The TORIES, as men, were enemies to oppression; and also as ENGLISHMEN, they were enemies to arbitrary power. Their zeal for liberty, was, perhaps, less fervent than their antagonists; but was sufficient to make them forget all their general principles, when they saw themselves openly threatened with a subversion of the ancient government.[35]

Though Hume, like Bolingbroke, was not wholly positive in his view of the Tory position — he does, after all, assert that they would "forget all their general principles" for the sake of self-interest — he also advanced a more correct view of their self-professed position. (Bolingbroke's statement is, of course, couched in removed language; it is what others associate with the Tories, not necessarily his own views, although these doubtless are not unrelated as "A Dissertation on Parties" appeared during Bolingbroke's post-Jacobite phase, in which he sought to forsake the "Tory" label in favor of a "Country Party" appellation.[36]) The Jacobites' — and, to Hume, Jacobites and Tories were virtually one-in-the-same[37] — zeal for liberty was not merely political posturing, but a significant goal in itself. Jacobite verse, in fact, opined the supposed disposal of liberty in favor of momentary gain, the proverbial bread and circuses of the early eighteenth century, criticizing those who would "for diversions sell [their] Liberty."[38] As the famed 1719 Jacobite pamphlet *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* urged, "Sure you ought to fight with more Resolution for Liberty than your Oppressors for Dominion."[39] (The religious implications are vast, as "dominion" was a concept associated with protestantism and Reformation theology, giving *Vox*

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[35] Hume, "Of the Parties of Great Britain," in *Essays*, 70.

[36] Max Skjönberg,"Lord Bolingbroke's Theory of Party and Opposition," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 4 (2016): 957.

[37] Whether Jacobites and Tories were, in fact, largely coterminous political movements is an ongoing debate. Linda Colley and her husband, David Cannadine, have been particularly harsh critics of the idea of Jacobitism as central to Tory partisan identity after 1715, while Eveline Cruickshanks and J.C.D. Clark have maintained that Jacobitism was a reliably significant presence, perhaps even a dominant one, within the Tory party until at least 1750.

[38] "Cato's Ghost," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 101-4.

[39] *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, quoted in Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 195.

Populi, Vox Dei potentially papist undertones.) Lost freedom was to be lamented, alongside and as a component of the lost Stuart monarchy. "Let England now lament her freedom lost,/And think how dear a German king has cost,/Too late grown wise, let Tories think with tears,/How ill they've husbanded these threescore years," went one 1748 verse.[40] The two ideals, apparently contradictory, of liberty and passive submission to a divine monarch, were, to Jacobites, integrally linked.

The concept extended yet further. Charles Leslie, in an April 1705 edition of *The Rehearsal*, wrote positively of Greek and Roman philosophers that

> they saw that this could be no *basis* or *settlement* of *government*, especially so as to oblige *conscience*, which is the great *security* of *government*; for what *man* is he who can by his own NATURAL *authority* bind the *conscience* of another? That would be far more than the power of *life*, *liberty* or *property*. Therefore they saw the necessity of a DIVINE *original* of *government*. To supply which, they *fabled* their *kings* to be *begot* by some *God* or other, and so to be of an higher *race* than the rest of *mankind*. And they had their *apotheoses* of their *king*, at their *death*, or turning them into *God*, to command the *reverence* and *obedience* of their *subjects*.[41]

In the context of Jacobite political thought, liberty became a concept that existed out of divine will, similar to the right of kings, and that was subordinated to the will of the monarch and existed within the context of obedience to him. Liberty in Jacobite thought existed wholly outside notions of the social contract and the Whig conception initiated by John Locke the previous century.

Notably, the reliance on Classical reference continues, in this case with a philosophical consideration rather than an historical or mythological one. The idea of royal ascendancy, of the

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[40] "Humble Address of the Tower of London to George ye 2d, 1748," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 22.

[41] Philalethes [Charles Leslie] *A View of the Times, Their Principles and Practices: in the ... Rehearsals, vol. 1* (London: W. Bowen, 1750), 229-30.

royal as divinely empowered, was of course critical to Jacobitism, and to eighteenth century Toryism more generally.[42] In verse, this concept often arose metaphorically or allegorically, as with the Oak Apple Day celebration song "The Royal Oak Tree," in which the tree is metonymically tied to the Stuart kings themselves:

> We honour our standard, the royal oak tree,
> We honour our standard, the royal oak tree.
> All shall yield to the royal oak tree,
> All shall yield to the royal oak tree;
> Bend to thee, majestic tree!
> Honour'd was he who sat in thee,
> Honour'd was he who sat in thee,
> And thou, like him, thrice honour'd shalt he,
> And thou, like him, thrice honour'd shall be.
>
> When our great sovereign, Charles, was driv'n from his throne,
> And dared scarce call kingdom or subjects his own,
> Old Pendril the miller, at risk of his blood,
> Hid the King of our Isle in the king of the wood.
> All shall yield, &c.[43]

The concept of submission, not just to a king himself, but in fact to a representation of a king, is highly significant and seemingly devotional. Charles Edward,[44] who was sometimes "depicted

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[42] Hume, "Of the Parties of Great Britain," in *Essays*, 70; Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832*, 48-50, 154.

[43] "The Royal Oak Tree," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 10-11. Hogg noted that this song has no clear origin; although its first line ("Ye true sons of Scotia, together unite") references Scotland, the remainder of the lyrics and the tune led Hogg to suspect it was initially of English root. Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 171. It most likely arose during either the Restoration period or shortly after the Glorious Revolution, and was almost certainly written prior to the Fifteen. Its references make it appear to be Restoration era, but that is only a best guess. It is possible that the line about Scotland was inserted after the fact, during the post-Jacobite romantic rejuvenation of the movement's verse.

[44] Pittock has found that Charles Edward utilized a distinctive form of Jacobite Classical imagery, depicting himself as not only the heritor typical in Jacobite art and music, but as a radical. He was known for his "use of Roman images was often one with a Republican tinge: even when acting as the official representative of divine right, the Prince was portrayed with a hint of radical chic." Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 81.

under a star in the manner of Christ,"[45] is representative, though "The Royal Oak Tree" almost certainly antedates his life by some decades. Through their divine right, the Stuart kings could be associated with Christ Himself, and, like Christ, could be honored devotionally not just within the context of their physical presence, but through "relics" or "icons," including the allegorical Royal Oak. Indeed, with the kings themselves physically absent for roughly a century (Charles Edward died thirteen days shy of the ninety-ninth anniversary of the declaration of William III as king of England), the need for icons was substantively magnified.

Jacobitism's raison d'être was of course the restoration of the Stuart kings, and to that end the doctrine of divine right was employed, and to justify divine right, patriarchalism was essential. An emphasis on lineal succession and the divinely granted authority of kings had always been an element of church doctrine in Britain, but with the formation of the Church of England and the creation of the monarch as head of that church, these doctrines began to be advanced with newfound fervor.[46] Perhaps the most famous defender of divine right theory was Sir Robert Filmer, a Royalist writer who died in 1653 but whose most famous work, *Patriarcha*, appeared posthumously in 1680. To Filmer, "Dominion was inherent in worldly nature, subsisting from the moment of Adam's creation. If Adamic society was civil society then all men were born into political obligation."[47] Mark Goldie has convincingly argued that, even as Filmer's own writings were largely abandoned by Jacobites and Tories after 1689, his core principles remained essential to both movements. Patriarchalism, Goldie argued, "constituted proof that political obligation

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[45] Ibid., 81.

[46] John Findon,"The Nonjurors and the Church of England, 1689-1716" (doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978), 126.

[47] Mark Goldie, "Tory Political Thought, 1689-1714" (doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1977), 209.

was a natural and not a contractual duty. It did this by describing the present obligation in terms of paternity and the roots of societies as being such that a free and equal state of nature was historically impossible."[48] The identification of the monarch as a father (or, in Anne's case, mother) of the nation and church was a representation of this line of thought in the everyday rhetoric of the Tory and Jacobite movements.

Filmer's arguments against theories of individual liberty and the right of subjects to choose their government in any form rested in part on traditionalist notions of Christian and English identity and in part on the apparent excesses of, in his time, the Interregnum regime. That argument would later be extended to include Whig excesses under Ashley-Cooper and Walpole and the Williamite and Hanoverian regimes. Filmer's central thesis was stated clearly in *Patriarcha*, though the basic arguments were also advanced in his other writings:

> Since the time that School-Divinity began to flourish, there hath been a common Opinion maintained, as well by Divines, as by divers other Learned Men, which affirms,
>
> *Mankind is naturally endowed and born with Freedom from Subjection, and at liberty to choose what Form of Government it please: And that the Power which any one Man hath over others, was at first bestowed according to the discretion of the Multitude.*
>
> This Tenent was first hatched in the Schools… the Common People every where tenderly embrace it… for that it prodigally destributes a Portion of Liberty to the meanest of the Multitude, who magnifie Liberty, as if the height of Humane Felicity were only to be found in it, never remember That the desire of Liberty was the first Cause of the Fall of *Adam*.
>
> But howsoever this Vulgar Opinion hath of late obtained a great Reputation, yet it is not to be found in the Ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Primitive Church: It contradicts the Doctrine and History of the Holy Scriptures, the constant Practice of all Ancient Monarchies, and the very

[48] Ibid., 215.

> Principles of the Law of Nature. It is hard to say whether it be more erroneous in Divinity, or dangerous in Policy.[49]

Jacobite thought rested heavily on Filmerite assumptions, even when Filmer himself was relatively abandoned in name by his ideological successors. These elements are often quite evident in Jacobite music, albeit rarely as explicitly as in Filmer's doctrine (which is to be expected). In an untitled ode to Charles Edward, an anonymous writer personified the prince and his brother with the appellation "Sons of Empire,"[50] personifying both father and sons as themselves imperial before also associating their acts with the attempts of "God in anger" to "dash[…] the rebel crew."[51] The song "The Pilfering Brood" makes the connection more explicit, calling James Francis "our lawful king, / The father of his people."[52] In the Cavalier ballad "A Royall Health to the Rising Sun," Charles I is called "The Father of our Kingdoms" while Charles II is "His Royall Sun."[53] The theme was a common one and is a clear reflection of that high monarchist theory articulated most clearly and famously by Filmer. The lineal, indefeasible succession from father to son was not just a reflection of the proper dynastic succession of a noble house itself but also a facet of the inherent virtue of monarchy, imbued with the anthropological and Scriptural authority in direct descent from Eden. As Filmer put it in his

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[49] Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha: or the Natural Power of Kings* (London: Walter Davis, 1680), 2-3.

[50] "U.D. [To Prince Charles.]," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 120-127.

[51] Ibid.

[52] "The Pilfering Brood," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 94-6.

[53] Angela McShane Jones, "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 73.

It is worth noting that the motif of the Son-as-the-Sun is itself a powerful one. Wrote Figgis: "With the lapse of time, the belief that a king was a god gave way to the notion, that he was of divine descent. As the Incas claimed to be the children of the Sun, so the notion of divine parentage is the first germ of the theory." John Neville Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings, 1st. ed.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 18.

earlier work *The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings*, "The Prince, whom you may justly call the Father of the Country, ought to be to every man dearer and more Reverend then [sic] any Father, as one Ordained and sent unto us by God."[54] The king, as a father in Adamic times and as Adam himself, would be supreme over man and answerable, as was Adam, to God alone.

In his 1896 treatise *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, a volume that can be credited with restoring interest in divine right doctrine,[55] John Neville Figgis argued, partly on the basis of Jacobite music and other propaganda, that "the main interest of the belief [in the divine right of kings] after 1688 is æsthetic."[56] Notably, Figgis declined to change the language in his revised second edition.[57] He could not have been more wrong. Figgis perhaps based his assumption too greatly on the works of the likes of Burns and Oliphant — and of course on Scott, writing slightly later — when the interest in divine right theory actually was mainly aesthetic. But to extend that statement to all post-1688 divine right doctrine is somewhat ridiculous. It is clear — notably from the works of Leslie and his nonjuring contemporaries like William Law, as well as

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[54] Robert Filmer, *The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings: And in particular, of the King of England* (London, 1648. EEBO), 11.

[55] Figgis must be credited with the simplest exposition of the absurdity of assuming the absurdity of divine right theory. He wrote:

> But those, who have exhausted their powers of satire in pouring scorn upon the theory, have continually been at little pains to understand it. That the doctrine is absurd, when judged from the standpoint of modern political thought, is a statement that requires neither proof nor exposition. But the modern standpoint is not the only one, and the absurdity of the doctrine in our eyes is the least interesting or important fact about it, except as driving us to seek further for its real meaning and value.

It is hard to argue with the proposition Figgis makes. Even today, it is possible to find scornful views o the doctrine of divine right in historical accounts of the Jacobite movement. John Neville Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings, 1st. ed.*, 1.

[56] Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings, 1st. ed.*, 167.

[57] John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings, 2nd. ed.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 170.

their high church brethren like Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and those in the press like Nathaniel Mist, but also from the corpus of Jacobite music before roughly 1760 — that the interest in divine right was far from aesthetic, though it may have in part been sentimental, as many conservative and traditionalist political theories are by necessity.

Many of the themes of the divine right theorists are shown most clearly in the songs dating from before Charles Edward's majority. While the legitimist claims of the Jacobite Prince of Wales were certainly a key factor in the music about him, much of Charles Edward's popular image was mixed with the perceived radicalism he, as a younger claimant, could represent, while his dashing image and physical attractiveness also contributed to a largely, though not entirely, new genre of songs devoted to the prince as a romantic hero. "Let our great James come over," a song dating from roughly the end of Anne's reign, noted both James' heritage and the loathed oaths of abjuration while also, through allusions to the Dutch and Germans, attacking indirectly George I's claim through xenophobic rhetoric. The song begins fairly typically:

> Let our great James come over,
> And baffle Prince Hanover,
> With hearts and hands, in loyal bands,
> We'll welcome him at Dover.
> Of royal birth and breeding,
> And ev'ry grace exceeding,
> Our greats will mourn, till his return,
> O'er lands that lie a-bleeding.
>
> Let each man, in his station,
> Fight bravely for the nation;
> Then may our king long live and reign,
> In spite of abduration.
> He only can relieve us
> From every thing that grieves us:
> Our church is rent, our treasure spent;

He only can reprieve us.[58]

The doctrine advanced in the song is typical of its sort: James is rightfully king, is bred to be king, and would be a far better ruler than any German. Appeals to the Church of England's legitimacy and to nationalistic spirit are also made, but the most intriguing element is the line " In spite of abduration." This would seemingly imply that the song was written by one who had abjured the king and his descendants, but would now throw off that oath. (Nonjurors, naturally, would not have taken it, and some clergymen and officials became nonjurors when the Oath of Abjuration was added to the initial Williamite oaths of allegiance.) There is some irony in the statement, of course, since loyalty to the king and the initial oaths to James II and Charles II were prized even by juring Jacobites. The song goes on to rejoice at the idea of "Whigs on ropes high hanging up, / For siding with Hanover"[59] and other typically martial Jacobite fare, but is perhaps at its most interesting in its discussion of oaths which occurs once more in the fifth stanza:

Let not the abjuration
Impose upon our nation
Restrict our hands, whilst he commands,
Through false imagination:
For oaths which are imposed:
Can never be supposed
To bind a man, say what they can,
When justice is opposed.[60]

This is somewhat reminiscent of the Oxford-Cambridge distinction that arose after 1689. Cambridge, long the more Tory of the two universities (though both were overwhelmingly so) became increasingly Whig after the Revolution as a result of its devoutness. Since many Oxford

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[58] "Let our great James come over," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 88-90.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

Jacobites were less scrupulous about the new oaths than their Cambridge counterparts, they survived the Revolution changes, leaving Oxford a Tory (and Jacobite) bastion while at Cambridge the nonjurors were expelled en masse.[61] The writer of this song seems to be of the Oxford persuasion: oaths can be taken and broken so long as true allegiance is maintained. It is essentially an expression of the theory that providence can temporarily deprive a king of his rule but not of his right. Less charitably, this can be taken as an example of unwillingness to sacrifice comfort for political principle.

The opposite sentiment is expressed in "It was a' for our rightfu' King," a song written at some point in the 1690s that was likely written by an Irish or Scottish exile who departed with James II after his defeat in the Williamite Wars in Ireland.[62] In this case, the writer — possibly Captain Ogilvie of the Jacobite Irish expedition[63] — argues that all that can be done has been, and therefore the consequences ought to be accepted:

> It was a' for our rightfu' king
> We left fair Scotland's strand!
> It was a' for our right-fu' king
> We e'er saw Irish land, my dear,
> We e'er saw Irish land.
>
> Now a' is done that men can do,
> An' a' is done in vain:
> My love an' native land, fareweel,
> For I maun cross the main, my dear,

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[61] Andrew Starkie, "William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism, 1713-16," *Historical Research* 75 no. 190 (2002): 449-50.

[62] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics*, 186-8. As always, we must take Hogg's assertions with some skepticism, but in this case it seems there is no particular reason to doubt him. The song's elegiac tone does raise some questions about its validity, but the Scots dialect and the references within the work seem to make it more likely than not that the song is an original or, at least, one written from the perspective of an Irish exile at the time of the Fifteen or Forty-Five. As with most of the Scots and Gaelic songs, finding early written records is next to impossible.

[63] Ibid. See the above note on questions of authorship.

For I maun cross the main.[64]

This is a view more typical of an extreme Jacobite perspective. Compromise to the present situation is unacceptable, and exile preferable to dishonor. This echoes Filmer — and other advocates of passive obedience — that "lawful it is not to obey him [a king] in things contrary to the Lawes of God," but that obedience is demanded regardless.[65] Thus, three options were available to scrupulous Jacobites: they could either flee with their king, as the singer of this song would have it, they could rebel (since passive obedience would not theoretically be due to a usurper),[66] or they could stay and suffer for their allegiance.

The king in possession doctrine also appears in the somewhat older song "Tho' Geordie reigns in Jamie's Stead," likely written between the Atterbury plot's failure and the Forty-Five, when Charles Edward largely replaced his father as the paramount royal symbol of Jacobitism. The song invokes Highland imagery, generally indicative of either romantic or martial elements in Jacobite verse. However, its specific imagery, invoking not only the stereotypical white cockade but also the blue caps favored by Highland Jacobites and well-known habits of George I, indicate that it is likely authentic. The song laments James's deposition and argues that George is merely a placeholder, and an unwelcome one at that:

Though Geordie reigns in Jamie's stead,
    I'm griev'd, yet scorn to shaw that;
I'll ne'er look down, nor hang my head
    On rebel Whig, for a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
    And thrice as muckle's a' that,

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[64] "It was a' for our rightfu' King," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 26-7.

[65] Filmer, *The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings*, 11.

[66] There were however those who applied full passive obedience in practice toward the rule of the Hanoverian and Williamite monarchs as they were kings in possession, although this strategy was uncommon.

He's far beyond Dumblane the night,
That shall be king, for a' that.

The Whigs think a' that weal is won,
But, faith, they maunna fa' that;
They think our loyal hearts dung down,
But we'll be blythe, for a' that.
For still we trust that Providence
Will us relieve from a' that,
And send us hame our gallant prince;
Then we'll be blythe, for a' that.

But O what will the Whigs say syne,
When they're mista'en in a' that?
When Geordie maun fling by the crown,
And hat, and wig, and a' that?
The flames will get baith hat and wig,[67]
As often they've done a' that;
Our Highland lad will get the crown,
And we'll be blythe, for a' that.[68]

George, this song reasons, "maun fling by the crown" (the Scots word "maun" meaning, in essence, "must," is always followed by an infinitive),[69] and that will cause it to be given gladly (from "blythe," meaning "cheerful, happy, glad, well-pleased")[70] unto James, though the assertion that George will in some way fling the crown aside is an odd one that may in fact rest on the theory that he was impetuous or unfit and would thus deprive himself through his own tomfoolery.

By the reigns of Anne and George I, the most persuasive defender of the Filmerite thesis was likely Charles Leslie. James Daly, in his 1979 monograph on Filmer's ideas and later influence,

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[67] This alludes to George I's supposed custom, when enraged, of removing his wig and throwing it into nearby fires. Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 286.

[68] "Tho' Geordie reigns in Jamie's Stead," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 55-7.

[69] "Maun, *v.*, *n.*," in DSL.

[70] "Blithe, blythe, blide, blyth, blyde, blyid, *adj.*, *n.*, and *adv.*," in DSL.

argued persuasively that despite rarely citing Filmer by name except in disagreement, was the leading patriarchal theorist after the Revolution; indeed, he can be credited with imbuing Jacobitism and nonjuring principles directly with Filmerite rhetoric that otherwise would have been an ancestor of their political thought only.[71] The Leslieite school of thought, like Filmer's, sought to deny the right of revolution absolutely, since government would "rest on a naturally binding obligation rather than on human choice."[72] Of course, to Jacobites, denying the right of revolution came with clear drawbacks, usually explained away on the basis that a revolution was only a revolution when it was made against a legitimate authority, and that to rebel against an illegitimate authority was no rebellion at all.

Both Filmer and Leslie crafted arguments based on a fundamental state of nature, though Filmer rested this philosophy in the all-fatherhood of Adam while Leslie simply cited Adamic society as a natural model. Leslie developed a "patriarchal historical anthropology," to borrow Goldie's term,[73] based upon the idea that in ancient and Adamic society kings were deified and that this, rather than the consent of the governed, must be the basis for a society that would be ordered rather than corrupt and chaotic. Obedience was owed, in a Filmerite or Leslieite society, to fathers, and that obedience formed the basis of the obedience to kings, as "Adam was the first father and the first king," and "Scripture and natural law, in Leslie's argument, demonstrated the universality of government, its beginning in monarchy, and the coincidence of the powers of fathers and kings in primordial society."[74] The key difference between Filmer and Leslie lay in

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[71] James Daly, *Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 133-9.

[72] Ibid., 136.

[73] Goldie, "Tory Political Thought," 222.

[74] Ibid., 223-4.

the role of Adam. Filmer would argue that the ideal society descended directly from Adam, that "It is but the Negligence or Ignorance of the People to lose the Knowledge of the true Heir: for an Heir there always is. If *Adam* himself were still living, and now ready to die, it is certain that there is One Man, and but One in the World who is next Heir."[75] To Leslie, Adam was simply, as Goldie has aptly summarized, "the source of a succession… [and] evidence of the original ordination of monarchy, evidence of the natural order, and proof of the identity of political and familial society."[76] In either case, the basis of the patriarchal argument that dominated in Royalist, Cavalier, and Jacobite political thought was the inherent Biblical ordination and historical reality of a paternalistic and patriarchal structure that gave power both unto fathers and unto kings as absolute rulers in their respective domains.

Even Filmer put forward a version of the Adam-as-archetype theory. His was not wholly the so-called "Genesis theory"[77] — that all monarchs must be literally of Adam — but also more practically based in the conception, upon which Leslie built substantially, of Adam as the forerunner and model for all other kings. In *Patriarcha*, he wrote

> As long as the first Father of Families lived, the name of *Patriarchs* did apply belong unto them; but after a few Descents, when the true Fatherhood it self was extinct, and only the Right of the Father descends to the true Heir, then the Title of *Prince* or *King* was more *Significant*, to express the Power of him who succeeds only to the Right of that Fatherhood which his Ancestors did *Naturally* enjoy; by this means it comes to pass, that many a Child, by succeeding a King, hath the right of a Father over many a Gray-headed Multitude, and hath the Title of *Pater Patriæ.*[78]

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[75] Filmer, *Patriarcha*, 20.

[76] Goldie, "Tory Political Thought," 226.

[77] Daly, *Sir Robert Filmer*, 57.

[78] Filmer, *Patriarcha*, 20.

But of course, if they were to posit that all comes from God and events are divinely ordained, the Jacobites would by necessity need to explain why the Stuarts had been deposed in the first place. Typically, they did this by arguing that William and Mary had indeed taken the throne through acts of providence but that providence permits good as well as evil. An argument that providence gave rise to the Williamite regime did not justify that rulership, since "providence no more justified adhesion to a successful usurper than it would co-operation with any other successful evil-doer."[79] So, the father of the nation — the king — could be overthrown in fact but not in right. Having a title by right could not necessarily negate the actuality of possession,[80] but the right could not be supplanted by possession, which inherently overruled the actual temporal situation from an ideological standpoint.

Jacobite political rhetoric tended to display more discipline and a greater focus on logical reasoning than earlier Royalist thought, reminiscent more of Filmer than his contemporaries and Restoration writers.[81] This was likely motivated in part by Filmer's more obvious associations with then-treasonous doctrines that could be more explicitly labeled as Jacobite. By deemphasizing and occasionally attacking Filmer, writers like Leslie could better appear to embody a loyalty which they in fact lacked. In addition, after 1688, Jacobites tended not to claim that the Stuarts descended directly from Adam,[82] possibly due to concerns about shifting public opinion. In this sense, the Stuart personality and fertility cult evolved away from its more

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[79] Daly, *Sir Robert Filmer*, 116.

[80] This doctrine had practical benefits for Jacobites as it allowed them to obey William and his successors without fully acknowledging their rule as *de jure* legitimate. That is, a Jacobite could maintain the at least temporary validity of the actions of a king in possession even without acknowledging the validity of the king himself.

[81] Daly, *Sir Robert Filmer*, 190-1.

[82] Goldie, "Tory Political Thought," 224.

Biblical roots and shifted further to an emphasis on Britishness and associations with fatherhood in its more immediate familiar sense rather than in an abstracted Biblical sense.

Jacobite divine right patriarchalism found its most direct expression — and its most practically useful one — in the paternalistic cultures that were fostered by Jacobite noblemen and country squires. Paul Monod has argued that high Toryism and Roman Catholicism, extant with the Jacobite criminal networks, caused a traditional social hierarchy and paternalistic structures to survive "hurly-burly of the so-called consumer revolution."[83] Smuggling in the territories and estates of Jacobite-minded aristocrats was a major business during parts of the Williamite and Hanoverian regimes, and Jacobite landowners were "remarkably protective of their dependents and tenants, even when serious accusations were made against them."[84] These paternalistic and manorial structures were important for Jacobites in that they could keep local populations more sympathetic to the Stuart cause and thus provided a solid foundation of Jacobite support in areas with sympathetic landowners. Kent's Romney Marsh was one such area, as were parts of Essex and East Anglia.

Jacobite and Tory "Country" ideology also helped to propagate this paternalistic ethos, with a form of "Country Jacobitism" becoming a major political force from the end of William III's reign. Country politicians tended to deplore William's military expenditures and standing army, as well as Dutch figures within his court, which Jacobite Country politicians could also easily associate view as the byproducts of illegitimate rulership.[85] Monod's summary of the mutually

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[83] Paul Kleber Monod, "Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism, and Commercial Culture in Southeast England, 1690-1760," *Journal of British Studies* 30 no. 2 (1991): 154.

[84] Ibid., 156-7.

[85] Paul Kleber Monod, "Jacobitism and Country Principles in the Reign of William III," *The Historical Journal* 30 no. 2 (1987): 291.

beneficial impact of paternalistic landowners and disaffected groups — both political and criminal — is worth quoting at length:

> Paternalism served to preserve the economies of rural communities, fostering not blind deference but active collaboration between landlords and their dependents, which could be profitable for both. Although by no means restricted to disaffected groups, paternal relationships were often intensified by common religious and political beliefs such as Roman Catholicism, Toryism, or Jacobitism. The Jacobites argued that "usurpation" had brought about the ills of the nation, and they espoused a "Country" critique of corruption and centralization… Jacobites condemned customs houses, excise officers, and the standing army as the tools of a corrupt and tyrannical ministry; smugglers hated them for more practical reasons. Thus, the bonds of paternalism were reinforced by shared political perceptions.[86]

Monod's argument is well-crafted and in large part explains the usefulness of Jacobite paternalistic culture, particularly in England where it took a unique form that differed substantially from the clan system of the Highlands and the more feudal tenancy system of rural north east Scotland, both of which also contributed substantially to Jacobite interests in those regions. In fact, hotbeds of Jacobite support were in large part those areas that were least impacted by the increasingly mercantile economy. The more a region relied on paternalistic and hierarchical social structures, the more likely it was to harbor strong Jacobite sympathies. This often went hand-in-hand with religious differences, particularly in Scotland where Catholic and episcopalian interests aligned with those of the Jacobites. Thus the list of areas in which Jacobitism was a major political and social force can be said to have included essentially all of Scotland north of the Forth; the rural areas in East Anglia and the south of England in which manorial culture ran strong; rural north Wales; and in parts of the north of England where Recusants still made up a large sector of the population.

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[86] Monod, "Dangerous Merchandise," 159.

Many Jacobite songs included elements of paternalistic doctrine, though few centered on it. Paternalism was a force of life that aided Jacobitism and aligned with it, but rarely was it expressed in such terms. Rather, arguments like Leslie's advancing a traditional, scriptural orientation for society were put forward in the press while Jacobite music often contained reverential language toward authority figures, not just the Stuarts themselves, and nostalgia for social systems past. One of the more iconic Jacobite songs is "The auld Stuarts back again," a typical Jacobite work that appears to have been composed immediately before or in the early days of the Fifteen and features a discussion of the (to Jacobites) traitorous lords of western Scotland who were raising troops for the government, contrasted with the story of Mar's "hunting" trip that was in reality an excuse to meet with other Jacobite lords to plot a rebellion. The song begins with an attack on lords like Arthur Ingram, 6th Viscount of Irvine, and William Boyd, 3rd Earl of Kilmarnock ("howlet Whigs"),[87] implying they will be caused to be soiled in fear,[88] before continuing with a plea for a Stuart restoration and a discussion of Mar and company's virtues:

> Give ear unto my loyal sang,
> A' ye that ken the right frae wrang,
> And a' that look and think it lang
> For auld Stuarts back again.
> Were ye wi' me to chase the rae,
> Out-owre the hills and far away,
> And saw the lords were there that day,
> To bring the Stuarts back again?
>
> There ye might see the noble Mar,

[87] "The auld Stuarts back again," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 122-3.

[88] This is a reading of the line "We'll wauk their hides and fyle their fuds," which, observing the Scots, is probably best read as "we will walk over their skins and soil [alternatively, defile or befoul] their fears." "The auld Stuarts back again," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 122-3; "Fyle, *v.*," in DSL; "Fud, *adj.*," in DSL.

Wi' Athol, Huntly, and Traquair,
Seaforth, Kilsyth, and Auldubair,
And mony mae, what reck, again:
Then what are a' their westland crews!
We'll gar the tailors tack again:
Can they forestand the tartan trews,
And auld Stuarts back again?[89]

Like other verses — notably, "Here's to the King, Sir," which lauds Highland chiefs and discusses common people drinking from the boon of their noble and aristocratic superiors in support of the Stuarts[90] — this song lauds the aristocratic leadership of the Jacobite cause and views them as a sort of hero, albeit in a somewhat unglamorous way founded on nobility rather than upon any notion of swashbuckling or daring-do. While such concepts were not wholly absent from Jacobite verse, they were usually applied to younger nobles, including Charles Edward, and to military figures more generally, while men like Mar were toasted regularly in Jacobite music. Mar, notably, was the "Bobbing John" with his "Highland quorum" of "Cam ye o'er frae France," where he joined other established nobles and paternalistic figures like Alexander Gordon, 2nd Duke of Gordon (Cockalorum), and Alexander Gordon (Sandy Don) in being hailed in the name of the Jacobite cause.[91] These sorts of references were commonplace and showcased a deferential — but festive — respect and acknowledgement of paternalistic authority.

Efforts were made as well to undermine Hanoverian claims to legitimacy. The Jacobite position saw the Hanoverian succession — and the Williamite coup d'état in the Glorious Revolution, a distinct issue but similarly unjust in the Jacobite view — as unsanctioned by law or

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[89] "The auld Stuarts back again," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 122-3.

[90] "Here's to the King, Sir," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 110-11.

[91] "Came Ye O'er Frae France," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 87-8.

God; it was a simple violation of divine right and represented a break with the indefeasible hereditary succession that formed the core of Jacobite (and often Tory) political thought. The Jacobite lyric portrayal of the Hanoverian kings revolved around a few key concepts, in addition to the use of negative Classical analogues: the concept of George I's cuckoldry and subsequent supposed illegitimacy of George II; the idea that the Hanoverians were tyrants; the foreignness and Germanic roots of the House of Hanover, emphasized through references to its parent-house, that of Welf/Guelph; and, of course, the continued theme of usurpation, which was an underlying current throughout anti-Hanoverian Jacobite verse.

Many of the most famous Jacobite verses focus on the supposed cuckoldry of George I. His wife, Sophia Dorothea, purportedly had an affair with the Swedish noble Philip Christoph von Königsmarck, leading to his alleged murder by supporters of the future George I. The Scots verse "Came Ye O'er Frae France" is, largely due to its comparative popularity in the folk revival of the late twentieth century, perhaps the single best-remembered work of Jacobite verse. It arose initially during the Fifteen or shortly thereafter. Hogg was correct about the date, but wrote in his annotations on the song that he could make little sense of it, likely speaking little Scots.[92] The entirety of the song references the purported illicit union and George I's reaction to it. Each individual mentioned is known by nicknames, likely an attempt to avoid potential criminal charges on the part of the song's writer. George I is "Geordie Whelps," his first wife, Sophia Dorothea, is "the loom of Geordie." His mistress, Melusine von der Schulenburg, Duchess of Kendal, is "the goose," unless referenced in possessive form, in which case she is "his bonny woman." Königsmarck is simply "the blade," a reference to his youth (that is, he is connected to

[92] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 267-8.

a blade of grass or a leaf).[93] The Stuart pretender, James, is referred to as "Our Plaid" and "Jocky," variously, the latter directly referencing his Scottish origins.

The song's first two stanzas make most clear reference to George I's supposed cuckoldry and foreignness before references to the Jacobite rising of 1715 and its commanders begin in the latter sections. The opening stanzas read:

> Came ye o'er frae France?
> Cam ye down by Lunnon?
> Saw ye Geordie Whelps,
> And his bonny woman?
> Were ye at the place
> Ca'd the Kittle Housie?
> Saw ye Geordie's grace
> Riding on a goosie?
>
> Geordie, he's a man,
> There is little doubt o't;
> He's done a' he can,
> Wha can do without it?
> Down there came a blade,
> Linkin' like my lordie;
> He wad drive a trade
> At the loom o' Geordie.[94]

The reference to George I as "Geordie Whelps" is significant. The word is a corruption of the Scots *quhelp* or *quhelpe*,[95] meaning "the young of a dog; a pup,"[96] a dyslogistic in this usage meant to convey the same idea as "wet" or "green" in English. The choice of the alternative spelling, *whelp*, is of interest. First, the word is the same in English, meaning that its use conveys greater intelligibility to a non-Scottish audience. Second, it is nearly a homophone with *Guelph*,

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[93] "Blade, bled, blaid, blaud, *n.* and *v.,*" in DSL.

[94] "Came Ye O'er Frae France," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 87-8.

[95] Alternatively, *qwhelp, qwhelpe, whelp, or whelp, welpe*. "Quhelp(e), *n*.," in DSL.

[96] Ibid.

the alternate name of the House of Welf, of which the House of Hanover was a cadet branch. The House of Welf was also known for its conspiratorial role in Renaissance Florence.[97] Highlighting that cadency emphasized the Hanoverians' foreignness and, perhaps more importantly, their connection to European conflict. The House of Welf lent its name to the Guelph faction in the Guelph-Ghibelline wars which raged from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. The Jacobites — and Tories more generally — were wont to complain about British money going to finance Hanoverian wars on the continent,[98] and the Hanoverians' connection to the Guelph party was a critical association in the matrix of anti-Hanoverian propaganda. The Guelph and whelp associations could appeal to both high and low, to learned and uneducated. Any individual hearing the song could certainly understand "whelp," while the references to continental history could serve as a more nuanced political appeal to more educated listeners.

The references to cuckoldry — and George's moral character more generally — are also obvious. A "Kittle Housie" is, essentially, a brothel, taking the Scots word *kittle*, meaning to stimulate, excite, please, prick up, or induce a pleasurable sensation.[99] This seems to imply that George had turned the capital, or perhaps a palace specifically, into a brothel. His "bonny woman" is, of course, his mistress; the "riding" metaphor need not be elucidated further. The second stanza deals more directly with the alleged cuckoldry of the king: the first four lines are likely ironic mockery, implying that, in spite of George's best efforts, he was nonetheless subject to his wife's unfaithfulness. This is then discussed directly: Königsmarck is "the blade," though

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[97] Notably, Dante Alighieri was a disciple of this faction during the Guelph-Ghibelline Wars. He discusses these affairs in the passages of the *Inferno* dealing with Farinata degli Uberti.

[98] J.C.D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 74.

[99] "Kittle, *n.* or *v.*," in DSL.

highlighting his youth is somewhat odd (he was a year older than Sophia Dorothea, and just five years the junior of George I). The word "linkin," from the verb "link," has two potential meanings: the first, and most likely, is "to move smartly or agilely with short quick steps, to trip along, to walk at a brisk pace."[100] The second is "to go arm in arm, to pass one's arm through another's."[101] The former would imply that Königsmarck came to Sophia Dorothea cocksure and happy, the latter that he immediately took her arm in his. Perhaps both connotations are intended. The last two lines are the direct accusation of cuckoldry, stating merely that Königsmarck propositioned Sophia Dorothea. The Jacobite tune "At Auchindown," a song of the Fifteen, makes the matter even clearer, however, ending: "King James the Eighth! for him we'll fight,/ And down wi' cuckold Geordie!"[102]

The same themes are found in "Geordie Whelp's Testament," which deals with the Königsmarck affair, mockingly taking George I's perspective. Hogg notes that he found numerous copies of the song, suggesting it circulated widely and may have formed a significant element of the Jacobite response to the Hanoverian succession.[103] The opening and closing of the song bear particular consideration:

> I hang'd his tenants, seiz'd their rent;
> And, to my shame it will be spoke,
> I harried a' his cotter-folk.
> But what am I the richer grown?
> A curse comes aye wi' things that's town:
> I'm like to tine it a' belyve,
> For wrangous gear can never thrive…

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[100] "Link, *v.*," in DSL.

[101] "Link, *n., v.*.," in DSL.

[102] "At Auchindown," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 80.

[103] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 289.

… To the same Whigs I leave my curse,
My guilty conscience, and torn purse:
I hope my torments they will feel,
When they gang skelpin to the deil.
For to the times their creed they shape;
They grin, they glour, they scouk, and gape,
As they wad gauch to eat the starns
The muckle deil ding out their horns![104]

This song works to make clear, firstly, George I's supposed cruelty and tyranny. What man, the implied question goes, would respond to his adultery not simply by taking vengeance on the perpetrator but on all his dependents? Likely this song would have been particularly significant in the Highlands and the northeast of Scotland, both of which depended economically on complex landlord-tenant relationships.[105] A king who would be unjust enough to take his vengeance upon those simply connected to, and under, his adversary would be an odious prospect.[106] Implying that George left his legacy of both dishonor and cruelty to his Whig supporters would likely further the Jacobite cause by associating their adversaries with the worst of sovereign abuse of power. The Hanoverian kings as leaders of a cruel, barbaric horde was a frequent theme for Jacobite lyricists. "The Wee Wee German Lairdie,"[107] likely a song of the

[104] "Geordie Whelp's Testament," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 116-20.

[105] Margaret Sankey and Daniel Szechi, "Elite Culture and the Decline of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716-1745," *Past & Present* no. 173 (2001): 92-5.

[106] There seems no particularly strong evidence that George in any way victimized Königsmarck's tenants. In any case, Königsmarck's title was a Swedish one, making such a revanchist fury impracticable.

[107] "The Wee Wee German Lairdie," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 83-5.

succession period, managed to simultaneously attack the Hanoverians as vagabonds and tyrants, while "When the King Romes O'er the Water" highlighted supposed Whig perfidy.[108]

Themes of usurpation were also common, though they were frequently tied to other methods of attacking the Hanoverians. In some songs, the divine was invoked, with the Hanoverian kings actually portrayed as a just punishment for the sins of the English people who, in throwing off their anointed (Stuart) sovereign, angered God and incited him to wrath. The cleverly titled "A Song," one of numerous similarly styled works in Grosart's *English Jacobite Ballads*, notes not only the civility of the Stuart kings and the vileness of the Hanoverian kings, but also the divinity of the Stuarts, their rightful claims, and the sorrows forced upon them by ungrateful Britons. It is worth quoting in full:

> Would you see three Nations bubled
> By a pious trick of State:
> With our Taxes dayly doubled,
> Till we sink beneath the weight?
> Would you understand the reason,
> Why these woes we justly bear?
> They're the due rewards of Treason,
> In which course we blindly Steer!
>
> Would you see the Man of Sorrows,
> Then behold great JAMES the just,
> Tho' Grief his cheeks hath plowed in furrows
> Yet in him Still put your trust?
> His Majesty's divinely sacred,
> Which your conscious hearts must own,
> 'Twas your blind misguided hatred,
> Drove him from his Lawful throne?

[108] "When the King Romes O'er the Water," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 45-7. This song was attributed by Hogg to Mary Drummond, a daughter of the fourth Earl of Perth who married William Keith, the ninth Earl Marischal (Hogg had it as the eighth earl). Mary's son with William was George Keith, the tenth and final earl who lost the title due to his participation in the Fifteen. Mary's father, James Drummond, was exiled following the Glorious Revolution and died at St. Germain.

Think not but his tears are numbered,
And his sorrows duly weighed,
Think with what ills we've been incumbered,
Since God's laws we've disobeyed.
Would you be accounted Christians,
And wipe off this fatal Stain,
Banish hence those vile Philistians,
And call home your King again?

Peace and Plenty then ensuing,
Halcyon days shall come again,
Heaven shall then repair your ruin,
And drop fatness down in rain.
All nature in one voice consenting,
Brittain's Joys shall then proclaim,
The vocal Hills and Vales exulting,
Shall proclaim a STUART'S reign.[109]

The song is a sort of Jacobite greatest hits collection. It moves swiftly from high Hanoverian taxes (often associated with the need to pay for wars on the continent) to the Godly principles of the Jacobite cause: passive obedience, indefeasible hereditary right, and the divine right of kings. Treason, in these verses, is the fault less of the Hanoverian kings than of their supporters, and indeed of all Britain which threw off the grace of God and His will. James is "divinely sacred," a two-word encapsulation of divine right theory, blessed by God and by him anointed; thus, the Hanoverian usurpation is an affront not just to the Stuart kings but to the divine itself. In order to be "accounted Christians," Britons must "call home [their] King again" in recompense for having "God's laws… disobeyed." The Hanoverians, too, are likened to Philistines, and in order to receive blessings again from above, in order, in fact, to be a Christian nation, a Stuart restoration is essential, for nothing less would be pleasing to God. The song is straightforward, which is to

[109] "'A Song' of unclear date," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 23-4.

say flagrantly treasonous, and lays out clearly the Jacobite theory of divinely inspired government, as represented in its monarchs, and the potential for divine punishment associated with treason against those God-given kings.

While "A Song" may be the best evocation of divine right in Jacobite music, and certainly is amongst the best expressions of the connection between Jacobite theology and ideology, and while "Came Ye O'er Frae France" is the most famous of the movement's ballads, it is "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again"[110] that stands as probably the most significant work of Jacobite songwriting. Though Hogg claims the song dates from 1711,[111] Monod has demonstrated that its roots go back to at least 1694.[112] It is frequently mentioned in accounts of Jacobite riots and appears to have been widely distributed, likely as much through word of mouth as printed text. This would also explain its numerous versions (Hogg alone lists three), indicating that changes were made in the telling and that the song was updated and adjusted to account for new developments. The oldest version recorded by Hogg begins, predictably, by criticizing Whigs, asserting that they are both cowardly and treacherous, before concluding with a message both sad and hopeful:

> To the king, come, bumpers round,
> Let's drink, my boys, while life doth last:
> He that at the core's not sound
> Shall be kick'd out without a taste.
> We'll fear no disgrace, but look traitors in the face,
> Since we're case-harden'd honest men;
> Which makes their crew mad, but us loyal hearts full glad,
> That the king enjoys his own again.[113]

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[110] Occasionally just "The King Shall Enjoy His Own."

[111] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 155.

[112] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 170.

[113] "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 216-7.

This verse expresses the Jacobite hope to, one day, express their beliefs more plainly again, to "look traitors in the face" in a way that was, at the time of this version's writing in 1711, quite impossible. "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again" is not a song devoted to passive obedience; rather, it deals with anger at deposition and the surety, in Jacobite eyes, of the (second) restoration of the divinely enabled Stuart kings. The song, then, echoes Hume's remark on Jacobite Tories, that they "draw the bond of allegiance very close, and consider an infringement of it, as the last refuge in desperate cases, when the public is in the highest danger, from violence and tyranny."[114] The Jacobites were, in songs like "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again," stating their willingness always to put their first oaths, to the Stuart kings, first, and to reject the doctrine of passive obedience insofar as it might be applied to the Hanoverians. Passivity, in the Jacobite mind, accompanied divine right and indefeasible succession; the three could not be separated and, thus, the only authority that demanded passive obedience were the Stuart kings.

The last key facet of Jacobite ideology that played out actively in verse was the anti-unionist stance taken by Scottish Jacobites through at least the Forty-Five. Charles Home, 6th Earl of Home,[115] who led the Cavalier faction in the last pre-union Scottish Parliament, was not able to fully galvanize opposition to the Acts of Union but was able to enliven hostility in a way that was continued by Scottish Jacobites to the point that it provided Charles Edward with substantial problems when it came to taking his Scottish army into England. As the union was unpopular in Scotland, the Jacobite faction there could relatively easily catalyze support through anti-

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[114] Hume, "On Passive Obedience," in *Essays*, 490.

[115] A direct ancestor of the twentieth century prime minister, Alec Douglas-Home, the 14th Earl before he disclaimed the title to assume the prime ministership. Charles Home was perhaps lucky in that he died before he could rise and be attainted.

unionism, while advancing free trade with England outside the union helped to win support from the Country faction in Scotland.[116] Michael Fry and Christopher Whatley's studies of the union are illustrative of the extent of Jacobite opposition.[117] Though the opposition was in part opportunistic on the part of the Stuarts themselves — for whom the central goal was always to regain the thrones of the three kingdoms and not Scotland alone — it was fundamental for many Scottish Jacobites who saw in the Stuarts "an expression of their patriotism, crystallised in fidelity to a dynasty supposed to be 2,000 years old, older than the nation itself" and a chance that, when "the king should enjoy his own again… all Scots could as well."[118] This anti-unionism fit well with the Country doctrine that was espoused by many Jacobite leaders[119] and with the movement's general opposition to centralized authority, except insofar as the king himself should hold all authority within the realm in his person.

The songs written by Jacobite Scots against the union were often incredibly vehement and personal. These songs are often among the most rude and bawdry of any, and some are incredibly violent. Hanging Whigs was a a common trope in Jacobite music, but a Gaelic song by Iain Lom, a bard from Keppoch, near Skye, took the idea of political violence a step further. Lom's verse attacks nominally Jacobite lords who had backed the union and, of William Mackenzie, 5th Earl of Seaforth (who would later be attainted for his part in the Fifteen), he wrote "truly I would melt gold for you, and inject it into the shell of your skull till it would reach your boots."[120] (In the

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[116] Ibid., 47.

[117] Michael Fry, *The Union: England, Scotland and the Treaty of 1707* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2006); Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

[118] Fry, *The Union*, 15, 72.

[119] Monod, "Jacobitism and Country Principles," 289-91.

[120] Fry, *The Union*, 253. The translation from the original Gaelic is Fry's.

original Gaelic, the text runs: *Is dearbh gu leaghainn an t-òr dhuit, a staigh air faochaig do chlaighinn gus an cas e do bhòtainn*.)[121] An anti-union Scots song, creatively titled "The Union," similarly attacked Seaforth and other lords seen as turncoats while also crafting an extended metaphor of Scotland as an unfortunate bride:

> Now fy let us a' to the treaty,
> For there will be wonders there,
> For Scotland is to be a bride, sir,
> And wed to the Earl of Stair…
>
> Now the Lord bless the jimp one-and-thirty,
> If they prove not traitors in fact,
> But see that their bride be well drest, sir,
> Or the devil take all the pack.
> May the devil take all the hale pack, sir,
> Away on his back with a bang;
> Then well may our new-buskit bridie
> For her own first wooer think lang.[122]

This is not the only version of the song. Whatley has recored another, less polite version that makes the the point about the unfortunate bride more explicit:

> Come to the union lett us ryde
> Wee shall doe great matters there
> Scotland shall be Englands bride
> Or els shall be fuckt by E: of Stair[123]

This version was sent in a letter on March 27, 1706, to James Hamilton, 4th Duke of Hamilton, supposedly having been overheard sung by anti-unionist protestors in Edinburgh. All of these songs emphasized the supposed economic and political downsides to Scotland, with the latter two (or one, if they are seen as versions of the same work) creating a gendered argument in

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[121] Ibid.

[122] "The Union," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 65-6.

[123] Whatley, *The Scots and the Union*, 11, 21n.36.

which Scotland would be the wife to either a self-serving lord or to England itself. In the early eighteenth century, the wife would be seen as the lesser partner, not an equal participant. That is the implication here: Scotland, through the union, would be reduced to vassal status, its strength removed and its historical independence lost not just in legal fact but in cultural and economic practice. The Jacobite cause was able to capitalize on these feelings to win further popular support north of the Tweed. While a natural ideological fit for the political philosophy underpinning Jacobitism, anti-unionism was a less important component of the ideology of restoration for the Stuart kings and princes themselves and barely factored in English Jacobitism.

Jacobite ideology was, despite the ease with which it can be reduced to a series of bullet points, a relatively complex and nuanced belief system. As political thought, it was legitimist and absolutist, yet concerned with liberty. It encouraged obedience, yet was by necessity an ideology of resistance. It was fervently religious, yet begged religious toleration of its government. In lyric verse, Jacobite writers sought to both capture their beliefs and explain those beliefs eloquently when they appeared, at first glance, contradictory. The songs could work both to inspire fear in Whiggish opponents, to persuade the uninitiated, or to rally the proverbial troops. In any case, they were works of propaganda whose efficacy is demonstrated in part through their continued appearance in the historical record, particularly in accounts of riots and protests, and also in their durability. While there have been arguments "that the vast majority of *all good* Jacobite song is [post-Jacobite],"[124] it seems an incredible case; even if not assessing the merits of Jacobite verse from a musical perspective, the ideological value of the works is hard to deny, and its efficacy in conveying political messages seems certain.

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[124] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 4. Note that Pittock was summarizing a view with which he disagrees, and which he went on to argue (persuasively) against.

Jacobite verse forms a generally coherent, if by no means centrally planned, canon in defense of the theory of divine right, patriarchal and paternalistic governance, anti-unionism, and a general adherence to themes of English and Scottish nationalism. While the goals of the Stuart pretenders and of their supporters were not always in perfect harmony — notably, issues of anti-unionism were much more important to the latter group than the former — and while Jacobitism itself often created odd alliances, the movement managed to create an ideologically coherent front which remained fairly consistent for around a century after the Revolution. There were greater divergences between the rhetoric of English and Scottish Jacobites than there were between the Jacobites of William and Mary's rule and those of George II's. And in their verse, the Jacobites were able to convey that ideology coherently and, crucially, to convey it fairly persuasively to an audience that could comprehend the extensive use of imagery and symbolism that targeted both high and low cultural groups.

Chapter Two

'Let the Glass Go Round':[1]

Jacobite Drinking Songs and Songs for Jacobite Drinking

In the centre of Aberdeen stands an odd, hexagonal structure. It was new in 1715, built soon after James VII was proclaimed king. James's face is on the structure — so are the faces of his six namesakes, his brother and father, and Mary, Queen of Scots. These were the last nine Stuart monarchs to rule in Scotland. The structure is about eighteen feet high, with a white unicorn stuck at the top. The heads of dogs stick out beneath the faces of the kings and queen. This is called a mercat cross,[2] a common feature found in the midst of many Scottish cities. Just after the death of Queen Anne, a group of drunk students crowded around the cross in the dead of night. They proclaimed as king not George I but James Francis Stuart. The city council promptly ignored the infraction, but when word of the treason spread and punishment was mandated, the council stuck by its earlier stance, claiming that no Aberdeen men were involved and that, what was more, no proclamation had been made.[3] Perhaps, they suggested, a few tunes were sung:

> this day we have examined severall persons and find that upon the said tenth instant after midnight some young men attended by sevll women went throw the streets with two viollers playing to them, who played seall. tunnes one whereof was Lett the King enjoy his own againe, And they came to a fountaine a litle above the Cross and took water in ther hatts and drank the pretender King James his health…[4]

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[1] "The White Rose Over the Water," in *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads*, 102-4.

[2] "Mercat, *n.*," in DSL, meaning "market."

[3] "Earl of Mar to the Provost and rest of the Magistrats of Aberdeen, August 21, 1714, Whytehall," in James Allardyce, ed., *Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750, vol. 1* (Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1895-6), 28.

[4] "Your Lop. most humble and most obedient Servants [Provost and council of Aberdeen] to Earle of Mar, August 30, 1714, Aberdeen," in Allardyce, *Historical Papers*, 28-9.

The letter, written to the secretary of state John Erskine, 23rd and 1st Earl of Mar, who would later lead the Jacobites in the Fifteen, grants unto James Francis the title "king," even if it deigns to call him a pretender. But it protects the students involved and notably treats the singing of Jacobite songs, particularly when in the drink, as a matter of little note. In a city in the north east of Aberdeen, it likely was. To the new king's ministers in London, however, the old maxim *in vino veritas* may well have been remembered when drunken revelers began to praise the Stuarts in their singing.

After the failure of the Fifteen and the Atterbury plot, Jacobitism became ever more countercultural and socially broad-based. The movement maintained its key ideological positions, but it also took on elements of a catch-all opposition to the most unpopular measures of the Whig regime. This was perhaps clearest in the association of criminal activity with Jacobitism — smuggling, poaching, highway robbery, and of course rioting and treason became mainstays of popular Jacobitism and its image, either in fact or in the Whiggish imagination. Counterculture and broad-based political opposition also became obvious in the drinking culture of Jacobitism, in part prominent because of the endurance of the hard-drinking Jacobitism of the universities. Many Jacobite songs were tailored for drinking, and others still glorified drinking culture, carrying on the seventeenth-century Cavalier traditions of healthing and politicized debauchery. Jacobitism, in its dual forms as both a popular and a intellectualized movement, was somewhat paradoxical in its commitment to both rebelliousness and traditionalism, and in part rationalized the contradiction through the creation of a highly specific drinking culture that was both traditional and loyalist.

These elements were manifest in Jacobite political culture from the flight of James II onward. Jacobitism, as a countercultural force, certainly waxed and waned throughout much of the next century, but it never fully lost its presence politically or socially until well after the failure of the Forty-Five, as its adherents slowly died out and Charles Edward became a gradually less compelling figurehead toward the end of his life. Maintaining an at times loose political and social coalition required sound rhetorical strategies; music and balladry were one of the most essential Jacobite cultural forms, and one that could simultaneously appeal to high and low, to the politically educated and the politically disengaged. Largely for that reason, songs — particularly songs about or for drinking — were a critical element in popular Jacobitism, its ongoing appeal, and its criminal elements. The social and political use of Jacobite verse were essential in maintaining an ideological cohesion throughout the otherwise relatively disparate movement and keeping, even in Jacobitism's moments of more generalized antiestablishment and oppositional feeling, the core elements of Jacobite political theory in place as both primary goals of pro-Stuart rioters, revelers, crooks, and snollygosters.

Broadside ballads and songs generally were an easy way to convey any message, but political messages were particularly apt. Often sold in the streets, ballads usually cost about a penny;[5] between 1557 and 1709, around 18,000 songs had sold over twenty million copies, according to Mark Hailwood's estimates.[6] The ballads were publicly available even to those who could not or

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[5] McShane has noted, however, that the cost may well have been "irrelevant in tracing readership as this ignores the lending of items, the second-hand trade and the accessing of the song simply by being in the right place at the right time." Angela McShane Jones, "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 71.

[6] Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, 121.

would not pay, since they were publicly performed not only at riots but at more civil occasions like fairs and markets, on the streets, and, of course, in pubs. Many were also expressly political: "From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, in a substantial number of these ballads the perennial duo of drink and song became a threesome — with politics or 'state affairs' making the third member of the 'jovial crew.'"[7] Some ballads even spread from the gutter of political commentary to the more elevated levels of parliamentary procedure, making them, McShane has argued, "in some ways elite texts."[8] Certainly, many ballads relied upon classical imagery and extended metaphor, while others incorporated a complex system of double meanings and allusions. Other politically charged ballads, however, were ribald, while some existed on the line between high and low, like the Jacobite "Cam Ye O'Frae France," which attempted to appeal to a broad audience with both risqué humor and elevated references to Continental Renaissance politics.

Jacobite drinking culture has been relatively little-studied, but the criminal culture of the Stuarts' supporters has received a great deal of attention. Paul Kléber Monod, Frank McLynn, Kieran German, Malcolm Gaskill, Nicholas Rogers, and Jonathan Oates have all considered Jacobite social crime and banditry in one form or another. Rogers, German, and Oates have typically focused on the riots that were emblematic of Jacobite politics. Monod and McLynn, however, have done substantial work on the smuggling and poaching, both of which existed in a nexus of Jacobitism and generalized political opposition to the Hanoverian regime. The social crime aspect of Jacobitism had far less to do with its political philosophy than most elements of

[7] McShane Jones, "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers," 70.

[8] Ibid., 70-71.

the movement's base of support, but nonetheless common discontent with the existing leadership — and the tendency of dispossessed Jacobite officers and soldiers to become bandits[9] — caused a somewhat awkward but nonetheless mutually profitable alliance to form.[10]

The Jacobite culture of song and drink was heavily influenced by Cavalier traditions. The most important such practice was healthing, or health-drinking, the tradition of making politicized toasts to political figures — or almost anything else. In song, healthing could be expressed either through direct reference or through indirect language or puns. The latter was exemplified by the Jacobite tune "The Three Troopers," which told a story of three Cavaliers who entered a pub ("the Devil tavern") during the Protectorate who

> In each of their cups… droped a crust,
> And stared at the guests with a frown;
> Then drew their swords, and roared for a toast.
> "God send this Crum-well-down!"[11]

This not-so-subtle political attack exemplified both healthing in verse and in practice, where bizarre rituals dominated and wit was prized. Many instances of healthing were bizarre, either in reality or interpretation. A Jacobite woman was lynched on charges of both treason and witchcraft after telling a man that "the pretender [sic] would have him and his hogs too."[12] The back-and-forth of healthing, its political tug-of-war dynamic, combined with the strongly Cavalier origins of the practice and the Jacobites' ability to build upon that tradition led to its central role not only in Jacobite drinking culture but also in Jacobite song, many of which made

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[9] Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 57.

[10] Ibid., 206.

[11] "The Three Troopers," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 74-6.

[12] Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 97.

explicit reference to healthing or, seemingly, were written to be sung as an exhortation to a health.

In understanding Stuart Royalist drinking culture, Angela McShane's[13] work is invaluable. McShane attributed many of the specific attributes of Royalist drinking culture to the "miserable condition" of the Royalist cause during the Protectorate.[14] According to McShane, "Drinking in company (and the singing that inevitably entailed) became an important part of the political culture of the royalist."[15] Songs and ballads, notes McShane, were "a medium almost impossible for the state to control."[16] And therein lay the appeal for the Cavaliers and, later, the Jacobites. In healthing and toasting, and especially in roundabout lyric references, a treasonous political movement could find a venue for its ideas largely outside the realm of enforcement that, thanks to the impossibility of effectively policing music, cheaply printed and distributed and thence held easily in memory, on the part of the early modern state. The adaptability and subtlety of many verses also contributed to the relative ease with which potentially treasonable elements could be tamped down in verse, either generally or in a specific rendition sung in more dangerous circumstances.

Healthing also became entwined with somewhat darker ceremonies, which must be touched upon here in brief. Again, McShane's work is of critical import, since she has been responsible for chronicling the blood healthing sub-genre of the political toast. The most striking instance of

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[13] McShane occasionally publishes under the name Angela McShane Jones or McShane-Jones. McShane will be used here, except in relevant citations.

[14] McShane Jones, "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers," 73.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

Cavaliers mixing blood and toasting occurred in May 1650. Though the incident may have been cooked up by Whig propagandists in London, McShane has treated it as genuine, albeit with skepticism. Reportedly, a group of Berkshire royalists agreed to toast the exiled king in blood and, later, cut off pieces of their buttocks to roast and consume, also in the king's honor; they were, however, interrupted by their wives and fellow townsmen, and the case ultimately ended up in court.[17] Although the flesh-eating in Berkshire may have been unique, the theme of toasting with blood more broadly was not particularly uncommon. McShane has noted that, during the Civil War, "royalist literature appropriated and reiterated the biblical axiom 'blood cries out for blood', accusing parliamentarian rebels of devilish bloodthirstiness, and threatening them with like reward."[18] The stakes of healthing, then, were high not just in terms of political consequences — men and women were both executed over healths that fell upon the wrong ears — but also in terms of the literal blood-oaths that could be taken.

More generally, "Toasting the king and his cause represented an act of loyalty, and defined one as a full member of an underground community. Thus, drinking became a genuine act of resistance."[19] Toasting was, of course, common in public houses, which, in early modern Britain, meant it was simply common. In 1700, there were 58,000 alehouses and pubs in England, and the rate of growth amongst alehouses had vastly outstripped the growth in the population so that

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[17] Angela McShane, "The Extraordinary Case of the Blood-Drinking and Flesh-Eating Cavaliers," in *The Extraordinary and Everyday in Early Modern England*, eds. Angela McShane and Garthine Walker (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 192-4.

[18] Ibid., 197.

[19] Marika Keblusek, "Wine for Comfort: Drinking and the Royalist Exile Experience, 1642-1660," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 58.

in the late seventeenth century there was one pub for every 87 Englishmen.[20] In 1750, one of every fifteen houses in London was a pub, including one of every five in Holborn, one of every eight in Westminster, and one of every four in St. Giles, while half of all wheat sold in the capital went to alcohol production.[21] This fed a culture of drinking generally, and beyond that, it fed a culture of singing.

It was into this matrix of healthing, blood-drinking, alcohol-swishing, and songwriting that Jacobite culture and Jacobite verse fall. Jacobite healthing was often more circumspect than its Cavalier forbears; many Jacobite toasts — notably to little men in velvet coats or kings across the water — avoided explicitly naming the Stuarts, even when they were less than subtle. In some instances, Jacobite lyricists took this concept even further, distancing themselves not only from direct mention of the Stuarts but also from even themselves invoking an indirect toast. One such song was "The Gentleman in Black," a verse dating from around King William's death in 1702 that dramatized a man entering a pub full of revelers who had yet to learn of their sovereign's demise. A voice asks the men to drink thrice to "The Gentleman in Black," then the assemblage looks to the newcomer:

> Then every eye was turned to see
> What the intruder meant.
> He was a man with shaggy brows,
> And long nose hook'd and bent
> "Death, devil, or a doctor!" cried
> The shrewdest of the pack;
> The stranger merely smil'd, and said,

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[20] Mark Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 4. See also Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History* (New York: Longman, 1983).

[21] McLynn, *Crime and Punishment*, 12.

"The Gentleman in Black."[22]

The man's features are literally those of a mole. The common European mole has a long nose, shaggy fur that covers its eyes (brows), and is, of course, stereotyped due to its burrowing ways as a relatively secretive creature. The man in the song meets this description well, meaning that not only does he ask a toast to the mole be drunk, but he in fact embodies it. The songwriter, then, distances himself from the man's words while nonetheless conveying his message in verse, as when the mole-man states that "He's not a friend to Dutch or Whigs."[23] The verse continues with the man, who was "sallow and grim" and "had a muffler round his mouth"[24] (again increasing his resemblance to a mole), leaving the group after prompting them to the toast. Another man then interrupts:

> An hour had gone: a pale-faced man
> Ran in, not greeting any,
> Said, "Friends, I bring but sorry news,
> And what will stagger many:
> The king at noon was thrown and hurt
> As Hampton Park he crossed.
> He is just dead." "What, dead!" they screamed;
> "Our cause and England's lost!"
>
> "What lam'd the horse?" a dozen cry —
> "A mole-hill in the way —
> It stumbled, and the king was thrown —
> He's now six foot of clay."
> "A mole, *I see!*" the chairman foamed,
> "I'm on the villain's track;
> And this is why he made us toast
> The Gentleman in Black."[25]

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[22] "The Gentleman in Black," in *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads*, 110-12.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

Despite disavowing the man, the subjects of the song nonetheless did partake of the toast, and the songwriter does not appear to have wished ill to the Jacobite cause. Although the Gentleman is somewhat underhanded, he is not necessarily wicked, and there is not a clear moral judgment against him other than the words of the bumbling men of the club that he coerced to drink. Indeed, in the culture of healthing, they may be perceived to be in the wrong regardless of political persuasion. According to McShane:

> The most striking feature of the innumerable healthing incidents to be found in court records… is that, despite the threat of prosecution, violence or even death, ordinary men and women, drunk or sober, would refuse to comply with loyal (or disloyal)-healths they found unpalatable." They did not drink "Because oaths and public declarations carried civic and religious weight, a far worse fate than temporal punishment threatened for those who drank 'unworthily'…[26]

This appears, unstated, as an undertone within "The Gentleman in Black." Since the various club members swear a health without understanding it, they are culpable, if they are Whiggish, for the damnation brought upon themselves in taking an oath without understanding it or its implications fully. The damnation of God would be far worse a punishment than the drawing and quartering due a traitor of the period from his fellow men.

Healthing in this mode was certainly subject to ecclesiastical objections. Some Dissenting thinkers took issue with healthing as a ritual too akin to the eucharist while High Church and Catholic theologians were more apt to call it a corruption of the same. In 1702, a bishop, Peter Browne, objected to the "litany health," drinking to the deceased William after his death, which

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[26] Angela McShane, "Material Culture and 'Political Drinking' in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Cultures of Intoxication*, eds. Phil Withington and Angela McShane (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 261.

he considered to be blasphemous and an appropriation of the sacramental form.[27] But in this, Browne opened himself up to accusations of partisanship, which illustrates well the tendency of healthing to create splits over numerous issues. Few healthing scenarios could have been more fraught than that which offered not just an option between treason and loyalty but also between blasphemy and faith.

Ambiguous healthing in verse also came about when the Jacobites simply declined to name their object of reverence or, less commonly, when they attempted to so muddy the waters that a legal challenge might be evaded. "Three Healths," which James Hogg included in his second volume of Jacobite songs by mistake after forgetting to put it in the first volume,[28] dates from sometime before James II's death in 1701. The song suggests a roundabout series of healths, beginning:

> To ane king and no king, ane uncle and father,
> To him that's all these, yet allow'd to be neither,
> Come, push it about, while the bottle's our standard:
> If you'd know what I mean, it's a health to our landlord.
>
> To ane queen and no queen, ane aunt and no mother,
> Come, boys, let us cheerfully drink off another;
> And now to be honest we'll stick by our faith, sir,
> And stand by our landlord as long as we've breath, sir.
>
> To ane prince and no prince, ane son and no bastard,
> Beshrew them that say it! a lie that is foster'd!
> God bless them all three: we'll conclude with this one, sir;
> It's a health to our landlord, his wife, and his son, sir.[29]

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[27] Ibid., 274.

[28] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 284-5.

[29] "Three Healths," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 46.

The point of the song is clear: it is a health to James II, his wife, Mary of Modena, and his son, the young James Francis Edward Stuart. But its tongue-in-cheek evasion — that the health is meant merely to a "landlord" and his family — is, legally speaking, a credible one. Who could try a man for treason for a song about his landlord's good health? But the song became more explicit in its last verse:

> To our monarch's return one more we'll advance, boys;
> We've one that's in Flanders, the other's in France, boys:
> Then about with the health, let him come, let him come then;
> Send the one into England, and both are at home then.[30]

But the verse becomes explicit only in that it references a monarch directly — which monarch is meant to be praised remains ambiguous. William III spent much of his kingship on the Continent — including Flanders — warring, while, of course, James II (and later "James III" and "Charles III") was in France. Thus the meaning is, again, completely ambiguous; if William comes home, and James is in France, a Whig would be pleased by the rightful monarch's return and the abdicated former monarch's position in his Francophilic estates. If James returned and William remained in France, then a Jacobite would be well pleased to have his rightful king back again and the Dutch usurper sent back to the Low Countries.

Another evasive healthing song is the 1744 song "The White Rose Over the Water." Once again, to any politically literate individual, the meaning would be immediately clear: the white rose was a Jacobite symbol, used as a Jacobite cockade; it was as inseparable from the Stuart cause as the royal oak tree or, later, aggressive use of tartan. The song is itself set in a tavern — also the likely location of many a performance — and is centered on "the landlord's daughter, /

[30] Ibid.

Who wore in her bosom the fair white rose, / That grew best over the water."[31] An object of purity, she is shown to be a sort of paragon of Stuart virtue, embodying many of the ruralist and traditionalist values of the Jacobite movement. Thus, she is toasted — as is a more abstract concept:

> Then all leap'd up, and join'd their hands
> With hearty clasp and greeting,
> The brimming cups, outstretched by all,
> Over the wide bowl meeting.
> "A health," they cried, "to the witching eyes
> Of Kate, the landlord's daughter!
> But don't forget the white, white rose
> That grows best over the water."
>
> Each others' cups they touch'd all round,
> The last red drop outpouring;
> Then with a cry that warm'd the blood,
> One heart-born chorus roaring —
> "Let the glass go round, to pretty Kate,
> The landlord's black-eyed daughter.
> But never forget the white, white rose
> That grows best over the water."[32]

The rose across the water is, clearly, the Pretenders — at this point, both the young and the old — while Kate herself represents not only a pure, as yet unspoiled virtue remaining in Britain despite the Whiggish and Hanoverian rule, but also, in effect, the isles themselves, particularly Scotland (the song originated in Edinburgh),[33] which can be metonymically represented through a pure, feminine figure in need of a returned sovereign. Additionally, the "last red drop" is a clear

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[31] "The White Rose Over the Water," in *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads*, 102-4.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

reference to the Jacobite preference for French red wines, particularly claret,[34] a potent political symbol in itself. Although the song makes no clear reference to James Francis or Charles Edward by name, it nonetheless evokes clearly Jacobite themes in multiple ways, some more subtle than others.

Jacobite drinking culture, as the success to the drinking culture of the Royalists and Cavaliers, had a high bar to meet. The Stuart adherents of the previous century were famously debauched, largely as a function of drinking away their defeat. Cavalier lyricists "were seen to embrace excess and bacchanalian revelry, and reconfigured heavy drinking as an act of bravado and courage that was linked to martial prowess."[35] Verses focused on heavy drinking became heavily associated with Royalism during the Interregnum, and healthing in particular was an important expression for first Royalists, then Jacobites from roughly the 1630s onward.[36] Following the Restoration, the drunken antics of the Cavaliers were associated, negatively, with the Tories, while the Tories accused the Whigs of either being too miserly to drink or the sort of drinkers who binged and rioted, rather than partaking "in good company."[37] While health-drinking became a more broadly political act — one no longer primarily associated with royalism and the Stuarts but rather with political expression more generally — the "aristocratic libertinism" of Cavalier drinking culture continued after the Restoration and eventually morphed

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[34] Charles C. Ludington, "'Be Sometimes to Your Country True': The Politics of Wine in England, 1660-1714," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 89-91.

[35] Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, 119-20.

[36] Ibid.

[37] McShane Jones, "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers," 77.

in Jacobite drinking culture from 1688.[38] This trend has been somewhat extensively studied, primarily by Hailwood and McShane, although neither focused on Jacobite drinking as such.

By the early eighteenth century, Jacobite drinking culture was a subset of Tory drinking culture more generally, albeit a somewhat better established subset in that it could more directly draw upon the Cavalier traditions, perhaps most notably the Cavalier songs that emphasized the return of a departed monarch. Tory drinking focused particularly upon claret, which the Whig governments proceeding to embargo from 1679 onward.[39] The Tory predilection for claret, a Bordeaux, often manifested itself in rampant smuggling, usually with the wine taken into northern Spain or the Low Countries and thence falsely declared and brought to Britain; a wealthy man with numerous Navarre or Galician wines in his cellars was likely just falsely declaring claret, according to Charles Ludington's history of wine in Britain from the Restoration to the Hanoverian succession.[40] Jacobite songs like "The White Rose Over the Water" tended to emphasize that their wines were red. One Jacobite ballad included these verses: "That stream in the star-light when kings do not ken; / And deep be your meed of the wine that is red, / To drink to your sire, and his friend the Maclean."[41] In this song, the act of healthing is made more sacrosanct by the use of red wine (presumably claret) over other beverages.

There was no clear standard applied to which alcohols might be used in a health. Jacobite verse shows a high degree of hypocrisy, with the Jacobites themselves content enough to use

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[38] Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, 119-20. The life of John Wilmot, second Earl of Rochester, may be particularly illustrative of aristocratic libertinism — and its consequences.

[39] Ludington, "'Be Sometimes to Your Country True,'" 92-3.

[40] Ibid., 96.

[41] "Maclean's Welcome," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 90-92.

puddle water, normal water, whiskey, sherry, and, of course, blood mixed with wine,[42] while their opponents would be mocked for using even the wrong sort of wine for such a purpose. The 1681 broadside ballad "The Wine-Cooper's Delight" mocked a "cursed *Wine-Cooper*" who was mocked for having

> … tamper'd so much
> To find out the subtilty [sic] of the false *Dutch.*
> He tinctures prickt White-wine, that never was good,
> Till it mantles, and sparkles, and looks like Bulls bloud.
> But when it declines, and its Spirits expire,
> He adds more ingredients, and makes it look higher.[43]

In context, the "Wine-Cooper" refers not just to a Whig merchant of ill repute, but in fact to the Whig leader, Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 1st Earl of Shaftesbury. The various schemes laid out within the song, from colluding with the Dutch to attempted to beggar the king, were all regular Tory attacks upon the Whig minister. This song, then, has a double meaning that rests largely in its linguistic distinctions. Like "Cam Ye O'Frae France," which mocks the House of Hanover through the use of whelp as a homophone of Guelph, "The Wine-Cooper's Delight" mocks the Whigs and Shaftesbury more specifically through both an appeal to base mercantile treachery, cupidity, and falsehood and larger metaphors about the political situation of the day, a reference opened up by Shaftesbury's surname.[44] The 1680 tune "The Loyal Health" also makes use of the pun:

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[42] McShane, "Material Culture and 'Political Drinking,'" 263.

[43] "The Wine-Cooper's Delight," Printed in Westminster Hall for H.L., London, 1681, National Library of Scotland, Crawford.EB.3814.

[44] By the mid-eighteenth century, the Cooper-Shaftesbury distinction in Jacobite verse had, understandably, vanished. "There was a Cooper," a Jacobite song of the mid-eighteenth century, told the story of "the best cooper that ever [the singer] saw" without irony. "There was a Cooper," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 54-55.

Here's a health to the church, and all those that are for it,
Confusion to zealots and Whigs that abhor it:
May it ever be safe from the new mode refiners,
And may justice be done upon *Coopers* and Joiners.[45]

The use of "joiner" also contains a double meaning, referencing those Dissenters who some wished to bring into or closer to the Church of England through extremely low church policies. By associating Cooper with anti-church sentiment, the Restoration songwriter could position him as a clear opponent to an institution that, at the time, was resurgent and powerful. Allegations of anti-church rhetoric would continue to be a major Jacobite tool even as Whig figures weakened the Church of England substantially in the early eighteenth century, increasingly subordinating it to the state against the wishes of Jacobites and high churchmen who hoped to keep the institutions separate, with the church a powerful force unto itself.

Claret was specifically mentioned in certain Jacobite verses and was a recognizable symbol for the Jacobites, albeit to a lesser degree than it had been for their Cavalier predecessors. The song "The White Rose" makes the connection specific:

At the "Lobster," in Southwark,
Ten orange cloaks met;
The chairman, a marquis,
At the head of them sat.
The Dutch nobles stared
With a coldness that froze
All but the gentleman
Wearing the rose.

He sat with his claret,
And never spoke word;
He smiled at the threats
And oaths that he heard,
Till one, flinging his glove,

[45] "The Loyal Health," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 319-20.

Asked what weapons he chose:
Then up leaped the gentleman
Wearing the rose.

Down went the feather
That headed the swords,
Down went the white wigs
Of blue ribbon'd lords.
The red heels in terror
Of buffets and blows,
Fled from that gentleman
Wearing the rose.[46]

This is one of the relatively few direct invocations of claret-drinking in Jacobite verse. Notably, it also employees anti-Dutch rhetoric, associating not just Whiggery but also its Germanic allies with the worst elements of drinking culture, while the dignified claret-drinker is a Jacobite, complete with white rose cockade. French wine also features in "Come, fill your Bowls," a version of "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again" that attributes the potential return of the monarch in part to "the force of Burgundy and Champagne."[47] The two regions are, aside from being obviously French, also obviously wine-producing. The association is obvious: the Jacobites, like their Royalist precursors, drink wine in a culture of good fellowship while the Whigs, like their Parliamentarian forerunners, are either too puritanical to engage in good fellowship or are the worst sort of nefarious drunks. Here, wine — claret and other French varieties — are shown as in fact having the power to restore the crown itself, albeit likely metaphorically.

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[46] "The White Rose," in George W., Thornbury, ed., *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, Jacobite Ballads, &c. &c.* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 127-8.

[47] "Come, fill your Bowls," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 48.

In certain circumstances, it was even acceptable to drink healths in water, as in the aptly titled "Here's his Health in Water." The singer, a Highlander living in poor conditions, hopes to "live to see the day" that he may "drink his health in usquebae, / As I do now in water."[48] Notably, the singer also wishes to "bathe [his] hands in scoundrel blood / As I do now in water,"[49] invoking again the idea that healthing ceremonies could involve blood and even the sacrifice of blood in the king's name. While any substance, even water, was acceptable in a pinch for a loyal-health, certain substances were better than others, and claret was perhaps best of all, for Jacobite — and formerly Cavalier — drinkers.

The Whig authorities had an uncanny ability to associate Jacobites with almost every conceivable crime. Whether this indicated actual Jacobite sympathies on the part of the participating criminals, alliances of convenience between criminals and Jacobites, or genuine Jacobitism on the part of the criminal society of Britain is a more complex question. Some criminal enterprises, particularly smuggling, seem to have included large numbers of Jacobites. In other cases, the accusations of criminal Jacobitism were somewhat more tenuous.

While a full description of Jacobite criminality — and accusations of Jacobite criminality — will not be given here, some discussion of it is necessary. McLynn and Monod's work on this subject has been particularly excellent, and the latter's chronicle of Jacobite smuggling in the south east and Home Counties is a critical resource in understanding Jacobite popular culture and social crime during the key period of the movement's activity. The matrix of accusations against Jacobites went both ways: London police would sometimes use tenuous charges of Jacobitism

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[48] "Drink his Health in Water," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 176-7.

[49] Ibid.

(that is, treason) to secure convictions when the actual crime was smuggling or gang violence;[50] conversely, Jacobites could also be accused of association with crimes to which they were at best tangentially connected. McLynn summarized the more general threat posed by Jacobitism well. Jacobitism, he wrote,

> … confronted the new order over the entire spectrum of activities designated as 'crime' by the Bloody Code. The poacher threatened absolute rights of property, the smuggler threatened commerce, the forger and coiner threatened the new financial regime. Only Jacobitism formed an over-arching system that called in question the legitimacy of the entire capitalist triumph, in all its manifestations, agrarian, commercial and financial. It issued the challenge, forever, in the name of the still cogent doctrine of divine, indefeasible right — cogent because the new regime could score no convincing ideological victory over it, but instead relied on the smear tactics of black propaganda.[51]

This is, in essence, the crux of the matter. Jacobitism retained coherency as an ideological cause until at least 1745, and its fortunes were neatly tied to those of many other criminal enterprises, most notably smuggling. Monod has noted that illegal imports from Calais "increased dramatically" after 1714 but fell off after the Atterbury plot, before eventually rising again around the time of the Forty-Five.[52] Generally speaking, Jacobites — with their roughly 50,000-strong émigré community backing trade on the far side of the Channel,[53] their paternalistic patronage of smugglers on sea and land,[54] and their ability to hold together heavily Tory counties and towns in the south east as a cohesive social movement — were able to have an outsize

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[50] McLynn, *Crime and Punishment*, 26.

[51] Ibid., 160.

[52] Paul Kléber Monod, "Dangerous Merchandise: Smuggling, Jacobitism, and Commercial Culture in Southeast England, 1690-1760," *Journal of British Studies* 30 no. 2 (1991): 171, 177.

[53] Ibid., 170-1.

[54] Jacobite paternalism and manorialism, including its applications in smuggling, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

impact on the criminal enterprises of Britain, particularly those enterprises that were heavily focused in their areas of strength. (Unsurprisingly, Highland-based smuggling was a particular strength.)

It is into this matrix of crime and assertion of crime that Jacobite drinking songs fall. Some, discussed above, are songs explicitly for healthing. Others are of a more general mould, but tend to be written in ways that suggest they were used at least in part as music for drinking or the riots that might follow it. One such song is "Donald Macgillavry." Hogg suggested that the song was written to allude to one or both risings and that it was meant to be metonymic, referring to all Highlanders since the Macgillavry clan was a relatively minor one; in that way, the song "could not give offense to any one [of the Highlanders], nor yet render any clan particularly obnoxious to the other party, by the song being sung in mixed assemblies."[55] "Donald Macgillavry" is, in essence, a fighting song; it lauds the virtues of the Highlander Donald Macgillavry in war and life, claiming, essentially, that he can take on all comers. One representative passage goes:

> Donald's run o'er the hill but his tether, man,
> As he were wud, or stang'd wi' an ether, man;
> When he comes back, there's some will look merrily;
> Here's to King James and Donald Macgillavry.
> … Pack on your back, and elwand see cleverly;
> Gie them full measure, my Donald Macgillavry.
>
> Donald has foughten we' brief and roguery;
> Donald has dinner'd wi' banes and beggary;
> Better it were for Whigs and Whiggery
> Meeting the devil than Donald Macgillavry.
> Come like a tailor, Donald Macgillavry,
> Come like a tailor, Donald Macgillavry;
> Push about, in and out, thimble them cleverly.
> Here's to King James and Donald Macgillavry!

[55] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 279-80.

> … Come like the devil, Donald Macgillavry,
> Come like the devil, Donald Macgillavry;
> Skelp them and scaud them that prov'd sae unbritherly.
> Up wi' King James and Donald Macgillavry![56]

This song directly references the idea of crime, particularly social crime and social banditry, as preferable to yielding to Whiggish tyranny, noting that it is preferable to deal with rogues and beggars than Whigs. Additionally, the song is set to a rousing tune, one that easily lends itself to a fast tempo and loud, group recitation. Its references to fighting, giving full measure, and the devil, the stuff of shanties, would fit well in a pub setting, and its generalities and metonymical references indicate that it met with such uses.

Metonymic songs about the clans featured heavily in the music of the Forty-Five and its aftermath. Donald Macgillavry is probably the best such example, but it is far from unique. One mournful air eulogizes the clans following the breaking of the clan system following the rising.[57] Another, "The Clans are coming," begins with a loyal-health before lauding Charles Edward and promising that the restored Stuarts would "Not church nor state… overthrow, / As wicked preachers falsely tell."[58] The song, in addition to starting with a health, also bears the hallmarks of one made for drinking. It has a swift, jaunty tune and a rousing chorus: "The clans are coming, oho! oho! / The Clans are coming by bonny Lochleven, / The clans are coming, oho! oho!"[59] Similarly, "The Highlandmen came down the Hill," a song that celebrates the victory at Falkirk during the Forty-Five (and notably echoes a line in "Donald Macgillavry," which states "Donald

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[56] "Donald Macgillavry," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 100-2.

[57] "The Clans are all away," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 75.

[58] "The Clans are coming," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 72-4.

[59] Ibid.

comes down the hill wild and angry"),[60] seems intended to rouse spirits with appeals to Highland bravery and intimidating lines about the Highland soldiers' terrifying charge.[61] In the context of drinking songs, the vaguely triumphalist Jacobite sub-genre of the rousing Highland ballad could serve as a rallying point for supporters and, if it were sung by numerous Jacobites, potentially intimidate ideological and military opponents.

This sort of song — the martial and victorious (we can here exclude "The Clans are all away," which is of a somewhat different sort) — had the potential to be a recruiting tool for Jacobites, as did music generally. Verses performed publicly were an excellent medium for communicating basic ideas and, since many attacked unpopular elements of the Whig and Hanoverian regimes, even those with little concern over the hereditary right of the Stuarts might well find Jacobitism appealing as an alternative to the extant political dynamic. Riots and pub settings provided excellent access to the unconverted and helped to promote Jacobite causes among wide audiences, expanding the potential of Jacobite verse to expand the political base of the legitimist faction. Those elements of popular Jacobitism most amenable to the broader public found their way into song even more clearly than the high-minded political and theological thought of the Jacobite elite. This, particularly between roughly 1710 and 1755, provided a critical element to the popular expansion of Jacobite thought into the realms of the "lower sort" who often objected more to specific Hanoverian policies than to the family's dubious dynastic claim. However, songs that appealed to a romantic vision of the Stuarts also had the potential to

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[60] "Donald Macgillavry," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 100-2.

[61] "The Highlandmen came down the Hill," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 138-9.

resonate with less educated individuals who could be attracted to the imagery of a more glorious past Britain.

Other tunes were more blatantly insulting, serving to rile Hanoverians and Whigs. One such, "The Pilfering Brood," dates from around 1714 and directly mocks the Hanoverian succession and the arrival of George I as king. Hogg, aptly, called it "an intemperate song."[62] It mockingly compares the House of Hanover to "pilfering poor banditti" and ends with a loyal health to "our lawful king, / The father of his people."[63] But its beginning is a call to riot and revolt:

> What a cursed crew have we got now,
> From a country call'd Hanover!
> A wretched race, the land's disgrace,
> Which we too late discover.
> Drive them hence,
> Drive them hence,
> Quickly quickly drive them hence.
> Here's a health, here's a health,
> Here's a health to our lawful prince.[64]

These words are flagrantly treasonous with no attempt made at subtlety or masking their intent. They are, put simply, fighting words. While little record exists about this tune in particular, the general cadence matches those Jacobite songs that were designed to be sung in taverns and alehouses, particularly those meant for rabble-rousing and tacit endorsement of criminal activity. Indeed, "The Pilfering Brood" makes clear its desire for revolt. To "Drive [the Hanoverians] hence" would not be an act of peace. The rebelliousness also echoed the tendency to combine the political views of the Tory gentry with those of the criminal classes.[65] The song's lamentation of

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[62] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics* v.1, 271.

[63] "The Pilfering Brood," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 94.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Monod, "Dangerous Merchandise," 164.

Whig-induced poverty would have appealed to a broad audience across social classes. The verse goes:

> Now they have gotten all our gear,
> And our estates are carving;
> If they stay here another year,
> We'll have no shift but starving.[66]

This was a relatively common concern. The Whig taxes — largely to finance the national debt — were a well-known problem, one that particularly impacted smugglers and strengthened the political alliance between smugglers and Jacobites. McLynn has argued persuasively that the restored Stuarts likely would have renounced the national debt, causing taxes and import duties to drop and thus legitimizing their smuggling friends.[67] There were "good objective grounds," he argued, "for the loyalty to the exiled Stuarts that many smugglers professed."[68] The Jacobite concern with high taxes and seized estates thus worked well as a country to smugglers' concerns about high taxes and high customs duties, and, in an alehouse or riot setting, the two groups could easily collaborate in song and shared opposition to Whiggery.

The early modern alehouse was also a scene of youth gathering.[69] Students, in particular, were a critical force in Jacobite political rioting and in the broader culture of Jacobite political drinking. As G.V. Bennett has noted, "During the course of King William's reign the university moved steadily into the position of a major centre of opposition to the government," with Oxford

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[66] "The Pilfering Brood," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 94.

[67] McLynn, *Crime and Punishment*, 176-7.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 192.

in particular becoming a hotbed of Tory "political extremism."[70] Since many students at Cambridge, Oxford, Aberdeen, and other universities tended to be Tories, and many held high church sympathies (partly thanks to the exclusion of Dissenters from Oxford and Cambridge), they also formed a demographic that was both well-informed on matters of Jacobite ideology and political thought, while — youth and alcohol as propellants — maintaining willingness to engage in large-scale, aggressive public disturbances. At university, excessive consumption of alcohol was not confined to the lower orders, but rather became a critical part of the scholarly social system.[71] Drinking at the university allowed men to interact with those of different backgrounds, "thus embodying the idea of the drinking space as 'ambiguous territory,' where people who might not normally associate come together under the banner of 'good fellowship.'"[72] This propagated the conveyance of political beliefs from above and below, exposing the broader public in university towns to Jacobite rhetoric while also conveying certain elements of Tory and Jacobite thought to students through the alcoholic intervention of fellows and dons. The exemplar of the latter might be the party thrown by the Marquess of Carnarvon, then a student at Balliol, not just for his friends but also for the Tory dons and other Tory sympathizers, many of whom were also Jacobites or had Jacobite ties.[73] The situation would not change until at least 1760. At Aberdeen, students and apprentices declared James Stuart king, though the offense was

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[70] G.V. Bennett, "Against the Tide: Oxford under William III," in *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. V: The Eighteenth Century*, eds. L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 31, 60.

[71] Laurie Ellinghausen, "University of Vice: Drink, Gentility, and Masculinity in Oxford, Cambridge, and London," in *Masculinity and the Metropolis of Vice, 1550-1650,* ed. Amanda Bailey and Roze Hentschell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 48, 50-52.

[72] Ibid., 48.

[73] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 153.

later passed off as "some Jacobite song having been sung" by the town council.[74] Jacobite studentry were one of the most regularly riotous Jacobite groups and one of the most enduring. Even after popular Jacobitism was declining in the years after the Forty-Five, some Jacobite students held on, as evidenced by Pitt's complaint about the Young Pretender's continued popularity in Oxford almost a decade after Culloden[75] and by a similar incident in February 1748 when a riot resulted in students crying out for King James (two undergraduates were imprisoned and the vice-chancellor only narrowly escaped prosecution).[76] Whether the enduring popularity of Jacobitism in the university is indicative of a certain countercultural element that appealed to educated, younger men or of the passing down, from Tory gentry fathers to their sons, of Jacobite views is hard to say. What is certain is the continued Jacobite activity at universities through at least 1755 was a major factor in the continued popular and intellectual movement that supported the Stuart cause, and a rare instance in which the riotousness of popular Jacobitism and the complex theoretical underpinnings of Jacobite political thought found themselves in close harmony within the same demographic sector.

Generally, the Jacobite studentry was most active in profoundly Jacobite areas like Oxfordshire and Aberdeenshire, though it is difficult to say if this was a result of the surrounds being Jacobite or if the counties were Jacobite because the towns and universities at their heart

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[74] Kieran German, "Jacobite Politics in Aberdeen and the '15," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, eds. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 89.

[75] See Chapter 1.

[76] Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 110.

were, or both. At Cambridge, Jacobitism waned earlier, but largely due to its greater initial fervor. Andrew Starkie has noted that

> … Oxford Jacobites were less scrupulous than their Cambridge counterparts about taking the required oaths of allegiance to the new monarchs. By paying lip service to the Williamite regime, they maintained the university as a largely Jacobite enclave. Cambridge, on the other hand, produced a much higher proportion of scrupulous nonjurors, who were deprived of their fellowships and livings. Their places were filled with those more at ease with their consciences or with the Revolution settlement… Whilst tory Oxford in the last years of Anne's reign was largely united against the Hanoverian succession, Cambridge tories, feeling government influence more heavily, were divided on the question.[77]

The combination of Jacobite principle with flexibility to political reality at Oxford mirrors the culture of Jacobite smuggling on the south coast and the lip service paid to various Highland and island garrisons by Scottish lairds, particularly in the run-up to the Fifteen.[78] That Oxford remained overwhelmingly Tory for decades — and Cambridge even into the 1720s, albeit with less Jacobite sympathies in open view[79] — was a boon to Jacobites and a major factor in aiding a cross-class dynamic of virtuous politicized criminality that mirrored that of the smugglers, poachers, and highwaymen who, assisted by the paternalistic intervention of Tory lords.

The corruption of heirs at the hands of Whigs was discussed in Jacobite verse. That most famous of Jacobite songs, "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again," made direct reference to such Whig skullduggery. In it, the Whigs, though cowardly and base, nonetheless take the sons of those loyal to the pretender:

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[77] Andrew Starkie, "William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism, 1713-16," *Historical Research* 75 no. 190 (2002): 449-50.

[78] Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen, 1650-1784* (London: Methuen, 1984), 80.

[79] Starkie, "William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism," 449.

From the plot's first taking air,
Like lightning all the Whigs have run;
Nay, they've left their topping square,
To march off with our eldest son:
They've left their 'states and wives, to save their precious lives,
Yet who can blame their flying, when
'Twas plain to them all, the great and the small,
That the king would have his own again?[80]

The fear of heritors being taken, and thus corrupted by Whig ideals, seems to have been a potent one. The uncorrupted youth is a near-constant trope of Jacobite lyrics, one that often combines with paternalistic or ruralist imagery — particularly, though not at all exclusively, in a Scottish context. Some songs, like "Highland Harry," mourned exiles, sent away from Britain in youth never to be seen again.[81] In "Lassie, lie near me," a young woman is given rejuvenating powers, taking on the role of of healer for a Culloden veteran.[82] In "O my bonny Highland Laddie," the generalized youth is made to take on the guise of Charles Edward Stuart, or vice versa, with each fulfilling the role of future hope to Jacobite and Scot, generally, alike.[83] In another song, a "Dear injured Youth" is welcomed "to Scotia's plains" after his "great Sires were banished."[84] And so on. Generally, Jacobite songs portray young men in a roguish light, one in which they are pure of heart and gallant, but nonetheless somewhat countercultural, heroic figures of daring-do rather than a new generation of a purely chivalric, dour faithful.

The Highland youth is sometimes seen as an idealized Jacobite soldier, as in the metonymical dialogue between a Lowland girl and her Highland lover, with each representing both their native

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[80] "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 155.

[81] "Highland Harry," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 60-61.

[82] "Lassie, lie near me," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 211-12.

[83] "O my bonny Highland Laddie," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 115-17.

[84] "U.D.," in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 51-52.

regions and necessary elements of the martial and social Jacobite worldview. After asserting that his leaving will likely see her ravaged by Whigs, the maiden sings:

> Go, for yourself procure renown,
> Bonny laddie, Highland laddie,
> And for your lawful king his crown,
> Bonny laddie, Highland laddie:
> And only then hope you to find,
> Bonny laddie, Highland laddie,
> Your Jenny constant to your mind…[85]

Both "Lawland Lassie" and "Highland Laddie" are invested first in the Jacobite cause, second in their own wellbeing. This ideologically selfless ethos is perhaps the most prominent element in Jacobite portrayals of youth; whether pure or rakish, English or Scottish, broadly representative of larger themes or individualized, the youth of Jacobite verse, when portrayed sympathetically, tend to put their own needs aside in favor of those of a collective Stuart cause.

Some youth-focused Jacobite verses also emphasize descent from father to son, as in "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again." This is yet another way in which Jacobite verse can express a relatively complex political principle — in this case, that of indefeasible hereditary right — in an easily communicable and broadly accessible format. The martial "Now Charles asserts his Father's Right"[86] is one song that makes youthful paternal devotion and indefeasible hereditary right relatively explicit. It opens thus:

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[85] "Lawland Lassie," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 204-6.

[86] Hogg believed that Sir Walter Scott copied the song down, but does not know its original origin. In his somewhat lackadaisical fashion, he noted that "The air is taken at random, I have forgot from whence." Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 355. The anonymous author of *The Jacobite Minstrelsy* noted that "From the general strain of this production, it would appear to have been written immediately after the battle of Prestonpans. The Chevalier's partizans must have then been exceedingly sanguine of success." Anonymous, *Jacobite Minstrelsy; with Notes Illustrative of the Text, and Containing Historical Details in Relation to the House of Stuart, from 1640 to 1784* (Glasgow: Richard Griffin and Co., 1829), 184-5.

Now Charles asserts his father's right,
And thus establishes his own,
Braving the dangers of the fight,
To cleave a passage to the throne.
The Scots regain their ancient fame,
And well their faith and valour show,
Supporting their young hero's claim
Against a pow'rful rebel foe.

The God of battle shakes his arm,
And makes the doubtful victory shine;
A panic dread their foes disarm:
Who can oppose the will divine?
The rebels shall at length confess
Th' undoubted justice of the claim,
When lisping babes shall learn to bless
The long-forgotten Stuart's name.[87]

By emphasizing Charles Edward's youth as the "young hero," this verse first imbues the Jacobite cause both with a newfound energy and with its typical reverence to established authority, particularly of the hereditary sort. The verse summons "will divine," which none can oppose, a phrase that seems intentionally similar to "divine right" and would doubtless invoke thoughts of divine right amongst listeners. Thus, Charles Edward is made both the agent of his father — and therefore of the Stuarts and the society they represented — and of dashing, youthful valor, shown through his "Braving the dangers of the fight."

There exists a dichotomy in Jacobite verse between the youth, particularly the student, as a parallel to a smuggler or a down-and-out Cavalier soldier and the youth as a pure thing to be tainted by Whigs and Hanoverians. Obviously, the latter was more likely to be female, although generally Whigs were seen as corrupting forces, particularly should they get hold of an eldest son

[87] "Now Charles asserts his Father's Right," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 159-60.

whose politics they could sway. The former tended to embody a more militant quality, one that played into both the concept of social banditry and that of militant exile.

The Jacobite-inclined *Mist's Weekly Journal* contained a letter, in August 1726, allegedly authored by a young man, a self-professed "Man of Pleasure, or, as others term it, a *Rake*" who has "neither spared [his] Money nor [his] Constitution."[88] Although the man is given to the predilections of youth, he nonetheless, while attempting to woo a woman, takes the time to "treat her with a Pint of Sack, to drink our Friends Healths in the Country, after this another, and so a third," and, eventually, the pair "grew so pure and free."[89] The woman eventually robs the man of his money and leaves him in the lurch. The subtext seems to be that, while Jacobite men may indeed by revelers and given to drink, they are also honorable and true, but that virtue is overlooked by the Whiggish woman. This is, then, the image of hard-drinking, sculduggerous but nonetheless faithful Jacobite youth that sympathizers might hope to cultivate, particularly in an abstract context in which the man's antics are amusing rather than threatening, as they might be were he more immediate to the reader's own life.

Although political beliefs seeped from town to gown and back, there were significant instances of conflict between the two. This was long-standing: Mark Hailwood has recounted instances of rival healthing in alehouses in Oxford. In one 1683 instance, a group of townspeople drank healths to the Duke of Monmouth while scholars drank to the Duke of York, causing the townsmen to follow them from the alehouse and assault them before chanting Monmouth's name up and down the High Street.[90] Jonathan Oates has observed that larger towns had a greater

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[88] Issue 70, Saturday, Aug. 27, 1726, *Mist's Weekly Journal,* Burney.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Hailwood, *Alehouses and Good Fellowship*, 203.

predilection to Jacobite rioting in part because they could support an appropriate number of Jacobites to bolster such riots.[91] The theory could likely be expanded: those towns with a more sizable population, like Oxford, would also be more likely to create strife generally, as they would, no matter the majority inclination, tend to have populations large enough that some individuals were likely to be avowed Jacobites and some avowed Whigs. Thus, most university towns — with the possible exception of St. Andrews — would have had large enough populations to support not just town-gown political strife but also public disagreement more generally.

And of course, ideological conflict played out in the press. *Mist's Weekly Journal*, the 1720s-era Jacobite paper, published a song allegedly sent by a person quite taken with the paper who wrote of willingness to partaken in tavern brawling over the matter:

> As for Apelbee, British and London,
> They never so much as are miss'd,
> But Coffee-Houses all are quite undone
> If they cannot have Journal of Mist.
>
> But on This, that all readers are hearty,
> I cannot, to please you, insist,
> For all the fanatical Party
> Are highly enraged at Mist.
>
> Shou'd a Champion invite me to Figg's,
> I had rather fight with my fist,
> Than drink Ale with a Faction of Whigs,
> Who Weekly spit venom at Mist.[92]

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[91] Jonathan D. Oates, "Jacobitism and Popular Disturbances in Northern England, 1714-1719," *Northern History* 41 no. 1 (2004): 118-22.

[92] Issue 74, Saturday, Sept. 24, 1726, *Mist's Weekly Journal*, Burney.

Though the song may well have been written in-house, rather than by an errant admirer of Jonathan Mist, the general message is changed little for it. McShane has noted that "men who refused a duel on their own account were prepared to engage in violence if the royal honour was maligned,"[93] and this impulse is similar. Men who might not be given to tavern brawling were willing to should their political convictions be challenged or insulted, something that could theoretically include even the more abstract personages behind printed media.

Jacobite songs about drinking, and for drinking, tended to emphasize a roguish nobility that the Jacobites prized while also putting forth an idea of pure youth — often a metaphor for Britain — that they believed the Hanoverians and Whigs were destroying. The former theme helped to create the sociopolitical atmosphere in which Jacobite social crime could thrive, while the latter was particularly adept at reinforcing traditional Jacobite ideology. Jacobite drinking and songwriting culture followed in the Cavalier and Royalist tradition of social drinking, healthing, and balladry, giving Jacobitism the air of legitimacy and the established cultural forms that it was able to maximize in order to survive as a viable political movement for roughly a century. Jacobite songs were a critical means of conveyance for the movement's political thought, and in pubs and ritualized drinking, not to mention riots and both idealization of and participation in criminal activity, those verses found a natural home.

[93] McShane, "Material Culture and 'Political Drinking,'" 265.

Chapter Three

'The Truest Friend of Kings':[1]

High Church Anglicanism, Catholicism, and Nonjurors in Jacobite Verse

The corpus of Jacobite verse focused on faith is likely the most ambiguous and least clear component of the movement's lyric canon. Many references to religious belief and believers are tangential, occurring in the midst of songs on different topics. Others are clearly meant to be vague, leaving an audience potentially unsure what groups are being referenced. This is likely due to the complicated cultural and political situation that surrounded those segments of clerical and lay society most dedicated to the Jacobite cause. Catholic Recusants, of course, were endlessly accused of popery, various plots, and disloyalty. Nonjurors[2] within the Anglican and Scottish Episcopalian churches were similarly subject to accusations of insufficient loyalty or, of course, Jacobitism. Meanwhile, high church clergy were often suspected of wishing to impose crypto-Catholic measures or authoritarian governance upon the three kingdoms. Thus, Jacobite songwriters and polemicists tread a dangerous and unclear path in incorporating religion into their works, and many references were generalized to the point of absurdity or, in other cases,

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[1] Robert Smith, *A sermon preached at Lambeth-Chappel on the 25th of November, upon the consecration of the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr John Dolben, Lord Bishop of Rochester* (London: Tho. Newcomb for William Nott, 1666), 25.

[2] "Nonjuror" is rendered in a variety of ways, with few sources agreeing upon style. Acceptable styles include "Non-juror," "nonjuror," "Nonjuror, "non-juror," "Non-Juror," and, occasionally, even "non-Juror." In quoted references the original will, obviously, be kept. Otherwise, "nonjuror" will be used, except when referring to official attempts to create an organization for the movement, in which case capitalization will be employed as appropriate. The de-capitalization in standard reference is fitting to the movement's general though not universal claim to be of the Church of England, rather than a separate denomination. In the same sense, "Presbyterian" might be capitalized when referring to, for instance, the Presbyterian Church in America, but would reasonably be wrought as "presbyterian" when referring to the general polity, for instance as employed by the Church of Scotland.

This same logic has been applied to other groups not officially organized: the usagers, the high and low church factions, and so on.

were downright disingenuous. At other times, these songs engaged in harsh personal attack. However, there remain numerous references — some quite subtle — to the theological and ideological underpinnings of high church, nonjuring, and Jacobite thought, all of which support the conception of Jacobite music as a relatively calculated and targeted endeavor to convey a consistent ideology to a massed audience.

Jacobite verse was a critical avenue for the expression of theological ideas. In part, this sprang from debates over liturgical music and the dueling hymns of high and low church Anglicans. But it was also a somewhat dirtier affair not confined to the choirs of Britain. Jacobite political music that focused on religion tended to reference theological debates while focusing first and foremost on individuals. The characters of the religious debates of the age were, in the case of opponents, mocked and, in the case of allies and Jacobites, lauded. These songs were often brutally insulting and more intended for streets and pubs than a more high-minded setting, but nonetheless Classical references and allusions to the finer points of Anglican theology abound. Jacobite music focused on religious matters, like political Jacobite music generally, took full advantage of the ability of eighteenth-century songwriters to appeal to both high and low cultural audiences. This maximized the utility of Jacobite songs as propaganda and recruiting tools by appealing to the largest possible section of society.

The nonjurors were a somewhat curious faction in the political and theological debates of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In some ways, they were typical schismatics: to the nonjurors, theirs was the true Church of England, and the conforming — juring — church was led by and made up of those who had broken away from traditional Anglican teachings.[3] In

[3] Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 135.

short, the nonjurors were those whose scruples prevented them from taking the new oaths to William and Mary, claiming that their extant oaths to James II would be violated; noted nonjuror Charles Leslie compared the taking of two contradictory oaths to adultery.[4] And indeed, the nonjurors may have had historical theology on their side: the Anglican church had preached the divine right of kings, indefeasible hereditary right, and passive obedience throughout the Restoration.[5] Nonjuror George Hickes believed that "praying for the Hanoverian king is nothing less than a 'cursing' of the hereditary king and, consequently, blasphemy against God, treason against the rightful king, and a breach of the oaths of allegiance."[6] At the time of the Revolution, the "significant High Church tradition which emphasized sensitivity of conscience… led many Jacobites within that tradition to refuse the oaths, against their material and social self-interest."[7] D.H. Whiteford may have summarized the core tenet of nonjuring theology best: "if there is no King, there is no Bishop. If there is no King, there is no Church."[8] The language is notably similar to that employed by James I and VI at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. In other words, to a nonjuror, failing to recognize James II as king, abjuring responsibility to him and pledging allegiance to another, was essentially the same as apostatizing.

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[4] Charles Leslie, *The case of the regale and of the pontificat stated: in a conference concerning the independency of the church, upon any power on earth, in the exercise of her purely spiritual power and authority* (London: C. Brome, G. Strahan, &c., 1702), 3-4.

[5] Robert D. Cornwall, "Divine Right Monarchy, Henry Dodwell's Critique of the Reformation and Defense of the Deprived Nonjurors Bishops," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68 no. 1 (1999): 37.

[6] William Bradford Gardner, "George Hickes and the Origin of the Bangorian Controversy," *Studies in Philology* 39 no. 1 (1942): 70-1.

[7] Andrew Starkie, "William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism, 1713-16," *Historical Research* 75 no. 190 (2002): 450-51.

[8] D.H. Whiteford, "Reactions to Jacobitism in Scottish Ecclesiastical Life and Thought, 1690-1760" (doctoral dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1965), 40.

This is, of course, an unfair reduction of nonjuring theology, a complicated and at times bizarre collection of beliefs. While it is neither possible nor desirable to here lay out all the tenets of nonjuring doctrine, it is necessary to briefly consider the element of primitivism inherent in nonjuring belief — and the charges of popery that primitivism brought about. Henry Dodwel was perhaps the most significant figure in the primitivist strain of nonjuror thought. Dodwel, whose popularity in the Anglican right-wing emerged out of his arguments for the right of the clergy to separate from civil authority,[9] argued for a return to a pre-Constantinian Christianity, a sort of "primitive nonpapal catholicism."[10] This was, partly, a goal shared by many Anglicans;[11] the nonjurors just took the movement further. Beginning in 1716, the nonjuring movement suffered its own schism, known as the Usages controversy, which arose from a desire by some to implement — return to, in their own eyes — four new liturgical elements: an epiclesis; an oblation prayer; a prayer for the dead; and a mixing of water and wine as part of the eucharist.[12] Some of the proponents of these measures — the usagers — split further and created, in 1732, the Orthodox British Church.[13] These practices were not the focus of political nonjuring, that is the focus of those nonjuring writers most active within the Jacobite movement. Yet they remain significant; the attempt to return to a more primitive form of Christianity was a complement to the divine right theory advocated by nonjurors and Jacobites alike, and the ultra-high church

[9] G.V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 10; Cornwall, "Divine Right Monarchy," 41.

[10] Cornwall, "Divine Right Monarchy," 53, 60.

[11] W.M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 203-4.

[12] C.D.A. Leighton, "The Nonjurors and the Counter Enlightenment: Some Illustration," *The Journal of Religions History* 22 no. 3 (1998): 274.

[13] Ibid., 279.

Anglicanism advocated by these nonjurors was a factor in attacks upon the nonjuring movement for what were seen as crypto-Catholic practices.

A critical question arises when discussing nonjurors and Jacobitism (and it is almost impossible to discuss the former without the latter): were all nonjurors Jacobites? There has been extensive debate upon this subject, but the answer is in fact relatively clear-cut. In principle, nonjurors were inherently Jacobites insofar as they felt they were religiously bound by oath to James II and, in some cases, to the Stuart dynasty as a whole. Most also believed that indefeasible hereditary succession was divinely ordained. However, not all nonjurors were active Jacobites, though it is likely that the bulk were at least somewhat steady supporters of the movement and its aims. Canon J.H. Overton — whose 1903 monograph *The Nonjurors* stands as perhaps the most fulsome attempted account of the movement, its leaders, and its political and theological thought, despite being now somewhat out-of-date — held "that 'Jacobite' and 'Nonjuror' are by no means convertible terms."[14] Paul Kleber Monod has argued the opposite, writing that "Whether or not they were active in the cause, the Nonjurors were Jacobites by definition."[15] In the broadest sense, he is quite right: nonjurors did inherently reject William and Mary. However, evidence for non-active Jacobites sympathizers among the nonjurors is relatively rampant, and some likely would have disagreed stridently with most of their fellows' aims and with the Stuarts. The neo-Arian clergyman William Whiston was a nonjuror insofar as he refused the oaths on a conscientious basis,[16] though he cannot be considered fully part of the

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[14] J.H. Overton, *The Nonjurors: Their Lives, Principles, and Writings* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1903), 186.

[15] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 139.

[16] Starkie, "William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism," 450-51.

nonjuring faction in other theological matters. It suffices to say that while not all nonjurors actively supported the Jacobite succession, all were linked to it in their refusal to take the oaths.

The theology of William Law, a nonjuror who was forced out of his fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for refusing the oaths, showcases well the standard nonjuring arguments in favor of the House of Stuart, largely based in passive obedience and in the belief that princes were divinely ordained by God. Law's S*ermon preach'd at Hazelingfield* caused him to be suspended, before he lost his fellowship, by personal order of Robert Harley, the Tory Lord High Treasurer, for its express political content.[17] Law implied "that the reigns of William and Anne [were] a brief aberration in the natural and spiritual order of things, akin to an eclipse, or to the apostasy of the Israelites in worshipping the golden calf, but that proper order should and would be restored."[18] In the sermon, Law argued that

> The Political State swarms with an Infinity, that act as if they were Born for no other End than to speak Evil of Princes… But let such Miscreant Heads tremble and impending Thunder; let them know, that he who is God above, is Prince below; and that to Reproach Her who Reigns on Earth, is to Insult that Majesty which Reigns in Heaven. Let them know, that to bear about Evil Reports, and raise Discontent in the Subject, is as far from true Loyalty, as carrying Arms, and heading Troops of Rebels; and that they who so resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.[19]

To Law, then, as to many nonjurors, the Revolution itself, not just the request to disavow or replace sacred oaths, was an act against God. In rebelling against, to use Law's phrase, "God's

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[17] Starkie, "William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism," 451.

[18] Ibid., 453.

[19] William Law, *A sermon preach'd at Hazelingfield, in the county of Cambridge, on Tuesday, July 7. 1713. Being the day appointed by Her Majesty's royal proclamation for a publick thanksgiving for Her Majesty's general peace. By W. Law, M. A. Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge* (Cambridge: Richard Thurlbourne, 1713), 24.

Vicegerent"[20] on earth, the supporters of William and Mary were sinning, were in fact rising against God's will like Lucifer. While G.V. Bennett's description of the early nonjurors is perhaps overly laudatory, it nonetheless bears repeating. Bennett wrote that, following the Revolution, the nonjuring clergymen "were few in number, but their effect on the great body of conforming Anglicans was profound: they were like a ghost of the past, confessors who stood in the ancient ways, devout, logical and insistent."[21] This was how Law and those like him saw

[20] Ibid., 19.

[21] Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 10.

themselves: as upholders of a past Anglican purity, a form of episcopal governance in church and state that was ordained by God.[22]

There were, notably, some criticisms of nonjurors based on efficacy. Men like Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, likely believed they could do more as full members of the Church of England rather than as politically disenfranchised exiles. Overton summarized the position effectively and, as was his wont, dramatically:

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[22] Sermons were naturally a key element in the theological arguments that raged in the last years of the seventeenth century into the first half of the eighteenth. The anti-Jacobite sermon has been well documented, most notably by James Caudle. Caudle, bizarrely writing in the third person, wrote that "Caudle identified… major groupings of rhetorical strategies" against Jacobitism in sermon literature. His ten patterns within anti-Jacobite sermon literature bear repeating in light of the present topic, as the shadows of many are visible in the works of Jacobite writers who attempt to attack these same ideas:

1) the discrediting of the Pretender's blood right
2) the unmasking of the Pretender as a foreign-born, Italian puppet attempting to destroy an English line
3) the connection of the Pretender with Popery
4) the demonstration that the Pretender's promises were false
5) the connection of the Jacobites with French Imperialism
6) the rising of fears about the foreign nature and volatile composition of the Jacobite party and army
7) the creation of a Jacobite 'Dystopia,' a cogent and terrifying depiction of what life would be like under 'James III'
8) the demonstration that King George's government was the true defender of civil rights and religious liberties
9) the demonstration that the British constitution based on fiduciary and revocable consent and compact with the governed was superior to Absolutism and Arbitrary Power
10) the creation of a pro-Georgian mythology of the heroes of Loyalism, including portraying George II as Samuel, David, and Hezekiah, and making heroes of the Dukes of Cumberland Col. Gardiner.

These various sorts of sermon invective are all identifiable in Jacobite responses; that is, the invocation of these arguments against Jacobites plays a clear role not only in the theological writings of the Jacobite movement seeking to refute these arguments, but also in the verse of Jacobites, nonjurors, and high churchmen writing works for a broader audience against the Whigs and low churchmen. James J. Caudle, "The Defense of Georgian Britain: The Anti-Jacobite Sermon, 1715-1746," in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon, 1689-1901*, eds. Keith A. Francis, William Gibson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 254.

The Jacobite sermon has also been thoroughly discussed, though primarily within the context of particularly visible incidents like the Sacheverell incident and certain of Law's more incisive speeches.

> If they really wanted 'the King over the water' to return, their policy was not, Achilles-like, to sulk in their tents; *that* was not the way to bring their Briseis back. If they meant to produce any effect they must enter into the arena; the House of Lords must not be left to Presbyterian bishops; the immense influence which the national pulpits could still exercise politically must not be left to Whig orators.[23]

It is fundamentally an understandable position. And likely those scrupulous jurors were correct: men like Atterbury and Henry Sacheverell — a high church clergyman who would become famed for his "Perils of False Brethren" sermon in 1709 and the resulting trial — probably did more for the Jacobite and high church causes, in the long run, than even the most effective nonjuring polemicists, men like Leslie, Dodwel, and Law who had no influence within the established church, no legislative power, and no voice in Convocation.

The theological debate that played out most widely in song was, unsurprisingly, that between Sacheverell and his detractors. Sacheverell, a high churchman who served as chaplain at St. Saviour's, Southwark, was known for his extremism, and his red-faced ranting. He was not generally not seen as the most accomplished theologian, but was an accomplished orator and rabble-rouser for the high church cause. While Sacheverell was long known as "a high church zealot, not afraid to speak his mind against those he saw as threats to his brand of anglicanism," his extreme views and "scathing denunciations" were generally accepted when he preached in Oxford.[24] When he arrived at St. Saviour's, his rhetoric became more prominent — and thus more threatening to the low church establishment. It was his speech, "The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church, and State," given before the Lord Mayor on Nov. 5, 1709, usually a

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[23] Overton, *The Nonjurors*, 186-7.

[24] W.A. Speck, "The Current State of Sacheverell Scholarship," *Parliamentary History* 31 no. 1 (2012): 19

day reserved for polemics against Catholics, that brought controversy. Sacheverell, who ranted against the low churchmen and dissenters, comparing advocates of toleration to "Infectious Plagues," "Growing Mischiefs," and other unsavory things,[25] was tried before both houses of Parliament and eventually barred from preaching for three years, while "False Brethren" was burnt by the common hangman. It was considered a remarkably light sentence.

Sacheverell and his allies — notably Atterbury — were praised in some works, derided in others. Hoadly, who, predictably, had been staunchly against Sacheverell, was a frequent target of high church polemicists. Though Atterbury would later become a prominent Jacobite, at the time of the Sacheverell controversy, which played out from November 1709 to March 1710 and continued to be referenced in various press accounts and verse far later, the high church faction were eager to showcase their loyalty to Anne and the incumbent regime, so many of the songs against Sacheverell, even those likely sung by Jacobites, were profoundly anti-Jacobite. In the years after 1710, Jacobitism became more prominent within the Tory party, but it was not emphasized during the Sacheverell affair. In the election that year, the Jacobite Tories outnumbered the Hanoverians within the party by some margin, and in 1713 around a hundred Jacobite Tory MPs were returned.[26] Anglicanism was a key priority of the Tory party during Anne's rule, but opposition to continental wars was also a key factor and a major issue in the Tory platform. The Jacobite domination of the Tory party in the period from 1710 to 1715 was strong enough that even the MP returned for Windsor, Charles Aldworth, was an avowed

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[25] Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church, and State* (London: Henry Clements, 1709), 45.

[26] Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne, rev. ed*. (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), 94, 279.

Jacobite.[27] So in the anti-Jacobite, but nonetheless high church, songs and ballads penned and sung in the immediate aftermath of the Sacheverell trial, we may find elements of the Tories protesting perhaps a bit too much. There was simply more truth to charges of Jacobitism at this point in time, when leveled against Tory and high church figures, than the party's grandees would have liked to publicly admit, although most at least flirted with Jacobite aims themselves, even if they never became committed Jacobites.

After the trial, one broadside ballad was released alongside a print showing Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, with Sacheverell and Atterbury, confronted by Benjamin Hoadly; the local clergy surrounding them are shown singing.[28] The clergymen stand before Queen Anne, and the song praises them — particularly Sacheverell — for having saved the church from danger (what's more, having done so "Without the Help of France").[29] The song, at 116 lines, is one of the longest ballads found within the canon of the high church and Jacobite movements, though this particular work is one of those that is keen to disavow charges of Jacobitism. Its second stanza first praises Queen Anne, the Tory perception of the queen having shifted completely since the composing of "Upon the Vote that Pass'd that the Church was Not in Danger" five years earlier. The song then notes that "Good Men put in to keep the Peace, / Church Men to guard the Crown."[30] The first section is notable; in this, the writer's aim seems to have been to associate the Tories with the *optimātēs*, the aristocratic faction of Marcus Tullius

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Anonymous, "Wonder Upon Wonders. In Answer to the Age of Wonders. To the Tune of Chivy Chase," The British Museum Online (Published 1710).

[29] "Wonder Upon Wonders," in F.G Stephens, (ed.), *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Political and Personal Satires, Vol. II, June 1689 to 1733* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1873), 336-340.

[30] Ibid.

Cicero during the late Roman Republic. The *optimātēs* were known informally as *bonī*, or "good men," which mirrors the language utilized in "Wonder Upon Wonders." Of course, "Good Men" would be good men to any listener, not just those who understood the Classical allusion. Once again, it is apparent that the Jacobite songwriters, and those of allied groups like high church clergymen, were willing to make erudite appeals that would likely be understood by only a minority of listeners. Those appeals, however, were often made in such a way that even uneducated individuals could understand their basic message, if not all its intricacies. By praising "Good Men," "Wonder Upon Wonders" would both appeal to those who understood that the anti-authoritarian politics of the late Roman Senate were being invoked and to those who understood simply that there were, in the song's narrative, good people and bad people, and that the good had once again triumphed.

After disparaging "Scismaticks"[31] and noting the ability of "The True Church Clergy mounted high… To Keep the Ch—ch alive,"[32] the song attacks Hoadly more directly, making a mockery of his disability:

> The Brave Sons of ye English Church
> Come foremost like the Wind;
> And Moderation out of hope,
> Come limping on behind.
>
> The Realm from Danger to secure,
> To heavens Aid we cry;
> And with ye brave Sacheverell join,
> To keep out Popery.
>
> We no King on our Knees to curse,
> Nor damn the Revolution;

[31] Schismatics.

[32] "Wonder Upon Wonders," in *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 336-340.

Nor to settle the Nation's Peace,
Do study its Confusion.[33]

The attack on Hoadly — that he comes "limping on behind" — is a cruel one, though not atypical of the broadside ballad culture that prized rude assaults, accurate or not.[34] The language on popery mirrors Charles Leslie's assertion that episcopacy and popery were, in fact, arch-enemies, a refutation of low church and dissenting claims that the two were in essence linked. Leslie wrote that "episcopacy has none so great an enemy as the papacy, which would engross the whole episcopal power into the single see of Rome, by making all other bishops absolutely dependent upon that which only they call *the apostolic chair*."[35] It is another of Leslie's more eyebrow-raising claims, but nonetheless one that fits cohesively within the broader high church and nonjuring doctrines. Of course, the song would have immediately lost Leslie's camp in its next stanza, which claims not to "damn the Revolution." (Leslie, of course, would have liked nothing more than to have damned it.) The piece walks a balance, keeping closely to the publicly acceptable lines of support for protestant succession, the incumbent ministry, Revolution sentiment, and the like, all while throwing carefully crafted allusions to Jacobite ideology. It is also a fundamentally high church work, so ideological similarities to Jacobitism, even in loyal verse, are not entirely to be wondered at.

There are, however, Jacobite elements to the song, despite its refrain of "A figg for the Pretender." Just after a line that purports to " Wysh well to the [protestant] Succession," the

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[33] Ibid.

[34] See, for instance, the discussion of George I's supposed cuckoldry in Chapter 1.

[35] Charles Leslie, *The Theological Works of the Rev. Charles Leslie, vol. 7* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1832), 125.

writer calls to "Condemn resistance… / And… defend possession."[36] This is significant; many high churchmen who took the oaths upon the "casuistical argument that they would obey William as *de facto* king by continue to honour James as their *de jure* prince."[37] That is, defending possession, while facially denying the right of James Francis to take the throne, makes a similar argument to that made for William III as *de facto* king: that since he possessed the throne, he was king in fact, but not in right, thereby acknowledging that James Francis could theoretically have the actual right to the crown. Later, the song advances a Jacobite argument in strongly non-Jacobite terms:

> The Right of Anna to make plain,
> That Perkin may Miscarry;
> We boldly do Assert the Queen,
> Has Right Hereditary.[38]

The "Perkin" is James Francis. This, clearly, does not endorse his cause. However, the assertion that Anne has hereditary right to the throne is intriguing. Notably lacking in strong hereditary right was George I, the Elector of Hanover at the time of the song's writing. This, then, could plausibly fit within the Jacobite view of Anne as a potentially acceptable regent, or even full monarch, whose death would bring "James III" to the throne.[39] Upon Anne's death, the most plausible individual who would also have "Right Hereditary" would be James, her brother. Thus, acknowledging Anne's hereditary right would, unless rumors of bastardy were considered or the Act of Settlement fully embraced, also acknowledge James Francis's right. So this verse, despite

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[36] "Wonder Upon Wonders," in *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 336-340.

[37] Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 10.

[38] "Wonder Upon Wonders," in *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 336-340.

[39] For a discussion of this thought process, see Starkie,"William Law and Cambridge Jacobitism," 448.

wishing that Old Pretender "may Miscarry," might actually mean nothing of the sort. Anne had herself had several miscarriages, so the use of the word is intriguing, though it may simply be a result of the dearth of words roughly meaning "fail" that rhyme with "hereditary." Nonetheless, the reference would not have been lost on listeners and could in fact have been a subtle jab at Anne's support of the Hanoverian succession. The general message of the song, however, seems to imply that a wish for any attempt by James Francis before Anne's death to go astray, or at least be nonviolent, while also hoping that his indefeasible hereditary right would be asserted upon her death. Of course, this interpretation is undermined by the song's earlier assertion that

> To Heaven we for Anna pray,
> And take the Abjuration;
> But not ye League and Cov'nant way,
> To Ruin Church and Nation.[40]

The best interpretation of the work as a whole seems to be a middle ground one: that it disavows the Pretender and Jacobitism, but leaves open doors for Jacobites with its more subtle linguistic choices. While the Oath of Abjuration would be taken to disavow the claims of James Francis and his father, the language on hereditary right would seem to be supportive of their claim, while language on possession would similarly leave open the door to a Jacobite restoration.

The praises for Sacheverell appeared across a wide variety of poems and verses. One poem published on May 8, 1710 called for him to be "Possess'd of some fat wealthy Bishop's See"[41] while another rejoiced at the defeat of the Whigs but was notably ambivalent on Sacheverell himself. It reads in part:

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[40] "Wonder Upon Wonders," in *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings*, 336-340.

[41] "The Save Alls. Or, The Bishops Who Voted for Dr. Sacheverell," in Frank H. Ellis (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714, vol. 7: 1704-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 425.

Mercy returns in a forgiving Queen:
Her Senate's Anger burns in milder Fires,
Proud of that Clemency which she inspires.
Calmly they try their Enemy profest,
And tho' they damn the Doctrine, save the Priest;
On the deluded Tool look mildly down,
And spare the factious Pedant for the Gown.
So when in sullen State, by Peasants bound,
The gen'rous Lyon walks his thoughtful Round,
Should some small Cur his Privacy invade,
And cross the Circle which his Paws had made,
Fir'd with Disdain, he hurls his Eyes below,
But loath to grapple with so mean a Foe,
Bestrides him shiv'ring with inglorious Fear,
And pisses on the Wretch he scorns to tear.[42]

The description of Sacheverell as a "factious Pedant" is not likely given by a friend; still, the approval of "that Clemency" can be taken as a plea for moderation. The likely readings of the poem are either that it is an indirect attack on absolutism and its excesses or that it is written by a high churchman who was simply unimpressed by Sacheverell, a stance that was seemingly not uncommon amongst his immediate peers whose works he was occasionally prone to overzealously borrow from for his sermons. In any case, the song certainly is not interested in the excessive punishments that could have been meted out against the clergyman, and thus is hardly one of the harshest attacks upon Sacheverell.

One amusing work, written shortly before the trial about the ongoing theological debates involved, mocked both sides. It highlighted the apparent hypocrisy of several clergymen — though rather less rudely than those songs aimed at Burnet — and highlighted the tendency of religious ideologies to rearrange periodically. (Overton, for instance, has observed that the original nonjuring bishops, with the exceptions of William Lloyd of St. Asaph and Sir Jonathan

[42] "On the Sentence Passed by the House of Lords on Dr. Sacheverell," in *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 439-41.

Trelawney of Bristol, "effectually resisted King James in the time of his power [but] were the very same men who stood by him in his adversity, suffering, for the first, imprisonment, and for the second the loss of all their worldly goods and prospects.")[43] The song, titled "Dr. Sacheverell and Benjamin Hoadly," was brief:

> Among the *High Church Men*, I find there are several
> That stick to the *Doctrine* of *Henry Sacheverell*:
> Among the *Low Church* too, I find that as Odly,
> Some pin all their Faith on one Benjamin Hoadly.
> But We Moderate Men do our Judgment Suspend,
> For GOD only knows where *these Matters* will End;
> And Salisbury Burnett and White Kennet show,
> That as the Times vary, so *Principles* go.
> And Twenty Years hence, for ought you or I know,
> 'Twill be *Hoadly* the *high*, and *Sacheverel* the *low*.[44]

Ellis believes the author of the poem is likely Matthew Prior, though notes that is hard to determine. The original was used as an epigram, oddly enough, for Sacheverell's *The Communication of Sin: A Sermon Preach'd at the Assizes Held at Derby, August 15th, 1709*, and inserted by his publisher in the flyleaf of the first edition; it is written, it says, by a "Moderate."[45] Burnet, notably, makes an appearance in this work as well; despite the apparent willingness to criticize the Sacheverellite high church doctrine, the author nonetheless considers Burnet a by-word for varying principles, alongside the low churchman White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough from 1718-28. Kennett was so well known for his alleged betrayal of high church beliefs that he came to be known as "weather-Cock Kennett."[46] It is notable that despite the

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[43] Overton, *The Nonjurors*, 25.

[44] "Dr. Sacheverell and Benjamin Hoadly," in *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 357-60. The inconsistencies in spelling are in the original, as recorded by Ellis.

[45] Ellis (ed)., *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 357-8.

[46] Ibid., 359-60.

professed moderation of the author, and his unwillingness to commit to Sacheverell's side, both examples given of abandoning past principles are of those who defected from the high church to the low, not the other way around. Generally speaking, this seems to indicate a somewhat low view of the low church and pro-tolerance cause.

While juring high church Anglican clergy were a key element within the Stuart coalition, they were outdone in fervor by their nonjuring compatriots. While nonjurors supported the Stuart restoration, they hoped to gain from the Stuarts fairly specific benefits, most notably a return to the pre-Erastian relationship of church and state, intertwined and equal. The restoration of the House of Stuart and the restoration of a strong ecclesiastical authority were seen as coterminous ends by many clergy, particularly nonjurors[47] and the disestablished Scottish episcopalians.

Jacobitism was in no way limited to the nonjurors, however. Many juring Anglicans, particularly of the high church faction, were drawn to the movement. After 1688, the Anglican Church lost power quickly, and "their involvement, actively or passively, with rebellion against James called in question their cherished principle of a divinely-ordained authority in the State, and broke down that special relationship with the monarchy which was their greatest strength."[48] While the nonjurors' numerical strength slowly waned before an uptick at the time of the Hanoverian succession in 1714, the main branch of the Church of England became increasingly Jacobite over time, up until about 1722 and the failure of the Atterbury plot. Under Anne's rule and later, the church was increasingly diminished as a political force, causing the high church

[47] C.D.A. Leighton, "Scottish Jacobitism, Episcopacy, and Counter-Enlightenment," *History of European Ideas* 35 no. 1 (2009): 4.

[48] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), 21.

faction to hope for salvation in a Restoration.[49] There was a quick decline in publicly expressed Jacobite sentiment amongst the Anglican established after 1722, and the last openly Jacobite sermon given by a juring Anglican in London seems to have come around 1726, though Jacobite proselytizing continued outside the capital for decades, with the last openly Jacobite sermon being given 128 years to the day after Sacheverell's "Perils of False Brethren" speech, on Nov. 5, 1837 at Oxford.[50] The high church faction shared most of the theological views of their nonjuring compatriots, though they were less interested in Christian primitivism and, obviously, had fewer scruples over the oaths of allegiance to William, Mary, and later Anne and the Hanoverians.

Even more supportive of the Jacobite cause was the Scottish Episcopal Church. The church was disestablished during the Revolution in favor of the presbyterian Church of Scotland, leading to an added sense of disaffection[51] that was no doubt augmented by the regional loyalty to the Stuarts felt in parts of their native Scotland and the theological investment in the cause that the fairly high church Episcopal Church tended toward. Another factor was the Glencoe massacre in February 1692, when government troops slaughtered thirty-eight members of Clan MacDonald of Glencoe, nonjuring members of the Episcopal Church of Scotland,[52] on the grounds that they had yet to swear the new oaths to William and Mary. While many Scots episcopalians were nonjurors, some were not and continued to preach. Both groups were highly

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[49] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 145.

[50] Ibid., 150-52.

[51] Alasdair Raffe, "Scottish State Oaths and the Revolution of 1688-1690," in *Scotland in the Age of Two Revolutions*, eds. Sharon Adams and Julian Goodare (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 178.

[52] W. Ferguson, "Religion and the Massacre of Glencoe," *The Scottish Historical Review* 47 no. 144.2 (1968): 203.

Jacobite. The Scots episcopalians feature only rarely in Jacobite song, their importance to the movement was significant, and it is not without reason that both the Fifteen and the Forty-five began with landings and risings in heavily episcopalian regions of Scotland. The "doctrine of Divinely ordered monarchy… [as] an order of Kingship that was as Divinely ordained as their own Episcopal order"[53] was also more firmly established in northern Scotland, in part because "North of the Forth the great majority of the nobility and gentry retained strong Episcopalian sympathies, and the Episcopal clergy who ministered to those sympathies themselves tended increasingly to Jacobite views of a very violent kind."[54] The combination naturally lent itself to Jacobitism and made the Episcopal Church of Scotland perhaps the single most critical religious faction within the Jacobite cause.

The Jacobite ideology was fundamentally an authoritarian one, willingly vesting in the king all but absolute power. Nonetheless, its supporters gained both popular support and ideological self-assurance from the excesses of the Hanoverian and Whig regime. Thus, Jacobitism was an authoritarian ideology that paradoxically built its cohort largely upon opposing authoritarianism and particularly the crueler excesses of Whig hegemony. Jacobites tended to believe in a kingship that would, in practice, be light of hand and beneficent; the idealized Stuart monarch was an embodiment of high church values, a model in a sort of personality-fertility ruralist cult, and, in his own decidedly British way, a philosopher-king. The inherent authoritarianism of monarchical absolutism was explained away, in large part, through the belief that most, if not all, kings would not follow along a path of authoritarian excesses but would instead rule

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[53] Whiteford, "Reactions to Jacobitism," 21.

[54] Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen, 1650-1784* (London: Methuen, 1984), 19.

magnanimously. This view, while indicative of the short memories of some Jacobites, found support in the tendency of the Whig faction to rejoice in their newfound total control of government after 1714.

A key bloc of support for Jacobites was, of course, the Catholic recusants who continued to be a substantial factor in some parts of the British isles. Elements of the Highlands remained predominantly Catholic[55] while in the northeast of England the Catholic community was large and somewhat strong.[56] According to Monod, the Catholic community in northern England remained strong in part because many southern Catholics fled with James II after the Revolution, while the northern recusant gentry typically stayed put, leaving them to be more active in later Jacobite causes.[57] Gabriel Glickman has written extensively on the political thought of Catholics in the years from the Revolution to the Forty-Five. He has highlighted the Walpole oligarchy's tendency toward harsh measures against recusants, the Roman Catholic establishment's decision to allow the Jacobite pretenders to continue to appoint clergy within Britain, and 1693's *Gracious Declaration*, which promised liberty for both Catholics and dissenters under the paramount rule of the Church of England as key factors in maintaining Catholic loyalty to the Stuarts.[58] Monod has argued persuasively that Catholics were the demographic group that was

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[55] Bruce Lenman's work is informative on this point. He has catalogued many of the Roman Catholic areas, some characterized as "untouched by the Reformation," in the Highlands and Islands. Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans*, 19.

[56] Leo Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North-East England, 1688-1745* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1995), 23, 179. Note that Gooch may be considered as much a Jacobite historian as an historian of Jacobitism. He has referred to Charles Edward as "*de jure* King of Great Britain," a somewhat unusual term within the literature that would typically use "Charles III," usually with quotation marks unless reasoning for use without is discussed. Ibid., 158.

[57] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 135.

[58] Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688-1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 103, 151-4, 192.

most predictive of Jacobite loyalty as the recusants "had a natural attachment to a king of their own faith, and [their] religious survival depended more on the recusant gentry than on centralized structures."[59] The Catholic Jacobites believed in a sort of absolute monarchy based on a principle of a restrained sovereign who acknowledged the importance of his subjects' liberty; this was particularly attractive as Walpole's regime encroached upon what were viewed as traditional liberties of Englishmen and rights of landholders in rural areas.[60] Additionally, the Whig regime were punitive to both Jacobites and any perceived to have Jacobite ties, with the Riot Act being a particularly well-known example that helped to bar numerous assemblies and protests. Perhaps because Catholic support for the Stuarts was essentially guaranteed, the religion makes few appearances in Jacobite verse except when accusations of popery are denied. Indeed, mass-producing songs complimentary of Catholicism might have been counterproductive for a political movement that was frequently attacked for being too closely tied to Catholicism.

After the Fifteen was defeated, a combination of clerical and lay forces assembled to defend the six peers captured at Preston who were to be tried in the House of Lords. Atterbury, suffering from gout and hobbling on his crutches, appeared in chamber against medical advice to defend the Tory lords, who "were, for the most part, poor country peers and old-fashioned Roman Catholics who had been romantically attached to the Stuart cause."[61] The lot were convicted and sentenced to death on February 9, 1716, and Daniel Finch, the Second Earl of Nottingham, who rose in their defense, found himself and all his relatives stripped of office (he had until that point

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[59] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 126-7.

[60] Glickman, *The English Catholic Community*, 101-1, 151-4.

[61] Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 198.

been Lord President of the Council). The "needless cruelty"[62] was a key factor in galvanizing Jacobite and Tory support, particularly among those men who were not yet firm for the Pretender, like Atterbury himself.

In large part, the opposition to Whiggish excesses was religiously motivated, seeing in George I a wicked Lutheran prince not wont to engage in the, from the high church view, natural Anglican tendency to benevolence. It was also, however, a personal vendetta for some. Nonjurors saw in those who took the oaths seemingly without scruple an almost Satanic force, and songs of the period make clear that such a supposed betrayal was not welcome.

A frequent subject of Jacobite ire was Gilbert Burnet, the Bishop of Salisbury from 1689 until his death in 1715. A low churchman and staunch supporter of Whig policies, he was a personal confidante of William III. Jacobites found him particularly objectionable, however, less because of his allegiances and more because of a perceived betrayal of their own cause. Burnet had been a staunch advocate of passive obedience and nonresistance before the Revolution[63] before turning coat on the Jacobite and high church doctrines. There were, certainly, more prominent Whiggish clergymen, but Burnet's perceived treachery caused him to be a particular target of Jacobite and high church songwriters and polemicists who tended to use him as an example not just of personal treachery but indeed of the perceived perfidiousness of the Whig cause more generally. In this sense, Burnet proved an effective punching bag and poster-child of calumny, one that the Jacobites targeted perhaps even more readily than figures like William

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Frank H. Ellis, *Poems on Affairs of State, vol. 7*, 359-60.
This poetry in this serious of volumes was described by Speck, who helped edit the works and considered them a remarkable and underutilized resource, as "anonymous, ill-informed, biased, libellous and utterly unreliable." Speck, "Current State of Sacheverell Scholarship," 23.

Wake[64] and Benjamin Hoadly,[65] the latter made an even easier target due to his physical disabilities.

Hogg, himself something of a defender of Burnet, recorded perhaps the most incisive Jacobite ballad against the bishop, unsubtly titled "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell." Hogg, who described Burnet as "always a moderate man, and advised the Stuarts to moderate measures, and never in his life took any very decided part against the adherents of the abdicated family,"[66] believed, somewhat counterintuitively, that Jacobite ire against the bishop was primarily based upon a perception of him as a "time-serving hypocrite," which seems perhaps too mild a descriptor, though he also observes that Burnet's memoirs, which were hostile to the Jacobite cause, could also have contributed to the negative reception he received.[67] In sum, then, it is possible to conclude that the Jacobites and high churchmen had a variety of objections to Burnet, his policies, and his perceived disloyalty to their own doctrines. That he was personally close to William III did not much help the situation, in their eyes.

"Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell" begins with a relatively typical invocation of devilry and the hateful antics of the underworld:

> Old Lucifer ran his dear bishop to meet,
> And thus the arch-devil th' apostate did greet,
> "My dear Bishop Burnet, I'm glad beyond measure;
> This visit, unlook'd for, gives infinite pleasure,
> And O my dear Sarum, how go things above?

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[64] Archbishop of Canterbury, 1716-37; Bishop of Lincoln, 1705-16.

[65] Bishop of Winchester, 1734-61; Bishop of Salisbury, 1723-34; Bishop of Hereford, 1721-23; Bishop of Bangor, 1715-21.

[66] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v. 1*, 253-4.

[67] Ibid.

Does George hate the Tories, and Whigs only love?[68]

That Lucifer was a Whig was taken for granted by Jacobite polemicists, though the theological underpinning for that belief is perhaps questionable. Notably here is an invocation of apostasy against Burnet; in his about-face on the doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance, to a nonjuror or high churchman he might well appear to have essentially apostatized his religion, but to level the charge against a fellow Anglican — a bishop, no less — is nonetheless relatively remarkable and shows the fullness of the high church ire against Burnet. "Sarum" (the Latin name for Salisbury) was naturally a regular metonym for Burnet and his practices, particularly within contexts in which direct criticism could be potentially criminalized or censored, although in this case that was clearly not an issue. The song continues:

> "Was your highness *in propria persona* to reign,
> You could not more justly your empire maintain."
> And How does Ben Hoadly?" "Oh! he's very well:
> A truer blue Whig you have not in hell.
> Hugh Peters[69] is making a sneaker within,
> For Luther, Buchanan, John Knox, and Calvin;
> And when they have toss'd off a brace of full bowls,
> You'll swear you ne'er met with honester souls."
>
> "This night we'll carouse, in spite of all pain:
> Go, Cromwell, you dog, King William unchain,
> And tell him, his Gilly is lately come down,
> Who has just left his mitre as he left his crown.
> Whose lives, till they died, in our service were spent;
> They only came hither who never repent.
> Let heralds aloud then our victories tell;
> Let George reign for ever?" "Amen!" cried all hell.[70]

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[68] "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell," in *The Jacobite Relics v. 1*, 72-3.

[69] Peters, usually written as "Peter," was, according to Hogg, "a mad fanatical preacher in the days of Cromwell, and one of his chaplains." Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v. 1*, 257. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered in October 1660.

[70] "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell," in *The Jacobite Relics v. 1*, 72-3.

Here we see the Jacobite — and particularly nonjuring — stances on the Reformation clearly. Nonjurors, and some high church Anglicans, prioritized returning to the practices of primitive Christianity and, while disavowing Catholicism, were harshly critical of Martin Luther and John Calvin. Invoking them negatively serves both to remind the audience of the House of Hanover's initial Lutheranism and to criticize the theological practices of men like Hoadly and Burnet. The former, a latitudinarian, was generally more vocal than Burnet and therefore more likely to meet with theological criticisms rather than criticisms based on character. The insertion into Hell of many prominent Whig and Parliamentarian figures — Cromwell and William III foremost among them — serves to underline the anonymous songwriter's association of devilry and Whiggery, while tying all these men to George I. Additionally, in making Burnet the "Gilly" of William, the conception of him as a weak turncoat, or perhaps opportunist, is maintained, though there also exists a connection to guides in the Highlands and officials on country estates. The low churchmen, then, are all in confederacy with devilry, and Whiggery is inherently no better than simple apostasy and heresy.

And "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell" was hardly unique. Overton recorded a song by the son of noted Jacobite and nonjuror Walter Harte titled "Macarius, or The Confessor." While primarily an elegiac work dedicated to the author's father and his life, the song both targets Burnet and compares him unfavorably with Thomas Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells between 1685 and his refusal to take the new oaths in 1690.

> B——[71] sometimes would to thy cottage tend,
> An artful enemy, but seeming friend;
> Conscious of having planned thy worldly fate,

[71] Burnet.

He could not love thee and he durst not hate.
Bet the seraphic Ken was all they own,
And he who long declined Ken's vacant throne,[72]
Begging with earnest zeal to be deny'd.
By worldliness laught at, and by fools decry'd;
Dowel was thine, the humble and resigned
Nelson, with Christian elegance of mind;
And he whose tranquil mildness from afar,
Spoke him a distant, but a brilliant star.[73]
These all forsook their homes — nor sighed nor wept,
Mammon they freely gave, but God they kept.[74]

Once again, Burnet is depicted as a turncoat, one who seems a friend. In this case, the author believed Burnet had conspired in his father's own difficulties, though it is likely that those were largely brought about by simply being a nonjuror, since no additional aid was needed in most such cases and many nonjurors lived in abject poverty.[75] This is roughly the theme of the section, which praises nonjurors like Ken and Kettlewell for giving up riches while keeping their faith. The implication, of course, is that men like Burnet gave up their faith to keep their riches. Jacobitism, which prized loyalty to higher authority above all, naturally found in the nonjurors not just allies and natural supporters but icons, role models worthy of the most excessive praise. In men like Burnet, those who espoused doctrines of the traditional church before abruptly jumping ship in favor of the abruptly empowered low church faction, they found the opposite.

Also likely about Burnet is "Sarum's Dirge," a song seemingly written about the time of his death in 1715 at the height of popular Jacobite sentiment in Britain. The song is a relatively harsh

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[72] George Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1704-27; Bishop of St. Asaph, 1703-4.

[73] This likely refers to John Kettlewell, the nonjuring writer. He is well known for his arguments against Revolution sentiment on the grounds that it was contractarian in sentiment and, thus, inherently specious.

[74] "Macarius, or the Confessor," in *The Nonjurors*, 185-6.

[75] Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 10.

critique, but one seemingly developed for a more learned audience. It makes extensive references to theologians of the past and contemporary theological debates; it is not particularly esoteric in content, but nor is it wholly accessible. The song begins with Burnet's grave:

> Here Sarum lies, was once as wise
> And learn'd as Tom Aquinas;
> Long sleeves he wore, yet no more a
> Christian than Socinus
>
> Oaths *pro* and *con* he swallowed down,
> And gold like any layman;
> Wrote, preach'd, and pray'd, and yet betray'd
> God's holy church for Mammon.
>
> Of every vice he had a spice,
> Although a reverend prelate:
> He lived and died, if not belied,
> A true dissenting zealot.
>
> If such a soul to heaven has stole,
> And split old Satan's clutches,
> You'll then presume there may be room
> For Marlborough and his duchess.[76]

The song mocks Burnet's faith, saying that in spite of his status as a bishop he was no Christian,[77] his acceptance of both the oaths to James II and to William III, and the idea that he "betray'd / God's holy church for Mammon." Implying a lack of Christian faith was a frequent aspect of British political and theological debate in the period and it was far from contained to Jacobite writings. In short, the verse encompasses most of the typical criticisms of Burnet. The focus on the oaths, however, is of particular note; given that emphasis, it seems this song was

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[76] "Sarum's Dirge," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 75-6.

[77] The assertion that Fausto Sozzini was not a Christian would likely be rejected by most Christian Unitarians, amongst others. While an argument over Socinianism and the various forms of unitarian theology would be here misplaced, it is nonetheless worth mentioning that the anonymous author of this tract is perhaps uncharitable in excluding Sozzini from Christendom.

likely written by a nonjuror and is meant to disparage not just the fact that Burnet took the oaths but also that he seems to have felt few qualms about it, at least from the author's perspective, and damned his soul for the sake of immediate material profit.

Poetry, in addition to song, provided an outlet for Jacobite mockery of Burnet. The poem "Burnet's Character," like "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell," is primarily notable for the absolute disdain expressed for the bishop. He is not, here, a theological enemy, an ideological opponent, but instead becomes a heretic or worse. The anonymous author describes the bishop:

> Imperious layman first, then lofty priest,
> A trimming Jew, half Mahomet, half Christ,
> Abel in heart, though loyalist in tongue
> Whilst Charles's praises he demurely sung;
> When native loyalty was stamped on all
> And just obedience epidemical
> None so devoutly mourned the martyr's blood,
> Nor seemingly the faction's growth withstood,
> 'Till daring saints a glorious turn afford
> To brand his master and betray his Lord.[78]

Again, betrayal is highlighted, while Burnet himself is called a heretic. To be "loyalist in tongue" but truly false to the Stuart cause was a grave sin in Jacobite circles, and Burnet's treachery then is quite logically highlighted. The charge that he mourned Charles I as devoutly as any other is a particularly interesting point, since it plays into the perception that Burnet was no ideologue but rather an opportunist and turncoat. The language of the passage also deprives Burnet of some masculine qualities, noting his "demure" singing and referencing his "trimming," both seemingly feminine in tone, the latter implying, perhaps, that Burnet's religious beliefs are nothing more

[78] "Burnet's Character" in William J. Cameron (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714, vol. 5: 1688-1697* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 125.

than a dress — a garment — to be trimmed; that is, he might believe only what is fashionable, trimming his beliefs to fit the national mood. In another section, even stronger wording is used:

> Thus the vile wretch exalts his traitorous crest
> And vents the rancor of his cankered breast,
> 'Till royal vengeance roused its awful head
> And Shimei justice and his country fled.[79]

The picture of Burnet's body as cankerous, while likely metaphoric, nonetheless feeds into the conception that moral rot could manifest itself physically. That was a frequent element of Jacobite, nonjuring, and high church attacks upon Hoadly, based on his physical disabilities.[80] In a later section, the anonymous poet accuses Burnet of having "Disgraced the order and betrayed the Church" and noted that even "foppish Durham's[81] self compared to him / Appears a bright angelic seraphim."[82] Betrayal — of belief and of king — was, in Jacobite thought, the singular unforgivable act; in a clergyman, much else, while detestable, was seen as less bad than having been a true believer and then having forsaken those beliefs, while suffering for belief was inherently laudable, even when it meant a reduction in personal power. So Crewe, while hardly well-liked in Jacobite circles, was still far preferable to Burnet and his perfidy.

The idea that nonjurors were, first and foremost, laudable for their loyalty and morality was advanced by Charles Leslie, himself a resolute nonjuror and perhaps the leading writer and thinker of that faction. He wrote passionately about the need to uphold vows, noting that vows are inherently sacred, "Made in the Most *Solemn* Manner, by *Kings*, *Parliaments*, and *People,*

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[79] Ibid., 126.

[80] Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 118.

[81] Nathaniel Crewe, 3rd Baron Crewe; Bishop of Durham, 1674-1721; Bishop of Oxford, 1671-74.

[82] "Burnet's Character" in *Poems on Affairs of State v.5*, 128.

with the Dreadfulest *Imprecations* and *Curses* upon *Themselves* and *Posterities* who shou'd *Alienate*... what they had *Dedicated* to *God* and His *Church*."[83] This was broadly representative of Leslie's thought. To Leslie, almost all could be blamed upon the various presbyterian and dissenting factions, or, worse, those Anglicans who had taken the oaths to William and Mary. At least a third of Leslie's extant writings focus on attacking the beliefs, histories, and characters of Quakers (ironically a group that tended to harbor many Jacobites and support Tory, high church candidates in elections while refusing the oaths to the William and Mary and their successors).[84] In one rather odd polemic, Leslie actually blames James II's Catholicism on presbyterians, arguing that

> … none but the *Non-jurors* of the Church of *England* have adher'd to the Principles they profess'd; which shews their inflexible Loyalty, whom nothing can move from their Duty. But to do Justice to all, we cannot forget the Rise and Source of the Disease, when all these Evils we do now and may feel have come upon us; and that is our wicked *Presbyterian* Rebellion against K. *Charles* I. which banish'd his Children into Popish Countries, permitting one of them to suck in the Principles of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, of which those Hypocrites accus'd his Father, and on that Pretence, instigated his deluded Subjects to Rebel against him. Therefore it is plain, that we are to thank the *Presbyterians* for K. *J*'s being a *Roman Catholick*, and all the ill Consequences of it.[85]

The argument presented is one that strains credulity, and it seems likely that it would have been galling to those dissenters and low churchmen attacked. Nonetheless, Leslie's case fits will with the polemical tradition upheld in the songs against Burnet — and in other Jacobite and anti-

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[83] Charles Leslie, *An essay concerning the divine right of tithes* (Edinburgh: R. Grant & Sons, 1845), 249.

[84] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 127.

[85] Charles Leslie, *The right of monarchy asserted: wherein the abstract of Dr. King's book, with the motives for the reviving it at this juncture are fully considered* (London: John Morphew, 1713), 63-4.

Jacobite works — that seemed to suggest that essentially any ill could be blamed upon the other side, given just a little verbal trickery and wit. This often seemed to be Atterbury's strategy; according to Bennett, when Atterbury saw himself at a potentially losing end of an argument, he would emphasize wit and verbal trickery over fact and reasoned argument, allowing him to appeal to large audiences and score critical points in a public debate before his opponents could adequately mobilize a thorough response.[86]

Yet the history of theological practice was typically on the nonjurors' side. Even when the theological issues at state were more closely fought, the nonjurors benefited from the tendency of their ranks to be highly gifted in argument. While only around four percent of clergy became nonjurors after the Revolution,[87] the loss to the mainline Church of England was perhaps understated by that figure. Geoffrey Holmes' summary of the nonjuring schism at the opening of his excellent work on the Sacheverell trial summarizes the issue well: "to say that nine-tenths of the Anglican clergy 'conformed' after the Revolution tells us nothing of the contortions of conscience and the mental reservations which conformity for the majority involved."[88] Additionally, he notes that the "loss of quality" in the Anglican church was substantial,[89] since many of those who became nonjurors were leading thinkers and clergymen who had made — and continued to make — substantial theological contributions. As Monod wrote, "they were a loose confederation of ministers, perhaps the most erudite collection of clerics ever to grace an

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[86] Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 25-55.

[87] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 142.

[88] Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 23.

[89] Ibid., 22.

English denomination."[90] They had the intellectual and rhetorical firepower to maintain a consistent barrage against the numerically far superior low church faction, all while maintaining close relations with their high church brethren.[91] Of course, leading clergy rarely expressed their views on complex theological and political issues in verse, but their ideas contributed substantially, albeit often indirectly, to those verses that most effectively mocked the Whig ascendency and the Hanoverian and Williamite regimes.

Some of these songs were quite short. After Queen Anne, who had initially appointed high church bishops in those four appointments made between May 1702 and March 1705, began to make appointments that riled the high church faction,[92] a song appeared prominently that attacked her and her ministers for, once again, perceived perfidy. The piece, "Upon the Vote that Pass'd that the Church was Not in Danger," was written by those high churchmen who advanced the "church in danger" slogan. Around the same time the song was written, in December 1705, Tories in both houses had proposed measures that would declare the church officially under threat from the Godolphin ministry (unsurprisingly, these measures failed).[93] Numerous high churchmen and nonjurors advanced "the church in danger" line during sermons as well.[94] The affair came to a head when the government forced a measure through Parliament that declared that the Church was, in fact, in no way in danger from Anne's administration on Dec. 11, 1705.

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[90] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 138.

[91] Richard Sharp, "'Our Common Mother, the Church of England': Nonjurors, High Churchmen and the Evidence of Subscription Lists," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, eds. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 167.

[92] Ellis (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 146.

[93] Speck, "Current State of Sacheverell Scholarship," 18.

[94] Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 45.

Ellis noted, likely accurately, that upon the passage of "this exercise in thought control it seemed quite likely that Anne had abandoned the church."[95] This was the backdrop that gave rise to "Upon the Vote that Pass'd that the Church was Not in Danger," a four-line verse that Defoe called "the common Song of the [high church] Party":[96]

> When *Anna* was the Church's Daughter,
> She acted as her Mother taught her;
> But now she's Mother of the Church,
> She's left her Daughter in the Lurch.[97]

It is little more than speculation, but the verse, short and rhyming in a rather non-mellifluous cadence, seems as if it could have been as much chant as song. Defoe characterized the song as a "virulent Lampoon[…]," stating that its authors "repeat their Slanders and Abuses their Insolent Invectives upon the Queen, and all the Ministers of State, charging them with betraying the Church, turning Presbyterians, and exposing the Church to all the Dangers possible."[98] While uncharitably worded, it is a good summary of the song's intent. To the high church and nonjuring factions, Anne's choices — under the influence of her ministers — stank of the low church antics

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[95] Ellis (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 146-7.

[96] Daniel Defoe, *Jure Divino: A Satyr, in Twelve Books. By The Author of The True-Born-Englishman* (London, 1706), 552.

[97] "Upon the Vote that Pass'd that the Church was Not in Danger," in *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 147.

[98] Defoe, *Jure Divino*, 552. Notably, Defoe reproduces the poem in a slightly different format from that recorded by Ellis:

> When she was the Churches Daughter,
> She acted as her Mother taught her;
> But now she's Mother of the Church,
> She'as left her Daughter in the Lurch.

The primary differences are relatively cosmetic, with Defoe favoring variants on possessives and pluralizations that are now considered unconventional. The primary difference is the shift from "Anna" to "she," a change that would tend to suggest that the version Defoe recorded was performed by those perhaps more worried of incurring sedition charges.

they found so repulsive. The criticism of Anne was likely made easier — both in this instance and others — by the perception that her rule was somewhat illegitimate. While both Jacobites and Williamites tended to view Anne, a Stuart and half-sister to Mary II and to James Francis, as a relatively acceptable monarch — the former largely because James Francis was too young to rule in his own right for most of her rule, which could then be considered a regency in effect — the fact that she was not the preferred Jacobite candidate and thus lacked the full legitimacy of indefeasible hereditary succession, and therefore the deference owed through the doctrine of passive obedience and nonresistance to a monarch thus descended, opened her up to numerous Jacobite attacks. While generally unacknowledged, the high church party's rationale for attacking her leadership even as they espoused passive obedience and nonresistance was likely similar.

The conception of Anne as mother of the Church presented some theological difficulties to the anti-Erastian nonjurors and high churchmen. The exact scheme for church-state relations was somewhat nebulous. The Erastian Whigs and low churchmen hoped to subordinate the Church of England entirely to the state, but the position of their opponents was less clear. Some argued for wholesale separation of church and state, while others envisioned an almost theocratic subordination of state to church.[99] Nonjurors, according to Robert D. Cornwall's analysis of the movement's political thought, "did not reject an alliance between church and state. They strongly supported the doctrine of right monarchy, but they also rejected an Erastian understanding of that alliance… Even as the king could not deprive bishops, bishops, including the pope, could not

[99] Ellis (ed.), *Poems on Affairs of State v.7*, 359. Ellis wrote in his annotations that "The 'Doctrine' of Henry Sacheverell was essentially theocratic, based on the subordination of state to church, and with heavy emphasis on a holy war against dissent." This viewpoint is one with which issues can be found, and Sacheverell himself might well have disputed it. It is, however, representative of an adequate understanding of at least some element of high church thinking, even if its exact subject may not have espoused those views attributed to him by Ellis.

dethrone a king."[100] The last point is critical, and was one frequently broached by nonjurors. The single Irish bishop who refused the abjuration oath did so because he did not believe the state could rightly deprive a bishop of his see.[101] Part of the doctrine rested upon the Christian primitivism advanced occasionally by the high church faction and quite consistently by nonjurors, a doctrine that lent itself to anti-Erastianism.[102] The church, of course, antedates the English state by some centuries, and both state and church antedated the Reformation. Generally, then, the nonjuring and high church viewpoint can be said to be anti-Erastian in character and defined by the idea that the church ought to be independently powerful, with, notably, no recourse for ecclesiastical leaders to strip secular ones of power, and vice versa, though with general support for a strong alliance between church and state.

Writing on the subject, Charles Leslie compared the relationship between bishop and flock to that of marriage, establishing it, in essence, a sacrament. His doctrine is a somewhat extreme one and is worth quoting at length:

> … this *Marriage* of the *Bishop* to his *Flock*, so deeply Founded by *Christ* himself; whom *Christ* does Implore, as His *Ambassador*, to *Marry* the *Church*, in His Stead, and in His *Name*; Promising to *Ratify* and *Consummate* it, in his own *Person*, for ever in *Heaven*, where the Eternal *Marriage-Feast* will be Celebrated: That this *Marriage* to our *Bishop*, whereby we are, by *Proxy*, Married to *Christ*, cannot be *Dissolv'd*, nor we *Divorc'd* from him, and *Marry'd* to Another *Bishop*, by any other Means than those which *Christ* has Appointed; Otherwise, the *Marriage* still Remains: And a Second *Bishop* is a Second *Husband*, that is, an *Adulterer*, while the *First Husband* still lives, and is not *Divorc'd* for a just *Cause*, and by an *Authority* that is *Competent.*

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[100] Cornwall, "Divine Right Monarchy," 51.

[101] Thomas Doyle, "Jacobitism, Catholicism and the Irish Protestant Elite, 1700-1710," *Eighteenth Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr* 12 (1997): 34.

[102] Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 141.

> That if the *Authority* of *Secular Princes* be *Competent* for this, then may they *Divorce* all the *Churches* in the World from their *Bishops*: And either give them no more *Bishops;* or set over them the Basest of Men for their *Bishops*. Then it is in the Power of *Infidel-Kings* to Appoint *Proxies* for *Christ,* and oblige Him to *Consummate* the *Marriage* they have Made for Him, by such *Proxies* whom they please to name![103]

The idea that power given unto a king to remove bishops is dangerous because a king might be of an infidel religion is striking. It implies that a monarch need not be a member of the national church; that, in fact, he might be a member of any church, and it ought not to matter because he ought to have no authority over his nation's religious establishment beyond, perhaps, the initial appointment of bishops. The implication is then clear: James II's Catholicism — and, indeed, the Catholicism of James Francis and Charles Edward — need not matter; in an anti-Erastian conception of the relationship between church and state, their authority over the ecclesiastical establishment would be so limited that their popery would be of little consequence. The church would still be obliged to support their right to rule, and they the church's right to exist, but beyond that, while a closer relationship might be preferable, no obligation would necessarily exist for king and bishop to meddle in each others' affairs.

The general themes of "Bishop Burnet's Descent into Hell" are repeated in "The Devil o'er Stirling," a ballad of the Williamite period that is challenging to date more specifically. The devil, hovering over Stirling, notices a figure in Bloomsbury and hastens south. Upon finding that it is William III, he "address'd his ally, / With a "How the plague, Willie, came you mounted so high?"[104] William answers in an overwrought Dutch accent, saying (after Satan asks if he

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[103] Leslie, *The case of the regale and of the pontificat stated*, 3-4.

[104] "The Devil o'er Stirling," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 34-36.

reached the top of the building via broomstick), "Me be ne'er for de vitch nor de conjuror taken."[105] The bulk of the song is taken up by a dialogue between the devil and William:

> "Do your highness have place your own council about me,
> "Yet still you must acknowledge you can't do vidout me;
> "'Tis I who to all your damn'd projects give birth,
> "And each plot form'd in hell go in my name on eart…
>
> "Vat has lately been done may convince you full vell,
> "Dat in my reign you should ne'er vant subjects in hell:
> "Our late swearing act, you'll allow, vas a trapa;
> "Me leave not a loophole for one to escapa…[106]

This section is of critical import; it is one of few direct references to the nonjuring schism in song, and portrays William — predictably — as a corrupt, scheming ruler who imposed the "late swearing act" as a trap to entangle his subjects; they must either abandon power and rank or abandon God. The song continues:

> "Vat divel could e'er have done more in my station,
> "Since, vit von single acta, me damn de vole nation?
> "Men of every degree; vomen, rich and mean,
> "From de street-valking lass to her highness de queen…[107]

Here we find the queen's honor impugned by an association with prostitution. Though the reference is in a comparative, nonetheless it would be taken as insulting, and doubtless the implication is that, in spite of Jacobite qualms over Mary, she nonetheless does not deserve to be stuck with William, a foreign Calvinist who, in this song's telling, regularly disrespects her. William then goes back to religious matters, saying:

> "Vere it not for me you'd be plagued vit de clergy,

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[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

> "And some of dem, sir, would confoundedly scourge ye:
> "Should me souffre deir dam convocation to sitta,
> "Oh den, border Satan, ve both might be bitta…
>
> "But my bishops from all deir attempts vill secure ye,
> "And day are your best vriends on eart, I'll assure ye;
> "Were is but very few on dat reverend bench,
> "But adore you as much, sir, as me do my vench."[108]

This section directly references the low church-high church disputes over Convocation, the traditional synod of the Church of England that would ultimately be essentially destroyed under the reigns of Anne and George I. Seen as an instrument of the high church party, Convocation had the theoretical power to place the church on an equal footing with the state, a goal desired by the anti-Erastian faction, led in Convocation by Atterbury.[109] Here, William III states that his bishops — that is, the low church faction — will defend the devil by blocking the attempts of the high church faction to meet in Convocation.

"The Devil o'er Stirling" fits well within the matrix of nonjuring political-religious thought insofar as it promotes the view that the low church faction is, essentially, non-Christian. Indeed, prominent high churchmen and nonjurors tended to treat their low church fellows — nominally their coreligionists — with undisguised scorn. In his 1704 tract "The Wolf Stript of his Shepherd's Clothing," Leslie attacked the low churchmen for inadequately zealotry for Christ and for their supposedly anti-episcopal sentiments, noting that

> But They have no notion of God's having appointed any order of men to represent him, to transact betwixt him and the people, to sign and seal his covenants with them, and to bless in his name: or, they think that any one may take this honour to himself, or be empowered thereunto by the people,

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[108] Ibid.

[109] For a discussion of the fall of Convocation as a deliberative body and Atterbury's fight for its independence, see Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State*, 44-97.

> by any the vilest of them! They think that this can be conferred without episcopal ordination, which has been, from the apostles' days, the way of the whole earth; and the first who broached the contrary, Aerius,[110] an ambitious presbyter in the fourth century, was condemned as a heretic; whose heresy is now revived among us.[111]

The appeal to primitive Christian organization is notable, but of greater import is the suggestion by Leslie that the low churchmen would take the authority of bishops unto themselves. This logic associates the low church party with more radically protestant thought, including Calvinist doctrine, and projects an almost evangelical character upon the low churchmen. Leslie also makes a more direct attack upon the character of the low church faction, writing:

> No man thinks it a disparagement to be *high*, that is, *zealous*, in any good thing; in our duty to God, in our love to our country, or to our friend. To be called *low*, that is, *indifferent* in such things, is the greatest reflection we can put upon anybody. How then can the name of a low-churchman be honourable, when the name of a low-friend is so contemptible? To have a *low* regard for the church, or to wish her *low!* In what sense can this be justified? or the other condemned, of being an high-churchman? When love begins to run low, then comes indifference, and generally after that an aversion.[112]

This is a relatively personal attack, accusing the low church faction of being low in a moral as well as a theological sense. It also summarizes relatively well the high church and nonjuring position: that their peers, those of the low church party, were in effect not only not Anglicans, but were barely Christians. The total rejection of their latitudinarian and Erastian principles was accompanied by a rejection of the morality and basic theological tenets of the low church ideology, which tended to be accompanied by an intense personal dislike. This dislike was

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[110] Arius.

[111] Leslie, *The Theological Works, vol.6*, 357.

[112] Ibid., 354-5.

largely shared by the low church faction, which — although often politically in power due to William and Anne's promotions of that faction to various bishoprics and other powerful posts — was numerically the inferior. Additionally, the party politics of the two factions almost always differed: the high church side was determinedly Tory, backing that party at the hustings with the force of around 9,000 parish clergy in exchange for the Tory support for Convocations and assaults on occasional conformity,[113] while the low church faction was almost always Whiggish. Ironically, it was disillusionment with the Tory electoral machine, which was crushed at the polls in 1715, that caused many high churchmen to defect to the Jacobite cause.[114]

Jacobite verse of the religious sort also dealt with more generalized themes, foregoing more personal attacks in favor of attacking the low church faction, and particularly presbyterians, more broadly. These ballads tend to be relatively harsh and none too polite, implying, perhaps, that they were targeted at broader public audiences and meant for more ribald — perhaps drink-heavy — occasions. Some songs make only tangential reference to ecclesiastical affairs, like "For an Apple of Gold," which mocks George I's ("a monarch High Dutch") "counterfeit zeal for the church" before adding that his "horns are not those of the altar."[115] Others make church business their main business.

"Jack Presbyter's Wish" is such a verse. The song takes aim at the supposed desire of presbyterians for republican government and accuses the faction of being — either metaphorically or literally — cannibals, eating their lords and kings to enrich themselves, thus undermining the social order and inverting the divinely ordained structure of society. The song's

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[113] Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 44.

[114] Ibid., 265.

[115] "For an Apple of Gold," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 48-50.

chorus invokes a penny-pinching, self-aggrandizing man, perhaps of middling sort, who sings, "May I trample on prices with an absolute sway, / And grow prouder, and higher, and richer than they, / Still advancing myself as my rulers decay."[116] The middle verses, which are the most damning, run:

> To furnish my table, I'll make my cooks dish up
> For breakfast a Papist, for dinner a bishop;
> At last, for my supper no daintier a thing
> Than the flesh of a duke and the blood of a king…
>
> May the groans of th' afflicted be the rest of my food;
> May I sport in an ocean of innocent blood;
> May I stick at no mischief that hell can afford,
> While I boast that I'm doing the work of the Lord…
>
> With Luther and Calvin, and many saints more,
> I'll boast of religion, denying its power;
> With count'nance distorted, and feign'd winning zeal,
> I'll teach and preach monarchy into commonweal.[117]

The imagery of consuming flesh is arguably misapplied, given the Eucharistic practices of the various sects discussed, but that is hardly the point. The verse, while almost certainly meant to be taken non-literally, nonetheless conjures up dramatic images of a cannibal feast taken on the part of "Jack Presbyter," a man focused on his own enrichment at the expense of all else. The image of Jack Presbyter fits well within the Jacobite, nonjuring, and high church conceptions of low church Anglicans — particularly those who were initially enthusiastic supporters of high church doctrine, like Burnet — as money-grubbing self-promoters. It is an attack as much on personal character as theological practice, but an attack generally applied, a shoe that is intended to fit upon the feet of all the theological opponents of the Jacobites' clerical allies.

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[116] "Jack Presbyter's Wish," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 322-3.

[117] Ibid.

Jacobite religious music, then, fits several moulds. It is often directed at the personal vices of the enemies of Jacobitism, the nonjurors, and the high church party. It is also often generalized, focusing instead upon the general failings of the low church group and its supporters. Jacobite verse rarely mentions Catholicism except to disown it, likely in the hope that disavowing popery could make the Catholic Stuarts more palatable to a broader audience. There is a distinct high-low distinction in Jacobite verse, wherein some songs seem designed to appeal to an educated audience while others are clearly more bawdry, designed for rioting, chanting, and drinking. Some of the latter, however, still smuggle in references to learned subjects that might help them gain appeal across social groups.

Chapter Four

'Wha Wadna' Fecht for Charlie?':[1]

Charles Edward Stuart in Song

On a boat in the choppy waters between the Scottish mainland and Na h-Eileanan an Iar, a seasick twenty-five-year-old man led a few sailors in song. It was late April 1746 with the clouds blotting out the sky. The seas were risen in storm and three men o' war were lurking off Eriskay. These Highland ballads set the tempo for the men bailing out water from the little eight-oared boat.[2] The man — comely and uncomplaining — claimed to be Prince of Wales; the men aboard the English warships nearby would have said otherwise.

The utmost tragedy in the life of Charles Edward Louis John Casimir Sylvester Severino Maria Stuart, or "Charles III," is that he would likely have made a better than average king, perhaps matching his grand-uncle Charles II if not exceeding him. There is little romanticization in this statement; from his early days, Charles Edward impressed almost everyone he encountered. While the stories of his campaign in 1745-6 often highlight his worst qualities — impetuousness and paranoia — the reality is that his strategic thinking was often more sound than that of his generals, though his abilities as a battlefield commander were more limited. He was willing to put himself on the front line, showed mercy to his enemies, was highly charismatic and personally likable, and could, with relative ease, bend his subjects to his will through his persuasive verve. That he lost was in part due to his own failings — that he became

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[1] "Wha Wadna' Fecht for Charlie?" in James Hogg, ed. *The Jacobite Relics of Scotland: Being the Songs, Airs, and Legends of the Adherents of the House of Stuart, 2nd edition v.2* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1874), 100-1.

[2] Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 267.

despondent and allowed his worst impulses to overcome him toward the end of the campaign is well-established — and in part due to the actions of others, most notably his forced retreat first from Derby and then from Falkirk, instigated by Lord George Murray, his chief field commander.

The dominant work on Charles Edward's life remains Frank McLynn's exhaustive but oddly Freudian 1988 biography.[3] McLynn's book is an incredibly valuable one; it makes no attempt to diminish its subject down to the "Bonnie Prince Charlie" of myth, but nor is it too effusive in its praise. Charles Edward's image in poem and song has been considered briefly by Murray Pittock who focused primarily upon the overarching theme of the Stuarts as a fertility symbol. Pittock noted the inclusion of Charles Edward in nursery rhymes "as a personal and intimate participant," a singularly unique occurrence in the Stuart line.[4] Pittock has also argued that the invocation of Britannia, the personification of the British isles, as a spouse of the Stuarts was part of a proto-feminist movement in conservative Anglican culture that arose in part due to the image of Charles Edward in the popular imagination, partly helped along by his cross-dressing as "Betty Burke."[5] The revival of Jacobitism as a primarily romantic movement — "a thing of the heart, not of the head,"[6] to use J.C.D. Clark's wording — was in large part due to the image of the young Charles Edward, the bonnie Highland lad, and his position in song. The role of

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[3] The book is perhaps too kind to its subject, but such a view is arguably McLynn's most significant single contribution to scholarship on a life whose achievements are frequently denigrated.

[4] Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85.

[5] Ibid., 15.

[6] J.C.D. Clark, "The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688-2006," in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, eds. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 19.

Charles Edward as a political figure in verse has, however, been less thoroughly studied. There has been almost no scholarly consideration of the propaganda movement surrounding Charles Edward that has focused on verse, though several studies of portraits of the prince have been made.

It is, then, important to consider how Charles Edward was portrayed in song, both officially and, more commonly, by those lyricists who supported him but over whom he had no direct control. That someone who spent only a year in Scotland in his life would become indelibly associated with the country is a testament to the skill of the Jacobite propagandists who began to incorporate Scottish imagery and references into portraiture, songs, and poems with impressive rapidity after Charles Edward's landing in Moidart. That it endured is thanks largely to the appeal these works had, both to contemporaries and — more so than any other Jacobite musical works — to later generations. But there is still the question of how this occurred. Charles Edward's rebellion, unlike the previous Jacobite risings, was increasingly focused on Scottish imagery. To the prince himself, this may have been a useful means of winning popular support more quickly and projecting a distinctive and striking image. To those songwriters of Scottish origin, it may have meant something more: the translation of the Jacobite movement into one that proposed a renewed and independent Stuart-led Kingdom of Scotland, free of the Acts of Union and of English domination. By portraying Charles Edward both as heir to a dynasty millennia old and as a radical whose rise would prompt real change, Jacobite lyricists created a unique, at times contradictory, image for their prince, one that helped to enable him to take the Jacobite cause closer to victory than it had gone before or would go again.

Charles Edward occupied a unique place within Jacobite culture and within Jacobite verse specifically. His father, James Francis, was of course far from absent from the movement's music and propaganda, yet he was unable to create the same cult of personality that arose around his son, largely because he simply lacked the personality required for reverence. The key Jacobite rhetorical strategies were all applied to Charles Edward, from the classical and republican imagery to concepts of manorialism and ruralism. However, he provided opportunities — and himself fostered — portrayals in art and song that were quite distinct from those of other Jacobite claimants. Charles Edward was a quasi-sex symbol and many verses about him make clear his romantic desirability. He was also a young man possessed of a strong force of will and extreme personal courage; it was therefore possible to show him as a quasi-radical, albeit one still tied to the cardinal Jacobite doctrines of divine right and indefeasible succession. Thus, the role of revolutionary fell easier upon his shoulders than it had for his father and grandfather, and he therefore built the sort of popular image that was more immediately inspiring and martial.

Charles Edward also exploited Scottish nationalist sentiment in a way his forebears had not. While tartan imagery and blue bonnets were not new to Jacobite portraiture — Lord John Drummond notably used Highland dress both in portraits and in person at James Francis's court[7] — they were utterly unknown in the propaganda imagery of the heir apparent. The inclusion of Highland imagery in verse was more consistent, but it was only Charles Edward, not his ancestors, who was associated directly with the Highlands, the Italian-born prince essentially adopted by the remote upcountry he trod. The Jacobite cause was never primarily a nationalistic one. Post-Jacobite romantics would make it seem so, but at no point were the Stuart Pretenders

[7] Robin Nicholson, "From Ramsay's *Flora MacDonald* to Raeburn's *MacNab*: The Use of Tartan as a Symbol of Identity," *Textile History* 36 no. 2 (2005): 148.

particularly interested in Scottish identity or nationhood except as a furtherance for their own ends. Even Jacobite anti-unionism was primarily a creature of convenience for James Francis and Charles Edward, a way to win support among the Scots who disliked the Acts of Union but were less concerned with dynastic issues. However, the iconography of Jacobitism, if not its ideology, shifted at the time of the Forty-Five. In part this was because Jacobites themselves were newly invested in the Scottish idea as the clan system and northeastern feudal system began to crumble under English trade policy. Generally, however, the romantic Scottish nationalism of the songs and images of the Forty-Five had more to do with creating an effective portrait of an event than in actually portraying its political motivations. The Jacobites could use tartan and blue caps as symbols because they were evocative and immediately recognizable. Hanoverians did not, after all, embrace Highland culture to such a degree. However, the political aims of the Jacobite cause remained the same, and those were at most tangentially focused on the Scottish nation or the identities of its people.

It is critical to distinguish the man Charles Edward from the idea of Charles Edward. The latter developed in large part during and after the Forty-Five; this is not to say that the cult of personality that arose around the claimed Prince of Wales was nonexistent before his landing in Scotland, but it was certainly lesser and without much reach into the lower echelons of society. While the prince lost much good will with his alcoholism, moodiness, and bungling of key decisions later in life, his position as a romantic hero and image of both Scottish nationalism and nobility in defeat were engrained.

McLynn provides an excellent survey of the prince's life. From the perspective of propaganda and image, it is earlier the part — roughly up until Charles Edward boarded a French

ship at Loch nan Uamh on Sept. 20, 1746 — that is the most critical. The prince's early years are the ones in which he developed a popular persona and the ones upon which his legacy and image were built. He was just twenty-five when he left Scotland; he would live another forty-two years. McLynn's biography continues for roughly three hundred pages after the prince's departure. Yet for Jacobite lyricists, the prince might as well have been swallowed into a void as boarded a French privateer. The work of propaganda needed no more. Songs were perhaps the single most effective means of conveying propaganda about the prince. Portraits and pamphlet literature could not circulate as quickly; such items would require full press runs while a single copy of a Jacobite ballad could be learned by many and passed on or sung and learned from repetition. Charles Edward's image was incredibly common during and after the Forty-Five. His legend in song was almost certainly even further spread.

There were, in essence, five types of song primarily featuring the prince (though all the types overlapped with some regularity). The first were the fairly generic Jacobite fare in which Charles Edward was merely in the same position as his father and grandfather, used as the generic alternative and opponent to the Hanoverian (previously Williamite) regime.[8] The second sort were romantic works, the kind that focused on Charles's good looks, personal charm, and virility. Similarly focused on virility, albeit in a different context, were the songs that highlighted the prince's martial prowess, of which two subsets can be found: those that are focused on specific battles and campaigns, and those that laud his soldierly abilities more generally. Another sort of song focused on Charles Edward were the generalized ballads that idolized the "Highland laddie." This either was a metonym for the prince or, in other contexts, a broader archetype of

[8] These songs are, primarily, discussed in chapter one.

which he was the paragon. Last are songs of mourning, those that deal with Charles Edward's exile and the fear, later realized, that he would never again come to Scotland.

The martial songs and particularly the romantic songs are often hard to distinguish from their post-Jacobite successors since, more than any other form of Jacobite music, they tended to follow roughly the same pattern in the 1740s as post-Jacobite works would in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More keenly ideological songs and, naturally, songs about specific events tended to be firstly more prominent and secondly far more specific in the genuine Jacobite, rather than romantic post-Jacobite, context. Those about Charles Edward could often be just as specific (or vague) in either setting, although the exact elements of his personality and achievements emphasized did vary considerably depending on chronological origin. Fortunately, many of the later works are well-documented in origin. The works of Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne and Baroness Keith,[9] are particularly well documented.[10] Some works, such as "Charlie is My Darling," do present difficulty as they are presented in varying forms at various times. James Hogg admitted to including one version of the song he authored in his collection of Jacobite verse (he also included the supposed original).[11] Nairne also authored a version. In such cases where multiple versions exist over long periods of time, the later chroniclers and romantic post-Jacobites were amending or adding to extant works. However, in the case of songs like "Wha'll

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[9] Generally referred to as Carolina Nairne.

[10] Carolina Oliphant the Younger, *Life and Songs of the Baroness Nairne with a Memoir and Poems of Caroline Oliphant the Younger*, ed. Charles Rogers (London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1869).

[11] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 301. Truth be told, reading Hogg's notations on the poems is often somewhat like reading the twisting commentary offered in Nabokov's *Pale Fire*, wherein the true motives of the commentator are hard to discern and the commentary is often only vaguely related to the text itself. As a collector of songs, Hogg was excellent, if flawed. As a describer of the songs he collected, he left much to be desired, though he is partly redeemed in that few other anthologies of Jacobite music even make an effort to annotate or analyze the verses within.

be King but Charlie?"[12] the originator is most certainly post-Jacobite. In this particular case, it was Nairne.

So it can be said that songs about Charles Edward were often of relatively dubious origin, when compared to those on other Jacobite topics. Since many were also in Gaelic or Scots, another challenge is added to their identification. Many Gaelic and Scots songs were primarily passed down in oral tradition, meaning first that their forms as first recorded are possibly not those that were primarily used. Additionally, many were noted privately and first published in later collections, or were written down by chroniclers like Hogg and Burns based on what they heard rather than read. This means that it is more challenging to find the original broadside ballad versions of these songs (largely since, in most cases, these did not exist) and we must take, with skepticism, the word of the later chroniclers to a greater extent than desired. With some songs, authenticity seems relatively certain. It is not particularly plausible that James Hogg could have, in the 1820s, created the complex matrix of references and allusions found within "Came ye o'er frae France." That song, too, is lent greater credibility as it is entirely written in Scots. The often half-Scots verses about Charles Edward, most of which lack the same specificity, are harder to trace conclusively. It is with skepticism, therefore, that almost all works about the prince must be treated, albeit to sharply varying degrees.

Charles Edward was not, of course, the first Jacobite claimant to be mentioned in song. "Jocky's gone to France" was the refrain in "Came ye o'er frae France," dating from the Fifteen.[13] Jocky, of course, was James Francis. But most of the earlier references were in this

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[12] Oliphant [Nairne], *Life and Songs*, 118-20.

[13] "Came ye o'er frae France," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 87-8.

mould: abstracted allusions to the monarchs across the sea rather than full portrayals of their character. An exception was "James, come kiss me now," a romantic song about James Francis much in the vein of those verses later written about his rather more charismatic offspring. The song told the story of Britain, in the form of a woman, who cheated on her rightful husband — James — with "a dull German hog" and "a cunning frog." Notably, the concept inverts the idea of James II and VII cheating on Britain with Catholicism, or himself being cuckolded. These ideas were played out in high cultural forms shortly before the Revolution, notably in Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas.*[14]

"James, come kiss me now" is another example of the Jacobites' longstanding interest in using sexuality and sexual mores as proxies for their political aims. The song contains many elements of nonjuring thought, largely focused on the sacrosanct nature of oaths, but is primarily focused on themes of marital betrayal:

> …Thrice I've debas'd my husband's bed;
> First with a cunning frog,
> Who came to my bed, by counsel on misled,
> And then a dull German hog.
>
> Frail creature I, thus to have been
> Cheated out of my sense
> By treacherous men, who forc'd me, to my shame,
> To hurry my husband hence.
> They taught me that the breach of vows
> Was not a sin at all;
> To keep up the laws of religion, the old cause,
> When likely they were to fall…
>
> Great James, come kiss me now, now,
> Great James, come kiss me now:
> Too long I've undone myself these years bygone,

[14] Andrew R. Walking, "Political Allegory in Purcell's 'Dido and Aeneas,'" *Music & Letters* 76 no. 4 (1995): 556-8.

By basely forsaking you.
Come home again, great James, great James,
Come home again, I pray:
Forgive me the crime; ever after I'll be thine.
I call thee; do not stay.[15]

This song both creates in James Francis an optimal romantic companion, a husband wronged but forgiving who would gladly see his wife return even after her sins. The wife is, of course, Britannia, the feminine embodiment of the British Isles that featured prominently in Jacobite propaganda and imagery. Murray Pittock has noted that "Britannia was also part of the feminization of Stuart imagery in response to Astraean typology," a sort of conservative and Anglo-Catholic ideal of a woman independent and strong yet in need of male (Stuart) protection, imagery that "reached its highest ambivalence in Charles Edward's cross-dressing as Betty Burke in 1746."[16] The argument is a strong one; women in Jacobite verse are in desperate need of Stuart saviors, yet so are all other Britons. When women make an appearance in their own right, it is often as essential helpers, as in those songs dedicated to Flora MacDonald. (Hanoverian women were, naturally, portrayed far less positively.)

Still, despite the idealization of James Francis in "James, come kiss me now," the song is an inversion of typical Jacobite rhetoric. Rather than featuring a cuckolded George I, it shows his Jacobite rival as the cuckold. It also replied to Whig rhetoric against James II before, during, and after the Revolution. This is effective largely because the cheating wife is nonetheless sympathetic and capable of being forgiven. The fault of cuckoldry is both hers and not, in the songwriter's eye, since she was "forc'd" by "treacherous men." While Britannia has been

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[15] "James, come kiss me now," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 144-6.

[16] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 15.

victimized, she nonetheless opted to forsake her vows, but this is the result of (feminine) gullibility. As a woman — and as a nation — Britannia can still be saved, resurrected by learning the error of her ways and returning to her rightful master, leaving aside the treasonous knaves who soiled her honor. Almost childlike, the woman-nation is capable of being educated and finding forgiveness in the wise father-husband that is James. All Britannia has to do is restore James, the husband so good that to cuckold him is to cuckold an oath to God and a God-dictated matrimony — that is, one conceived by God through divine right bestowed upon the royal House of Stuart — and she can be forgiven her sins. James is not disparaged by his loss of marital power, both for the simple reason that his cuckoldry is entirely metaphorical and for the rather more complex one that it is based, unlike most cuckoldries which are in part (at least in the early modern imagination) the fault of a husband who has lost control over his household, upon the fundamental gullibility of woman and the clever trickery of other, devious men who are inherently less than the rightful king, and therefore unthreatening to his manliness. James, through the benevolence of a divinely ordained king, can forgive his wife Britannia for her unfaithfulness. Thus, he can forgive the subjects of Britain for their unfaithfulness, as only a true king could. Notably, the song is not as blatant in its portrayal of James as a romantic ideal as those later written about Charles Edward, though in his magnanimity James Francis is nonetheless idealized as a husband (the husband of Britain itself).

The romantic songs about Charles Edward are substantially more flowery, and often less directly politically charged, than the aforementioned song about his father. One of the more notable romantic songs about Charles Edward focuses on the conception of exile and flight, addressing the prince's time in the heather and almost becoming a song of mourning and flight

rather than one primarily of a romantic sort. This is "O'er the Water to Charlie," likely written somewhat after the prince's flight at the end of the Forty-Five. It echoes closely the prince's own journey throughout the Scottish isles undertaken primarily in rowboats rather than in sailing craft. It begins with an invocation to rejoin the prince:

> Come boat me o'er, come row me o'er,
> Come boat me o'er to Charlie;
> I'll gie John Ross anither bawbee
> To ferry me o'er to Charlie.
> We'll o'er the water, we'll o'er the sea,
> We'll o'er the water to Charlie;
> Come well, come wo, we'll gather and go,
> And live or die wi' Charlie.
>
> It's weel I lo'e my Charlie's name,
> Though some there be abhor him…
>
> I swear by moon and starns sae bright,
> And sun that glances early,
> If I had twenty thousand lives,
> I'd gie them a' for Charlie…
>
> I once had sons, but now hae nane;
> I bred them toiling sairly;
> And I wad bear them a' again,
> And lose them a' for Charlie…[17]

Generally speaking, this is a work of romantic sacrifice. The singer — who bore sons — clearly female; this is another example of the Jacobite idealization of sacrificial womanhood, found in the likes of Flora MacDonald and in certain images of Britannia and, infrequently, Scotia. Sacrifice is the purpose. Sons born to a Jacobite woman are for serving to restore the Stuarts.[18]

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[17] "O'er the Water to Charlie," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 76-7.

[18] The language bears some resemblance to twentieth century fascist propaganda. The parallel, while intriguing, is a weak one, but possibly worthy of further study. Generally, however, parallels between divine right monarchism and fascism in ideological terms are scant.

Lives are to be given up to effect a second restoration. And proximity to Charles Edward is invaluable. Notably, the military utility of keeping resources (especially troops and agents) within Britain is abandoned in favor of physical closeness to the prince, although the closeness is longed for rather than actual. This comes close to evoking the supposed powers of the royal touch and makes clear that the Stuart kings were more than abstractions as monarchs but rather focused their propagandizing and public image on their semi-divine powers.

Sacrifice is also evoked in the singer's assertion that "If I had twenty thousand lives, / I'd gie them a' for Charlie." The line echoes the words of Arthur Elphinstone, sixth Lord Balmerino and fifth Lord Coupar, upon his execution for participation in the Forty-Five: "If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all down here in the same cause."[19] Balmerino was executed on August 18th, so if the reference is a direct one the song likely dates from some time after that date, though soon enough after that the memory of Balmerino's execution was still fresh. The Jacobite hero-worship extended beyond Charles Edward and often referenced other Jacobite leaders in appeals to personality gallantry in the name of Jacobitism. Donald Cameron of Lochiel, wounded at Culloden, was frequently evoked. David Wemyss, Lord Elcho, who commanded the gallant and well-uniformed Life Guards also struck a noble figure and was sometimes referenced.

One work feted Charles Edward alongside Lord Lewis Gordon, the Jacobite nobleman who raised the northeast of Scotland for the Young Chevalier. Titled "Lewie Gordon," the piece associated Gordon with "his tartan trews, / Bonnet blue, and laigh-heel'd shoes, / Philabeg boon his knee!" with the idealized Highlander, the best "Among ten thousand Highlandmen."[20]

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[19] Horace Walpole, "Letters from the Hon. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, British Envoy at Florence. — *From the year 1741 to 1760*. Bentley, London" in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine v.3*, eds. William Tait and Christian Isobel Johnstone (Edinburgh: W. Tait, 1833), 436.

[20] "Lewie Gordon," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 81-2.

Charles Edward, meanwhile, is "this princely one / Seated on his father's throne!"[21] The combination of the prince and his chief commanders allowed them to serve as surrogates and to promote a conception of Stuart chivalry through the actions of widely respected military officers and gentlemen. Notably, Lord George Murray, the chief Jacobite field commander in the Forty-Five, is rarely featured in song. While respected, Murray was not particularly charismatic and he may have been either intentionally or naturally sidelined in propaganda and song in favor of younger, more charismatic lordlings and the chivalric images they could conjure. This fit well with romantic conceptions of Charles Edward.

Notably, the romantic association of Charles Edward with water — and with Charles Edward on water with song — as expressed in "O'er the Water to Charlie" is a relatively strong one. The prince, despite his tendency toward extreme seasickness even in calm conditions,[22] became associated with boats. This was in large part due to his flight from the Scottish mainland throughout the Hebrides and then, eventually, to France. In spite of this, he was known for a tendency to sing to the rowers or sailors aboard boats when in transit, notably while fleeing to the Outer Hebrides when he sang Highland songs while bailing the dangerously waterlogged boat and when he sang "The Twenty-Ninth of May and "The King Shall Enjoy His Own Again" on the boat to Skye with Flora MacDonald.[23] In a less august moment that McLynn attributes to hypermania, once again dabbling in Charles Edward's psyche, the prince supposedly danced

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[21] Ibid.

[22] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 267.

[23] Ibid., 267, 283-4.

"alone for an hour while he whistled a Highland reel to himself" during his hiding in the Outer Hebrides.[24]

One of the Jacobite ballads of more dubious origin is "Charlie is my Darling." It seems unlikely that either Hogg or Nairne were the originators of the song, but certainly theirs are the most well-known versions. It is plausible that they tacked lengthier verses and narratives onto a short rhyme, or perhaps completely overhauled an original verse. Hogg, in presenting two versions of the song (his own and an original), likely gave us our best look at its earlier format. The song is jaunty and, in its final stanzas, becomes convincingly original in tone. The post-Jacobite romanticists tended to leave out more explicit or bawdry language when writing songs. Insulting and sexualized imagery tends to fit poorly with tales of romance, high-minded chivalry, and daring-do. The passage in question will likely be obvious within the below selection:

'Twas on a Monday morning,
Right early in the year,
That Charlie came to our town,
The young Chevalier.
And Charlie he's my darling,
My darling, my darling,
And Charlie he's my darling,
The young Chevalier.

He was walking up the street,
The city for to view,
O there he spied a bonny lass,
The window looking through…

She light's he jumped up the stair,
And tirled at the pin;
And wha sae ready as hersel
To let the laddie in! …

[24] Ibid., 273.

He set his Jenny on his knee,
All in his Highland dress;
For brawly weel he kend the way
To please a bonny lass…

It's up yon heathery mountain,
And down yon scroggy glen,
We daurna gang a-milking
For Charlie and his men…[25]

The verse is obviously explicit in nature. "To please a bonny lass" invokes the prince's virility and speaks to the image of the Stuarts as a representation of fertility. It also has a parallel to the depiction of James Francis as the husband to Britannia, with Charles Edward represented as a more youthful partner, a paramour rather than a husband. The prince is a radical, unconventional, dashing figure, rather than a more conventional monarchical father figure (as yet).

Notably, the image of the prince is likely a wrong one. Charles Edward, during the high points of his campaign, was known to be essentially celibate, "a chaste Galahad pursuing the Holy Grail."[26] McLynn has argued that "the combination of regal authority, magical charisma and unavailability — making him a kind of priest-king — was an infallible formula for attracting an ardent female following," and also noted that when the prince did express more interest in women — which occurred only after the retreat from Derby — it seemed to represent "an unconscious admission that his cause was now hopeless."[27] Therefore, the idea that Charles Edward would go "up yon heathery mountain / And down yon scroggy glen" with any woman during the height of his campaign is almost certainly apocryphal and represents a romantic fantasy rather than an historical fact. Nonetheless, "Charlie is my Darling" served both to

[25] "Charlie is my Darling," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 93-4.

[26] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 162.

[27] Ibid., 163, 235-6.

promote the image of Charles Edward as a virile, romantically and sexually viable figure while also showcasing his youth and charisma, qualities utterly lacked by James Francis.

Pittock has argued that "Charles's sexual attractiveness lent greater force to metaphors of fertility and renewal, especially in combination with a military energy which clearly outgunned that of his father."[28] The point that applies just as well to songs as it does to the poems referenced by Pittock. While James Francis "had the dark good looks of his family," he also possessed "a kind of quiet melancholy as of one who had come early to accept defeat and failure as his inevitable companions" and "was a cold and deeply reserved man."[29] His son did not suffer from the same vices and, as such, his portrayal in song is substantially more lively. Quite simply, the Old Pretender lacked the appeal of the Young Pretender.

The verse "Bonny Charlie" is less obviously female in voice but nonetheless falls squarely within the category of romantic balladry. It promotes forthrightly the doctrine of divine right and the idea that the Stuarts inherently own all Scotland, and all within it, and that their subjects ought to take joy in that ownership and not yield but in fact give willingly their resources in support of the Stuart cause. While not directly referencing the prince's escape across the heather and the isles, the song nonetheless echoes the services provided to Charles Edward by the Highlanders during his flight, and the gifts and meals presented to him. The song is sung from a Highland landholder's perspective:

> Although my lands are fair and wide,
> It's there nae langer I maun bide;
> Yet my last hoof, and horn, and hide,

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[28] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 81.

[29] G.V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730: The Career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 205.

I'll gie to bonny Charlie.

Although my heart is unco sair,[30]
And lies fu' lowly in its lair,
Yet the last drap o' blude that's there
I'll gie for bonny Charlie.[31]

Again, the message is sacrifice. The Stuarts were viewed as the divinely ordained embodiment of Scotland — and Britain, though that is not emphasized here — and, what is more, were its rightful and absolute rulers. They held suzerainty over even the greatest lords, by the calculation of divine righters, and therefore owned all. The view is certainly not unique to the Jacobite imagination, but this was an age when a more market-based Lowland and English policies (instituted by Whigs) were encroaching on the Highland way of life and the clan system.[32] As the Union brought the Scottish economy closer to the English one, the clan power began to be broken as the nature of the nation's economy shifted and the lords could no longer maintain their traditional positions on the shifting ground. The concept of traditional systems of subordination had resonance for Scottish Jacobites.

The romantic image of Charles Edward as a young, virile, and physically impressive man was naturally carried into the songs that emphasized martial aspects of his person and courage and heroism. There were two sorts of martial songs that regarded the prince: the general and the specific. The former were often more directly about Charles Edward, with titles like "Welcome, Royal Charlie" and "Wha wadna fight for Charlie" (the second also qualifies as a song of mourning in the aftermath of defeat). The latter group tended to address specific battles (usually

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[30] Roughly "unfamiliarly sore." "Unco, *adj.* and *n.*," in DSL; "Sair, *adj.*, *n.*, and *adv.*," in DSL.

[31] "Bonny Charlie," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 154-5.

[32] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 179-80.

Prestonpans), with titles like “Gladsmuir,” “The Battle of Prestonpans,” and “Johnnie Cope.” The latter group rarely have in-battle exploits to discuss since the prince did not himself face combat, usually remaining with the reserves. This was not his own choice. The prince wanted to lead from the front but “His desire was overruled: the prince was told firmly that his royal person was too precious to be risked in this way.”[33] The songs, then, usually emphasize inspirational comments Charles Edward made (or was purported to have made) and pre-battle bravado and moments of charisma.

“Welcome, Royal Charlie” is a fairly generic ballad. From its tune and several similar lines it seems likely the song inspired Nairne’s “Wha’ll be King but Charlie?” one of the best-known of the romanticized post-Jacobite songs. The latter is now much better remembered than the more authentic former. The song appears to date from shortly after the Forty-Five, and thus shares characteristics with the more mournful tunes penned after Culloden, but nonetheless is primarily martial and rousing in tone. Typically, it attacks George — “Geordie” — directly:

> We daruna brew a peck o’ maut,
> But Geordie he maun ca’t a fau’t,
> And to our kail we scarce get saut,
> For want o’ royal Charlie…
>
> Since our true king was turn’d awa,
> A doited German rules us a’,
> And we are forc’d against the law,
> For the right belangs to Charlie…
>
> Since our true king abroad has gone,
> There’s nought but Whelps sit on his throne;
> And Whelps, it is denied by none,
> Are beasts, compar’d wi’ Charlie…

[33] Ibid., 151.

O an Charlie he were back,
We wadna heed the German's crack,
Wi' a' his thievish hungry pack,
For the right belangs to Charlie…[34]

The first verse shown here attacks the Hanoverian taxes on beer production, noting the Highlanders' inability to "brew a peck o' maut."[35] "For want o' royal Charlie" the singers are unable to even acquire salt.[36] The next verse attacks George II as an imbecile ("doited" describes one who is of unsound mind or impaired intellect)[37] and further asserts Charles Edward's hereditary right. In the next verse, we find a familiar homophonic reference to both young, immature dogs and the House of Guelph/Welf, of which the House of Hanover is a cadet branch. This is similar to "Came ye o'er frae France" and several other verses. Then there is the invocation of Charles Edward's nobility: his enemies are "beasts" compared to him. The charge is, despite its origins in this work of propaganda, not a particularly absurd one given the prince's famed mercy (he even refused to execute Hanoverian spies).[38] Indeed, when compared to his Hanoverian opponents, Charles Edward typically does seem the picture of humane tolerance; it is not without reason that his chief opponents in the Forty-Five were called "the Butcher" and "Hangman."

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[34] "Welcome, Royal Charlie," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 143-4.

[35] "Maut" means "malt." "Maut, *n.* and *v.*," in DSL.

[36] "Saut, *n.*, *adj.*, and *v.*," in DSL.

[37] "Doitit, doytit, *a.*," in DSL.

[38] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 213.

The ballad "He comes, he comes, the hero comes," purportedly about Charles Edward's campaign in the Forty-Five, is of highly suspect authenticity, as even Hogg realized.[39] It deserves little mention aside from a few reverential lines that are notable in their extremity. In one instance, the prince is almost literally deified: "Brave, bravely now your wrongs declare: / See godlike Charles, his bosom glows / At Albion's fate and bleeding woes."[40] In another instance, Charles Edward's virtue is highlighted: "For virtue is with glory crown'd."[41] The latter is relatively typical: the prince's virtue was fairly well established and often sung about. But even in the divine right-driven Jacobite political thought, directly stating that the Prince of Wales was "godlike" seems odd. That makes the song highly significant if authentic while also drawing further scrutiny to its potential inauthenticity. While the song is likely a post-Jacobite work, it bears mention largely because, if it is authentic, it would substantively alter the understanding of how Charles Edward was seen by those around him and portrayed himself in propaganda.

A more famous — and almost certainly genuine — ballad is "Wha wadna fight [fecht] for Charlie," a piece likely dating from shortly after the Jacobite defeat at Culloden. The song castigates those clansmen — and Scots more generally — who failed to rise in support of the Jacobite cause in the Forty-Five, and makes a straightforward case for the virtue of Charles Edward — his army is compared to the careers of Robert the Bruce and William Wallace — and

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[39] Hogg, *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 298. Hogg was skilled in misattributing ballads, taking as genuine many that likely were not and calling inauthenticities many that likely were perfectly authentic. This has created a great deal of confusion in the study of his collections, though consensus has begun to develop on most of the major works, largely thanks to the scholarship of historians like Pittock and Donaldson. Angela McShane's work on Cavalier ballads also allows comparison with musical styles and themes, helping to create a more cohesive theory of Jacobite verse that can be applied to solve some of the more troubling cases in Hogg's volumes.

[40] "He comes, he comes, the hero comes," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 82-3.

[41] Ibid.

for the justness of the Stuart cause. Notably, the piece is almost certainly not official propaganda (few Jacobite songs were, unlike imagery which was comparatively tightly controlled from the Jacobite palaces on the continent).[42] Official Jacobite messaging did reference Scottish heritage but tended to avoid this level of specificity, largely because many Scottish heroes of yore (Bruce and Wallace certainly included) were heroes precisely because they had aided in the defeat of the English, making their use challenging for a movement that badly needed support from England. Had Bruce and Wallace spent their days killing Germans, they would doubtless have found a central place in Scottish-themed Jacobite propagandizing. The Scottish Jacobites were more likely to invoke Wallace and Bruce, however, since increasingly Scottish Jacobitism was becoming interested in the reestablishment of a separate Scottish realm, not just in government but under a separate king outside any personal union with the English realm. The Stuart Pretenders, naturally, wanted restoration to the thrones of the three kingdoms, not merely the Scottish or Irish thrones, and as such were less likely to utilize themes that emphasized Scottish nationalism at the expense of the English.

For these reasons, the invocation of Bruce and Wallace is significant. The song is almost certainly one that would have run counter to the official Jacobite line pushed by the court of the pretender on the continent and his son in Scotland. Nonetheless, the song might have had substantial appeal for the increasingly nationalistic faction within the Scottish Jacobite movement. It opened with a plea, likely set after the rising's defeat or at least after its retreat from Derby:

Wha wadna fight for Charlie?

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[42] Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 73.

Wha wadna draw the sword?
Why wadna up and rally,
At their royal prince's word?
Think on Scotia's ancient heroes,
    Think on foreign foes repell'd,
Think on glorious Bruce and Wallace,
    Wha the proud usurpers quell'd…

Shall we basely crouch to tyrants?
    Shall we own a foreign sway?
Shall a royal Stuart be banish'd
    While a stranger rules the day?[43]

This song directly castigates those Scots who were not "out" in the Forty-Five; generally, the largest and wealthiest clans did not rise for the Young Chevalier, while those that did rise typically sent their forces under the command of heirs, second sons, or kinsmen rather than their clan chiefs, in part to maintain deniability should the rebellion crumble.[44] However, though many clansmen did not come out, it is a substantial testament to Charles Edward's own persuasive ability that any did. The clans had rejected perfectly good opportunities to rise in 1719, 1720, 1722, 1725, and 1727.[45] When Charles Edward arrived in Scotland, he had only a few men with him, no clear foreign support, and not even the approval of his own father, since he had simply set out and intentionally delayed the missive telling James Francis what he had done.[46] Within a short span of time, he had an army, albeit often a reluctant one. This was largely attributable to his personal charisma and charm — and perhaps to traditionalist resentment and, perhaps, anti-English sentiment — and the reaction seen in songs like "Wha wadna fight for Charlie"

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[43] "Wha wadna fight for Charlie?" in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 100-1.

[44] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 177-181.

[45] Daniel Szechi, "'Cam Ye O'er Frae France?' Exile and the Mind of Scottish Jacobitism, 1716-1727," *Journal of British Studies* 37 no. 4 (1998): 358-9.

[46] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 112-125.

showcases the incredulity and consternation of those who did fight, and were convinced, by Charles Edward toward those who did not rise. (Notably, it was relatively common for clansmen to support the Jacobite cause while their chief did not and vice versa.) The resentment in this verse and its lauding of Charles Edward exhibits a relatively clearcut internecine resentment between varying factions of clansmen.

E.C. Carmichael's translation of "An Fhideag Airgid" ("The Silver Whistle") provides an excellent look at one of the relatively few surviving Gaelic Jacobite ballads. The song also exists in the original Gaelic. Carmichael noted that the song was relatively commonplace in the Hebrides as late as the early twentieth century,[47] albeit having lost its key political connotations. The song is relatively vague, but there is no doubt that "Mac mo righ" is Charles Edward. The song evokes the language of classical, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Welsh epic poetry to list the finery of the Stuarts. Notably, Charles Edward's arrival in Scotland was far less grand than this poem makes it seem, though the "extreme poverty" in northern Scotland at the time[48] may have provided a contrast. However, the claimed Prince of Wales made great effort to banish the image of a spoilt Italian princeling, saying "he had never cared for Rome, as a society too soft and decadent for a true warrior" and wearing the relatively ascetic garb of a student for the priesthood under his full beard.[49]

The song begins with a rather unbelievable appearance of awe; the Highlanders of the coast and islands were certainly familiar with large warships as both the English fleet and French

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[47] E.C. Carmichael, "A Jacobite Waulking Song," in *The Celtic Review* 1 no. 2 (1904): 147.

[48] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 129.

[49] Ibid.

privateers frequented the area. Nonetheless, the picture of Stuart splendor is affecting and likely meant to convey an impression of glory in the dispossessed kings returning home:

> The son of my king has come to Alban…
> On a great ship over the ocean…
> On a beautiful ship with silver fittings,
> With a golden rudder, two masts of silver,
> And shrouds of the silk of 'Gaillbhein,'
> With golden pulleys at each of her ends.
> My beloved and my choicest of sights
> Is young Norman of the blue, alluring eyes,
> Whoso would travel to thy hall
> He would get welcome without stint,
> It were beneath thee to be drinking ale,
> It is not beer that thou dost buy,
> But whisky of the third drawing,
> Wine that comes in the ships of the crosstrees,
> Hard brandy down from Caithness.
> Oh! it is thou art my dear one and my love,
> With they gun hunter of the barnacle geese,
> Unerring shooter of the white swan,
> Thou dost beguile the son of the deer—
> Heavy on thy men to be gathering them.
> My love and my darling, the son of Dugald's son,
> A host who would not be found churlish,
> Fiddle playing was thy choice music,
> The shapely harp melodiously wakened,
> And the great pipe jauntily played on the floor—
> Who will sound the silver whistle?
> The son of my king has landed in Alban![50]

The song shows a great deal of awareness of Charles Edward's background. Famously, he took to Scottish whisky almost at once, impressing the Highlanders by his acceptance of their local drink over imported wines,[51] though not helping his future alcoholism. Notably, the song

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[50] Carmichael, "A Jacobite Waulking Song," 147-9.

[51] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 170-309.

disparages the drinking of ale, a traditionally Whiggish beverage.[52] It also shows knowledge of the prince's love of hunting and skill for it. This song, then, is one of the best demonstrations of Jacobite propagandistic verse's reach: it is Gaelic, shows an appreciation for Stuart self-imagery of glory and splendor, and shows strong knowledge of Charles Edward's positive attributes, even the more remote sort with very specific appeal (i.e., whisky-drinking). In effect, this meant that Jacobite songwriters even at the most remote edges of the British isles could concoct persuasive verses that combined key elements of Stuart ideology and advertisement into a single song so far removed from the Stuart power structure that it was, in fact, written in a language the Pretenders did not even speak.

This level of specificity was shared by the ultra-specific martial songs that dealt with individual battles and events. Perhaps the most notable of these works is "Johnnie Cope," a mocking song that targeted Sir John Cope, the defeated English general of the Battle of Prestonpans. The song begins with background to Prestonpans, noting Cope's lack of success hunting the Jacobite army in northeast Scotland (his failure was largely due to the fact that at no point before 1746 was the Jacobite army in northeast Scotland) before arriving by ship at Dunbar, outside Edinburgh. The Jacobite army trounced Cope, who had supposedly issued a challenge directly to Charles Edward:

> He wrote a challenge from Dunbar,
> "Come fight me, Charlie, an ye daur;
> "If it be not by the chance of war,
> "I'll give you a merry morning"…

[52] Angela McShane Jones, "Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689," in *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Adam Smyth (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 75.

When Charlie look'd the letter upon,
He drew his sword the scabbard from
"So Heaven restore me to me own,
"I'll meet you, Cope, i' the morning."[53]

The verse directly references an incident in which Charles Edward said, "Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard; with God's help I will make you a free and happy people."[54] Again, this shows a clear familiarity with, at the least, the legend of Prestonpans, and likely the actual events of the battle and its immediate antecedents. "Johnnie Cope" is one of the most obviously authentic of all the Jacobite verses. It almost certainly dates from the immediate aftermath of the battle and was matched with a substantively older tune.

The song directly invokes the supposed fear of Highlanders exhibited by the Hanoverian forces. The fear was warranted, particularly at Prestonpans, at which "savage cleaving cuts from the claymore produced a veritable charnel house […] Limbs, trunks and heads littered the ghastly battlefield."[55] The song alleges that

… when he [Cope] saw the Highland lads,
Wi' tartan trews and white cockades,
Wi' swords, and guns, and rungs, and gauds,
O Johnnie he took wing in the morning…

On the morrow, when he did rise,
He look'd between him and the skies;
He saw them wi' their naked thighs,
Which fear'd him in the morning…

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[53] "Johnnie Cope," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 111-13.

[54] Charles Edward Stuart, quoted in McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 151.

[55] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 154. Notably, Charles Edward displayed extreme revulsion at the spectacle and sympathy for his enemies. While after Culloden, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, "was to regard the quality of mercy as the prerogative of 'old women', Charles Edward was immediately distressed by the butchery he saw. It was in his power to preside over a holocaust. Instead he did his utmost to call a halt to the slaughter. 'Make prisoners, spare them, they are my father's subjects,' he called out."

O then he fled into Dunbar,
Crying for a man of war:
He thought to have pass'd for a rustic tar,
And gotten awa in the morning.[56]

One amusing point is the double entendre of "Crying for a man of war," which carries both the literal meaning that Cope was searching for a man o' war — a warship — to carry him to safety and the more figurative meaning that the general, embarrassed by his defeat, was looking for a man capable of actually prosecuting a war, since he was not. The fear of the Highlanders is also significant and, given the emphasis on Cope fearing "their naked thighs," indicates that he was (at least in the lyricist's imagination) not only intimidated by the Highland clothes but also by their masculinity, displaying flesh both to the dangers of battle and to the elements. In addition, there are historical associations to Dunbar that made the location a particularly poignant one for the Scottish forces and one that could be used to great rhetorical advantage. Twice, and once within the previous century, the Scots were handed crushing defeats at Dunbar. In the first instance, in 1296, the army of Edward I defeated Scottish forces outside the town. In the second, in 1650, the Scottish Covenanters were defeated by Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentarian army. By landing at Dunbar, Cope may have intended to invoke thoughts of the previous Scottish defeats. By losing the subsequent battle, however, he gave the Jacobites even further ammunition for gloating songs.

Once again, the regular Jacobite attack against opponents' masculinity resurfaces. The chorus of "Johnnie Cope," which asks "Hey Johnnie Cope, are ye wauking yet? / Or are ye sleeping, I

[56] "Johnnie Cope," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 111-13.

would wit?"[57] arguably employs yet another familiar device: the homophone. This is a highly debatable point, however. In Scots, "wauking" means the same as "waking" in English,[58] in this case alluding to Cope supposedly having slept through part of the battle. However, it sounds closer, when spoken aloud or sung, to the English "walking" than "waking." This could imply a double meaning in which Cope was metaphorically unable to walk following the battle, having been struck in the rear by Charles Edward's forces.

"Gladsmuir" (the Highlanders' name for Prestonpans) features a parallel image to that of Britannia as a feminine goddess: Scotia, the more specific goddess representing Scotland. Scotia claims to have specifically imbued Charles Edward with the talent to win the engagement. She is placed over the battlefield, and says:

> "What arm has this deliverance wrought?
> "'Tis he! The gallant youth appears!
> "O warm in fields, and cool in thought,
> "Beyond the slow advance of years,
> "Haste, let me, rescued now from future harms,
> "Strain close thy filial virtue in my arms.
>
> "Early I nurs'd this royal youth,
> "Ah! ill detain'd on foreign shores;
> "I form'd his mind with love of truth,
> "With fortitude and wisdom's stores:
> "For when a noble action is decreed,
> "Heaven forms the hero for the destin'd deed…"[59]

This piece is much less specific in references than many other works that focus on a singular battle, yet it again invokes the idea that Charles Edward was divinely chosen — obviously a

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[57] Ibid.

[58] "Wauking, *v.* and *n.*," in DSL.

[59] "Gladsmuir," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 118-20.

critical element in divine right theory — and speaks of his nobility and destiny. The Stuarts promoted an image of themselves as decidedly British, monarchs both blessed and fertile essentially ruling a state cult founded upon the belief that their own family was divinely inspired to rule. To that end, they frequently used pastoral or rural imagery to develop an idea of the House of Stuart as intrinsically tied to the land they ruled. It is classic Jacobite rhetoric, augmented by the specific embodiment in the person of Charles Edward the greatest assets of attractiveness and charisma that allowed him to become the personification of the Stuart ruralist personality cult, here well shown by the invocation of Scotia as a representation of the land of Scotland.

"The Battle of Prestonpans" is one of those songs that makes a substantial effort to laud the individual Jacobite commanders. Reminiscent of *Y Gododdin* and its list of warriors' achievements, the song goes one by one through the Jacobite leadership and regimental commanders and praises each for his contribution. Of course, it saves its most effusive praise for Charles Edward:

> "The Chevalier, being void of fear,
> Did march up Birsle brae, man,
> And through Tranent, ere he did stent,
> As fast as he could gae, man;
> While General Cope did taunt and mock,
> Wi' many a loud huzza, man,
> But ere next morn proclaim'd the cock,
> We heard anither craw, man.[60]

The specificity of "Johnnie Cope" returns here with specific mentions of the prince's movements during the battle. The two songs can be easily compared: both focus on Charles Edward's

[60] "The Battle of Prestonpans," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 121-4.

steadfastness and cool under stress and portray Cope as a taunting officer, albeit with little reason for his confidence. Of course, the Jacobite lyricists were afforded almost total license to mock Cope; his forces had been flattened by the Highlanders. There need be no equivocation or mournful invocations of virtue in defeat — the steadfast fallback of Jacobite writers during failed rebellion after failed rebellion; the battle was won and, for a short time, Jacobite victory seemed predestined. The aura of confidence that pervaded the army after Prestonpans, particularly the prince and his cohort and the rank-and-file, cannot be underestimated. It was in that environment that this song, and "Johnnie Cope" and "Gladsmuir," were written. At no other point were the Jacobites blessed with such a series of victories.

In addition to specific songs about Charles Edward, a sub-genre of Jacobite music arose — largely around the Forty-Five — that invoked a metonymical "Highland Lad," often a stand-in for Charles Edward. These songs either avoided or could be made to avoid, with little modification, directly treasonable language. They also tied the Stuart prince to Scotland and its culture perhaps more directly than any other part of the Jacobite musical canon insofar as they could create an immediately recognizable portrayal of Charles Edward — an Italian-born, French-dwelling prince who spoke no Gaelic — as the quintessential "Highland Lad."

One representative work was "My Love he was a Highland Lad," a straightforward song that placed upon the shoulders of its titular character many standard virtues like "true[…] heart," good swordsmanship (at the time a euphemism for sexual prowess in certain settings), bravery, and "noble pedigree"[61] that would be inoffensive to any faction. Then there is the second verse which directly addresses the issue of dynastic succession:

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[61] "My Love he was a Highland Lad," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 54-6.

But had our good king kept the field,
When traitors tarrow'd at the law,
There hadna been this waeful wark,
The weariest time we ever saw.
My love he stood for his true king,
Till standing it could do nae mair:
The day is lost, and sae are we;
Nae wonder mony a heart is sair.[62]

The problem is likely immediately clear: at no point does the song specify which king is to be supported, nor does it make clear who the "traitors" are. The meaning is clear insofar as no Hanoverian ballad would laud as the exemplar of patriotism and nobility a "Highland Lad," yet there is obviously nothing overtly treasonous about the song.

The next verse continues the theme:

But I wad rather see him roam
An outcast on a foreign strand,
And wi' his master beg his bread,
Nae mair to see his native land,
Than bow a hair o' his brave head
To base usurper's tyrannye;
Than cringe for mercy to a knave
That ne'er was own'd by him nor me.[63]

Once again, the question is begged: which king is which? Either could well "roam… a foreign strand," though the statement that that fate is preferable "To base usurper's tyrannye" implies that the song supports the Stuarts. Still, it is less than clear and no conviction for sedition or treason could well be extracted from it with any ease. The final verse is the most outwardly Jacobite, though still no direct invocation is made:

But there's a bud in fair Scotland,
A bud weel kend in glamourye;

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

And in that bud there is a bloom,
That yet shall flower o'er kingdoms three;
And in that bloom there is a brier,
Shall pierce the heart of tyrannye,
Or there is neither faith, nor truth,
Nor honour left in our countrye.[64]

The emphasis on Scotland, "a bud" (that is, rebirth — or perhaps Restoration), and the invocation of "kingdoms three," referencing the anti-Acts of Union stance of the Jacobites, who supported a personal union between three nominally independent realms rather than one united and centralized state, all shows the songwriter's views fairly clearly. Yet still there is no absolutely open invocation. And the entire thing is couched in the conception of a single noble "Highland Lad," a representation of Charles Edward and, more broadly, his followers. The song, then, is seditious and treasonous against the Hanoverian regime while being reasonably prosecutable for neither crime.

Another of the more generalized works is the creatively titled "A Song made in the year 1745." This song equates the "Highland Lad" less directly with Charles Edward, making him instead a young Jacobite supporter, Willy, to whom the singer addresses Charles Edward's story. The general mode of the song is similar to many shanties like "Don't Forget Your Old Shipmate" and, naturally, the Jacobite-descended "Bonnie Heilan' Laddie." The song begins with an invocation of divine right and indefeasible hereditary succession couched in language about the prince's virtue before moving to positive comments on other Jacobite officers:

Hear my canny Highland Lad,
Relate the thing I saw, Willy,
When our brave Prince came o'er from France,
In a poor frigate sma', Willy,

[64] ibid.

Resolved his right for to assert,
To conquer or to fa', Willy:
Up and war 'em a' Willy; Up & war 'em a'.

He brought nea' armies at his back
For seven Men were a', Willy,
Then Tidings to the brave Lockiell
In haste were sent away, Willy,
He swore he'd be the first to rise,
The Last to run away, Willy,
Up and war 'em a'…

Lascelles had a white cockade,
By which he run away, Willy,
Our Lowland like our Highland Chiefs,
Right stoutly did behave, Willy,
And ev'ry Mun like to his Prince,
Was gallant, Bold, and brave, Willy,
Up and war 'em 'a, Willy, up & war 'em a'.[65]

Imagery like the white cockade is of course easily recognizable. The emphasis on uniting Highland and Lowland to fight for Charles Edward is similarly a standard element of many Jacobite songs, though significantly its direct invocation is more common in post-Jacobite works like "Rise, Rise." The conception of the prince's gallantry is of course relatively common and not inaccurate; at a young age the prince showed extreme calm under fire at the 1734 Siege of Gaeta, at which he also charmed those around him with his remarkable social and diplomatic proficiency.[66] The twin virtues — charisma and affability on the one hand, bravery and daring on the other — are both highlighted in this particular verse.

The last critical category of songs that focused on Charles Edward is the mourning song. These were written in the months and years after the prince fled Scotland, the later ones in days

[65] "A Song made in the year 1745," in *English Jacobite Ballads, Songs & Satires, etc.*, ed. Alexander Balloch Grosart (Manchester: Charles E. Simms, 1877), 56-60.

[66] Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 81; McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 38-41.

when it was increasingly clear that another military expedition was implausible. “The Tears of Scotland,” a widely circulated ballad that was one of the few recorded by both Grosart and Hogg, included the refrain: “The Banished Prince and Laurels torn!”[67] It was a reasonable expression. The new great hope, Charles Edward, was gone. The victories his campaign had quickly stacked up — at one point, all of Scotland except a few scattered Highland forts and the castles at Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton were in Jacobite hands[68] — much like Caesar’s laurels. All were soon gone. One of the most tragic Jacobite ballads, one that encompasses these ideas, is “Will he no come back again.” The song runs:

Royal Charlie’s now awa,
Safely owre the friendly main;
Mony a heart will break in twa,
Should he ne’er come back again.
Will you no come back again?
Will you no come back again?
Better lo’ed you’ll never be,
And will you no come back again?

Mony a traitor ‘mang the isles
Brak the band o’ nature’s law;
Mony a traitor, wi’ his wiles,
Sought to wear his life awa…

The hills he trode were a’ his ain,
The bed beneath the birken tree;
The bush that hid him on the plain,
There’s none on earth can claim but he…

Whene’er I hear the blackbird sing,
Unto the e’ening sinking down,
Or merl that makes the woods to ring,
To me they hae nae ither soun’,

[67] “The Tears of Scotland,” in *English Jacobite Ballads*, 27-9.

[68] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 155.

Than, Will he no come back again…[69]

Again, common Jacobite motifs are on display: the blackbird, the arboreal concealment of an heir. Notable, too, are the standard appeals to Jacobite ideology, notably the idea that attempts to dispossess the Stuarts are in violation of "nature's law." But fundamentally, it is a sad song: the blackbird is "Unto the e'ening sinking down." This is an acknowledgment of nightfall upon the Jacobite cause. The blackbird's song is sinking away, the prince was forced to hide in the bushes. The question "Will you no come back again?" is, then, a rhetorical one. It is a tragic appeal to a prince that the songwriter, at least, now accepts will not come again. The chance has been lost; London was not marched upon, Edinburgh not retaken, Cumberland not met in the field at the Spey. It is a song of surrender, yet also one of defiance. There is no acceptance of Hanoverian dominion in its moral or political sense, only in the day-to-day reality of its newfound military unassailability. There is happiness that Charles Edward is "now awa, / Safely owre the friendly main." That is, happiness that the prince is lodged in friendly territory. But it seems that the hope that that lodging will soon end with a triumphant return is now lost for the lyricist.

That, of course, was Charles Edward's legacy. It is a somewhat unfair one; with fewer resources, the Young Pretender managed much more than his father ever did, and arguably more than his grandfather. Jacobitism was not at its lowest waning in 1745, but it was hardly achieving the popular support seen in the years of the succession and the Fifteen. The prince came with only token French aid, no approval from his father, and only his wits to guide him. Within months he had seized Scotland, invaded England, and hardly lost a battle. Counterfactual thinking and the realities of force concentration on the ground suggest that, had Lord George

[69] "Will he no come back again," in *The Jacobite Relics v.2*, 195-6.

Murray and his supporters not forced a retreat, the Jacobite forces might well have seized London and installed Charles Edward as regent. The Duc de Richelieu would likely have landed with 15,000 French troops if the Scottish army had made it to London. And, as London's Lord Mayor told the Jacobite Aeneas MacDonald well after the fact, had the army reached London, far from facing stiff opposition, it was unlikely there were five hundred men amongst the city's populace who would have risen to defend the House of Hanover.[70] Even with the retreat, Charles Edward likely could have held Scotland long enough for French help to arrive. Instead, Lord George once again forced a retreat.

Charles Edward owed a great part of his success to his ability to rally followers, and the qualities that made him inspirational and provocative also made him the ideal subject for romantic imagery and romantic music. He was all but deified in verse, his good qualities augmented and embellished; the claimed Prince of Wales was made to seem a perfect prince with good looks, good manners, wit, and the intelligence and charisma necessary to rule a nation. He was also portrayed as a sexually potent individual, a decidedly British individual, and as a radical of a sort. Charles Edward could, in large part by virtue of not having to actually govern on his own record, be portrayed in song as both an agent of change and as a force for a return to the past desired by conservatives and those pining for a quickly waning clan system. The music that surrounded his campaign was a critical element to the propaganda war waged by Jacobites and, when the Forty-Five failed, the musical legend of the prince continued to grow and expand, aiding Jacobitism until it died as a political cause with Charles Edward in 1788.

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[70] McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, 192.

And so, Charles Edward was stuck with the belittling nickname "Bonnie Prince Charlie." Yet the man himself was a talented leader and strategist who commanded the respect and even adoration of many around him. Through both his own intentional propagandizing efforts and the spread of Jacobite propaganda outside the officially sanctioned channels — particularly through a quickly evolving and easily accessible medium like song — Charles Edward managed to create a personal image that served him well throughout the campaign. A soldier, a lover, a Scotsman: his personal image, stronger than that of his father and utterly unique from it, was a major factor in reinvigorating Jacobitism and in giving the movement perhaps its only true chance for a military restoration.

Part of the revitalization of the Jacobite cause was a continuation of how the movement had always been: a legitimist force to restore the Stuarts as monarchs of not just Scotland but all the three kingdoms. However, the propaganda, and specifically music, of the Forty-Five also showed an increased focus on Scottish themes, both as a tool across the realms. It was not uncommon for English Jacobites to wear tartan after the rising failed as a political symbol, and indeed it became fashionable.[71] The use of Scottish imagery was both a device for rallying support north of the Tweed and a convenient stand-in for the Stuarts, Scottish in origin, as a dynasty. However, the Highland officers in Charles Edward's army may have had some interest in restoring an independent Scottish kingdom outside any personal union with England. That goal was not shared by the prince, his father, or even the soldiers who wept during the retreat from Derby. To them, it was all or nothing.

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[71] Robin Nicholson, "The Tartan Portraits of Prince Charles Edward Stuart: Identity and Iconography," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 21 no. 2 (1998): 159.

Conclusion

'An a' is Done in Vain':[1]
A Failed Cause in Song

The cloud hanging over any study of Jacobitism is that the movement failed. Even the most optimistic Jacobite today — and their number is small — would likely acknowledge that the final realization of their legitimist aims was doomed. What is often not addressed when considering the Jacobite plots and risings is that they very well could have succeeded. Counterfactual analyses of this possibility rest on a few key questions: What if Francis Atterbury's plot had not been discovered? What if Charles Edward had kept marching south? What if Charles Edward had fought at the Spey crossings instead of Culloden? What if James II had shown more political acumen in his handling of the Convention Parliament? What if Robert Harley had shown more interest in effecting a Stuart restoration? What if James Francis had converted to Anglicanism, or Charles Edward converted sooner? These questions are, self-evidently, unanswerable. But it is critical to ask them.

Had the Jacobites not misstepped, or had they been slightly luckier, it is entirely plausible that the Stuarts might have regained the throne. The Jacobite movement's verse was not the artistic expression of a movement doomed to failure. Rather, it was a key element of the propaganda put out by a political movement that had every chance of success. Jacobites may have been a minority, but they were not critically outnumbered. The continual ability of Jacobite leaders to rally substantial support, and the continued popular support of the movement up to and beyond the complaint of William Pitt in the Commons in November 1754 that treasonable songs

[1] "It was a' for our rightfu' King," in *The Jacobite Relics v.1*, 26-7.

were regularly sung by bacchanal undergraduates at Oxford and prints of Charles Edward sold openly on the streets[2] attest to the movement's continued appeal.

Despite and because of its persuasive power, the Jacobite cause was backed by a motley crew. Criminals were an important component of popular Jacobitism. Rural areas with manorial traditions were a key component of the movement's geographic base. The high church clergy, nonjurors, Scottish Episcopalians, Recusants, and country gentry all formed key elements of the Stuart base of support. Mobs in major cities were also frequently of a Jacobite persuasion. The net result was that it was difficult to galvanize the entirety of the Jacobite political alliance with a singular message.

And yet Jacobite music tried to do just that. Perhaps the most significant Jacobite songs are those that appealed to low and high cultural traditions simultaneously. A xenophobic, anti-German line of argument could be drawn against the House of Hanover both through direct attacks on their German roots and through more high-minded references to their familial ties to the Guelph family and its connections to the skullduggery that plagued medieval Italy. Similarly, a clergyman like Benjamin Hoadly could be attacked both for his Erastian rhetoric and low church ideas and for his physical infirmities. Gilbert Burnet, meanwhile, could be mocked as a turncoat by all. Jacobite music frequently made Classical references, yet often those allusions accompanied base insults or generic jibes.

Of course, not all Jacobite songs were so varied in their appeal. Many made a specific appeal; common themes were Charles Edward's image as a romantic hero, the Whig threat to the Church of England, the Stuarts' claimed status as national fathers, the Whig mismanagement of

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[2] J.C.D. Clark, *English Society, 1688-1832: Ideology, Social Structure, and Political Practice During the Ancien Regime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 154.

government and economy alike, and the status of the Hanoverians and Williamites as continental interlopers. All of these themes were direct reflections of the core elements of Jacobite political thought: the theory of divine right; ruralism and the Stuart fertility cult; Country principles and decentralization; "three kingdoms" national organization and anti-Unionism; episcopal church structures; and monarchical absolutism. The Jacobite ideology was a coherently conceived one that translated well to verse. Its ideas were expressed consistently and in relatively straightforward form in numerous songs while, in others, more subtle messaging was employed to advance Jacobite theories.

Notably, some Jacobite songs actually disavow Jacobitism. As is frequently the case with inherently illegal, treasonous movements, Jacobites were forced to hide their motives in much of their written work and propaganda. In many cases, songs would advance Jacobite ideas before making appropriately loyal addresses to the reigning monarch. These works were particularly prominent in the reign of Anne and somewhat common in the reign of William and Mary. Anne, and to a lesser extent her immediate predecessors, could reasonably be viewed by Jacobites as a placeholder, a *de facto* regent holding the throne in trust for James Francis. (That Anne, William, and Mary did not see things this way at all was somewhat beside the point.) One notably example of this sort of Jacobite song is "Wonder upon Wonders," the 1710 hagiography of Dr. Henry Sacheverell that vacillated between giving "A figg for the Pretender" and advancing the doctrines of passive obedience and hereditary succession.[3] The combination of loyal address and

[3] "Wonder Upon Wonders," in F.G Stephens, (ed.), Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Political and Personal Satires, Vol. II, June 1689 to 1733 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1873), 336-340.

Jacobite ideology was effective both in advancing Jacobite ideas and in avoiding undesirable legal consequences, including execution, a fate that befell some Jacobite printers.[4]

Jacobite verse was one of the movement's most effective forms of communication. In part, this is demonstrable merely by its staying power. "Auld Lang Syne" and "God Save the King [Queen]" are still frequently heard. "Over the Hills and Far Away" featured in the opening credits of a television series as recently as 2008. Even the more traditional Jacobite songs like "Cam ye o'er frae France" and "Donald Macgillavry" are hardly gone with popular renditions performed by bands like Silly Wizard and Steeleye Span, one Scottish and the other English.[5] The writings of Jacobite polemicists and theorists like Charles Leslie and William Law are certainly less well known three centuries after their publication. It is also more immediately demonstrable by the seriousness with which the government of the day took Jacobite propaganda. The State Papers record several attempts to suppress Jacobite balladry in 1716 alone.[6] Frank McLynn has noted that "Jacobite printers risked capital punishment for the mildest pamphlets arguing the Pretender's case" while other anti-government pamphleteers — notably

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[4] *Plymouth Weekly Journal Or General Post*, Oct. 30-Nov. 6, 1719, in BCN; *Weekly Medley or the Gentleman's Recreation*, Dec. 19-Dec. 26, 1719, in BCN.

[5] Whether the revival of traditional music helped to spur a renewed interest in Scottish nationalism and devolutionism is difficult to say. Still, the Jacobite cause, at least, has not been wholly rejected by the nationalist movement. At one Scottish National Party meeting a few years before the 2014 independence referendum, a straw poll was taken: republic or monarchy? Only one person voted for monarchy: "a heavily bearded gentleman" who was "holding out, wonderfully enough, for the restoration of the Stuarts." James Maxwell, "The SNP can't duck the monarchy debate forever," *The New Statesman* (London), June 25, 2014.

[6] Paul Chapman, "Jacobite Political Argument in England, 1714-1766" (doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1983), 34.

the Jacobins several decades later — did not face such consequences.[7] There would have been little point in proscribing an ineffective mode of sedition.

Jacobite songs were accompanied by a drinking culture that, while descended directly from the Cavalier and Royalist tradition, was quite unique. Many Jacobite songs were about drinking and even more were clearly for drinking. Indeed, even the most banal of Jacobite verses were often song by riotous crowds whose sobriety must be questioned. Jacobite songs lauded healthing, the toasting of political leaders and causes — and frequently called for it — and many others discussed it, as in the case of "The Gentleman in Black."[8] That song, one of the most self-referential of the Jacobite verses, was able to project an aura of political neutrality; in chronicling an event, it could present a patina of loyalty by portraying, rather than directly endorsing, Jacobite toasts. But to an informed reader, the endorsement would have been quite clear. The Jacobite drinking culture was one that emphasized loyal-healthing — or disloyal-healthing, from a certain point of view — and the consumption of wine, particularly claret. And like Royalist drinking, there was an element of bacchanal defeat, drowning failure in sorrow.

All told, the musical canon of the Jacobite movement is one that presents a challenging picture. In large part, that is because of the difficulties associated with weeding out the post-Jacobite works from the contemporary songs. It is also due to the difficulty of successfully dating many of the pieces. That the Jacobite musical corpus is multi-lingual is yet another issue; there are Jacobite verses extant in English, Gaelic, Scots, French, and Latin. The corruption of many Jacobite verses by the Whigs — and, less frequently, the reverse — further muddies the matter.

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[7] Frank McLynn, *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 338.

[8] "The Gentleman in Black," in George W. Thornbury, ed., *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, Jacobite Ballads, &c. &c.* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 110-12.

Yet a picture can clearly be seen of overwhelming ideological coherence. Jacobite songwriters, from Gaelic bards to smuggling London drunkards, were able to craft literally hundreds of verses in support of their cause. These songs almost all embrace some of the core principles of Jacobite ideology, and many actively promote multiple strands of Jacobite thought at once while attempting to appeal to both high and low cultural entities.

Jacobite verses, then, were a critical tool for the dissemination and argumentation of the movement's political thought. Further, they were a critical element of its political culture, one that was both for and about the society of drinking and fellowship that arose in Jacobite communities. Jacobite music also bridged social and class divides among the followers of Jacobitism to appeal to numerous groups within the Stuarts' base of support simultaneously. While Jacobitism failed as a political movement, its verses were largely successful in conveying and promoting the Stuart cause.

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[1] Note that there are many editions of Hogg's collections of Jacobite songs and ballads. It is likely that various editions, aside from the first editions, would be relevant.

[2] Minister, 1649-1703. Not to be confused with the more famous Samuel Johnson.

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