National Song: Scottish Jacobite Ballads and the Shaping of Scottish National Identity

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NATIONAL SONG: SCOTTISH JACOBITE BALLADS AND THE SHAPING OF SCOTTISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

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MEGYN E. DIXON
NATIONAL SONG: SCOTTISH JACOBITE BALLADS AND THE
SHAPING OF SCOTTISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

A Thesis Submitted to the Robert E. Cook Honors College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in History

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May 2007
We hereby approve the honors thesis of

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Chapter One: Introduction

*My heart is sair - I dare na tell -*

*My heart is sair for Somebody...*

*I wad do - what wad I not?*

*All for the sake o’ Somebody*

- *Robert Burns*

The melancholy, coded appeal for the return of "Somebody" in Robert Burns' "For the Sake o’ Somebody" embodies the spirit of the later Jacobite ballads; melancholy and mournful, the ballads strove to display the Scots' lasting loyalty and affection for their missing monarchs without incriminating individual balladeers. The Jacobites were the

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supporters of the exiled royal Stewart line of Scotland, and through their songs they not only communicated the emotional and poetic sentiments of their movement, but also used the ballads to shape their own identity and to craft a new identity for Scotland. The political use of music is not a new idea, nor was it unfamiliar to the Jacobites; in fact, it tied in neatly with the Celtic musical tradition which made musical expression a key aspect of life. The Scottish Jacobites made use of music and lyric to attack their enemies, praise their heroes, and, most importantly, to set forth a new and useful idea of what it meant to be Scottish.

It is difficult to comprehend the romantic and nostalgic nature of Jacobite music when examining the historical events. The eighteenth century was a violent and disturbed time in Scottish history. When King James VII of Scotland was dethroned and replaced by King William and Queen Mary in the Revolution of 1688-89, those who remained loyal to the Stewart line found themselves in dangerous opposition to the rule of the new Hanoverian monarchs. The Jacobites were not inclined to suffer defeat passively; the movement mounted several armed rebellions in support of the Stewarts, two of these under the direct leadership of the would-be monarchs. These crucial Risings in 1715 and 1745 were both militarily and ideologically important to the formation of a modern Scottish national identity. The Risings were not the only political issue at the time; another crucial factor was the Union of Great Britain. Though the crowns of England and Scotland had been united in 1603 under King James VI, successor to Queen Elizabeth, the Union was far from universally accepted. The 1707 Act of Union theoretically made both Scotland and England full members of an equal Union; the threat this situation posed to the autonomy of Scotland alarmed the Jacobites greatly. Their nationalistic support of a independent Scottish nation went hand-in-hand with their support of the traditional Scottish line of
kings, and were conjoined elements of a Scottish national government which they wished to see restored and protected. The situation was further complicated by religious tensions, not only between Catholics and Protestants, but also between various Protestant sects within Scotland. Added to this was the friction between Highland and Lowland Scotland; since the two halves of the country were culturally and linguistically different, finding common national ground was complicated.²

The Jacobites themselves were a complex and varied group. They hailed from both Highland and Lowland Scotland, with a greater Lowland presence than the Highland focus of the movement would seem to indicate. They came from all walks of society; although the movement was financed and propelled by the rich nobility who stood to lose from the loss of the traditional structure of society, poor and middling Scots made up the bulk of the fighting forces which supported the Stewart claim. Their greatest unity was to be found in the realm of religion. Many of the Jacobites were Catholic, like the Stewarts; a great many others were Episcopalian, due in part to the influence of earlier Stewart kings who had sought to institute Episcopalianism in all of Scotland. This group was opposed to many forms of Protestantism, particularly the Calvinists who made up the official Kirk of Scotland; they identified rather with the Catholic Church or with the Anglican Church.

This divided group of individuals was held together by their ideological similarities rather than their backgrounds, and the creation of a national identity drew from all of the varying aspects of their experiences.

The complex situation of eighteenth century Scotland was exemplified by the Jacobite ballads. The canon of Jacobite song has remained popular over time, with many of its songs remaining in vogue, particularly with modern Scottish nationalists. These songs encompass a variety of different styles and moods, ranging from drinking songs and war chants to melancholy, nostalgic love songs. The popularity and the variety of the tunes helped ensure the survival of a great number of Jacobite ballads, both in broadsheet form and in printed collections put together by balladeers such as James Hogg who collected not only their own songs but also those of others and printed large selections of Jacobite song. Three hundred ballads drawn from a variety of sources make up the database for this study; these ballads, written by dozens of different and generally anonymous authors over a period of almost two hundred years, highlight some of the ways in which the Jacobite ballads shaped perceptions of Scotland and helped to create a new Scottish national identity.

The use of ballads, particularly in regard to their affective value and their use as political propaganda, is a topic that has received a great deal of attention. Malcolm Laws divides the study of ballads in Britain into two broad categories, those of “popular or traditional balladry (balladry of the folk) and broadside or street balladry (balladry of the printing press).” These categories do not fit the Jacobite ballads well, as the canon consists of a mixture of these styles in approximately equal proportions. He argues that ballads have been an ideal tool for communicating emotionally important ideas because the

structure of the ballad lends itself to telling dramatic stories concisely and in a way that touches listeners. The Scottish Jacobite ballads are but a small segment of all British ballads; the study of ballads is an enormous field, and the Jacobite ballads occupy a small but important part of it. However, they served a very important role in contemporary society; as David Fowler notes, ballads “were being sung by non-professional people in all ranks of society in both the urban and rural districts of England and Scotland.” The ballad was accessible to people at all levels of society, particularly as it was available in written as well as sung formats. Emotionally affective and useful as both political propaganda and the expression of popular sentiment, the ballad was an extraordinarily powerful tool in the hands of skillful craftsmen.

Though the Jacobites shaped a new national identity for Scotland, they did not create this identity entirely from scratch. Scotland had existed as a nation with a distinct national identity for centuries prior to the Jacobites cause; however, the Jacobites were not interested in merely promoting old ideas of what it meant to be Scottish. Instead, they made use of Scottish history and culture, of Highland distinctiveness and religious divisiveness, and of the multiple and virulent antagonisms of the Scots to craft a new, useful, affective national identity which served to define the nation in terms of the movement’s aims, imagining Scotland as a nation which served the needs of the Jacobites.

The Scottish Jacobite ballads were an instrumental part of the creation and shaping of a new Scottish national identity in the eighteenth century. Although the ballads were not the only factor involved in the creation of a redefined Scottish nationalism, their role as

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4 Laws, p 4.
both popular folk song and composed elite political commentary gave the ballads a widespread audience and a great deal of affective value. The mass production of the ballads in broadsheet form made them accessible to the middle class, and as Murray Pittock argues, the use of folk-song elements and traditional, well-known tunes would have made the Jacobite song even more appealing to the lower classes. At the same time, however, a particular segment of the ballads appealed to the upper classes with their references to Roman mythology and culture, and by their use of sophisticated political commentary and satire. The broadly-based nature of the ballads, combined with the emotional and poetic aspects of song, made the ballads a useful tool for shaping the way people felt, particularly when the Jacobite ballads became sentimentally nostalgic in the later years of the movement. The ballads reflected aspects of the major cultural, religious, and political changes which took place during the Jacobite period, and they also played a role in shaping popular conceptions of these events. As a form of communication which could be easily disseminated to and comprehended by all levels of society, the ballads were influential in shaping popular perceptions and ideas. Hence, ideas put forward by the ballads were often adopted by society at large; the idea of Prince Charles as Bonny Highland Laddie, for example, gained popularity outside the context of the ballads, and was eventually adopted as a cultural motif by Scotland as a whole.

Several historians have researched the Jacobite ballads, and William Donaldson and Murray Pittock in particular have looked at the ballads in relation to national identity. Donaldson argues that Jacobitism, as set forth by the late sentimental ballads, became the heart of a new Scottish nationalism. However, he argues that the only ballads which really

influenced national identity were those written by sentimental poets long after the
movement was over, and he discounts the importance of ballads written during the
movement. Thus, he believes that only the purposeful creation of a romantic Jacobite past
served to shape national identity. Murray Pittock, in contrast, has argued differently in a
number of books on the topic of Jacobitism and the role of the ballads in the movement.
He argues that the ballads, both early and late, played a vital role in creating a national
identity for Scotland, built on an idolization of the Stewarts and on the myth of the
Highland clans as the only major supporters of the Jacobite cause. Pittock also argues that
the ballads allowed the Jacobites to solidify their opposition to the Union and to express
their opinions in ways which would, without the camouflaging effect of poetic lyrics, have
been impossible to display without suffering for it.
This paper relies a great deal on
Pittock’s work, and builds on many of his theories; however, it moves beyond Pittock’s
close emphasis on the political aspects of the use of language to consider wider cultural
aspects of Jacobitism and the national identity it created for Scotland. For example, in
considering aspects as far reaching and varied as the mythology of Scottish history, the
nature of religious conflict in the ballads, and the lyrics’ representation of both heroes and
villains, this paper delineates some of the numerous cultural aspects of the ballads, and

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argues that they were woven into a complex new identity for Scotland.

Donaldson remarked in 1988 that “the cultural side of Jacobitism, its effect upon the shaping of ideas, its role in transforming the image and identity of Scotland, is still little known.” 9 Although this assessment remains accurate, this paper endeavours to explore the ways in which the Jacobite ballads transformed the Scottish self-image and national identity, creating a complex, multi-faceted nationalism built on politics, religion, race, history, and many other variables. Using both the past and the present to define themselves and their nation, the Scottish Jacobites made careful use of their ballads to present their idea of Scotland to the Scottish people and to plant their ideological construction of Scotland into the national consciousness. The affective nature of the ballads, as well as the ingenious use of music and lyric, gave the ballads a great deal of power to shape the way people thought, and resulted in the creation of an altered Scottish national identity which became the image of Scotland for succeeding generations.

9 Donaldson, 1.
Chapter Two: The Highland Shift

The association of the Jacobite movement with the Scottish Highlands was a crucial aspect of the Jacobite identity. The Highland emphasis developed through a gradual shift in the Jacobite musical canon which began during the 1715 Rising, but was particularly notable during and directly after the 1745 Rising. This focus established the Highland identity of the Jacobites in a positive manner, defining Jacobite Scotland as Highland Scotland. Murray Pittock argues that this was accomplished through a major transformation in the image of the Highlander, from the “English propaganda image of the Highlander as child-eating savage and lawless bandit” to a new Scottish Jacobite image of the Highlander as patriot, loyalist, and freedom fighter.¹ To this end, the ballads made use of the history, heroes, martyrs, villains, language, music, land, and cultural heritage to craft an idealized identity that all of Scottish Jacobitism could adopt and adapt to serve as a nationalist ideal and identity. In so doing, the Jacobite movement defined itself both in terms of what it was not, as not-Britain and not-England, but also as what it was – warlike Highland Scots in plaid. This constructed identity gave the movement

many advantages such as a useful national history, signs and symbols for group identification, and a sentimental attraction to the Highlands as the home of Jacobitism. By using elements of Highland culture and tradition, the ballads established the Highlands as the idealization of all of Scotland and provided the Jacobite movement with a firmly Highland-centric identity.

The shift in the emphasis of the Jacobite ballads toward all things Highland began with the 1715 Rising, led by the Earl of Mar on behalf of James Stewart. The Rising came about as the result of Jacobite anger with the Hanoverian King George’s ascension to the throne in 1714, which was seen as a usurpation of King James’ throne. Although the Rising had some limited military success and demonstrated the willingness of the Jacobites to mobilize in support of the movement, the crucial Jacobite defeat at the Battle of Sheriffmuir on 13 November 1715 marked the end of the Rising and dealt a major blow to the confidence of the Jacobites. Notably, James himself did not manage to arrive in Scotland until after the defeat at Sheriffmuir and left for France before most of his supporters even knew he had arrived.

Though 1715 saw the creation of an increased number of ballads, the truly notable change in emphasis toward the Highlands came with the 1745 Rising and its aftermath.

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2 The battle took place in central Scotland, and was fought to determine control of the city of Stirling. Although the Jacobite suffered fewer casualties than the opposing forces, their smaller army suffered badly from the losses; though the battle was indecisive, the Jacobite inability to resume the fight immediately left them in a position of defeat. The situation was further exacerbated by the murder of Jacobite prisoners of war by the government forces after the battle. (See Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, pp 138, 153-160.)

Of the 300 ballads studied here, 115 were explicitly pro-Highland in tone and focus; of these, only eleven ballads were written before 1745. The majority of the Highland ballads were written during and after 1745 with nearly half of the corpus written between 1745 and 1751. (See Graph 2.1) The 1745 Rising was both larger and initially more militarily successful than that of 1715, and had the added benefit of being led by Prince Charles himself. The military successes of the Rising, though overshadowed by the eventual Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1746, served to inspire the Jacobites, and 1745 and 1746 consequently proved to be the two most productive years in the creation of the Highland ballads, reflecting the contemporary optimistic energy of the movement. The concentration of these ballads in the years of the Risings and immediately following is in keeping with general trends in the Jacobite ballads, as the years of active military action produced the largest numbers of ballads overall. The Highland ballads underwent a sharp increase during the 1745 Rising, and remained popular and were seen in increased numbers until 1751. This lasting popularity was likely due to continued belief that Charles would return to fight again, and was also fueled by Jacobite fury over the brutal suppression of the movement which followed the Rising. Increased Highland imagery and symbolism in the ballads during and following the Risings worked to create an image

4 The governmental suppression of the Jacobite movement was not limited to restricting their speech and clothing; on the contrary, government-sanctioned executions of Jacobites, their families, and those suspected of supporting the movement began immediately after the defeat at Culloden. Led mainly by Cumberland, known as the Butcher for his role in the massacres, the Hanoverian troops first executed wounded and captured Jacobite soldiers, and then made their way through Scotland, pillaging and killing any found in Highland clothing. The massacres were a major feature of later Scottish song, and promoting a long-standing resentment of England in Scottish historical memory. (See Magnusson, Scotland: The Story of a Nation, pp 622-624.)
of the Highlands, and Highland Scottish culture and history in particular, as the home of Jacobitism even after military defeat.

The Highland image was not one-dimensional, but used a variety of focal points and rhetorical strategies to create a complex image of Highland life and loyalty. The increase in Highland imagery was tied to simultaneous shifts in focus in related areas of Scottish political and cultural life. For example, the ballads notably began to focus specifically on Prince Charles during the 1745 Rising, and he remained a major focus throughout the corpus of Jacobite ballads. At the same time, a decreased emphasis on Scotland as a whole (relative to the focus on the Highlands) and an increase in anti-Lowland sentiment worked to create the image of the Highlands as the center of Jacobite loyalties and nationalist sentiment. (See Graphs 2.2 and 2.3) The ballads show this changing emphasis over time, with “the Highlands” taking the rhetorical place of “Scotland” in nationalistic song. This was accomplished not only by the simple replacement of one term with another, but also by the ideological division of Scotland, separating the idea of the Highlands from that of the Lowlands, and constructing the Highlands as the focus of the Jacobite movement. These factors were tied together in the creation of the Highlands as the symbol of Jacobite Scotland.

As the Highlands gained popularity as the seat of Scottish nationalism, the Lowlands were derided for being too English and for not properly supporting the Stewart claim, making them the target of Jacobite antipathy. At the time of the Jacobite risings, the Lowlands were indeed very culturally different from the Highlands. Scotland at the time of the Union was made up of two distinct Scottish identities, with the more cultured, English-like Lowlands, including Edinburgh and most of the major cities, standing in
contrast to the old Celtic clan-system-dominated Highlands. The Lowlands had more in common with England than with the Highlands, and the Highland Jacobites resented the Lowlanders for their perceived allegiance to England. William Donaldson points out that the antipathy went in both directions, as the Lowland Whigs often feared and hated the Highlanders, and anti-Jacobite sentiment often found an outlet in Whiggish anti-Highland song. David Johnson concludes that the music and culture of Lowland Scotland was radically different in style and sentiment, to the extent that Highland and Lowland song must be treated as separate genres. The political, social, and cultural differences between the two segments of Scotland contributed to the creation of a Highland-centric Scottish nationality which sought to define itself against the Lowlands as against other outsiders.

The Jacobite ballad lyrics which expressed contempt for the Lowlanders, their actions, leadership, and even “the Lowland Garb” illustrated the sentiments of ballad writers who gradually shifted to portraying the Lowlands as a foreign country: one which clearly did not measure up to the Highlands. The ballad “To Your Arms, My Bonny Highland Lads” not only glorified the Highlander fighters for their loyalty to Charles, presented as the rightful king, the battle leader, and a Highlander, but also attacked the Lowlanders. The lyrics mocked them for their actions at the battle of Prestonpans, saying


8 “Song Against the Lowland Garb” 1760, John Mac Codrum, Campbell Ballad # 27.
that the "...Lowland lads, when they saw the tartan plaids/Wheeled round to the right, and away they ran." Other songs were more ambiguous in their use of lyrics, such as the ballad which expressed contempt for the "Southron loons" who oppose the "Highland gentlemen"; this could refer either to the English or to the Lowlanders, but was left unclear. By belittling and criticising the Lowlands, the Jacobites made it clear that only Highland Scotland was a worthy home for Jacobitism and for the Stewart kings and emphasized the essential distinctiveness of the movement by rejecting the Lowlands as insufficiently Scottish.

Other aspects of the ballads which emphasized the Highland identity of the Jacobites included figurative and literary references, such as clothing and ruralist themes, which came to stand for both Jacobite and Highland identities. The ballads made use of many kinds of signs and symbols in song to serve as identification as part of the group.

9 "To Your Arms, My Bonny Highland Lads" JSB Ballad # 97.

10 "Turn the Blue Bonnet Wha' Can" JSB Ballad # 171.

marks of group distinctiveness, linkages to traditional Scottish Highland culture and history, and displays of loyalty and adherence to Highland ideals and leaders. Clothing, for example, has often been used as a visible marker of status or affiliation; as Anne Buck argues, when clothing has fulfilled the basic roles of protection and warmth it is designed for, "clothes become a means of personal and social expression." Although expensive and striking clothing was most often used by the elite to display their power and authority, using garments to indicate political, religious, economic, or trade affiliation was common to all social groups. Because clothing had the power to communicate potent messages, from the fourteenth century European governments instituted sumptuary laws which limited the clothing that could be worn by people of various social classes, with each class struggling to limit the clothing choices of the social group below itself. Philip Mansel, in his exploration of the apparel choices of political elites and rulers, highlights the use of national dress to convey political messages. Although he notes the important role national costume played for the Ottoman Empire, the Polish, and the Habsburgs, Mansel argues that it was in Scotland that national dress inspired the fiercest loyalty, due to the importance the Jacobites and their leaders placed on the tartan as a symbol of Scotland.

Visual representations of Jacobitism were seen in the use of clothing to signify support and in the use, in song, of coded symbols which were used to express pro-

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13 Buck, p 186-187.

Jacobite sentiments in a discrete fashion. The use of clothing elements to demonstrate support and identity as a Highland Jacobite played a vital role in the ballads. Clothing was an important element in the Jacobite world because it was a visible sign of loyalty, a point of contention, and an identifying mark which united the disparate clans which followed the Stewarts. During and after the 1745 Rising traditional elements of Highland garb, specifically the tartan and the blue bonnet, having been associated with the Jacobites for some time, came to signify support for the Stewart cause and for the Highlands more generally. (See Graph 2.4)

The most often used symbol in the Highland-centric ballads was the tartan or plaid, which came to stand for Scotland in general and for Highland valor in particular. Although at the time of the Risings specific tartans had yet to be associated with particular clans and families, the tartan was seen as a symbol of the Highlands generally. Alieen Ribeiro argues that the colors of the plaids, though not yet clan affiliated, were linked to regionalities with all people from an area wearing the same colors.\(^\text{15}\)

Donaldson points out that the traditional Highland dress had been an object of mockery, particularly from the Lowlanders, for centuries; the "outlandish dress" was symbolic of all the cultural aspects of the Highlands which set the Highlanders apart and made them unusual and dangerous.\(^\text{16}\) Magnus Magnusson notes that while tartans had been in use since at least the reign of King James V, at the time of Culloden in 1746 “there were no


\(^\text{16}\) Donaldson, 49-50.
tartans as distinguishing emblems of clan loyalty.” However, tartans signifying general Highland identity were commonly worn at the time of the Risings, particularly by clan militia; the plaid was adopted by Prince Charles particularly, and the ballads of this period were notable for their emphasis on Charlie’s wearing of the plaid. Ballads such as “The Garb of the Brave” and “The Proud Plaid” celebrated the tartan in its context as a symbol for Jacobitism. “The Garb of the Brave” made the explicit link, first praising the virtues of the plaid – “Give me the plaid, the light, the airy/Round my shoulder, under my arm/ Rather than English wool the choicest/ To keep my body tight and warm” and then defying those who sought to take away the plaid – “Let them tear our bleeding bosoms/ Let them drain our latest veins,/ In our hearts is Charlie, Charlie/ While a spark of life remains!” Later ballads, such as “The Wind has Blaw’d my Plaid Awa’ ” used the plaid to symbolically represent Charles himself, in exile in France, when it was not permissible to express open support of the Stewarts. This ballad laments the fact that “O’er the hills, and o’er the sea/ The wind has blawn my plaid frae me” but notes that “Though’ t has left me bare indeed/ And blawn my bonnet off my head/ There’s something hid in Highland brae/ It hasna blawn my sword away.” Thus, speaking in terms of clothing, the ballads could surreptitiously indicate the continuance of hope and support for the return of the Stewarts and their military success.

Other items of clothing used in a similar fashion included the blue bonnet, a traditional element of a Scottish soldier’s uniform, and the white rose, which expressed


support for the Stewarts. "The Bonny Highland Laddie", for example, praised Charles' virtues and wished "May Heaven still guard, and him reward/ Wi's bonnet blue and tartan plaidie". Another song, "Turn the Blue Bonnet Wha' Can", sought to draw in new converts to the cause by singing the praises of the bold Highland Jacobite soldier: "His arm is ready, his heart is steady/ And that they'll find when his claymore is drawn;/ They'll flee frae its dint like the fire frae flint/ Then turn the blue bonnet wha can, wha can!"  

The white rose, or white cockade, played a similar role in showing loyalty and belonging. "He's Coming Here" proclaims that "The king is come to Muideart bay/ And mony bagpipes blaw that/ And Caledon her white cockade/ And gude claymore may shaw yet." It was also used in enjoining followers to battle, as in the ballad which called "To your arms, to your arms, my bonny Highland lads!/ To your arms, to your arms, at the touk of the drum!/ The battle trumpet sounds, put on your white cockades/ For Charlie, the great prince regent is come." These symbols of Jacobitism and Scottishness were well established in the canon of ballads following the 1745 Rising and took on additional meaning as nostalgic remembrance enhanced the importance and emotional significance of symbolism and displays of loyalty. By making use of clear, distinctly Highland elements to serve as the identifying marks of Jacobite loyalty, the ballads linked such loyalty inextricably to the Highlands.

20 Anon., “Turn the Blue Bonnet Wha Can” JSB Ballad #171, pp 365-366.
21 Anon., “He’s Coming Here” JSB Ballad #83, 1745.
The British government attempted to quell Jacobite support in many areas, including the important realm of clothing. In 1746, the Act of Proscription was passed, banning the wearing of Highland garb. This act, commonly known to the Jacobites as the Disclothing Act, not only forbade traditional Highland clothing, but also reiterated earlier proscriptions on the use of weaponry. The act declared it illegal, on pain of imprisonment or transportation, to "...wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes the Plaid, Philabeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder-belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used...". The Act remained in effect until 1782, and the ballads written during the period of prohibition displayed a great deal of bitterness toward the ban. "A Song Against the Lowland Garb" bitterly opposed the loss of the Highland clothes, saying "Cursed be the King who took the plaid away." The ballad "The Turnimspike" likewise expressed contemporary disapproval of the prohibitions, complaining of the "alterations," lamenting the loss of traditional clothing, and voicing resentment that


"Scotland be tum' a England now" through the imposition of these laws. Ribeiro argues that the prohibitions were counterproductive for the English, succeeding only in "stirring up feelings of patriotism through their banning of Highland dress." Scottish national identity seemed threatened by these limitations, prompting Jacobite ire for the loss of national distinctiveness and symbolism.

Other Jacobite symbols were also used in the ballads, particularly when they needed to express covert support. Common symbols included the oak tree, deer, lions, and birds, particularly the blackbird and the lark. The symbol most commonly associated with both the Stewarts and with Highland sentiment was the thistle, the symbolic flower of Scotland; in the Jacobite ballads, the thistle was often set up symbolically in opposition to the English rose, as in James Hogg's ballad "The Thistle and the Rose". The thistle was a symbol of Highland Scottish endurance, much like the tough flower itself; the ballad "Welcome, Charlie, O'er the Main" expressed this sentiment, praising how the "ancient thistle wags her pow/ And proudly waves o'er dale and knowe," and then bragging that "nae foreign weed/ Shall trample on her hardy seed". In such ballads, the connection between the Highland symbol and the Stewarts was made clearly and with an eye to subtle displays of loyalty to both the Highlands and the cause. However, it is unclear to what extent the coding of ballads served to disguise the intentions of Jacobite

27 Ribeiro, p 81.
29 F.C. Banks of Clyde, "Welcome, Charlie, O'er the Main" JSB Ballad #168, 1817, pp 356-357.
writers; as Murray Pittock points out, "...the eighteenth century was as familiar with the concept of coded Jacobite display as our modern scholars." Consequently, the familiarity of symbols likely served more to identify ballads as belonging to the Jacobite tradition and to provide a symbolic language of communication than to truly hide their meaning. Symbols provided the Jacobites with a common language and tied them together, emphasizing their commonality as Highlanders with a goal of promoting national independence.

The lyrics and patterns of speech in the ballads promoted the Highlands in multiple ways, particularly in the creation of Bonny Prince Charlie as "the Highland Laddie." Prince Charles was the heart of the Jacobite movement from the 1745 Rising onwards, and the ballads reflect that reality. The Highland-centric ballads from 1745 onwards were nearly all about Charles, and the bias of the songs can be seen in their titles. Multiple songs about the prince were entitled "The Highland Laddie" or "The Bonny Highland Laddie"; others extolled the virtues of "Bonny Charlie", "Royal Charlie", or even "Highland Charlie". If these displays of fondness and Highland possessiveness of the prince were not enough, it is notable that many other ballads were slightly more subtle, camouflaging support for Charles in the form of love songs; hence, such ballads as "A Highland Lad my Love was Born", "My Love he was a Highland Lad", and "He’s Owre the Hills that I Lo’e Weel" all expressed support for Charles while firmly linking him to the Highlands.31 Though Charles was neither born nor raised in


31 Robert Burns, "A Highland Lad my Love was Born", Crawford Ballad #21; Anon., "My Love he was a Highland Lad", Hogg Ballad #35; Lady Nairn, "He’s Owre the Hills that I
Scotland, and spent almost no time in the Highlands during his life, he came to be seen as
the quintessential Highlander, aided by such ballads.

The ballad “Bonny Prince Charlie” exemplified a number of the ways in which
Charles was accommodated to the image of the Highland leader. It used most of the
standard visual cues, such as the tartan, white rose, and blue bonnet to identify Charlie
and his followers, and portrayed Charles as a loving father or king figure, asking “Wha
wadna follow thee?// Lang hast thou loved and trusted us fairly...”. It also depicted Charles
as a military leader, armed with a claymore, holding the loyalty of the Highland clan
leaders, and proclaimed him the ideal “King of the Highland hearts, bonny Prince
Charlie.” The text also made use of the tactic of opposition to disliked groups: “Down
through the Lowlands, down wi’ the Whigamore!/ Loyal true Highlanders, down wi’
them rarely!” The implication was clear; all of the “loyal true Highlanders” would
necessarily follow Charles, who represented the militant solidarity of the Highlands and
promised victory.  

Charles as Highland leader provided a particularly useful and
effective focus for nationalist sentiment, which used both the person of the prince and the
idea of Highland heroism to shape the ideal leader for an independent Scotland.

The ballads also assigned Charles idealistic motives for his actions on behalf of
his claim to the throne, presenting him as a heroic defender of Scottish tradition and law.
The ballad “Turn the Blue Bonnet Wha Can” presented Charlie accompanied by all of the
standard Highland symbols and as a military leader, but also as a moral and ideological
leader. The lyrics proclaim that “There’s some will fight for siller and gowd/And march

Lo’e Weel”, JSB Ballad # 172.

to countries far awa';/ They'll pierce the waefu' stranger's heart,/And never dream of honour or law.” This song implied not only that the Highlanders were fighting for their own country, not for profit, but also that their intention was to protect law and honor—both Scottish national honor and that of the Stewarts.\(^{33}\) The Jacobite national identity was thus inextricably tied up with Charlie as a Highlander. Pittock notes the interconnectedness of personality and politics, arguing that James, and later Charles, “...was not the symbolic leader of the nation alone: he was the nation - and Jacobite poetry in Scotland can be marked by a passionate patriotism which does not distinguish the two...”\(^{34}\) As the Highland hero, Charlie was the heart of the Jacobite movement and loaned his constructed identity to his followers, strengthening the Highland image of the movement.

The ballads worked to create a canon of heroes and villains whom Jacobite followers could sympathize with and look up to, or alternately hate and vilify. These shared focal figures tied the Jacobite movement together, linked them to the Highland past, and constructed a dichotomy that the Jacobites could place themselves within. Clearly the most prominent Highland hero, both in reality and in the text of the Jacobite ballads, was Prince Charles. Constructed as the “Highland Laddie” who would save Scotland, Charles was the main focus of most of the ballads. James fared less well in the musical realm; while early ballads focussed on James, the arrival of Charles and his army in the 1745 Rising thoroughly upstaged James. Notably, James was never closely

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\(^{33}\) Anon., “Turn the Blue Bonnet Wha Can” JSB Ballad #171, pp 365-366.

associated with Highland sentiment; the ballads that focused on James tended to deal with Britain as a whole or Scotland rather than the Scottish Highlands. Pittock argues that the "combined image of sacred monarch and patriot hero" that Charles presented, and that was emphasized in Jacobite song, provided a strong national symbol designed to appeal to the upper classes and the intellectuals.\textsuperscript{35} At the same time, the popular image of Charlie as a Highlander, dressed and acting in the same ways as his followers, had a great deal of power to sway affections at the popular level, broadening his appeal. Ultimately, therefore, it was Prince Charles who came to stand for Scottish nationalism and independence.

The ballads set up other Highland figures besides the royal family as heroes and martyrs for the Jacobite cause, particularly Highland clan leaders such as Argyll, Macdonald, Lochiel, Fraser, Cameron, and many others. They were praised for loyalty to the Stewarts, bravery in battle, and moral and financial support of the cause. Some ballads, such as "The Braes of Mar" were little more than lists of the clan leaders who fought in various battles.\textsuperscript{36} Others were dedicated to extolling the virtues of one particular clan or leader; "The Gathering of the Macdonalds" did both, praising both the clan as a whole and the various leaders of families within the clan.\textsuperscript{37} However, it must be noted that many of these clan-related ballads were either written by clan members or paid for by the clan in order to establish an image of extraordinary heroism and loyalty. For

\textsuperscript{35} Pittock, Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685-1789. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), p 53.

\textsuperscript{36} Alexander Laing, "The Braes of Mar", JSB Ballad #155, pp 328-329.

\textsuperscript{37} Anon., "Gathering of the Macdonalds", JSB Ballad #72, 1745, pp 156-157.
example, the 1715 ballad “The Gathering of the Hays” which praised the clan’s bravery in supporting the Rising was penned by James Hay, a clan member with a vested interest in making the Hays look good. The clans attempted to identify themselves with the image of militant Scottish nationalism put forward by the Jacobite movement and so to self-identify as true Scottish patriots. Pittock highlights the significant role assigned to clan loyalty to the Jacobite cause, but cautions against placing too much emphasis on the clans as the major impetus of the Jacobite movement. He argues that to focus overmuch on the clans is a mistake which obscures the wider national support for the movement. However, it cannot be disputed that clan leaders took on the role of heroes and martyrs in the ballads, providing important role models for nationalist supporters.

Some of the ballads did more than praise a clan leader; in the case of the Earl of Derwentwater, for example, the ballad tradition did a great deal to establish Derwentwater as both a popular hero and a martyr to the Jacobite cause. James Radcliffe, the third Earl of Derwentwater, was a supporter of the Jacobite cause who was executed by the English for his part in the 1715 Rising. The ballad “Derwentwater’s Farewell,” written in 1716, the year of Derwentwater’s execution, did a great deal to popularize the Earl in Jacobite memory. The ballad had Derwentwater remark that “If thou and I have lost our lives/ Our king has lost his crown”, thus lamenting his death but reckoning it

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little loss when compared to King James’ situation.\textsuperscript{41} By subsuming individuals’ losses and deaths to the needs of the Jacobite movement, the ballads promoted solidarity and a willingness to sacrifice for king and country: in short, patriotism.

By depicting and praising individual heroes for the cause, all with strong links to the Highlands and to the clans which supported the Stewarts, the Jacobite ballads gave listeners role models to impel their loyalty and dedication to the cause. However, the Jacobite canon did not confine itself to creating modern heroes for the cause, but made use of Scottish history both to strengthen the claims of the Stewarts and to play on the sentimental national pride based on past successes. One of the best examples of this use was in the sorrowful ballad “Lenachan’s Farewell”, written in 1746. In preparing to die for the Jacobite cause, the speaker did not regret his association with Charles but mourned the loss of his life and the fact that he would not return home. He spoke, however, of the impossibility of refusing to join the Jacobite cause: “Charlie Stuart he came here/ For our king, as right became;/ Wha could shun the Bruce’s heir?/ Wha could tine our royal name?” By linking Charles’ claim to the throne with the legendary Bruce, the song highlighted the link to the past and to the legal claim the Stewarts held to the throne of Scotland based on their heritage.\textsuperscript{42} Pittock argues that this use of a historical example serves to emphasize the universality of the Scottish struggle for freedom, linking past to present in an unchanging fight for liberty and national independence.\textsuperscript{43}

A contrasting use of the same phenomenon was seen in the 1745 ballad “Wha

\textsuperscript{41} Anon., “Derwentwater’s Farewell”, JSB Ballad # 49, 1716.

\textsuperscript{42} Anon., “Lenachan’s Farewell” JSB Ballad #125, 1746, pp 262-263.

\textsuperscript{43} Pittock, \textit{Poetry and Jacobite Politics}, 219.
"Wadna Fight For Charlie?" The rhetorical question of the title was supported throughout the song with nationalistic, patriotic declarations of the superiority of Prince Charles and his desire to protect Scotland and free it from the "foreign sway" of "tyrants." The ballad used Scots dialect, clan affiliations, clothing symbols, anti-foreign sentiments, and declarations of the superiority of the "Highland hearts as true as steel," and praised the "northern clans" as "kilted warriors." However, it went beyond these typical elements to tie the current political and military situation to the past, urging listeners to "Think on Scotia's ancient heroes;/ Think on foreign foes repelled;/ Think on glorious Bruce and Wallace;/ Wha the proud usurpers quelled." Neatly tying the past to the present, the ballad made the implicit link between the usurpers of history and the current foreign rulers; in the typical fashion of the songs of the 1745 Rising, the ballad took a strongly militant and positive tone, declaring that "Now our prince has raised his banner;/ Now triumphant is our cause;/ Now the Scottish lion rallies;/ Let us strike for prince and laws.” Thus the past served as both justification and inspiration for the Jacobite movement, providing another source of nationalistic Highland pride.44

While the ballads were highly successful in creating role models for nationalism, they also excelled in vilifying the enemies of the Jacobite movement. It is notable that the Jacobites seem to have been heartily opposed to just about everyone who was not a Highland Scot. The ballads express clear contempt for everyone from the Hanoverians to the Whigs, encompassing most foreign nationalities, selected individual villains, and traitors to the Jacobite cause. (See Graph 2.5) In all cases of this antipathy, the ballads set up a clear dichotomy, defining the villains of the piece as clearly not-Scottish or not-

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Highlander, making the outsiders even more of a threat to the movement, and therefore to
Scottish nationalism.

One of the most hated groups was the Hanoverian establishment in general, and
the "usurper kings" in specific. Some ballads mocked William and George specifically
for their lack of legally-constituted kingship, such as the ballads "Tho' Geordie Reigns in
Jamie's Stead" and "Geordie Sits in Charlie's Chair". Others, such as "Whurry Whigs

45 The Hanoverians, William and George in particular, were resented as outsiders who had
taken the throne away from legitimate Stewart control. Since they were both foreign,
hailing from Continental Europe, and removed from the direct Stewart line of kingship,
their claim to the throne was seen as tenuous. While the Jacobites also opposed the
Hanoverians on the basis of their political and religious stances, they were never
prepared to accept foreign kings, and their visceral hatred of the foreign monarchs was
well-represented in song. (See Magnusson, Scotland; Jenny Wormald, "Confidence and
Perplexity" in Scotland: A History, pp.165-169.)

46 Anon., "Whurry Whigs Awa", JSB Ballad # 62, 1715, pp. 133-138; John Roy Stuart,
"Another Song on Culloden Day", Campbell Ballad #20, 1746, pp.177-185; Anon.,
"Come, Let Us Be Jovial", JSB Ballad #67, 1715, pp 147-148; Anon., "Our ain
Country", Hogg Ballad #LXXXI, 1723, pp 136-137; Alexander Mac Donald, "Another
Fragment", Campbell Ballad #14, 1751, pp 129-131; Anon., "Clan-Ronald's Men", JSB
Ballad #134, 1746, pp 280-282; Allan Cunningham, "Drumossie Muir", JSB Ballad
#197, pp 411-412; Anon., "O! He's Been Lang o' Coming", JSB Ballad #102, 1746, pp
214-215; Alexander Mac Donald, "Another Song to the Prince", Campbell Ballad #15,
1751, pp 133-137; Alexander Mac Donald, "Another Incitement for the Gaels",
Campbell Ballad #16, 1751, pp 139-143; Adam Skirving, "Johnnie Cope", OBSV Ballad
#120, 1745; William Nicholson, "The Fate of Charlie", JSB Ballad #180, pp 384-385;
John Roy Stuart, "Culloden Day", Campbell Ballad #19, 1746, pp 169-175; Rob Donn
Mackay, "The Song of the Black Coats", Campbell Ballad #26, 1829, pp 237-245; John
Mac Codrum, "A Song Against the Lowland Garb", Campbell Ballad #27, 1760, pp 249-
253; Anon., "General Cope's Travels", JSB Ballad #93, 1745, p 192; Alexander Mac
Donald, "Charles Son of James", Campbell Ballad #5, 1751, pp 53-61; Alexander Mac
Donald, "A Waulking Song", Campbell Ballad #17, 1751, pp 145-153; Mussel-mou'd
Charlie, "Geordie Sits in Charlie's Chair", JSB Ballad #128, 1746, pp 268-270; Anon.,
"Killiecrankie", JSB Ballad #4, pp 6-8; Anon., "Up and Rin Awa', Willie", JSB Ballad
#133, 1746, pp 278-279; Anon., "Welcome Charlie o'er the Main", Harding B 45(15),
1813; Alexander Cameron, "A Song to Donald Ban Son of Donald Dubh, Laird of
Lochiel", Campbell Ballad # 28, 1746, pp 257-263; Anon., "On the Restoration of the
Forfeited Estates, 1784", JSB Ballad #150, 1784, pp 316-317; Alexander Laing, "The
Awa’” attacked the rulers on a more personal level: “Next we got owre an Orange king/
That played wi’ parties baith, man;/ A hogan-mogan foreign thing/ That wrought a world
o’ skaith, man.” Such anti-Hanoverian songs went hand-in-hand with the xenophobia
often seen in Jacobite songs.47 Pittock characterizes Jacobite xenophobia as a reaction to
the “xenophobia directed against the peripheries of the emerging state of Britain” by the
Hanoverian government; in marginalizing Ireland and Scotland, the government
awakened deep national resentments.48 Anti-German and anti-Dutch sentiment were
commonly seen in songs about the Hanoverian kings, and the Highland-centric ballads

47 Braes of Mar”, JSB Ballad #155, pp 328-329; Anon., “The Battle of Killiecrankie”,
Hogg Ballad #XVII, 1689, pp 28-30; Alexander Mac Donald, “The Song of the Clans”,
Campbell Ballad #7, 1751, pp 73-85; Anon., “The Bonny Highland Laddie”, JSB Ballad
#95, 1745, pp 196-198; Anon., “Prince Charlie”, Harding B 11(3362), 1840; Dugald
Highlandmen Came Down the Hill”, JSB Ballad #101, 1746, pp 212-213; William Ross,
“A Song to the Marquis of Graham and to the Highland Dress”, Campbell Ballad #31,
1782, pp 281-285; Anon., “Royal Charlie”, Harding B 45(15), 1813; Anon., “Gathering
Rant”, JSB Ballad #73, 1745, pp158-159; Anon., “Highland Laddie”, JSB Ballad #87,
1745, pp 179-180; Anon.,”The Clans are Coming”, JSB Ballad #76, 1745, pp 163-164;
Alexander Mac Donald,”A New Song”, Campbell Ballad #6, 1751, pp 63-71; Anon.,
“Tho' Geordie reigns in Jamie's Stead”, Crawford Ballad # 51, 1750; Anon., “The
Highlander's Farewell”, BHV Ballad #216, p.216; Alexander Mac Donald,”A Certain
Song”, Campbell Ballad #8, 1751, pp 87-93; Alexander Mac Donald, “The Proud Plaid”,
Campbell Ballad #18, 1751, pp155-163.

48 Anon., “Killiecrankie”, JSB Ballad #4, pp 6-8; Anon., “Battle Song”, JSB Ballad #170,
pp 362-364; Anon., “Wha Wadna Fight for Charlie?”, JSB Ballad #90, 1745, pp 185-
186; Anon., “Whurry Whigs Awa”, JSB Ballad # 62, 1715, pp 133-138; John Roy
Stuart, “Another Song on Culloden Day”, Campbell Ballad #20, 1746, pp 177-185;
Country”, Hogg Ballad #LXXXI, 1723, pp 136-137; Anon., “The wee wee German
Lairdie”, Hogg Ballad #LI, pp 83-85; Alexander Mac Donald,”Another Incitement for
the Gaels”, Campbell Ballad #16, 1751, pp 139-143; Anon., “Oh! He's Been Lang o'
Coming”, JSB Ballad #102, 1746, pp 214-215.

Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics, 46.
were careful to point out the superiority of the Highlanders.49

The Jacobite disapproval of other groups extended to the political realm within Britain as well as without; dislike of the Whigs as a political group and of England as a foreign and tyrannous nation ran high in the ballads. The most effective vilifications, however, were typically those of an individual; the scathing songs written about English General John Cope, for example, were notable for their scornful treatment and mockery of a military opponent.50 Another example was the Jacobite songs’ treatment of William, the Duke of Cumberland, also known as “Butcher Cumberland” in the Highlands.51

Ballads like “Up and Rin Awa', Willie” promised vengeance for the Scots, saying that “The Highland clans will rise again/ And chase you far awa’, Willie”; they also claimed that Cumberland ought to “thank God for evermore” that he had not tangled with the


Highland clans in battle, or they would have “chased you faster off the field/ Than ever wind did blaw”.\textsuperscript{52} Other songs against Cumberland were bitterly scathing, such as the ballad “On William, Duke of Cumberland,” which claimed that upon his death, “In hell he cannot enter/ The devil no equal will admit.”\textsuperscript{53} Such political and personal attacks in the Jacobite lyric added to the movement’s hatred and resentment of its enemies, and fueled the long term resentment to which the Jacobites clung.

The constructed Highland identity of Jacobitism established the movement within a distinctly defined nationalist context. The image of the Jacobite Highlander as a plaid-clad, fighting clan member devoted to the land, the clan, and Bonnie Prince Charlie fit neatly with the image the Jacobites needed. Donaldson highlights the ideals which the movement adopted from the Highland emphasis, including a “…notion of warlike valour shielding political liberty and independence; the idea of superior Scots hardihood and vigour seen at its highest in a Highland setting… and finally a spirit of nationalistic assertiveness…”, all of which served to give the movement purpose and identity.\textsuperscript{54} The Highland-centric Jacobite ballads made use of a wide range of cultural, historic, and emotional elements to construct a Highland identity for the movement and to seek to establish it as the genuine Scottish Jacobite identity. This Highland identity was carefully constructed as a national identity threatened by England and foreign rule, in need of defense, and reliant on the Stewarts for leadership and idealism. It sought to define the Jacobite movement in terms of a positive identity, staking out who and what they were,

\textsuperscript{52} Anon., “Up and Rin Awa', Willie” JSB Ballad #133, 1746, pp 278-279.


\textsuperscript{54} Donaldson, The Jacobite Song, 71.
where they came from, and where they stood. By providing a usefully nationalistic history, convenient signs and symbols, heroes, martyrs, a cause, and villains to fight against, the Highland identity encapsulated the elements necessary to allow Jacobite supporters to buy into the idealised version of Highland Scotland and treat it as their own.
Chapter Three: Anti-Whiggery and Anglophobia

Xenophobic, religiously intolerant, and dismissive of all opposing political viewpoints, the Scottish Jacobite ballads often seem entirely negative in nature. The Jacobite balladeers were fiercely antagonistic, criticising and belittling enemies, attacking nationalities, religions, and political viewpoints they disagreed with, and accusing their enemies of being in league with the Devil, among other expressions of distaste. Two major antipathies of the movement were prominently featured in the canon of ballads and played an important role in the shaping of national identity. The first was the hatred of the Whig political party, and the second the hatred of the English as a nation and as individuals. The Jacobite movement underwent a shift in emphasis during and following the 1745 Rising which changed the major ideological nemesis of the Scottish Jacobites from the Whig political party to England. The suspicious and xenophobic nature of Jacobitism, particularly following the movement's military defeat left the Jacobites with a lasting hatred of the English and a suspicion of the Union. The shift in antagonism was prompted by political and military events, particularly the failures of the Risings of 1715 and 1745 and by an ever-increasing resentment of the English as sentimental retrospective views of the movement's history took hold. The changing focus of their antipathy from the Whigs to England as the major enemy of Jacobite Scotland and its freedom was illustrated through a number of shifts in the Jacobite lyric. This focal shift served to establish the Jacobite
Scottish national identity as one fundamentally opposed to England by defining Scottish nationalism in terms of who and what they did not want to be.

The shift from an anti-Whig to an anti-English focus of Jacobite hatred was marked by the changing antipathies expressed in the Jacobite ballads. Whereas the early ballads up to 1716 were primarily focused on opposition to the Whig political party and their actions, the Rising of 1745 brought with it a radical change in tone. From 1745 onward the English were the main enemy of Jacobite Scotland; as the movement redefined its priorities and its own idea of what it meant to be Scottish, England came to stand for all that was offensive to the Jacobites. In fact, Anglophobic sentiment was one of the distinguishing features of later Jacobite ballads and continued to form an important part of the canon in the revisionist Romantic ballads later written in imitation of the Jacobite canon. The antipathy towards the English, and the Union, seen in later Jacobite song is illustrative of the important role that hatred of the English played for the movement's self-identity. (See Graphs 3.1 and 3.2).

Though the anti-Whig and anti-English ballads had a great many differences in style and content, the two groups of ballads also shared a number of crucial elements. For one, they were almost universally pro-Stewart in outlook, having this in common with all Jacobite cultural productions. These ballads all took great care to promote and protect the image of the Stewarts and sought to encourage their return. Similarly, the ballads shared an antipathy toward King William and King George. Though the anti-Whig ballads were more political and payed more heed to the specifics of English politics and governance, the anti-English ballads showcased a great deal of vitriolic abuse toward the Hanoverians. Both sets of ballads attacked the Hanoverians on the basis of their “shaky” legal claim to
the throne and defended the Stewart claim absolutely. The ballads shared a pro-Highland bias and a fondness for Highland clan leaders who supported the Risings, incorporating Highland symbolism to indicate support for the Highland ideal. Thus, although the primary antipathy differed, both sets of ballads promoted the essential image of Scotland as a nation at war for their rightful king and with firm Highland ideals of independence and fighting honor.

Anti-foreign sentiment, a marked attention to James Stewart, religious concerns, and the idea of the British nation all appeared in the anti-Whig ballads to a degree not seen in the later anti-English ballads. (See graph 3.3) The differences between the anti-Whig and anti-English ballads were numerous, and illustrative of the changes in outlook that took place in the Jacobite movement. As the political and military situation developed, with the Hanoverians becoming a more established presence and the English wielding ever-more power over Scotland, the foci of the ballads shifted commensurately. Anti-English ballads eventually supplanted the anti-Whig ballads as the focus of Jacobite antipathy shifted to concentrate on the English as oppressors of Scotland. The varying preoccupations of the Jacobite movement translated to shifting emphases within the canon of ballads, and some of these differences can be observed by comparing these two groups of ballads.

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1 The Jacobites considered the Hanoverian claim to the throne weak, particularly in comparison to the Stewart claim. William of Orange took the throne in 1689, laying claim to it through his wife Mary, daughter of the exiled James VII (and II), Prince Charles’ grandfather. From William, the throne passed to Mary’s sister Anne, and then to George, Elector of Hanover. Though George was the great-grandson of James VI (and I), he was born and raised German, and the Scots disliked him from the beginning. Though all of these monarchs were related to the Stewarts, James VII’s son James and grandson Charles were the most direct descendants, and their supporters felt that their claim to the throne far surpassed that of distant relatives and foreigners. (Magnusson, pp 511, 560.)
The anti-Whig ballads displayed a marked antipathy toward foreigners, as the Jacobites attempted to delineate the nature of their own nationality and negatively identify those who were not Scottish. Fourteen of the anti-Whig songs castigated various groups of foreigners; in fact, all but two of these ballads were written against the Germans or the Dutch, while the remaining two displayed anti-Turkish sentiments. Many of the ballads objected to foreign persons and powers specifically because of the Hanoverian rulers; the ballad “The Chevalier’s Birthday” complained, for example, that “...the German renegades/With foreign yokes oppress us/ Though George our property invades/ And Stuart’s throne possesses.” The idea of foreigners in charge of the country was one which prompted calls for change, as this ballad continued on to encourage the Jacobites to “Expel that race, the curst entail/ Of Whiggish revolution./ Be bought and sold no more/ By a sordid German power.” Other lyrics also linked foreigners with the mistreatment of Scottish or British subjects, as in the 1716 ballad “What Murrain now has ta’en the Whigs”, which claimed that “Our jails with British subjects cram’d/ Our scaffolds reek with


blood, sir;/ And all but Whigs and Dutch are damn'd/ By the fanatic crowd, sir."\(^4\) The Whigs held a great deal of political power, and the imbalance of power was obvious in 1715 when almost all of George I's ministry was composed of foreigners and Whigs, and Whig politicians replaced their opponents in all positions of power throughout the government.\(^5\) This sudden change in the power dynamic, combined with the rising militarism of the Jacobites, prompted an ever-more antagonistic outlook toward the Whigs and their foreign allies. With allegations of foreign control and abuses, such as lyrics which complained about Britain being under the control of power-hungry Hanoverians, the anti-Whig ballads also made explicit connections between Whigs and foreigners. This link placed the Whigs in opposition to British interests, just as the ballads castigated those who cooperated with foreign powers as traitors. The explicit xenophobia of the Jacobite movement reflected concerns about the nature of Scottish nationalism, because defining Scottish people in terms of ethnic or linguistic unity was problematic. The vast differences between the cultures and of Highland and Lowland Scotland was an example of this; the Highlanders, to a great extent, spoke Gaelic and lived in traditional clan systems, whereas the Lowlanders spoke English and lived in cities and towns. Worries about how to delineate the boundaries of Scottish nationality played into the mistrust and visceral hatred of foreigners observed in Jacobite song.

The xenophobia of the Jacobites found one major exception in Jacobite attitudes toward the French. For historical and contemporary political reasons, the Jacobites found the French their closest allies. The close relationship between France and Scotland

\(^4\) Anon., "What Murrain now has ta'en the Whigs" Hogg Ballad #87, 1716, pp.146-147.

stretched back for centuries; in the centuries of near-constant warfare between the English and the French, and between Scotland and England, England’s enemies often fought together. The “Auld Alliance”, as this relationship was called, was sealed many times with marriages between the royal families of the two nations; Mary Queen of Scots, for example, married the Dauphin of France and was briefly Queen of France before her husband’s untimely death. During the Risings, France was one of the few continental powers to offer financial and military support to the military movement, as well as sheltering and supporting the exiled Stewarts and their followers in France for decades. As the one major foreign power that the Jacobites did not hate, France appeared rarely in the ballads, as the Jacobites did not choose to define themselves in opposition to their greatest ally.6

In contrast, only four anti-English ballads showed anti-foreign sentiment directed towards Continental powers and people.7 The reasons for the shift away from contempt for foreigners in the later Anglophobic ballads are not immediately evident, as their lyrics continued to display a great deal of anti-Hanoverian sentiment. However, it seems that anti-English sentiment came to replace the hatred for other foreigners; the anti-English ballads posed the same kinds of complaints about the English as the other ballads did about

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foreigners. The Jacobite lyric gradually replaced one anti-foreign sentiment with another, placing the English in the position of evil foreigners in place of the Germans and Dutch. Murray Pittock argues that this process was two-sided; as the English made use of denigrating stereotypes to marginalize and alienate the “disgraced and disliked Celtic fringe”, the Jacobites retaliated against this propaganda by deliberately fueling their own hatred of the English. Thus the Jacobite ballads retained an inherently distrustful outlook toward foreigners but redefined the idea of foreignness to make England less of a neighbor and more of an enemy, promoting views of Scotland as a distinctly different entity.

In an unusual manner for Jacobite song, the anti-Whig ballads paid more heed to James than to Charles. Thirty-three of the anti-Whig ballads concerned James, while only twenty-three concerned Charles. The anti-Whig ballads’ focus on James Stewart was due

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in large part to the timing of the ballads and the respective prominence of the two Stewart royal claimants at various times. The anti-Whig ballads, generally written earlier than the anti-English ones, covered the period of time before Charles came to prominence in the Jacobite movement. In this period, many more songs were written about James than about Charles, for the simple reason that Charles was not yet well known. This focus was significant because of the differing political implications for Scotland associated with each of the Stewart figures. In the Jacobite canon, James was written as British and anti-Whig, while Charles was portrayed as the epitome of the Anglophobic Scottish Highlander. After the 1745 Rising, Charles took center stage in the thoughts and affections of the Jacobites, consequently shifting the political focus of the ballads and the movement. The later trend of songs portraying Charles as a distinctly Scottish Highland entity accompanied a changed focus in anti-English song, ignoring James in favor of Charles. (See Graphs 3.4 and 3.5). With the shifted emphasis, the movement took on a far more Highland-centric, autonomously Scottish political tone which emphasized the centrality of Prince Charlie to the reclamation of an independent Scottish nation.

The anti-Whig ballads placed a great deal of emphasis on matters of religion and theology in order to vilify the enemies of the Jacobite movement. In fact, twenty-eight of the anti-Whig ballads dealt with some issue of religion, such as confessionalism, doctrine, and the political implications of a particular branch of Christianity. By contrast, only eight

of the anti-English ballads touched on such topics. The ballads displayed a wide range of religious concerns, primary among them the fear that the Church was under threat from the Whigs and the Hanoverian establishment. Though the official Kirk of Scotland was Presbyterian, prior to their removal the Stewart kings had been pursuing a policy of attempting to convert Scotland to Episcopacy to bring Scotland more in line with the pro-Catholic leanings of the Stewarts. The Hanoverians, by contrast, were pro-Lutheran and more Protestant in tone, and the supporters of the Stewarts saw these tendencies as a danger to the goals of the Stewart monarchs. The ballad “The King’s Anthem” expressed such concerns, saying “God bless the church, I pray/ Pure to remain/ Free from all Whiggery/ And Whig hypocrisy/ Who strive maliciously/ Her to defame.” Another ballad, “The Rebellious Crew”, summed up the general blameworthiness of the Whigs in its’ opening lyrics: “Ye Whigs are a rebellious crew/ The plague of this poor nation/ Ye give not God nor Caesar due/ Ye smell of reprobation.” The Whigs, as opponents of the Stewarts, were natural targets of ridicule and slander; to insult their religion and to imply ungodliness was an effective attack, painting the entire political group as enemies of godly Scots.

Notably, the Whigs were not the only religious targets of the anti-Whig ballads.

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12 Anon., “The King’s Anthem”, JSB Ballad #65, 1715, pp 143-44.

The ballads were, by turn, anti-Presbyterian, anti-Lutheran, anti-Protestant, and a few were even anti-Catholic (although many more were pro-Catholic in support of the Catholic leanings of the Stewarts). (See Graph 3.6) Anti-Presbyterian sentiment was the most common, as when “The King’s Anthem” prayed for blessings on Charles, in the hopes “That Scotland we may see/Freed from vile Presbyt’ry”. The anti-Presbyterian sentiment generally extended from resentment of the Covenanter forces which had brought about the execution of Charles I (James’ great-grandfather) in 1649; this violence to the Stewart line earned the Presbyterians the undying hatred of stalwart Stewart supporters.\(^4\) Anti-Lutheran sentiment was also displayed, but generally in connection with anti-German sentiment more generally. The 1746 ballad “The Appearance of Cromwell’s Ghost on the Eve of the Battle of Culloden” envisioned Luther, Calvin, and Knox all keeping Cromwell company in Hell, “Where Whigs and Independents made/A most prodigious host.”\(^5\) The ballad “Plain Truth” criticised the Whigs for involvement with foreigners and Protestants, saying that “The Whigs they may brag, but when all’s said and done/ They’re blind as an owl in the face of the sun;/ Their dandilly Dutch and their Austrian combine/ To support a base king, of a Protestant line.”\(^6\) Pittock notes that the Lutheranism of the Hanoverians was a subject of great contention among the Jacobites, who resented their Lutheran leanings and regarded the Catholic Stewarts as a preferable religious leadership.\(^7\) The Jacobites, a religious minority in Britain due to their caesaropapist leanings, wished to see a king in place who

\(14\) Magnusson, 445-450.


\(16\) Anon., “Plain Truth” Hogg Ballad #56, 1779, pp 93-94.

\(17\) Murray Pittock, *Inventing and Resisting Britain*, 40, 102.
would sympathize with their religious views, making a Lutheran king undesirable. Political and xenophobic sentiments propelled the religious antipathies of the movement, as the Jacobites sought to delineate the appropriate religious sentiments for their movement and hence for all of Scotland.

In the religious complaints, and also in the support of the Catholic leanings of the Stewarts, the anti-Whig ballads tide religious ideas and sentiments to questions of political legitimacy. In regards to the Union, for example, Pittock exemplifies the complicated nature of religion in Scotland in saying that "Episcopalians were political nationalists and ecclesiastical unionists, while the established Presbyterian Kirk was the reverse." This complicated religious and political formula translated into strong Episcopalian support for the Stewarts and for the end of the Union; thus, the highly Episcopalian Jacobite movement was able to cast itself as pro-Stewart and anti-Union, to the end of proving their own commitment to Scottish nationalism.

The anti-Whig ballads also made use of religion in defining the Jacobite movement as one which stood for particular religious ideals under the leadership of the Stewarts; the anti-English ballads moved away from this idea to use religious ideology to promise divine retribution on England. The political nature of the anti-Whig ballads made the use of religion highly useful, whereas the anti-English ballads had little to do with religion. These two different forms of religious expression within the politically-centered ballads highlighted several aspects of Jacobite nationalist sentiment. Religion was useful in defining the Jacobites as adherents to the Stewart line by attacking those who disagreed with the religious stances of the Stewarts, as well as combining religious resentment with

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xenophobia to define the movement in opposition to foreigners with foreign religious ideas. The Anglophobic ballads, on the other hand, emphasized the coming wrath of God on the English for their actions against Scotland. “The Frasers in the Correl”, for example, assured listeners that “beyond yon red sun/ Dwell One who beholds all the deeds that are done;/ Their crimes on the tyrants one day He’ll repay,/ And the names of the brave shall not perish for aye.” For the Jacobites, then, religion provided a moral high ground and a promise of revenge on their enemies from a God who was clearly on their side and approved of their valour and bravery. Religion, thus used to define the enemies of Scotland, provided an effective point of criticism and gave the movement moral legitimacy as they positioned themselves as defending “true religion” against foreigners and enemies.

One of the notable differences between the anti-Whig and anti-English ballads was the concept of Britain and the Union. The Union was a touchy subject in British politics, particularly around the 1715 Rising. Daniel Szechi characterizes the situation in 1715, when England and Scotland were supposedly fully incorporated into an imperial Union, as one of uncertainty. He argues that “Scotland remained an uneasily semi-autonomous zone within the overall embrace of the new British state.” Neither fully united to England nor allowed to be autonomous and independent, Scotland existed in a state of political flux which was exacerbated by dynastic, religious, and political conflict. This uncertain relationship with the Union was displayed in the Jacobite ballads, which ran the gamut of opinion but tended toward a rejection of Union in favour of full Scottish independence.

The anti-English ballads were almost universally opposed to the idea of a united

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Britain and the anti-Union sentiment seen in these ballads bore testimony to the negative response of the Jacobites to the idea of Union. However, the anti-Whig ballads had a more accepting attitude toward the idea, with eight ballads openly supporting the idea of a united Britain unified against the Whigs and other enemies.\(^\text{21}\) Almost all of the pro-Union ballads were early in origin, with only one written after 1716. The 1715 ballad “Britons, Who Dare Claim” extolled the virtues of Britain’s “church, king, and laws”, and urged all Britons to “Join in the defence/ Of James, our lawful prince/ And native king.” The Whigs were here linked with foreign outsiders (“Down with Dutch politics,/ Whigs, and all fanatics”) and portrayed as standing against all that was admirably British.\(^\text{22}\) Likewise, the ballad “O What’s the Matter wi’ the Whigs?” blamed the Whigs for the downfall of Britain and the rule by outsiders, sarcastically saying that “Now Britain may rejoice and sing/ ‘Tis once a happy nation/ Governed by a German thing/ Our sovereign by creation.”\(^\text{23}\) The Whigs were again portrayed as the cause of Britain’s loss of native rule and castigated for the overthrow of traditional British rule and laws. Though the anti-Whig ballads were not universally opposed to Union, they delineated what was acceptable within the Union; while a Union of British nations was not unfavourable in itself, allowing foreigners such as the Hanoverians to control the nation was an unacceptable concept. The anti-Whig ballads thus promoted a different view of Scotland in the context of the Union, with the emphasis


\(^\text{22}\) Anon., “Britons, Who Dare to Claim”, JSB Ballad # 66, 1715, pp 145-146.

on protecting the country from foreign rule rather than from the Union itself. Though this particular group of ballads accepted a wider definition of nation, allowing Scotland to exist within the Union, the Jacobites were nevertheless concerned with regaining Stewart kingship to rescue Scotland from foreigners and Whigs.

In contrast to the anti-Whig ballads, the particularly Anglophobic ballads revealed a shifting emphasis within the movement to reject the idea of Britain in favour of an independent Scotland. The anti-English ballads' rejection of the Union was marked by a generally unfavorable view of Britain. The combined antipathy towards the politics of the Whigs and Hanoverians with a visceral dislike of the English as a people and a nation; objecting to the Union on both of these fronts, the Jacobites demonstrated their ideological commitment to independent Scottish nationality. Pittock argues that the Jacobite ideal was a restoration of the Stewarts to kingship over all of Britain, not merely Scotland, and a "multi-kingdom monarchy with separate parliaments, not a unitary Britain." Even within the context of continued Union with England, the Jacobites sought to restore Scottish political distinctiveness; with a Scottish Parliament and a Scottish monarch back on the throne, the indignities of Union could be smoothed over with restored political power and national dignity. Leith Davis and others have argued that, in many cases, the Jacobite ballads were an attempt to redefine Scottish national identity in a way that made sense within the new constraints of the Union and which would preserve Scottish distinctiveness despite the lack of an autonomous Scottish nation. Donaldson, speaking particularly about Robert Burns' ballads, claims that he "...generalised the anti-union element in

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24 Pittock, Inventing and Resisting Britain, p 59.

Jacobitism into a symbol of Scottish cultural and historical distinctiveness in contradistinction to the ‘British’ and assimilationist ethos of the Whigs. Defining themselves against the Union and against England, the Jacobites sought to promote an independent and distinctive national identity for Scotland.

The primary difference between the anti-Whig and the anti-English ballads was, of course, the nature of the antipathy. While sixteen of these ballads were both anti-Whig and anti-English, the vast majority of the collection does not cover both antipathies. The anti-English ballads displayed a marked resentment towards the English, both as a nation and as individuals, and these ballads showcased the Jacobites’ anger and frustration on many levels. In their hatred of specific English individuals, their paranoid contemplation of betrayal of the movement, and their surety in waiting for retribution on the English, the anti-English ballads used a range of negative emotional connections to promote Anglophobia in order to define Scotland in opposition to England.

Highlighting individuals who had harmed the movement or Scotland, the ballads refined the image of both the Jacobite movement and its enemies. One of the English individuals most prominently featured in the Jacobite ballads was the Duke of Cumberland, who led English military advances against the Jacobites numerous times and earned a reputation in Scotland for cruelty. Six different anti-English ballads addressed Cumberland specifically, and all of them were excoriating, insulting his personality, actions, motivations, and parentage. Cumberland appeared in song to bear the brunt of the blame.


from the Jacobites; the ballad "The Aged Chieftan's Lament" illustrates this, with the title character asking: "Where is my clan? And where is my kin?/ And, Cumberland, where is my bonny ha'?/ O wae be aye upon thee and thine!/ My clan and kin are a' awa'.' Other ballads abused him for destruction of life and property, as seen in the ballad "That Mushroom Thing, Called Cumberland", which claimed that "Our priests he has incarcerate/ And burned our altars down, sir/ The godless Whigs rejoiced at that/ And bless the fire-brand loon, sir." The ballad goes on to promise that "when our tartan lads come back/ And Messieurs land at Dover/ We'll singe the lousy German pack/ And drive them to Hanover." However, as the ballad "Drummossie Muir" noted, the memory of such a hated enemy could do the movement good, as "Duke William named, on yonder muir/ Bonny laddie, Highland laddie/ Will fire our blood for evermore." The balladeers understood the use of antagonistic memory to keep people motivated; by providing examples of harm to Scotland, they stirred up hatred for their enemies, giving the Jacobite movement the impetus to keep fighting. Enemies such as Cumberland and the Hanoverian monarchs provided reasons for the Scottish Jacobites to resent England, English actions in quelling the Risings, and English individuals as enemies of Scotland. In establishing a hatred of England, the Jacobite movement defined itself in opposition to the English; moreover, they defined Scotland as a nation in opposition to England. The Jacobite ideal of Scotland was a nation which felt a violent antipathy towards England and Union and which sought to

1746, pp 169-175; John Roy Stuart, "Another Song on Culloden Day", Campbell Ballad #20, 1746, pp 177-185.


29 Anon., "That Mushroom Thing, Called Cumberland", JSB Ballad # 121, 1746, pp 255-256.

30 Allan Cunningham, "Drumossie Muir", JSB Ballad #197, pp 411-412.
maintain Scottish cultural distinctiveness in the face of encroaching English influence and political power.

The anti-English ballads also highlighted the Jacobite paranoia concerning traitors. Nine of the anti-English ballads concern betrayal, whether actual historical occurrences or simply fears thereof.\textsuperscript{31} Two different forms of betrayal appear in the ballads; the first was "selling" Scotland in the Union of 1707, and the second was betrayal of the Jacobite cause to England during the Risings or the subsequent period in which the Jacobites were in hiding. In both cases, although the English were portrayed as the main enemies, traitorous Scots were also reviled for their actions. For example, the ballad "An Excellent New Song on the Rebellion" told the story of the traitors Mackintosh and Forster, who abandoned the Jacobites in the midst of battle during the 1715 Rising. The ballad has the hero Lord Derwentwater scold Forster, saying "Thou hast ruined the cause, and all betrayed;/ For thou didst vow to stand our friend/ But hast proved traitor in the end./ Thou brought us from our own country;/ We left our homes and came with thee/ But thou art a rogue and a traitor both,/ And hast broke thy honour and thy oath."\textsuperscript{32} The fear of betrayal played a large role in the Jacobite ballads, which placed the blame on the English for bribing people to turn traitor. England was portrayed not only as a military enemy but also as a danger which could cause loyal Jacobites to abandon and betray their fellows for English gold. Those

\begin{footnotesize}

\footnote{32} Anon., "An Excellent New Song on the Rebellion" JSB Ballad # 50, 1715, pp 112-114.
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who would turn against the Stewarts were unworthy to be considered real Scots; Scottish national loyalty became linked to loyalty to the movement as it came to stand for the Scottish nation.

Another element of the anti-English ballads which contributed to a sense of righteous anger and hatred for the English was the battle of Culloden in 1746. The Scottish loss at this crucial battle brought an end to the 1745 Rising and sent Prince Charles fleeing back to France.\(^\text{33}\) Pittock emphasizes the importance of Culloden to the movement and to Scottish nationalism; he argues that Culloden marked a watershed in Scottish nationalist history as the last battle fought for Scottish independence. By bringing Scottish nationalism into synch with Jacobite ideals, the movement made a Jacobite struggle for a Stewart restoration into "a battle for Scotland as well as a crown."\(^\text{34}\) Culloden became a nationalist struggle for Scottish autonomy, and passed into nostalgic remembrance as a national tragedy.

The importance of Culloden to the Jacobite national image was shown through its powerful presence in the ballads. Eight of the anti-English ballads written after 1746 concerned Culloden, and these ballads were characterized by their hatred of the English and their desire for revenge.\(^\text{35}\) The ballad "Farewell to Glen-Shalloch" mourned the loss of the

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\(^{33}\) Magnusson, pp 624-625.


battle, and sang “For the slain of Culloden/ The brave were betrayed/ And the tyrant is
daring/ To trample and waste us,/ Unpitying, unsparing.” An angrier reaction to Culloden
was seen in the collection of ballads which sang of future retribution on England for the
defeat in battle, as well as for the oppression of the Scots caused by English laws which
sought to crush the Jacobite rebellion. The ballad “A Song Against the Lowland Garb”,
written post-Culloden, emphasized both the sense of loss at Culloden and the awaiting
revenge in saying that “Not a penny owing for Culloden will be left then/ Each one who
was spoiled and each one who was captured/ Will find the folk that hate them to take their
best revenge on.” The revenge ballads tended to promise retribution from the surviving
Scottish Jacobites and also from God; “One above all has beheld our devotion/ Our valour
and faith are not hid from His ken./ The day is abiding, of stern retribution./ On all the
proud foes of old Callum-a-Glen.” Blaming the English for the loss in battle, and
awaiting both human and divine retribution on England, these ballads gave the Jacobites an
eanal enemy to hate and a future to anticipate, when England would be punished. The
Anglophobic nature of Scottish nationalism was translated into concrete hopes for future
military and political successes for Scotland; to be Scottish was to look forward to freedom
from English power and to England’s humiliation.

In creating and refining antipathies towards English ideals, individuals, and to the
idea of Union, the Anglophobic Jacobite ballads worked to shape a national identity for
Scotland which defined the nation in opposition to England. Promoting fears of the


37 John Mac Codrum, “A Song Against the Lowland Garb”, Campbell Ballad #27, 1760, pp
249-253.

38 Anon., “Callum-A-Glen”, JSB Ballad #115, 1746, p 244.
English on multiple fronts, the ballads portrayed the ideal Jacobite as a Highland Scot who stood against the English in ideology as well as in battle. The move away from hatred of the Whig party freed the Jacobite movement to redefine their idea of the enemy and to redirect Scottish antipathies toward England. In hating England and everything associated with it, the Jacobites defined themselves by what they did not want to be and shaped the idea of an enemy that the movement could continue to hate and await vengeance upon with the return of the Stewart kings.
Chapter Four: Uses of Myth and History

The Jacobite ballads used many historical and mythological elements, ranging from origin myths and Roman gods to stories of Scottish history, both ancient and contemporary. William Donaldson argues that one of the major strengths of the Jacobite ballads was their ability to “...gather together the threads of centuries of political myth-making” in a way that provided real benefits to the movement.¹ Although the ballads can be criticised for being overly nostalgic and backward looking, an examination of the historical and mythological themes employed in their lyrics highlights their affective nature. The ballads were more than simple nostalgia or historical remembrance; they served to identify and inspire the Scottish Jacobites by providing a useful national history and protecting the idea of a national distinctiveness set up in opposition to encroaching Englishness. The Jacobites, deeply concerned with the potential loss of Scottish history and identity, looked to the past to provide an identity and traditions which would support a continuation of Scottish society as they knew it. The balladeers also made use of Scottish history as a justification for antagonism against England as well as to stir up hatred of the English. This mythology likewise served to establish Scotland’s distinctiveness, particularly in the case of national foundation myths which set Scotland apart. The Jacobites made use of both historical events and mythology to construct a useful past which not only supported Scottish ideas of

national superiority and uniqueness but also gave Jacobite adherents role models, enemies, and ideals to strive for in the pursuit of their political goals.

Mythology and history played a significant role in the Scottish Jacobite ballads, as they served to help establish Scottish national distinctiveness, tell a story of historical claims to autonomy and independence, and promote resentment of the movement's enemies. In the 300 ballads studied, fifty-six specifically addressed or referenced mythological and historical aspects of Scottish history, politics, and current events. These ballads tended to be written rather late in the canon of song: only four of them were written before the 1715 Rising, and only a further five were penned before the 1745 Rising. However, with the Rising in 1745, these ballads became suddenly popular, with fifteen written between 1745 and 1747 and a further ten composed before 1760. The remainder of the period saw fewer specifically dated ballads, but of the fourteen undated ballads, most were likely written between the 1745 Rising and the end of the eighteenth century. (See Graph 4.1) The timing of these writings naturally affected the content of the ballads; those written during the Risings were militaristic, while the later ballads were more nostalgic and concentrated on crafting a picture of Scottish national identity which defined Scotland as unique and deserving of respect despite the subordination of Scotland to the Union.

While all of these ballads concern mythology and history, their focus changed in relation to current events. For example, the selection of historical and mythical ballads focuses more attention on Charles than James, as is consistent with later ballads; likewise, George figures more heavily in this selection of songs than does William, who was dead by the time the vast majority were written. (See Graph 4.2) In addition, these later ballads also show a typical attachment to the Jacobite ideal of the Highlands; as seen previously, the movement adapted the Highland Scottish identity to fit their needs and identified
themselves with the Highlands to the exclusion of British or Lowland identities. (See Graph 4.3) Anti-Lowland, anti-Union, anti-foreign, and anti-English sentiments were also seen in these ballads and illustrate the extent to which the Jacobite movement's attempts to portray themselves as Highland Scots resulted in widespread antipathy to anything seen as other than Highland in nature. (See Graph 4.4)

The ballads covered historical and mythological topics, but the lines between the two were not always clear-cut. For example, some of the ballads concerned the Roman pantheon of gods involving themselves in Scottish affairs and clearly were mythological in nature. However, the significant number of ballads concerning William Wallace and Robert Bruce are harder to categorize; though based on historical happenings, their stories were highly mythologized and adapted to the needs of Jacobite ballad writers and bore little resemblance to actual historical facts. To categorize these stories as either history or myth is overly simplistic, but both historical and mythological tales were useful in obtaining the results the Jacobite balladeers hoped to achieve. Likewise, the use of near-current affairs and recent history to forward their agenda, as in the rhetoric surrounding the battle of Culloden and English military excesses, was another way the ballads used the past. In all of these cases, the ballads used the historical past or the mythology of Scottish history to create a useful ideological foundation for the current hostilities with England and to provide role models and enemies for the Jacobites. Twenty-one of these ballads deal specifically with mythological constructs central to the Jacobite understanding of Scottish national identity.2 (See Graph 4.5)

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2 Anon., "Perfidious Britain", Hogg Ballad #LXIII, 1779, pp105-107; Reverend Dr Issacs of Exeter, "Ode", JSB Ballad #140, 1746, pp 291-295; Alexander Mac Donald, "A Song Composed in the Year 1746", Campbell Ballad # 9, 1746, pp 95-105; Anon.,"The Clans Are All Away", JSB Ballad #112, 1746, p 239; Anon., "Whurry Whigs Awa", JSB Ballad # 62. 1715, pp. 133-138; Anon., "The Appearance of Cromwell's Ghost on the
The Jacobites made use of national foundation myths to promote a concept of Scotland as distinctive from England, possessing a special history, and deserving of independence and autonomy on the basis of this past. The figure of Scotia (or Scotia) is the most common and most significant foundation myth. In the popular Scottish origin myths, Scotia was an Egyptian princess who roamed the Mediterranean area before arriving in Scotland bearing the "Stone of Destiny", which became a vitally important national symbol for the monarchy and laws of Scotland. Scotia became the mother of the race of Scots through her children by Gaedel Glas, the supposed ancestor of the Picts. This tale not only had the benefit of providing the Scots with a unique origin, one not tied to England, but also provided them with a quasi-goddess figure.

In the ballads, Scotia is presented as a mother-figure both to Scotland as a nation and to the Scots as a nationality. As Magnusson points out, the Scots were not of a unified national or ethnic background, and to create a unified national identity required heroic figures that could be adopted by people from a wide variety of backgrounds. Scotia was

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4 Magnus. 43.
such an icon, particularly in her role as mother-figure; those loyal to Scotland were seen as members of Scota’s race, despite differing racial heritages. Donaldson argues that the foundation myth of Scota served several purposes for the Scottish Jacobite nationalist movement, in that it “not only established their right to independent existence but gave them an equal and opposite claim to supremacy over the whole of Britain.” This highly affective national background story provided a powerful legend of which the Jacobite movement, and the Stewart family, could make productive use. Notably, Murray Pittock argues that the Stewarts’ willingness to use the Scottish foundation legends was countered by their use of English and British foundation myths as they sought to establish their credentials as kings of not only Scotland, but all of Britain. The particular use of Scota by the Stewarts was reserved for the creation of a pro-Scottish image used in the Highlands to raise support for the Stewart family.

The depiction of Scota as a figure of Scottish national autonomy, fighting against the English in defense of Scottish distinctiveness, was a vitally important one to the creation of a nationalist ideal. Seven of the ballads depict Scota in this way. The ballad “Gladsmuir” was particularly clear on this point, portraying her as an “imperial goddess” armed for battle, in whom “a manly greatness heightened female grace.” Surveying the battlefield of Gladsmuir, Scota praised her “victorious sons”, saying “‘Tis done, my sons! ‘Tis nobly done!/ Victorious over tyrant power.” Scota praised the virtues and power of

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Prince Charles, claiming to have instilled all virtues in him herself and brought him safely to Scotland. She was given credit for the victory and says that “If I the glorious work begun/ O let the crowning palm be thine!” Thus, Scotland was portrayed not only as having a fighting goddess on her side, but also one who tied neatly into Scottish ideas of national superiority. The ballad “The Royal Oak Tree” made the link between Scota and loyalty even clearer, saying “Ye true sons of Scotia, together unite/ And yield all your senses to joy and delight;/ Give mirth its full scope, that the nations may see/ We honour our standard, the royal oak tree.” Thus, all who honored the standard of the oak tree, a traditional symbol of the house of Stewart and a common symbol of Jacobite loyalty, were “true sons of Scotia” and consequently real Scots. This formula was common in the ballads, with references to “Scotia’s sons” often used in conjunction with images of heather, thistles, and other iconic Highland Scottish elements to strengthen the symbolic link. Other links were made in song, as seen in “The Fate of Charlie”, which ran “O weep, fair maids o’ Scotia’s isle,/ Weep loud, fair lady of Airlie;/ Culloden reeks wi’ purple gore,/ O’ those wha bled for Scotia’s Charlie.” Here both Scotland herself and Charles as an individual were claimed by Scota as her own, and despite Charles’ military defeat, Scota was still portrayed as an authority figure. As both an origin figure of distinctive heritage and a powerful goddess on the side of the Jacobites and Scotland, Scota served to promote Scottish distinctiveness and to embody Jacobite ideals.

10 F.C. Banks of Clyde, “Welcome, Charlie, O’er the Main”, JSB Ballad #168, 1817, pp 356-357.
The Jacobite ballads made use of other figures, such as Roman gods, in conjunction with Scota to emphasize Scottish national distinctiveness. In addition, the use of figures from classical mythology gave the movement a claim to culture and intellectual prowess which the elite levels of Jacobite society deeply craved. The movement had a marked tendency to allude to Roman god figures in relation to Scotland, particularly in the more literate, composed ballads of the canon. The stylistic differences encountered throughout the canon were widespread and notable for where mythological constructs appear and were missing. For example, ballads written in the style of drinking songs did not refer to gods; on the other hand, the longer epic-styles songs tended to make copious allusions to such figures as Neptune, Pluto, Mars, and Phoebus Apollo. (See Graph 4.5) Thus, although the god figures were used to promote a particular view of Scotland and its status, they were not deeply affective on the most popular level of drinking songs and simple choruses. They belonged to the upper echelons of the movement: those who sought to establish the Jacobites’ political legitimacy through composed song. For example, the songs about Charles were most likely to refer to Neptune, the sea god, especially in regards to his military endeavours. The four ballads concerning Neptune and Charles sang of the return of Charles to Scotland by sea, as “Neptune does promise for him/ A sea as smooth as the land.” Neptune thus represented not only the return of Charles, but also the subjugation of nature to the Stewart kings in recognition of their rightful claim to the throne. The god figures were also used to discredit political and religious enemies. In the ballad “The Appearance of Cromwell’s Ghost on the Eve of the Battle of Culloden”, Pluto was

portrayed as presiding over Hell, and watching a procession of “crowds of kings, and
mitred heads/ But of usurpers more.” The god was said to rule especially over the ancestors
of King George, who kept company with Calvin, Luther, Knox, and the Whigs. Both
religious and political enemies of the Jacobites were scorned and mocked, emphasizing the
righteousness of the Jacobites and their cause.

The movement emphasized the importance of warriors, particularly Highland
fighters, as the epitome of Scottish distinctiveness. The hardiness and warlike nature of the
Highlanders was a celebrated aspect of Scottish culture, and the Jacobites counted on this
strength to eventually provide them with independence and the reinstallment of the
Stewarts. This emphasis was shown in the ballads, which praised both war and warriors.
The figure of Mars, the god of War, appeared in ballads promoting military action, as in
“The Clans Are All Away.” In a parallel to Scota, this ballad proclaimed “Brave sons of
Mars, no longer mourn/ Your prince abroad will make no stay;/ You’ll bless the hour of his
return/ And soon revenge Drummossie’s day.” In promising vengeance, and a return of the
prince, the ballad tapped into the discontentment felt after the loss of the battle of Culloden
(sometimes called Drummossie) in 1746 and implied that the warlike nature of the Scots
would carry the Jacobite movement forward for revenge.14

The Jacobites also took care to link the Stewarts to ideals of godhood to promote
their status and importance as the kings of Scotland. Hence, they were often linked with
the figure of the sun god Phoebus Apollo, who was most often used as a general signifier of

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JSB Ballad #103, 1746, pp 216-218; Anon., “Perfidious Britain”, Hogg Ballad #LXIII,
1779, pp105-107.

14 Anon., “The Clans Are All Away”, JSB Ballad #112, 1746, p 239; Alexander Mac
Donald, “A New Song”, Campbell Ballad #6, 1751, pp 63-71; Anon., “Perfidious
Britain”, Hogg Ballad #LXIII, 1779, pp105-107.
mood and a promise of a Stewart restoration. In “Whurry Whigs Awa”, the balladeer lamented the current political status, asking “Where are the days that we ha’e seen/When Phoebus shone so bright, man?/ How blythe and merry we ha’e been./When ev’ry ane gat right, man!” The prior days of the Stewart reign were thus regarded with nostalgic remembrance, and the current situation lamented in contrast to previous times. “Ode”, in promising an end to the gloom of the loss at Culloden, insisted that “If Phoebus deigns a short-lived smile,/The face of Nature charms awhile,/Awhile the prospect clears.” This clearing would only be accomplished by the return of Charlie to “Scotia’s beach” and his assent to the throne. Phoebus was also sometimes used to represent the Stewarts themselves metaphorically, as in “The Drowning of Care”, which stated that “Though winter may fright us, and chill us with cold/Bright Phoebus can cheer us with rays pure as gold;/Then let us not murmur, nor dare to complain,/For he that took sunshine can give it again.” The ballad’s extended metaphor related the exiled Stewarts to the sun god and promised their return just as the sun returns after winter. By linking their exiled kings to the Roman gods of legend, the Jacobites promoted a view of Scotland as specially blessed and favored and asserted the importance of the Scottish monarchs, thus emphasizing the importance of Scotland as their land of origin.

The Fergus origin myth, one which was more popularly accepted as real history by the Jacobites, played a notable role in the ballads and in the promotion of Scottish national identity. The legend stated that King Fergus Mór mac Eirc of the Scoti settled Dalriada

around 330 BC, creating a stable kingship from which the contemporary lines of Scottish kingship were descended. This legend provided a more plausible foundation myth than the story of Scota and was not only popularly held, but also supported by academic tracts which sought to trace the entire line of Scottish kings back to Fergus. This myth also served to distance the Scots from the English in allowing them to claim a completely separate and long-lived monarchy, and creating an unbroken, if highly fictionalized, royal lineage. The stories about Fergus and his followers formed an epic military saga, wherein the Scots united the North and fought off the Picts and Romans, among other foes, to become a strong monarchy. Donaldson argues that the Scots appealed to such stories in times of war and national conflict, as "it was to this heroic vision that they turned as the epitome of the Scottish experience."

The evidence of the Jacobite ballads would seem to bear out the theory that national foundation myths were particularly important to national identity during wartime; Fergus appeared in several ballads which sought to establish the length and importance of Scottish claims to Scotland and to autonomy. “Perfidious Britain” asked the Jacobites to “think, ye daring Scots, what right/ This long succession does entail;/ Think how your gallant fathers fought,/ That Fergus’ line might never fail.” In similar fashion, “The Broad Swords of Scotland” recounted that “When our valiant ancestors did land in this isle,/ Brave Fergus commanded, and vict’ry did smile;/ With their broad swords in hand they soon clear’d the soil/ O, the broad swords of old Scotland.” Both of these ballads use the mythology of

18 Magnusson, pp 33, 42-43; Donaldson, 6.
19 Donaldson, 10-11.
20 Anon., “Perfidious Britain”, Hogg Ballad #LXIII, 1779, pp105-107.
Scotland's ancient lineage of kings and law to encourage supporters to continue fighting against English encroachment upon their rights. In drawing parallels to historical myths, the ballads insinuated that the Jacobites, like Fergus and his followers, would clear Scotland of everything not Scottish and the rightful descendants of Fergus would be kings again. Promoting the ancient line of kings thus provided the Jacobites with political legitimacy for their claims of Scottish historical distinctiveness.

In establishing Scotland's ancient, and reputedly supernatural heritage, the mythological aspect of the Jacobite ballads served to illustrate Scotland's distinctiveness and promote its political legitimacy and sovereignty as a nation. The use of the Roman gods indicates the Jacobite ballads' use of cultural and religious symbolism to promote their cause and to associate themselves with elite culture and sophistication. Pittock has linked the use of Roman mythology to the Jacobite tendency to identify themselves with the Romans, and to their emphasis on the Roman "qualities of the Stewarts and Scotland." He highlights the ballad "Belhaven's Vision" in particular as an example of such linkages; the ballad praised "Our Stewarts, unto peaceful JAMES,/ Gordons, Kers, Campbels, Murrays, Grahams,/ Hero's from Tyber known to Thames,/ For Freedom stood." The romantic historical concept of the Romans as a free and civilized country in the midst of barbarians fit well with the image the Jacobites wished to establish for themselves and served as a plank of their created identity. Mythological constructs thus served an important role in the Jacobite canon and so too did the mythologized elements of history.

The historical figures Robert Bruce and William Wallace were similarly accommodated to the Jacobite vision, coming to stand in the Scottish imagination for Scottish resistance to the English. Wallace was the leader of a band of Scottish guerillas

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who engaged in attacks on English holdings in Scotland and on the Border from 1297 until his execution at the hands of the English in 1305. He led the Scots to victory at the Battle of Stirling in 1297 and then to defeat at Falkirk in 1298 and provided the movement with an example of leadership and self-sacrifice which was used after his death to spur on the Scots. Robert Bruce, who took over effective leadership of the Scottish fighters after Wallace’s execution, led them to victory at Bannockburn in 1314 and secured Scotland’s independence from England for centuries. This example of history, highly mythologized, gave examples of both English aggression and successful Scottish resistance. It not only showed that the English could be resisted, but also that the Scots had a historical precedent for standing against the English and winning. Murray Pittock argues that the “Jacobites saw themselves as continuing the struggles of Wallace and Bruce” in their resistance to English control over Scotland. By using Bruce and Wallace in their songs as nationalist symbols of Highland Scottish culture, the Jacobite movement had a historical precedent, a useful rhetoric based in historical fact and imagination, legendary heroes, and rallying points for Scottish nationalism. All of this was firmly based in a romanticised, imagined past which was made to serve the needs of the Jacobite movement.

The legendary story of Bruce and Wallace and the historic Scottish success against the English provided the Jacobites with a great deal of effective material for propaganda, as well as for delineating a national identity based on historical events. The importance of the topic to the movement is reflected by the significant presence of Bruce and Wallace in ten of the ballads studied, all of which play into the Jacobite creation of an identity based on


historical anti-English sentiment and Highland heroism. These particular ballads were scattered chronologically; approximately a third were written before the 1715 Rising, another third around the 1745 Rising, and the remainder following that. (See Graph 4.6) This indicates both that the topic was increasingly popular around the years of active warfare and that Bruce and Wallace continued to be an important motif in song throughout the period.

Ballads about Bruce and Wallace provided a call to battle for the Jacobite movement. “The Act of Succession” used the story of Bruce and Wallace’s battles to encourage the Jacobites to continue fighting, saying “Let us think with what blood and what care/ Our ancestors kept themselves free;/ What Bruce and what Wallace could dare,/ If they did so much, why not we?” Thus, the ballad not only used the past to justify warfare in the present, despite blood and cost, but also implied a moral and ideological parallel between the two situations. The ballad’s emphasis on protecting Scotland’s freedoms applied not only to the past, but also to the present, and made it clear that those who did not believe in the Jacobite cause were against Scottish freedom and were betraying the legacy of their heroic ancestors. “Come, let us drink a Health, Boys” provided an even clearer call to battle and link to the Highlands, calling “Let our brave loyal clans, then, their ancient Stuart race/ Restore with sword in hand, then, and all their foes displace./ All unions we’ll


o’erturn, boys, which caus’d our nation mourn, boys./ Like Bruce at Bannockburn, boys, the English home we’ll chase.”27 The ballad placed the blame for Scottish miseries solidly on the Union and the English and used the example of Bannockburn to illustrate how the Scottish could hope to defeat the English. The historical precedent offered hope and inspiration, as well as a heroic story to urge the soldiers on. Pittock notes that such uses of heroic military history were common to the Jacobite movement, as the Jacobites “were drawn to Scottish history and tradition, particularly to those aspects which endorsed a reputation for valour.”28

The ballads portrayed the historical figures of Wallace and Bruce as emblems of Scottish autonomy and resistance to the English. “The Broad Swords of Scotland”, a ballad which made use of a wide variety of mythical and historical construction, also used Bruce and Wallace to inspire Jacobite loyalties. “Remember brave Wallace, who boldly did play;/ Bruce, at Bannockburn, that glorious day;/ The flowers of old England our heros did slay.” The reflected glory of these ancient successes was meant to inspire the Jacobites to further efforts against the English, and the ballad was unsparing in its language, encouraging all-out bloodshed. It further reflected that “Our Scottish ancestors were valiant and bold,/ In learning ne’er beat, nor in battle control’d;/ But now - shall I name it? - alas! we’re all sold.”29 Other ballads also dealt with the betrayal of Scotland by the agreement of the Union in 1707. “Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation” bemoaned the Union: “O would, or I had seen the day/ That treason thus could sell us/ My auld gray head had lain in clay,/ Wi’ Bruce and loyal Wallace!/ But pith and power, till my last hour/ I’ll make this declaration./


28 Pittock, Scottish Nationality, p 70.

We’re bought and sold for English gold:/ Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!"^{30} Thus Bruce and Wallace were set up in the ballads as the protectors of Scottish liberties and autonomy and as the antithesis of the English. The situations were made to parallel one another in order for the historical myth to be of use to the Jacobite movement. The ballads set forth historical heroes and role models for military endeavours against England. For national heroes, Bruce and Wallace were limited in scope but fulfilled the purpose of the Jacobites in identifying Scotland as fundamentally and historically opposed to England and willing to fight to the death for Scotland’s independence.

The Jacobite canon also made use of recent and current historical, political, and military events to craft a national identity for Scotland. Recent happenings were less mythologised than earlier aspects of history, and the chronological proximity of the events made them effective on a personal and emotional level. Their emotional and idealistic resonance with listeners served as a useful tool in the creation of the Jacobite national history, with clear implications for the actions and attitudes of the movement. Specific topics of attention included major battles, in particular the Battle of Culloden, which formed a central point of Jacobite attentions from 1746 onward. Other major foci highlighted in song included examples of historical atrocities or perceived English oppression, such as the Massacre of Glencoe, or the actions of the Duke of Cumberland. English actions such as the Disarming and Disclothing Acts^{31} were also important in the creation of a national identity which was firmly aligned against the English; actions which

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^{31} The 1746 Act of Proscription, which forbade the use of traditional Highland clothing and weapons, among other restrictions. This act, meant to discourage Highland support of the Jacobite cause and nostalgia for the past, infuriated the Jacobites, who vociferously objected to the Act in their ballads. (See Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-century Europe 1715-1789*, p 81; Magnusson, p 653.)
sought to minimize Highland identity were viewed with great suspicion and hatred, prompted by fears of the loss of the Highland distinctiveness which was inextricably intertwined with the Jacobite identity.

The Battle of Culloden was a central focus of Jacobite thought from its occurrence until the end of the movement. The military defeat marked the end of Stewart attempts to return to Scotland and played a major role in the ballads. Eighteen different ballads treated the subject of Culloden, exhibiting several different responses to the military tragedy and providing a number of approaches to historical memory, all of which played a role in helping the movement to create a useful national history. (See Graph 4.7) Initially, the Jacobites spoke of Culloden in terms of anger and awaited revenge. They swore that they would make the English pay for the deaths of Highlanders there, and they awaited the return of Charlie to lead them on to further battle. As time passed, however, the approach changed; Culloden came to be viewed with sadness and regret, as well as lingering bitterness at the English. The Jacobites lost hope in a Stewart return or revenge for

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Culloden, and this loss of hope was reflected in song.

The attitudes of the Scottish songs toward the battle of Culloden changed significantly with the passage of time. The earliest ballads after the Battle of Culloden promised rapid and bloody vengeance. “Another Song on Culloden Day” promised the Duke of Cumberland that “We’ll yet see thy head/ Straightway gibbeted/ While the birds of the air flock to rend it.” Ballads like “The Heath-Cock”, by contrast, represented an attitude of fear and anxiety at the loss of the battle; describing the Battle of Culloden in strong and active terms, the ballad concluded glumly that “Scotland lang shall rue the day/ She saw her flag sae fiercely flee;/ Culloden hills were hills o’ wae,/ It was an awfu’ morning.”

The ballads show changing Scottish thought as it became apparent that the current soldiers and leaders would not be able to regain military control of Scotland. The ballad “Farewell to Glen-Shalloch” mourned the loss of life and liberty at Culloden, but then changed tone as a mother promised to raise her young son to avenge Culloden. “I’ll tell thee, my son, how our laurels are withering;/ I’ll gird on thy sword when the clansmen are gathering;/ I’ll bid thee go forth in the cause of true honour;/ And never return till thy country hath won her.” Though immediate military success was no longer a plausible option, the ballads marked a changing approach by seeking to educate the youth and prepare them for a rematch with England. Using the memory of Culloden to spur on passions and hatred for the English, the idea of preparing the next generation to continue

33 John Roy Stuart, “Another Song on Culloden Day” Campbell Ballad #20, 1746, Pp177-185.


35 Anon., “Farewell to Glen-Shalloch” JSB Ballad # 116, 1746, pp 245-46.
the war was one which held promise for eventual Jacobite success. "Lochiel's Warning" illustrated a later attitude, one of melancholy at the loss of Culloden. The song lamented, "Oh weep! but thy tears cannot number the dead;/ For a merciless sword on Culloden shall wave,/ Culloden! that reeks with the blood of the brave." Describing the carnage of the battle in poetic detail, the ballad summed up the feeling of many Jacobites in saying "Culloden is lost, and my country deplores." All of these approaches offered the Jacobites benefits in their creation of a useful national history and identity. Anger and resentment at the English fueled an Anglophobic, revenge-centered plan for future Scottish autonomy under the rule of the Stewarts. Even the melancholy, hopeless mourning for the dead of Culloden served to reinforce the hatred of the English as well as a sentimental attachment to the military actions of the Jacobite movement, which the Jacobites could look back on with nostalgia in later years and spur themselves on to continued opposition to England and the Hanoverians.

The Jacobite movement made use of negative historical events to promote the sentiments and image they desired. An example of this is the ballads’ treatment of the Massacre of Glencoe in 1692, wherein the Campbells massacred the Macdonalds of Glencoe at the order of King William. The execution was to make an example of the Macdonalds, who were seen as problematic and dangerous and who had hesitated to take an oath of loyalty to William. The government action against the Macdonalds included all members of the clan, including women and children; while this was far from the only wartime atrocity perpetrated during the wars of the Jacobites, Glencoe captured the popular imagination to become a topic of song. The ballad "Charlie Stuart" includes Glencoe

37 Magnusson, pp 521-525.
with other unpleasant historical events, bidding the Highlanders “On Darien think, on
dowie Glencoe,/ On Murray, traitor! Coward!/ On Cumberland’s blood-blushing hands,/And think on Charlie Stuart.” Thus the ballad highlighted several events which would cause lingering anger and resentment towards England and towards Jacobite traitors and then encouraged listeners to think of Charlie, the proposed hope for redemption and revenge. Cumberland played such a role throughout the ballads, consistently presented as a bloodthirsty tyrant who preyed upon the Highlanders following their military downfall.

“The Rebellious Crew” ostensibly addressed itself to the Whigs, “The plague of this poor nation”, and recalled Scotland’s hurts at the hands of the Whigs and the Hanoverians: “Our Darien can witness bear/ And so can our Glenco, sir;/ Our South Sea it can make appear,/What to your kings we owe, sir./ We have been murder’d, starv’d, and robb’d / By those your kings and knav’ry.” Remembering these historical wrongs gave the Jacobites a platform of moral outrage and a moral high ground from which to speak. Daniel Szechi writes that the Jacobite movement made effective use of history by promoting and developing “a special reverence for its martyrs.” He argues that the emotive and effective use of Jacobite martyrs allowed the movement to preserve their memories and to inspire the rest of the movement. Likewise, pointing out the failings and atrocities perpetrated by the Hanoverian government allowed the Jacobites to picture themselves as wronged victims standing against the tyranny of office, with Charlie promising eventual deliverance from their suffering.

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38 Allan Cunninghame, “Charlie Stuart”, JSB Ballad #196, p 410.
The Jacobites made use of history and mythology to perpetuate a picture of the movement which fit with their past and future intentions and supported a Highland-based, nostalgic, Anglophobic Scottish national identity. The nostalgia of the Jacobites played several roles over time, acting sometimes as an impetus to action and to continued support of the old ways; at other times, however, it was nothing more than sentimental fantasy concerning a "lost" past that had never really existed. The Jacobites were deeply concerned about the loss of Highland cultural distinctiveness and feared that the English and the Hanoverians were seeking to take away Scotland's culture and history through forcible incorporation into the Union. William Donaldson writes that the movement's "...main objective, after the restoration of the Stuarts, was the dissolution of the Union and the maintenance of Scottish cultural and political distinctiveness." To counter the perceived threat of the loss of Scottish distinctiveness, particularly in the Highlands, the Jacobites tended to cling to traditional things. In the ballads, this love of the traditional was seen in the use of old tunes and themes, adherence to traditional ideas and clothing elements, and fondness for traditional structures, such as the clans, the old line of kings, and the old Church structures represented by Catholicism and Episcopalianism. The ballads told and retold old stories and clung to traditional grudges, using the old elements to support the new Jacobite identity and movement. The mythologies seen in the songs represent aspects of traditional Scottish culture, seen particularly in the Highland elements of reverence for Scotia and Fergus, Bruce and Wallace. Leith Davis argues that "...poets and scholars began to invoke the national past, ancestral origins, and regional popular traditions in a

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series of attempts to re-imagine Scottish identity in the conditions of imperial Union.\footnote{42}

Using both the reality and the created mythology of the past, the Jacobite ballads sought to preserve Scottish Highland distinctiveness and character. The fear of becoming something less than authentically Scottish impelled them to cling to everything traditional, using old stories about national foundation, national opposition to the Auld Enemy, and recent histories in order to protect Scotland as they knew it – or at least as they imagined it.

Religion played a major role in the Scottish Jacobite canon. While this comes as no surprise in a country which experienced great religious upheaval in the Reformation and through subsequent political maneuvers by monarchs designed to change and shape popular religion, the impact of religious sentiment in the ballads is of great importance in the construction of the Jacobite identity. Scotland’s divided religious situation, complicated further by the Jacobite hatred of the foreign Hanoverian monarchs and their religious preferences, provided an excellent ideological battleground on which the Jacobites could seek to define their own religious position. Siding with the Stewarts in support of Catholic

\[1\] The religious situation in Scotland had been tumultuous since the Reformation. While the Calvinist Presbyterian church became the national Kirk of Scotland, a significant minority remained quietly Catholic. The Catholic Church retained adherents in the north of Scotland, particularly in the Highlands; it was these Catholics, along with Episcopalians from the same area, who made up the bulk of the Jacobite movement. The Stewart monarchs had, in recent years, shown themselves to be supporters of Episcopalian forms of Church government, as well as of Catholicism; this religious position was one of the reasons for their removal from the throne, but was deeply appealing to the Jacobites. The Hanoverian monarchs, particularly King George, were staunchly Lutheran, adding to the political and religious controversy surrounding the kingship. (See Magnusson, *Scotland: The Story of a Nation*; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History*, (New York: Penguin Group Inc., 2003), 368-371; Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: Church and Nation Through Sixteen Centuries*, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1972); Roger Mason, “Renaissance and Reformation: The Sixteenth Century” in *Scotland: A History*, Jenny Wormald, ed, (Oxford: Oxford University Press,
belief and practice and strongly opposing Presbyterian and Lutheran belief, the Jacobites set out their religious beliefs as both a part of their overall identity and as a justification for quasi-religious warfare, establishing themselves as protectors of traditional religion and Scottish belief.

Fifty-three ballads dealt with religion, covering such wide-ranging topics as theology, nationality, history, and deals with the Devil. Though the ballads were fairly evenly dispersed throughout the period of Jacobite influence, the largest concentrations of ballads were present in the years of the Risings and immediately following. This is significant for two reasons; first, it indicates that the Risings and the surge in popular music which accompanied them were also a time of increased religious tension, as indicated by the preoccupations of the ballads. Second, it is important that the ballads span a wide range of time, starting in the late seventeenth century and continuing until near the end of the eighteenth. Religious ballads, being so widely dispersed, provide an overview of some of the major sea changes in the themes and sentiments displayed by the corpus of Jacobite song, such as the shift in focus from Charles to James and the changing emotional nature of the ballads as they became ever-more sentimental and wistful. (See Graph 5.1)

The religious ballads displayed many of the characteristics found in other selections of Jacobite ballads. They were generally xenophobic, Stewart-centric, and intolerant of Whigs, Hanoverians, and anyone who does not share Jacobite views on politics, religion, or other matters. The earlier ballads tended more towards anti-Whig and anti-Union sentiment, whereas later ballads took a firmer stand in opposition to the English and King George and his relatives in particular. (See Graph 5.2) Throughout the ballads, the

2005), pp 107-142.
Jacobites' opposition to differing viewpoints served to define the priorities and stances of their movement in contradistinction to other views. Thus, through their opposition to certain political and religious groups, and through their loyalty to the Stewarts' religious views, the movement used its ballads to construct a defined religious identity for Scottish Jacobites. (See Graphs 5.3 and 5.4)

The religious Jacobite ballads made three major statements about the Jacobite understanding of the political and religious situation in Scotland, and its implications for national identity. Firstly, they alleged that the Hanoverian government was harming or destroying the Church, both as it stood and as the Jacobites wished it to be. Secondly, the ballads identified the solution to the problem as the return of the Stewart kings and the religious leadership they could provide. This tied neatly into the third major theme, which was that the Catholic leanings of the Stewarts were not only acceptable but positive, and that more Catholic and Episcopalian practices in the Church would be a good thing. These three themes together created a religious identity for the Jacobites, and provided them with both religious stances and moral justifications for their actions. (See Graph 5.5) This religious identity, translated into the broader picture, made Jacobite Scotland a country fraught with religious tension and divided along confessional lines.

By connecting the Hanoverians and Whigs to the Devil in song, the ballads encouraged antipathy towards their enemies and painted them as unnatural and evil, giving the Jacobites moral and religious justification for their opposition to their enemies. The Jacobite ballads which dealt with religion were also strongly anti-Hanoverian and anti-Whig, and one of the more extreme ways in which this antipathy was displayed was by linking their enemies to the Devil himself. Five strongly worded ballads made outright accusations that the Whigs and Hanoverians are in league with the Devil toward the end of
The ballads singled out King George, King William, and the Duke of Cumberland as individuals who consorted with the Devil, and a final ballad likewise accused the Whigs as a group. The Jacobites had ample reason to despise all of these individuals and showed their antipathy in these songs. King William, in the ballad “The Devil o’er Stirling”, was not only mocked in a faux-German dialogue, but also clearly pictured as dealing with the Devil. The Devil worried about William’s presence in London, claiming that “Should I suffer a rival, myself will be undone.” Traveling to London, Satan “kenn’d the sweet face of the creature;/ He knew his old friend in each line and each feature;/ Without further preface he address’d his ally.” William swore loyalty to Satan – “You have not von more humble servant dan me”, but emphasized his role in their partnership, as “still you must acknowledge you can’t do vidout me; ‘Tis I who to all your damn’d projects give birt,/ And each plot form’d in hell go in my name on eart.” Here, William was not only allied with the Devil, but carried out his projects on earth; the implication was that the schemes which brought harm and ruin to Scotland were the work of the Devil being carried out through the agency of William the king.

The ballads accused not only King William but also King George of being in league with the Devil. “Geordie Sits in Charlie’s Chair” began by lamenting George’s presence, saying “Geordie sits in Charlie’s chair,/ Bonny laddie, Highland laddie; Deil tak’ him gin he sit there,/ My bonny laddie, Highland laddie.” Cursing George was not a new or unusual

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3 Anon., “The Devil o’er Stirling”, Hogg Ballad #XX, pp 34-36.
style of ballad, but the lyrics continued on to accuse George and his son, the Duke of Cumberland, of being in league with the Devil, who greeted Cumberland on his entrance to Hell by saying “Ye’re welcome here, ye devil’s limb!” In a turn that surely pleased that Jacobite supporters, the Devil then went on to roast and eat their hated enemy Cumberland, providing amusement for all the demons of Hell.⁴ “On William, Duke of Cumberland” proposed a different scenario, musing that upon Cumberland’s death, “Where shall be found a place that’s fit?/ In hell he cannot enter,/ The devil no equal will admit;/ Then chain him to the centre.” In this ballad, Cumberland was not only in league with the Devil, but also was his equal and a threat to even Hell.⁵ Cumberland and George were so accused again in “Townly’s Ghost”, which told of an apparition appearing to Cumberland, and berating him for the “hellish acts thou’st done,/ The thousands thou’st betrayed.” When Cumberland told his father the tale, George replied “‘Cheer up, my dear, my darling son,’/The bold usurper said/‘And ne’er repent of what thou’st done,/ Nor be at all afraid./ If we on Scotland’s throne can dwell,/ And reign securely here,/ Your uncle Satan’s king in hell,/And he’d secure us there.’” This ballad thus not only castigted the Hanoverians for their actions and lack of remorse, but also clearly portrayed them as not only in league with the Devil, but related to him. As usurpers and murderers, they had to rely on the Devil’s protection, and seemingly had no qualms in doing so.⁶

The Whigs as a political group were also cast as the Devil’s allies, a rhetorical move which had strong implications for the tone of Jacobite political and satirical lyrics.

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⁴ Mussel-mou’d Charlie, “Geordie Sits in Charlie’s Chair”, JSB Ballad #128, 1746, pp 268-270.


The 1690 ballad “Belial’s Sons” castigated the Whigs as “Belial’s sons,/ Who with your
tones/ And your groans/ Cheate the people.” The lyrics accused the Whigs of hypocrisy,
contempt for the Church, and mistreatment of the Scottish people. Finally, it predicted the
downfall of the “Whig beasties/ Sathones questies,/ From your nesties/ Soon be your fall.”

The ballads emphatically set forth their vitriolic dislike for the Whigs and the Hanoverians;
unsatisfied with simply criticising their political decisions and rights to the throne, these
songs placed them on a par with Satan. Though it is unlikely that the Jacobites truly
believed that their enemies had made deals with the devil, the rhetoric employed made it
impossible to sympathise with the Whigs and Hanoverians or even to see them as truly
human; by allying themselves with the Devil, they had placed themselves in opposition to
all Christian souls and made themselves quasi-demonic enemies. The biting rhetoric and
wishes that they would be taken and punished by the Devil testify to the amount of
bitterness felt by the Jacobites over the loss of their kingship and autonomy, as well as to
the power of religious symbolism in the ballads. Pittock contrasts the “scurrilous and
satirical Jacobite verse” which set out to paint its enemies as in league with the Devil with
the anti-Jacobite propaganda generated by the Hanoverians; he characterises the
Hanoverian ballads as “based mainly on the concealment of the weakness of its own
position.” He argues that the radical nature of Jacobite song, and the personal attacks it
wielded against its enemies was effective in its use of popular cultural references; appealing
to religious fears of the Devil was a very effective tactic in villifying the enemy. 

“Belial” was used in Christian writings as both an alternate name for the Devil and as
one of the Princes of Hell, a major demon in his own right. “Sathones questies” - Satan’s
birds of prey. Anon., “Belial’s Sons”, Crawford Ballad #45 (NLS Jacobite Fragments
MS), 1690, p 50.

Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics, p 34.
The most significant factor in the religious ballads, both numerically and ideologically, was the use of antipathies towards Presbyterians and Lutherans to shape Jacobite identity. Presbyterians and Lutherans appeared most often and Protestants in general were also condemned in a few ballads. (See Graph 5.4) Disassociating themselves from Presbyterianism separated the Jacobites from the Lowland Scots who were its major supporters and placed the Jacobites in line with the Stewart kings who had struggled for decades to displace Presbyterianism. Pittock highlights the historical associations of Protestantism, especially of the radical variety, with the south-west Lowlands of Scotland; it was from the southeastern ports that Calvinism and Lutheranism were introduced to Scotland, and they took hold more readily in the Lowlands.9 Hating Lutherans, in much the same vein, not only supported the cause of Catholicism, but also set the Jacobites far apart from the German “usurpers” who held the throne in place of the Stewarts. The association of Lutheranism with Germans and other foreigners did nothing to endear it to the Jacobites, and they displayed not only their religious preferences but also their xenophobia in their objections to Luther and his followers.

Anti-Presbyterian sentiments appeared in ten different ballads, a significant portion of religious ballads, which demonstrates the importance the movement placed on distinguishing themselves from the Calvinists.10

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represented a very gentle approach, simply encouraging,"Ye Presbyterians, where ye lie,/ Go home and keep your sheep and kye;/ For it were fitting for you a'/ To drink his health that's far awa." Though the ballad implied that the Presbyterians were less than loyal to James and that they were considered rather useless and in the way, there was no vitriol to this early ballad.\(^\text{11}\) The 1704 ballad "The Act of Succession", on the other hand, accused them of conspiring to plan Scotland’s downfall: "Succession, the trap for our slav’ry/ A true Presbyterian plot/ Advanced by by-ends and kna’ery/ Is now kicked out by a vote." In this accusation, the Presbyterians were lumped together with the English “bully” and the hated Hanoverians.\(^\text{12}\) Daniel Szechi highlights one reason for the Jacobite resentment of Presbyterians; though the Jacobite movement was mostly made up of Episcopalians and Catholics, the “Presbyterian establishment in Kirk and State” wielded enough political power to enact legislation which discriminated against other religious sects. Szechi argues that the Presbyterians’ periodical bouts of “discriminatory legislation” against minority religious groups alienated much of the Jacobite movement from the Kirk and Presbyterianism.\(^\text{13}\) Thus the movement had multiple reasons for disliking the Presbyterians and for casting them as villains in the ballads.\(^\text{14}\)

51-52; Anon., “O What’s the Rhyme to Porringer”, JSB Ballad #11, p 20; Anon., “The King’s Anthem”, JSB Ballad #65, 1715, pp 143-144.

Anon., “Over the Seas and far away”, Hogg Ballad #XXXII, 1710, pp 51-52.


Gordon Marshall has also linked the Presbyterians in Scotland to the development of modern capitalism there; he argues that the Presbyterians enjoyed significant economic advantages, prompting yet more tension between religious segments. It is indeed notable
The Presbyterians also bore the blame for multiple historical offenses which the Jacobites considered fundamental to the creation of the contemporary political and religious situation. The ballad “The Curses”, aptly named for cursing every group which bore culpability for Scotland’s Union with England in 1707, placed a measure of this blame on the shoulders of the Presbyterians. “Curs’d be that covenanting crew,/ Who gave the first occasion.../And curs’d be they who helped on/ That wicked revolution.”¹⁵ The occasion of revolution referenced here was the Scottish Revolution, in which Scottish Presbyterians rose against King Charles I (James’ great-grandfather) in protest against his imposition of a new Prayer Book which they thought too Catholic for use in the Scottish Kirk. This revolution sparked a chain of revolution and warfare which led to Charles’ execution and the first removal of the Stewarts from the throne.¹⁶ Religious tensions had been an integral part of Scottish history for centuries, and this deep-seated grudge against the Presbyterians who had caused trouble for the Stewart line in the past translated into contemporary hatred for the group. “Whurry Whigs Awa’” emphasized this same link between past actions and current hatred, remembering when “The loyal clans arose, man/ To fight the Covenanter lambs,/ Wha did the right oppose, man.” It went on to mourn that Cromwell, “That mushroom monarch, Presbyt’ry/ Established by law, man,/ And overturned old Prelacy.”¹⁷


¹⁶ Magnusson, pp 418-446.

Further along in the chronology of Presbyterian offenses, “To Daunton Me” complained about “Eighty-eight, and eighty-nine,/ And a’ the dreary years since syne,/ With Sess and Press, and Presbytry,/ Good Faith, this had liken till a daunton me.” 18 1688, the year of the exile of James VII (Prince Charlie’s grandfather), and 1689, the year of the accession of King William, were dreadful years in the Jacobite memory. Donaldson writes that railing against “Sess and Press, and Presbytery” was a traditional theme in Jacobite writings, an indication of the importance of religious themes to the movement. 19 Presbyterianism was linked in the Jacobite memory with taxes and forced military service, all aspects of recent history which made the Jacobites miss the Stewart kings and their leadership.

Feeling the loss of the old system of religious worship and still bitter over the unpleasant changes in society, the Jacobites directed their anger towards the descendants of the historical Presbyterians. “The King’s Anthem” showed some of the vitriol directed towards the Jacobite’s chosen targets, as it desired that “God bless the prince, I pray,/ Charlie I mean;/ That Scotland we may see/ Freed from vile Presbytry.” Here, Presbyterianism was not only “vile” but also clearly opposed to Charles; on his return, the nation could be cleansed of its ill effects and freed. 20 Hating the Presbyterians both for historical offences which influenced their current situation and also for perceived disloyalty to the Stewart cause in the Risings, the Jacobite songs attacked the Presbyterians, often in harsh terms and sought to disassociate themselves from the movement. Defining

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18 Daunton - daunt; Sess- cess (tax); Press - forcible impression of servicemen. Anon., “To daunton me”, Crawford Ballad # 46 (T Kinsley 209), 1750, p 51.


20 Anon., “The King’s Anthem”, JSB Ballad #65, 1715, pp 143-144.
themselves as other than Presbyterian reinforced their connections to the Stewarts, both past and present, and established their desire to restore traditional Catholic worship upon the return of the Stewarts.

Anti-German rhetoric combined with anti-Lutheran sentiment in the ballads to delineate the Jacobite hatred for Lutherans in terms of both the religious and the political realm. Five strongly-worded ballads addressed the Lutherans specifically.\(^{21}\) "The Appearance of Cromwell's Ghost on the Eve of the Battle of Culloden" has said ghost inform King George that his ancestors are burning in Hell, "Where Whigs and Independents made/ A most prodigious host." Alongside these unfortunates, Cromwell specifically mentioned that Luther himself sits in the "infernal cell", with the implication that he is there because of his theological positions.\(^{22}\) "On the Act of Succession (1703)" shared a disdain for Lutherans in general and hoped that "The Lutheran dame may be gone" shortly. The woman in question was Sophia, the Electress-Dowager of Hanover, who was the mother of King George. The ballad did not address her by name, and the use of the term "Lutheran dame", carrying a large measure of scorn, implied that the Jacobite readership would have easily inferred the identity of the woman and would have shared the balladeer's sentiments.\(^{23}\)

The Lutherans, like the Presbyterians, also received a share of Jacobite blame for


\(^{23}\) Anon., "On the Act of Succession (1703)", JSB Ballad #13, 1703, pp 23-25.
the present unsatisfactory situation. "A Song Composed in the Year 1746" blamed Lutherans for the removal of James VII from the throne "Because he had not learned/ The doctrine Luther taught." Alexander Mac Donald, the author, blamed the Lutherans for deposing the king on the basis of religion; though the Protestants had been very suspicious of the Catholic leanings of James and his family, this explanation was overly simplistic and placed the blame neatly on a group who could be discredited and hated. Mac Donald also used a strongly anti-German tone to highlight the foreign nature of the Lutherans and the king, cursing "that swine King George/ Son of the sow from Germany."

"O Beautiful Britannia" also mixed religious, nationalist, and political commentary in its scathing treatment of the Hanoverians and the religious situation in Britain. Lamenting the current state of the nation, the ballad asked 'O, beautiful Britannia, where is thy church now gone?/ Upon thy bench sits Calvin, and Luther on thy throne:/ Sure thou art now grown mad, thus for to play the jade/...Pull down, pull down the calf, and your rightful king restore." The madness and corruption of the modern church, infiltrated with Presbyterian and Lutheran doctrine and practices, was connected to the political situation. The ballad deeply resented the presence of a Lutheran on the throne and went on to castigate the German king and the Church for following him: "Thou wouldst not foldly doat upon a German sot;/ A sow, a sow, a sow more suits his lot." By criticising the Hanoverians for their politics and nationality as well as for their Lutheranism, the Jacobites made Lutherans out to be foreign, Whig supporters of a usurper king.

The ballads criticised all Protestants, particularly those associated with the Whigs

24 Alexander Mac Donald, "A Song Composed in the Year 1746", Campbell Ballad # 9, 1746, pp 95-105.

25 Anon., "O, Beautiful Britannia", Hogg Ballad # 84, pp 141-143.

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and Hanoverians, on religious and political grounds which served to distinguish them from
the Jacobites. 26 These ballads made a very clear linkage between the political and religious
situation and pointed up the Jacobite resistance to everything that contradicted the Stewart
position on religion. “That Mushroom Thing, Called Cumberland”, a deeply bitter ballad
against the Duke of Cumberland, who was the son of King George, scorned him as “the
first of all the line/ Called Protestant, I swear, sir.” Naming some of his offenses against the
Scottish people, the ballad charged that “Our priests he has incarcerate,/ And burned our
altars down, sir./ The godless Whigs rejoice at that,/ And bless the fire-brand loon, sir.”27 In
these few lines, the balladeer summed up a criticism of the Hanoverian line and kingship,
of Cumberland and his actions, and of the godlessness of the Whigs who support
Protestants and violence.

The Jacobite distrust of foreigners, Whigs, Hanoverians, and religiously different
groups meshed together to create a distaste for Protestantism and a profound suspicion of
Protestants. “By the Side of a Country Kirk Wall” concerned a “sullen Whig minister”
who preached against Charlie, saying he and his “Papists will sing their old song,/ And
burn all our Bibles with fire.” He addressed common perceptions of the Stewarts and the
Church, saying that “They’ll tell you he’s Protestant bred,/ And he’ll guard your religion
and laws;/ But, believe me, whate’er may be said,/ He’s a foe to the Whigs and their
cause.” While all of this was certainly good news and reassurance to the Jacobites, the
minister’s proposed solution revealed Jacobite worries about the Protestants and Whigs:

26 Anon., “That Mushroom Thing, Called Cumberland”, JSB Ballad # 121, 1746, pp
255-256; Anon., “Plain Truth”, Hogg Ballad #LVI, 1779, pp 93-94; John Skinner, “By
the Side of a Country Kirk Wall”, JSB Ballad #96, 1745, pp 199-201.

27 Anon., “That Mushroom Thing, Called Cumberland”, JSB Ballad # 121, 1746, pp
255-256.
“Let us rise like true Whigs in a band,/ As our fathers have oft done before,/ And slay all the Tories off hand,/ And we shall be quiet once more.”

The Jacobites had reason to fear their enemies on religious grounds; both Presbyterian nobles and Hanoverian monarchs had repeatedly enacted legislation which sought to limit the freedoms of Episcopalian and Catholic supporters throughout Scotland. Pittock highlights the reality of the situation, noting that the “experience of suffering, defeat, and loss was shared on a national and ecclesiastical level by Roman Catholics and Episcopalians.”

Donaldson argues that, with this antagonistic history, only the nationalist and dynastic concerns of the movement were enough to bring together “Episcopal bishop, Catholic seminarian, Scottish aristocrat” and others of various religious dispositions; their religious differences were great, and the Jacobites tended to maintain an attitude of suspicion and distrust towards Protestants in general.

Nationalist and religious sentiment combined in the ballads to support a national Scottish Jacobite identity defined along political and religious lines. The ballad “Plain Truth” provided a very clear picture of the various elements which inspired religious tension in the ballads. Combining national and religious criticisms, the ballad complained that the “dandilly Dutch and their Austrians combine/ To support a base king, of a Protestant line.” Both his Protestant and foreign heritage rendered him an object of hatred for the Jacobites and made him subject to attacks from the balladeers. The Church (that segment which was aligned against Rome) was likewise criticised: “In debt and in danger, and left in the lurch,/ No spark of religion, though mad for the church; / While a merciless

29 Pittock, Poetry and Jacobite Politics, p 134.
30 Donaldson, p 55.
mob, that in ignorance grope./ Go straight to the devil for fear of the pope." The Catholic and Episcopalian leanings of the Stewart supporters led them to condemn other religious sects for their religious fears; never known for their tolerance of diverse viewpoints, the Jacobite balladeers did not hesitate to pass judgment on the eternal salvation of their enemies. The ballad concluded with an observation that fit the religious situation of the Jacobites very well: "Religion has prov'd our disgrace and our fall;/ We have either too much, or else none at all." Pittock argues that for the Jacobite Episcopalians who made up the majority of the movement, religion and church governance was more a matter of social order and structure rather than theological concern; their connections to church tradition led them to support the Episcopalian church as a matter of family and clan religious identity. Religion played an important role in the shaping of the Jacobites' nationalist self-identity, and in following the spiritual leadership of the Stewarts, the Jacobites became embroiled in the religious controversy which was a staple element of recent Scottish history.

The ballads clearly and consistently accused the Hanoverians of causing abuses and damages to the Church. Thirty-three separate ballads, written over a span of ninety years, blamed the Hanoverian establishment for threatening the purity and peace of the Church of Scotland. An early example of this was the 1689 ballad "Awa, Whigs, Awa". The ballad

31  Anon., "Plain Truth", Hogg Ballad #LVI, 1779, pp 93-94.
33  Anon., "The Devil o'er Stirling", Hogg Ballad #XX, pp 34-36; Anon., "Belial's Sons", Crawford Ballad #45 (NLS Jacobite Fragments MS), 1690; Anon., "O, Beautiful Britannia", Hogg Ballad # 84, pp 141-143; Anon., "That Mushroom Thing, Called Cumberland", JSB Ballad # 121, 1746, pp 255-256; Anon., "Plain Truth", Hogg Ballad #LVI, 1779, pp 93-94; Alexander Mac Donald, "A Song Composed in the Year 1746", Campbell Ballad # 9, 1746, pp 95-105; Anon., "To daunton me", Crawford Ballad # 46 (T Kinsley 209), 1750; Anon., "The King's Anthem", JSB Ballad #65, 1715, pp 143-144; Anon., "Whurry Whigs Awa", JSB Ballad #62, 1715, pp 133-138; Anon., "Britons, Who Dare to Claim", JSB Ballad #66, 1715, pp 145-146; William Meston, "Our Ain
complained that a “foreign whiggish loon brought seeds/ In Scottish yird to cover;/ But we'll pu' a' his dilled leeks/ And pack him to Hanover.” The presence of the foreign king, as well as the seeds of foreign ideas he brought with him, were heartily rejected. However, the mere ideological rejection had clearly been ineffective in protecting Scotland from Hanover, as the balladeer mourned “Our sad decay in kirk in state/ Surpasses my descriving.” The decay of the church was a matter of great importance, and the ballad laid the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Hanoverians and the Whigs. The ballad went on to claim that the devil himself felt so sorry for Scotland, bedeviled so by foreigners, that he would not hurt the Scots, but “croon'd, 'mang the beuk-taking Whigs,/ Scraps of auld Calvin's catches.” Incorporating elements of anti-foreign and anti-Calvinist sentiment, the ballad highlighted both the importance of the church and the complexity of the religious situation.32
The ballads defined their enemies as anti-religious and counter to the wishes of God because of their opposition to the Jacobites. "Ne'er to Return" also blamed the foreign kings for the destruction of the Church, in this case the Kirk of Scotland, and ordered them to leave Scotland: "Away, ye holy cheats, begone! No more our kirk come near!/"

Anticipating the final freedom of the Jacobites to return to the old systems, the ballad exulted that "No more shall villany defile/ Our sacred church most deary, O!/ Nor you most holy folks be styled,/ Who God nor king do feary, O!" For the Jacobites, the fear of God was tied up with respect for the king – the Stewart line of kings, naturally, and those who did not seek the return of the Stewarts were not only traitors to the nation but also to God. The supporters of the Stewarts consistently insisted that God was on their side because, as the descendants of the line of Scottish kings, they ruled by divine right and with God's blessing and protection. The ballads insisted that "God, men, and nature strong/ Are all allied to restore the heir", and that "God will soon recall/ to his rightful dwelling-place/ The true heir of the line." The assumption of divine support on their side was doubly beneficial for the cause, both in making the Jacobites the moral protagonists and lending an air of spiritual warfare to the military effort to reinstate the Stewart king.

The Jacobite ballads were insistent that the Church was in need of protection and redemption from the taint and threat of the Hanoverian rulers. Knowing, however, that Whig rhetoric described the Jacobites as out to destroy the Kirk of Scotland and replace it with Catholic or Episcopalian church government, the ballads sometimes found it necessary to reiterate their loyalties. "The Clans Are Coming", with its Highland focus, reminded the Jacobites of their commitment to "protect both church and state,/ Though we be held their

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33 Anon., "Ne'er to Return", Hogg Ballad # XIII, pp 22-23
34 Alexander Mac Donald, "A Song Composed in the Year 1746", Campbell Ballad # 9, 1746, pp 95-105.
mortal foe.” It reminded listeners that the church in Scotland, of all descriptions, was endangered by the Hanoverians and that the Jacobites were out to protect and restore it to the old status quo – to the Episcopalianism supported by the Stewarts. While their actual intentions concerning eventual religious change were unclear, the Jacobites certainly focused a great deal of time and attention on the subject of the Church and its various woes. Other ballads stressed the protection of the Church within the familiar litany of protection of king and laws. “Britons, Who Dare to Claim” trumpeted that “Church, king, and liberty:/ Honour and property:/ All are betrayed.” These elements were linked together, and the presence of the foreign usurper kings was a betrayal not only of the political system but also of the Church. To remedy the situation, the balladist vowed that “For church, king, and laws we'll fight:/ Conquer or die.” The fact that the church was deemed important enough to stand in this formulation with the king and laws speaks volumes to its importance to the Jacobite identity. The movement was notably obsessed with the king-figures at its centre; Charles and James were the life of the entire movement, and there was no point to the conflict without them. The point of law was also crucial to the Jacobites; their strongest assertion was that the Hanoverian kings had a much weaker claim to the throne than did the Stewarts, making the foreign kings unlawful usurpers. The repetition of the phrase “king and law” throughout the ballads was common, and to pair this with the Church indicates that the Church played a vital role in the Jacobite’s conception of the Jacobites, and their songs reflected that aspect of their identity.

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mortal foe." It reminded listeners that the church in Scotland, of all descriptions, was endangered by the Hanoverians and that the Jacobites were out to protect and restore it to the old status quo — to the Episcopalianism supported by the Stewarts.\(^{35}\) While their actual intentions concerning eventual religious change were unclear, the Jacobites certainly focused a great deal of time and attention on the subject of the Church and its various woes. Other ballads stressed the protection of the Church within the familiar litany of protection of king and laws. "Britons, Who Dare to Claim" trumpeted that "Church, king, and liberty,/ Honour and property,/ All are betrayed." These elements were linked together, and the presence of the foreign usurper kings was a betrayal not only of the political system but also of the Church. To remedy the situation, the balladeer vowed that "For church, king, and laws we'll fight;/ Conquer or die."\(^{36}\) The fact that the church was deemed important enough to stand in this formulation with the king and laws speaks volumes to its importance to the Jacobite identity. The movement was notably obsessed with the king-figures at its centre; Charles and James were the life of the entire movement, and there was no point to the conflict without them. The point of law was also crucial to the Jacobites; their strongest assertion was that the Hanoverian kings had a much weaker claim to the throne than did the Stewarts, making the foreign kings unlawful usurpers. The repetition of the phrase "king and law" throughout the ballads was common, and to pair this with the Church indicates that the Church played a vital role in the Jacobite's conception of themselves. Protecting the Church from the Hanoverian threat was of vital importance to the Jacobites, and their songs reflected that aspect of their identity.

\(^{35}\) Anon., "The Clans are Coming", JSB Ballad #76, 1745, pp 163-164.

\(^{36}\) Anon., "Britons, Who Dare to Claim", JSB Ballad # 66, 1715, pp 145-146.
The solution to the religious woes of Scotland, as presented in the Jacobite ballads, was a restoration of the Stewarts and traditional structures of monarchy and religion. If the Hanoverians, with the help of their Whiggish allies, were to blame for the troubles and ill health of the Church, the proposed solution in Jacobite song was always to return the Stewarts to power. Donaldson argues that Stewart support for Episcopal and Catholic forms of worship and church governance was influenced by the traditional roots and the political benefits that such structures could bring to the monarchy; the practical result was that when the Stewarts held power, Presbyterianism was on the descent and caesaropapist forms of religion gained power. Thus, the Jacobites assumed that bringing back the Stewarts would restore the church to its pre-Hanoverian state. Twenty-nine ballads proposed this solution, with the assumption in all of them that the return of the Stewarts would right the wrongs caused by the Hanoverians and restore the Church to its former state. "The Pilfering Brood", after insulting the Hanoverians' national heritage, behaviour,
and parentage, stated the solution to the problem boldly. "The only way relief to bring/ And save both church and steeple,/ Is to bring in our lawful king,/ The father of his people." The ballad touched on both the physical and spiritual well-being of the church and declared that returning the Stewarts to power would set things right again. These ballads did not explain how or when the Stewarts would restore the religious situation; it was simply assumed that the presence and power of the rightful kings would fix everything amiss in society, including the Church. For the Jacobites, one's duty as a loyal church member and Christian was inseparable from one's duty as a loyal citizen and supporter of the Stewart line. Making this relationship abundantly clear, "The Fifth of November" told the Jacobites that "'Tis absolute folly to talk of our holy/ Religion, till once we give Caesar his due;/ To injure true princes, and gloss o'er offences,/ Is serving God worse than a Turk or a Jew." To render loyalty and service to the rightful government was a mark of the true Christian; those who opposed the Stewarts set themselves in opposition to God's established order and added impiety to their list of transgressions. Loyalty to God, to the Stewarts, and to Scotland was tightly bound together in the Jacobite identity and served as a basis on which to base judgments and actions.

The religious inclinations of the Jacobites served as both a dividing and a unifying force within the movement. The religious conflicts inherent in the Jacobite risings, with the Stewart supporters privileging Catholic belief and practice in opposition to established

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Presbyterian dominance over most of Scotland, led to debate over the correct forms of the Church. “Here's a Health to the King” illustrated one such debate, saying “Here's a health to the clergy, true sons of the Church/ Who never left king, queen, nor prince in the lurch/ I do not here mention either old Church or new Church/ But here is a health, boys – a health to the true Church.” Bypassing the question of “old or new” Church, the ballad nevertheless pointed to the “true Church” and clergy as those who protected and supported the monarchs. Since it was the Catholics and Episcopalians who supported Charles and James, the loyalty was returned by their followers, who tended to refer to these branches of Christianity as the only ones worthy of belief. Szechi highlights the deep religious convictions of the Jacobites from all walks of faith, arguing that the deep religious motivations of both Catholic and Protestant Jacobites not only provided motivation for their actions, but also assisted in the recruitment of new blood to the movement. Although the majority of Jacobites were Catholic or Episcopalian, significant numbers of Stewart supporters were of differing religious convictions; although they faced disapproval and dissent from the rest of the movement, their loyalty to the monarchs was of primary importance to these unorthodox Jacobites. The depth of religious sentiment among the Jacobites fueled and encouraged the movement, but it also divided Jacobite supporters along lines of religious confessionalism, and promoted resentments between various religious sects.

Religion and the church played several important roles in the creation of the Scottish Jacobite national identity. By linking the religious beliefs and practices of the movement to those adhered to by the Stewarts, the Jacobites defined themselves by what

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41 Anon., “Here's a Health to the King”, JSB Ballad #139, 1747, p 290.
42 Szechi, p 26.
they believed. The caesaropapist leanings of the Stewarts, out of fashion in Britain for several generations, were a distinctive element adopted by the movement and eventually made their own. Pittock argues that this element has been somewhat underemphasized due to the Scottish Presbyterian desire “to forget its Episcopalian and Catholic contemporaries and ancestors, and perhaps especially the embarrassingly patriotic bishops of Scottish Catholicism.”43 The Jacobites shaped their historical identity and memory in similar fashion, defining themselves religiously in their songs in terms of what they were not. By opposing the Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Protestants in general (although accepting the help and support of individuals from these religious walks), the Jacobites highlighted elements of those religious identities that they wished to counter. They objected, for example, to the foreign aspect of Lutheranism, carrying their hatred for the Hanoverians over into their sentiments concerning Lutherans. Rejecting these religious identities illustrated both who the Jacobites believed themselves to be and who they wished not to be. Finally, the firm belief of the movement that they held the moral high ground on matters of religion gave them a justification for warfare and violence on spiritual grounds. Believing firmly that they were required to fight for Charlie and James in order to be good Christian citizens and that their form of religion and church government was the only correct one, the Jacobites had reason to think of their cause in terms of religious warfare. Added to this the ballads' vilification of their enemies as evil men who had made deals with the devil, the Jacobite canon shows a pronounced tendency to present the political conflict as a quasi-religious war in which the Jacobites fought for country, for king and law, but also for God and church.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

The question of national identity is one which historians have explored with great interest in the past few decades. Challenging both the idea that nations are autonomous structures, and the theory that nations and nationalism only emerged in the nineteenth century, recent work has focused on the imagined nation and its historical roots. Scotland’s experiences in the eighteenth century fit within the larger patterns of the development of national identity which took place throughout Europe and beyond.

Benedict Anderson’s influential work *Imagined Communities* set forth the argument that “nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind.” He argued that nations are imaged constructions rather than independent existences, and so emphasized the importance of understanding the historical context which created the imagined nation. In the case of Scotland, Anderson discounted the importance of Scottish

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nationalism, as he argued that the eighteenth-century destruction of the Gaelic-speaking culture of the Highlands "effectively eliminated, 'before' the age of nationalism, any possibility of a European-style vernacular-specific nationalist movement." He also argued that the eighteenth-century saw the "gradual absorption of populations into larger politico-cultural units that...submerged Scotland into the United Kingdom."

Building off Anderson's ideas, particularly those concerning the imagined status of the nation, Linda Colley studied British nationalism in an attempt to highlight the role of British patriots in the creation of a British national identity. Colley specifically set out to study the majority of the British population who were not involved with rebellions and resistance to the Union. She argues that British nationalism was shaped by two major factors, those being conflict with France and Protestantism. The historical conflict with the French shaped British identity, defining "Britain" against the outside French "other". She argues that the British "common investment in Protestantism" was responsible for giving Britain unity and a common identity that they could build upon. The fear of the "Catholic Other", particularized in the fear of the French, who were both national and religious outsiders whom the British could define themselves against, lent the nation unity and identity. She argues that such unity was necessary because Great Britain was "an invented nation superimposed, if only for a while, onto much older alignments and loyalties."

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2 Anderson, p 90.
3 Anderson, p 188.
5 Colley, p 5.
6 Colley, p 376.
other allegiances, such as to a Scottish identity, were not done away with, merely subsumed to the needs of Great Britain against France.7

Colley’s work de-emphasizes the importance of both the Jacobites and an independent Scottish national identity. Her emphasis on Protestantism and war with France as major shaping factors for British identity highlights the “otherness” of the Jacobites; as allies of the French, and as Catholic adherents, they stand far outside the normal range of British identity that Colley proposes. She pays little attention to the Jacobite movement, opting instead to focus on those Britons who fit the pattern of loyalty to Great Britain. However, in looking at the ways in which Great Britain sought self-unity, she focuses on England’s efforts to dampen Scottish national sentiment; for example, she looks at how after the Rising of 1745, England “devised legislation to undermine the cultural, political, and economic distinctiveness of the Scottish Highlands.”8 Colley characterizes remaining sentiment in the Highlands after the 1745 Rising as mere “localism”, and claims that “Scottishness” was “not as powerful as regionalism and localism.”9

Ross Poole also subscribes to the idea that Scottish nationalism developed late and only under the English. He states that Scottish nationalism “developed under English tutelage” and not until “the nineteenth century when the Waverley novels, Scottish regiments, kilts and tartans helped engender a sense of Scottish distinctiveness, though a distinctiveness that was contained within a more comprehensive British identity.” Like Colley, Poole discounts the Jacobites and other political and religious minorities, arguing

7 Colley, pp 5-6.
8 Colley, p 119.
9 Colley, pp 372-373.
that anti-Catholic and pro-Protestant sentiment were major factors in the British national identity.  

However, other authors challenge both the supposed modernity of the nation and the idea that Scottish nationalism was a modern creation. Anthony Smith and Andrew Hadfield both disagree with the theory that nationalism only developed in the nineteenth century.  

As Hadfield notes, the imagined community “must constantly be re-imagined and renegotiated.” Since nations do not spring up fully developed and imagined, they must be constructed, challenged, re-imagined, and reconstructed over and over. Smith sees the creation of a new Scottish identity in the 1700’s as one of these efforts to imagine the nation; he argues that the Scots made use of nostalgia to create “old” traditions and myths which “sought to revive an almost vanished medieval Scottish Highlands civilization” whereby “the threads of fabricated traditions were woven into the created new nation of Scotland.” Although this imagined Scottish national identity was, in that sense, fictitious and not really a rebirth of old traditions, as they chose to imagine it, it was a genuine attempt to imagine their nation as something unique and distinctive.

In studying the Scottish Jacobites and their use of song to promote their own concept of Scotland, and their development of a national identity for all of Scotland which sought to imagine the nation as a distinctive existence within the confines of the Union, it

10 Ross Poole, Nation and Identity, (New York: Routledge, 1999), p 36.


12 Hadfield, pp 2-3.

13 Smith, p 43.
seems that their efforts clearly constitute an imagining of a Scottish nation. The Jacobites used music, particularly ballads, to shape and direct the creation of a new Scottish national identity. This new identity was nostalgic and nationalistic, xenophobic and strongly anti-English, and worked to combine elements of Scottish history and culture with mythical, romantic and imagined elements in order to create a new, useful national identity. The ballads made use of history, from the ancient legends of the founding of Scotland, to the "freedom-fighters" Bruce and Wallace, to modern happenings like the Risings, the battles, and the actions of the English against the Stewarts followers. The ballads shifted popular conceptions of Scottishness, heavily promoting the adoption of a Highland identity as the authentic Scottish character and culture. Lowland culture, which had a great deal more similarities to English culture, was dismissed and looked down upon; the Highland identity became the only real Scottish identity, complete with visual symbols, manners of speaking, and an entire cast of characters from which to draw inspiration or antagonistic feelings.

In the wake of losing the Stewart kings and a measure of autonomy, the Jacobite authors gradually changed their style; where the ballads were originally optimistic, war-focused, and upbeat, they gradually became melancholy, hopeless, and nostalgically sentimental. This change, brought about by the loss of faith in the eventual return of the Stewarts and by the reality of increasing repression of traditional elements of Scottish culture by the English, highlighted the shift in perceptions of Scotland as a nation. By making use of elements of Scottish history, legal objections to Hanoverian rule, and displeasure with the wider political and religious situation, the Jacobite songs worked to set the movement up as a representation of authentic Scottish feeling, in opposition to the Union, to England, and eventually to almost everything that was not Highland Scottish culture. Over time, the Jacobite ballads shifted their focus, style, and approach, eventually
coming to represent the idea of Scotland. Though this idealised Scotland was based on myth, sentiment, and wishful thinking, it held a great deal of appeal for many Scots who felt oppressed and robbed of their freedom. The balladeers made careful use of language and music to promote this sentimental nostalgia for a Scotland which had never really existed, but which came to represent the nation nonetheless.

The created Jacobite Scottish identity drew on a wide variety of aspects of popular and elite culture, and incorporated elements of all segments of life in order to create an identity which suited all of the needs of Scotland. Providing a political identity as supporters of the Stewarts and of autonomy for Scotland, a religious identity as pro-Episcopalian or even pro-Catholic, and a cultural identity as warrior Highlanders prepared to oppose England and every foreign country, the new Scottish identity not only told Scots who they were, it informed them exactly who they were not. The antagonisms the movement promoted served to reinforce the Jacobite’s loyalty to Scotland and to the Stewarts.

The imagined community of the nation, growing out of cultural, political, religious, and ideological factors, is a complex construction. In the seventeenth century, the Scottish Jacobites made effective use of popular song to shape both their own concepts of the Scottish nation and to impact the way others saw Scotland. Aspects of this created Scottish identity can be seen in modern Scottish culture. The fascination with tartans and Bonnie Prince Charlie, for example, stem from the Jacobite focus on those aspects of Scottishness. The continuance of the Jacobite ideal is also demonstrated by the continuing popularity of Jacobite song within Scotland. The use of Robert Burns’ Jacobite-inspired songs at the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999 highlights the continued association of Jacobitism with Scottish nationalism and independence. National identity is a complicated
and complex affair, and the Jacobite creation of a lasting Scottish national sentiment is a remarkable and historic achievement.
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Anon., "Willie the Wag", Hogg XXI.
Anon., "Carle, an the King come", Hogg XXII.
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Anon., "The King shall enjoy his own", Hogg XXX.
Anon., "Here's a Health to them that's away", Hogg XXXI.
Anon., "Over the Seas and far away", Hogg XXXII, 1710.
Anon., "I hae nae Kith, I hae nae Kin", Hogg XXXIII.
Anon., "My Love he was a Highland Lad", Hogg XXXV.
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