A Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-6, by Dougal Graham.

The Man, the Myth and the Modus Operandi

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Author's declaration

I declare this thesis has been composed by me, and the research on which it is based is my own work.

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Abstract

Dougal Graham's *Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-46* is a 'forgotten' text of considerable historical and cultural significance. Between Christmas and Candlemas of 1745/1746 the West Central Lowlands experienced the presence of the Jacobite army, with those retreating from Derby reinforced by new recruits from the north east and French and Irish forces – about 80,000 in all. Quartered round Stirling in the depths of winter, this put considerable strain on local resources. With money and supplies from Glasgow, the rebels occupied Stirling, besieged the Castle, and fought off a British army at Falkirk, but then had to retreat north of the Forth, ultimately to face annihilation at the hands of the Duke of Cumberland. The *Account* was composed by an inhabitant of Stirlingshire and published in Glasgow six months after Culloden. It seems to be the earliest connected narrative of the 1745 Rebellion produced in Scotland.

The text shows clear evidence that the target audience was not a literary, or even necessarily literate elite, but the 'meaner sort' in the Glasgow hinterland, routinely supplied by chapmen with such cheap 'sma' books'. The *Account* reads almost like a special supplement for a 1746 tabloid. Unashamedly populist, it provides acceptably accurate information, entertainment, and a degree of sectarian triumphalism. It is journalistic, racy and fast moving with most of the editorial comment (in the form of supplementary poems) added at the end so as not to impede the action. The language is a somewhat archaic demotic Scots, written in the form of octosyllabic couplets, as used by Blind Harry and David Lyndsay, apparently the preferred reading matter of potential customers. This thesis will argue that since Dougal Graham's *Account* can reasonably be regarded as reflecting the views of its projected clientele, the common people of the western Lowlands, it is scarcely feasible to achieve a full picture of Scotland in the aftermath of the rising without considering the text. It is therefore unfortunate that it was regarded as lost throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and ignored in the twentieth.

This thesis presents the first modern edition of Graham's *Account*, in the form of a glossed and annotated transcript of the 1746 edition. The introductory essay considers myths about the author that developed in the subsequent century, and which are entirely at odds with a reading of the material. It looks at the way the book was promoted, both in contemporary advertising and in the prefatory material within the text, and goes on to consider the projected audience and potential customer base. Finally the circumstances surrounding the publication of the second edition are investigated, throwing further light on the situation in Scotland seven years after Culloden.

Contents

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1. Dougal Graham – The Making of a Myth

Work on the poet Dougal Graham has always been bedevilled by the lack of hard evidence about the man, leading Edward J. Cowan to describe him as 'something of a phantom'.[1] Documented evidence seems to show only that he was baptised in St Ninians Parish just outside Stirling in 1721, and admitted to the Chapman's Guild of Stirling and Clackmannanshire in 1749. On the other hand, none of the prose chapbooks attributed to him were acknowledged by the author as his work, leading the late John Morris of the National Library of Scotland to opine that it was very unlikely that Dougal Graham had written any of them.[2] What passes for Graham's 'biography' is almost completely speculative, particularly such of it as was written before 1907, when the first edition of his *Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-46* was gifted to the Mitchell Library. It had been published in 1746, contained some autobiographical information, and could have easily been consulted, but chapbook experts left it virtually unheeded for nearly a century, and instead chose to reiterate a couple of lines that occur in the preface to the many editions of Graham's later work from 1774, *The Impartial History of the Rise, Progress and Extinction of the late Rebellion in Britain*, creatively expanding them to fill the vacuum. Graham's claim to eyewitness status in 1774 gave scholars and journalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth century license to fabricate a version of his life which suited their own romanticised, pro-Jacobite preconceptions. As Willmott Willmott Dixon lamented in 1874:

> even sober students [...] have found themselves converted against their will from historians into romancers. They have seen every person and every circumstance connected with this episode through a glowing atmosphere of romance, and traditions which would, under ordinary conditions, have been scouted as poetical myths have in this case been accepted as grave and indisputable historical facts.[3]

Dougal Graham's 'biography' is a prime example. It was assumed that 'the outbreak of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745 found Graham ready to follow the Young Chevalier'.[4] The germ of the notion that Graham was a Jacobite at heart is to be found in his claim, in the 'third edition', 1774, to have been 'an Eye-witness to most of the Movement of the Armies, from the Rebels first crossing the Ford of Frew to their final defeat at Culloden'.

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[1] Edward J. Cowan, 'Chapmen billies and their Books', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 35 (2007), pp. 6-25.
[2] John Morris, 'The Scottish Chapman', in *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press; London: British Library, 2007), pp. 159-186 (p. 164).
[3] W. Wilmott Dixon, 'The Jacobite Episode in Scottish History and its Relative Literature', in *Essays: Glasgow St Andrews Society 1874* (Edinburgh and Glasgow: John Menzies & Company; London: Simpkin, Marshall & Company, 1874), pp. 1-145 (p. 1).
[4] George Macgregor, *The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham*, 2 vols, (Glasgow, 1883), I, p. 12.

Graham's *Impartial History*, however, is a production so much altered from his 1746 *Full, Particular and True Account* that they are effectively different books, and calling it a third edition is misleading.

Before 1774, Graham's signed works, poems, songs and a prose broadside, were all virulently anti-Jacobite. [5] The *Impartial History* is out of character, in that the treatment is more even-handed, which would seem to have reflected contemporary attitudes in Scotland. Any Franco-Jacobite threat had been removed, comprehensively and permanently, by the victory at Quiberon Bay in 1759, and attitudes appropriate to 1746 were no longer relevant. Devine claims that 'by the mid eighteenth century there really is little in the way of passion in Scottish politics, especially after the defeat of the Jacobites in 1746'.[6] Thus in 1774 it was permissible for people to call themselves Macgregor, a name which had been proscribed since 1603 in a futile attempt to terminate the activities of a particularly troublesome clan. Similarly, the Master of Lovat, though his father had been executed and his lands and title forfeited in the Rebellion, had succeeded in reinventing himself as General Fraser, British military hero, and allowed to buy his lands back. The trend is unambiguously (and literally) illustrated by the presence of the tartan clad Fraser in the phenomenally successful *Death of General Wolfe*, by George III's official History Painter, Benjamin West, exhibited in 1769.[7] A comparison of that picture with David Morier's *Culloden*,[8] painted circa 1746 for his patron, the Duke of Cumberland, demonstrates how the official idea of the Highland warrior had changed in twenty years from dirty savage to imperial hero. Once Woolett (Engraver to his Majesty) had started producing prints, Fraser's image adorned walls throughout the British Empire. In 1774 Enlightenment Scotland, impartiality was a selling point, even in the field of popular literature. In the autumn of 1746, immediately after Charles Edward had successfully escaped to France, Ralph Griffiths in London released *Ascanius.* A colourful and highly imaginative description of the Prince's adventures after Culloden, it became a European-wide sensation, copied, adapted and translated in countless versions for the rest of the century and well into the next. As early as 1769, however, the word 'impartial' tends to replace 'true' or 'particular' in the description of the contents on the title pages. Graham's

[5] *The Battle of Drummossie-Muir: Containing Three Excellent New Songs* (1746); *Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to Lewis XV, Present King of France, Concerning the Wars* (Glasgow, 1755) and supplementary poems in the two editions of the *Account.*
[6] Thomas M. Devine, *Scottish Enlightenment*, Education Scotland <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/scottishenlightenment/introduction.asp > [accessed 3 May 2016].
[7] Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, oil on canvas, 152.6 x 214.5 cm. National Gallery of Canada.
[8] David Morier, *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745*, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 99cm.Queen's Ante Chamber, Palace of Holyrood House.

Impartial History of 1774, which utilised *Ascanius* as a source, and which ran to several editions, clearly reflects this development.

In the 1774 preface Graham had emphasised his veracity by claiming that the work was based on his 'own Observation, as an Eyewitness to most of the Movements of the Armies […]'. Unable to recognise puff which can be expected from any salesman, and unmindful of the potential elasticity of the word 'most', nineteenth century scholars took this statement for literal truth and developed a picture of Graham devotedly following the Bonnie Prince from Stirling, via Derby, to Culloden and back. In their defence, it could be argued that the tone of the *Impartial History* is ambiguous enough to sustain such a reading. Even a cursory glance at Graham's earlier productions would have shown it untenable, but all copies of the *Account* had apparently disappeared, and could not be procured 'nec prece nec pecuniam' (neither for love nor money)[9]. In the event, the Jacobite reading did Graham a great disservice. When the crucial first and second editions of the *Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-46* were finally available for study in the Mitchell Library, scholars who had emphasised Graham's Jacobite affinities may have found the firmly Hanoverian slant discomfiting, possibly even embarrassing, and effectively ignored the newly accessible texts.

The west of Scotland journalists and local historians who were largely responsible for the creation of the myth of Dougal Graham as Jacobite also liked to emphasise his Glaswegian credentials. This required a certain amount of doublethink, for Glasgow's reception of Charles Edward in 1745 had been determinedly hostile. David, Lord Elcho, his cavalry commander, describes the streets 'crowded with people to see him, but they were all much against his cause'.[10] 'There was, in contrast, conspicuous public celebration when news reached Glasgow of the Jacobite army's subsequent defeat at Culloden.'[11]

There is plenty of evidence to show that Graham had a strong association with Glasgow. The first edition of his *Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion* was printed by James Duncan in the Saltmercat in 1746. By 1752, in the second edition, he is describing himself as a 'merchant in Glasgow'. His broadside *Copy of a Letter from a*

[9] Macgregor, *Collected Writings*, I, p. 13, quoting Robert Chambers' *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen*, 4 vols (Glasgow; Blackie, 1832), II, p. 488.
[10] David, Lord Elcho, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, ed. by Hon Evan E. Charteris (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1907), p. 353.
[11] Roibeard O'Maolalaigh, Katherine Forsythe and Aonghas MacCoinnich, *The Gaelic Story at the University of Glasgow* <http://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/?lang=en> [accessed 1 March 2016].

Gentleman in Scotland to Lewis XV[12] is headed Glasgow March 24th 1755, and the *Impartial History* (1774) and many of the subsequent editions of it were published by John Robertson of Glasgow. The main source for the tradition of Graham's Glasgow connection, however, seems to be an undated broadside entitled *An Elegy on the much lamented Death of that witty Poet and Bellman, Dougal Graham, who departed this Life on the 20th Day of July 1779* (Appendix I). John Strang printed the portion he could remember, seven verses lauding Glasgow's popular and poetically gifted 'Bellman' in 1857.[13] The full twelve stanza version, however, is puzzling and rather more difficult to accept at face value.[14] In it, Graham is described as functioning as both a town-crier and a night-watchman, as well as a poet, the way he preferred to identify himself. The initials 'D.G.', signifying the author of *The Dying Song of a repenting Sinner when near the point of death,* on the lower half of the broadside, may stand for Graham himself.

There had been a lengthy tradition of humorous elegies in Scotland, stretching back to Robert Sempill's seventeenth century *Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan, or the epitaph of Habbie Simpson*, available as a broadside between 1690 and 1700.[15] Topical poems concerning the demise of figures well known in the community, often entertainers of one sort or another – fiddlers, pipers, hangmen – were particularly suitable for broadside publication. Some, like this one, were genial, others harshly satirical. Ramsay and Alexander Pennecuik (d.1730) contributed examples of both varieties. Nevertheless, it would scarcely be safe to depend on either type for accurate biographical detail. Writers of elegies did not always wait for the death of the subject. Dr Cathcart, of Edinburgh, accused of necromancy, had to rush to print in order to contradict his.[16] The *Dying words of Allan Ramsay*, composed by a rival, was printed in 1736 more than twenty years before the poet's death.[17] Nor was it unknown for poets to write their own elegies – William Hamilton wrote his in 1738.[18] *Here A.R's ashes lie*[19] may well have been written by

[12] Dougal Graham, *Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to Lewis XV* (Glasgow, 1755) NLS, Special Collections, APS.4.86.36.
[13] John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*, 2nd edition (London and Glasgow, Richard Griffin and Company, 1857), p. 80.
[14] *An Elegy on the much-lamented Death of that Witty Poet and Bellman, Dougal Graham* with *The Dying Song of a repenting Sinner when near the point of death by D.G.* NLS, Special Collections 6.1439(8).
[15] Robert Sempill *Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan* (1690-1700?) <digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15860> [accessed 25 January 2016].
[16] Rosebery Collection N.L.S., RY.iii.C.36 (1-21), p. 154.
[17] George Chalmers and Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, *The Works of Allan Ramsay with Life of the Author*, 2 vols (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: Fullarton, 1853), I, p. 37.
[18] William Hamilton, *The Poems and Songs of William Hamilton of Bangour: Collated with the MS Volume*, ed. by James Stevenson (Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1850), pp. xxxiv-v, 183-184.
[19] Allan Ramsay, *Works*, ed. Alexander M. Kinghorn and Alexander Law, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1983), IV, p. 327.

Ramsay himself, and John Pettegrew, Minister of Govan, is credited with having composed his own elegy, though in point of fact the author may have been Alexander Pennecuik.[20] Pennecuik wrote copious numbers of elegies and epitaphs, many of which were included in later collections of his poems. While the subject of the *Poem on the death of Pennecuik*, in the 1762 edition of Pennecuik's poems, is the other (my emphasis) Alexander Pennecuik, M.D, who died in 1722, also a poet and perhaps the writer's uncle, the younger Alexander Pennecuik ('Mercator' or 'Gent') seems to be responsible for a kind of premature epitaph, a *Prayer in his Sickness and under the Apprehension of Death*, referring to his own mortality.[21] An interesting twist appears in the Pennecuik *Collection* of 1756. *The Pretended Town Crier* records four lines of obscene verse, apparently by 'A gentleman who borrowed the bellman's cloak and bell and rung and repeated them thro' the streets of Edinburgh at four a.m. in the morning'.[22] The *Poems of Pennecuik (and others)* was not printed in Glasgow until 1787, but knowledge of them had spread well beyond his native Edinburgh; an Aberdeen edition was available from 1769. It is feasible that elements of the Graham *Elegy* broadside were modelled on items in the Pennecuik collections. 'Bellman's Verses' were, moreover, a distinct genre of broadside – religious verses purportedly composed by poetic town criers in order to elicit seasonal gratuities from householders. *A Copy of Verses made and set forth by Thomas Priest Bell-Man*, published in London in 1681, provides a typical example.[23] A variation on the form, it is said, was sung to condemned criminals before their execution, to put them in an appropriate state of mind,[24] and the 'Dying Song' part of the broadside may owe something to this tradition.

In 1779 Glasgow magistrates were vainly trying to establish a police force financed by the town in the face of vociferous complaints from the citizenry about the potential expense.[25] At the beginning of the year there had been rioting in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, ignited by the unpopularity of the Catholic Relief Bill, but peace had been restored once the bill was withdrawn, and the establishment of law and order must have temporarily seemed a less pressing problem. The first part of the *Elegy* might be read as a

[20] Alexander Pennecuik (and others), *A Collection of Scots Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh: James Reid, 1756), p. 33.
[21] Alexander Pennecuik (and others), *A Collection of Scots Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1762), pp. 58, 134.
[22] Pennecuik, *Collection* (1756), p. 81.
[23] Thomas Priest, *A Copy of Verses Made and set forth by Thomas Priest, Bell-man* (London: Henry Brugis, 1681) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm62369608e> [accessed 7 October 2016].
[24] 'The Bellman Addresses the Condemned Souls', in *Tyburn Chronicle* (London, 1768), II, p. 73 <wolfinthewood.livejournal.com/73772.html> [accessed 19 March 2016].
[25] John B. McGowan, *Policing the Metropolis of Scotland* (Musselburgh: Turlough, 2010), p. 283.

comment on current affairs, indicating that an undersized cripple, with his 'little crutch', was sufficient to establish stability satisfactorily, without any undue increase in the rates, and perhaps the broadside should be read as a comment on topical affairs as much as a lament. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the entire broadsheet had been prepared earlier by Graham, to ensure a favourable posthumous reputation, and the initials D.G. might cover both parts. All things considered, it would be rash to accept that the publication is necessarily an accurate account of Dougal Graham's status and occupation.

Both strands of the myth, Graham as Jacobite and Graham as Glasgow Bellman, were already well developed by 1811, as can be seen from the story of Dougal Graham given to Elizabeth Isabelle Spence by Stirling of Craigbarnet, owner of that estate at the time of her visit.[26] Graham had, it seems:

> joined the Pretender at Doune and continued in his train until his departure from Scotland […] then, reduced to dire poverty, hawked ballads about the streets of Glasgow till the magistrates, in reward for his services, gave him the charge of the music bells which situation he retained until his death.

While Graham himself indicates in the first edition that he had had some kind of uncongenial connection with 'the Campsie' in his youth, Craigbarnet's boast that it was the poet's birthplace is obviously fabricated, as are many more of his highly romanticised Jacobite family legends. James Stirling of Craigbarnet had certainly joined Charles in 1745, been captured after Culloden trying to reach Holland, and then escaped from Dumbarton Castle, but we may well have doubts about his yarns that he had captured eleven dragoons single handed, or had skulked in the vicinity of Strathblane disguised as an old woman spinning, during which time he was visited by the Bonnie Prince who gave him a claymore and a waistcoat embroidered by Flora Macdonald as souvenirs of the royal stopover. Graham's account is that the family would not pay him his wages – which is credible, for Craigbarnet had had to sell his patrimony to relations in 1733 and, indeed, may be an example of the *dyvour lairds* that Graham labels with scorn in his *Full, Particular and True Account.* Business ventures in Glasgow and in the Virginia tobacco trade proved more lucrative than rebellion, however, and Craigbarnet was able to buy back his estates before his death in 1774.[27] The information provided to Miss Spence by the incumbent Laird regarding Graham's Jacobite involvement is in essence material from the preface to the 1774 *Impartial History* padded out with some questionable information garnered from the *Elegy*. On a par with the anecdote of Prince Charles' waistcoat is the

[26] Elizabeth Isabelle Spence, *Sketches of the Present Manners: Customs and Scenery of Scotland* (London: Longman, 1811), pp. 147-8.
[27] John Guthrie Smith, *The Parish of Strathblane* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1886), pp. 137-8.

contention that the magistrates of Glasgow gave an abject hawker of ballads the job of playing their treasured carillon, installed in the Tron steeple in 1735 at the cost of over three hundred pounds,[28] an occupation demanding considerable skill and training which involved ringing the changes, literally, with a different tune every day. Unsurprisingly, the name Graham nowhere appears on the list of names fastened to the wall of the Tron steeple, which itemises the ringers going back to 1738.[29]

The task of resolving these inconsistencies and endorsing Graham's Jacobitism fell to his prime mythmaker, the poet William Motherwell (1797-1830), whose family had originally hailed from Stirlingshire and moved to the Glasgow area after falling on hard times. Motherwell, a zealous Tory,[30] was a journalist with some claims to scholarship, but his article on Dougal Graham in *The Paisley Magazine or Literary and Antiquarian Miscellany* of 1828 shows no inclination to spoil a good story by over-meticulous research.[31] In 1914, John Fairley, the bibliographer, described it 'as an article of supreme importance' even though it was 'more or less of a popular nature […] and not intended to be a final judgement'[32] – which seems an elegant way of saying that Motherwell's arguments regarding the attribution of the prose chapbooks are full of holes, and this Fairlie proceeds to demonstrate. The same strictures can be applied to the biographical information on Dougal Graham that Motherwell provided.

Motherwell's 'facts' came primarily from a conversation with George Caldwell (1744? – 1826), that had occurred four years previously, in 1824, at a time when Motherwell was collecting material for a history of 'vulgar literature'. Caldwell was an octogenarian Paisley shop keeper with wide experience in the book trade, lending, selling, printing and publishing, and who was moreover, according to Motherwell, 'an extensive dealer in penny histories and bawbee ballads'. Even after a lapse of four years, Motherwell was apparently able to quote Caldwell's 'very words':

> Dougald was a lang time skellat bellman o' Glasgow, and wrate the maist part o' his histories there […] He died abune thretty years ago. In his youth, he was in the Pretender's service, and on that account, he had a sair faught

[28] John K. McDowall, *The People's History of Glasgow* (Glasgow and London, 1899, republished S. R. Publishers, 1970), p. 56.
[29] Michael Foulds, *The Bells of the Tolbooth Steeple* (Whiting Society of Ringers) <http://www.whitingsociety.org.uk/articles/scot-bells/glasgow-tolbooth-steeple.html> [accessed 12 December 2015].
[30] Hamish Whyte, *William Motherwell*, DNB, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19419> [accessed 13 April 2015].
[31] William Motherwell 'Dugald Graham', *The Paisley Magazine*, 1.13 (December, 1828), no pagination. There are two issues for the month of December.
[32] John A. Fairley, *Dougal Graham and the Chapbooks by and Attributed to Him* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1914), p. 9.

> to get the place o' bellman, for the Glasgow Bailies had an ill brew o' the Hielanders, and were just downright wicked against ony body that had melled wi' the Rebels; but Dougie was a pawkey chield, and managed to wyse them ower to his ain interests, pretending that he was a staunch King's man, and pressed into the Prince's service sair against his will.[33]

By 1828, it was impossible to ask Caldwell to corroborate details – he had died two years previously, aged 82 – so Motherwell made enquiry of Dr James Cleland, historian,[34] Superintendent of Public Works, civic administrator and statistician, who had undertaken 'the most extensive and sophisticated local census that had ever been conducted in Britain' some ten years before.[35] Cleland replied:

> With regard to Dougal Graham, I may safely say there is nothing in the records concerning him. This from my own knowledge, corroborated by Mr Thomson, one of our Town Clerks, who lately made an index of everything in the books for 150 years back.

This would seem fairly authoritative. The courteous Cleland, however, obviously wishing to be helpful, mentioned 'a very sensible town officer, a good way above eighty' who was able to recall the time he was a boy of about ten years of age, when Dougal, 'a bit wee gash bodie under five feet, who being very poetical, collected a crowd of boys around him at every corner where he rang the bell'. This could just as easily describe a 'patterer'[36] equipped with a bell as a council official. As Alexander Fenton points out, 'a new – and publicity conscious – chap man might well have run his own service at times, for publicising, *inter alia*, his own wares',[37] a theory which neatly covers many of the possible implications of the *Elegy*. Motherwell, however, took the old town officer's recollection as proof positive of Graham's official position. 'The third edition of his poem' (the 1774 *Impartial History*) 'is now before us', he wrote. 'It is embellished with the frontispiece which we have transferred to this article.' This statement is disingenuous in the extreme; the frontispiece of the *Impartial History* has certainly been reproduced in the *Paisley Magazine*,[38] but the printed caption:

> 'From Brain and pen, O Virtue Drope
> Vice fly As Charlie, And John Cope'

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[33] William Motherwell, 'Dugald Graham', in *Paisley Magazine*, no pagination.Also quoted in John. Fairley, *Dougal Graham: Skellat Bellman of Glasgow, and His Chap Books* (Hawick: privately printed, 1908), p. 8.
[34] James Cleland, *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow: J Smith, 1829).
[35] Stana Nenadic, *James Cleland*, DNB <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5594> [accessed 22 March 2016].
[36] O.E.D *patterer*, 2b. a salesman.
[37] Alexander Fenton, 'The People Below: Dougal Graham's Chapbooks as a Mirror of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth Century Scotland', in *A Day Estival*, ed. by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 69-80 (p. 69).
[38] Motherwell 'Dugald Graham', p. 670.

has been expunged, and replaced by a handwritten legend, 'Behold The true portraiture of Dugald Graham, The ingenious author of many famous Penny Histories etc. and for many years Skellat Bellman of Glasgow'.[39]

Thus the epithet 'the Skellat Bellman of Glasgow', which has been applied to Graham ever since, seems to have come literally from the pen of William Motherwell in 1828. But a good story can stick and gather its own momentum, so it was cheerfully utilised by Strang, McKenzie, McVean, Senex, (Reid), J.K McDowall, and Jack House.[40] Significantly, all were journalists, apart from McVean, who was a bookseller, and McDowall, who was Secretary of the Scottish Football Association.

Motherwell's account of Graham's popularity and his publishers does not bear investigation either. 'We believe it (*The Impartial History*) has arrived at its 20th edition' claimed Motherwell in 1828. According to the bibliographer John Fairley, however, it had reached only its ninth.[41] 'Many of the works of popular entertainment which Dougald wrote', asserted Motherwell 'were printed for, and sold by, Mr Caldwell'. Fairley, on the contrary, insisted that 'with the solitary exception of *Pady from Cork* printed for George Caldwell, Bookseller in Paisley, 1784, none of the chapbooks attributed to Graham printed before 1800 is known to bear the name of George Caldwell'.

Caldwell had in fact been discussing a man who had died forty-five years earlier, ('abune thretty,' errs by about fifty per cent, if we accept the date on the *Elegy*) and describing events that took place while he was very young – aged six, or thereabouts – and perhaps not a reliable witness to the deliberations of the Glasgow Corporation. Knowing that Motherwell was intending to write on the subject, Caldwell's 'communication' may well have been considerably embroidered; 'This sort of thing', remarked Fairley, sourly, 'does not inspire confidence', but from Motherwell's article nonetheless, 'has sprung the entire body of faith […] that has steadily grown in volume since, notwithstanding a murmur of doubt now and again'.

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[39] 'many years' is, like 'most of the action' an elastic term. For reasons that are not clear, Motherwell calculated it as the period between 1750 and 1789. On the evidence of the *Elegy*, Graham died in 1779.
[40] John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs*; Peter McKenzie, *Old Reminiscences of Glasgow and the West of Scotland* (Glasgow: James P. Forrester, 1890) <https://archive.org/details/oldreminiscences01mackiala> [accessed 25 January 2016]; John M'Ure, *The History of Glasgow: A New Edition* (Glasgow: MacVean and Wylie, 1830); Senex (Robert Reid), *Old Glasgow and its Environs: Historical and Topographical* (Glasgow: David Robertson; London: Longman & Co., 1864) <https://archive.org/details/oldglasgowitsenv00sene> [accessed 25 January 2016]; John K. McDowell. *The People's History of Glasgow: An Encyclopedic Record of the City from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day* (Glasgow and London: Hay Nisbet, 1899; republished S.R. Publishers, 1970); Jack House, *The Heart of Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1991), p. 195.
[41] Fairley, *Dougal Graham and the Chap Books attributed to Him*, p. 12.

The murmurs came from those who had had access to the earlier *Accounts.* McVean, who was able to quote from the 1752 *Full, Particular and True Account*[42] directly, and give the titles of poems in it, dismisses Motherwell's article as 'amusing, but not very accurate'. David Laing, editing Stenhouse's *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland* discusses Graham's *Account* in the entry on the poem *Turnimspike*:

> The first edition is so extremely rare, that only one copy is known to be preserved and, as a literary curiosity, it might be worth reprinting; although it demolishes the fine story of the author's difficulty in obtaining the Bellman's place from the Glasgow Baillies on account of his being a Jacobite and having joined the Pretender's army.[43]

Laing, antiquarian and Librarian to the Signet Library, had certainly seen, and may well have owned, the first edition of the *Account* and perhaps the second as well. Other scholars, for example Fraser, Macgregor and Harvey,[44] who had never seen either, simply accepted the myth.

The situation changed entirely at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1894 the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts mounted *An Exhibition Illustrative of old Glasgow*,[45] which included specimens of its literature. Case B featured History Texts, and 'The Rebellion' section displayed all three versions of Graham's work on the Rebellion of 1745-46. The first and second editions of the *Full, Particular and True Account* were listed as being the property of George Grey, Clerk of the Peace, County Buildings. On Grey's death his collection was sold at Sotheby's, and £171 saw books which eighty years before 'could not be procured for love or money' pass into the possession of James Noble Graham of Carfin, scion of a dynasty of philanthropic Glasgow merchant princes. To mark the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Glasgow in 1907, Graham presented them to the Mitchell Library, and rightly received the thanks of Glasgow Corporation.[46]

Though now anyone could examine all the editions of Graham, and the poems contained in them, virtually nobody did. A notable exception was John Fairley, who

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[42] John M'Ure, *The History of Glasgow, A new Edition with Notes and Illustrations and an Appendix,* ed. by D. McVean (Glasgow: Hutcheson & Brookman, 1830), p. 314. The first edition was John M'Ure, *A view of the City of Glasgow or an Account of its Origin, Rise and Progress* (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1736). McVean's edition is considerably altered.
[43] William Stenhouse, *Illustrations of the Lyric Poetry and Music of Scotland,* ed. David Laing and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1853), p. 112.
[44] John Fraser, *The Humorous Chap-books of Scotland Life and Writings of Dougal Graham, the Great Chap Writer,* 2 vols (New York, 1874); George Macgregor, *The Collected Writings of Dougal Graham* (Glasgow, 1883); William Harvey *Scottish Chapbook Literature* (Paisley: Gardner, 1903).
[45] Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, *Exhibition Illustrative of Old Glasgow 1894* (Glasgow: Galleries, 1894?) <https://archive.org/details/exhibitionillust00glas > [accessed 25 January 2016].
[46] *Glasgow Corporation Minutes* (2 May 1907), p. 1482, no. 26.

privately produced fifty copies of a slim pamphlet on the subject,[47] and gave a lecture to the Glasgow Bibliographic Society on 20th January, 1913, which was printed in their Proceedings. But Fairley was naturally more interested in producing descriptions and lists of books, their authorship, the various editions, typography, publication dates etc., than the substance of what was written in them, and he is not entirely reliable as to content. In 1908 we find him quoting sections of the *Impartial History* as coming from the *Account*, and as late as 1913 he is still happy to repeat the canard that Graham had been with the Jacobite Army. Ominously, perhaps, Fairley acknowledged with thanks the assistance of chapbook expert and Literary Editor of the Dundee Advertiser, William Harvey.

The Stirling-born Harvey is reminiscent of Motherwell in many ways. Like him, he came from humble circumstances and gravitated to journalism. Both were interested in Scots language and poetry and collected popular literature. Indeed, Harvey paid homage to the Paisley poet by publishing an anthology of poetry entitled *The Harp of Stirlingshire*, echoing Motherwell's title, *The Harp of Renfrewshire.* In 1903 Harvey published his *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, which concurred with the notion that Dougal Graham was a Jacobite. Though he knew of the existence of Graham's 1746 *Full, Particular and True Account*,[48] and had even some slight knowledge of the text, he had clearly not studied it in any depth, and his version is substantially the same as other scholars of the time. Harvey was very interested in Graham – he used a picture purporting to be Graham as his book plate – and it is clear that in his dual capacity of Graham expert and literary editor, he could have published extensively on the subject of the 'newly discovered' texts in the Mitchell Library, had he wished to do so. Since he chose not to, one can only conclude that he had been thoroughly nonplussed by them. He dropped hints, certainly. In a fictional piece entitled *Last of the Race*, appearing in The Dundee Advertiser of 30th September 1913,[49] a suspiciously Dougal Graham-conscious pedlar mentions the whereabouts of the first publication: 'there's yin in the Mitchell library. It was Geordie Gray's. Gray and I were laddies thegither in Doune.' But it was not until 1924, fully seventeen years after the texts became available, that Harvey attempted to set the record straight, in a very limited way, by publishing in Stirling, for private circulation, fifty copies of a pamphlet entitled

[47] Fairley, *Dougal Graham: Skellat Bellman of Glasgow and his Chapbooks*.
[48] Harvey *Scottish Chapbook Literature*, p. 78. Note on Elizabeth Isabella Spence 'Dougal narrates some biography in the first edition of his metrical History'.
[49] William Harvey, *Collection of press-cuttings on pedlars and chapbooks brought together by William Harvey.* NLS RBm.141.

Dougal Graham and his History of the Rebellion.[50] In this he states unequivocally that in the first edition:

> Graham nowhere says he was ever with the rebels, and if he did accompany the Highland Army, then his First Edition – Preface and History – proves that […] he was the most unsympathetic Scot who ever followed the fortunes of the Prince. The whole work is a violent attack upon the Jacobites […] it is difficult to believe that [he] would limp for hundreds of miles after the banner of the Stuarts, as Strang, and Macgregor, and Fraser would have us believe.

Nonetheless, Harvey's pamphlet is an impressive performance. It views a hundred and fifty years of unjustified speculation with a clear eye, and attempts to do what Fairley wisely refused even to contemplate – to go over the first and third versions page by page, comparing the differences. Since *The Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion*, and *The Impartial History* are virtually different books, this must have been a task so thankless that one can only speculate that there may have been some element of contrition in the undertaking. In view of the end result, one cannot help thinking it was far too little, far too late. Harvey's booklet has lain virtually untouched on a few select library shelves ever since. While modern chapbook scholars regularly consult Harvey's *Chapbook Literature*, there is no evidence that anyone has ever referred to his *Dougal Graham and his History of the Rebellion* – even in his native town of Stirling, where the Library has a copy, and where the Stirling Smith Museum features Graham prominently, using money from the Harvey Trust. There Dougal sits 'in effigy' resplendent in the official uniform of a Glasgow Bellman, lauded as 'Stirling's first war correspondent'. Harvey had dodged the issue of the *Full, Particular and True Account* for seventeen years, and the negative results of this evasion are unambiguous. Four years after he brought out *Dougal Graham and his History of the Rebellion*, Isobel Cameron published in Stirling a text called *A Highland Chapbook*, a production containing every untenable construction that had ever been put on Dougal Graham's life, with egregious errors to boot.[51] She had misread Harvey's *Scottish Chapbook Literature* to the point where she could describe, not the Highland, but the regular British Army of the eighteenth century as equipped with 'old scythes … and hatchets upon a pole,/ mischievous weapons antick and droll', a claim which would surely

[50] William Harvey, *Dougal Graham and his History of the Rebellion of 1745* (Stirling: Journal Office, 1924).
[51] Isabel Cameron, 'A Highland Chapbook' in *To Celebrate 500 Years of Scottish Printing, 1507-1509* (Jointly published Incline Press: Oldham, England, and Running the Goat: St John's Newfoundland, 2007-2009), p. 6.

have left David Morier severely disconcerted.[52] Of Harvey's reconsidered views, or of the *Full, Particular and True Accounts* reposing in the Mitchell Library, she seems to have had not the slightest conception. Without a shred of supporting evidence, the myth was accepted in its entirety and now, almost a century afterwards, the internet has made the spurious 'information' about Dougal Graham available worldwide at the touch of a button.

[52] Morier, *Incident in the Rebellion.*

2. The promotion of Graham's Account of the Rebellion

A fair amount of information about Graham and his objectives can be deduced from the way his work was promoted, both externally and in the body of the work itself. Apart from biographical material in the introduction, we can infer a great deal about his target audience and his primary objective which was clearly commercial success. That Graham himself saw marketing strategy as crucially important is demonstrated by the alterations he chose to make in the second edition, which occur primarily in the prefatory material designed to endorse it. In this respect, as in many others, it is interesting to use for comparison the anonymous *History of the Rebellion in the Years 1745 and 1746*, a virtually contemporary Presbyterian prose narrative composed in 1747, which was not designed for publication, and stayed in manuscript form, 'in the possession of Lord James Stewart Murray' until 1944, when it was edited, somewhat unsympathetically, by the Jacobite enthusiast, Henrietta Tayler, and printed by the Roxburghe Club. The anonymous author, not constrained by commercial concerns, has no need to promote his work in any fashion.

2.1. The *Glasgow Courant* Advertisement

The *Impartial History* was published in 1774 during the time of the 'High Enlightenment in Britain' with 'reconciliation and tolerance the hallmarks of it'.[53] By 1811, when Isabelle Spence visited Scotland, there was obviously a cachet in being able to claim ancestral Jacobite connections, and by 1828, when the Paisley magazine appeared,

> [though] Scotland was unquestioningly committed to the maintenance of the Hanoverian succession and the treaty of Union […] a reinvigorated sentimental Jacobitism had become a central feature of Scottish culture […] [together with] the rise, in response to the French Revolution, of a self-conscious romantic legitimism.[54]

George IV's visit to Edinburgh, triumphantly orchestrated by Sir Walter Scott, 'a key event in the creation of the 'romantic' image of Scotland', had initiated 'an outbreak of what modern historians have labelled Highlandism […] among the middle and upper classes'.[55] The romantic image reflected a change in taste which classified Highland landscapes as sublime and picturesque, but which could ignore the wretchedness of contemporary Highland tenants being cleared from them. Understandably, the Scottish Tory Establishment –to which Motherwell aspired – preferred to dwell on legends deriving from

[53] Colin Kidd, 'The Rehabilitation of Scottish Jacobitism', *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998), pp. 58-76.
[54] Kidd, 'Rehabilitation', p. 58.
[55] *George IV's visit to Edinburgh* <digital.nls.uk/scotlandspages/timeline/18222.html> [accessed 6 March 2016].

a rising that had occurred a lifetime before, designed to restore an ancient race of kings and led by a glamorous Prince, rather than the distasteful reality of the 'Scottish Insurrection', fomented by the government's agents provocateurs, that had ignited in Paisley two years before the royal visit, resulting in the transportation of twenty radicals and the public execution of Baird, Hardy and Wilson.[56] In the concomitant 'refashioning of a kitsch Jacobitism',[57] Motherwell's assurance that Graham had been 'a lad in Prince Charles' army' may have inhibited scholars from properly investigating one of the few pieces of evidence available outwith the tangible text of the 'lost first edition' – the way it was publicised. In his *Illustrious Scotsmen* Chambers reprinted an advertisement that had appeared in the *Glasgow Courant* covering the period Monday September 29th - October 6th, 1746. It read:

> That there is to be sold by James Duncan Printer in Glasgow in the Saltmercat, the 2nd shop below Gibson's Wynd, a Book intituled A full particular and true ACCOUNT OF THE Late REBELLION in the Years 1745 and 1746, beginning with the Pretender's Embarking for Scotland, and then an Account of every Battle, Siege and Skirmish that has happened in either Scotland or England.
>
> To which is added, several Addresses and Epistles to the Pope, Pagans, Poets and Pretender; all in Metre. Price Four Pence. But any Booksellers or Packmen may have them easier from the said James Duncan, or the Author D. Grahame.
>
> The like has not been done in Scotland since the Days of Sir David Lindsay.[58]

McGregor and other chapbook experts seem not to have found it extraordinary that James Duncan, an entrepreneur proud to describe himself as printer to the city in McUre's *View of the City of Glasgow* in 1736,[59] should be marketing material written by a pro-Jacobite author less than six months after Glasgow celebrated the news of Culloden with bonfires, rejoicing and a formal banquet, and honoured the Duke of Cumberland with the freedom of the city and an honorary degree. To be unaware of the contradictions, Victorian scholars would have had to ignore how McUre, the 'Clerk to the Registrations of Seisins and other Evidents for the District of Glasgow,' had in his account of the city emphasised the town's 'stedfast [sic] adherence to the revolution interest and the succession of the protestant line

[56] Thomas Johnston, *The History of the Working Classes in Scotland* (Glasgow: Unity Publishing.1946), pp. 238-43.
[57] Kidd, 'Rehabilitation', p. 58.
[58] Robert Chambers, *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Scotsmen*, 4 vols (Glasgow: Blackie, 1839), II, pp. 487-9, quoted in Macdonald, *Collected Writings*, pp. 13-4.
[59] John McUre, alias Campbel, *A View of the City of Glasgow*: *Or An Account of its Origins, Rise and Progress* (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1736) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0605800400> [accessed 27 January 2016].

in the illustrious house of Hanover',[60] and to wilfully misread the Maitland Club's publication (in 1836) of the correspondence of Andrew Cochrane, the Provost of Glasgow, describing the citizens' hostile reception of the Jacobite army on their retreat from Derby, and the concomitant financial exactions in both goods and money that the town had to endure.[61] Nor was this view of Glasgow restricted to its own citizenry. As a contemporary pamphlet, printed in Ireland, describes it:

> The city had always been considered as the Head Quarters of the Whigs in the Reigns of Charles and James II, and had been thereby exposed to very indifferent treatment [...] since the Revolution and more especially since the Union [it is] the best affected place in North Britain to our Establishment, and so reputed. The young Pretender entered it at the head of his forces and had the inhabitants at his mercy […] but they did nothing contrary to their duty. The behaviour of the rebels [was] rather worse than in other places […] they found themselves in a very rich city […] and considered it as a Magazine [i.e. storehouse].[62]

The wording of the *Courant* advertisement should certainly have indicated to nineteenth century scholars that it could not possibly be promoting a Jacobite publication. No Stuart supporter would have described the events of 1745/46 as 'the Rebellion' or referred to Charles as 'the Pretender'. In such close proximity, the words *pope* and *pagan* should have suggested, even to Victorians, the coarse anti-Catholic ballad *The Pope that Pagan full of Pride.* (Scott printed one of the more genteel versions of it in *The Abbot*, describing it as 'popular among the lower classes'.)[63] The inclusion of poets in the list of undesirables is interesting, for the history is written 'in metre', and indeed Graham seems to have regarded himself as a poet first and foremost; he is evidently alluding to poets of another persuasion. Clearly this might mean any of a multitude of contemporary anonymous Jacobite songwriters, but further observation suggests that Graham's targets are more specific.

The *Epistle to Other Poets* promised in the advertisement is printed after the end of the *Full, Particular and True Account*, and indicates the poets Graham had in mind. The first part, appropriately in the favourite Jacobite Standard Habbie form, would seem to fit a wealthy Episcopalian-leaning gentleman who wrote poetry of a frivolous nature; the second, in octosyllabic couplets, refers to a Presbyterian who took the form of the

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[60] McUre, *A View of the City*, p. 89.
[61] Andrew Cochrane, *The Cochrane Correspondence, Regarding the Affairs of Glasgow, 1745-46* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1836).
[62] *The History of the Rebellion Raised Against King George II of 1745* (Dublin: A. Reilly, 1746), p. 23 <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0387302600> [Accessed 26 January 2016].
[63] Sir Walter Scott, *The Abbot* (London: Marcus Ward, 1878), p. 131. https://archive.org/stream/abbotbeingasequ00scotgoog#page/n142/mode/2uphttps://archive.org/stream/abbotbeingasequ00scotgoog#page/n142/mode/2up [Accessed 14 February2017]

Scriptures as ‘a droll’ or matter for amusement. The images are so indecent that the poem could be regarded as one half of a ‘Flyting’, a virtuoso performance that was not to be regarded as entirely serious. Nevertheless, accusations of blasphemy could not be taken too lightly. Aikenhead had been executed for the offence less than fifty years previously and Scots Law still carried a death sentence for it. Even after 1825, when the punishment was reduced to fines or imprisonment, the penalties were still severe. Thomas Paterson, a bookseller, was handed down a sentence of fifteen months for selling blasphemous books as late as 1843.[64] Graham names neither of the poets concerned, but it is possible to infer their identities.

The Poet D:GRAHAM’s EPISTLE to other POETS.

Now gentle Poets of high Degree,
For what is here you’ll censure me
And pass your Verdict on this Rhyme,
In every Verse you’ll find a Crime,
And ca’ me a Fool
But who wants Riches has nae Wit,
And wi’ Gentlemen they dare not sit
To feast at Yool.[65]
For me I want Wit, Money and Teaching
Like other Poets that fa’s apreaching
To pray and sing,
Nor[66] Bubbles blaw such Poets hers[67]
Puts their Maker’s Name in idle Verse,
Like a Spring.[68]
Unless it be in solemn Way
And shew a lawfu’ reason Why,
It’s nought but Blasphemy I say,

[64] *Blasphemy Law in the U.K. – Scotland* <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blasphemy_law_in_the_United_Kingdom#Scotland> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[65] **Yool** Christmas, ‘always a season of great fullness with those of the Episcopal persuasion’ John S. Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th century from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre*, ed. Alexander Allardyce, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1888), II, p. 73.
[66] **Nor** (conj.)-DSL- SND (1, 3)- although, if (in imprecatory phrase.) It often collocates with deil, sorra, etc, but can stand on its own. Here probably the beginning of a curse – ‘may bubbles blaw[…]etc.’
[67] **Hers** a variant of *ers*.n. DOST, the fundament or buttocks.
Bubble can either mean mucus from the nose or mouth or any other orifice. DOST quotes Lyndsay ‘she bokkis sic baggage (corrupt or foul matter) fra hir breast, they want nae bubbilis that sits hir neist’.
Blaw DOST (2) mean to break wind, to boast, or to spread by rumour.
[68] **Spring** a lively dance tune.

For any Man to sing & pray
In idle Drone,[69]
The Weight[70] lies on the Author's Head,
And will be sung, when ye're dead
And gar you groan.
Likewise our Scribes[71] they are so vile,
Puts Droll upon a Scripture-stile,
Nor Rattons nip[72] frae them the Nose,
Who doth such noughty Speech compose,
For a Fool I am, so shall I be,
And with such Poets I'll not agree.
So now my Creed[73] is at an En
I wish I had work to my Pen,
O that in Flanders if I were
To see British Behaviour there.

There would have been little point in including such a poem in a popular chapbook if the targets were not known to the anticipated audience. In September 1746, the most easily recognised example of a Jacobite gentleman poet was William Hamilton of Bangour. Hamilton, man about town (Edinburgh) and 'official propagandist' to Prince Charles,[74] was responsible for the exultant *Gladsmuir*, a classical ode celebrating the battle of Prestonpans, printed and disseminated immediately after the battle (which Charles had won 'by Heaven's Decree'), and set to music by McGibbon.[75] Officially, Hamilton was a gentleman volunteer in Lord Elcho's Cavalry, and though it is doubtful that he was involved in much fighting, he had been part of the Jacobite force occupying Glasgow at the turn of the year 1745/1746. There Hamilton had penned a translation of the beginning of Virgil's First Georgic, redolent with Jacobite imagery, before leaving with the Highland army for Stirling, Falkirk, and possibly Culloden. Thereafter he had been 'lurking', though it does not seem to have prevented him from writing soliloquies, one of which, *In Imitation*

[69] **Drone** Whine, monotonous way of speaking, an idler, part of Bagpipe, etc; it also means backside (SND n.2) continuing the image of a poet farting liquid matter.
[70] **Weight** Seriousness, importance.
[71] John Anderson, aka '*John the Scribe*'.
[72] **Nip** (v.) DOST (2)–nippit – affected with a disease which smarts and stings.**Nose** euphemism for penis.
[73] **Creed** (n) Rebuke, lecture or wise saying. SND.
[74] Murray Pittock, *William Hamilton of Bangour*, DNB; Nelson S. Bushnell, *William Hamilton of Bangour, Poet and Jacobite* (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University Press, 1957), passim.
[75] William Hamilton, *Ode on the Victory at Gladsmuir* (Edinburgh?, 1745?) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1693900800> [accessed 27 January 2016] ECCO prints the 1745? version with musical notation for the first line.

of Hamlet, was published in the *Scots Magazine* of June 1746. He had managed to escape to Sweden only in the middle of September.[76] Although Hamilton was already a poet of some note, bourgeois Whig opinion of him was not high. The Woodhouselee MS (possibly written by Patrick Crichton, an Edinburgh businessman) describes him as 'the national poetic good for nothing lad'.[77] Much of his work had been published before 1745-46 in broadside or pamphlet form, or (to quote Crichton again) by that 'mungerall burlesque poet', Allan Ramsay, in the *Tea Table Miscellany* and in the preface to the *Gentle Shepherd,* and some copies must surely have found their way to Glasgow. Hamilton seems to have had the knack of making friends, even in Whiggish Glasgow, for when he was in exile, the Foulis brothers published his poems in book form, with a foreword by Adam Smith, one of the University's most renowned graduates.

Stirlingshire too would also have been aware of Hamilton and it is not impossible that Dougal Graham may have had some personal knowledge of him, for the Hamiltons of Bangour owned lands in Bothkennar near Falkirk[78] and a letter written by Hamilton in 1738 talks of going to Stirlingshire 'to pay a visit of kindness to Sir M. Bruce'[79] of Stenhouse, near Larbert. When Hamilton joined Charles Edward at Holyrood, he did so in the company of Graham of Airth, Rollo of Powhouse, and Stirling of Craigbarnet, by whom Dougal Graham seems to have been employed. Elcho, who had been engaged to Graham of Airth's sister, seems to bracket the four together[80] in his account of the rebellion, and it is probable that they had all previously known each other. They were well within the geographical range of the effusive hospitality offered by those eighteenth century Stirlingshire lairds, with rents in kind to dispose of, described by Ramsay of Ochtertyre in his chapter on the gentry of Menteith in the days before the Jacobite Rebellions. Ramsay quotes an anecdote about an inebriated Hamilton, who was clearly hard drinking as well as sociable.[81] Even Craigbarnet, though his home was slightly further away in Campsie, had relations a-plenty in the Stirling area. Hamilton, then, might be seen as Stirlingshire Jacobite Gentry at a close remove. His escape after Culloden is likely to have been in the company of Rollo of Powhouse;[82] the pair certainly made for Sweden together. Graham never mentions Hamilton by name, which is unsurprising. 'It is not

[76] Like Graham, Hamilton was mythologised in the next century; see 'Culloden Anecdotes –Anecdotes of John Roy Stewart and Mr Hamilton of Bangour', *New Monthly Magazine* (December, 1818), p. 394.
[77] *Woodhouselee Ms*. (London and Edinburgh, W &R Chambers, 1907), p. 7.
[78] Robert Porteous, *Grangemouth's Ancient Heritage* (Lancashire: Revival Books, 1967), p. 31, quoting perambulation for the new parish of Polmont in 1719.
[79] Bushnell, *William Hamilton*, p. 34.
[80] Elcho, *Short Account*, p. 260.
[81] Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, p. 65.
[82] Not, as legend came to suggest, John Roy Stewart.

always either convenient or safe to speak of great men with that Freedom and Impartiality which constitute the true Character and Dignity of a Historian' said Samuel Boyes, the talented, dissipated, Irish Presbyterian literary hack, alumnus of Glasgow University, but by 1747 domiciled in London.[83] It would be even less safe for a Lowland Scottish poet with no influential connections in 1746, before the Act abolishing Hereditary Jurisdictions restricted the power of baron courts. Graham names virtually no Jacobite names, unless the owners are securely dead, attainted, imprisoned by the authorities, or previously identified by one of his sources. In the same way, he is more cautious when treating of Episcopalianism – favoured by nine tenths of the gentry of Menteith, according to Murray of Ochtertyre[84] – than is, for example, the anonymous Whig Historian. Nevertheless it seems clear, by the grammar and emphasis, that Graham is mockingly referring to Hamilton's early poems in his 'Dedication', when he talks about other authors who have 'directed the DEDICATION unto Noblemen or LADIES such as they love, or are beloved by them'. His sly insinuation, as the verb 'love' changes from active to passive 'are beloved by them', might hint that Hamilton's effusions to assorted ladies had not aroused much reciprocal passion, and chimes with anecdotes of the poet's early life. The sexual implications of the 'idle drone' image in the *Epistle* reinforce the same idea.

The second part of the *Epistle*, in octosyllabic couplets, is addressed to 'John the Scribe', a persona used by John Anderson,[85] not, properly speaking, a poet at all, but the author of a pamphlet in a chapter and verse form, resembling that used in the Bible. This bizarre genre – described as a 'mock Jewish Chronicle' – was 'invented by the British publisher and playwright Robert Dodsley',[86] originally a footman, later a bookseller, poet, anthologist, and friend of Pope and Johnson. The versatile Dodsley clearly had his finger firmly on the pulse of mid eighteenth-century English literature and its marketing possibilities. In 1741 he published the *Chronicles of the Kings of England, written in the Jewish Manner* under the pseudonym of Nathan Ben Side. Though claiming to be by a contemporary Jewish historian, in fact the book is his own, modelled on the Book of

[83] Samuel Boyse, *An Historical Review of the Transactions of Europe,…to which is Added an Impartial History of the Late Rebellion*, 2 vols (Reading: D. Henry, 1747-8), II, p. xxvi <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0002200501> [accessed 23 January 2016].
[84] Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, p. 63. Perhaps an overestimate. Ramsay is as sentimental about the former Episcopalian clergy as he is vindictive about Seceders.
[85] John Anderson, G. *The Book of the Chronicles of His Royal Highness, William, Duke of Cumberland: Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Present Rebellion* (Edinburgh, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0044604500> [accessed 8 March 2016].
[86] Ivo Cerman 'Maria Theresia in the Mirror of Contemporary Mock Jewish Chronicles', *Judaica Bohemiae*, 38 (2002), pp. 5-4 <c.jewishmuseum.cz/files/obsah/newsletter/Newsletter2003_02.pdf > [accessed 15 January 2016].

Chronicles and the Book of Kings. The succinct style was obviously of great advantage when producing brief historical or political pamphlets at reasonable cost and since it was versatile enough to lend itself to either didactic or satirical material, panegyrics or lampoons, it became a passing fad. There was always a risk, however, that zealots might see it as blasphemous, and Dodsley was well aware of this, so that the preface to the 1741 edition of the *Kings of England* states:

> Now this I have chosen to do in the manner of our Forefathers, the ancient Jewish Historians as being not only the most concise, but the most venerable […] Howbeit I would not that thou should be offended, or take in evil part that I have adventured to imitate these sublime originals, neither let it enter into thine heart that I have done this thing in Sport or Wantonness of Wit …[87]

Dodsley used the form repeatedly, as did many others, both in Britain and in Europe, where the War of the Austrian Succession was in progress. A *Chronicle of the Queen of Hungary, with the Mighty Acts of King George of England at the Battle of Dettingen* was translated into German and the genre was taken up enthusiastically, particularly by the satirist, historian and scoundrel, Christoph Gottlieb Richter, who seems to have used *Dathan the Jew* as one of his many noms de plume. The *Dathan* sobriquet was in turn used back in London by the author of a series of Chronicles praising the Duke of Cumberland's achievements, written in the Richter style,[88] and young John Anderson published two of the same sort in Edinburgh. In the first, however, Anderson used his own name, and did not emphasise the 'Jewish' aspect. Graham is heavily indebted to Anderson for phraseology, structure and content, and indeed much of the first part of his *Full, Particular and True Account* is simply Anderson rendered into Scots octosyllabic couplets, but, though Anderson was clearly a staunch Hanoverian and Presbyterian, Graham nevertheless criticizes him in both the *Epistle to Poets* and the text of the *Account* for making a jest of scriptural forms, in the way that Dodsley had forewarned. It seems that Graham (or his conservative Lowland Scots customers) regarded Biblical phraseology – even when masquerading as Jewish – as potentially blasphemously offensive when it was being used for profane purposes. Presbyterian Scots had always identified with Israel, another covenanted nation, and clearly it behoved Graham to tread carefully. Nevertheless, he seems to have found the anonymous *Lamentations of Charles* an appropriate source,

[87] Robert Dodsley, *First Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of England by Nathan ben Siddi* (London: T. Cooper, 1741), preface <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1236702100> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[88] Dathan, *Dathan's Account of the Rebellion: The Book of the Chronicles of William Son of George* (London: C. Clyon, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1237500300> [accessed 27 January 2016]. These pamphlets are not a translation of Richter, and claims to that effect are spurious, as is the name of the bookseller.

perhaps because that pamphlet does not contain lewd conjectures about the Pretender's sexual activities, or perhaps because it originated as a British Government publication. In his follow-up pamphlet, *The Second book of the Chronicles of the Duke of Cumberland*, Anderson sensibly emphasised the 'Jewishness' of his style, by displaying the words 'DATHAN'S ACCOUNT' at the top of the title page in large letters.[89] Similarly, in Northern England, James Ray of Whitehaven seems to have found it advisable to revert from his original 'Biblical/Jewish' style[90] to the *Journal of a Volunteer* format for his subsequent accounts of the Rebellion.[91] In contrast, a Scottish pamphlet in the mock Jewish Chronicle style, dealing with Prestonpans, seems to have been found perfectly acceptable by Jacobite consumers, and a second, enlarged edition, with the names of the participants in full, was published almost immediately afterwards.[92]

It has been plausibly argued,[93] that Anderson was the famous Glasgow University Professor of Natural Philosophy, John Anderson. In 1745 the young man had graduated from Glasgow University and returned to Stirling, where he had spent his youth, and in 1746 he served as a volunteer in Stirling Castle when it was besieged by the Jacobite army.[94] Anderson seems to have inherited a disposition for heated debate in print. His grandfather, John Anderson, minister of Dumbarton, whom he clearly revered, had carried out a vicious quarrel (in Billingsgate language, according to Robert Woodrow) with Robert Calder, aka 'Jacob Curate', author of *The Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed*.[95] Professor Anderson's habit of producing 'squibs' directed at his opponents in Glasgow University might be seen as confirmation that he had formerly been capable of producing venomous anti-Jacobite pamphlets. Graham may well also have known Anderson, whom he describes, in a last, wonderful innuendo, at the end of the *Full, Particular and True Account*, as 'John, my jo' leaving the reader to mentally insert the name 'Anderson' before the comma, to echo the popular song, *John Anderson, my Jo.*

Graham was probably wise to shy away from anything resembling defamation. An anonymous edition of Hamilton's poems – with Jacobite sentiment suitably censored - was

[89] John Anderson, *Dathan's Second Book of the Chronicles of William son of George II: With the book of the prophecy of John the Scribe* (Edinburgh, 1746); NLS Ry.1.5.286.
[90] James Ray, *The Acts of the Rebels Written by an Egyptian* (London?, Printed for the author, 1746?) <https://historicaltexts. jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0530001000> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[91] James Ray, *A Compleat History of the Rebellion* (Manchester, printed for the author, 1747?) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1006401500> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[92] *The Chronicle of Charles, the Young Man* (Edinburgh?, 1745) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0660000300> and <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0113302500> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[93] John Butt, *John Anderson's Legacy: The University of Strathclyde and its Antecedents* (East Linton: Tuckwell and University of Strathclyde, 1996), p. 2.
[94] Paul Wood, *John Anderson*, 1726-1796, DNB [accessed 27 January 2016].
[95] John R. McIntosh, *John Anderson* 1671-1721, DNB [accessed 8 March 2016].

edited by Adam Smith and produced by the Foulis press in Glasgow in 1748 and 1749, while the poet was still in exile.[96] A family connection with the highly influential Whig Dalrymples ensured that Hamilton was back in Scotland by 1750, and he inherited the Bangour estates almost immediately afterwards. John Anderson too, had influential contacts to further his career, such as the Duke of Argyll, his grandfather's erstwhile pupil. Significantly, in the second edition of Graham's *Account*, published in 1752, every reference to contemporary poets has been excised.

Murray Pittock describes Hamilton as 'a high cultural Jacobite ideologue with Scoto-Roman leanings'[97] and thus at one with Watson, Ramsay, Ruddiman and Forbes, the mainly Episcopalian or Catholic literati in the coterie who promoted 'the vernacular revival' in early eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Such men held the old *makars* in high esteem, venerating particularly Bishop Gavin Douglas and his *Aeneados.* The *Courant* advertisement, on the other hand, emphasises Sir David Lindsay, perceived as the poet *par excellence* of the Scottish Reformation. As Henry Charteris, his editor in 1568, had argued:

> Thocht Gavine Douglas, bishop of Dunkell
> In Ornate meter, surmount did everilk man […]
> Yet, never poet of our Scottish clan
> Sa clerlie schew that monstour, with his markis
> The Romane God, in quhome all gyle began
> As does gude David Lyndesay in his warkis.[98]

Lindsay himself had specifically rejected Latin *high matter for to write*, because of it

> Our unlearned knows little […]
> [no] More than they do the raving of the rooks
> Wherefore to calliats, carriers and to cooks
> To Jack and Tom my rhyme shall be directed.[99]

The phraseology of the *Courant* advertisement seems to signify that Graham's verse, though written in vernacular Scots, is in no way to be seen as the revivalist work of some politically dubious elite. Indeed, the mention of Lindsay firmly disassociated it from them. In truth, Lindsay had never needed to be revived, which is perhaps why Ramsay's *Evergreen* scarcely features him. His work was popular and easily available in the

[96] Murray Pittock , *William Hamilton of Bangour,* 1704-1754, DNB [Accessed 6 February, 2017].
[97] Murray Pittock, *Jacobite Political Culture in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 161.
[98] Sir David Lyndsay, *Poetical Works*, ed.by George Chalmers, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Constable, 1806), I, p. 106.
[99] Sir David Lyndsay, *The Monarchy, Book I. An Exclamation Touching Writing in the Vulgar Tongue* (Edinburgh: Williamson and Elliott, 1776), p. 13.

lowlands. 'Lindsay and Blind Harry were the reading of the common people of Scotland'.[100] The Historical Texts website lists nearly 30 editions of Lindsay's Works printed in Scotland before 1745, together with others printed in England and Ireland. Some of his poems were also published individually. Four *sma' book* editions of *Squire Meldrum* still survive, including a Glasgow edition printed by Robert Sanders in 1683. Both James Kelly[101] and Allan Ramsay[102] give the proverb, 'out of Davy Lindsey into Wallace', which Kelly, with a London market in mind, glosses as 'two Scotish Books that Children learn to read by'. Whether this means they were ever used as school text books is not clear, though Pennecuik's couplet:

> My mither bade her second son say
> What he'ad by heart of Davie Linsay[103]

suggests they might have been. Pennecuik's poem *Merry Tales for the Lang Nights of Winter* is a coarse satirical piece about how plebeian Whiggish Scots spend their winter evenings. It seems reasonable to infer that a great many of the 'middling' and the 'meaner sort' of the population were familiar with Scots verse.

It is clear too, from the price quoted in the *Glasgow Courant* – four pence, the cost of a (Scots) quart of tippeny ale – that Graham's *Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion* would be within the means of the 'Jacks and Toms' of west central Scotland. But the advertisement was not primarily aimed at these, the ultimate consumers. Newspapers such as the *Glasgow Courant* would have been too costly for them to read with any regularity, and for poorer people in cities advertising would have taken the form of handbills, or town crier's announcements. The discounts quoted in the advertisement for those in the trade indicate that the publicity was targeted principally at the middlemen, either booksellers with fixed premises, or peripatetic cremars and pedlars who could tour markets and fairs, alehouses and fermtouns, maximising the market stimulated by strongly Whig Glasgow and its hinterland. A Glasgow-based network of chapmen seems to have been in existence since before 1684, to judge by the *Act discharging pedlars packmen and common posts*, printed by the King's Printer in Glasgow, at the end of the reign of Charles II:

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[100] J. Derrick McCLure personal communication.
[101] James Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scotish Proverbs Explained and Made Intelligible to the English Reader* (London: W & J Innys, 1721), p. 274 <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0239000300 > [accessed 26 January 2016].
[102] Allan Ramsay, *A Collection of Scots Proverbs (More Complete and Correct than Any Published Heretofore)* (Edinburgh, 1737), p. 52.
[103] Alexander Pennecuik, 'Merry Tales for the Lang Nights of Winter' in *Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1756), p. 9.

> Several seditious and disaffected persons who travel through the country as pedlars, and packmen […] have made it their business these diverse years bygane to carry false and seditious news and to sell and disperse treasonable lybels and pamphlets [...] in the Shyres of Lanerk, Stirling, Renfrew and Dumbarton, or Jurisdictions whether of Royalty or Regality …[104]

which would have included Glasgow itself and other smaller burghs. Magistrates were to apprehend and imprison any unlicensed pedlars or packmen on a caution of 500 merks (£300 Scots), and report them to the Privy Council for contempt or disobedience. The Act was pinned on the mercat cross, Glasgow (where five covenanters had been executed that spring) and at all other mercat crosses in the said shires, 'that none may pretend ignorance'. Clearly it would not have endeared the Stuarts to the sma' book trade in those areas mentioned, or in the Whiggish South West.

After the Revolution of 1688, Stuart censorship of Presbyterian material was no longer an issue, but the memory of the suppression of chapman's books 'of a calumnious and defamatory tenor' may have lingered and even been reinforced. In 1726 the chapman David Murdoch was arrested in Kirkcudbright for distributing the anonymous *Leveller's Lines or the Lamentation of the people of Galloway by the Parking Lairds,* a work which 'tended to stir up and foment riots and disturbances of the peace'.[105] His supplies came from James Duncan, 'a printer in Glasgow', who may very well be the same who collaborated with Dougal Graham in the *Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion* twenty years later.

We might regard James Duncan as an early devotee of vertical integration. 'In addition to being a printer and bookseller, he was also a type founder and paper manufacturer',[106] clearly a man who saw the importance of acquiring control over the means of production and distribution. His distribution network may by this time have extended as far as Galloway in the south and north to Argyll; he was certainly printing work for the Provincial Synod of Argyll.[107] But by 1746 any attempted monopoly must have been faltering in the face of the huge expansion of the trade in the 1740s. Two newspapers had been established, Wilson and Baine had set up a type foundry at Camlachie in 1744, and in 1746 Edward Collins established a papermaking factory at

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[104] *Act Discharging Pedlars, Pack-men and Common Posts to Travel Without Passes* (Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1684) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm52614921e> [accessed 8 March 2016].
[105] Edward J. Cowan, *Chapman Billies and their Books*, p. 12.
[106] *A Reputation for Excellence, Vol 2*: *Glasgow* (Glasgow, Scottish Printing Archival Trust, 1994) <http://scottishprintarchive.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Vol-2-Glasgow.pdf>[accessed 26 January 2016].
[107] Ibid.

Kelvindale in Maryhill, a concern which ultimately won an award for excellence.[108] Perhaps most significantly, in the early 1740s, Robert Urie and the Foulis brothers began to produce a wide range of books of superlative quality for a more erudite and affluent clientele, undoubtedly with a concomitant escalation in prices. They printed English, continental and classical literature, and their handiwork was too expensive, too bulky and, perhaps, too cerebral to be pertinent to chapmen billies and their clientele. By 1746 printers may have been inclined to focus on either the elite or the hoi polloi. The distribution network for popular print – more properly called chapman's books rather than chapbooks – may have acquired a relatively greater significance for the more traditional printers, like Duncan, though it is difficult to be sure, given the ephemeral nature of the product and the concomitant paucity of evidence. According to Macgregor, it would be 'impossible to give a note of the printers who assisted in the issue of chap literature […] their name is legion.'[109] The leading printers in the field, however, were ultimately the Robertson family with whom Duncan's firm seem to have worked closely.[110] John Robertson printed Graham's 1774 *Impartial History,* and later his grandsons James and Mathew were able to realise £30,000 from the sma' book trade.[111]

Indications of a hundred years of Glasgow's reading in the first part of the eighteenth century can be seen in the bookseller and bibliophile McVean's *Appendix* to McUre's *View of the City of Glasgow,* originally printed by James Duncan in 1736, which was comprehensively modified for the 1830 edition.[112] The *Appendix* lists a selection of the work produced by James Duncan, his predecessors and contemporaries. More examples of Glasgow publications can be gleaned from research library catalogues and the Historical Texts website. It is clear that after the Revolution of 1688/89, which finally freed the burgh from archiepiscopal control, publications in Glasgow were overwhelmingly pietistic texts with a Presbyterian slant, mainly in English, but also featuring David Lindsay, Barbour's *Bruce*, Blind Harry's *Wallace*, the poems of Elizabeth Melville, Lady Culross, and David Fergusson's *Scottish Proverbs.* It seems reasonable to infer that approved reading matter in Glasgow included Cleland's *Highland Host*, Patrick Walker's prose pamphlets, published in Edinburgh but ubiquitous in the south and west, and *Grierson of Lag's Elegy*, which ran to eleven editions between 1733 and 1771. The *Leveller's Lines* poem was originally in

[108] Ibid.
[109] Macgregor, *Collected Writings,* I, p. 78.
[110] Michael Moss, 'Glasgow' in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, ed. by Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), II, pp. 154-165.
[111] Macgregor, *Collected Writings,* I, p. 78.
[112] John M'Ure, *A History of Glasgow*, ed. by D. McVean (Glasgow, 1830).

Scots, as is clear from the rhymes, though it now exists only in a form with conventionalized English spelling.[113] Clearly works in a Scots form had a market. Until at least 1740, Glasgow publishers seem to have been not only at ease with verse written in Scots, but to have seen it as a more lucrative proposition than the Augustan English variety. McVean opines that James Duncan may also have published *Snuff*, a poem in Augustan English, by James Arbuckle. James's erstwhile partner William Duncan certainly printed Arbuckle's *Glotta* (The Clyde), a poem with an obvious local interest, in 1721.[114] Arbuckle, later the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, was one of the many Presbyterian Irish students at the University, credible evidence that Glasgow's sphere of cultural influence included Ulster as well as Galloway. *Snuff*, however, does not have a straightforward publishing history. It was originally printed in Glasgow, in 1717,[115] with no printer acknowledging it, and two years later it was published in Edinburgh, whence it was 'to be sold by booksellers in Glasgow'.[116] James Duncan may have simply been unwilling to risk backing an unknown author writing in Augustan English verse. With support from her admirers, however, he did print the *Miscellany Poems* of Jean Adam (anglice Mrs Jane Adams) in 1734.[117] Adam's subscription list, featuring customs house officers, merchants, clergy, a student or two, and a sprinkling of gentry, gives an idea of the potential readership in the immediate Glasgow area for a collection of anglicised moral verse inspired by Milton and Sydney. Unfortunately this clientele – much lower in social status than the copious numbers of gentry and aristocrats in the list of subscribers for Allan Ramsay's poems[118]– was not numerous enough to ensure financial success, and Adam ended up in a Glasgow poor house reputedly hawking ballads *en route*. Her *Miscellany* is the single volume of verse in Augustan English produced in Glasgow in the 1730s. Significantly, the only work attributed to Adam to have achieved lasting popularity – anthologized by Herd and commended by Burns – is the Scots *There's nae luck aboot the hoose*.[119] Like Arbuckle, she might have fared better in the Edinburgh of the 'Fair Intellectuals', the club of Young Ladies whose work, with that of Thomson and Mallet,

[113] William Mackenzie, *The History of Galloway from the Earliest Period to the Present*, 2 vols (Kirkcudbright 1841), II, pp. 395-6.
[114] James Arbuckle, *Glotta a Poem* (Glasgow: William Duncan, 1721) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0832401600> [accessed 25 January 2016].
[115] James Arbuckle, *Snuff a Poem* (Glasgow, 1717) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0642001600> [accessed 25 January 2016].
[116] James Arbuckle, *Snuff a Poem* (Edinburgh: Mr. James McEuen, 1719) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0290200200> [accessed 25 January 2016].
[117] Jane Adams, *Miscellany Poems* (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1734) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0331602100> [accessed 25 January 2016].
[118] Allan Ramsay, *Poems, Vol 1* (Edinburgh: Ruddiman 1721), pp. xxi-xxviii.
[119] Karina Williamson, *Jane Adams*, DNB [accessed 25 January 2016].

appeared in the Edinburgh Miscellany, a collection of poems written entirely in formal English, and published by McEuen, who also printed *Snuff*.[120] Alternatively, she might have had a more positive reception in Glasgow twenty years later, when an Augustan style had become more pervasive, influenced perhaps by the greater availability of the *Spectator*, printed by Robert Urie.[121] There was no attempt by Duncan, or any other Glasgow publisher, to publish James Thomson. For all the Scot's success in London, Dublin and Edinburgh, editions of his work do not appear in Glasgow until the mid-1770s. His friend and countryman David Malloch (*anglice* Mallet) was similarly ignored.

The attitude to language amongst early eighteenth-century Scots, who learned to read from an English Bible, but spoke in Scots, is inevitably complex, even puzzling. Kinghorn describes the situation as an 'unbalanced bilingualism'.[122] The scales seem to tip according to time and place, literary genre, religious or political affiliation and whether the writer had an English market in mind. The very terms 'English' and 'Scots' were being used interchangeably to describe the vulgar (i.e. vernacular) language of Lowland Scots from the mid-sixteenth century until the eighteenth. In Edinburgh, James Porterfield trumpeted himself as *Edinburgh's English Schoolmaster* in 1695,[123] but the royal burgh of Stirling was still using the title Scots doctor/English teacher indiscriminately for teachers in the Grammar School until 1721.[124] Mairi Robinson claims that

> In the sixteenth century, it was still possible for Scots to be *written* in a very similar orthography to English, even though the s*poken* forms of English and Scots had already diverged considerably. What was written as English could be and was pronounced as Scots, and therefore regarded as being Scots, although it could at the same time quite happily be accepted as English.[125]

This situation continued into the next century and beyond. Anglicisation in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century seems to have been in some measure a reflection of the

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[120] W.C., *The Edinburgh Miscellany* (Edinburgh: J McEuen and Company, 1720) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0587401600> [accessed 8 March 2016].
[121] Robert Urie was instrumental in producing two editions of all eight volumes, in 1745, and 1750. The subscription list of the latter, printed in Vol. 8, indicates its appeal to a wide section of the Glaswegian 'middle sort'.
[122] Alexander M. Kinghorn, 'Watson's Choice, Ramsay's Voice and a Flash of Fergusson', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 19 (1992), pp. 5-23 (p. 9).
[123] James Porterfield, *Edinburgh's English Schoolmaster* (Edinburgh: printed for the author, 1695) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99830993e> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[124] A.F. Hutcheson, *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1904), pp. 18, 100.
[125] Mairi Robinson, 'Language Choice in the Scots Reformation: The Scots Confession of 1560' in *Scotland and the Lowland Tongue*, ed. by J. Derrick McClure (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), pp. 59-78.

English spelling conventions used by printers south of the Border. Kinghorn's analysis that 'the gulf between writing and speaking became almost unbridgeable' may be unduly pessimistic. Since 1992, when his article appeared, more texts have become available for wider study through the digitisation of library collections, though, regrettably, many other examples of ephemeral literature have inevitably disappeared. Leaving aside the vexed question about the degree to which printed texts contributed to the transmission of traditional ballads, there seems to be evidence that in the early eighteenth century Scottish men and women with tolerable linguistic competence were capable of producing written material in either English or Scots depending on whether the anticipated audience would be reading, listening to, or, indeed, singing their productions. Advocates, for example, had to be able to read material in Scots, such as the *Laws and Acts of Parliament*, first printed in 1597, or *Regiam Majestatatem* – in both Latin and Scots from 1609. The renowned seventeenth-century Digests of Scots law, by Stair and by Mackenzie, were printed according to English convention, as were McKenzie's literary works, but nonetheless the Bluidy Advocate was adamant that Scots was the most suitable language for pleading, particularly to a Scottish judge or jury.[126] By and large, those like James VI and I, who favoured a closer union between England and Scotland, were inclined to minimise the differences between the languages while others, like McKenzie, who had opposed a union of the parliaments in Charles II's reign, tended to emphasise them. Broadside and song writers were clearly flexible, and indeed, even as late as 1774, in his preface to the *Impartial History*, Graham, who was competent in both registers, says clearly (if perhaps somewhat defensively) that he wrote in Scots by choice because the majority of his countrymen preferred it. This was probably true as far as his prospective customers were concerned; the number of editions of his *Impartial History* seems to support it.[127] The author of *The comical notes and sayings of the Reverend Mr Pettigrew*[128] (possibly Dougal Graham) indicates with approval that the former minister of Govan could code-shift as appropriate – English in discussions with erudite colleagues and Scots when preaching to his flock. A chapman, a minister, or a lawyer, all with a vested interest in appearing honest and credible, might well have recognised subconsciously a psychological truth – that 'language provides a reassuring quality … closely related with issues linked with trust [...]

[126] Sir George McKenzie of Rosehaugh, *Pleadings in Remarkable Cases Before the Supreme Courts of Scotland since the Year 1661* (Edinburgh: Swinton, Glen and Brown, 1673), p. 17. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm09955337e> [accessed 12 March 2016].
[127] NLS catalogue lists eight editions from 1774 with the last from Aberdeen in 1850.
[128] Joseph Ritson, *Scotish Merriments in Prose and Verse* (London, 1793). <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1605901000> [accessed 25 January 2016].

and cultural affinity'.[129] In other words, you are inherently predisposed to believe people who talk as you do.

Anecdotes about the Reverend Pettigrew, together with his elegy, are contained in the poems of Edinburgh-based Alexander Pennecuik (Mercator), 'one of the most copious broadside writers of the age'.[130] In *Rome's legacy to the Kirk of Scotland. A Satyr on the Stool of Repentance*, Pennecuik is writing anti- Kirk satire, using Scots as the appropriate medium for a 'low style composition', a tradition dating back to the days of the makars.[131] Pennecuik deserves better than to be regarded as a footnote to Allan Ramsay, or worse, a plagiarist of Ramsay's work, but where one was regarded as 'canty' and mostly 'canny' the other had a reputation for dissipation, if not outright criminality.[132] Pennecuik's writings 'are constantly marred by obscenity', and in 1730 he 'starving died in turnpike neuk'.[133] His life style, and some of his productions, outraged later, more refined commentators, and respectable nineteenth and twentieth century literary Edinburgh seems to have conspired to ignore his existence.[134] Nevertheless, there is no denying his wit, or his skilled use of a wide linguistic range, in both Scots and English, as can be seen in his *Streams from Helicon*,[135] and it seems strange that he is not usually given credit as being significant in the vernacular revival. In the investigations for his *History of the Blue Blanket* he 'searched out records which had been neglected by all other historians […] in the old original language of the charters belonging to the Crafts' dating back to the 15th century', and making examples of old Scots prose widely available in Edinburgh (at the cost of six pence) throughout the eighteenth century.[136] Clearly the middling sort in Edinburgh found these both comprehensible and congenial. Pennecuik's pro-Stuart sympathies were less agreeable, however, and they had to be excised from editions of the *Blue Blanket* printed after 1745.

The Edinburgh vernacular revival coterie, who tended in the main towards an elitist position, and who numbered the atheist Pitcairne as well as Episcopalian and Jacobite

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[129] Alberto Chong, Jorge Guillen, Vanessa Rios, 'Language nuances, Trust and Economic Growth', *Public Choice*, 143 (2010), pp. 191-208.
[130] David Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2004), p. 185.
[131] John Corbett, *Language and Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 222.
[132] The murderer Nichol Muschett seems to have been a boon companion.
[133] George Atherton Aitken, *Alexander Pennecuik*, DNB (1885-1900); Harriet Harvey Wood, *Alexander Pennecuik*, Oxford DNB (2004-14) [accessed 25 January 2016].
[134] There, are however, many examples of his work in the NLS, either in manuscripts or collections of 'curious' poetry.
[135] Alexander Pennecuik, *Streams from Helicon* (London, printed for the author, 1720) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0850200300> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[136] Alexander Pennecuik, *A History of the Blue Blanket* (Edinburgh: David Bower, 1756) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0828800800> [accessed 26 January 2016].

sympathisers, seem to embrace a different 'cultural affinity' from douce mercantile and solidly Presbyterian Glasgow. The autobiography of Alexander (Jupiter) Carlyle, son of the manse at Prestonpans, bears this out.[137] To fulfil the terms of his bursary, he was forced to spend two years in Glasgow immediately prior to 1745. The future Moderate minister of Inveresk has nothing but praise for Francis Hutchison and William Leechman, his professors at the university, but clearly found the ambience of the town inimical. He describes the clergy of the west of Scotland as 'narrow and bigoted', and the city itself as 'industrious, wealthy and commercial', but with 'a manner of living that was coarse and vulgar'. There were 'only a few families of ancient citizens who pretended (i.e. claimed) to be gentlemen; the rest were shopkeepers and mechanics or successful pedlars'. The club founded by provost Cochrane met weekly, not to discuss literature or philosophy, but 'the nature and knowledge of trade in all its branches'. Glasgow citizens' idea of evening entertainment was to read the papers in coffee houses and taverns over a drink with one or two of their cronies. 'They never staid supper and always went home by Nine o' clock.' In a clear visual contrast between the two towns' 'cultural affinities', the capital featured prominently an equestrian statue of Charles II, with a fulsome eulogy, erected before the 1688/89 Revolution, whereas Glasgow had been supplied with a statue of the Calvinist William of Orange in 1735 gifted by a wealthy colonial entrepreneur and displayed at Glasgow Cross. In a literary context, Ramsay, in Edinburgh, could produce a bitterly satirical poem about George Whitefield, star performer at the Cambuslang Wark, the hugely popular religious revival of 1742,[138] while James Duncan was printing the preacher's letters and sermons.[139]

A clear statistical difference between the preferred reading of the two towns can be traced in the number of editions of Blind Harry's *Wallace* published in each. In the seventy years following the 1688 Revolution, seven editions were produced in Glasgow, not counting Hamilton of Gilbertfield's, written in Augustan English and therefore somewhat of an anomaly, while only two, or at most three, appeared in Edinburgh. George Brunsden's study of the Wallace and Bruce tradition is invaluable, but, writing in 1999, before the databases of Historical Texts became available, it was not easy for him to

[137] Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1860), pp. 67-85.
[138] Allan Ramsay *On George Whitfield the Strolling Preacher* Works of Allan Ramsay, Scottish Text Society 6 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1945-1974) ed. Alexander Kinghorn and Alexander Law, III (1970), p. 250.
[139] GeorgeWhitefield, *Three Letters from the Reverend Mr G. Whitefield* (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1740) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0219900200> [accessed 29 January 2016].

compare the publishing history of different locations.[140] In addition, not having access to the text of Dougal Graham's *Full, Particular and True Account,* he was unable to comment on stylistic similarities between it and *The Wallace,* both poems celebrating Scotland's fight against invasion by alien forces, in Graham's case, Frenchmen, Irishmen, Catholics and Highlanders. Remarkably, John McDowell had noted the similarities. His comment 'Dougal Graham […] immortalised the *History of the Rebellion* in verse, after the manner of Blind Harry's Wallace'[141] is one of the more illuminating insights about Graham that emerged from the nineteenth century. 'Although McDowell was not a professional historian, he had read widely and was well acquainted […] with some of the more obscure works having a bearing on the city's development'.[142] These would seem to have included the eighteenth century editions of the *Wallace* that were neither Hamilton of Gilbertfield's version nor those later texts based on the manuscript in the Advocates' Library. Three editions, those of 1736, 1747 and 1756, were to be seen in the *Exhibition Illustrative of Old Glasgow* (1894), in Case B. One had been lent by George Grey, who also contributed the two editions of Graham's *Full, Particular and True Account,* exhibited in the same section.[143]

Brunsden's research compared the printed editions of the *Wallace* from Charteris and Lepreuik, 1570, when it was first made suitable for a Protestant readership, through to an edition he describes as 'Robert Freebairn's', Edinburgh, 1758.[144] Brunsden's thesis is that the language used in successive popular productions developed 'a sort of gradual or creeping Anglicisation' so that 'the language of Harry's classic was thus transformed into a sort of Anglo Scots'. But, Brunsden adds,

> It was subtle and protracted, with the most momentous shift occurring around the time of Andro Hart's 1618 edition, which in itself still contained some Scots[…] But after Hart the language of Blind Harry seems to stabilize[…] the average reader from the early 18th century probably would have experienced little, if any difficulty in understanding the text.

The crucial concept is 'understanding'. One of the most important principles of the Reformation, subscribed to by Lindsay and Knox, and many lesser known men who were

[140] George M. Brunsden, 'Aspects of Scotland's Social, Political and Cultural Scene in the Late 17th and Early 18th centuries, as Mirrored in the Wallace and Bruce Traditions' in *The Polar Twins,* ed. by Edward. J. Cowan and Douglas Gifford (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999), pp. 75-113.
[141] McDowell, *People's History*, p. 28.
[142] Ibid., p. vii.
[143] *Exhibition Illustrative of Old Glasgow* (Glasgow: Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 1894), p. 349 <https://archive.org/details/exhibitionillust00glas> [accessed 8 March 2016].
[144] <https://historicaltexts.ac.uk/ecco-0451300800> [accessed 26 January 2016]. If this was indeed the Jacobite Freebairn's, it was published posthumously. The ms. note on the frontispiece claims it was not considered prudent to publish during his lifetime. It has rather more in the way of Scotticisms and anti-English sentiment than the Glasgow editions.

prepared to burn for the belief, was that the scriptures should be available to the people in their own 'vulgar' tongue. The reformers relied on bibles translated into English, and minor dialectal differences were of little moment. 'English was the language that fostered religious reform in Scotland', says Brunsden. As well as editions of Wallace, in 1610 Hart printed the Bible 'the first produced which seemed to better address the religious character of Scotland, being a more Calvinistic (i.e. strongly anti-Catholic) version of the Geneva'. Brunsden argues:

> that Hart's drive to present the Bible in a universally understandable literary language was carried over into his editions of the *Wallace* […] Most (subsequent) editors of the *Wallace* seemed to follow his lead as to language and orthography with the aim of producing a book that could be understood by as wide an audience as possible […] The majority of reprints fall into the rather amorphous category of chap-book literature in a text related in a palatable form of Anglo- Scots. This may have been the language with which the general reading public was most comfortable, while still being able to appreciate a little of Harry's own diction. And it is apparent that most of these editions were read by numerous readers, since few of the remaining copies fail to have that 'well-thumbed' look about them […] [In trying to] convey a nationally recognised tale of heroism […] there was no attempt to promote a vernacular revival; no attempt to promote proper speech and manners through the poetic medium as the Augustan movement was determined to do. Rather the language may have been as honest a representation as one could possible hope of the state of literary Scots at that time.

It seems clear that writing in the style of Blind Harry, or indeed Lyndsay, matched Dougal Graham's objective of maximising sales. In the western lowlands, the gradually evolving text of *Wallace* had sold at an average rate of an edition every decade since the 1688 Revolution.

Not only lyrics and satires, but collections of proverbs show a well-established and clearly profitable literary form dependent on vernacular Scots. These not only aroused deep feeling in the early eighteenth century but indicate another disparity between the two cities. Collections of Scots proverbs had been on sale in England since the Restoration, and the polymath John Ray, who was interested in dialectal differences, had included a section on Scots adages in his collection in the previous century.[145] But Kelly's *Complete Collection of Scotish Proverbs, explained and made intelligible to the English reader* (London, 1721) apparently roused the wrath of Allan Ramsay, with prefatory remarks such as;

[145] The possibility remains that Ramsay may also have been taking exception to the 1737 re-issue of John Ray, *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs: Also the Most Celebrated Proverbs of the Scotch* (London: J. Hughes, 1737) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1230800500> [accessed 26 January 2016].

> I have found it impossible strictly to distinguish the Scotish (sic) from the English. For both Nations speak the same language [and] have constant intercourse with the other, […] and have spelled the Scotish words […] as the English do, for so the Scots write these words on other occasions,[146] and have done since the year 1613.[147]

Ramsay's 1737 collection was dedicated to 'the Tenantry of Scotland' for

> proper sense […] had been frequently tint by publishers that did not understand our landwart language, particularly a late large book of them, fou of errors, in a stile neither Scots nor English.[148]

It could be argued that both authors were correct and that Ramsay's indignation may have been ignited by an agenda not strictly linguistic, but nebulously Jacobite and anti-unionist, like that espoused by many of his cronies, or perhaps simply by commercial considerations. He was guilty of a 'mungrell' style himself in many of his compositions, and indeed, in the opening sentence of the preface to the proverbs, he commits the offence for which he berates Kelly. Most of the adages he includes are similar if not identical – they feature the 'out of Blin Harry into Lindsay' saying. He does not, however, provide an explanation of them, like Kelly, but a glossary – 'an explanation of the words less frequent amongst our gentry than the commons' - introducing a nuance of class-distinction. In the same year, in Glasgow, Carmichael and Miller published an edition of Barbour's *Bruce*, which also had a glossary, for 'the difficult words contained in this book and that of Wallace'. This was probably necessary for the *Bruce*, for fewer editions of the text had been produced over the years, and it contained more archaic expressions, but the phrase 'that of Wallace' may be an afterthought – no glossary had been thought necessary when they published it the year before. This is the edition with which Graham is most likely to have been familiar. In it there is no element of class consciousness about language, nor is any particular discrepancy noted between 'Old Scots and English Dialects' or between 'Gawin Douglas, Chaucer and other ancient writers'.[149] Ramsay's 'sma' book', was clearly suited to pedlars and their clientele, and like Duncan, Ramsay was prepared to discount copies bought wholesale from his shop – 'all chapmen who incline to dispose of them, selling profit shall be sufficiently allowed by the publisher' said the 1737 edition. Ramsay did not have a local market exclusively in mind, for he arranged for the book to be sold in

[146] The modern expression would probably be 'in more formal registers'.
[147] James Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scotish Proverbs Explained and Made Intelligible to the English Reader* (London: William and John Innys, 1721) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0239000300> [accessed 26 January 2016]. It is not clear what is significant about 1613. Kelly may be referring to the availability of the Authorised Version, first published in 1611.
[148] Allan Ramsay, *A Collection of Scots Proverbs More Complete and Correct than any Heretofore Published* (Edinburgh, Allan Ramsay, 1737) < https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0445000500 > [accessed 26 January 2016].
[149] John Barbour, *The Acts and Life of Robert Bruce* (Glasgow: Carmichael and Miller, 1737).

both London and Newcastle. But for all the popularity of Ramsay's *Proverbs* in the eighteenth century, there is no evidence of its being sold in Glasgow before 1750, from the book shop of the Foulis brothers, and the first record of its being printed in the west is the edition produced by George Caldwell in 1781.[150] In the main, Glasgow seems to have been satisfied with the collection of proverbs of the redoubtable reformer, the Presbyterian minister, David Fergusson, first printed in 1641, and reissued by Sanders in 1716, even though 'some of [the] old Scots words [were not] in use' even in 1641.[151] In much the same way, the citizens were happy to buy copies of the *Wallace* in a Scots form thirty five years after the abbreviated, Augustan and Anglicised version by Hamilton of Gilbertfield was available. Hamilton's *Wallace* only became popular after 1770. One might speculate that for the Edinburgh elite of the early seventeenth century, the Scots language was perhaps something of an antiquarian interest, whereas for the Glaswegian bourgeoisie, it was simply a method of communicating with their fellow citizens.

Glasgow-based James Duncan's contribution to refinement includes 'The Ladies' Help to Spelling', by James Robertson, schoolmaster in Glasgow, dedicated to the Magistrates and Council, which presupposes their approval. Ladies' 'reading was exceedingly limited' and their 'spelling was proverbially bad'.[152] Clearly the Glaswegian bourgeoisie was keen to acquire a correct English orthography, difficult to achieve given the differences between standard spelling patterns and their pronunciation, but they were not alienated if their Glaswegian pedagogue used Scottish expressions, like 'things cannot be communicate by write', though the 'Fair Intellectuals' of Edinburgh might well have disapproved.[153] Even though the Easy Club had been featuring readings of the *Spectator* since 1712[154] and Warden had produced his selection of Augustan prose 'for use in English Schools' in Edinburgh as early as 1737,[155] in Glasgow the hegemony of the *Spectator* and

[150] Allan Ramsay, *A Collection of Above 900 Scots Proverbs by Allan Ramsay* (Glasgow: Caldwell, 1781). <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1437101000> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[151] David Fergusson, *Scottish Proverbs* (Edinburgh: Robert Bryson, 1641), Preface. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm52529155e> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[152] Ramsay, *Scots and Scotsmen*, p. 60. Ramsay is contemptuous of the spelling of late seventeenth century, even that of noblemen, opining that it was because 'there was no longer a court to give our language a standard'. It is more likely that people were trying to spell scots words phonetically.
[153] James Robertson, *The Ladies Help to Spelling* (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1722), p. 30. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1524501100> [accessed 6 January 2016].
[154] Alex. Benchimol, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), p. 45.
[155] John Warden, *A Collection from the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian etc., For the Benefit of English Schools* (Edinburgh: John Warden, 1737) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1486500800> [accessed 9 March 2016].

the 'craze for elocution and mania for the eradication of Scotticisms'[156] took hold only after 1750.[157] The *Ladies' Help* is not in fact restricted to spelling; it also contains instruction in letter writing and the correct pronunciation of biblical names. Indeed, Duncan seems to have favoured the addition of extra items that would widen the appeal of his products. We can compare books such as Sir William Hope's *Scots Fencing Master*,[158] a fencing manual written for sword carrying gentlemen like himself, and Donald McBane's *The Expert Swordsman's Companion*, published by Duncan in 1728,[159] which covers much the same material but includes what purports to be an autobiography of the author, a rascally Scottish ranker, veteran of Marlborough's campaigns, pimp and professional swordsman, who claimed that he was the original survivor of the Soldier's Leap at Killiecrankie. Significantly, his manual includes a selection of dirty tricks and how to cope with a Highlander's targe. McBane certainly existed; newspapers record him as a contender in a prize fight on stage at the Abbey (i.e. Holyrood), 23rd June 1726, but it is difficult to accept that the somewhat indelicate autobiography, garnished with verse couplets, is anything other than a hack-written picaresque included to boost sales. That the protagonist was allegedly a Protestant who had enlisted to fight Frenchmen and Jacobites would only have added to the book's appeal in the Glasgow area. The same prejudices feature in Graham's *Account of the Rebellion*, particularly in the additional poems, and, to an even greater degree, in the original version of M'Ure's book, also published by Duncan. Almost a quarter of the *View of the City of Glasgow* is taken up by an Appendix that reads like a populist political pamphlet, tacked on at the end presumably to boost sales, reeking with civic and nationalistic pride, and poisonously anti-Catholic. But while parts read like common chap-book material, both McUre's and McBane's books were substantial and clearly expensive both to produce and to buy; the illustrations in the latter are exquisite. One might infer that, in Glasgow before 1740, in the world of James Duncan and his ilk, there was no sharp demarcation line between elite and popular print, or any particular angst about Scotticisms.

From a close reading of the *Courant* advertisement, then, one might anticipate an account in Scots metre, relating with approval the defeat of the Jacobite Rising of '45,

[156] Colin Kidd, 'Integration, Patriotism and Nationalism' in *A Companion to 18th Century Britain*, ed. by H. T. Dickinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 369-381.
[157] Charles Jones, 'Standards and Differences: Languages in Scotland 1707-1918' in *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, vol II: ed. by Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 21-33.
[158] Sir William Hope, *The Scots Fencing-Master: Or Compleat Small-Sword-Man* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1687) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm12087503e> [accessed 14 March 2016] It is addressed to 'All the Young Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of Scotland'.
[159] Donald M'Bane, *The Expert Swordsman's Companion: Or the True Art of Self Defence* (Glasgow: James Duncan, 1728).

designed to be sold to the common people in the Glasgow area. One would expect that it would lean heavily towards popular Presbyterian tradition and opinion, rather than aping the more patrician non-juring tendencies articulated in the capital and other Episcopalian and Jacobite havens. And this is, in effect, precisely what the purchasers obtained for their four pence (trade price). Compared with some of the 'sophisticated' advertising techniques current in London, as demonstrated on the covers of, for example, *Alexis, Ascanius* or the *Chronicles* purporting to be by 'Dathan the Jew',[160] or indeed, Graham himself in the preamble to his second edition, the announcement in the *Courant* is a reasonably honest production, with the balance tilted towards providing customers with information rather than pushing the product. As modern advertising jargon would have it – it does what it says on the tin.

[160] Alexander Macdonald, *Alexis the Young Adventures, A Novel* (Edinburgh: 'A Scott near theTolbooth, Edinburgh', 1746). The date alone is genuine. Ralph Griffith's *Ascanius* claimed to be a translation from a manuscript handed about in the court of Versailles, and printed in Holland. Even Dathan's *Account of the Rebellion Being the First Book of the Chronicle of William Son of George* gives credit to a completely fictitious printer/bookseller.

2.2 Promotion within the Book: Cover and Prefatory Material

a. Front Cover and Title

Like the *Courant* advertisement, the cover of the first edition is tolerably honest. The title of the work is *A Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the years 1745-46*. Victorian scholars, however, always refer to the work as 'the History', which arouses false expectations and does the author a disservice. McVean, for example, describes Graham as the:

> Author of the *History of the Rebellion* […] [Motherwell] talks of [it] in a manner bordering on contempt […] [but it] contains many curious and minute particulars for which we might look in vain in any other work.[161]

In fact, McVean's case for unique details to be found in the work is implausible. Graham's sources were newspapers and other sma' books. The *Anonymous History* of 1747 supplies far more 'minute particulars' than Graham could aspire to, for, according to the editor, the author had 'unrivalled sources of information on the Whig side and must have had wonderfully good correspondents with the Prince's army'.[162]

In the first half of the eighteenth century, before the productions of the great Enlightenment historians like Hume, Robertson and Gibbon, the definition of 'history' had not been resolved. Graham does not use the word at all until the 1774 production; the first two editions are described as *Accounts*. Both words imply narratives, but they are not interchangeable, and they have different connotations. 'History' in popular literature sometimes simply indicated a story such as the 'histories' of *Squire Meldrum*; *Tom Jones, a Foundling*; *Jack Sheppard*; *John Cheap the Chapman*, or indeed *Tom Thumb*. Used in this sense, the word 'history' may have been approaching its nadir in terms of prestige; a 'penny history' was regarded as suitable only for children or the very poor. Paradoxically, however, as a pamphleteer of 1746 has it, 'of all […] compositions […] [history] is allowed to be the noblest and most deserving of our serious attention'.[163] Johnson's definition of history (1755) is 'a relation of events and facts delivered with dignity'.[164] It was regarded as very near the top of the hierarchy of genres, only slightly lower than epic poetry. But though prestigious, history often achieved 'dignity' by being excessively long winded or focussing predominantly on the classics. The *Universal History of the World* takes twenty volumes of approximately seven hundred pages to get from the Creation to

[161] *A History of Glasgow*, ed. by D. McVean (Glasgow, 1830), p. 314.
[162] Anonymous *History of the Rebellion*, p. xii.
[163] Anon, *An Essay on the Manner of Writing History* (London: M. Cooper, 1746), p. 1 (sometimes attributed to Peter Whalley) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0138000100> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[164] Samuel Johnson, '*History*' <http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?p=8309> [accessed 26 January 2016].

Charlemagne[165] and the finished product comprises sixty-five volumes in all. It is not surprising that Dodsley used the succinct 'Jewish' Chronicle form to sell his popular history of England. Also potentially damaging was that history could be perceived to be imaginative rather than severely factual. This dissatisfaction with 'history' is perhaps best summed up by Jane Austen, in the words of Catherine Morland in *Northanger Abbey*, 'it is very tiresome, and yet I often think it odd that it should be so dull, for a great deal of it must be invention'. 'Even into the eighteenth century, not a few historians continued to understand themselves as artists, with license to invent'.[166] Fielding's *History of the Present Rebellion*[167] is clearly largely a figment of his imagination, as is his 'narrator'. *Ascanius*, too, was only very loosely based on fact, but called itself history. In 1752 Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke,[168] disparaged accuracy, and castigated 'mere antiquaries and scholars', 'annalists and prating pedants' and those who

> grow in impertinence[169] as they increase in learning, [and] store their minds with crude unruminated facts […] and hope to supply, by bare memory, the want of imagination and judgement.

In the domain of Scottish popular literature, virtually all the editions of the *Wallace* between 1640 (James Bryson's edition), and the 1799 edition, printed in Air [sic] and utilising the Hamilton of Gilbertfield version, are prefaced by 'a short sum of the history of the times', featuring Bruce and Wallace. It is clear, however, that the editors feel somewhat defensive. Every preface ends:

> As for the Authority of these two Histories, although they possibly err in some circumstances of time, place, and number, or names of men, yet generally they write the truth of the story of these times.

Similarly, the *History of the Rebellion*, printed in Ireland just after Culloden, has an introductory paragraph stressing that it is 'a plain Narration of Facts' with an emphasis on 'Dates and Circumstances relating even to the most remarkable Events'.[170]

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[165] *An Universal History of the World from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present*, 20 vols (Dublin: R. Owen (etc), 1745), I <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1384300101> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[166] Jill Lepore, '"Just the facts, Ma'am"; Fake Memoirs, Factual Fiction and the History of History', *New Yorker* (March 24, 2008) <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2008/03/24/just-the-facts-maam> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[167] Henry Fielding, *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland* […] *Taken From the Relation of Mr James Macpherson* (London: M.Cooper, 1745).
[168] Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, ed. by David Mallett (London: A. Millar, 1752), pp. 5, 48. <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0130500402> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[169] **Impertinence** insolence; irrelevance (OED).
[170] *The History of the Rebellion Raised Against His Majesty King George II* (Dublin: A. Reilly, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0387302600> [accessed 26 January 2016].

There is a strong parallel with the visual arts. Historical painting was, by common consent, the acme of the hierarchy of genres in eighteenth century painting. Jaucourt, perhaps the most industrious of the French Encyclopaedists, defined an historical painting as representing 'an actual fact', 'an action drawn from History', but added that 'it does not matter whether that action is real or imaginary'.[171] A clear example of the process is seen in West's *Death of Wolfe*. Simon Fraser was certainly present at the taking of Quebec, but nowhere near the General's deathbed. He had enough to do coping with wounds he had himself received in the action. Similarly, Morier's *Incident in the Rebellion* depicts the highlanders as primitives with archaic weapons, even though the artist may well have been present at the battle and known they were well supplied with guns. Pittock describes the painting as a crossover between the political cartoon and high art.[172]

An 'Account', on the other hand, had connotations with something more workaday, and less exalted. It stressed topicality, accuracy, the presence of reliable eye witnesses. At the beginning of the long eighteenth century Shadwell outlined one of the problems of 'History' in his play, *A Squire of Alsatia*. In a discussion that has echoes of the Ancients versus Moderns debate, two brothers argue about the appropriate education for a gentleman. One counsels Greek and Latin, and advises that a young man be 'well versed in history'. The other asks scornfully 'How can there be a true history, when we see no man living is able to write truly the history of last week?'[173] While this may arguably be the case, it is nevertheless what responsible journalists have been attempting for the last three hundred years. For them 'an account' proved a useful definition, particularly when describing significant contemporary events. Graphs in Historical Texts show that the most concentrated usage of the title 'an Account' was in the eighteenth century, coinciding with the enormous increase in cheap print – periodicals, pamphlets, and, above all, newspapers;

> Between 1690 and 1780 the number of newspapers printed annually in England rose from less than a million to fourteen million – a growth far in excess of the population […] new forms were created and [there was] a greatly increased freedom of the press after the lapsing of the licensing act in 1695.[174]

In the sense of a report, the term 'account' and newspapers may be regarded as symbiotic. By the end of the eighteenth century, the compound 'newspaper account' was

[171] Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 77.
[172] Murray Pittock, *Culloden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 121.
[173] Thomas Shadwell, *A Squire of Alsatia* (London, 1688), p. 28 <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/bl-003349205> [accessed 26 January 2016].
[174] Jeremy Black, 'Newspapers and Politics in the 18th Century', *History Today*, 36.10 (1986), pp. 36-42.

commonplace.[175] The word 'account' was used repeatedly in ephemeral literature, but while the term is flexible and applicable to many subjects, there was a tendency to utilise it in the earlier part of the long eighteenth century for newsworthy events of a sensational nature – battles, rebellion, executions, disasters etc. The highest incidence of its use, according to the ECCO graph, is in 1689, when two hundred and eighty nine *Accounts* are recorded. Of those, sixty – nearly 20% of the total – feature the Siege of Derry. In the *Daily Courant* and the *London Gazette* Defoe printed requests for 'accounts' of the Great Storm of 1703:

> 'Tis humbly recommended by the Author to all Gentlemen of the Clergy, or others, who have made any Observations of this Calamity, that they would transmit as distinct an Account as possible of what they have observed […] that they are well satisfied to be true.[176]

Similarly, the *Scots Magazine*, after the Battle of Prestonpans, which routinely described 'Reports from the North' as 'Accounts', entreated:

> of all men to favour us with such helps as they know, particularly distinct accounts of such facts as they can afford, in order to our giving complete details of the present transactions.[177]

A High Tory philosopher like Bolingbroke would scarcely have approved of a work that promoted itself as a *Full, Particular and True Account*, particularly since the expression was used so frequently in the context of cheap print, newspapers, pamphlets, chapbooks and broadsides. A broadside of 1745 is entitled *A Full and Particular Account of a bloody Battle fought between the English and the French in Flanders under the Command of His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland*. The *Scots Magazine* prints two pages under the heading *Accounts of the Battle of Culloden*[178] and a production entitled *An Authentic Account of the Battle* was also printed as a broadside.[179] Many of Graham's direct sources are publications that call themselves '*Accounts*'. He utilized a pamphlet called *a True and Impartial Account of the Blowing up of the Church of St. Ninians,*[180] probably written by the local minister, and his most important source, John Anderson's *Book of the Chronicles of the Duke of Cumberland* was endorsed as 'an account'. It would seem that describing a publication thus was regarded by marketing professionals as a good way of promoting it,

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[175] OED *newspaper account*, n., compound, C1, 1788 (the source is Thomas Jefferson).
[176] Daniel Defoe, *The Storm*, ed. by Richard Hamblyn (Allen Lane, 2003), p. xxiii.
[177] *Scots Magazine* (September 1745), pp. 444-5.
[178] *Scots Magazine* (April 1746), pp. 187-8.
[179] *An Authentic Account of the Battle Fought Between the Army Under HRH the Duke of Cumberland and the Rebels on Drumossie Muir near Culloden* (Edinburgh, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0499200700> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[180] Gentleman in the country, *A True and Impartial Account of the Blowing up of the Church of St Ninians* (Edinburgh, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1273800700> [accessed 27 January 2016].

even if it was obviously propaganda. The Jacobites printed a rival *Account of the Battle of Gladsmuir* in 1745.[181] Some authors, like Marchant, for example, seem to be aiming at a belt and braces approach, giving his book the title 'A History' but maintaining 'that it was […] a Genuine and Impartial Account' 'published by His Majesty's Authority'.[182] Andrew Henderson[183] used the same technique, and even Defoe's *History of the Union* provided an Appendix, almost a third of the whole, which is described as an 'Account'.[184] Describing a narrative of a contemporary event in 1746 solely as 'A History' may have lessened popular appeal. Subsequently, the title *full and particular account* became almost a cliché when promoting broadsides that featured such popular subjects as the dying confessions of murderers and traitors, riots, dreadful accidents or catastrophes, suicides or awful judgements.[185] There is perhaps an association with the idea of 'going to a final account', a literal day of reckoning. Graham and his customers may well have viewed Culloden in this light.

The Augustan intelligentsia might well have castigated Graham for lack of 'dignity' and for indulging in 'unruminated facts', but anything too blatantly 'imaginative' would scarcely have been acceptable to his projected audience. Some had themselves witnessed the events described and some would have been familiar with the official records in the newspapers. Graham validates his material by saying in his Dedication 'according to my Information, I have done it from them who were present in every Action' (which could plausibly include the accounts in the *Gazette*, and the various 'Letters from […]', the eighteenth century equivalent of pieces 'From our own Correspondent'). 'And where I knew I was wrong inform'd' he continues, 'I revised it the right way according to my Knowledge'. This is a far cry from his claim in 1774 that he had an eyewitness to 'most' of the action, but it seems to be an accurate description of his working methods. John Anderson's narrative of the Battle of Falkirk, for example, is unavoidably inaccurately reported, for Anderson was besieged in Stirling Castle while the battle was raging, and it seems to have been 'revised' in accordance with descriptions from eye witnesses or

[181] *A True and Full Account of the Late Bloody and Desperate Battle Fought at Gladsmuir, Betwixt the Army Under the Command of His Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales Etc., and that Commanded by Lieutenant General Cope*….(Edinburgh?, 1745) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0007600200> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[182] John Marchant, *The History of the Present Rebellion* (London: R. Walker, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0750400500> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[183] Andrew Henderson, *The History of the Rebellion, 1745 and 1746: Containing a Full Account of its Rise, Progress and Extinction* (Edinburgh, 1648) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0372400200> [accessed 27 January 2016].
[184] Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0429000200> [accessed 17 January 2016].
[185] NLS database *The Word on the Street* <www.nls.uk/broadsides>[accessed 27 January 2016].

participants. For what is essentially a Whiggish polemic, Graham's production is reasonably accurate, and it should be given credit as the first consecutive narrative of the Rebellion produced in Scotland, though one might take issue with the adjectives *full, particular and true*, especially when compared with the *Anonymous History*.[186] Whereas Graham is inclined to omit events that do not redound to the Government forces' credit, the anonymous Whig feels able to criticise British Army policy without fear of the consequences. Graham would never have described post-Culloden Scotland as a land that 'for some months was likely to become a scene of robbery and plunder on the one hand and of military oppression on the other.'[187] Or 'that the regular forces after the battle equalled, if not exceeded, the Rebels in insolences and outrages'.[188] The *Anonymous History* was an elitist production, 'meant for circulation among the writer's personal friends',[189] and freedom from market forces gave the writer autonomy. He was even able to describe his work unapologetically as a 'history', and indeed, it seems to be one of the earliest productions that would qualify as such, according to the modern meaning of the word. Graham, on the other hand, had of necessity to produce a popular work that sold well, and chimed with the opinions of his customers. Whatever its deficiencies as primary source material for military or political history, as evidence for the viewpoint and perceptions of the 'meaner sort' in lowland Scotland during and immediately after the '45 Graham's *Account* is unparalleled.

Though inevitably deploring his vulgarity, the nineteenth century opinion of Graham's work might have been more positive had the 1746 edition been available, and seen on its own terms as a connected series of accounts reworked to reinforce the beliefs and suit the taste of its potential customers, rather than the 'history' they assumed it was designed to be. McVean, of all people, should have been aware that a history was not the same as an account. In 1830 he entitled his revised edition of M'Ure's book *The History of Glasgow* (my emphasis). The original version, printed by James Duncan, was *A View of the city of Glasgow, an Account of its Origins, Rise and Progress* (my emphasis). To make it into the *History of Glasgow*, fitting his customers' notion of what that meant, the book had to be extensively modified.

[186] John Marchant's *History of the Present Rebellion* (London, 1746), by an English clergyman, may have been in print earlier, but it contains so much undigested Gazette material that from a Scottish perspective it is both unfocussed and inaccurate.
[187] *Anonymous History*, p. 249.
[188] Ibid, p. 248.
[189] Ibid, p. xxiii.

b. Price, Tune and Location

The cover also informs us that the book was written by a native of Stirlingshire[190] and could be sung to the tune of the *Gallant Grahams*.

It seems clear that the words on the cover were directly targeting the customer rather than the middleman as the *Courant* advertisement had done. Significantly, the price is given as four pence halfpenny rather than four pence, the difference between cost price and recommended price presumably representing the vendor's profit margin. It is difficult to determine with any precision the equivalent in today's money, but Carlyle gives four pence as the price of an Edinburgh 'ordinary', or dish of the day, 'a very good dinner of broth and beef and all the small beer that was called for till the cloth was removed'.[191] Twenty years later, in 1776, a supper in Edinburgh at the Cape Club[192] cost much the same. Alternatively, calculating that two pence was by definition the cost of a Scots pint of 'tipenny', with the pint measured by the Stirling joug, (approximately 3 pints imperial), the recommended price of the *Account of The Rebellion* might be seen as comparable to five or six of today's pints, or perhaps a convivial evening in the *tippenny hoose.* The emphasis on customers 'hearing' as well as reading, and the tone of the writing suggests that they could well have initially experienced the *Full, Particular and True Account* as part of a salesman's patter, or a performance in an alehouse. Both broadsides and newspapers were often provided in taverns and Graham's *Account*, with its innuendo, songs, and coarse jokes can be regarded as affording entertainment similar to much of that offered in a Victorian music-hall or a modern pantomime. It also included news and topics for discussion, and copies of it may have been purchased with this in mind. Newspapers, at two pence each, were expensive, and the proportion of local news was minimal, while single sheet broadsides had little space for detail. The events of the previous year had been sensational, with a plethora of 'battles, sieges and skirmishes' in the Glasgow / Stirlingshire area between Christmas and Candlemas before the invading forces were ultimately repelled, driven north and annihilated by the British army in April. At the time of publication the fugitive Charles Edward was on the high seas, his followers were being tried and condemned for high treason, and the British government was enacting draconian legislation to ensure there would be no more rebellions. Such momentous affairs must have been discussed at length at kirk or mercat and at any other gathering place, so by giving a

[190] Another marked contrast with the Anonymous historian. It is impossible to be sure where his ms originated, or indeed, whether he was even a Scot.
[191] Carlyle, *Autobiography*, p. 63.
[192] In 1776 the 'old' price of supper at the Cape Club (which tended towards economy), was four pence ha'penny. Sir Daniel Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1848), p. 238.

Full, Particular and True Account, Graham was providing relatively accurate information to energise the common people's deliberations. Much of his version is derived from official accounts in *The Gazette*, or reissues of them in, for example, the *Scots Magazine*, with language adjusted and locality emphasised in order to suit his audience. Indubitably portraying his customers as either heroes or blameless victims would chime with their own perceptions and predispose them to accepting his account as 'True'. Inevitably it is biased. John Home's genuinely impartial account was sixty years a-writing, and not published until 1802.[193] The troop numbers and battle casualties Graham gives are scarcely convincing, and he is less than straightforward when describing engagements that do not redound to the credit of 'our men' or, indeed, non-combatants in the Stirling / Glasgow area. It would be difficult to deduce from Graham's account that the town of Stirling had provided supplies for the Jacobites on their way south, or that the naval engagement in the upper Forth in January 1746 was a fiasco, with Royal Navy vessels literally stuck in the mud, or that the casualties suffered by the Glasgow regiment at the chaotic battle of Falkirk were caused by the fleeing Government cavalry riding them down.[194] Graham is careful not to be too provocative, or to antagonise those who might be part of his audience. Pamphlets designed to be read out in alehouses were probably better kept non-confrontational. Catholics were clearly fair game – they were not numerous enough in the Glasgow area to be significant – but Episcopalians are treated with more circumspection, and mentioned only three times.[195] The subject of lay patronage is glanced at only in a wry aside, and the Secession, which had split the Kirk, is not mentioned at all. But Graham's version of events is a model of candour compared with the *Copy of part of a letter written from Falkirk, 29th January From A Gentleman Volunteer to his Friend at Glasgow*, a Jacobite pamphlet purporting to be composed by a Presbyterian taken in the battle and imprisoned in Falkirk Kirk.[196] There he finds his religion is venerated by the pious highlanders but derided by the ungodly English soldiers imprisoned with him. This pamphlet's attempt to be topical backfired badly. Less than a week after publication, newly

[193] John Home, *History of the Rebellion in 1745* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1802).
[194] George B. Bailey, *Falkirk or Paradise! The Battle of Falkirk Muir, 17th January 1746* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996), pp. 10, 30-67, 121.
[195] The Anonymous Whig historian's treatment of Episcopalians is far more exhaustive, and more condemnatory. 'To be Episcopalians and to be Jacobites are in Scotland almost equivocal terms'. *History of the Rebellion*, p. 8.
[196] Gentleman Volunteer, *Copy of Part of a Letter Written from Falkirk, 29th January, 1746* (Glasgow, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0113302800> [accessed 27 January 2016].

released Glasgow volunteers were rampaging through the town, celebrating their freedom by smashing the windows of suspected Stuart supporters.[197]

The price of the *Full, Particular and True Account* – surely a major selling point – makes it abundantly clear that Duncan and Graham were focussing ultimately on the popular market. Due to differing copyright regulations, there was an enormous discrepancy between the cost of pamphlets in England and Scotland. *The Lamentations of Charles, son of James, for the Loss of the battle of Culloden* (one of Graham's direct sources), a pamphlet of eight pages, retailed at one penny in Edinburgh and six pence in London.[198] Four and a half pence seems nonetheless extraordinarily cheap even in the Scottish context for a book of 85 closely printed pages, and Duncan must have anticipated recouping his costs by substantial sales. Historical Texts lists the prices of four Glasgow publications 1745 / 1746 that might be compared with Graham's, in that they are in octavo or duodecimo form, and therefore potentially portable by itinerant vendors. *A full collection of All the Proclamations and Orders, published by the Authority of Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and Dominions thereunto belonging, Since his Arrival in Edinburgh, the 17th Day of September, till the 15th of October, 1745*, a pamphlet of fifty-five pages, nearly half of which is straightforward Jacobite propaganda, retailed at one shilling.[199] *A Loyal Address to the Citizens of Glasgow*, by William Corse, written in response, is 22 pages long, and cost three pence.[200] Prefaced by a lengthy quotation from Cato, and referring to 'your coffee houses' it seems to be targeting relatively genteel Glaswegians. Thomas Blacklock's *Poems on several Occasions* (like Graham's book, 85 pages) cost eighteen pence.[201] From the content and style, it is clearly meant for a highly literate elite Whiggish audience, perhaps in Edinburgh, the blind poet's home. The only publication that might be described as genuinely cheap print, at one penny for five pages, is the ham-fisted *Copy of part of a*

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[197] George Brown, *Diary of George Brown, Merchant in Glasgow* (Glasgow: printed for private circulation, 1856), p. 66.
[198] *The First and Second Book of the Lamentations of Charles, the Son of James* (Edinburgh, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0970900200> [accessed 28 January 2016]; *The First Book of the Lamentations of Charles, the Son of James* (London: Henry Carpenter, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0204600200> [accessed 28 January 2016].
[199] Charles, Prince of Wales, *A Full Collection of all the Proclamations and Orders, Published by the Authority of Charles, Prince of Wales* (Glasgow, 1745) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1233800500> [accessed 28 January 2016].
[200] William Corse (or Cross), *A Loyal Address to the Citizens of Glasgow, Occasioned by the Present Rebellion* (Glasgow, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1139601300> [accessed 28 January 2016].
[201] Thomas Blacklock, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Glasgow: printed for the author, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0157501700> [accessed 28 January 2016]. Why the Edinburgh-based Blacklock should have chosen to have his first edition printed in Glasgow is not clear. The motive may have been simply financial.

letter written from Falkirk, which shows scant respect for the intelligence or sensitivities of the 'meaner sort' of Glaswegians. If any contemporary pamphlets that might compete with Graham and Duncan's handiwork were produced in Glasgow, no trace of them has survived. *The Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion* seems to have had little competition within the target area.

Stirlingshire is not now normally viewed as part of the Glasgow hinterland, but it could be regarded as such in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Apart from being part of a strongly Presbyterian 'problem area' under the later Stuarts, there was an obvious strategic connection. It had been clear for the last hundred years, since the days of Montrose, that once a Highland army was over the Forth, Glasgow, 'a wealthy open city', could only safeguard itself from the attackers by paying them off. In 1715 Glasgow volunteers, trained and led by the deputy governor of Stirling castle, the poet and diarist Blackadder, were prepared to stand firm against the Jacobite army at Stirling Bridge despite demoralising early reports from Sheriffmuir. Thirty years later, in September 1745, five hundred Glaswegians volunteered to fight the rebels and were joined by one hundred and fifty men from Paisley. Lochwinnoch alone claims to have supplied sixty. Other groups were raised at Kilsyth, Kilmarnock, Kirkcudbright, and Stirling, and elsewhere in Renfrewshire and Clydesdale[202] – Graham talks about 'great numbers' of volunteers. It is unlikely that any of them made a significant contribution to the military effort apart from the highlanders of the Argyllshire militia, to whom Graham awards heroic status. Presumably those parts of Argyllshire that understood English might also provide potential customers. As the Jacobites approached from the south, the Glasgow contingent was re-allocated to the defence of Stirling and Edinburgh. 'They suffered rough handling and great loss by the Pretender's Highlanders' at the Battle of Falkirk on 17th January.'[203] It is clear that the people of Glasgow and the south west were committed to the defence of Stirlingshire, and Graham could claim solidarity, kudos and credibility by describing himself as a native.[204] In 1746, moreover, Stirlingshire had become an object of interest to Whigs who wanted accurate details of the campaign. The *Scots Magazine* was advertising William Edgar's *Map and Description of the River Forth above Stirling* (price six pence) in the January 1746 edition.[205]

[202] Victoria Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 140.
[203] McDowell, *People's History*, p. 42.
[204] In contrast, it is not clear where the Anonymous Historian was from.
[205] The copy in the NLS was probably printed rather later.

There was also a strong cultural connection between Stirlingshire and Glasgow. Stirling students tended to gravitate to Glasgow University, while a majority of the men appointed *magister* or *doctor* in the Stirling Burgh School in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century were Glasgow graduates.[206] Traditionally there was a fiercely Presbyterian component to the Royal Burgh of Stirling and its environs. James Guthrie, executed after the Restoration, and Alexander Hamilton, who retrieved Guthrie's 'martyred head' from the Netherbow port in Edinburgh, were both Stirling ministers. The year of the Sanqhar Declaration, 1680, saw Cargill, minister of the Barony Church in Glasgow, pronounce the Torwood Excommunication from just outside Stirling.[207] (Appendix II) The 'Wark' at Cambuslang was repeated soon afterwards at Kilsyth and at St Ninians, a parish twice afflicted in the eighteenth century by violent patronage disputes. In 1746, the most influential minister in Stirling was the secessionist, Ebenezer Erskine, who raised a corps of volunteers against the Jacobites, earning the thanks of the Duke of Cumberland. Contemporary perceptions of political attitudes in the area are recorded in 'a Memorial' proffered to his Grace the (Jacobite) Duke of Atholl, by William Davidson, who had aspirations to be taken on to the Duke's staff as a Jacobite agent, and who proffered advice and information about how well affected to the Stuart cause were the various gentlemen and localities that Charles Edward would encounter going south from Perth in September 1745. In wealthy Glasgow, obviously considered a prime target, 'there is a good magazine of arms and store of ammunition'. Paisley, Port Glasgow and Greenock are described as 'disaffected' (to the Jacobites), as is the 'Toun of Stirling'. 'The greater part of the Low country people [are] of the Presbyterian party', though 'the whole Episcopal party are firm to the Royal Cause', as is 'the body of the City of Edinburgh'.[208] It is clear from the Memorial that in the west central Lowlands Graham had plenty of potential customers amongst the commonality, though fewer among the Jacobite gentry of the area, many of whom Davidson lists by name.

Also important were commercial connections. Stirlingshire, 'the waist of Scotland', is obviously central. Through it went the roads and tracks from west to east, and from north to south. Apart from the military road from Dumbarton to Stirling, the north-south route was essential for the cattle trade, with Highland drovers heading for Stirling market or the Falkirk Tryst crossing the Forth either at the Frew or at Stirling Bridge. The west-east

[206] A J. Hutchison, *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay 1904), passim.
[207] Graham develops both themes in the supplementary poem *Address to the Jacobites*.
[208] John Hill Burton and David Laing, *Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family During the Rebellion of 1745-46* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1840), pp. 5-11. The anonymous Historian agrees with Davidson with regard to Edinburgh, emphasising in addition the disaffection of the legal fraternity.

roads took overseas products such as tobacco from Glasgow along the Glasgow-Edinburgh road, to Bo'ness or Alloa, whence it could be re-exported to Europe. The products of the domestic hand loom weaving industry, or 'putting out system', organised by Glasgwegian merchant capitalists, went back the same way. It is possible, says Leitch, that 'the role of chapmen distributors has been understated' particularly in an area like west central Scotland in the 1740s, very much in the proto industrial phase.[209] The fact that Glasgow merchants were prepared to pay for the upkeep of the bridge at Denny[210] indicates how important they felt the Stirlingshire routes were, and many of them were admitted to the Stirling and Clackmannanshire Chapman's Guild, as was 'Dougall Graham' himself in 1749. With heavier products – coal, salt, lime, pottery – it was preferable to use water transport, but spun yarn, both linen or woollen, or finished cloth, or the soap, sugar and candles[211] that Glasgow produced were light enough to be safely transported by packhorse or cart with an oilskin to cover them, as, indeed, were books emanating from the town. It seems safe to say that in mainland Scotland, in the mid-eighteenth century, the potential market for Glasgow print stretched from Dumfries and Galloway as far north east as Linlithgow Brig, and, benorth the Forth, as far as the Fife border. Devine has pointed out that:

> although the vast majority of Scottish burghs were little more than villages in this period […] in the coastlands of the River Forth the sheer number and growth of small burghs created a regional urban network to rival any in western Europe in density.[212]

A genuinely popular book clearly had plenty of selling potential.

The traditional stereotype of the pedlar or chapman – which Graham is credited with exploiting for entertainment purposes in *John Cheap the Chapman* – is that he was a rogue. The sixteenth century *Three priests of Peebles* outlines the career of a 'peddler' who starts off 'running from toun to toun on feit […] wretched, wearie and weit'.[213] He gets a pack together, and then is to be found 'at ilka fair', and finally he takes a shop in a town to 'sell his chaffery / Then bocht he wol and wyslie couth it wey' (my emphasis). The career of William Danskine, Baillie of Stirling, had followed this pattern.[214] Originally a practising

[209] Roger Leitch, '"Here chapman billies tak their stand": a pilot study of Scottish chapmen, packmen and pedlars', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 120 (1990), pp. 173-188.
[210] Quoting Marwick, 1876 in John Harrison, 'Improving the Roads and Bridges of the Stirling area, 1660-1706', *Proceeding of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 135 (2005), pp. 287-307.
[211] McDowell, *People's History*, p. 44.
[212] Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), p. xx.
[213] Sally Mapstone, 'The Three Prestis of Peblis in the Sixteenth century', in *A Day Estival*, ed. by Alisoun Gardner Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), p. 127.
[214] *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, AD 1667-1752* (Glasgow 1809), pp. 216, 362.

chapman, in 1732 he was able to pay 230 pounds Scots to be admitted to the freedom of the burgh and membership of the Guildry, and by 1745 he had become a Baillie.

After the Union of 1707 merchants had wider opportunities, especially those operating in the West of Scotland. In 1743, at Glasgow University, Alexander Carlyle met the offspring (my emphasis) of 'successful pedlars who occupied large warerooms full of manufactures of all sorts to furnish a cargo to Virginia'.[215] This seems to confirm Devine's suggestion that the tobacco business in Glasgow was prospering even in the earlier part of the century,[216] though not always by strictly legal means. 'The scale of smuggling and under-recording between 1715 and 1731 is estimated at 42%.'[217] Nor was the prosperity confined to Glasgow. Dealers were able to utilise the 'great number of non-burghal markets and fairs' that had proliferated in the 'second half of the seventeenth century and at a reduced rate in the first half of the eighteenth – an admission that these towns and villages had become essential units of the economic and social organisation of Stirlingshire […] a trend which seems to have been national'.[218]

This is borne out by *The Laws and Acts of the Fraternity of Chapmen in Stirlingshire, agreed upon by them at Stirling the 24th day of October 1726.*[219] This manuscript volume, which contains the only reasonably reliable evidence that Dougal Graham ever was a chapman, was bought by John Fairlie the bibliographer and collector in 1912. It records the minutes of the Stirlingshire incorporation from 1726 until the end of the century, when it was reconstituted as a Friendly Society. Leitch describes these Chapman societies as 'courting respectability, functioning along the lines of a pseudo guild with freemasonry undertones'.[220] Precisely what a 'chapman' was in eighteenth century Scotland is difficult to determine. A chapman might be peripatetic, or he might have a permanent stand – even a shop – in a town. The term can equate with pedlar, cremar, cadger, creilman, packman, or indeed merchant, to the obvious irritation of English visitors who felt 'merchant' should describe a more reputable calling, on the English model. In DSL Edward Burt is quoted in 1730 as claiming 'a peddling shopkeeper that sells a pennyworth of thread is a merchant'. Defoe describes Kirkcaldy as having some

[215] Carlyle, *Autobiography*, p. 74.
[216] Provost Buchanan, with a plantation in Virginia, had acquired enormous wealth by the 1730s.
[217] Thomas M. Devine, 'Three Hundred Years of the Anglo Scottish Union' in *Scotland and the Union, 1707-2007*, ed. by Thomas M Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 4.
[218] Andrew Bain, *Education in Stirlingshire from the Reformation to the Act of 1872* (London: Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1965), p. 96.
[219] Fraternity of Chapmen in Stirlingshire, *Minute Book of the Shires of Stirling and Clackmannan*, NLS Ms 197, fol. 101.
[220] Leitch, 'Here chapman Billies', pp. 183-4.

'considerable merchants in it, I mean in the true sense of the word merchant'.[221] The Stirling Chapman's Guild does not seem to have distinguished between 'considerable merchants' and 'inferior merchants', as Defoe might have wished, but it clearly promoted itself as being the incorporation of dealers of a morally superior sort. Fees were charged for entry and discipline imposed by its courts with a concomitant system of fines, travelling on the Sabbath was forbidden and carrying a Bible was compulsory (with a penalty of £6 scots for not being able to read it). Underselling, using wrong measures, drunkenness, gaming, passing bad coin and reset were all forbidden and the secret Chapman's Word was, apparently, 'Practise No Fraud'. There were also regulations about travelling with horses, the etiquette of setting up stands, and mannerly behaviour at fairs. It seems to have been well worth joining the incorporation, which also embraced gentry who presumably wished to exploit the produce of their estates. Examples are James Erskine of Grange, the (forfeited) Earl of Mar's brother, in 1734, and his brother in law Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, the erstwhile Tory MP who played host to Charles Edward in 1746. There were also high status craftsmen like Patrick Murray, the Stirling goldsmith, later executed as a Jacobite, and John Glassford, merchant in Glasgow, ultimately a fabulously wealthy tobacco lord. Nor were people from outwith the area refused. A whole slew of members from Ayrshire – Maybole, Mauchline, Kilmarnock, and Ayr itself – were admitted in 1733. Many members were from Glasgow, others were from Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen. Whately points out that 'small towns within the economic orbit of major centres like Edinburgh or Glasgow' appear to have prospered, as did 'market centres within regions experiencing economic growth'.[222] In the mid eighteenth century, commerce in the Glasgow economic sphere seems to have been passably healthy.

Would such regional affluence have meant that the 'meaner sort' were able to afford Graham's book? The compilers of the Old Statistical Accounts often compare the wages and prices of 1793 with those pertaining fifty years before, and so provide some figures for analysis,[223] but it is difficult to generalize. Relatively comfortable circumstances for the lower orders seem to have depended on how far industrialisation or agricultural improvement had progressed in their area, or how easy it was to access markets. Thus in 1740 a male farm servant seems to have been paid about thirty-six pounds a year, but in an

[221] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole island of Great Britain*, 4 vols (London, 1724-26), IV, Letter xiii <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/d/defoe/daniel/britain/> [accessed 10 March 2016].
[222] Christopher A Whately, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 12.
[223] John S. Gibson and T. C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

economically disadvantaged area like Kippen, he could command only twenty-four. A wright's weekly wage in Glasgow was thirteen shillings and four pence, whereas in Tillicoultry, a weaving village in Clackmannanshire, it was twelve shillings. Colliers, for all their near servile status, could earn as much as ten shillings a day.[224] Stuart Nisbet reckons that, as the century wore on, gradually 'farming tenants had some money in their pockets' as agriculture became more outward looking and commercialised.[225] The terrible winter of 1740 may have marked a watershed. The parish of Cambuslang saw an increase in disease, but the improvement in trade and transport ensured no-one actually starved to death as they had done in the 'ill years of King William', fifty years before. Patrick Walker describes the horrors of the 1690s in graphic detail, but what seems to have dismayed him most was that 'some of them said they could mind nothing but meat […] and they were utterly unconcerned about their souls, whether they went to heaven or hell'.[226] In the 1740s Cambuslang parishioners had life and leisure enough to ponder what they had to do to be saved, and the Cambuslang Wark was the result.

Though literacy was not essential to experience Graham's work, sales must have been helped by the educational provision in the west central lowlands. 'By 1760 at least half, and perhaps nearly all of the parishes had some salaried provision made for a schoolmaster.'[227] T.C. Smout, in his investigation of the Cambuslang Wark, is more precise. Examining the manuscript documenting the experiences of one hundred and ten of the 'born again', produced by McCulloch, the Cambuslang minister, he deduces that this 'typical north Lanarkshire rural parish' shows 'a population universally able to read, but with almost all the women, and a substantial minority of the men unable to write'. Amongst the small tenants and low status craftsmen he investigated, he concluded that 'it was normal to have reading skills, and quite exceptional and socially degrading not to have them'. School, he adds 'was not always sufficient, and parents and employers appear to have been more than willing to help plug the gap'.[228] How many of the employers belonged to the often Episcopalian gentry who disapproved of religious enthusiasm is not

[224] Ibid, p. 309.
[225] Stuart Nisbet, 'The Eighteenth Century: Essays on the Local History and Archaeology of West Central Scotland' in *Essays on the Local History and Archaeology of West Central Scotland* (Glasgow, Glasgow Museums, 2014) <www.glasgowlife.org.uk/museums/about-glasgow-museums/publications/online-publications/documents/09_18thcentury.pdf>
[226] Patrick Walker, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life and Death of Mr Donald Cargill* (Edinburgh: Patrick Walker, 1732) reproduced in in *Six Saints of the Covenant*, ed. by D.H. Fleming, 2 vols (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901), II, p. 31.
[227] Bain, *Education in Stirlingshire*, p. 100.
[228] T. C. Smout,'Born Again at Cambuslang: New evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in 18th century Scotland', *Past and Present*, 97.1 (1982), pp. 114-127.

recorded. The latest research by Adam Fox, which unfortunately does not cover Glasgow, shows that a single Edinburgh printer, Robert Dummond, left 87,000 copies of small pamphlets and broadside ballads waiting for sale at his death,[229] a figure which seems to reflect a sizable mass market of people with some proficiency in reading.

The title of the tune that accompanies the *Account* is also a way of promoting the work. *The Gallant Grahams* was the title of a broadside ballad in praise of Montrose, dating, on internal evidence, to just after the Restoration. It was sung to the tune *I will away and I will not tarry*, the name of the melody normally given in eighteenth century publications.[230] That the poet used the title *The Gallant Grahams* might seem somewhat rash, if the principal association of the name Graham for his audience was the excommunicate Montrose, or worse, John Graham, 'Bluidy Claverse'. In fact, the broadside in the NLS also emphasises the connection with Sir John the Graham, beloved by Harry's Wallace, killed at the first battle of Falkirk. Clearly performances of the song could, and can, be adapted to the audience; a modern *Gallant Grahams*, sung by the Battlefield Band, has been put in an Irish context.[231] The only contemporary literature that seems to stress the Grahams' past brutality is *An antidote against the infectious contagion of popery and tyranny* (Edinburgh 1745) by 'a Presbyterian Society', the extreme minority sect which ultimately became the Reformed Presbyterians.[232] Typical opinion about the Grahams in the mid-eighteenth century seems to be recorded in a poem *To his Royal Highness, Charles Prince of Wales*[233] (Edinburgh 1745), which lists Jacobite supporters. Here they are described as 'The Immortal Grahams, but ah! Without a head,/ Yet always shew that loyalty's their creed'. Though some of the family were plainly Jacobite, like Graham of Airth, an Episcopalian and ultimately an attainted Jacobite, the 'head' in 1745 was the second Duke of Montrose, a staunch Hanoverian. The Duke, son of Rob Roy's most celebrated adversary, is another link between Glasgow and Stirlingshire. In 1746 he was the hereditary sheriff of Stirlingshire and Lord Lieutenant of Dunbartonshire with a residence at Buchanan Castle and extensive property lying in the lands around it. He was also Chancellor of Glasgow University, with a Glasgow townhouse, Montrose's Lodging, in the Drygait. Defoe claimed that in Glasgow the Duke of Montrose had 'so great an

[229] Adam Fox,'"Little Story Books" and "Small Pamphlets" in Edinburgh, 1680-1760: the Making of the Scottish Chapbook', *Scottish Historical Review*, 92.2 (2013), pp. 207-230.
[230] <walterscott.eu/education/ballads/covenantingballads/the-gallant-grahams/975-2/> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[231] Battlefield Band, *Live Celtic Folk Music* (The Netherlands, Heelsum 1997), track 2.
[232] Presbyterian Society in Edinburgh, *An Antidote Against the Infections of Popery and Tyranny* (Edinburgh, 1745) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1291600200> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[233] *To His Royal Highness, Charles, Prince of Wales* (Edinburgh?, 1745) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0660001000 > [accessed 29 January 2016].

interest that he is in a civil sense the Governor', and was 'much respected by the people'.[234] Clearly a connection with the Duke of Montrose was worth insinuating, though it is obvious that Graham would have wished to disassociate himself from the unruly and mentally unstable 'James Graham', otherwise Gregor McGregor of Glengyle, who had abandoned his earlier profession of blackmailer to burn the Government barracks at Inversnaid early in the Rebellion, and had been appointed the Jacobite governor of Doune Castle.[235] Significantly, in 1746, Dougal was careful to refer to himself as 'D. Graham'. His Christian name may have been regarded as having highland connotations, possibly prejudicial to sales.

[234] Defoe, *A Tour*, Letter XII.
[235] David Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy, the Man and the Myths* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2004), p. 247.

c. The Prefatory Material – Dedication, Autobiography

If the name 'Dougal' could be seen as detrimental, the perception that the author had Jacobite connections would be even more so. Perhaps the most reasonable way to read the prefatory material in the first edition is to view it as an exercise in damage limitation appropriate to autumn 1746. It comprises a substantial prologue, masquerading as a 'Dedication', followed by a short poem in standard Habbie metre, dated 29th September, 1746, then *An Account of the Author*, and finally *An Address to the Pretender*, as promised in the *Courant*, not, properly speaking, an integral part of the *Full, Particular and True Account*, but rather a poetic piece de resistance inserted at the beginning for marketing purposes. More poems – addresses to other poets, the pope and pagans (i.e. Jacobites) – are added at the end. By the 1752 edition, virtually all the prefatory items have been either much altered or omitted and replaced by a brief set of jaunty octosyllabic couplets, (Appendix IV), with more supernumerary anti-Jacobite poems to finish. In 1752, however, Graham is happy to acknowledge his Christian name.

Graham's 1746 'Dedication to All that *read* or *hear* this Book' is not an entirely candid or straightforward passage. Admittedly, many of its elements are fairly conventional in eighteenth century popular pamphlets, most of which could be easily accessed in 1745-46. Dedicating a work to the potential audience is scarcely innovative; the earlier editions of Walker's *Life of Peden* feature a preamble addressed 'To the reader' and Ramsay had dedicated his *Scottish Proverbs* to his fellow countrymen. Nor were spoof dedications unknown. Thomas Gordon, (1691-1750, also known as Cato, The Independent Whig, or Montanus, an expatriate Scottish Galloway Whig, had undermined the entire genus with his *Dedication to a Great man, concerning Dedications* (London 1718),[236] following it up by a dedication to the Man in the Moon in *The Humourist*.[237] Gordon, whose patron was Robert Walpole, was still producing anti Jacobite, anti-Tory pamphlets in 1745. The second edition of Dunlop's *Sermons Preached on Several Occasions on the Persecution and cruelty of the Church of Rome*, printed in Glasgow 1746, includes an account of the writer's life.[238] James How's *Sermon preached in Black Friears'* [sic] *Church, Glasgow, Dec 6th 1745 on the occasion of the present Rebellion* added an

[236] Thomas Gordon, *A Dedication to a Great Man: Concerning Dedications* (London: James Roberts, 1719) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0325101300> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[237] Thomas Gordon, *The Humourist: Being Essays Upon Subjects* (London, W. Borehame, 1720) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0063701700> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[238] William Dunlop, *Sermons Preached Upon Several Subjects* (Glasgow, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0854600202> [accessed 29 January 2016].

Appendix directed to all the Jacobites in North Britain.[239] The 1746 Glasgow reprint of Benjamin Bennet's November 5th sermon on *The Persecution and Cruelty of the Church of Rome*[240] may well have been the inspiration for Graham's *Address to the Pretender*. The welter of Biblical quotation in the *Full, Particular and True Account's* Dedication is typical of Presbyterian sermons, though in fairness, in those that were published, the line of argument is more lucid than Graham's. In none of these publications, however, does an author assert that writing as he does puts his life at risk, a claim that seems not only unnecessarily overdramatic, but thoroughly inappropriate in a work that is a paean to the military achievement of the heroic Duke of Cumberland. Graham seems to be protesting too much.

The immediate aftermath of the '45 did indeed leave various parts of Scotland 'more disturbed than usual', including the area in the extreme west of Stirlingshire.[241] This was technically Graham territory in that the Duke of Montrose owned the land, but it was in fact teeming with unruly MacGregors. Thus in August 1746 Graham of Gartmore[242] was writing to General Bland asking for troops to be stationed at Gartmore to discourage marauders, while, ironically, at the same time the Duke of Montrose was claiming compensation for the way his tenants were being victimized by the British army.[243] Nonetheless, it is clear from the districts mentioned in the Disarming Acts that Dougal Graham's home territory, Stirlingshire south of the Forth, was not regarded as a problem by the British Government either then or at any time during the previous thirty years.

The disingenuous tone of Graham's Dedication is suspiciously like that adopted by the Burgh of Stirling in their Minutes, in February, 1746.[244] At that point the town was seeking to defend itself against accusations of pusillanimity and treason that had appeared in a letter in the *St James Evening Post*. On the 8th January the rebels had 'got into Stirling'. Since the town was scarcely defensible, the inhabitants had opened their gates to the rebels; the anonymous letter writer, however, maintained that the provost was responsible for a needless capitulation. Burgh magistrates might well have seen reason for anxiety at this development, for the Edinburgh provost was currently languishing in the

[239] James How, *Sermon Preached in Black-Friears-Church* (Glasgow, 1746), NLS Ry.1.5.281.
[240] Benjamin Bennet, *The Persecution and Cruelty of the Church of Rome* (Glasgow, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0105600700> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[241] Bruce Lenman, *Jacobite Risings in Britain* (Dalkeith: Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), p. 267 and note.
[242] *Gartmore ms*, appendix to the 5th Edition of Burt's *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, ed. by J. Jamieson and Walter Scott, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1876), II, pp. 338-370.
[243] Peter Lawrie, *The Clan Gegor in the Last Jacobite Uprising* (1996) <www.glendiscovery.com/macgregor45.htm> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[244] *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling*, AD 1667-1752 (Glasgow: Glasgow Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society: 1889), pp. 274-282.

Tower of London, charged with treason, for much the same offence. The Council responded to the letter by claiming that everybody knew the accusations were all lies and that it was *nottour* (well known) that 'Stirling Toun' was incapable of defence. Moreover, the Jacobites had been reinforced by some thousands, their cannons were on the south side of the Forth and the town was in danger of being sacked so that 'the streets would be strow'd with corpses and the whole effects in the town become their plunder'. The dates and numbers quoted in the council's version seem to have been subject to some manipulation. Perhaps most duplicitous is the claim that there was, in fact, no provost at the time - the Stirling Guildry records clearly indicate the contrary. Nor do the Council minutes mention anywhere that Stirling had supplied the Jacobite army with provisions the previous September, when they were on their way south. James Christie, the clerk, produced his minutes of 9th February 'to prevent the bad effects of these impressions which ane account so stufft with falsehood tends to produce' – damage limitation, in modern terms. A tidier version – with fewer Scotticisms, and more convincing detail – was provided for wider consumption, and inserted in the *Scots Magazine*.[245] It seems to have worked, for no more is heard of the 'treachery' of Stirling burgh. Nonetheless, it was clear that the government forces were suspicious of Stirling, where a mere twenty-seven cannon shots, with several chimneys the only casualties, had been sufficient to cause Stirling town – as opposed to the Castle – to surrender to the Jacobites.[246] General Blakeney's reported remark is scathing. 'Gentlemen, as your provost and Bailies think the town not worth their notice to take care of it, neither can I. I will take care of the castle.' After Culloden, the British Army as a whole were

> by no means unready to confound friend and foe […] and viewed Scotsman and Jacobite as convertible terms […] displaying a scarcely concealed contempt for the country and its people;[247]

though on the whole it seems to have been reasonably successful 'in the difficult task of maintaining good relations with civil authorities'. Stirling, however, was a serious exception. Exactly three months before the Account was published,[248] a wig maker's apprentice, Maiben, who had displayed insolence to an officer of Howard's regiment, was beaten up and then officially flogged with full military rigour in the teeth of the provisions of Scots law and vigorous complaint from the Stirling magistrates. The regiment was

[245] *Scots Magazine* (January 1746).
[246] Craig Mair, *Stirling the Royal Burgh* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1990), p. 164.
[247] Charles Sandford Terry, *The Albemarle Papers, Being the Correspondence of the Second Earl of Albermarle*, 2 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1902), p. xxxviii.
[248] *Albemarle Papers*, II, p. xliii.

swiftly moved to Carlisle, out of the range of both, delaying only for a civic reception to celebrate its being awarded the freedom of the city of Glasgow. The incident was much resented and widely reported, not only in the Scots Magazine,[249] but in the anonymous *History of the Rebellion*.[250] It demonstrated that to all intents and purposes Stirling could be regarded as being under martial law. Yet Graham makes not the slightest mention of it. Before leaving Scotland, Cumberland, who 'branded the whole Scottish people with the common charge of disaffection',[251] had divided Scotland into four military districts. Number IV, Stirling and Southwards, was under the command of General Bland. Three regiments were stationed in Stirling, and one in the Canongate in Edinburgh. Even indisputably loyal Glasgow had to quarter the Scots Fusiliers.[252] Presumably it behoved even lowlanders to tread carefully, and not offend the occupying forces.

Any trader from the Stirling area would have been well aware of the importance and the potential damage of rumour and speculation,[253] and Graham's *Account of the Author*, like his dedication, is produced with some care. If we remove the embellishment, what Graham seems to be saying is that some of his relations are Jacobites, who hate him enough to kill him and that at one time he worked for some Jacobites, who callously cheated him. That he felt the need to mention it at all would suggest that this potentially incriminating information was already *nottour*. A contemporary perception –summarised by the anonymous Whig Historian –was that 'not a few of the common people are reputed Jacobites […] by the influence of […] their disaffected masters, yet, if left to themselves, would chuse to live peaceably under a mild government'.[254] Graham may be hinting that he is one such, forced by his humble origins to earn a living, but unfairly dismissed by his 'disaffected' master. He claims that during subsequent long periods of incapacity and solitude, he had deduced that Jacobites and Catholics were sinful and vicious, and his work reflects these conclusions

Graham's caveats about his method of composition – 'But according to my information, […] [from those] who were present in every Action […] where I knew I was

[249] *The History of the Rebellion of 1745-1746 extracted from the Scots Magazine* (Aberdeen: Doulas and Murray, 1750), pp. 260-2.
[250] Anonymous *History of the Rebellion*, p. 248.
[251] Philip C. Yorke, *The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hadwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Britain*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), I, p. 530.
[252] *Albemarle Papers*, II, p. xxxv.
[253] For a contemporary indication of how inaccurate rumour could be, see John Bissett *The Extracts from the Diary of the Reverend John Bissett*, Miscellany of the Spalding Club, ed. John Stuart, 5 vols. (Aberdeen 1841-1852), I, p. 77. In the days before Culloden, Prince Charles was reported dead and buried, then 'as bad of a flux, and having to be carried', and finally, once news of the battle had arrived, as fleeing, wounded in the thigh.
[254] Anonymous, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 8.

wrong informed, I revised it the right way according to my knowledge' – describe not only his working methods, but give him the opportunity to lay the blame elsewhere if necessary. At the end of the *Account*, he cites 'John, my Jo' Anderson. He is also heavily indebted to the *Gazette*, his ultimate source, which he pads out with customised references to available popular print. Much the same methodology was adopted by contemporary 'historians' of the Rebellion south of the border. The official accounts formed the basis of their productions and variations appear only in the style adopted, the amount of imagination used, and how much the authors were prepared to utilize other publications, sometimes acknowledged, sometimes not. Samuel Boyse, for example, scores well for accuracy and precise references. At the other end of the scale is Ralph Griffith's *Ascanius*, so 'imaginative' a history, that contemporaries opined that 'Romance' would be a more appropriate term. Nonetheless even Griffiths claimed that his primary source was the official *Gazette* version of events.

Graham's *Account of the Author* is to a certain extent coded. It may not have meant a great deal to potential customers in Glasgow, but it would have resonated with a Stirlingshire clientele. It has been asserted on innumerable occasions in books about Dougal Graham, that he came from Raploch Village, known locally as the Raploch, but in actuality no such place existed at the time of his birth (1721, according to the St Ninian's parish baptismal records). His words are 'where the Raploch River runs adown' (my emphasis). In St Ninians' parish, the Raploch Burn, also known at that time as the Glenmoray Burn, rises in the Gillies' Hill area and flows north through Cambusbarron, and the Raploch Lands (my emphasis) before emptying into the Forth near Stirling Bridge. William Edgar's Map of the Upper Forth shows it clearly, with Cambusbarron the settlement best suited to Graham's description.[255] The gentry in that area (Murrays of Polmaise, Moirs of Leckie, Patersons of Bannockburn, Setons of Touch, Wordies of Torbrex), were in the main regarded as Jacobite sympathisers, though their commitment to the Stewart cause during the Rebellion was in fact patchy. The most significant landowner in Cambusbarron was Murray of Polmaise; Davidson, the aspiring Jacobite spy, lists him in *The Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family* as 'well affected'.[256] Though Polmaise seems to have been, sensibly, more interested in exploiting the coal, lime and building stone on his extensive estate, both before and for many years after the '45, the

[255] William Edgar, *A Description of the Upper Forth Above Stirling* (1746?) <maps.nls.uk/view/102826956> [accessed 29 March 2016].
[256] Abbotsford Club, *Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family during the Rebellion* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1840), p. 10. Also specifically mentioned by Wilson are Paterson of Bannockburn and Seton of Touch.

perception was that he was a long-standing Jacobite. An author might well have considered it more politic to describe the stream near which he was born as 'Raploch' (with Stirling Castle connections)[257] rather than 'Glenmoray' suggesting the Murray family.

More incorrigible Jacobites were the various branches of the Stirling family and any connection with Stirling of Craigbarnet in Campsie was better played down or, if it were beyond contradiction, decried.[258] Graham was educated, he says, in Stirling, with his parents presumably paying fees for him as an *outentounis bairn*, rather than in St Ninians' Parish school, as one might expect. In Stirling in 1727 (when a child born in 1721 would have attended), all education, even the basic variety that Graham received – reading, writing and 'bookholding' – was firmly controlled by the Kirk via the burgh council.[259] In emphasising 'learning to read in Stirling toun', he may be dissociating himself from any accusation of being taught by an Episcopalian. Their meeting house in Torbrex, just south of Stirling, was patronised by many of 'Jackish' gentry families.[260] Graham's whole *Full, Particular and True Account* is painstakingly anti-Jacobite but the two verses at the end of the dedication are particularly so. The favourite Jacobite verse form, standard Habbie, is turned back on itself in mockery, as are the songs that purport to be made up by the Highlanders in the body of the text. The *Address to the Pretender* uses virtually every anti-Jacobite, anti-Catholic trope at the disposal of a Whig writer, backing them up by citation from the Book of Revelations. These poems and his 'accurate' account of the rebellion, he claims, are what have endangered his life.

If Graham might be accused of preposterously overstating his fear of Jacobite reprisal in the prefatory material of his *Account*, there may be a subtext. His Dedication may not be aimed primarily at the Jacobites as he claims, but directed towards the occupying forces, trying to extend his credit with them. Given his birth place, it is perfectly possible that Graham might have been seen as guilty by association with his 'friends' in the suspect area to the south of Stirling. While it is unlikely that Graham genuinely feared for his life in 1746, it may nevertheless have been judicious to emphasise his loyalty to the Government. It certainly would not have harmed sales. While it is untenable to hypothesise that the poet sympathised with Bonnie Prince Charlie simply because he was overemphatic

[257] The Raploch Lands had originally been a kind of service area for the castle in the days when it was a royal residence; the water in the burn was used for the laundry. Robert Chambers, *A Picture of Stirling* (Edinburgh: John Hewitt, 1830), p. 15.
[258] *Stirling Genealogy* (New York: Grafton Press, 1909), pp. 96-97.
[259] A J. Hutchison, *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling, 1904), pp. 89-91.
[260] Andrew Muirhead, *Stirling's Churches and the Town of Stirling, 1560-1800*, p. 16 <http://www.stirling-lhs.org/uploads/5/0/2/4/5024620/stirlings_churches_annotated.pdf> [accessed 27 January 2016].

in insisting that he did not, such a perception may nonetheless have endured, regardless of all he wrote to the contrary, and this might partly explain how the tale of his support for 'the Bonnie Prince' was taken up so enthusiastically in the next century. Murray of Polmaise's reputation as a die-hard Jacobite grew in much the same way. Victorian literature has him spurning some of his relations for betraying the Marquess of Tullibardine,[261] and sheltering other family members who were suffering for their loyalty to the Stewart cause.[262] Similarly Anne Livingstone, the Countess of Kilmarnock, scion of a Jacobite family, is credited with having persuaded her husband to join the Rebellion and prevailing upon General Hawley to dally so long at Callendar House that he arrived at the Battle of Falkirk only when the field was well-nigh lost.[263] Of hard evidence in either case, there seems to be little, if any, and in this respect their 'legends' parallel that of Dougal Graham.

[261] Mrs Thomson, 'William Murray, Marquis of Tullibardine' in *Memoirs of the Jacobites,* 3 vols (London: Bentley, Wilson and Fley, 1845), II, pp. 92-124 <www.electricscotland.com/history/Jacobites/chapter08.htm> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[262] C. Henrietta Callander, 'The Jacobite ladies of Murrayshall', *Cornhill Magazine* (1869), p. 568. The author was a close relation of the Jacobite Ladies.
[263] Bailey, *Falkirk or Paradise*, pp. 27, 90-94.

3. The Second Edition

Damage limitation in the prefatory material of the first edition of Graham's *Full, Particular and True Account*, seems to have succeeded to the extent that the work sold well enough for the poet to think it worth bringing out a second edition. That he chose to do so in 1752, however, is puzzling. Britain was at peace with France, the Act of Idemnity of 1747 had produced a wide-ranging amnesty, and the various Acts to control the highlands had had time to bite. It is clear that as far as the Glasgow book trade was concerned, the situation had stabilised. While political and religious publications were still numerous in 1752, the majority of productions, as listed in Historical Texts, were produced by the Foulis brothers or Robert Urie, and were essentially literary. One might discern a certain bias in favour of the Puritan Milton, but Pope, Dryden, Waller, Denham, Gay, and Congreve are well represented. Voltaire, Moliere and Montesquieu also seem to be in demand, as are, finally, works by Allan Ramsay, including his reissues of old traditional Scottish (and Catholic) poets. Even Hamilton of Bangour's poems were printed twice, albeit shorn of the more extreme Jacobite sentiments. The impression is that Moderation and Enlightenment were making inroads in Glasgow. Perhaps the citizenry had benefitted from reading the *Spectator*, or spending Sunday evenings listening to Francis Hutcheson's lectures, open to the public as well as his students.[264] At any rate, political or religious affiliation seems to be less crucial. The only specifically anti-Jacobite material discernible is contained in a reprint of some of Addison's essays from forty years before.[265] Especially worthy of note, however, is a legitimate – i.e. non-pirated – issue of *The Wanderer or Surprising Escape; containing a series of Remarkable Events […] with some remarks on a Romance called Ascanius*.[266]

Like Graham's *Account*, *The Wanderer* is an eighty-page narrative of the rising in 1745-46; it is not, however, labelled as a 'Cruel and Unnatural Rebellion' with Cumberland as hero. Instead, the book is touted as 'A series of remarkable events […] wrote without prejudice or partiality' and the main character is Prince Charles. It had already been published several times in London and Dublin, and pirated copies may well have been available in Scotland. It is one of a multitude of publications deriving from

[264] Carlyle, *Autobiography*, p. 70.
[265] Joseph Addison, *The Freeholder or Political Essays* (Glasgow: Bryce and Patterson, 1752) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0411601100> [accessed 11 March 2016]. It's interesting to note that, in this edition, the old convention of printing every noun with a capital is abandoned, as it is in Graham's second edition. This was not the usual practice in Glasgow in 1752. Though Robert Urie had adopted the procedure when printing Addison's poems and essays, his elegant and accurate productions bear little resemblance to Graham's second edition.
[266] *The Wanderer: Or Surprizing Escape* (Glasgow, 1752) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0736800200> [accessed 29 January 2016].

Ralph Griffiths' *Ascanius*, either emulating or rebutting it. Neil Guthrie lists at least ten different romantic 'biographies' of Charles and his Adventures, printed between 1746 and 1752.[267] *Ascanius* itself was a pan-European publishing phenomenon, though Glasgow publishers characteristically seem to have avoided it in the immediate aftermath of the Rebellion.[268] Copies were printed in France, Sweden, Ireland, Italy and Spain[269] and a translation into French claimed to have been printed in 'Edinburgh'. Sham publishing details, either to give the appearance of authenticity, or to conceal those responsible were by no means uncommon. Griffiths, who asserted *Ascanius* was based on a 'manuscript handed about at the Court of Versailles' claimed that it had been published in Holland. *Alexis*,[270] which, according to the wily Welshman, had started the enthusiasm for the Prince's adventures in the heather (forcing him to pen *Ascanius* in reply, at the charge of one shilling)[271] was an 'unfinished' pro-Jacobite allegorical 'novel'. It claimed to have been written by one Alexander Macdonald, and published in Edinburgh, by 'A. Scott, near the Tolbooth', a clearly ironic attribution. The preface asserted that the manuscript had been composed years earlier, and the publisher had no idea what it could mean, though he obligingly provided *A Key* in which Flora Macdonald is *Heroica* and Cumberland *Sanguinarius*, 'a butcherly fellow'. Another version claims to have been published in London, in 1746, by T. Cooper', who had in fact died two years previously. Some caution was obviously necessary in the book trade. Even after the Act of Indemnity, draconian punishment was meted out by Edinburgh Council to Robert Drummond for having produced material critical of the Duke of Cumberland, despite the printer's claims to innocent incomprehension.[272]

In the *Idler* no 40, Dr Johnson deliberated *The Art of Advertising Exemplified* (previously covered by Addison in *The Tatler*, 224). Johnson had in mind the over-inflated, if not downright dishonest, claims of quack medicine salesman, but although his tone is facetious, he is nonetheless 'concerned with the moral implications of advertising'.[273] It seems ironic that 'the auld domine', as Bosworth's father called him, says so little about

[267] Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 218.
[268] Ralph Griffiths, *Ascanius: Or the Young Adventurer, a True History* (London, William Faden, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoii-1702300200> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[269] < www.yourphotocard.com/Ascanius/BookshelfTabbed.htm> [accessed 21 May 2016].
[270] 'Alexander Macdonald', *Alexis: Or the Young Adventurer, A Novel* (Edinburgh: A Scott, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0160603900> [accessed 2 January 2016].
[271] *Griffiths' Letter to the Duke of Newcastle* <www.yourphotocard.com/Ascanius/Ralph_Griffiths.htm> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[272] Adam Fox, 'Little Story Books and Small Pamphlets', pp. 207-230.
[273] James F. Woodruff, 'The allusions in Johnson's Idler', *Modern Philology*, 40 (1979), pp. 380-389.

journalism, his own line of work. Even leaving aside the spurious content, the way *Alexis* and *Ascanius* are promoted is on a par with the selling techniques of swindlers marketing sham remedies.

The author of the *Wanderer*, possibly John Burton, spends a good deal of time refuting Griffiths'*Ascanius*, with its unworthy canard that Charles had been shot in the buttocks when leaving Culloden, and opines that Griffiths' arrest for sedition was simply a publicity stunt. The *Wanderer* has been described as a more 'factual and much less dewy eyed account than *Ascanius'*,[274]and it is written in an urbane, balanced English prose. In England it retailed at one shilling and sixpence; in Scotland, where pamphlets tended to be cheaper because copyright regulation was less stringent, it may well have been less. To a reading public increasingly familiar with the *Spectator*,[275] Graham's *Full, Particular and True Account* and his supplementary poems like the *Address to the Jacobites* (Appendix II) may well have seemed unsophisticated, outmoded and intemperate. It is perhaps not surprising that James Duncan, on the verge of retirement, was no longer involved in the production. Neither was any other Glasgow publisher. It was printed (probably by Bryce and Patterson)[276] specifically <u>for</u> Dougal Graham (my emphasis), 'merchant in Glasgow' (Appendix III.) No shop premises are listed, no newspaper advertises it and there are no special deals for itinerant vendors or any indication that the work is designed to be 'heard as well as read'. To justify increasing the price to 6d, Graham claims that the second edition has been 'greatly enlarged and corrected by the Author'. The only other point of distribution is Alexander Young, 'merchant in Stirling', but, strangely, given that it was to be sold there, every other reference to the place, even in the oblique form *Snadoun*, has been removed from the promotional material. Being a native of Stirlingshire is obviously no longer seen as a selling point. The ten pages of prefatory material are reduced to a single page of brisk couplets, obliterating any reference to the author's origins (Appendix IV). The text itself has clearly not been enlarged, the only obvious additions being rudimentary plans of some of the battles, with the map of Culloden lifted in its entirety from the *Newcastle Courant*.[277] There has been no attempt to update the text, as Marchant

[274] NLS Rare Book ImportantAcquisitions *The Wanderer: Or Surprising Escape* (Dublin: J Kinnier, 1747) <www.nls.uk/collections/rarebooks/acquisitions/singlebook.cfm/idfind471> [accessed 13 March 2016].
[275] Henry G. Graham opines that the earlier copies available had been imported or pirated, printed 'in dark cellars[…] shabby issues in execrable type. Henry G. Graham, *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Adam and Black, 1901), pp. 2-5.
[276] Bryce and Patterson frequently printed pietistic texts 'for' other people; the print conventions in Graham's 1752 edition resemble their edition of Addison's, *Freeholder or Political Essays* printed for D. Baxter in 1752.
[277] *Newcastle Courant* Battle Plan of Culloden Moor, 1746. www.yourphotocard.com/Ascanius/images/Culloden battle plan.jpg [accessed 4 Octber 2016].

did in his *History*[278] as early as 1747, except that in the second edition Graham treats some of the characters with a little more respect, presumably in order to avoid accusations of defamation.[279] A major selling point of ephemeral print, broadsides or pamphlets, was necessarily their topicality, and given that Graham had incorporated several popular pamphlets into his earlier work, it seems strange that he did not see fit to trawl some of the post-Culloden material for his later edition. For him the story of the Rebellion stops in September 1746, before Charles had even landed in France. The 'enlargement' is a slew of additional Dougal Graham poems, often linked, tenuously, and to their detriment, to anti-Jacobite themes. Perhaps most significantly, poets like Hamilton are no longer a chosen target. Instead, the cover promises accounts of 'secret conspiracies both in Scotland and England'. This is less than candid, though scarcely in the league of the mendacity shown in the promotion of *Ascanius* or *Alexis*. The nearest Graham comes to disclosing 'secret conspiracies' is including two supplementary 'Songs for the fifth of November' with references to the Gunpowder Plot, and one of these is simply a version of Psalm 124. Apart from grouping the octosyllabic couplets into octaves (with no space between), the negligible alterations from the text of 1746 are mainly due to the compositor's practice. Proof-reading is, if anything, worse. The 1752 edition seems slapdash and slipshod, and there is an air of haste and opportunism about the whole production.

The most likely explanation seems to be that Graham was trying to exploit the nervousness and apprehension that gripped Scotland in the summer of 1752. On 21 May, The Edinburgh *Evening Courant* reported:

> Upon Thursday the 14th inst., Colin Campbell of Glenure, Esq., one of his Majesty's JPs for the county of Argyll […] and factor on the forfeited estates of Lochiel and Ardshiel […] was barbarously murdered in a wood in the country of Appin by some Assassins who fired at him out of a bush and then escaped.[280]

It was feared that this, the Appin Murder, 'might be a signal for a new uprising to begin'[281] and 'conspiracy' was thrust into the national consciousness. (Ironically, the particulars of the authentic Jacobite conspiracy scheduled for 1752, the abortive Elibank plot, were never made public.) September saw the start of James Stewart of Aucharn's trial for the murder,

[278] John Marchant, *The History of the Present Rebellion* (London: R. Walker, 1746); compare Marchant, *The History of the Late Rebellion* (New York: James Parker, 1747).
[279] In the second edition version of *Address to the Jacobites*, 'Kilmarnock's wife' becomes an anonymous 'Jackish lady'. Anne Livingstone had died in the intervening period, and her son, a British army officer, had succeeded to the estate. He later became Earl of Errol.
[280] *Notable Scottish Trials: the Appin Murder*, ed. by David Mackay (Glasgow: Hodges and Co, 1907), p. 307.
[281] Lee Holcombe, *Ancient Animosity: The Appin Murder and the End of Scottish Rebellion* (Bloomington USA, AuthorHouse, 2004), p. 8.

and November his execution at Ballachulish. In the summer of 1752, wild speculation must have been rampant throughout Scotland, particularly in Stirling, where the murdered man's brother Robert had taken on the responsibility for collecting the money to prosecute Stewart (and Alan Breck Stewart, his nephew, should he be apprehended). Robert Campbell, who had been apprenticed to Baillie William Danskine, was by then a burgess of Stirling and, like Graham and Danskine, a member of the Guild of Chapmen of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan. One of the chief witnesses for the prosecution, who provided highly damaging evidence at the trial, was another Danskine apprentice, Colin McLaren. The panel, James Stewart, was of local interest, too. He had a number of friends and relations among the gentry of Stirlingshire, many living in or near Cambusbarron, and all perceived as Jacobite sympathisers. Less than a month before the murder, on a trip to Edinburgh designed to procure a sist to stave off the planned eviction of his clansmen, he had stayed with various Stirlingshire contacts,[282] twice with some, rendering all of them under some degree of suspicion. James was the natural brother of Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, exiled in France, living on a generous pension from Louis XV plus whatever could be extorted from his erstwhile tenants by his half-brother, and forwarded to him. Charles had married Isobel Haldane of Lanrick,[283] just north of Stirling, whose father and brother were attainted Jacobites. One of her sisters was married to Wilson, tenant in Murrayshall (father of the 'Jacobite Ladies' lauded by the Victorians) and man of business to Murray of Polmaise. Another was the wife of Dundas of Manour (Ramsay of Ochertyre's uncle John, who ultimately converted to Catholicism), and yet another was married to Forrester of Denovan at Dunipace. James Stewart was also offered hospitality by Wordie of Cambusbarron and Torbrex, whose wife was Isobel Haldane's cousin, and who seems to have sponsored the chapel of the local 'Curate'. Most suspect of all would have been Hugh Seton-Smith of Touch whose father was a wealthy wine merchant doubling as a Jacobite agent and banker.[284] Seton-Smith's uncle was Sir Hugh Paterson, brother-in-law of Bobbing John, Earl of Mar, leader of the 1715 rebellion, and his first cousin was Clementina Walkinshaw, the Young Pretender's mistress.[285] For some of these James Stewart had 'carried letters' though he claimed not to have made use of them. He

[282] Ibid, pp. 195-207.
[283] Clan Macfarlane and Associated Clans < http://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=I32424&tree=CC> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[284] Sir Bruce Gordon Seton, *The House of Seton: A Study in Lost Causes*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Lindsay and Macleod, 1941), II, p. 472.
[285] In Ghent, by coincidence, Charles had decided to renew his relations with Clementina in May 1752, a circumstance that clearly could only have compounded suspicion. Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 406.

had also visited other Stewarts and Macgregors en route, culminating in an interview with the perfidious and unscrupulous James Mhor Macgregor, son of Rob Roy, languishing in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh for kidnapping the heiress Jean Key as a bride for his brother Robin Oig.[286]

In all this trepidation and the inevitable simmering speculation, an enterprising author might well have tried to turn a profit by rushing out another edition of his *Account of the Rebellion*, to be sold in the Stirling-Glasgow area. Such a production would have been unlikely to be over-meticulous, for the window of opportunity, while the case against James Stewart was being built up, could not have been more than a few weeks. It would clearly have been prudent for Graham to minimise his own associations with potential plotters or a 'disloyal' area. Glaswegian Whigs regarded Stirlingshire as a source of steadfast allies in 1746, but in summer 1752 it might have been seen as a nest of vipers. Bearing this in mind, the abbreviated Preface to the 1752 edition could be regarded as yet another exercise in damage limitation.

Clearly the public appetite for conspiracy theory regarding the Appin Murder was, and still is, huge. It has generated profit for generations of writers both popular and academic, with Jacobite versions usually carrying the moral high ground, for Stewart had clearly not committed the crime for which he was executed. James Stewart's 'Dying Speech'[287] (1752 – Jacobite) and the 'Account of his Trial'[288] (1753 – pro-Government) were only the start of a long and passionate debate. Graham, however, could not legitimately partake in any of this, for he could provide neither accurate nor sensational detail, only a polemical verse narrative, with little in the way of romance or mystery, which was no longer even newsworthy. Sales could rely only on the book's chiming with the dominant mood of the community for a prolonged period. In this Graham seems to have miscalculated.

He may have been aware of this himself, for no further edition appeared, nor did he revisit the subject until he produced *An Impartial History of the Rise, Progress and Extinction of the Late Rebellion* twenty years later. It was completely rewritten and included material from *Ascanius*, though still 'wrote in the vulgar rhyme, acceptable to the most part of my Countrymen, especially those of common education like myself'. It was

[286] David Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy: The Man and the Myths* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2004), pp. 249-257.
[287] *An Authentick Copy of the Dying Speech of James Stewart* (Edinburgh, 1752?) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0232301000> [accessed 29 January 2016].
[288] *The Trial of James Stewart in Aucharn in Duror of Appin* (Edinburgh: G Hamilton and J Balfour, 1753) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0675600500> [accessed 29 January 2016].

published by John Robertson, from the family firm in the Saltmarket that dominated Glasgow's cheap print production in the later eighteenth century, making a fortune in the process. Two impressions of it appeared in the first year alone, and an edition was published every decade for the next fifty years, with an Aberdeen issue in 1850 acting as a coda. It seems reasonable to conclude that in 1774 Graham and his publishers were in tune with the market, as he and James Duncan no doubt were in 1746. In 1752, however, when attempting to issue his work independently, the poet's instincts and business acumen seem to have been less assured.

The disingenuous promotion of the book on the front cover may ultimately have been counterproductive. Mid eighteenth century Scotland was still not used to seeing 'the advertisement of literary texts sharing the language of promotion with the advertisement of patent medicines and physicians',[289] in other words utilizing misrepresentation and deceit. The dishonesty displayed on of the cover of *Alexis* or *Ascanius* would scarcely have been tolerated in Glasgow in 1746, let alone the sheer blasphemy of displaying 'ecce homo', the words of Pilate at the trial of Christ, as a tag on the front of *Ascanius.* This has power to shock even today, though, in fairness, Griffiths never used it after the 1746 edition. 'Before the events of 1745 the periodical or newspaper press in Edinburgh was not involved in any significant degree in the promotion of consumption.'[290] A study of the advertisements in the *Glasgow Courant* in 1750, however, shows that a consumer revolution was by then well on its way, and that it would only be a matter of time before advertising reached the level of 'sophistication' that pertained south of the border. Graham may have been trying to anticipate it. In 1746 he could reasonably have regarded the rationale of his work as to some extent disseminating information and reinforcing acceptable ideas, but in 1752, he seems to have viewed *The Account* as first and foremost a marketable commodity. We may be seeing Dougal Graham, poet, mutating into that duplicitous creation, *John Cheap the Chapman*. It is difficult to see his principal purpose as anything other than making money and he may well in fact have made a loss:

[289] Hamish Mathison, 'Tropes of Promotion and Wellbeing: Advertisement and the 18th century Scottish Political Press', in *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by R. Joad (London: Frank Cars, 1999), p. 206.
[290] Ibid., p. 206.

> To publish a typical edition often required expending hundreds of pounds up front in […] printing costs and incidental expenses. If a book were to sell slowly or flop, the financial loss lay wholly on the booksellers' shoulders.[291]

In this case, any financial loss would fall on the shoulders of Graham himself, and Thomas Young, the Stirling merchant.

Whatever the reason, in the next twenty years – if indeed he was the author of the many anonymous works attributed to him – Graham seems to have turned predominantly to prose, to best-selling penny histories, often in a strong vernacular Scots. In this we may not be the losers – far from it. These prose works may be coarse and indelicate, but they are invigorating and entertaining, and they were, rightly, extremely popular. Of *John Cheap the Chapman* alone, thirteen separate editions have survived from the century after 1750.[292]

> If even half of the attributions are accurate, Dougal Graham must have been, by some distance, the biggest-selling author in eighteenth-century Scotland […] whoever wrote these pieces was a master of demotic Scots prose.[293]

Epic poetry in octosyllabic couplets may have been more prestigious, but popular prose, even published anonymously, could provide a better financial return. Sir Walter Scott, who 'warmly appreciated Graham's talent'[294] and who made the same transition sixty years later, would surely have concurred.

[291] Nicholas Mason, *Literary advertising and the Shaping of British Romanticism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 28.
[292] NLS catalogue, Historical Texts database.
[293] William Donaldson, *Dougal Graham*, DNB.
[294] William G. Black, *Dougal Graham*, DNB (1900 edition).

4. A Full Particular and True Account of the Rebellion of 1745-46

4.1 A Note on the Text.

Two editions of the text exist, one produced in 1746, the other in 1752, both duodecimo, and both held by the Mitchell Library. Since their 1746 edition is the only one in existence, the Library's policy is to exercise some restriction on access to these volumes. The National Library of Scotland Special Collections has a copy of the 1752 edition. Of the two editions of the *Account*, the first, that of 1746, has been transcribed as closely as possible to the original. Eighteenth-century conventions – the long s, the right-facing apostrophe, and capital W printed as VV – have been discarded as disconcerting for a modern reader, but spelling and punctuation have not otherwise been corrected. The later version, of 1752, is not simply a reprint, but differences are minimal, and, generally speaking, not much of an improvement. Some are simply due to the practices of a compositor employed by a different printer, probably the firm of Bryce and Patterson. In the first edition nouns are capitalised; in the second they are not, except in chapter headings. Chapter headings are italicised in the first edition, but not in the second. Punctuation for direct speech varies from the first to the second editions; on the whole the first edition uses italics while the second prefers inverted commas, with every new line of speech beginning "… , but it is by no means consistent in either. More of a concern is that the spelling of place names is markedly inaccurate in the second edition and no attempt seems to have been made to check proofs or correct glaringly obvious mistakes.

More significant differences between the two editions are found in the promotional material. As far as can be ascertained, the second edition was never advertised in a newspaper. Important modifications are, however, shown on the front cover (Appendix III) chief of which would seem to be that the price has increased to sixpence. The author is Dougal, not D. Graham, and the book is printed for 'and sold by Dougal Graham, merchant in Glasgow, and Alexander Young, merchant in Stirling'.[1] There is no mention of the author's connection with Stirlingshire, or indication that the Account was ever designed to be sung or heard. Instead, the second edition claims to give 'a full account of all the battles, sieges and skirmishes and secret conspiracies, both in Scotland and England' and asserts that it has been greatly enlarged and corrected by the author. Though more of the author's supplementary poems are included, the *Account* itself, far from being enlarged, has been reduced. All prefatory material has been excised, and a short, sprightly dedication to potential customers has been substituted (Appendix IV). The 'secret conspiracies' in fact

[1] There is no evidence that Dougal Graham was ever a printer himself as some versions of his legend aver.

comprise two references to the Gunpowder Plot in the supplementary poems. In the second edition, the text seems slipshod and hurried, and the promotion of it misleading. For these reasons it seems preferable to use the 1746 edition as the base text.

Possibly because it is targeting a slightly wealthier, more literate, and perhaps more select audience, in the second edition the author has shaped the octosyllabic couplets into octaves. The text is printed as eight-line stanzas with no spaces between them, with the result that every ninth line is automatically indented as a new paragraph, whether or not the sense demands it. This reads awkwardly; a new paragraph can, for example, start in the middle of a sentence. Since the format seems to serves no useful purpose, it seems reasonable not to try to reproduce it in the transcript. The author's revision of his material is confined to substituting plain language for some of the more obscure expressions, and covering his back against accusations of defamation. These authorial revisions are indicated in the footnotes, as are any other additions or omissions or lexical changes. In order to accommodate such changes, lines have not been numbered, as was, in any case, the poet's practice in both editions. Instead, he numbered the chapters, with an outline of the subject matter added, and the pages. The page numbering is here inserted in brackets, replicating that of the first edition, changing to square brackets between p. 35 and p. 52.

The annotation provides commentary on people and places mentioned, and misrepresentation or factual errors are pointed out. Biblical quotation is referenced. Graham's use of personal pronouns, often imprecise, is explained, as are the sometimes obscene puns. Differences between eighteenth-century and modern usage are indicated, and archaisms noted. Glosses are taken from the *Dictionary of Scots Language* (DSL), comprising the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST), which covers the period up to 1700, and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND), which deals with the period from 1700 to the present. (Since *The Full, Particular and True Account* was unavailable when these dictionaries were compiled it was impossible for them to include it in their corpus.) In addition, the Oxford English Dictionary is accessed. Addtional relevant lexicons are indicated in the notes.

4 2 Text of the *Account of the Rebellion*, glossed and annotated

A

FULL PARTICULAR AND TRUE[2]

ACCOUNT

OF THE

REBELLION

In the Years 1745-6

_____

Composed by the Poet *D.GRAHAM*

In *Stirling-shire*[3] he lives at Hame.

_____

To the Tune of, *The gallant Graham's,*

_____

To which is added,

Several other POEMS by the same *Author.*

_____

_____

GLASGOW

Printed and sold by JAMES DUNCAN in the Salt-market the second Shop below *Gibson's-Wynd*

MDCCXLVI [*Price four Pence half-penny*]

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[2] **Particular** detailed.
And True omitted on the cover of the second edition, probably in error, since it reappears on page 1.
[2]**Stirlingshire** The perspective throughout is that of the west central Lowland area.

(iii)

THE DEDICATION TO ALL

That *read* or *hear* this BOOK.[4]

It is an evident Thing, that the Author of such a BOOK as this, have directed the DEDICATION unto Noblemen or LADIES, such as they *love*, or are *beloved* by them;[5] but, for me, I am hated of all the (page iv.) Men on Earth that knows me![6] *cursed* and *despised* by the Mouths of them that never saw my Face! *utterly abhorred* by the JACOBITES, and many of my Friends by Descent,[7] when they see me, *nods their Heads*, and *Wrath kindles in their Face against me.* But I care neither their *Cursing* nor their *Blessing*, but what is put in my Heart, I will utter it in Spight of them and all the World while I have a Tongue or can draw a Pen.

LIKEWISE, there is a self-conceited People that *argument much against me*,[8] who lives as a *proud Pharisee*, still justifying themselves, and *condemning all their Neighbours*; not me only but they *undervalue all Men.*

For they're as desperate in their Mind

As the Nettles *is in their Kind.*[9]

(v.)And they are a People that hold me as the Devil! But their Reproach is welcome unto me.

So, when I am *hated of all Men*, I ought to be the *humbler*; and therefore you that *hate me*, I ought to *love you*, and so I dedicate this small Book *unto you*,[10] for the Hatred that you bear *unto me.*

I dedicate this Book unto all that shall have Occasion to *read it, or hear it read*, and especially to the JACOBITES, I know that it cannot meet with good Acceptation[11] from them because they hate the *Author*, and I am afraid that they wrong their own Conscience speaking *against* it, which is in a very bad Condition already; and I know that they (vi) will *hate* me yet more for dedicating it *unto them*! But for that I shall *love them.*[12] I know that some will say, *That I cannot love them that hate me:* But *I wish I could love them more and more*, tho' it be against Nature to do so; I am assur'd, That if Providence had not

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[4] **Read or hear** the text could be read aloud, so a fully literate audience was unnecessary.
[5] **Ladies such as they love or are beloved by them** Here Graham may be hinting at William Hamilton of Bangour, a poet continually dedicating poems to various ladies, apparently without much effect.
[6] **Hated of all the Men on Earth** Echoes of Matthew 10: 22 'And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake'. Matthew 10 deals with the sending out of the Disciples; in verses 35-37 Christ ranks His service above family ties.
[7] **Friends by descent** kinsmen.
[8] **Argument** (v.) to state the arguments.
[9] **Nettles** DSL(SND) **3**.;7 gives the phrase *on nettles*, anxious, impatient, ill-humoured.
[10] **Small book** (or sma' book) book hawked by chapmen; properly speaking a 'chapman's book', it was described as a 'chapbook' only in the nineteenth century.
[11] **Acceptation** reception, acceptance.
[12] **Love […] hate** Matthew 5:44, from the Sermon on the Mount.

prevented you, I had dy'd by your Hands e're this Time! But if you were wise Men, ye wou'd rather *love* me as *hate* me, and seek to *kill* me, for telling you of your Transgressions; *for Fools regard no Stripes,*[13] but *a wise Man will be taught by a Fool*; And *Fools have learned wise Men Wit*;[14] and therefore, your Generations to come may read this Book, and will find out the Folly of their Fore-fathers, and will not *do* as you have (vii)*done*: *For ye yourselves are hard'ned in your Wickedness, and your Hearts is plaister'd*[15] *against Repentance, that ye will not acknowledge that ever ye committed a Transgression in your Life: You are alwise*[16] *righteous in your own Conceit, and who speaketh any thing against your Mind are Liars.*

Now, I know that ye will say that all I have wrote here is Lyes, because it is against your Heart and Mind; But, according to my Information, I have done it from them who were present in every *Action*: And where I knew I was wrong inform'd, I revis'd it the right Way according to my Knowledge.[17] I'm sure if my Enemies had me in a convenient Place, that my Life wou'd be taken for what I have said(viii) against them! and the Dread of all that shall not stop my Mouth while I live, and when I am dead, my Words will be a Witness against their Wickedness.

Ye poor light-headed senseless Fools,[18]
Ye thought to make free People Snools,[19]
Ye had better sitten[20] *at home on Stools,*[21]
'Twou'd be a wicked Thing[22]
To make one bred at Romish Schools[23]
A Protestant King.

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[13] **Stripes** strokes with a whip or scourge.
[14] **Wise Men Wit** conflates Proverbs 17:10 'A reproof entereth more into a wise man than an hundred stripes into a fool', and 1st Corinthians 3:8 'if any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise'.
[15] **Plaister'd** covered with plaster, reinforcing the sense of hardened. Matthew 23:27. 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like unto whited sepulchres…'
[16] **Alwise** always.
[17] **According to my information**[…]The preface to the 1774 *History* claims to have been from Graham's 'own Observation, having been Eye Witness to most of the Movement of the Armies[…].from the Fords of Frew[…]to Culloden' Any individual who could claim to have been physically present 'in every action' would necessarily have 'out' with the Jacobites, a risky thing to suggest in September 1746. In the *Account* he asserts only that he has composed it from what he was informed (my emphasis) was eye-witness testimony, conceivably either written or verbal. All Whig journalists and pamphleteers used as their source official 'advices' from the *Gazette*, but people in the Glasgow/ Stirlingshire area had been able to observe many areas of conflict directly and Graham would have had to adapt his text to reflect this.
[18] **Ye poor**[…] the Standard Habbie form, a favourite of the Jacobite- leaning Vernacular Revival poets, seems to be burlesqued here. **Light-headed** mad, demented.
[19] **Snool** (*Snuil*) a tame, abject or mean spirited person.
[20] **Sitten** p.pl. of verb to sit. Also to rule. It would be easy to pronounce sitten to suggest shitten.
[21] **Stool** DSL(DOST) 1.throne (*archaic*); 2.stool of repentance 3.close stool 3b.a single discharge of faeces.
[22] **Thing** course of action, deed.
[23] **Bred** p.pl. of *brede* (v.) to breed. DSL(DOST) 2 - to rear, educate. **Schools** apart from the usual meaning, DSL(DOST) **3**(fig) gives a group of people profoundly influenced by the teaching and examples of their mentor(s) or model(s). In fact, Charles had both Protestant and Catholic tutors

No Doubt you'll say I deserve the Gallows
For speaking against your Highland Bullies,[24]
But at Culloden they ran like Swallows,[25]
Yet some was ta'en:[26]
I am the Author of what here follows[27]
Your Poet D. Graham.

1746
Sept.29th

[24] **Bullies** *(Billies).*DSL(DOST) comrades, but OED, II3 gives, a. a blustering 'gallant' now a tyrannical coward b. a ruffian hired for the purposes of intimidation c. a prostitute's protector. Graham routinely refers to Rome as The Whore.
[25] **Ran like swallows** Combination of paradox and simile for comic effect? Swallows may be an echo of Metrical psalm 124 (2nd version) 'cruel men had devoured us all/and swallowed quick….'
[26] **Ta'en** captured.
[27] **Author** It is unusual to emphasise authorship in emphemeral literature. Indicating a show of defiance, perhaps, but possibly also an attempt to curry favour with the occupying Hanoverian army.

(ix)

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

AUTHOR.

Now Gentlemen or I hence fare,
My Life to you I will declare,
I was born at the Root of *Snadoun*[28],
On the *Raploch River* that runs a down.[29]
In *Stirling* town I learn'd to read,[30]
Above *English* I can't proceed,
Greek nor Grammar I do not know[31]
My Education is but low.[32]
For poor and meanly was I bred,[33]
Yet had Cloa's on Back and Bed;[34]
I served long in the *Campsie*,[35]

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[28] **Root** *(rute)* DSL(DOST) 5.The bottom or base of a wall, building etc. OED 5a emphasises the foot of a hill. **Snadoun** Heraldic name for Stirling Castle Rock. Lyndsay, Snawdoun Herald, uses the name in the *Testament of the Papyngo.* The inhabitants seem to have retained it as a byname as late as 1800, (James Sibbald *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry from the 13th century to the Union of the Crowns,* 4 vols, Edinburgh, Stewart &co, 1802 iv, Glossary, p. Sm –Sn, Sneddon) The word survives in the Stirling street name Snowdon Place, and possibly in the common local surname Snadden, Sneddon.

[29] **Raploch River** Not 'in the Raploch'. There was no such community in 1721, the date St Ninian's Parish records give for Graham's baptism. 'Raploch River' is a grandiose term for water which emptied into the Forth at the edge of the Raploch Lands (my emphasis). Other names for the stream are the Glenmoray Burn, the Raploch Burn, the Dirty Burn, and the Mill Lead. (P.T. Paterson, <www.cambusbarron.com/aboutvillage/hayfordmill> Its course is mapped in Edgar's *Description of the Upper Forth*, 1746, which shows that the only settlement in St Ninian's parish on the Raploch Burn is Cambusbarron, Graham's most likely birthplace.

[30] **Stirling Town** In 1727 this would mean attending the Burgh School, as an *outten-tounis bairn*. Fees, higher than those charged for Stirling children, were at the discretion of the *Magister.* A.F Hutchison, *History of the High School of Stirling* (Stirling: Aeneas Mackay, 1904), p. 19.

[31] **Grammar** the Latin language. OED **5**. Probably criticising Hamilton of Bangour and other classically orientated poets, and identifying with Lyndsay, who had disapproved of Latin and Greek as a means of communication with ordinary people. Sir David Lyndsay, *Works*, ed. Chalmers, I, p. 106.

[32] **Low** poor, wretched and, in a school context, junior. Graham may simply indicate that he never reached the upper (more expensive) class, where children studied classical languages.

[33] **Poor** spiritually modest, or humble. A common trope with 18thcentury authors, it need not indicate abject poverty. Collocating with 'bred' (educated as well as nurtured) the couplet may indicate that his parents were prepared to pay only for a basic education and that while they were not wealthy, they were able to bring him up decently.

[34] **Cloa's on back and bed** DSL(DOST) *bak.*1c. possession of clothing and bedding, a stock phrase for maintenance. This couplet might make more sense as the ending of the first passage, with the new paragraph beginning 'I served long in the Campsie….'

[35] **I served long in the Campsie** The parish of Campsie, in Stirlingshire, is the site of the Craigbarnet estate. Spence (*Sketches of the Present Manners,* p. 147) confirms that Graham had some kind of connection with

With some who plaid not fair to me;
Because I was a Servant true
They wou'd not render me my Due;[36]
When I was Sick and like to dy
They stopt their Ears against my Cry:
For great Affliction was on me laid,
That seven Years I lay in Bed,
Which did my Heart with Sorrow bruise
My wearied Reins did learn to muse.[37]

(x)

With drearie Brains I cannot sleep,
But what I dream I do not speak
As other Poets have done before,
To show their Mind in spiritual Store;[38]
But no such Things are necessar
To publish them in every where.
For me, I muse with moody Mind,[39]
Sometimes I see, but often blind:
Courage makes me foreward sten,[40]
The Fear will drive me back again.
The more I search, the more I find,
I love to muse in deepest Kind.[41]
If in beneath thee *Rome I* were,[42]
I'll see they Deeps in every Where;[43]
They rotten Foundation I long to ken[44]

Stirling of Craigbarnet, a notorious Jacobite, 'skulking' in 1746. Graham claims to have been employed there, but to have been defrauded, and callously treated. Clearly rumours about an author's having links with the Jacobites were better repudiated. Like the *Dedication*, the *Account of the Author* makes most sense if it is viewed as an exercise in damage limitation.

[36] **My Due** my wages.

[37] **Reins** kidneys. In the composition of poetry, the heart was reckoned to be the seat of feeling; the reins, of passion; 'Heart and reins' is a stock biblical phrase in e.g. Revelations 2:23, or Psalms 7:9.

[38] **Mind** thoughts, OED II.

[39] **Moody** *mudy* DSL(DOST) 1 sorrowful, distressed; 2 angry.(archaic and poetic). **Mind** thoughts, but possibly memory, DSL(DOST) 1.

[40] **Sten** move forwards.

[41] **In deepest kind** profoundly.

[42] **Beneath** under. DSL(DOST) 4. Under your rule.

[43] **Deeps** depths, but possible pun on *deepin*, a net.DSL (SND).

[44] **Rotten** diseased. The start of a series of sexual puns; **foundation** - an understructure or an institution but also, DSL(DOST) 4, the fundament.. **Pleasure, friendship and company** all have sexual connotations. **Ken**, know, but DSL (DOST)1.to impart the knowledge of, to reveal by words.

If it shou'd crack my drousie Brain:
From all Pleasures here I'll keep me free,
And count Experience Companie,
Whose Friendship is the best I find
To ease my Heart, and clear my Mind.
Though all my Foes pronounce my Size,[45]
Romish Traditions I will dispise.[46]

D. GRAHAM.

[45] **Size** OED II a. magnitude b. class, rank or degree. Meaning 'though my enemies may describe me as insignificant'. This may hint that Graham was undersized.
[46] **Traditions** beliefs not deriving directly from the Bible (OED 6b.) Roman Catholics held tradition (here meaning orally received information) to be of equal authority with Scripture.

(xi)

AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

PRETENDER.[47]

O! Royal *Charles!* Read this and that's here[48]
And think well or ye ca' me a Lyar;
There was one King *Charles* Duke of *York,*[49]
No *English* Pudding, Beef nor Pork
Could satisfie his Appetie,
He was a Glutton of such Degree.
In Babylon dwells a whorish Wife[50]
Who knows no Sorrow in temporal Life,[51]
She lives on fine and fatest Meats,[52]
A famous Bed when Sleep debates,[53]
A hot Sepulchre after Death,
Of Soul and Body she dreads no Skaith,
She drinks continually Blood and Wine,
And Leachery's still in her Min',
She rides the Horse with the seventh Head:[54]
To dine with her King Charles gaid;
His Fathers had been there before,[55]
To stay at home he hed no Pow'r
From her Hand he drank a Cup of Wine,[56]

---

[47] Highlighted in the *Courant* advertisement, the *Address to the Pretender* seems to be an introductory poetic *tour de force* designed to promote the rest of the book. The imagery fuses themes from various chapters of the Book of Revelations, indicating that both poet and projected audience had a comprehensive knowledge of the Bible.

[48] **Royal Charles** Prince Charles Edward. **That's** that is to say, namely; possibly best understood as what's here. The abbreviation at's is also possible.

[49] **King Charles Duke of York** Charles I. was Duke of York until the death of Prince Henry his elder brother, but James VII and II, ruling as Duke of York in Scotland before he succeeded to the throne is frequently called the Duke of York rather than King James in Presbyterian literature.

[50] **Whorish wife** See Revelations 17:1-7 King James Version.

[51] **Temporal** terrestrial as opposed to heavenly; secular as opposed to sacred.

[52] **Fatest** richest.

[53] **Debates** contends.

[54] **Horse** Revelations 13, the beast with the seventh head. Graham substitutes Horse for beast. DSL(SND) *beast*, 2. a horse.

[55] **His Fathers** The Stewarts were Roman Catholics before the Reformation.

Went to her Bed, then rose to dine,
He ate the Fat of th' Scarlet Beast,[57]
Like a Peck of Salt Stuck in his Breast,
The purest Fountain in all *Britain*[58]
Could never quench his Drouth again;

(xii)

In Rage among his Whores he rants[59]
Till spiritual Drink with blood of Saints,[60]
His Heart's Treasure was spent away,[61] [62]
He had no Gold this Drink to pay,
His Robe, royal Crown and Scepter-wand
And Kingdoms three is ta'en for a Paund.[63]
A mighty King did him gainstand
For his Servants Blood does all demand!
With an iron Rod he took his Life,[64]
His children sent to this whorish Wife,
To eat the Beast and drink her Wine,
Because it is their natural Kine.[65]
And, *Charles*, you're come of their Seed,
Right well you've proved it in this Deed,
Tho' ye came here with Popès Purse,
It will not purge away the Curse,
Nor yet the Sword of mortal Man,
Restore your Crown and Scepter-wan'
Nor all the Gold in Rome, I think
Can never pay such costly Drink.
Who keeps you from it is a mighty Han'[66]

---

[56] **Wine** Revelations 17: 1-7 particularly verse 2,'The wine is the wine of her fornication'.
[57] **Fat** In this context perhaps also *saltfat* DSL(DOST) a salt dish, or the contents. The Beast of Revelations is 'scarlet coloured'.
[58] **Fountain** Revelations 21-6. 'I am Alpha and Omega….I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely'.
[59] **Rage** DSL(DOST) 1. madness, frenzy, violent anger, sexual passion 3b. *on rage* in heat.
[60] **Till** to. DSL(DOST) **5**.When talking about food it means 'as a relish to', an appetiser.
[61] **Heart's treasure** See Matthew 6: 19-21 For where your treasure is, there shall your heart be also.
[62] **Spend** to exhaust, use up; DSL(DOST) 3d. for a man to spend his body means to have sex..
[63] **Paund** pawn, pledge, security.
[64] **Rod** an instance of stern discipline; **iron** a reference to the axe that killed Charles I. He (God) took his (Charles's) life.
[65] **Kine** kind, kin, ancestry.
[66] **Hand** 1 Peter 5:6 'Humble yourself therefore under the Mighty Hand'.

Was ne'er conquer'd by Sword of Man:
You got the Pope's great Bless and Parden,[67]
in Britain it is not worth a Farden;[68]
Its as impossible for your Race
To think to rule over this Place,
As trust Help of your black Band that's smicked?[69]
But an Ass can teach a Man that's wicked.[70]
O *Charly, Charly,* stay at *Rome,*
For *Gomorrah's* Grapes here shall not bloom;[71]
Ye come with the old Lawing ye say,[72]
Then drinks yourself, leaves all to pay;
And them that bears you companie
must pay their Shot, as well as ye;[73]
True Protestants they'll not receive you,
And unconstant Curates they'll deceive you,[74]
Poor ignorant People doth you abhore,
In your Laws their Portion is a locked Door,[75]
They want Temporal gold the Pope to pay,[76]
Thro his Purgatory to show the Way.[77]

[67] **Bless** Blessing.
[68] **Farden** farthing. Buying pardons was a practice scorned by all good Protestants. DSL(SND) farden - a small area of land – the fourth part of a pennyland, perhaps a couple of acres.
[69] **Black** has many negative associations, DSL(DOST) **3***fig*, shameful, probably best here. The last word is illegible. DSL(DOST) gives *fraik*3. to flatter; but perhaps it is more likely to be ***smicked.*** DSL(DOST) smeek I. foul smelling fumes, II. Smoked. This would collocate with black, and refer to peat-smoked faces.
[70] **Ass** Balaam the disobedient prophet was rebuked by his Ass (Numbers 22) but is also mentioned in Revelations 2:14. 'the doctrine of Balaam[…]to cast a stumbling block before the sons of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.'
[71] **Grapes,** for example Revelations 14:18-20, the passage about the great wine press of the wrath of God.
[72] **Lawing** DSL(DOST)**1**. A session of drinking **2.** the reckoning for it. **3**. A contribution of each person's share of a penny wedding feast.
[73] **Shot** payment, share.
[74] **Unconstant curates** unreliable Episcopalian priests. There are remarkably few criticisms of Episcopalians in the Account, compared with e.g. Patrick Walker, or the Anonymous Whig historian. Graham and his publisher were presumably aiming for an inclusive customer base.
[75] **Portion** share DSL (DOST) 2b (specifically) a share of an inheritance. The door to heaven is locked and they have to stay in the Pope's purgatory.
[76] **Want** lack.
[77] **The Way** John 1:6: 'I am the Way, the Truth and the Life, no man cometh unto the Father but by Me'.

(1)

A

Full, Particular, and True

ACCOUNT

Of the Cruel and Unnatural

REBELLION

In the Year 1745 and 46.

CHAP. I

Containing a Discription of the Rise of the said Rebellion in the NORTH, &c.

WE had great Wars with *France* and *Spain*,[78]
On both Sides were thousands slain.
Our Sovreign GEORGE he beat them up,[79]
They crav'd Assistance of the *Pope*,[80]
In Letters did these Words spell,
The Pope his Cardinal to tell,
James who did pretend a King,[81]
And over *Britain* thought to reign;

(2)

Charles his Son with Speed to send,
For *British* they would no more defend.[82]
They had an Errand for him to go,
To ease them of their mortal Woe,
In *Scotland* to raise a rebellious Strength,
To draw GEORGE' Forces to a Length;

[78] **Wars with France and Spain** The War of Jenkins' Ear (1739) segued into the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). Although the motive for hostilities was technically a dispute over Maria Theresa's claim to the Hapsburg throne, and an opportunistic invasion of Silesia by Frederick the Great of Prussia, for Britain the wars were essentially a contest with Catholic and absolutist Spain and France. Britain participated directly from 1743; France did not officially declare war on Britain until January 1744.
His paragraph is directly sourced from John Anderson's *Chronicle of HRH William Duke of Cumberland.*
[79] **Beat them up** recruited; also vanquished. The Battle of Dettigen was a British victory.
[80] **They** the enemy.
[81] **Cardinal** Whig nickname for James Stewart, otherwise the Old Pretender.
[82] **Defend** The British would no longer defend their positions on the continent. The withdrawal of British troops to cope with rebellion at home did, in fact, assist the French in Flanders.

For Things of Length oft'times are feeble,
Then cut them down if they were able.
The *Cardinal* thought the Tidings good,
Ay thirsting for the Protestant Blood,
For *Popes* will fight with sword on Fiel'[83]
And after Death they'll fence the De'il,[84]
At least they do blaspheme and tell
For Gold they'll make you quite of Hell.
But *James*, to *Charles* his Son, he said,
From His Holiness here is a Meed,[85]
That you're to wear about your Neck;
And to my Kingdoms I you direct.
As soon as You do the same adore
O! drive the Hereticks *you before;*
Or with Protestants *if ye keep Faith*
I'll sink you to the Pit beneath!
As a Man to Death like a Blood-Houn'
For Honour to be called a King's Son,[86]
Foreward he came with this Command;
The *French* King got his Demand:
With seven Rebels did him imbarque;[87]
Who fled this Nation for no good Wark.
At that Time the *North Sea* being dull,
They arrived near the *Isle of Mull*.
July, ae thousand; seven hun'er, and forty five,
A cruel Band to him did drive.
From *East* and *West* these Rebels ran
To strengthen the Hand of this wicked Man;
From every Art to him they drive,
His Heart was glad so well to thrive.
To him there join'd the Duke of *Perth*,[88]

[83] **Fight[…]on Field** The reputation of Julius II, the 'Fearsome' or 'Warrior Pope' seems to have endured.
[84] **Fence** fight with sword, but probably also a pun on the Kirk Process of 'fencing the tables', by which unrepentant sinners were barred from taking communion.
[85] **Meed** a corrupt reward or bribe. DSL(DOST)(archaic).Anderson says 'medal', suggesting the Jacobite commemorative medals, issued as part of Stuart publicity. Graham seems to conflate the two meanings.
[86] **King's Son** This couplet is omitted in the second edition. Anderson is the source for the whole paragraph.
[87] **Seven Rebels** the 'Seven Men of Moidart' featuring in Jacobite legend: Tullibardine, Aeneas Macdonald (both Scots) Strickland (English) Sheridan, Kelly, John Macdonald and O'Sullivan (all Irish).

And all the offscourings of the Earth;
Athol's brother[89] who fled with *Mar*
Came back to start another War,

(3)

His younger brother had the Estate,
Who fled to *London*, and wadna cheat.
Against King *George* he would not fight,
For in Wickedness had no Delight.
The *Camerons* rose with a good Will,
The greatest thieves e'er clam a Hill;[90]
Then *Strowan Robison* that warlock Knave[91]
Converses wi' Satan whiles in a Cave!
The day may come he'll haud him hot
Although you have the Proof of Shot;
Glengyle arose out of the *West*,[92]
His Son was laid in prison fast,
In *Edinburgh* castle strong and hie,
His *Highland* King he did not see.
He was the first ta'en for the Cause
Revolting from our *British* laws
The *Highlanders* full fast arose.
With Buttocks bare and little Hose;[93]
Into the *North* assembled than

---

[88] **Duke of Perth** James Drummond, (1713-1746). Titular Duke. As Roman Catholics, he and his mother are specifically singled out as villains in the *Account.* One of the first to join Charles, Perth served him loyally until he died on board ship, escaping to France in 1746. The canard about 'killing a man' seems to have come from the venomously anti-Catholic pamphlet *The History of the Present Rebellion in Scotland* (London, 1745) attributed to Henry Fielding.

[89] **Athole's Brother** William Murray, Marquis of Tullibardine (1689-1746). A committed Jacobite, he had been in the Stuarts' pay since 1714. Had he not been attainted in 1716 after Mar's rebellion he would have become Duke of Atholl, but the title and estate went to his younger brother, James. Tullibardine escaped from Culloden, but was captured afterwards. Prematurely aged and ailing, he died before he could come to trial.

[90] **clam** climbed. In 1720 the Camerons had stolen sheep from Stirling of Craigbarnet and this was clearly still remembered locally. Guthrie Smith, *Strathblane*, p. 265.

[91] **Strowan Robison** Alexander Robertson of Struan (1670-1749), clan chief, poet, toper and the only Jacobite to be out in every rising from 1689 onwards. 'Proof of shot' echoes legends about Claverhouse compacting with the devil and thus only vulnerable to a silver bullet. In spite of having 'lived his whole life in a state of semi-outlawry' Robertson died in his own bed. (Pittock, DNB).

[92] **Glengyle** Gregor Macgregor of Glengyle (Ghlun Dhu), alias James Graham (1688-1777). Rob Roy's nephew, who ran a thriving protection racket in Stirlingshire before 1745, when he attacked and burned the Government barracks at Inversnaid. David Stevenson, *The Hunt for Rob Roy* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2004), p. 8. His son John, to whom he seems to have transferred his estate, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle 1745-46.

[93] **Little hose** little in the way of stockings.

Many a Savage, Coofand Clan.[94]

Kilmarnock came out of the *South,*[95]

And several gazen'dLairds wi Drouth,[96]

With drinking and Gaming spent their Estate,

And wandering about when it was late.[97]

But common People would not rise,

While their Court marshal past their Size,[98]

Who would not come, shot like a Dog,

Or bring them foreward by the Lug.

Some ran to hide them in a Glen

But yet their Schemes prov'd all in vain;

They presum'dtheir Wife and Children to kill[99]

Who came not forth with a good Will.

The Duke of *Perth*, he slew a Man,[100]

With this the bloody Work began

Of their Recruiting. The Number were

Four Thousand Men, with Buttocks bare;

Their Colours black and Courage keen,[101]

Cruelty dwelt between their E'en.[102]

And then these News to *London* goes

(4)

That such a *Highland* Rabble rose;

Our sovereign *George* thought it but nought,

Of Pretenders had but little Thought.[103]

---

[94] **Coof** fool, lout.

[95] **Kilmarnock** William Boyd, 4th earl of Kilmarnock (1705-1746). A Lowland peer joining the Jacobite side conferred kudos rather than men or money, for he had neither. A tenant of the York Building Society, living at Callendar House, Falkirk, he was deeply in debt. Kilmarnock townsmen refused to join with him. He was given command of a troop of horse, captured at Culloden, and executed in1746.

[96] **Gaizened**- shrivelled, parched, dried up. Figuratively, bankrupt. Kilmarnock's friend and fellow Mason, Sir Alexander Primrose of Denny, awaiting execution in Carlisle at time of writing, was another Stirlingshire gentleman who fitted the description.

[97] **Wandering about when it was late** English rendering of *nicht walking*, or *vaiging*.

[98] **While** until; **pas** (in legal contexts) to be put into effect; **size** duties. Full meaning - until they were forced to do so, because they held their land on military tenure.

[99] **Presum'd** took it upon themselves. The chiefs undertook to kill the fugitives' families.

[100] **Slew a man** Anderson sets the killing in Carlisle.

[101] **Black** Faces black with peat reek. Cleland describes the highland host as 'just the colour of tar'd woo' in his *Highland Host.*Cleland, *A Collection of several Poems and Verses* (1697), p. 13. Perhaps also a reference to the black flag used by pirates.

[102] **Between their e'en** face to face; here, in their faces. DSL(SND).

[103] **But little thought**The attitude of British Government was complacent in the extreme, reckoning a reward of £30,000 on the Pretender's head and a force of about 4,000 poorly trained men with minimal experience of

Then general *Cope* a Champion they made[104]
Two Thousand five Hunder Men to lead.[105]
To *Scotland* came in a great Haste
Such proud Usurpers to have fac'd;
Like Dragons keen, with Courage bold,
Foreward they came shining as Gold
Glittering upon a Summer Day:
To *Stirling* came in good Array;
There for to camp they would not rest
Foreward into the *North* they press'd;
Before them then they sent their Spies
To view where that these Rebels lies.
One *Gairdner* the Horsemen did command,[106]
At *Stirling* made his Camp to stand,
For *Cope* he was to give him Word
Before a Man should draw a Sword;
The Rebellion he vowed that he would cumber
Before they rose to a great Number.
They sent a Post who turn'd again,
And truly made the Cope to ken
Of the Rebels Camp "on *Carmoith*[107] Hill,
"I know the Way, if't be your Will;
"Their Army seems but small to be.
"I hope you shall have Victorie."
Then *Cope* into the north he past,
Upon the Rebels approaching fast.

---

combat would suffice to put down the rebellion. (At 2,500 Graham and Anderson underestimate the probable number of British army troops available by about 50%).

[104] **Cope** General Sir John Cope (1690-1760). Commander in chief, Scotland. While not entirely the incompetent poltroon of legend, he shared the general complacency, wrongly assuming that he would be joined by large numbers of volunteers north of the Forth, Even worse, he underestimated his men's ability to withstand a Highland charge at Prestonpans. In 1747 a court martial acquitted him, but in 1746 Graham was safe to echo the general discontent.

[105] Nymbers are taken from Anderson

[106] **Gairdner** Colonel James Gardiner (1686-1745). Because fodder in the Highlands was limited, the dragoons were ordered to stay in Stirling to guard the passes. Colonel Gardiner, a Stirlingshire man, in command of a dragoon regiment, was later to be regarded as a Protestant hero and martyr, though in fact he seems to have done little but retreat in the face of the advancing Jacobites, until finally, in front of his own house, he resolved to stand, and was killed.

[107] **Carmoith Hill** Moy. 'Moy or Moidh, a village on the R. Loch, belonging to Lochiel'. R. Chambers, *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745. From the mss of the late Rev Rbt Forbes* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1834), p. 24.

At *St Johnston* he would not stay,
But past over the River *Tay*;
Over the Hills and rocky Ground,
Into the *North,* far made him bound.
When to the Rebels he drew near,
Went to the right Hand; (as I hear,)
If he had gone unto the *West*[108]
The Rebels would not him a' fac'd;
To *Inverness* he took his Way,
And staid too long. (As many say)
(5)
At this the Rebels did rejoice,
And gather'd up old Men and Boys,
All that were able to lift a Tree[109]
Must join unto their Companie.
For Guns and Swords they had but few,
But Kents that us'd to drive the Cow.[110]
Old broken Scyths, with their Rumple even,[111]
Into a Tree they had them driven.
Lochaber-axes, behind a Cleek,[112]
To cleave your Head or grip your Cheek;
Durks there hang between their Feet,
Surely two, if you could see't.[113]

[108] **Went to the right hand** Cope's original strategy was to make for the Great Glen forts, but, understandably, he was unwilling to ascend the Corrieyarick which was controlled by the rebels, and went north east.
[109] **Tree** a part of a tree, broken or cut off.
[110] **Kents** long staffs, batons of wood While some of the clans had ignored the Disarming Act, they still stood in great need of weapons at the outset of the rebellion. Elcho, *A Short Account*, p. 253. Weapons were liberated en route from e.g. Inversnaid barracks, and the Customs House at Bo'ness. More were captured from the trained bands and city guard of Edinburgh, and from the defeated army at Prestonpans, and yet more were sent from France
[111] **Rumple** backside. Scythes driven into poles could make a poor man's Lochaber axe.
[112] **Cleek** metal hook.
[113] **If you could see't** an obscene joke. Dirk is eighteenth century slang for penis; dirks, or 'ballock daggers,' hanging at the waist, were designed to resemble an erection. David Caldwell *Scottish History and Design; a sale preview.* (Edinburgh:Society of Antiquaries (Scotland) lecture, in association with Lyon and Turnbull, Auctioneers, 11th August, 2016). William Cleland (1661-1689), utilizes the same obscenity 'their durks hang down between their legs', in his *Highland Host who came to destroy the western shires in winter 1678*, p. 12, Cleland, a fervent Covenanter, fought at Drumclog, escaped to Holland, and returned after the Revolution of 1688 to form 'a regiment to resist Popery and Prelacy', later the Cameronians. He was killed after Killiecrankie, defending Dunkeld, and effectively halting the Jacobite advance into the Lowlands. Graham uses Cleland's poem, somewhat bowdlerised, as a source for descriptions of the behaviour of the Jacobite army in 1745/46.

Of Skin and Wood, a Targe on their Arms,
Stuck full of Nails, for stenting Harms;[114]
Wanting the Breeks, light for to rin,
Their Thighs made red with Weet and Win';
Some barefoot for lack of Brogs,
Riven Hips with Hether and Scrogs. [115]
Some blew Bonnets upon their Head,
A white Cocade their Livery made;[116]
Some did never a Bonnet wear,
Upon their shoulder their Livery bear;[117]
Above their Lug a Branch of Tree[118]
Each clan did wear by his Degree,
Some of Heather, Oak and Fir,[119]
Sign'd by their Name[120] and wha but her? [121]
Foreward they came with Pipe and Drone
To set their King upon the Throne.[122]
Into *St Johnston*, called *Perth*,
They then began to rob the Earth.
From Country People that dwelt nearby
They ate the Curds and drank the Whey,
They sup the Kirn whene'er they please,[123]
And took the Butter and the Cheese;
And if they ask for what they do't[124]
They swear they'll either stick or shoot.[125]

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[114] **Stenting** stopping. To be genuinely effective, targes had to be reinforced with steel. More expensive and heavier to carry, they were progressively abandoned. Pittock, *Culloden*, p. 41.
[115] **Riven** torn **Scrogs** brushwood.
[116] **Livery** uniform, badge.
[117] **Upon their shoulder** their 'uniform' was the weapon they carried.
[118] **Branch of tree** a sprig of greenery, rather than a specific clan tartan, was the method of identifying men of a particular clan
[119] **Heather, oak and fir** the emblems of the Macdonalds, Camerons, and Macgregors respectively,
[120] **Signed by their name** Their way of signing their (clan) name; a sneer at the Highlanders' illiteracy. **Wha but her?** Wha's like us? 'Pseudo-Gaelic', a literary convention used by Lowland writers for comedic purposes since 1450. DSL(SND) she 4. Native Gaelic speakers traditionally had trouble with English pronouns.
[122] This line occurs in the Jacobite song *The clans are coming, oho oho*, a parody of the (Whig) pipe tune *Baile Ianaraora: The Campbells are coming.*
[123] **Sup the kirn** literally sup up the contents of the churn, whey, milk, cream, etc. Sup also means to eat supper, and kirn is a harvest supper, thus suggesting that the highlanders are partying on the food they have 'harvested' i.e. stolen. It has also an obscene double entendre, as mention of dairy products frequently has.
[124] **They** the victims.
[125] **Stick** stab. Another double entendre.

Of Behaviour and Habit I Conclude
Speak truth of them you'll say no good.

(6)

CHAP. II

Of their first prisoners, and how they came down from the Highlands, *and by the Way murdered* Glenbucky, &c.

Now of their Warring I begin,
Their cowardly Tricks as you shall fin'[126]
A small Party of our Soldiers clos'd in a Glen,
Some Quarters crav'd but three were slain;
The rest in Prison have they cast,
With Hunger and Cold they keep them fast.
Then *Inversnade* took by a Wyle,
By Treachery entered *Glengyle;*[127]
His Habitation was nearby,
The Enterance could the easier spie-
He took all Store which there he found;
Arms, Ammunition and Men he's bound;
Then to their Camp carri'd all away,
These Pris'ners badly treated they;
Still desiring them to list;
But yet to *George* they had more Trust.
With Honour they had serv'd him long,
Expecting Help for such a Wrong,
For at the Time hard was their State,
They knew that *George* would keep his Seat.
So took they Patience in their Grief,
And except some few they found Relief.
But at this Time I'll leave them there,

[126] **Tricks** At Highbridge, Macdonnell of Tirnadris tricked Captain John Scott and his company into believing eleven men and a piper were a vastly superior force, and surrendering to them.
[127] **Glengyle** the Macgregors had long resented the barracks at Inversnaid, built specifically to keep them in check, on land formerly belonging to Rob Roy. Forty-five prisoners were taken, and a Jacobite garrison left. Christoper Duffy, *The '45* (London: Phoenix, 2007), p. 210.

And afterwards I will declare.

Now *Cope* is gone to *Inverness,*

The rebels did their Weapons dress,[128]

And foreward came to the Town of *Crief,*[129]

O then began Dolour and Grief:[130]

Betwixt the River *Clyde* and *Forth*

Cry'd out against the wicked *North*[131]

(7)

"A Pack of Vagabons doth rise,

"Like roaring Lions for their Preys;[132]

"They're coming here to steal and reave,

"It's not to fight ye may perceive.

"But Strength of our Arms abroad are gone"[133]

In this Manner they made their Moan,[134]

At *Crief* they lay down and *Dumblain,*[135]

They thought to fight with them durst nane!

A Man to them durst hardly speak!

They tru'd ne'r to be dead nor sick:[136]

Through the Country a Scouting[137] they went,

Where ought was hid full well they ken'd,[138]

A Letter they wrote and sent away

To *Stewart Glenbuckie* behind did stay, [139]

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[128] **Dress** prepare.

[129] **Crief** Crieff, part of the patrimony of the Duke of Perth, on the highland /lowland border. The most important cattle market in Scotland until Falkirk Tryst replaced it.

[130] **Dolour** pain and distress, a lament (archaic). **Grief** has a further meaning of molestation.

[131] **The wicked North** or 'Highlands' seems to be an imprecise term. John Macky *A Journey through Scotland* (London: Pemberton, 1723), p. 134, gives a list of districts, including the Lennox and Dumbartonshire which are considered highland.The Disarming Acts regard Stirlingshire north of the Forth as highland territory. Cleland's *Highland Host* were Atholmen, yet in the '45, they were considered a Lowland regiment.

[132] **Roaring lions** 1st Peter, 5:8; 'your adversary, the deuill, as a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.'

[133] **Abroad** might mean the army in Flanders, or Cope in Inverness.

[134] **They** the Lowlanders, betwixt the river Clyde and Forth.

[135] **They** the Highlanders.

[136] **Tru'd** trowed, believed.

[137] **Scouting** reconnoitring, spying, DSL(DOST) c. moving about, especially in small numbers.

[138] **Where ought was hid** they discovered where anything was hidden. The emphasis is on intimidation and theft rather than violence.

[139] **Stewart Glenbuckie** Stewart of Glenbuckie (? -1745), whose death remains a mystery. As a dying man facing the scaffold at Carlisle, Buchanan of Arnprior swore he was not responsible. In the event, Arnprior did not join up with the rebels, but was nonetheless arrested and executed at Carlisle.

"King *George's* Forces (they said) we've slain,
"The rest our Prisoners do remain.
"We desire you and all your Country
"To come and serve our Majestie?
"Who does not now obey this Call
"We'll take for Rebels great and small."
Glenbuckie mounted all his men,
The like he'll never do again,
And foreward brought his Companie,
Rejoicing for their Victorie.

So did he come to join the rest,
And found their Letter great Lies at best;
Glenbuckie flew into a Rage,
And said *You'll never get Heritage;*
For Britain *you will ne'er possess,*
I see it clear as in a Glass.
Then *Perth's* Passion flew in a Fire,
And said *You're none of our Empire;*
Because you speak against out Cause
You's get no Votting in our Laws;
But like a poor Soldier shalt thou be
Subjected to our Majestie.

When *Glenbuckie* heard these Words of Ire,
Were spoke by Perth and *Arnpryar,*[140]
(For in *Arnpryar's* House they did discord,

(8)

And strove who should be greatest Lord.
That Night they spent in great Dispite,
Some times to fight and ay to flyte.)

Glenbuckie's Conscience was chacked then,[141]
And would return with all his men.
Many well washen Word they said,[142]

---

[140] **Arnpryar.** Francis Buchanan of Arnprior (? -1746) arrested before Culloden and executed at Carlisle. SentimentalVictorian legend makes his death the occasion for the reference to 'the low road' - the path of the dead - in the chorus of the *Bonnie Banks of Lock Lomond.*
[141] **Chacked** checked.
[142] **To wash words** – to exchange words, argue. Edition 2 has **crosing** – cross words.

And then they past unto their Bed;
So in short Space they heard a Shot,
Then all the House in Uproar got!
Dreading some heinous Trick was done.
They heard a Sigh and heavy Moan!
Then to *Glenbuckie's* Room they went,
His eyes to Death they were full bent![143]
The Blood was foaming through his Bed,
His Life it ends without Remeed.
They judged it done by *Arnpryar*,
Some thought it was with *Perth's* Desire;[144]
Howbeit, some of his men were glad,
'Cause he was dead into their stead.
His Men went home for ought I think,[145]
For to lament, and Dredgy[146] drink,
And came not back unto this Day;
It will be their best for to delay.

CHAP. III

Of their crossing the River Forth, &c.

The Rebels yet they lay at *Down*,[147]
And our Horsemen at *Stirling* Town,
Some Country Men fearing the *North*,
Did ly to watch a Ford in *Forth*[148]

[143] **Bent** – intently fixed or directed on something.
[144] In spite of the presence nearby of James Mor Macgregor, Rob Roy's son, Graham does not mention him as a potential suspect.There was bad blood between the Stewarts and Macgregors; Glenbuckie had, according to legend, been the second of Stewart of Ardshiel in his duel with Rob Roy, the only time the Macregor was ever worsted. It is also likely that there was rivalry between Glenbuckie and McGregor of Glencarnaig (James Mor's chieftain) for status in the Jacobite army. At the time Graham was writing, Arnprior was awaiting execution, and Perth was near death's door, but James Mor was continuing his tortuous career as double agent, and mentioning him might have been impolitic.
[145] **For ought I think** As far as I know. Chambers gives Glenbuckie's daughter as the source for the information that Glenbuckie's men 'carried their master's body home and did not afterwards join the Prince,' Robert Chambers, *Select Writings* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers 1840), p. 70. Graham's version is that they were heartily relieved, and went home to get drunk.
[146] **Dredgy** originally a dirge, then a funeral feast with a particular emphasis on the drink involved.
[147] **At Down** at Doune. The compositor in edition 2 renders this 'a Down', seemingly unaware that Doune is a location. A few lines later Frew is printed without a capital.
[148] **The Frew** the Fords of Frew, the lowest reasonably dependable crossing on the Forth. Edgar's map shows no bridges between Aberfoyle and Stirling.

These Rebels coming they did fear,
To take their Horse and other Gear:
One *Lecky* lived a Laird nearby,[149]
Was to join the Rebels Company,
A Letter he wrote and directed it right,
And sent his Servant away by Night.

(9)

'If their Intent *southward* incline
'At my House you're welcome for to dine.
The Messenger by the Men was ken'd,[150]
Dreading his Master's false Intent;
They made him stand a Prisoner.
When riping him, his Letter were
Directed to the *Norland* Crew,
On th' morrow were to pass the *Frew*.
They kept the Fellow with it they got:
To *Stirling* did the Letter trot.
A Man mounted a Horse with speed,
To *Stirling* Town he did proceed.
Showing from whence the Letter came:
The General sent upon Comman'
A Party of Horse to grip him fast,
Who was against his King profess'd.
The Laird of *Pows* was ta'en before,[151]
In Prison laid; I'll say no more,
And there they got good Ease and Time
For to repent their ill Design.
On the next morning an Alarm rose,
All People ran to hide their Clo's:
These *Highland* Rebels were so severe,
Poor Men they fled with Horse and Gear
Into the Rocks and Mountains high

[149] **Leckie** Charles dined at Leckie House, owned by the Jacobite James Moir. Leckie was not present, having been arrested on suspicion and confined in Stirling Castle.
[150] **Men** Graham is, perhaps deliberately, not specific about who these men were.
[151] **Laird of Pows** Rollo of Powis, near Plean. His sons joined Charles Edward. After Culloden James Rollo escaped to Sweden with William Hamilton of Bangour.

For Safety; knew not where to fly.
Their Wives crying, “What will we doo?”
With that they came into the *Frew*.[152]
Then them that on the Mountains stood
Saw two Banners white, and one as Blood![153]
You may know Falshood by their Kind,
Sweet before and sowre behind:[154]
A Papist with a Protestant’s Face,
The Fox among the Lambs sets Place,[155]
To *Lecky*’s House they did resort,
Slew Sheep and Cows for to support
To fill their Bellies; they were so tume,[156]
The Country suffer’d for a’ was done.
They ran out through the Corn-fiel’s
(10)
Found Butter and Cheese by Arts from De’ils!
Tho’ you should hide it beneath the Ground,
By their Inchantments it will be found!
But when ye hide, take down the Crook,[157]
Perhaps it may Inchantments choke.
Their Prince in *Lecky* he dined there,
His Men without on plunder’d Gear,
They kindled Fire, and fang their Flesh,[158]
Some eats half raw, and never fash;[159]
They sought no more if it was het!
It’s good enough if it be fat.

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[152] **They** the Jacobite Army.
[153] **Two banners** In the description of the banners taken at Culloden and burned in Edinburgh are listed a white silk colour with the Stewart Arms, and a large plain white colour, said to be the standard. Other accounts refer to the standard as being red with a central white square.<www.crwflags./com/fotw/flags/gb-sc-cu.html> [accessed 14 October 2016]. Graham may be hinting at a connection with France; the Bourbon flag was white.
[154] **Sweet[…] sour**. Revelations 10:10, ‘the book that is honey in the mouth but bitter in the belly’. Possibly also an obscene pun.
[155] **Fox[…]lambs** probably Matthew 7:15, the warning against false prophets.
[156] **Tume**, empty.
[157] **Crook** cruik, (SND) the hook and chain on which pots were hung over the fire. It was used for various rites and charms designed to protect the inhabitants against evil, either human or supernatural, or to ill-wish intruders.
[158] **Fang** acquire, catch, seize.
[159] **Half raw** Reference to the highlanders’ primitive methods of cooking meat, either in the skin of a beast, heated by adding hot stones, or in its stomach, hung over a fire.

CHAP. IV

How they pass'd by Stirling *and marched foreward into* Edinburgh, &c.

When that was done, they march'd again,
Up to the Hills and left the Plain,
Out o'er the Rocks above *Redha*'[160]
The Rebels then they march'd awa',
As to the *South* they would have gone,
What was their Voyage they loot not on.[161]
In the Moor of *Touch* that Night they lay,[162]
And some in Villages nearby.
Our Horsemen yet in *Stirling*[163] was,
But for to fight no Orders has.
To *Falkirk* Town they march'd away,
The Rebels thought the Tidings gay,
To *Stirling* then they marched down,
And through that Place *Comesbarron* Town[164]
From *Stirling* they were but a Mile,
Thinking the castle on them might smile,
But in dispite she fired fast,[165]
Which put the Rebels in such ghast,[166]

[160] **Redha'** Redhall. The description of the area to the south of Stirling is very detailed, and presumably known intimately by Graham.
[161] **Loot not on** they didn't 'let on' – let anyone know. It was not clear at this stage whether the Rebels were heading for Glasgow-a wealthy open city and an easier target - or Edinburgh, a more prestigious one.
[162] **Touch** Touch House and estate ultimately became the property of Hugh Smith, a successful Trimmer, who changed his name to Seton-Smith on marrying the heiress. Although Smith had strong Jacobite connections, he was not in Touch to welcome Charles. His excuse was that he had to be in Linlithgow, preparing to be married. His wedding day fortuitously coincided with the battle of Prestonpans.
[163] **Our horsemen** Gardiner's Dragoons, in Stirling. Why the Rebels' crossing of the Forth went uncontested is unclear. Graham perhaps felt it necessary to make some sort of excuse for Gardiner, who was well on his way to apotheosis by September 1746, and so tends to lay blame on Cope. It seems clear that in 1745 the morale of both the dragoons and their colonel was extremely low. Before what he himself described as a 'foul flight' from Stirling, they had fallen back at Perth and would do so again at Linlithgow and yet again at 'the Canter of Coltbridge'. Most disastrously, at Prestonpans, in spite of Gardiner's trying to rally them, the horsemen turned tail and fled. Gardiner's converstation with Alexander Carlyle the night before the battle shows an ailing and depressed commander with no confidence in his men. Carlyle, *Autobiography*, pp. 131-2.
[164] **Comesbarron** local pronunciation of Cambusbarron. Edition 2. reads 'Comesharroh'. Cambusbarron and St Ninians probably both functioned as industrial suburbs of the burgh of Stirling.
[165] **Castle[…]fired fast** 'General Blakeney, who commanded Stirling castle, fired at the white flag (the Stuart Banner), but did no execution.' - London Evening Post, 10th October, 1745, quoted Duffy, p. 191.

Some wi' fear fel to the Groun',
I am sorry that no more Scaith was done![167]
Some went a coding of the pees,[168]
Others went plundering scaps of bees,[169]
But when the cannons gave the roar,
They cried the Deel to stop the door,
The Commanders cry'd a' to march up,
And lish'd them in ay wi' their Whup:[170]
(11)
They drove them up like *Highland* Cows,
Or as the Hunter whips his Grews.[171]
Where'er they get a Glen or Burn,
Lay close a while and then return.[172]
For the Common of them had no good Will
Either to die, or to Blood spill.
St Ninian's Town they marched thro',
But *Stirling* they forgot to view;[173]
At *Bannockburn*, on that Moor they rest,
Scots Jacobites gave them a Feast[174]
Of Bread and Flesh, good Cakes and Ale,
To keep them honest, and not to steal.[175]
After this their Honestie was well known,
To Jacobites it may be shown.[176]

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[166] **Ghast-** terror.
[167] **Scaith** - injury, harm. Echoes Cleland's *Highland Host*; 'I'm sorry for't (their wounds) were so small' Cleland *Poems and verses*, p. 77.
[168] **Some went…** These four lines only occur in edition 2. ***Coding*** shelling peas.
[169] **Scaps** skeps, beehives.
[170] **Lish'd** pun. Leashed, held them in, and lashed, whipped.
[171] **Grew** greyhound.
[172] **Lay close […]return.**The ordinary highlanders deserted, and hid till it was safe to return home.
[173] **Stirling … view** Heavy irony. They did not wish to come within the range of the Castle's guns.
[174] **Bannockburn** Bannockburn House, the residence of Sir Hugh Paterson. He had been out in the '15 (the earl of Mar was his brother in law), forfeited, and pardoned in 1726. He was the uncle of Clementina Walkinshaw, later Charles' mistress.
[175] **Scots Jacobites.** Disingenuous. 'The Feast'was provided by the Burgh of Stirling to ensure the Jacobite army marched off somewhere else. 'Lord George Murray sent a message to the magistrates of the town, requesting a supply of provisions[…].they immediately opened the gates'. John Scott Keltie, *A History of the Scottish Highlands*, (Edinburgh and London, 1885) <www.electricscotland.com/history/charles/16.htm> [accessed 28 August 2016]. The *Scots Magazine* (September 1745), p. 438, provides confirmation. There is no mention of this incident in the Stirling Council Minutes.
[176] **Not to steal** the perception that Highlanders were arrant thieves was not helpful for a 'liberating' army. An attempt was made to keep looting in check, at least initially, but it must have been difficult to enforce thoroughly, particularly in towns with Hanoverian sympathies.

To *Falkirk* then they march'd away,
Next Morning was the *Sabbath-day*,
Their Protestant Prince he gave this Law,
His Pipers to play *Whigs awa'*;[177]
Wherever he went his Principle was shown,
The *Sabbath day* could not be known,
At *Callander* House, *Falkirk* nearby,[178]
An Hunder and sixty Guns did ly!
Kilmarnock did the same there hide,
Sent him from *France* with Wind and Tide.[179]
From *Barrowstonness* some Powder they got,[180]
By this they had both Gun and Shot.
To Lithgow then they went that Day,
Thinking to get another Prey;
Some Jacobites to them had said.
"That Store of Arms were in *Lithgow* laid,"[181]
Then to the Prison Door they came,
With great Forehammers to break the same.[182]
The City knew what their Prize wou'd be
To save the Door rendered the Key,
All that was there these Rebels got
Some of our Horsemen's Sacloth Coat,[183]
They us'd to wear dressing their Horse
Which made these Rebels to roar and curse;
They were so covetous in their Mind,
(12)
That they cou'd leave nothing behind.
From an old Wife they robbed a Sack,[184]

---

[177] **Whigs awa'** from the song 'Ye're welcome, Whigs, frae Bothwell Brig', mocking the Presbyterians.
[178] **Callander House** Kilmarnock had married the daughter of the Earl of Linlithgow, forfeited after the '15. Callendar House, Lady Ann's ancestral home, was leased from the York Building society. Ann was thought by contemporaries to be enthusiastically and manipulatively Jacobite, but this is not borne out by contemporary written evidence. Bailey, p. 27.
[179] **Guns[…]sent from France** highly unlikely, given that Kilmarnock did not declare for Charles until after Prestonpans.
[180] **Barrowstowness**. From Bo'ness Custom House the Jacobites took cutlasses, sword blades, powder and shot. Their advance from Stirling had been so rapid that the officials had no time to clear it out. Bailey, p. 14.
[181] **Lithgow** The Jacobites searched Linlithgow for arms, but it is not known how successful they were.
[182] **Forehammers** sledgehammers.
[183] **Sacloth** cavalrymen used sackcloth for overalls.

And carried it on a Horse's Back.

They ate and drank, and wou'd not pay;
And then to *Winsburgh* march'd away,
From *Winsburgh* unto the *Sclateford,* [185]
Where Treacherywas, (I am assur'd.)[186]
The Provest of *Edinburgh* met them there!
He was a Traitor false and fair
Profess'd to be the Citie's Frien'
But afterward the Truth was seen.

He went out to put the Rebels by,
And brought them into the town straightway.
This Provest before he left the Town,
Ordered all Men lay Arms down,
Then to the Highlanders Camp he past,
And brought them in, in a great Haste;
They had no Time I you assure
These Arms in Castle to secure.[187]
Two Thousand Stand of Arms they got,
Drums and Colours they wanted not,

A SONG[188]

In the Cannigate *there did they ly,*
the East *Side of the Town,*
For to the West *they durst not go,*
the Castle fired down ;
General Cope *at* Aberdeen
Heard tell of this Disorder,

---

[184] **A sack** …**back,** folded, a sack could be used as a primitive saddle, as could a turf.
[185] This paragraph and the next are taken directly from Anderson.
[186] **Treachery** In 1746, the Provost (Archibald Stewart, 1697-1780) was awaiting trial for treason, so it was safe for Graham to repeat this opinion. By 1752, after his acquittal, it might have been considered defamation, so the lines are changed to 'What bargain was not (I am assured.)/ The provest of Edinburgh met them there/and them invited guess ye where'.
[187] **These Arms** Weapons that had been distributed to the Volunteers were handed back to the Castle but the city trained bands had kept theirs, and they were appropriated by the Jacobites. The provost claimed, in mitigation, that the weapons were old and worthless and only for show. W.A. Speck, *The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and trhe Suppression of the '45* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. 48.
[188] Edition 2 gives 'A Song over Bogie,' presumably the name of the tune. This raises the possibility of audience participation. The *Account* was designed to provide entertainment as well as information, and a pantomimic quality is often evident.

The Gairdner *staid with Courage keen*[189]
betwixt and England's *Border.*
Then General Cope *embarqu'd his Men,*
and bound him to the Sea;
Saying the Rebels he would defend,
or in the Battle die
He arrived the west Side o' Dunbar,
Preston was near by:

(13)

The Gairdner *bold he met him there*
with all his Company.
Then they did camp upon the Ground
where Battle ought to be,
The Highlanders *wou'd not go there*
to argument the Plea.
So did they from that Place remove
when they wou'd not repair,
And to the Gairdner's *House they came,*
the Rebels this did hear.
Then did the Alarm rise in haste,
that Cope *was on his Way,*
These Rebels for the Battle dress'd
and did no longer stay
That night they went into their Sight,
Short way distant were;
*King G*EORGE*'s Men to Arms got,*
And busked[190] *Battle rare.*

CHAP. V

A Discription of the Battle of Preston-Pans, &c.

They stood on Arms all that Night,
Thinking they[191] wou'd draw near & fight;

[189] **Gairdner[…] courage keen.** There is no mention of the Canter of Coltbridge or the other occasions when the Dragoons had retreated.
[190] **Busked** prepared.

They did not know their false Intent,
The Treachery was not yet ken'd:
For *Cope* he made them still to stand
And fire when he gave Command.
The *Gairdner* would have them to march & fight[192] [193]
And have it past e'er it was Night;
But General *Cope*'s Power did prevail,
And *Gairdner*'s words held as a Tale,[194]
Which many a valiant Man did repent,
When once the Verity was ken'd.
The next Morning before the Sun,
The Rebels approach'd hard on their Groun',
The *Cope* no orders at all did give
But fled himself; then die or live[195]
(14)
His Men perceived him Traitor like to be,
Their Heart did melt with sore Dispite to see
Their Champion fled and quite his Right,[196]
They had no Courage more to fight.
When *Gairdner* did perceive this Trick,
Cried out, *Brave Lads, you'll fire and stick.*[197]

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[191] **They** the Jacobites.
[192] **Gairdner** Gardiner, seen as a Protestant Martyr almost immediately after his death, achieved literary celebrity in many publications, mostly of a pietistic nature. His friend Philip Doddridge, a London based Dissenting divine and a prolific writer of tracts and hymns, preached a memorial sermon with the theme *Faithful unto Death* within three weeks of his death and produced it as a pamphlet, *The Christian Warrior Animated and Crowned* (London: Waugh, 1745), six weeks later <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0505200600> [accessed 14 October 2016]. Doddridge's Biography, *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Hon.Col James Gardiner […]* (Edinburgh, Hamilton and Balfour, 1747) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-0592400200> [accessed 14 October 2016] had run to twenty editions, some in chapbook form, by the middle of the 19th century. In his younger days Gardiner had seen an image of Christ crucified reproaching him for his lifestyle, which had previously featured prominently foul language and loose women. His conversion, his premonitions of death, and the irony of his being butchered just outside the wall of his own house all made him apt for martyr status, though we might today have doubts about his mental stability. Poems on his death were published in London in 1746 and included in Doddridge's Biography, while the broadside *Pibrach Chonald Dui or Gard'ner's Revenge* (Edinburgh?: Lumisden and Robertson, 1746) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1286200200> [accessed 14 October 2016] was on sale after Culloden, and Adam Skirvin praises him in *Tranent Muir* <www.traditionalmusic.couk/folk-song-lyrics/Tranent_Muir.htm> [accessed 14 October 2016] It has been speculated that Alexander Carlyle wrote *On the Death of Colonel Gardiner*. P.L. Carver, 'Collins and Alexander Carlyle', *Review of English Studies*, 15.57 (1939), pp. 35-44.
[193] **March and fight** attack immediately.
[194] **Tale** falsehood, misrepresentation.
[195] **Die or live** – sauve qui peut?
[196] **Quite** quit; **right** duty. Graham does not emphasise Cope's defection in the second edition. He substitutes an uncontroversial line about the highlanders as 'the hellish bike'.

He first receiv'd their Fire and Ball,[198]
The next they gave made many fall.[199]
These Rebels once were turn'd to fly,
When that they saw so many dy:
But frighted Horse turned again,[200]
Brake down a vast Dale of Foot-men.[201] [202]
Bold *Gairdner* cried, *Still stand and fight*;
But yet for fear they had no Might,
Except some few of his Horsemen,
Which boldly did the battle sten[203]
As long as they had Power: They stood
And spent for *George* their true Heart blood.
Brave *Gairdner* boldly there did stand,
And truly fought with Heart and Hand;
From Help he seprate was alone,
Except one Man, with him was none.[204]
His valiant Blood from Veins did spring,
As Ribbons red or like a String;[205]
With broad Swords on every Side,
A closs Surround did him betide.[206]
With that one man turn'd Back to Back,
And fore a While the Battle strake,[207]
The bloody Prince cry'd, *Save yon SCOT.*[208]
He answered, *Your Favour I want it not,*
For the Righteous Cause this Day I'll die,
And you the Crown shall never see.

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[197] **Stick** stab, with bayonets.
[198] **Their** the Jacobites.
[199] **They** the British army.
[200] **Horse** his own regiment of Dragoons.
[201] **Dale** deal, quantity, number.
[202] **Foot men** the infantry.
[203] **Sten** to stand (for the purposes of fighting). Doddridge gives the names of these officers as Lieutenant Col Whitney (later killed at Falkirk) and Lieutenant West, with 15 dragoons.
[204] **One man** Doddridge says this was one of Gardiner's servants, John Foster.
[205] **String** another word for ribbons or laces; can also mean a small strip – strips of flesh?
[206] **Closs Surround** encircled, with no part left open.
[207] **The battle strake** phrase used by Barbour meaning fought (archaic). When lacking accurate information, Graham seems to have compensated by falling back on the phraseology of traditional heroic literature.
[208] **Save yon Scot** A piece of chivalric melodrama, unlikely to be in any way accurate except that the Jacobite treatment of the wounded and prisoners was markedly more humane than that of the Government after Culloden. It might not have been advisable to advertise this in September 1746.

With Sword they could not make him fall,
But in him then they tossed Ball;[209]
Then to the Gound alas! he bowed,
Who with his Blood the Truth avowed,
In Defence of the Protestant Laws,
And for his King and Country's Cause.
The Man perceived who was his Dead[210]
(15)
And drave him quite out through the Head;[211]
Then did he comply their Prisoner sad,[212]
And after fled as he were mad.
The Footmen yet kept the Fiel,
Made many a *Highland* Savage kneel,
And to the Earth some hundreds laid;
Yet Victorie it was not had.
They were inclosed after that,
And asking Grace, but it to get.[213]
When they saw that Better might not be
They yielded all Captivitie.
The Rebels then with Pride and Glore[214]
They slew all that were wounded sore
For Gold and Silver they plundered then,
Watches and Cloa'es from Gentlemen.
They grew so rich they lost their Wits,
And tumbl'd their Nighbours into the Pits,
Who plundered lest, got most of Spoil,[215]
The foremost lost their Life wi' Toil.

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[209] **Ball** Tradition (and Doddridge) says that Gardiner's death blow came from a Lochaber Axe, for which a highlander called Macnaughton was executed at Carlisle the following year.
[210] **The man** Foster, Gardiner's servant. **Who was his dead** who was responsible for his death- i.e who had killed him.
[211] **Drave** struck or smashed by force. Archaic.e.g. 'Wallace his craig in sondre drawe'.
[212] **Comply** yield (O.E.D. 5.) Foster is said to have escaped in disguise. Accounts of Gardiner's death are inconsistent until Doddridge produced what became the definitive account. Graham seems to have chosen these elements which make for a good story, with echoes of *The Wallace*, so it is not surprising that his account does not tally with other accounts of Prestonpans.
[213] **But it to get** without getting it. Edition 2 says 'where none to get'. This is an example of what Pittock calls 'black propoganda'. Pittock, *Culloden*, p. 104. To which both Graham and Anderson subscribe enthusiastically.
[214] **Glore** glory (archaic).
[215] **Lest** last.

When one had gather'd rich Heaps together,
He was slain for it by anither.
Their bloody Prince gave this Decree,
"But twenty four dead Men had he."
But them who threw them in the Pit, [216]
Can tell their Tale when they think fit;
Of Rebels there fell eleven hunder,
Five to King GEORGE, it was no Wonder:[217]
But GEORGE's on the Field were shown
And Rebels quick in Heughs were thrown[218]
Now Jacobites will me disdain,
Because the Veritie I explain.
But when three Days were past and gone,
They cried for Helpwith heavy Moan:[219]
Six Thousand four Hundred Rebels was there,[220]
King GEORGE three Thousand vanquish'd were
The Prisoners were sent into the *North*,
Some made heels a Piece beyond the *Forth*,[221]
To *Stirling* fled for Shelter then,
For a Royal Branch was in that Den,[222]

(16)

Where Rebels durst not yet go near,
Nor in his Sight a far appear.
Them that they kept, to Perth took they,[223]
Some with them list, then ran away.
Who staid and fought against the King,
Was catch'd again and got a String;[224]

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[216] Taken from Anderson
[217] **Five** five hundred
[218] **Quick** alive; quickly. **Heugh** a coal pit. Edition. 2 gives ho'es, meaning, presumably, holes
[219] **Cried for help.** A common smear was that the Highlanders buried their wounded alive. The tormented cries of one such can, it is said, still be heard on Falkirk Muir. Bailey, p. 280.
[220] For comparison, according to Jacobite publicity, Charles had 1,400 men, and lost 40; Cope had 4,000 'trained men and horse, expert in war,' of whom 500 were killed and 1,400 taken prisoner. Murray Pittock, 'New Jacobite Songs of the 45', in *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, ed. by Haydn Trevor Mason (Voltaire Foundation, 267, 1989), p. 47.
[221] **Made heels** ran away. **Piece** a short distance, a bit.
[222] **Branch** an attachment to an escutcheon. Reference to the flag flying at Stirling? Edition 2 reads – 'a loyal heart was in that den', presumably Blakeney's. **Den** place of refuge.
[223] **Some […]list** Some of the prisoners enlisted with the Jacobites. (One was Alan Breck Stewart).
[224] **String** Hangman's rope. Captured deserters were automatically executed without trial.

But some true Hearts with Courage bold
Chois'd rather Death before their Gold:
Alas in Miserie did long remain,
And yet they found Relief again.[225]

CHAP. VI

Of their Behaviour in Edinburgh *and how they fought with the Castle,* &c.

The bloody Prince yet in *Edinburgh* lies,
Thinking his Head will reach the Skies,[226]
Scotch Jacobites to him did go
To kiss his Hand and then his Toe:
Has Protestants gotten a popish Freet[227]
To suffer Men to kiss their Feet?
This Prince (to augment his Glore) they tell
"He made two Images for himsell,
"The name of the first is *Cameron*[228]
"And the second *Murray*" as meaneth *John*[229]
And fell before them Day and Night[230]
For murdering Men at *Preston* Fight.
The Scribe, writes this into his Book,
His Chronicles, if you look.[231]
"Likewise Five Hundred Cuncubines,
"By this Time he may have young Friens,
"His Dwelling was at *Holy rood house,*
"With Three Hundred Women singers crouse,[232]

[225] No mention is made of officers who were given parole on condition they did not fight the Jacobites again.
[226] **Skies** Probably echoing Job 20, 5-6 'the triumph of the wicked is short, […] though his excellency mount up to the heavens and his head reach unto the clouds,' but perhaps also reminiscent of the building of the Tower of Babel, Genesis 11:4.
[227] **Freet** a superstitious belief.
[228] **Cameron** Jenny Cameron, Charles' (putative) mistress.
[229] **Murray** Murray of Broughton's wife. An attractive woman, also reputed to be Charles' mistress. In fact, Charles seems to have shown little interest in women until after his return from England. 'John' is John Anderson.
[230] **Fell** The opposite of rise; double entrendre.
[231] **Chronicles** John Anderson' s pamphlet. The account of the Highlanders in Edinburgh, and in England in the following chapter, is all taken from the same work.
[232] **Singers crouse** The biblical reference is Eccles. 2:82 'I gathered me gold and silver[…] I gat me men singers and women singers.' There may also be a reference to the 'Sweet Singers', a bizarre, and mostly

"Of the Vineyard I will not speik:'[233]
But, *John*, beware of a sienged Weik,[234]
Because the Scriptures you made a Droll,[235]
Comparing the Cake unto a Coal.[236]
But the bloody Prince was puff'd wi' Pride,[237]

(17)

Compass'd the Castle on every Side[238]
And did the Centry mock and taunt.
Then she gave them the other Rant[239],
And many a Bluner on them did bla'[240]
The Buttocks bare shin'd when they fa':
One named *Taylor,* of the Rebels Camp,[241]
He was a Captain bold and ramp,[242]
And, to their bloody Prince he went,
Sovereign, said he *I make it ken'd,*
The Men that in this castle be
For Want of Victuals they will not dree;[243]
If we do sey with all our Might,[244]
We'll soon deprive them of that Right.[245]
The bloody Prince rejoiced than

---

female, local extreminst sect from the Restoration period, led by the charismatic Meikle John Gibb from Bo'ness, who later compounded with James Duke of York, then in residence at Holyrood.

[233] **Vineyard** Isaiah 5:2 'The vineyard brought forth wild grapes.' In 18th century English the metaphor wild grapes approximates to wild oats. Vineyard is also a common metaphor in New Testament parables – e.g. Matt.21:40. 'When the Lord of the Vineyard cometh, what will he do unto these husbandmen?'

[234] **John** Graham reproaches Anderson for not taking scripture seriously enough. Anderson uses a Biblical format (chapters and verses) and biblical language in the pseudo-Jewish chronicle style. **Sienged Weik** wick as in candle or lamp. Clearly another double entendre, this may be a warning not to dwell overmuch on the subject of concubines, or of the dangers of writing in a potentially blasphemous style. In Jewish ritual, the lamp of the Sabbath has to be lit with a singed (charred) wick.

[235] **Droll** a farce, puppetshow.

[236] **Cake unto a coal** bread, oatcake. Refers to Ist Kings 19:6, when the Elijah is woken by an angel, and 'behold there was a cake baken on the coals'.

[237] **Puff'd** (up) inflated

[238] **Compass'd** encircled, surrounded.

[239] **Rant** a tirade; to rant- to shout down.

[240] **Bluner** trouble, confusion or thunder as in blunerbush (or blunderbuss, thunder gun). 'The Castle thundered till 11 or 12 at night' (Woodhouselee ms). **Bla'** – blow, fired many shots at them.

[241] **Taylor** This incident has various possible sources. As well as Anderson's version, there is a muted account in the *Scots Magazine* (September 1745), p. 443 and a broadside ballad, 'The Blockade of Edinburgh Castle, or Captain Taylor in Livingstone Yards', in the NLS broadside database. *The Word on the Street*, <digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15908> [accessed 23 June 2016].

[242] **Ramp** wild, unruly.

[243] **Dree** endure (hold out).

[244] **Sey**, say, as in assay, put them to the test.

[245] **Right** title (to the Castle).

Even as the Castle had been ta'en,
And said: *Who conquers it first to me*
My chiefest Captain shall he be:
Then *Taylor* vow'd, *If all had sworn*
It shall be ta'en by me the Morn;
All Store is eaten they had within,
And there shall no more entertain.

For now their Right they dare not hold,
Into our Hand I true they're sold[246]
Then on the Morn away he goes;
Of his Consorts to him did chose;[247] [248]
To *Livi'ston House* they did resort,
And there they did disdain and sport,
Saying, *If* Guest *and* Preston *had Might*[249] [250]
They wou'd come here with us to fight.
A man these Words did overhear,
Unto the Castle wall drew near,
He told the Watchmen all they said,
And yet at *Livi'ston House* they baid.
Then *Guest* and *Preston* did command
(In a great Haste) of Men a Band
By the *North* side of the Garrison go,
To *Livi'ston House*, what's there to know,[251]
The Soldlers did the House surroun,
And Canons from the Castle firing down,
(18)
Brake down the House in a short Space,
Who was not slain, begged for Peace.
They took all did alive remain,

[246] **True** (trow) confidently believe.
[247] **Consorts** companions.
[248] **Chose** selected.
[249] **Guest** Joshua Guest (1660-1747). Eighty five year old deputy governor of Edinburgh Castle who had risen through the ranks.
[250] **Preston** George Preston (1659?-1748). Ex - deputy governor of the Castle, but somehow still in post. From a Fife gentry family, he was even older than Guest, and had to use a wheelchair. Neither paid much heed to collateral damage done in Edinburgh.
[251] **Livi'ston House** More accurately 'a house in Livingston Yards.' Graham was not familiar with Edinburgh locations.

Then burnt the House; and turn'd again.

This Captain *Taylor* with them they brought,
He got the Castle, but not as he thought;
For he thought of Captains to be Chief,
But there he was, prison'd like a Thief.

Then the Rebels guarded the Town-head
That none to Castle should take Bread,
They knew nothing but Hunger wou'd doo,
For Gold nor Fleetching they would not bow,[252]
Nor yet they need not say nor fight,
They were so true, both day and Night.

One *Roberton* sought the General's Leave
These Rebels once more to mischieve,[253]
With a Band of Men unto their Guard
All Rebels they found, none of them spar'd
Whether He was Knight or Knave[254]
There suddenly to Death they drave.
E're they came to the *Westbow* Head
A great Slaughter among them made.

Then the Rebels rose all in a Rout,[255]
Young *Roberton* turn'd his Men about
And to the Garrison march'd again.
I cannot tell what they had slain.

In *Edinburgh* Town they got no rest,
The Castle was such a Tempest;
Likewise the valiant *Fox man o'War*
For their Salute, gave them a Scar,[256]
When they saluted her at *Leith*,
She blew some Motts into their teeth:[257]
They thought good News she'd brought from *France*,

[252] **Fleetching** false, flattering words,
[253] **Mischieve** to injure, do harm to. Just after the Livingstone Yards incident, some of the castle garrison warned the citizens of an impending bambardment, then sallied out. They pillaged a number of the empty houses before they withdrew. *Scots Magazine* (September 1745), p. 443.
[254] **Knight and Knave** all ranks. Tag, archaic, as is the whole couplet.
[255] **Rout** a troop of men, but can be used contemptuously e.g. DOST 6. Dunbar - rebald rowt –a rebel troop).
[256] **Scar** fright, (scare) also punning with scar, mark of a wound. The *Fox* was a Royal Navy frigate, lying off Leith to hamper rebel communications, which seems to have opened fire on Jacobite regiments drilling on Leith Links.
[257] **Mott** a speck of dust, an irritating particle caught in the throat. Also a mark or target.

But death came to them in that stance.

Their bloody Prince at this Mischieve
Was not content. Ye may believe
He thought it best [they were so ramp][258]
South from the Town to make his Camp,
And there he lay with all his Host,

(19)

While among them rose some Sp'rit or Ghost,[259]
What was its Words I do not ken,
But the Rebels fir'd to get it slain;
Then thro' their Camp rose such a Reel,[260]
They fled to the City, and left the Fiel',
Up thro' the *Cannigate* in a Hush,[261]
At every Door they let a Push.[262]

The People within got such a Fright
They thought it was their hindmost Night,
Or King *George's* Men with them had met
And they on Battle cou'd not wait.
Their Prince he saw no Success mair,
And King *George*'s Men at *Berwick* were,
He thought it Time for to be gawn,
To fight again he wou'd not stan'.

CHAP. VII[263]

The Rebels marching from Scotland *to* England,
and taking the City and castle of Carlisle &c.

From *Edinburgh* Town he march'd away,

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[258] **Ramp** wild, unruly. It is not clear if this refers to the Navy, the soldiers in the Castle, or to Charles' forces, who were responsible for a certain amount of pilfering in Edinburgh.
[259] **Sp'rit or Ghost** This incident may have been sourced from some broadside propaganda now unavailable.
[260] **Reel** commotion.
[261] **Hush** DOST gives the prime meaning as a rushing, gushing sound, as of swiftly moving waters. Figuratively, an onrush of people.
[262] **Push** a shove, and attack, but also a press of people. Crowds of terrified Highlanders were trying to break in doors.
[263] Virtually all of Chapter VII is taken from Anderson. The lack of detail in this part of the Account would seem to indicate that neither Anderson nor Graham had much interest in what went on across the Border until the appearance of the Duke of Cumberland, the hero of both works.

To *Moffat* took the ready Way.
Rob and steal. This was their Order,
While they came to the *English* Border[264].
So did they enter into *England,*
Eight Thousand was into their Band.
Then *Carlisle* compassed about,
That there was no Passage in or out,
About the Town stay'd Days three,
Thinking that it should rendered be.
Then out of the City they made a Saill,[265]
Wounded Part, and some dead fell,
Some of their Baggage took for a Prey;[266]
To *Brampton eastward* removed they.
Early next Morning they assembled all
Into a Body, great and small,
Then backward in a Rage they run,
The City for to siege and burn.
(20)
Then *Perth* the Captain of their Host[267]
Against them did blaspheme and boast,
If you against us now do stand,
Who shall deliver you from our Hand?
Your City shall be burnt with Fire,
Wives and Children, Bone and Lyre,[268]
I'll you consume in Powder small;
Therefore this is the hin'most Call[269]
It will be best my Will to doo,
For after this no Time is to rue.

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[264] **While** until
[265] **Saill** Sally, a sudden rush out from a besieged place. The Carlisle defenders assumed they had driven the Highlanders away. In fact, once the Jacobites were aware that Gereral Wade was not coming to relieve the town, they returned to besiege it and Carlisle had to surrender.
[266] **For a prey** for booty. The people of Carlisle captured some Jacobite baggage, and the Jacobites retreated to Brampton.
[267] Anderson inserts the canard about Perth's killing a man here. Although he was a Catholic, the Duke of Perth was given fairly favourable coverage in the newspapers for his behaviour at Carlisle, and Anderson may have wished to reverse this impression.
[268] **Lyre** skin.
[269] **Hin'most** ultimate. Anderson's climaxes this passage by quoting from Ist Kings 16.11 'so that not one will be left to piss against the wall' (i.e. every male killed). Graham seems to consider this indelicate, as do most modern bible translations.

The People heard these Words he spoke,
Melted their Hearts, and Courage broke,
And on Condition they yield, I fin'
Opened the Gates and loot them in.
Twenty Piece of Cannon there they got,
Six Barrels of Powder, and Lead for Shot,
Of Arms into that Place they fand
One thousand and five hunder Stand[270]
And other Teckling us'd in Wear[271]
Which ill becomes them for to bear.
Cruelly they did oppress this City,
For to rehearse it were a Pity
To be made so thrall, and Cess to pay,[272]
Out of their Mouth takes Bread away,
Their Bellies was so ill to fill
When they got good Meat at their Will
They ate Mutton, Beef and Swine[273]
While unto Death with it they pine.[274]
Then at *Carlisle* a Captain stay'd
With a hundred Men the Town to guide.

CHAP. VIII

Of their march up to Penrith, *and further into* England, *and how they were chased back by D.* William

And then to *Penrith* they marched up,
To *London* was their Voyage, they hope[275]

And every Town that they came throw,
They made them pay full Cess, thrice due;

[270] **Stand** complete set of something; here, a single musket with bayonet.
[271] **Teckling** gear, accoutrements.
[272] **Thrall** enslaved. **Cess** assessment, tax, levy.
[273] **Mutton, beef and swine** this seems to be taken from an account in the *Scots Magazine* (November 1745), p. 531.
[274] **Pine** to suffer pain, difficulty
[275] **Voyage** journey. O.E.D. early usage could be either by land or sea.

And after that what they could catch
Either Gold, Meat or Watch.
Now at that Time there was great Snow,
That travelling Men had Pine to go,
The Wreaths in Places were thick and deep,[276]
These *Highlanders* lay on them to sleep
From Head to Foot row'd in their Plaid,[277]
And then in Raws down they were laid.
Such a People there they did ne'er see,
As wild Goats they seem'd to be.
The People there did much complain
Of General *Wade*, could not be seen;[278]
For slowly he did them pursue,
And made no Stop of going thro'.[279]
For Town and Land was sore opprest,
They rob'd them bare where'er they past.
Our Soldiers from the People gets[280]
Twenty Thousand Flannel Coats
To protect their Bodies from the Cold,
And keep good Heart their Right to hold.
These Tidings when the King did hear,
He made Duke WILLIAM then appear;[281]
Who in *Flanders* long had been
Assisting the *Hungarian* Queen.[282]
And with the *Frenches* boldly fought,

[276] **Wreaths** banks or drifts of snow.
[277] **Row'd in their plaid** While officers were billeted, the men seem to have slept in the open.
[278] **Wade** Major General George Wade (1673-1748) The Commander in Chief for England was by this time over seventy, and in ill health. He marched from Newcastle, but had to retreat because of the atrocious weather.
[279] **Made no stop** put a stop to (archaic).
[280] **The people** The City of London contributed £22,000 – almost £3 million in today's values- in voluntary subscriptions. <www.hoaresbank.co.uk> (Ms of the month. Sept 14th, 2014) [accessed 14 October 2016].
[281] **Duke William** William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland**,** (1721-1765) also known as 'Sweet William', or the 'Conquering hero', due to his victory at Culloden, or alternatively ' the Butcher', due to the behaviour of his army thereafter. In 1746 he was at the height of his popularity, idolised by the army, and much esteemed by the University of Glasgow, who conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He deserves credit for having drilled and organised his forces to withstand the Jacobite army, but Culloden was his only victory, and his failure to defend Hanover in the Seven Years War alienated the king, his father. He retired into private life and died of a stroke at the age of 44.
[282] **Assisting the Hungarian Queen** fighting on the side of Maria Theresa in the War of the Austrian Succession.

And beat their Army unto nought;
He was the Commander at *Fontenoie*[283]
Many other Engagements manage'd he,
And well behaved at *Dettingen*
Where many Thousand *French* were slain,
If the Rebels were not quell'd by him
They knew it could be done by none
They sent him word for to turn again[284]
He arrived at the *Gravesen'*;
The Second Son He's of our King,
And to *Antichrist* he is no Frien'.[285]
Then to his Father's Palace went he,
(22)
And all his bold brisk Armie,[286]
His Father said, *You're welcome my Son,*
But you must put this Pretender home.
He said, *Dear Father if it please you,*
It is a thing I hope to doo.
What Words was mair they are not here,
He then set out for the *Chevalier;*
Our Sovereign GEORGE he gave Command,
To WILLIAM Duke of *Cumberland,*
His Armies for to lead and steer,[287]
And Rebels wreck that's done him dear.[288]
His Soldiers brave then did rejoice,
And with a Shout they made a Noise,[289]
Saying, *Our Captain's the King's son*
Treachery will no more be done.

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[283] **Fontenoie** First edition rhymes the word with 'he,' the second with 'boy'. Presumably in 1745 the name – and its pronunciation - was unfamiliar. Fontenoy was in fact a crushing defeat for Britain, Dettingen a victory. The 1752 version has a different emphasis, hinting that Fontenoie was perhaps a defeat; he 'did command at Fontenoie/and well behaved though but a boy'.
[284] **Turn again.** Could be interpreted as a retreat, so edition 2 substitutes 'to cross the main.'
[285] **Antichrist** the Pope.
[286] **Armie** Cumberland did not arrive with the whole Army, so edition 2 substitutes 'where welcome was his companie'.
[287] **Steer** command, govern (archaic. 'Steyr and leid' occurs in line 37 of Barbour's *Brus*.).
[288] **Deir** as in *do him deir*, at a high cost in trouble or pains.
[289] **Noise** outcry, acclamation. Cumberland was exceptionally popular with his soldiers, as even Horace Walpole admitted, 'It is certain that the army adore the Duke', quoted Speck, *The Butcher*, p. 82.

The Rebels then at Kendal were
From thence to Preston they march'd there,
Then WILLIAM Duke of Cumberland
From London march'd with a brisk Band,
Ten Thousand valiant fighting Men,
His Royal Grace to be their van.
At *Leichfield* on the 28th Day
The Month of November, there camped they;[290]
These Rebels of the same did hear,
From *Preston* then in haste they steer,[291]
By *Wiggan* Town they took their Way,
And at *Manchester* pitched they.
From thence to *Maclesfield* they wand,[292]
And set forward to *Derby* Land.
When that the Duke of *Cumberland*
The Way they went did understand,
To *London* they were first design'd,
And now to *North Wales* was their Mind,[293]
To *Strafford* then full fast they drave,
Then to *Northampton*, Battle to have;
And there he stayed for to defend,
Or in the Battle to make an End,
Thinking these Rebels to Him wou'd draw,
But he was the worst Sight e're they saw.
(23)
His Men for Battle did busk and dress,[294]
And stood like Wine into a Glass,[295]
Shoulder to Shoulder, and Face to Neck,

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[290] **Leichfield** Cumberland and his forces arrived at Lichfield on 28th November.
[291] **They** The rebels.
[292] **Wand** reached, travelled to (archaic).
[293] **North Wales** a feint, organised by Lord George Murray.
[294] **Busk and dress** Both words mean to prepare or get ready. Perhaps the older tag, 'busk and boun' has been amended to provide a rhyme for glass (pronounced gless).
[295] **Like wine into a glass** Simile? Close together? Side by side? As close as the wine is to the glass? **Shoulder to shoulder** literally, in close formation; figuratively, mutually supportive. The simile suggests the military discipline thought necessary to withstand a Highland charge. The soldiers were told that if they broke ranks they were as good as dead. Cumberland was credited with training the infantry to thrust their bayonets not straight ahead but to the right, to catch the Highlanders under their sword arms, though it is by no means certain that this was used, or, indeed, would have proved effective if it had been.

In Battle-array he did direct,
And said, *Brave Boys be void of Fear,*
For, in every Point with you I'll share,
In Defence of our Maker's Laws,
If we dy 'tis for a righteous Cause.
Now honour your Country with Courage keen,
From Cowardlyness we may be clean,
'Tis to save our Country that we came here,
By Orders of My Father Dear
Against a Pack of Rebels bold,
That seek no other Grace but Gold.
If your loyal British *Hearts be true,*
With Grace from above our Strength will do.[296]
The Rebels were to be there that Night,
But suddenly they took the flight;[297]
An *English* Papist plaid the Knave,
Advertisement to the Rebels gave,[298]
A Letter to *Derby* sent away
"That CUMBERLAND stood in Array,"
With trembling then, great Fear and dread,
Foreward they durst no more proceed.
That Night they fled from that City,
Unto a Mountain was nearby;
Then on that Hill great Fire they made,
Their Pipers plaid and round they gaid,
Men did behold the Light afar,
And thought they did prepare for War.
Their Pipes they plaid with such a Scorn
They thought the Battle wou'd be the Morn.
The *Highlanders* then did run and ride
Two and twenty hours before they staid,

[296] Graham frequently includes 'verbatim' speeches from the heroic Duke of Cumberland. It is not always clear whether he has made them up or copied them from other ephemeral publications that have not survived.
[297] **Took the flight** in fact, they had slipped past him.
[298] **Advertisement** warning, information. This is a Whig version of events. John Maclean's journal suggests that the return to Scotland meant they could join up with Lord John Drummond and the reinforcements he had brought from France. John Maclean, *Witness to Rebellion* ed. Iain Gordon Brown and Hugh Cheape (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2010), p. 27.

When one behind another did stand,
Cryed *Furich there be* CUMBERLAND.[299]
Who first to *Penrith* Town that wan,
He thought Himself a pretty Man.[300]
When People knew they turn'd to flee,[301]
(24)
They shot with Guns and felled with Tree;[302]
And where they quarter'd in the Night,
They slew them ere the Morning-light.
Then CUMBERLAND did this perceive
To him they would no Battle give,
But fly like Thieves into the Night,
A just Man for his Cause will fight.
Duke WILLIAM three Thousand Horsmen drew,
And after them he did pursue,
The Footmen followed with all their Might,
Over Snow and Ice, they took no Fright.
These Highland Rogues thinking to catch,
And where they find them make Dispatch,[303]
For Battle to have they still profest,
By following them they got no rest.[304]

CHAP. IX

How they stood after they had fled, near Penrith,
upon Clifton-moor, *and fought with the Vanguard,*
and were obliged to fly again, &c.

When they were turned near *Penrith* again
And there to fight they did preten',
General *Bland* and *Honeywood,*[305]

[299] **Furich** here probably make haste. *Furich Whigs awa*, is a pipe tune, where the word seems to mean run, and Graham is retaliating.
[300] **Pretty man** when used with man, pretty means gallant, courageous.
[301] **They** the rebels.
[302] **Tree** any long wooden bar, hence a club. This behaviour was encouraged by Cumberland. Speck, p. 95.
[303] **Dispatch** Put them to death.
[304] **They** could refer to either side.
[305] **Bland** General Humphry Bland (1685/86-1763). Irish Career soldier and friend of Cumberland. He fought at Fontenoy, in England and Scotland, and was left in command of one of the four military districts into

With the Van guards they foremost rode,
Three Hundred dragoons all in a Trace[306]
Who briefly could their Foes face,[307]
With Courage bold foreward they steer,
In Pursuit of the Chevalier.
The Rebels staid at a *Quaker*'s House,[308]
To plunder there their common Use,
Highly displeased for their Disgrace
That CUMBERLAND they could not face.
Why did we flee? Let us repent,
We'll stand and murder as at Tranent.[309]
In every Side then of the Way
The Rebels there in ambush lay:
(25)
Five Thousand was into their Band,
Yet in open Field they durst not stand,
Behind the Hedges themselves they drew,[310]
To murder *Bland*, as they went thro';
The Dragoons boldly did appear,
Which made their Foes to quake with Fear,
On every Side they jimp the Hedge
And set upon them in a Rage.
The Rebels fired with all their might
But yet they're forc'd to take the flight!
The Dragoons gave them such a Chace,
Their naked Hipps shin'd in their Face:
About six o' Clock into the Night
They did begin this bloody Fight,
About a Quarter of an Hour

---

which Scotland was divided (South of Stirling and including Edinburgh) Graham is unlikely to speak ill of Bland.

Honeywood Colonel Honeywood (1677-1752) Badly wounded at Clifton, he survived three sword cuts to the head, and lived to continue serving as an MP. R.S. Ferguson, 'The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmoreland in 1745', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeolgical Society*, 1st ser., 10 (1889), pp. 186-228 (p. 211).

[306] **Trace** following/ in harness/ holding course; all possible.

[307] **Briefly** In a short time (DOST) *brevely* 2.

[308] **A Quaker** Thomas Savage, according to R.S. Ferguson, *Transactions*.

[309] **Tranent** Prestonpans.

[310] **Hedges** Can mean wall, or dyke, as well as a growing hedge.

The battle there it did endure.

A vast Dale of the rebels they slew,

Lost part of Men, but very few.

The Rebels lost six times more,

Of General *Bland*'s within a Score.[311]

Brave *Honeywood* was wounded deep,

Who made some Clans dy at his Feet,

His Blood from Wounds ran like a Strand,[312]

Which griev'd the Heart of General *Bland.*

When Duke *William* heard that it was so,

On Front myself now will I go,

And I vow by him that Life gave me,

I'll see't revenged, or else I'll die.

For his Grace he was not present there,

But hearing this he soon drew near;

For the Van-guard had beat the Clan,

Before the Army unto them wan;

Her nain-sell thought to win the Day,[313]

But yet she fled and wou'd not stay.

For *Charlie* fled to the North again;

And many on this Field was slain,

For Fear they durst no longer stand,

They thought it had been CUMBERLAND,

Because they fought with such a Rage

(26)

And made them skip out thro' the Hedge.

Which cla'd their Hips like Heckles there,[314]

And sore did wound them everywhere

Lord *Lonsdale*'s House was near the way,[315]

Where a Party of them presum'd to stay;[316]

---

[311] Clifton, the last battle fought on English ground, is counted as a Jacobite victory.
[312] **Strand** a stream, a gushing forth of blood.
[313] **Her nainsell** Gaelic speaker's supposed way of referring to himself.
[314] **Heckle** sharp comb for dressing flax.
[315] **Lord Lonsdale's House.** Lowther Hall, where Penrith volunteers captured a marauding party from the Jacobite garrison left in Carlyle.
[316] **Them** Jacobites.

They thought that Night to sup and sleep,
Their Baggage for to guard and keep,
To steal and rob what they could get,
But Quarters there became too het.
One HERMITAGE, from *Penrith* came
Of the Town-Guards, with him a Ban'
Near ten o'Clock into the Night,
And suddenly put them to a flight,
Fire on their Guards first did display,
Part of them fell, some ran away:
The House they did inclose about,
To let no more of them win out;
When to the Door they came in Haste,
With Sword and Fire they were imbrac'd.
Yield you, Dogs, whose here within,
Or, I vow we'll burn you bone and Skin.[317]
The Rebels saw he wou'd subdue,
And for to fight it wou'd not doo;
Then for Mercy did they crave,
Me's Prisoner my Life to save.
To *Penrith* then drave all away,[318]
Their Baggage also for a Prey;
In Prison strong they laid them fast;
I doubt their Necks will rax at last.[319]
Duke WILLIAM did the rest pursue,
Hemming the Hindmost of the Crew.[320]
From *Northampton* to *Carlisle*
They drove them down like Herats wile,[321]
Therefore to rest they durst not bide,
Duke WILLIAM did so near them ride.

[317] **Bone and skin** the archaic tag, 'bone and lyre' is adapted for the rhyme.
[318] **Penrith** The government forces drove the prisoners taken at Lowther Hall to Penrith. They were tried later at York.
[319] **Rax** stretch.
[320] **Hemming** surrounding, imprisoning.
[321] **Herat** ? DOST gives it as a form of *hered* meaning heir. Hares? Edition 2 gives *hearts*, so perhaps the word is *hert*, meaning hart. The sense seems to be hunting an animal. The image of hunting vermin was popular in December 1745; the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 15, p. 664, published a song *The Royal Hunter's March* in which hares and foxes are replaced by Jacobite fugitives.

(27)

CHAP. X

How there arose another Army of rebels, and came to Perth; *and how the Militia rose for: K.* George,&c. *and of the rebels running into the Water of* Eske, *and flying from* England, &c.

Beyond the *Forth* was without Doubt[322]
Six thousand more to make them stout,[323]
Who thought to follow them to *England*,
By Impediment they're made to stand.
For Horse and Foot at *Stirling* were,
To keep them back with special Care.
Militia rose through all the Land
Free Volunteers, with Heart and Hand;
From *Glasgow* town great numbers be,[324]
Likewise from *Paisley*. All that Countrie
To help King GEORGE, because of need
The whole Country was to proceed.
To *Stirling* town they did resort;
They cut the Bridge, and fenc'd the Port:[325]
When they heard the Rebels was turning back,
For *Edinburgh* then a Voyage did mak,
To keep the City from their Hands,[326]
For to steal and robe was their Commands,
Because they lost their false Intent,[327]
They rob'd the Nation where they went.[328]
From *Carlisle* they fled with Speed,

[322] **Beyond the Forth** in the North East, which was largely Episcopalian, Jacobites were consolidating, recruiting, and receiving money, men and equipment from France, when ships were able to evade the Royal Navy. The first paragraph of this chapter is taken from Anderson
[323] **Six thousand.** Anderson says 2,000.
[324] **Great numbers** 500 from Glasgow, 150 from Paisley. A.E. Macrobert, *The 1745 Rebellion and the Southern Scottish Lowlands* (Ely: Melrose Books, 2006), p. 89.
[325] **Cut the bridge** Blakeney, the commander of Stirling Castle, destroyed the south arch. **Fenc'd** made secure (archaic).
[326] **For Edinburgh** The militia were sent to Edinburgh; it was assumed that the rebels would return there.
[327] **Intent** purpose.
[328] **They rob'd the nation** Jacobite discipline may have been worse retreating north through England, where they seemed less of a threat and met more hostility.

Of the Pursuer great was their Dread.
A Band they left the Town to keep
From CUMBERLAND, then fled like Sheep.
The River of *Eske* was in the Way,
Full, over it's Banks, with Flood that Day,
To wait Low–water they durst not bide,
Perhaps more Danger might betide,
At others Tails they coupled too,[329]
The Horse went first to draw them thro';
As a Bunch of Burrs together they stack,[330]
(28)
So gorged the Water, and then they brake;[331]
For Women and Men went down in Heaps,
Crying for Help, or throw them Repes.[332]
Many *English* Whore they brought from Bawds
Was drown'd that Day wi' *Chairlie's* Lads.[333]
Then to *Dumfries* they came straightway,
To burn the Town, or Cess to pay,
And there they got a mighty Soume,[334]
To *Lismahague* then they boun'
Great Wrongs they did into that Place,[335]
Who lived there, hard was their Case.
By *Hamilton* they took their Way,
To *Glasgow* for another Prey,
For all the Soume they got before,
From *Glasgow* again they must have more.
Their Shoes were done, they ran so fast,[336]

[329] **Coupled too** coarse double entendre throughout this passage.
[330] **Burrs** the fruit of the Lesser Burdock, hooked to catch in the fur of passing animals.
[331] **Gorged** to become choked.
[332] **Repes** ropes
[333] The pro-Hanoverian Edinburgh Courant, simply states that the water was breast high and some were drowned. Graham is at odds with Anderson, whose description owes much to the Egyptians crossing the Red Sea, and lists 4,000 killed.
[334] **A mighty soume** two thousand pounds, plus 1,000 pairs of shoes. Since the full amount was not forthcoming, the provost and another burgess were taken hostage. Dumfries was singled out for severe treatment because a party of Seceders at Lockerbie had stolen Jacobite baggage on the way south, and taken it to Dumfries.
[335] **Boun**' set out. They were aggrieved at Lesmahagow because Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart had been recognised there and arrested.

Their Count'nance was turn'd with such a Ghast,[337]
Their Beards were turned black and brown,
Their Like was ne'er seen i'th' Town.
Their Houghs bled as they had been pricked,[338]
Their Face was black they were so wicked,[339]
Their Shots were rusted in their Gun,
Their Swords from Scabbord wou'd not twin,[340]
Their Dwelling was beneath the Rain,
Their long Journey was all in vain.
Now, Glasgow Town when they possest,
The whole Country was sore opprest:
All around they steal and reave,
Like Gentlemen went many a Knave.
The Country durst not them controul,
They were so stillward and so bol'.[341]
In Glasgow Town they dauted were,[342]
They fear'd the stealing of their Gear;
But wot ye well it was with Grief,[343]
Like Gentlemen used many a Thief.[344]
Good Shoes and Stockings, when they meet,
They stript from off the Owners Feet.
The Chapmens Ware they sought to buy,
Then *Thanks for this, till once we pay.*

(29)

The Chapman says *I downa trust You.* [345]
I'll pay the Morn; Sit still and rest[346] *You.*
The Chapman dare not speak a Word,

---

[336] **Done** finished, worn out. Unsurprising if the clansmen were wearing the traditional rivelins made from hairy raw-hide; eyewitness accounts tell of highlanders in England going barefoot.
[337] **Ghast** fright.
[338] **Houghs** shins (commonly used of animals).
[339] **Black** has consistently negative associations and can mean shameful and diabolical in both Scots and Gaelic. Donal Dhu is a name for the devil, and Burns talks of 'the muckle black deil'. Anderson describes faces that were 'become black with wickedness'.
[340] **Twin** part.
[341] **Stillward** stalwart; DOST gives an early, archaic, spelling *stelewurd*, inflexible, like steel, (*fig.*) pitiless.
[342] **Dauted** petted, indulged. Edition 2 has *daunted* intimidated. Either would make sense, depending on whether 'they' means the citizens or the invaders.
[343] **Wot ye well** you can be sure. Alliterative tag.
[344] **Used** adopting the ways of (OED).
[345] **Downa'** cannot; *dow* – to be able to.
[346] **Rest you** relax; perhaps a pun on rest (n.) an overdue payment.

The *Highlandman* draws out his Sword
With Words *aber Galick*, I wot no what.[347]
And that was a' the Chapman gat.

CHAP. XI

Containing the Rise of the Argyle-Shire-Militia
and the Rebels march from Glasgow *to* Stirling,
and how they went into the said City, and
oppressed the Country, &c.

Then in the *West* the CAMPBELLS rose,[348]
To fight for GEORGE, against his Foes,
From Sixty unto Sixteen
There wou'd they rise, if Need had been,
But of chosen Men there rose the best,
And against the Rebels Battle profess'd.
When thus they heard out of the *West*,[349]
To *Stirling* Town they marched fast
Thinking to have Entry there,
But some cried out yet what they were?[350]
The Town thought it not fit to render
To a hellish Band, and their Pretender.
When they drew near then fired fast,
Made Rebels oft full sore a Ghast.
South from the Town Trenches they made,[351]
Against the Town great was their Fead,[352]
That Night their Cannons they made to roar,
To take the City they us'd their Power.
Their Shots they sent up thro' the Town,

[347] **I wot no what.** I know not what**.** Graham's claims, here and later, to know no Gaelic, are unconvincing. Anyone trading in Stirlingshire would have had to know some of the language which was monolingual in some western parts of the shire. There was also constant interaction between Highlands and Lowlands at Stirling Bridge.
[348] **The Argyllshire Militia**, raised by John Campbell, later 4th Duke of Argyll, and commanded by his heir, later the 5th Duke, saw service at Falkirk and Culloden, but, unlike Loudon's Highlanders, was never recognised as an official part of the British army. Sourced from Anderson.
[349] **They** The Jacobites.
[350] **They** The Jacobites. Some of the townspeople refused to recognise them i.e treated them with contempt.
[351] **They** The Jacobites.
[352] **Fead-** feid, enmity.

A *Smoking–vent* they have beat down,[353]
Upon the Streets were found the ball;
Of Harm there was no more at all.
The City hoped Relief to fin',
And upon Condition they loot them in![354]

(30)

All Arms into the Castle pass'd,
To their Subjection the Town profess'd.
That whole Country, both great and small
They charged with Death to obey their Call:
Between *Kippan* and *Falkirk* Town
They filled the Country up and down.
From Poor and Rich takes what they please,
Cocks and Hens, Meal, Beaf, and Cheese.[355]
When they got passage at the *Frew,*[356]
Out of the *North* there came a Crew
Of Sabbath Breakers, and wicked Men,
Savages, as Goats out of a Glen.
Some Papists were, and Pagans proud.
Some *French* Brigades was in this Croud,[357]
Highland Thieves be sure nae few
To serve King *Spoil,* for Horse and Cow.[358]
A good gray Mare if they could get,[359]
Or other Goods came in the Net.

---

[353] **Smoking vent**- flue, chimney. Edition 2 substitutes the more intelligible'chimney-head'.

[354] **Relief[…] loot them in.** The surrender of Stirling was highly controversial, as can be seen from the Stirling Council Minutes. *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling AD 1667-1752* (Glasgow: Glasgow, Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society, 1887), pp. 274-82. Unbiased modern opinion, however, holds that the decision was the right one. Hawley's approaching relief force was halted at the Battle of Falkirk, and though the town suffered some looting, 'it was relatively undamaged, and the population suffered no recorded casualties'. Craig Mair, *Stirling: The Royal Burgh* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995), p. 165. Graham is studiously non-committal.

[355] **Filled the country** When previously in Stirlingshire, in autumn, the Jacobite army had been passing through; now, in winter, they were quartered in countryside that found it difficult to supply them. In the resultant scarcity prices rose alarmingly, as government forces found some weeks later.

[356] **Frew** The passage at the Frew was guarded by Doune Castle, with Macgregor of Glengyle in charge.

[357] **French Brigades** Lord John Drummond, the Duke of Perth's younger brother, commanded the French regiment the Royal Ecossais. He had arrived at Montrose with some of his regiment and with six picquets of the Irish Brigade, to reinforce the Jacobites. Drummond was a Catholic, as were many of his men, hence Papists, Pagans and French.

[358] **To serve King Spoil** a stock phrase? Later Graham talks of 'King Plunder's Men'.

[359] **A good gray mare** Horses were of prime importance for cavalry, transport. etc.

CHAP. XII

Of Lord Lowdon's *being in the North, and how the Castle and Town of Carlisle was re-taken by The Duke of* Cumberland, *&c. and how the Rebels fought with a* Man of war Ship, &c.

Lord *Lowdon* lay at *Inverness*,[360]
And held them stively to the *West*,[361]
And another Lord in Company,[362]
Manfully they saved that Country,
Number of Men they had but few,
But with good Conduct they did subdue
Jacobites and Harlots on every Side,[363]
They made under Subjection bide.
Of Prisoners they took a great manie,[364]
And sent to *Edinburgh* by the Sea,
Who had diserted from our King,
For Reward they got a String.

(31)

Now WILLIAM Duke of *Cumberland*,
In *Carlisle* he found a Band
That *Charly* left behind the Chace
To keep the City from his Grace.
The City around he did inclose,
His thundering Cannons began to loose,
These Rebels boldly they did assald,[365]
But all they did nothing avail'd.

[360] **John Campbell, 4th earl of Loudon (**1705-1782**)** Ayrshire born rather than highland. Wealthy and well connected, his military career on both sides of the Atlantic was noticeably lack-lustre. He had been governor of Stirling castle and in late spring, 1745, before Charles had landed, he began raising a regiment for the government side, many of whom were captured at Prestonpans. There Loudon had acted as Cope's aide-de camp, and fled with him. He was then sent to Inverness to take command of troops raised by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord Advocate. At the infamous 'Rout of Moy', 1500 of Loudon's men fled from half a dozen Jacobites shouting battlecries, leaving Inverness to be captured. He decamped for Skye, which was protected by the ships of the Royal Navy, and there he remained, well away from hostilities, until after Culloden. Graham's treatment of Loudon is extremely tactful.
[361] **Stively** stiffly- resolutely, strongly.
[362] **Another Lord** it is clear from Anderson that Duncan Forbes is meant. That he is not named may reflect Cumberland's opinion of him – 'an old woman who talked to me of humanity'.
[363] **Harlot** rascal, villain, not necessarily female, (archaic usage). Edition 2 substitutes 'rogues.'
[364] **Manie** many. Pun with menyie, (archaic) a host?
[365] **They** the besieged Jacobites. **Assald** attack; also to attempt. (DOST 2). Both senses seem relevant.

Of Cannons they had but Usage small,[366]
They're straight, when they look o'er the wall:[367]
The City within was sore oppress'd[368]
For want of Victuals sorely distress'd.
The Rebels saw they could not stand
Against the Strokes of CUMBERLAND.

When he began they curs'd his Race,
Ere all was done they cry'd for Grace;
And suddenly they changed their Spring,[369]
O pardon me, a poor press'd Thing,
The City we'll give into your Hand
If you'll give us what we demand,
To send us to America.

His Grace replied, *What does the Law,*
If it should hang you every Man,
As they decree so shall it stan';[370]
Justice shall be on every Side,
Whose in the Wrong will be displaid.

The Rebels knew no Help to fin',
They open'd the Gates, and loot them in
When Prisoners were numbered there,
Diserters ten among them were
Who joined had the King of *France,*
And against their Natives did advance'[371]
To conquer us unto the Pope;
And for their Pains they got a Rope.

Of Prisoners the rest they fand,
To *London* sent with a Command,
The Court to use them as they will,
He neither wish'd them good nor ill.[372]

---

[366] **Usage** use, employment, also to practice (DOST 2). Both senses seem relevant.
[367] **Straight** straight, also unbending (DOST (adj) 5.) The line of fire could not be adjusted.
[368] Anderson supplies details of the capture of Carlisle
[369] **Spring** (lively dance) tune.
[370] **So shall it stand** the only conditions the garrison could obtain was that they would be 'at the King's Mercy'i.e. be tried, not executed out of hand.
[371] **Natives** fellow countrymen.
[372] **Neither good nor ill**. Cumberland is described as impartial. It would not have been diplomatic to show him as vindictive.

Three Hundered they sent away,

(32)

And thirty of their Leaders gay:[373]

The Baggage was there laid up in store

Was ta'en from General *Cope* before.

His Grace to *London* did return,

For this *Scotland* full sore did mourn,

Weep and lament did many then,

While once their Hero turn'd again:

To *Scotland* then his Army sent,

By *Hawley's* Hand, *Husk* to resent.[374]

To *Edinburgh* march'd his valiant Train,

Stirling to have conquer'd again.

To *Edinburgh* came on the second Day

The Month of *Januar'*, as I say;

Welcome they were, as I suppose,

By them who were opprest with Foes.

Red Coats was well beloved then,[375]

Their Use before they did not ken.

Lord *Lowdon's* Men there came on Shore;[376]

Glasgow Militia was there before:

One *Thorenton* rose with Heart and Hand,[377]

An Hundred men he did command,

---

[373] Whitworth gives the figures as roughly 400 prisoners (31 executed), Rex Whitworth, *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland A Life* (London: LeoCooper, 1992), p. 68.

[374] **Hawley** (1685-1759) General Henry Hawley, titular commander-in-chief of the Army in Scotland, even when replaced by Cumberland. A savage disciplinarian, nicknamed 'Hangman' by his subordinates, he underestimated the highlanders' ability to withstand cavalry, and seems to have been largely responsible for the defeat at Falkirk. He was, nevertheless, held in high favour by the royal family, giving some credence to the rumour that he was an illegitimate son of George I. The anonymous Historian is far more critical of Hawley. *History of the Rebellion*, p. 150.

Huske, John (1692-176 (nicknamed Daddy), Hawley's second in command. What credit the Government army salvaged at Falkirk was largely due to him, and he also played a significant part at Culloden. Although apparently a relatively kind man, his solicitude was reserved for his soldiers; he suggested a bounty of five pounds be put on the head of each rebel.

Resent DOST b. to take affairs in hand.

[375] **Then** possibly suggests that in 1746 redcoats were less well regarded, especially if **use** means habits or customs. But Use can also mean 'purpose', suggesting that they had never been needed before. The couplet is not straightforward.

[376] **Lord Lowdon's Men** Part of the regiment, not Loudon himself.

[377] **Thorenton** Yorkshire gentleman who raised and commanded a company of volunteers that served with Wade in the marches across the Pennines. Thornton himself escaped capture after Falkirk by hiding in a cupboard. His fame is probably due to having employed John Metcalf (Blind Jack of Knaresborough, later the celebrated roadbuilder) as recruiting agent, fiddler and factotum. John Metcalf, *The Life of John Metcalf* (York: E and R Peck, 1795), pp. 75-112.

As voluntarily to defend
The King's Cause; and Oppression to End.
This hawked Band at *Stirling* was,[378]
When Day was Night with broken Laws;[379]
For all around they did oppress;
And in this Manner they raise their Cess,[380]
Go fetch us in two Bows of Corn,[381]
Or as I vow you'se dy the Morn.
When they beheld a good Horse or Mear,[382]
To briddle them they take no Fear,
Then Beef or Mutton wherever they fand,
Sauted it in their Lether Stand.[383]
Oat Meal, Butter, Cheese was a' their Meat,
And Cocks and Hens was very fresh to eat:
From House to House in Clouds they run,
And broke Spence-doors with Butt of Gun,[384]
Some to the Bread, some to the Cheese.
Then goes the old Wife to her Knees,
(33)
Prays Curses on them for the Grace.[385]
This was the Order of the Place.[386]
All they thought fit it was their nain,
They knew they were King *Plunder's* Men.
This Country was oppressed so,
That Sabbath Day they did not know!
The Hungry came, chac'd out the Fou:[387]

---

[378] **Hawked** – like hawks- predatory? Hakkit (of animals) a black brownish colour? (From haw- leaden, livid) referring to the colour of their faces? Hakkit- chopped up? The word hackit (or torn faced) is still used in modern Stirlingshire Scots to suggest ugly. All, or any, of these meanings would fit.
[379] **Day was night with broken Laws.** Echoing Psalms 1:2 and Joshua 1:8, when 'the virtuous man meditates on the Law of the Lord day and night, and only thus will he have good success.'
[380] **Cess** tax based on the rental value of land, routinely exacted by Prince Charles in his capacity as Regent. The countryside round Stirling was now occupied by the Jacobite army, and in the next thirty lines Graham borrows from Cleland's *Highland Host* to describe their plundering.
[381] **Bows,** bolls.
[382] The Jacobite army was persistently short of horses, and had to acquire them on the march. Pittock, *Culloden*, p. 47.
[383] **Sauted** salted it? Or perhaps from French sauter, to toss? The highlanders used animal skins as a container for preserved meat. He may simply mean it went imediately into their stomachs.
[384] **Spence** store room, pantry.Also an apartment, specifically a bedroom or sleeping place
[385] **Grace** favour, also prayer before and after meat.
[386] **Order** arrangement, rule of law.

Both Night and Day this was their Due.
Before the Fire their *Tool* warmed than;
The lasses with Modestie they ran
Ben to the Spence from such a Sight,
And said their Manners was not right.[388]
Of their Behaviour for me to tell,
I wou'd take a Twelvemonth for to spell:
They grew so fat, mighty and strong,
A *Man o'War* they thought to wrong,[389]
At the Town of *Erth* she did appear.[390]
Then rose the Rebels in a Steer,
And mounted Cannons with all their Might,
Then fell to the Fighting in the Night.
It was so dark they could not see,
And so they quat and loot abe;[391]
And when they got convenient Sight,
For two long Hours did fire and fight.
Many Rebels there fell on the Green,
They hid the half that was not seen;
Three times they engaged in that Place,
Who liv'd in *Erth* had little Peace.
The Balls came whistling from the Sea
Made Rebels from their Carriage flee.[392]
With Cannons on Board they ventured in,[393]
On a small Boat the Cause to win,
When they drew near to fight or flite[394],
She gave a Shot their Nebs to snite,[395]
Which broke their Boat and Cannons down,

---

[387] **Fou** Full, replete.
[388] **Manners was not right**. This trope comes from Clelland, but the attempted rape and the girl's defence of her modesty –'she with a flesh-cruik gript his cod'are omitted, as are the pregnant lasses left to endure 'broken bakes', Clelland, p. 42.
[389] **Man o' War** HMS *Vulture*, together with HMS *Pearl.* Duffy, p. 407.
[390] **Erth** Airth
[391] **Quat** past of quit.
[392] **Carriage** service of carrying due by a tenant to his landlord. Punning on gun carriage; the Jacobite batteries were destroyed.
[393] **They** the Jacobites.
[394] **Flite** to wrangle violently.
[395] **She** HMS Vulture. **Snite** to wipe one's nose, especially with thumb and fingers

Their Ingineer he fell in a Swoun,
The rest lap out with a great Fray[396]
Down thro' the Sea unto the Clay;[397]
And there they lay for a long Time,
(34)
The Ship got space to charge and prime.[398]
This was their Death, Doom and Size,[399]
My Author did not see them rise;
I believe they might lie for a Space,
Till once the Ship went from that Place:
Some Boats they brake, and some they brunt,
The Rebels lost with great Affront.[400]

CHAP. XIII

An Account of the Battle of Falkirk, &c.[401]

Now *Hawly* on the thirteen Day
From *Edinburgh* Town he march'd away
Into the Month of *January*
To *Linlithgow* Town in good Array.
A thousand Rebels in *Lithgow* were,[402]
But one *McFun* a Rogue was there[403]
Who warned them in haste to flee,

---

[396] **Fray** fear, also noise.
[397] **Clay** collocates with clay-cauld, and death. In that part of the Forth, mud is a more accurate description.
[398] **Ship** The *Vulture* was stranded in the mud overnight, but its firepower was unimpeded.
[399] **Size** a duty on imported goods i.e their due. Graham may be making a veiled allusion to the presence of Walter Grossett, the Alloa customs officer, on board the Government vessel.
[400] **Affront**, disgrace, humiliation. This account of the amphibious operation on the Forth in early January is confusing, probably deliberately so, since it can be counted as a Jacobite success, in that French cannons were successfully transported across the Forth in a captured brig, in spite of four attempts by the Royal Navy to prevent them, using navy sloops, longboats, and night ambushes. They did, however, manage to burn a couple of boats drawn up for the winter, and destroy a Jacobite battery and this is the part Graham emphasises. He says nothing about the two subsequent confrontations, which involved government vessels being stuck in mud and the pilots being killed.
[401] **Falkirk** though confused, the Battle of Falkirk cannot be regarded as anything other than a Jacobite victory, though their failure to follow it up negated it. Anderson, besieged in Stirling castle, describes it a Hanoverian triumph; Graham is more circumspect. His main source from January on seems to be the *Scots Magazine*.
[402] **Linlithgow** they were foraging, their target a government depot of bread and fodder.
[403] **Mc Fun** the name comes from Anderson, and may simply be an anti-highland joke. Anderson gives his first name as Archibald.

King *George*'s Army were so nigh.
And there they fled wi' a great Speed
Thro' *Falkirk* Town with Fear and dread.
At *Lithgow* Town did *Hawly* stay,
And came no further on that Day.
To *Falkirk* Town they march'd again,
And camped upon a pleasant Plain,
Upon the *North* side of the Town;[404]
A valiant Sight there did ly down.[405]
The *Campbells* Band they met them there[406]
With Courage keen, in Order rare.
Whan that the Rebels this did hear
How *Hawly's* Host was drawing near.
To *Torwood* Craig theycame in Hives[407]
Like Droves of Cows, whom Drovers drives.
Th'Hussars drave them up like Dogs,
Their Whips plaid crack about their Lugs.
On *January* the Sixteenth Day,
When unto Night that it drew nie,
(35)
The *Highlander* Camp from the *Torwood*
Thro *Caron* water was their Road,
A little above *Dunninpace*-Mill,
At the foot of *Bonny* they took the Hill
West from *Falkirk* to the *Moor head*
To have the Wind, full fast they gaid.
When General *Husk* heard these Alarms,
He cry'd, *Brave men, now to your Arms.*
The Horsemen mounted all with Speed,
And Foot to follow they did proceed.
A Party of Militia there did advance
Near by the Horsemen made their Stance.[408]

---

[404] **The north side of the town** a measure of General Hawley's overconfidence is that his headquarters were not with his men, but at Callander House, to the east of Falkirk.
[405] **Sight** spectacle, or DOST, 2, a great number, a multitude.
[406] **Campbells** Argyll Militia. Hawley seems to have had little confidence in them, and left them in the rear.
[407] **They** the Jacobites.
[408] **Their stance** the retreating dragoons rode over them, but Graham clearly feels this is better left unsaid.

Southmost the Horsemen did array,
The Foot north from them on a Lay,[409]
Between Foot and Horse there past a Hare,
Its thought that *auld Lucky* was there.[410]
The *Highlanders* upon the *Southwest* Side
Their bloody Banners have displaid;
In Columns three divided they steer,
Their bloody Prince behind the Rear.
Our Horsemen stood on a little Hight,
The southmost out of the northmost's Sight;
This Field it was all Highs and Hous,[411]
Some boggy Ground among the Knous.[412]
The *Highlanders* that southmost were
To have the Wind took meikle Care;[413]
Our Horsemen tried them to prevent,
In deep till'd Ground, they came no vent;[414]
This Troop was sep'rate from the rest,
Wheel to the *North*, they thought it best
Once for to have Help in their Sight
Before they wou'd ingage to fight.
The Rebels perceived their Intent,
And then with Speed they did present[415]
A cruel Battle; then began
Crack by crack, as fast as they can.[416]
This Troop alas! hard was their Case,
For Wind and Rain blew in their Face;
None could stand there, as I protest,
(36)
And set their Face against the Blast,
The foremost of them was valiant Men,

[409] **Lay** lea, a piece of untilled ground.
[410] **Auld Lucky.** name for a witch, assumed to be the Duke of Perth's mother (Chambers). Graham does not mention her name specifically here.
[411] **Highs and hous** Anglicisation of tag *heichts and hows*, hills and dales, ups and downs.
[412] **Knous** hillocks. An accurate description of Falkirk Muir.
[413] **Have the Wind**, to have the wind at their backs.
[414] **Vent** opening.
[415] **Present** to proffer; collocates with present arms (firearms or pikes).
[416] **Crack** stroke by stroke. Also the sound of gunfire.

Came briefly near with Sword in Han':
The hindmost Rank brake at the flight,
Their Captain cry'd, *This is not right,*
He cry'd to turn them back again,
But yet his Words they held in vain![417]
If they had been as true as he
It had been good for this country
I think; and better for themsell,
Till once they fled few of them fell.
Foreward they came unto the Groun'
Like murdering Dogs the way they run,
Of wounded Men whom they found there,
Hash with Broad-sword, no Life to spare,[418]
But some of them went to their Knee
Mercy for his Sake who dy'd on Tree.
Then two or three did strake at once,[419]
And cleave them to the Coler Bones.
Their Children following with Dagger-Knife
Whom they found stear, deprived of Life.[420]
If Soldiers mind *Tranent* and this
For *Highlandmen* small Favour is:[421] Quote Murray
Whom there they slew was stripped bare,
It was most for Plunder they came there.
North over the Hill then did they wheel,[422]
From Horse and Foot there came a Reel[423]
As Thunder roaring in the Air,
Like a Hailstone Show r the Ball flew there.[424]
The Rebels then did roar and cry
When they fell down in Heaps like Ky.
Who stood advanc'd the Field to take;

[417] **Captain[…]not right** A disproportionate number of officers were killed at Falkirk, an indication that their men had disobeyed them and simply turned and run.
[418] **Hash** cut in small pieces, mangle.
[419] A better rhyme with Scots pronunciation- aince/banes.
[420] **Stear** stir, move.
[421] This qualifies as what Pittock describes as 'Black Propoganda' against the Jacobites. *Culloden*, p. 104.
[422] **They** British army.
[423] **Reel** (fig), tumult, disorder.
[424] **Show r.** Shower in the second edition. A letter or an apostrophe may be missing from the print.

Some of our Horse retreated back.

The valiant *Husk* again did fire

Five Platowns without retire;

It's said that *Hawly* was not there,[425]

But at the Time I'll speak nae mair;

The best of Men thro' Ignorance

They will forget their Ordinance.[426]

(37)

Some Horse went in with Sword in Hand[427]

Full Room was made, the Rebbels fand[428]

A Battle sore upon them made,

And in before *Husk* they gaid.

To fi e again *Husk* could no more[429]

For wounding his own, that was in before.

The Rebels fled once to the *West*,

To rally again, so they protest,

They stood in Aw to come. *They dare*[430]

Not fight wi' Husk, *He's strong at War;*

We think this day he's been o'er true:

The Blood comes o'er my Rumple now.

The *Highlandman* begins to sing

on General HUSK, to make a Spring.

A SONG.

O Sheneral HUSK *the Battle busk,*

H*e'll never break to rally;*

[425] **Hawly …not there** the story that he was lingering with the fascinating Lady Kilmarnock is unsubstantiated.

[426] **Ordinance** orders, also artillery.Punning on the loss of his cannon, left on the field by the retreating soldiers.

[427] **To fire again** The Highlanders coped with cavalry by holding their fire until they were a few feet away, then slashing at the horses' noses, dropping down and dirking their bellies, then pulling the riders down.

[428] **Room was made**-space was cleared (in battle, by killing a large number of people. DOST 3a).

[429] **Husk could no more** The right wing of the government army initially stood fast, but ultimately retreated. Graham's excuses – the danger of friendly fire, wet powder and priming, no prospect of help, are unconvincing. To cover this, he composes a song.

[430] **They** – cod Gaelic for we.

He's no good Man like Shonny Cowp
to rin at the first Baw'y.[431]
N*ow* Shonny Husk*s wi' a' his Tusks*
'll fling out round about her,
He'll stick and prick and fire and streak[432]
And burn us wi' his Pou'ter.
He's put the Durk on like a Fork,
To stick us gin we stear him,[433]
O he be a canker'd Carl,[434]
Our sell 'ill no gang near 'im

Now valiant *Husk* stood in his Place,
Sore Wind and Rain blew in their Face,
The Rebels then drew *west* the Hill,
To fight again had no good will.
Brave *Husk* he waited Help to get,
To stiff the Chace when they retreat;

(38)

He thought the Horse wad turn again,
Till darksome Night there did remain,
Their Priming and Pans were drowned sore,
To fire again they would no more.
And darksome Night then did come on,
For his Assistance there came up none.
He said, *Brave Boys since it is so,*
We'll turn again and let them go.
Now valiant *Husk* did return again,
Who best behav'd, lost fewest Men.
The Baggage Men away did go,
Their Cannons left, and told him, No,
But if *Husk* had known that so had been,
More sorrow had the Rebels seen.

---

[431] **Baw'y** diminutive of ball, (musket, cannon, etc), punning bawl, yell, and balls, testicles).
[432] **Streak** DOST 6 gives to strive, to make a great effort. Streak, to stretch, collocates with corpses and being hanged.
[433] **Stear** disturb, provoke, rouse to action.
[434] **Cankere'd** cross, ill natured.

When they saw *Husk* turn back again
Aloud they cry'd, *The Day's our nain.*
So then returned the bloody Band
To murder wounded which they fand.
Their Slain was buried that very Night,
They lost but ten Men at this Fight,
For every one we may count a Hunder,
A *Highland* Lye is no great Wonder.
Who came the Battle there for to see,
They murdered some most cruelly,[435]
Prisoners they had but few or nane,[436]
Whom e'er they met they made him ane.
Of GEORGE's Men that was at this Fight
Fourscore and twelve was slain that Night.
Now General Husk is down to the Camp,
For misbehaviour then did he ramp.
If we lie here, into this Place
I fear we'll meet with more Disgrace,
They are on the Hight, and we are below,
To Edinburgh *Town I fear they'll go.*
If they go by us now so near
We'll be disgrac'd for evermair.
The Captains thought his Counsel right,
To *Lithgow* Town they march'd that Night,
Their Baggage–men who plaid the Knave
(39)
Caused many of their Tents to leave
In the Camp, they left them standing sound
Which by the Rebels there was found.
One Captain *Macdonald,* he fled away,[437]

[435] **They** the Highlanders were accused of murdering non combatant spectators, including eight Presbyterian ministers. There is no reliable confirmation of this, and even the Rev. John Bisset seems to have difficulty in believing it. Rev.John Bisset 'Diary' in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ed. John Stuart, 5 volumes, (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1841), I, p. 371. Some Presbyterian ministers among the volunteers companies were captured and imprisoned in Doune, including John Witherspoon, and John Home, at that point still a student.

[436] Like the notion of **murdering wounded** at the end of the previous paragraph, this may be intended to pre-empt criticism of the Hanoverian forces after Culloden. A broadside The *Letter to the Author of the National Journal* had appeared in Edinburgh and the author, 'Tom Curious' had queried the suspiciously low number of prisoners taken.< http://digital.nls.uk/broadsides/broadside.cfm/id/15274>

Ran *east* for *west* in such a Frey
Among Dragoons, with Speed he ran
And there he was compell'd to stan'.
To *Edinburgh* then they drove him on,
In Castle he's laid in Prison strong.
Two Gallowses was mounted high,[438]
Four for Disertion there to die,
Their just Reward, this Recompence
For joining with the King of *France*
To conquer *Britain* to the Pope.
But they were conquer'd wi' a Rope.
Ten more were doomed for to dy,
But pardon'd out of his Clemency,
Our King has granted them their Life,[439]
Altho' they stood gainst him in Strife.

Chap. XIV

Of the Rebels Behaviour after the battle of Falkirk, *and how they returned to* Stirling *and fought with the Castle*, &c.

The Rebels into *Falkirk* Town
That very Night, they did come down
First to the Town, then to the Camp,
No Man durst speak, they were so ramp.
The next Morning both great and small,
Into the Town they assembled all,
They rob'd the Town of Drink and Meat,
And took Men's Purses on the Street.

---

[437] **Donald Macdonnell of Tirnadris**, involved in the first conflict of the Rebellion, found himself amongst Government troops by mistake, was taken, and later executed at Carlisle. Sourced from Anderson, as is the next paragraph.

[438] **Two Gallowses** were set up by the sadistic Hawley, to deal with his own troops, which runs counter to Government army propaganda indicating that they had been, in some sort, victorious. Graham reduces the numbers involved, insinuatng, rather unconvincingly, that deserters deserved their fate for joining the French. The projected numbers were 47 deserters to hang, 32 men to be shot for cowardice, 31 dragoons still to be tried. Johnathan Oates, *Sweet William or the Butcher* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2008), p. 53.

[439] **Our King** Cumberland, acting in his father's place.

A Young Man got a Gun in Hand
To learn to fire without Command,
A Ball was taken out before,
Yet other two she had in Store;[440]
(40)
Out at the Window did her sit
Some Man or Maukin for to hit,[441]
Captain *Glengarie* was passing by
By Chance he shot, and made him ly.
It was not a Mercy Mischief so bra'[442]
It did not kill their Captains a'.
The Prisoners that they did confine,
To *Stirling* Town they drove like Swine,
The Church their Prison House was made,
Neither to give them Meal nor Bread.
Yet some brake out into the Night,
And over the Mountains came home right.
They took the rest and bound them fast,
Into the *North* with them they past.
Then Wood they cut Fagots to make,
Vowing the Castle they should take,
And did inclose't on every Side,
No Passage there, whate'er betide.[443]
At the *Nor'east* Side, on a Hill-head,
Their Fagots set and Trenches made,
Near *Ballingeech* that low path Way,
For a while were slaughter Night and Day.
The Time their Trenches were a making,
The Castle to them was daily cracking.[444]
Sometimes great Words both coarse and braid,
Often with Ball drave off their Head,
Their Trench it was right near the Wa',

[440] **In store** the gun had been double loaded. Whatever the reason, Glengarry was shot accidentally, and the young man, a Macdonald of Clanranald, executed for it.
[441] **Mauken** hare (proverbially unlucky).
[442] **It was not** was it not?
[443] **Whate'er betide** Anyone found near the castle was to be executed.
[444] **Cracking** firing, pun on crack meaning gossip, chat. Fart is another possibility.

The Castle higher, and well them saw.
They could not dig down for the Rock[445]
Which held them well up to the Stroke,[446]
For Night and Day they wrought betimes
Like common Thieves committing Crimes:
They curst the Moon for shining bright,
And giving to the Castle Light
To point their Mark for streaking leel,[447]
And wish their Prince with the auld Chiel.[448]
When that the Moon it did not shine,
The Castle made then a Ingine[449]
Of tar and flax well wrought together,
(41)
And with a Cannon they sent it hither.[450]
This shining Torch of Tar and Tow
Set on their Trench a blazing Low,
Lets *Blackney*[451] see to stay their Wark,
And chace them back into the Dark.
When *Perth* heard tell they did that Way,
Under the Pain of Death to fly,
They should be hang'd upon a Tree;
Nothing but Death for them they see;
Most manfully they wrought it then,
And in their Trenches they built dead Men.[452]
As they built up, he made it fa'[453]
With thundering Cannon over the Wa'.
For there came a Pointer from the Sea[454]

---

[445] **The Rock** Mirabelle de Gordon, an incompetent French engineer of Scottish extraction, advocated batteries on the Gowan Hill and the Lady Rock, both solid stone, which meant that effective trenches could not be dug, and they had to build up protective bulwarks.
[446] **Up to the Stroke** Strake, a rod used for measuring grain accurately. Hence, up to the mark, up to the measure.
[447] **Their** the besieged. **Streaking** striking. **Leel** truly.
[448] **The auld Chiel** The Devil.
[449] **Ingine** device.
[450] **Hither** here, identifying with the inhabitants of the town.
[451] **William Blakeney (1672-1761).** Irish Career soldier and M.P., at this point aged 75, was Lieutenant Governor of Stirling castle which he defended vigorously, as he did Minorca some years later, though unsuccessfully on that occasion.Unlike Admiral Byng, however, he was not shot, but became a Knight of the Bath and was buried in Westminster Abbey.
[452] **Dead men** This seems unnecessarily ghoulish, but the dead were perforce buried in very shallow graves.
[453] **He** Blakeney.

Who was well us'd in such a Plee,[455]
When Orders of his General,
To hit a Mark few can excel.
Many a Gentleman was there
Encourag'd him with Words fair,
They who were loyal for the Cause
To King and Country and *Britains* Laws.
The Rebels saw it past their Might
To raise their Trench to a great Hight,
By Night their Cannons have they plac'd
Against the Castle proudly fac'd.
Then BLACKNEY cried, *All Men to Arms,*
Brave Gentlemen, we'll fear no Harms.
For many a valiant Man was there,
Of noble Lairds from every where,
Who left their Homes from slaverie,[456]
And would not join with Prelacie,
And truly said o BLACKNEY brave, [457]
To Death with you we will behave.[458]
As BLACKNEY would they assembled then,[459]
In Order stood his valiant Train,
Behind the Battery he laid them close,
O then began the Rebels Loss.
Cannoneers cry'd, *We fear them not,*
Though Ingineers have Proof of Shot.

(42)

Bold BLACKNEY said, *Let no Heart grieve,*
High Powers above will Victory give,
For on such Strength we will rely,
We're in his Hand to live or dy.
But let us all our Strength endure,

---

[454] **Pointer** gunner, marksman.
[455] **Plee**, plea, court case, hence quarrel, fight.
[456] **Left** kept their homes from slavery (archaic).
[457] **o** O, Blackney brave. The second edition has a capital letter, confirming a vocative, rather than a misprint for 'to'.
[458] **Behave** to conduct oneself well.
[459] **Would** wished.

To hold them out while we have Pow'r.
For, before they enter here (said he)
Let us every Man resolve to die.
With one Accord they cry'd, *Content.*
Then fell to work with Courage bent[460],
Go on, go on for a righteous Cause.
In Defence of your Maker's Laws;
Then Fire began on every Side
Thund ring Cannons great Roars display'd.
The Rebels Cannon was pointed hie,
Quite over the Castle the Balls did fly.
The Castle cry'd to level low,
You Look's too high down shal you go,
Then a famous Piece was pointed even[461]
And a Cannon off their Carriage is driven,
Then down the Brae she tumbled fast;
Their Ingineers was sore aghast;
They strove to give the like again,
But strake the Wall above the Men.
Some Stones there fell where that it strake,
An Officer a Wound he gat,
In Rage the Soldiers did let fly
Great Showers of Balls, made Rebels ly
Wanting their Arms and some their Head,
With grievous Groans, spurring to Dead,[462]
And cursing the Chevalier's Companie,
Who brought them to such Miserie.
Their Coahorns fired in with Speed,[463]
The most Part went o'er the Castle-head
And lighted on the other Side,
Which hoal'd the Earth both deep and wide.
They pointed so against anither
The Rebels Cannon-mouth they drove together,

[460] **Bent** determined, resolute.
[461] **Even**, adv. In an even, steady manner or direction.
[462] **Dead** death.
[463] **Coahorn** cohorn, a mortar for firing grenades.

Some were broke, and some were riven,

(43)

And all was from the Carriage driven.

Their Ingineers began to rue,

Down goes their Trench and Packs of Woo,[464]

Some crap in that wounded were

Behind the Trench for Shelter, there

The Trenches fell in such a Fray,

That Burning came or Death drew nigh.[465]

Their Ingineer was so beset,

His head and Harns he did forget;[466]

For his Head it fell upon the Groun',

When lifting it he fell in a Swoon,[467]

He was so bold in Times before,

Of Death he thought No Conqueror,

If he thought to stand, he would need a Crummock[468]

For his Brains they flew about like Drummock[469].

Their Trenches was forsaken than,

On Hands and Feet the Cripples ran

Down o'er the Brae to get Relief;

Their Fury turn'd to great Mischief.

At *Falkirk* and this Siege were slain

Fifteen hunder rebellious Men:

When all the Steer was past and gone

BLACKNEY lost not a Man but one.

Who, accidentally was shot before,

Three got small Wounds; their Scaith's no more

Four Weeks they were inclos' within,

No more War-ship did the Rebels win.[470]

When the Rebels saw they lost their Might,

Who was not slain they fled wi' Fright.

---

[464] **Packs of woo** wool packs to provide some sort of protection.
[465] **Burning** They were burned alive.
[466] **Harns**- brains.
[467] **In a swoon** Ironic rather than literal.
[468] **Crummock** a stick with a crooked head.
[469] **Drummock** (or crowdie) a mixture of raw oatmeal and water. In fact, Mirabelle de Gordon survived the rebellion and was captured and exchanged. *Scots Magazine* (1746), p. 234; Anonymous, *History*, p. 254.
[470] **War ship** pun on worship? Military honour.

Long Time before, both Night and Day
Against the Trench did Cannons play:
The Rebels saw they could not won,[471]
Their Trenches all laid to the Groun';
The Ingineer was dead and gone,
In whom they had their Trust alone.

(44)

CHAP. XV .

Of the King's sending down Duke William *to quell the rebels when they were in* Stirling, &c.

To *London* is gone this Lamentation
Of *Scotland*'s Ruining and Vexation;
The King was sorry for their Case,
To hear of such extream Distress,
A Nation by it's self Oppression,[472]
For to destroy their own Possession.
BLACKNEY bold, clos'd in his Den,
And did not know but he was slain:
Hawley rather put to the worse,
The Loss of Men and Part of Horse.
And *Stirling* Town that strong City
The *Highland* Croud in it did ly.
Now, WILLIAM the Duke of *Cumberland*
This worthy Deed has ta'en in Hand,
Scotland to save from Tyrannie,
And craves Protection from on Hie;
The King to part with his was woe,
And all the Court likewise, also;
He knew the Land was sore opprest,
And then to stay he would not rest.
The City *London* cry'd out, *Alas*,

[471] **Won** stay.
[472] **Oppression[…]possession** tyrannising over, or violently molesting (another). Loquacious way of saying civil war.

We'll never see his Royal Face.
Away he goes, caus'd many to mourn,
Who would be glad of his Return,
On the twenty fourth of Januarie,
Now *Scotland* is thinking long for thee.[473]
The fifth Day thereafter as you shall fin',
Edinburgh City he entered in.
This was glad News in many a Place,
To Jacobitish great Disgrace,
His Army then he this allow'd,[474]
For C*harly*'s Chace to be pursued.

(45)

Duke WILLIAM'*s* SPEECH *to His* ARMY
before they were to face the Rebels, when he came
to Edinburgh, January 30th 1746[475]

"Now, GENTLEMEN, hear this of me,
"You're the Soldiers of a People free;
"Not like the poor bound Slaves of France,
"Unto all popish Ordinance,[476]
"I know there is many of you that is here
"Who shewed Manhood in foreign Wear,
"Others may say they never got th'Occasion
"To shew their Valour in a foreign Nation,
"And thinks themselves as good as they;
"I doubt not but part of you may
"Altho' your Native you've as yet possest[477] [478],
"And in foreign Lands no Foes have fac'd.
"You pertain to Corps of Men as well as they

[473] **To think long** to weary for.
[474] **Allow'd** assigned.
[475] **Jan 30th** January 30th was the anniversary of Charles I's death, viewed as a martyrdom by Jacobites and non-jurors. It is unlikely that Cumberland's words to his troops –if any- would have been as elaborate as this; the speech is not reported in the *Scots Magazine.* Graham may have used some broadsheet, now lost, as a source. Cumberland's form of speech is noticeably anglicised.
[476] **Ordinance** rule, authority (collocates with religious ordinance).
[477] **Native** belonging to this country.
[478] **Possest** owned, tenanted.

"Who never turn'd their Backs to fly.

"I hope you're now resolved to fight

"For your King and Country's Right

"Against the Rebels Resolution,

"Who is for turning Order to Confusion.

"A Set of Plunderers and Thieves

"Every Government disturbs and grieves,

"Who learned from their Fathers they are

"In troublous Times to start up War.

"They boast themselves wi' bauling Words[479]

"To do great Actions with broad Swords,

"I think may prove to be small Stoops[480]

"Against train'd discipling Troops.

"If you don't fly and break the Line,

"By Swords you can no Danger fin'.

"Stand, and behold them but in the Face,

"And use what is fit when they'd imbrace.[481]

(46)

"But when Men turns their Back to fly

"Their Honour and Life then throws away.

"In this manner they murder themsell,

"And Foes encourages to excel.

"Think on *Tournay* old *Fontenoie*,

"Fear not these Rogues who would destroy

"All that is good, if they had Pow'r,

"And plead Heaven's Protection in a fatal Hour,

"Remember you're for a righteous Cause,

"Against Subverters of true Laws.

"You've Generals and Captains true & just,

"Therefore you need not fear Mistrust.

"Go on and shew yourselves like Men,

"And I hope you'll return Victorers again;[482]

"So to the King of Heaven I you commit

---

[479] **Bauling** punning on baul'(bold) and bawling.
[480] **Stoops** support, either literal-eg. bed posts, or figurative- a staunch adherent.
[481] **Imbrace** come close.
[482] **Victorers** victors, obsolete in English since 1631 (OED).

"To do with us all as he thinks fit "

When *William* the Duke did this declare
His Banners broad displayed were,
From *Edinburgh* Town he march'd away
To *Lithgow* town that very Day
A beautiful Army there was seen,
Regiments of Foot there was Fourteen,[483]
And two of Horse, in Armour clear,
Argyle's Men were two Thousand near,
Of brazen Cannons there was Sixteen,
To number their Waggons dazl'd my Een
Charming it was to see that Sight,
And hearing of the Rebel's Flight.

CHAP. XVI

How the Rebels blew up the Church of St. Ninians
and how they were chaced into the North *by the*
Duke of Cumberland, &c.

When they heard the Army was draw[ing near][484]
Our nainsell be o'er lang here.
At *Stirling* they wrought the Night before
(47)
Beyond the *Forth* to get their store,[485]
Beneath the Town they had a Boat,
At the old *Abbay* there Passage got[486]
For Packs of Cloath, and plunder'd Gear;
Ill Health may they have them for to wear.
Good-night wi *Highland* Packmen[487] now
At *Drummossie* Fair we'll buy frae you.

[483] Numbers are sourced from Anderson
[484] [**ing near**] from edition. 2; illegible in ed. 1.
[485] **Store** of loot, understood.
[486] **Abbay** The ferry at Cambuskenneth Abbey.
[487] The irony would be particulary effective, if recounted by a chapman.

Their Cannons they left, and durst not stay,
From *Stirling* Town ran all away.
And from *Falkirk* into the Night
Right suddenly they took the Flight,
Their Captains Hands began to wring,[488]
And a savage wild fell too, to sing,[489]

A SONG.

Now Shordy's Willy'*s comming here*
And a' his Sodgers bra' Man,
Its Time to Highlandmen *to stere,*
we're o'er lang been awa' Man.
His mucle Horse it wants the Tail,[490]
Her Feets is mair nor twa, Man;
An' she come on my Lug a Shap[491]
'ill ding my Head awa', Man.
Now let us rin frae Sheordy'*s Sin,*
for Sharly *he will fell, Man;*
And gin we wandhis glory fin',[492]
We dare not gang to steal, man.
O Sharly, Sharly, *take your Heels,*
Unto the North *to rin, Man,*
For Cumberlan' *that wons the Fiel's*
'ill drive us up behin', Man.

Their Prince at *Bannockburn* he staid,
To hear of this he took the Wead,[493]
The Gout (he cry'd) *it grips me now,*
Hold up my Back or else I'll bow[494].
Go saddle my Horse, and let us pack

[488] **Captains** Lord George Murray and six clan chiefs recommended retreat to the Highlands.
[489] **Fell too** began.
[490] **Wants the tail** The British army routinely docked horses' tails until 1764.
[491] **Shap** chap, knock.
[492] **Wand** has waned, decreased.
[493] **Wead** to go mad with fury. Hay of Restalrig, Charles'secretary, described the Prince banging his head off the wall in the tantrum that ensued when his officers insisted on a retreat to the North. Chevalier de Johnstone, *Memoirs of the Rebellion* (London: Longman, 1820), p. 99. The withdrawal was chaotic.
[494] **Bow** assume a crooked shape. Theories vary about Charles' illness, from a psychosomatic collapse to a bad cold.

(48)

With a‘ belongs to Conscience black:
For the Wicked can no longer stand,
The Righteous now is hard at hand.
Now *Charly* mounted in a great Haste,
And there to stay he could not rest.
The Minister of *St Ninians* Town[495]
To Pop’ry gave a bad Renown,
He told the Rebels what was true,
To *George* his King, still gave his Due;
With a bold Face among them a’
He pray’d their Council down to fa’.
Their Honour was brought near an En’,
And here no longer they durst remain;
In the Church was their Amonition Store,
This House the Pope doth much abhore,
The Tents they took to deal was there
A Proclamation they did Declare,
Come all and get of our Supply,
We’ll deal something for Charity.
Their bloody Prince *south* from the Town
An Ingineer he did send down,
(This Plot ‘tis thought was made before)
To get all they could within the Door;
The Ingineer who did it fire
To go up wi’t had some Desire.
Towards the Skies with it he flew
And came down dead baith black and blew;
By this Destruction nine were slain,
Made *Charly* chace Grace wondrous fain;[496]
On his Ingineer waiting he stood

[495] **Minister of St Ninian’s Town** James Mackie, Graham’s parish minister, who published an initially anonymous pamphlet, *The Blowing Up of the Church of St Ninian’s* <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco-1273800700 > which Graham probably used as a source, together with the *Scots Magazine* (July 1746), p. 221. The poet insinuates that the destruction was an act of revenge for the minister’s defiance, an evil gunpowder plot to entrap local people. Anderson views it as divine vengeance for ‘polluting His Holy Sanctuary’. The explosion was most probably an accident among the confusion of the disorganised retreat. The theory of a suicidal engineer is unconvincing.
[496] **Grace** divine forgivness.

Who came not back with bad nor good.

Now *Charly* is gone with all his Crew,
And many a Curse did him pursue,
His Waggons brake with stown Gear,
The Earth his Tackling could not bear,[497]
Likewise his Types for Printing Lies,[498]
(Poor Widows Curses on him swies)[499]
His Cannons sank there at the *Frew*,
And Horses dy'd the same that drew:

(49)

Now *Charly* is ta'en the *North* with speed,
For *Cumberland* pursues indeed,
His royal Grace from *Lithgow* Town
In Battle-array he has him boun',
Thinking the Rebels would draw near,
But in no shape they could appear.

At *Falkirk* Town that Night they lay,[500]
To *Stirling* went on the next Day;
The second day of *Lenteron*[501]
A joyful Sight for them that moan:
When to the Town that he drew nigh
The Castle fired for jovialty;
Our Jacobites thought all was wrong,
Into Portyoul they changed their Song.[502]

Unto the Castle his Grace he went,
And viewed the Trenches they had rent,
Saluting the General *Blackney* bold,
Who was so true his Right to hold
And asked how his men did behave,
They unto Death drave many a Knave.[503]

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[497] **Tackling** equipment.
[498] **Types** the printing press, and men to operate it, were taken from Glasgow. A proclamation was printed in Bannockburn.
[499] **Swee** (vb.) SND1 (3) to press, weigh down.
[500] **They** the British army.
[501] **Lenteron** Lent.
[502] **Portyoul** Puirt a beuil; Gaelic mouth music. Graham's spelling emphasises yowling, or caterwauling.
[503] The next two lines should be a part of Blakeney's response, with Cumberland's reply at the start of the next paragraph.

Who thought to reave your royal Right
They boldly fought both Day and Night.
Here for to rest it will not doo,
But after them I will pursue.
The Bridge was broke Passage to stay,
He caused them mount on the next Day;[504]
Ae Day behind it held them then,
On the next Morning they march'd again.
The Foot-men over the Bridge there past
And all their Baggage that with them haste,
His Grace there at the Bridge did stand,
How to behave he gave Command,
His Horsemen past the Ford at *Dreep,*[505]
Then to *Dumblain* they marched up.
When all was gone out of the Town
His Grace for Dinner he made bown'
And then he mounted on his Steed,
So after them he did proceed.
Perth's Lodging they did surroun'[506]
(50)
But the Nest was toom, for all was flown,
No Man did stay but Women there,
The Mother of *Perth*, I'll say nae mair.[507]
To find out Lucky some ought to prick,[508]
But she plays many a hellish trick
That's learned by the Laws of *France,*
Inchantments and the Horn-dance[509]
From the old Diserter doth proceed;[510]
Therefore she is Lucky indeed.
Who does Inchantments by his Power

[504] **Mount (**figurative) to be raised. The bridge had been destroyed on Blakeney's orders, but Graham does not emphasize this.
[505] **Dreep** Drip. The name survives in the Drip Road, Stirling.
[506] **Perth's Lodging** Drummond Castle, south of Crieff.
[507] **The Mother of Perth** Lady Jean Gordon, the Duke of Perth's mother, was a fervent Catholic, and hence a target. She had spent a long time in France, where her sons were educated.
[508] **Lucky** the name for a witch. **Prick,** test for being a witch.
[509] **Horn-dance** Hornpipe. Sexual connotations.
[510] **The old Diserter** Satan (the Rebel Angel); punning also on James II's flight in 1688.

They are serving Nick you may be sure.[511]

Now Lucky is ta'en, against her Will
She'll scult nae mair out o'er the Hill;[512]
In Prison strong she is kept fast,
Her Cantraips now she dare not cast.[513]
Thy Image now of Silver Dum
May dye thy Conscience like the Lum,
In whom thou had thy Trust alone
Can they now supply thy Moan?
Or deliver thee out of their Hands
Who keeps the bound into their Bands.
You *Papists* are a hellish Race;
I this reproach you to your Face,
And your Images of Gold so fine
Their Curses come on me and mine;
Likewise themselves at any rate,
For Money now is ill to get;
I have run my Purseunto an En,[514]
And can get nouther Paper nor Pen.
To write thir Lines the way you see me,
And there's none for to supplie me. [515]

Now *Cumberland northward* he went,
Perth's Mother unto *Edinburgh* sent
To keep her fast in Prison strong,
Then know who had the Right or Wrong.

[511] **Nick** Auld Nick, the devil.
[512] **Scult** scout, spy, to watch an enemy force and observe its movements, as, it was suspected, she did in the form of a hare at Falkirk.
[513] **Cantraips** spells.
[514] **Purse** second edition reads money.
[515] Perhaps the original ending, with the narrator pausing to collect money from his audience or customers. It corresponds with the end of Anderson's first book of *Chronicles.* Both men decided to continue, but Anderson's second pamphlet is virtually unfathomable, and Graham seems to have preferred as his main source the *Scots Magazine*, which gave the official (London Gazette) accounts from January 1746 and added relevant quotation from newspapers of different political persuasions, allowing readers to resolve disparities for themselves. Graham supplies some embellishment to a reasonably accurate, if somewhat pedestrian, narrative in the form of dialogue, or additional evidence from eyewitnesses.

CHAP. XVII

Of Duke Williams's *March from* Perth, *& how the Rebels fled to* Badinoch, *& took the said Garrison,& went and took the Castle of* Inverness, *and went to take* Fort William, *but was repulsed with Loss. During which Time Duke* Wiliam *lay, and was strengthened at* Aberdeen; *With an Account of the* Hessians, &c.

The Royal Duke did yet pursue,
Desiring still the Rogues to view.
The *Highlanders* thought it no Time to stay,
But quickly past the Ferry of *Tay*.[516]
His Grace drave up the Rear behine,
They ran before like Goats and Swine,
Out o're the Mountains high they ran
And would not speak to *Cumberlan'*:
For *Badinoch* then they ran away
To raise their Strength for Battle Day.
The Castle of *Badinoch* they sieged then,[517]
Within there was but fourteen Men,
For two Days their gave them Assail,
But at the last they seem'd to fail
And yield unto that hellish Crew,
The Castle into the Air they blew,
The Men into Prison they were cast,
With Hunger and Cold they keep them fast.
Duke *William*'s gone to *Aberdeen*,
The Way before him he sweeped clean;
Then comes a Storm, he thought it best
To let them run, and there to rest[518]
Till once the Day were at more Length,
And then he thought to sey their Strength.

[516] **Ferry of Tay** The bridge at Perth had been destroyed by flood water and had not been replaced.
[517] **Castle of Badinoch** Ruthven Barracks. Sergeant (now Lieutenant) Molloy had held the barracks against the Jacobites on their way south. The Courant claims that the rebels now had cannons, and that Molloy did not surrender until he had obtained terms.
[518] **Rest** they rested from the end of February until early April, when the weather improved, normal eighteenth century campaigning practice.

Into *Monross* a Band did send[519]
All Rebels there to apprehend,
Merchants who had a Love to *France*,
(52)
Fain wou'd the *Chevalier* advance,
And with their Vessels shewed Good-will
To do King *George*'s Ships great Ill;
And gave their's to the *Highland* Band,
A Man of War they did gainstand[520],
And led her captive into *France*,
For which they ought a Recompence.[521]
To Stirling Town he sent them fast,
And there to ly till Laws be past.
The *Highlanders* lay in mountains wild,
And there they thought they were beguil'd,
They could get nothing for to eat,
Such Famine was, for Lack of Meat
Their Bellies were rax'd so wide before,[522]
Hunger to dree was mighty sore.
To *Inverness* they march'd away
Like hungry Lions for a Prey
Thinking Lord *Lowdon* shou'd be there,[523]
To conquer him well might they fare,
But ere they came he went away
To *Sutherland*, and there did stay
While once that *Cumberland* drew near,
And then with him he did appear.
The Garrison of *Inverness*
Then have they ta'en with great Increase,
Three Days did the Siege endure,
To hold them out they had no Power.

[519] **Monross** Montrose was strongly Jacobite. Trade with Europe had severely declined since the Union and the French wars.
[520] **Gainstand** withstand. The ship was the *Hazard*, captured in November and renamed *Le Prince Charles.*
[521] **Ought** owed, deserved.
[522] **Rax'd** stretched (with stolen provender).
[523] After the Rout of Moy, Loudon abandoned Inverness, and retreated to Skye via the Black Isle and Sutherland for the duration of hostilities.

Ane hundred Men was there within,
Upon Condition they loot them in
To save their Lives, and prison'd be
While once they knew who has Victorie.
Great Store of Meal, Butter and Beef
They got, which was a Great Relief,
All Military Store they took was there,
Then the Castle blew into the Air.
Than to *Fort William* away they went,
That Castle there to take and rent,[524]
And set upon it in a Rage
So furiously began to siege.
(53)
Their Trenches made into the Night,
With Cannons then began to fight,
Coahorns there did many throw,
And yet the Castle said them no.
Fifteen Days the Siege did laste,
And yet the Castle had the best.
The Captain flys into a Rage,[525]
Must we be tempted with their Siege?
Who will with me give them Assail?
Kind providence may be our Bail.
Who goes to fight against their Will
With heart and hand they cannot kill.
Therefore who is willing with me to go
The worst it is but Death you know.
To him there join'd with Hearts most free
Near Fifty, in his Companie
Their Muskets charged, and forth they went,
And flank'd their Trench with Courage bent,
Then gave the Rebels a handsome fire
Who of another had no Desire.
They ran and left their Cannons all,

[524] **Rent** rend, tear apart.
[525] **The Captain** Caroline Scott, notorious for his lack of humanity during the 'Pacification' of the Highlands.

And could not stand a shower of Ball:

The Soldiers chac'd them out of Sight,

Of all was left they got a Right,[526]

Coahorns and Cannons they wanted not,

And Spoil of them they slew with Shot.

With Joy they did return again,

I do not number what was slain;

Her nainsell back to *Charly* fled;

So at *Fort William* no Gain they made.

To *Fort Augustus* all did resort,[527]

Their Scouts went here and there authort[528]

To reise more Strength for Battle-day,

And brought their Horse who'd not obey.

Duke *William* at *Aberdeen* lay there

Increasing ay his Number mair;

Two Regiments came in by the Sea,[529]

Lord *Kingston*'s Horse by Land drew nigh.[530]

Six thousand *Hessians* at *Leith* did lan,[531]

Their Royal Prince to be their Van;

Earl *Crawford* in their Companie[532]

To guide them thro' the *North* Countrie,

He led them *north* unto *Dunkel,*

To keep that Pass, whate'er befel.

---

[526] **A Right** opposite of a wrong – i.e.justice.

[527] **Fort Augustus** The siege of Fort Augustus was actually prior to that of Fort William. After a shell had penetrated the magazine, there was little chance of holding out, and the fort surrendered, for which the governor was later court martialled. Cannon captured there were used in the siege of Fort William.

[528] **Authort** across, all over.

[529] **Two regiments** One was Bligh's Regiment, which sailed from Leith and included the volunteer Michael Hughes, author of *A Plain Narrative of the Late Rebellion* (London, 1746). <https://historical.texts.jisc.acuk/ecco-0576304500> [accessed 26 June 2016].

[530] **Lord Kington (1712-1773) Evelyn Pierrepont, 3rd Duke.** Raised a volunteer light cavalry regiment in Nottingham at his own expense in 1745. Having established an unsavoury reputation for brutality against civilians and fleeing Jacobites after Culloden, the regiment was disbanded in 1746, and immediately reabsorbed into Cumberland's army.

[531] **Hessians** The Landgravate of Hesse-Cassel was financed by hiring merceneray soldiers to Britain. On this occasion they were led by Prince Friedrich, Cumberland's brother-in law. Duffy indicates that as far as Cumberland was concerned, they were simply an embarrassment (p. 440) and would have been better employed in Flanders. Relations between Cumberland and his brother in law were not good; Friedrich had enlightened ideas about human rights and the treatment of prisoners with which William Augustus did not concur.

[532] **Crawford** John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford (1702-1749) Appointed to command the Hessians, he urged lenient treatment after Culloden and was regarded by Cumberland as 'Highlander mad' (Lowe, DNB).

The Rebels came to view them afar,
But their cannons fired and did them scar;[533]
A long Way was them between
The Rebels saw the Hessian keen,
There Battle so began to busk.
They thought he'd be as ill as *Husk.*
Of Number was but few of them there,
Into the *North* again they fare;
The *Hessians* thought with them to fight,
But they got never another Sight.
The *Hessians* Countenance was fierce,[534]
Their Speech I knew no more than *Irse.*[535]
White Buff Belts and all Blue Cloas,[536]
A long Beard beneath their Nose,
No to compare Men unto that
They had all Whiskers like the Cat;[537]
Their Spatterdashes wi' Pick was fil'd,[538] [539] [540]
Long Swords with a Brazen Hilt,
One Barr on the outside of the Hand,[541]
And in their Guns an iron Wand:[542]
The finest of Musick e're you did hear,
Wou'd mak them dance that could not stear;
With Whistles and Drums, old Musicks fine,[543]
Would chear a Heart out of great Pine;
Their Grenadiers had Capes of Brass,[544]

---

[533] **Scar** shy, timid, hesitant.
[534] The Hessians marched to Dunkeld via Stirling. Two battalions were stationed there while the others went north. *Scots Magazine*, 8 (1746), p. 143. Graham's description of their appearance is accurate and probably based on an eyewitness account.
[535] **No more than Erse**. Disingenuous.
[536] **Buff** buff leather, strong whitish yellow leather, dressed with oil, much worn by the military (e.g buff-coat).
[537] **Whiskers** they had moustaches while British soldiers were clean shaven.
[538] **Spatterdashes** leather or cloth leggings to protect against mud. Hessians wore black leather spatterdashes; British gaiters were pipeclayed white.
[539] **Pik** pitch, or cobblers' wax.
[540] **Fil'd** dirtied, blackened. Their leather leggings were waterproofed and polished black.
[541] **One bar** Hessian Swords had only a bar as a cross guard, in contrast with the basket- hilt more common in Britain.
[542] **Wand** here a plug bayonet.
[543] **Musicks** melodies. The *Hessians March* is an alternatve title for *Gin I were whar Gadie rins.*
[544] **Genadiers** Hessian Grenadiers had brazen caps, where they kept fuses etc.

This was the Order of the Men of *Hess.*

CHAP. XVIII

How Duke William *sent out a Party from* Aberdeen *to view the Rebels, and they were taken*. &c.

DUKE *WILLIAM* lay at *Aberdeen,*
Strabogie and *Old Melderim,*
(55)
And for to spy the *Highland* Band
His Grace he sent here on Command
Thirty of Lord *Kingston*'s Horse
Fifty *Campbells* not of the worse.[545]
Into the *North* they march'd o're far,
And of their Foes was not awar;
By Day no Danger could they see
As far as they could cast their Eye.
They lodged in the Valley *Keith,*[546]
And of their Foes they dread no Skaith
So in the Night when sleeping sound
The Rebels did them all surround;
Six hundred was of this wicked Train,
When sleeping sound they murdered ten,
Five did escape out of their Hand,
The rest they did compel to stand,
But some in Rage here did resist,
And shot the Captain or they wist,
(The Ball into his thigh it gead,[547]

[545] **Campbells** The Argyllshire militia.
[546] **Keith.** The Argyll militia are given prominence throughout the Account. This skirmish may have been of local interest among Graham's potential customers; Stirling and Clackmannanshire had strong Argyll associations with the Duke of Argyll (the Argyll Ludging in Stirling and Castle Campbell in Dollar.) The Hanoverian commanding officer, Alexander Campbell, who was left for dead, was the brother of Robert Campbell, apprenticed to Baillie William Danskine in Stirling. Prisoners from Keith were taken to Inverness, to join other prisoners taken earlier, including those from Falkirk. Their situation as prisoners of a starving army was wretched, and is confirmed by Michael Hughes (*Plain Narrative*, p. 48).
[547] **His thigh** Robert Stewart, the Jacobite captain, claimed it hit him in both shoulders. Robert Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning*, II, p. 216, note. <http://www.jacobites.net/skirmish-at-keith.html> [accessed 23 March 2016].

Foul fa' the Luck it mist the Head)
Three behind him fell to the Ground,
And severals got their deadly Wound;
But of dead Rebels they saw but three
That was left present to their Eye.
Threescore and five were led away
Of *Campbells* and *Kingston*'s Horse that Day:
Some of the *Campbells* with them did list,
And then they fled when they thought best,
The rest in Prison were keeped sure
While the Meeting at *Culloden Mure*
Into the Church of *Inverness,*[548]
Where many lay in great Distress,
Which at *Tranent* and *Falkirk Mure*
Was taken by the rebels Power.
Both Soldiers and poor Country Boys,
Prisoners to have it was their Joys,
To hunger and grieve, reproach and scorn,
These damn'd Militi' we'll hang the morn!
Ye Glasgow *Whigs did a' ye can,*
(56)
Got Guns to shoot our Highlandman,
And help the Sodgers at Fa'kirk;
Mesell'll stick you wi' my Durk.
Then to the Souldiers wou'd they said,
Mesell cut aff your Sheordy's *Head,*
An' Cumberland *come o're the Spey*
Oursell be fhentle the next Day,[549]
We'll get a Plunder and their Siller,
And tak the Sodgers Gun an' fell'er.[550]
Every Prisoner that here did ly
Had but six Ounce of Meal a-Day,

[548] This passage may have been written in answer to the pro-Jacobite Copy of a Letter *Letter from Falkirk*, on sale in Glasgow in January.
[549] **Shentle** gentle, in the sense of well born, aristocratic, people of substance. Obsolete or archaic in English, but current in Scots. Probably punning ironically with the normal English meaning.
[550] **Fell'er** kill him.

Water, they had to beg for that,
And some made Drummock in their Hat.
Eight Days before *Culloden Moor*
For want of Victuals they're mighty poor;[551]
The Prisoners then they got far less,
But how they liv'd I can't express.
The Rebels did on their *Charly* roar,
They wanted Pay a Month before:
There was no Passage then from *France,*[552]
Nor to the *South* durst none advance
To bring to them no Way supplie;
They must either fight, or with Hunger die.

CHAP. XIX

Of Duke William's *March from* Aberdeen,
towards the Rebels,&c.

Upon the Eight day of *April*
The Weather pleasantly did smile,
When Day to Length it did approach,
And Night its Curtains inward fotch,[553]
Britain's Hero began to say,
Its here we will no longer stay,
Therefore ourselves let us compose
With Heart and Hand to meet our Foes,
To Charly *I hope Battle to give,*
(57)
I'll have my Fortune, die or live.
Therefore Brother Soldiers that is here
Who valour shewed in foreign Were,
I hope with me you'll yet advance,
Your native Land is in a Chance,
Under a slavish Yoke to bring.

[551] **They** the Jacobites.
[552] **France-** The Royal Navy prevented French money getting to Charles.
[553] **Fotch** to change position; the days were growing longer.

Tho' Rebels conquer, France *shall reign*
And rule this Island at their Will
By laws of Pope and Cardinal.
For us to fly,'tis Death you know,
But briefly face, and fear them no;
I know they'll strive to gain your Flank,
Keep Right and Left from such a Prank;
Briefly fire, and do your best,
Kind Providence make out the rest:
Ye Rules of Power, now be our Guide.
And then their Bearers were display'd;[554]
A brisk Fleet of Ships they had on Sea,
For to assist, if Need should be,
As they march'd *north* upon the Land
Their Ships on Sea at their Right Hand[555]
With Musick sound so pleasantlie
Wou'd chear a Heart that's gaun to die,
In this Order now marched they
Till he came to the River *Spey*;
The Ships some Space were come before,
Their Cannons then began to roar,[556]
Beyond the *Spey* the Rebels were
With Cannons plac'd, and firing there
Upon the Ships was firing fast,[557]
But forc'd to fly in a great Haste.
So many Balls did near them light,
They fled and durst no longer fight;
For to be swift some flit their Trews[558]
And cri'd the Ships was fartan Clews.[559]
Their Cannons yet they drove away.

[554] **Bearers** probably standard bearers, since edition 2 gives *banners.*
[555] **Ships on sea** Warships and transports kept pace offshore, conveying provisions and opening fire on whatever Jacobite parties came within range of their guns. Duffy, p. 489.
[556] **Their, they** the Jacobites.
[557] **Ships** (Which were) understood.
[558] **Flit** removed.
[559] **Fartan clews** farting nails (clows) - the ships were firing grapeshot. Perhaps a coarse pun on the 'great clews of worms voided after a dose of crude mercury taken inwardly.' (OED Clew, b.) Cracking is also a pun, on the sound of cannon, and breaking wind. The ship was probably the '*Saltash*'. Rev John Bissett's Diary, April 14th; *Spalding Club Miscellany*, p. 391.

Or *Cumberland* wan over *Spey*
He view'd them from the other Side,
And thought battle they were to bide:

(58)

But when they saw him enter *Spey*,
They ran and wad no longer stay,[560]
Then thro' the River have they gone,
The Water strack near their Haunch Bone[561]
Of stillward stream, down from the Hill.[562]
A Woman from her Feet she fell.[563]
In the middle o' this Foord of *Spey*,
The Water sweept her quite away;
A Horseman thought to grasp her Gown,
The Water both of them did drown
Both Man and Horse, all the three:
Gif any more they told not me.[564]
The Month of *April*, on the tenth Day
Duke *William* cross'd the River *Spey*;
His Vanguards before him raid,
The *Highlanders* to their Camp they fled
And told they came by Land and Sea,
How with their Ships they fought a wee!
Or lang ago they will be here,
They come as nothing would them fear.
Beyond the *Spey* he came fast,
To *Nairn* Town they marched last,
On the thirteen Day to let you wit,
And there to rest he thought it fit
Spies he sent on every Side
To guard them round, whate're betide.

---

[560] **Would no longer stay** It is not clear why the Jacobites did not attempt to defend the Spey; covering a fordable area four miles wide may simply have been too difficult. Pittock attributes some of the liability to faulty intelligence. Pittock, *Culloden*, p. 36.
[561] **Strack** levelled, came up to.
[562] **Stillward** stalwart, powerful.
[563] The treatment differs from the account of the Jacobites crossing the Esk, where there is continuous sexual innuendo. Here the soldier is a hero, and the woman unfortunate.
[564] **They told not me** Three more women were drowned. *Scots Magazine*, 8, p. 184. Women were particularly at risk at river crossings due to the weight of their sodden skirts.

The Rebels Council then it sat,
To win the Battle they're sure of that,
While good broad Sword and Targe abide,
They were to flank on every Side;
Upon the place where *William* stood
For to rush foreward in a Cloud,
His Guard without Mercy to slay,
And then bring *Cumberland* away,
The Rest shall be inclosed round,
And slash them all unto the Ground.
If any of our Men turn to flee
They shall be hang'd whate're he be.
Our Cannons we'll place on Batteries hie,

(59)

And make the Redcoats in Heaps to lie
Our Targe shall stent, with Swords we'll streck,[565]
Their Guns shall prove to none Effect;
If once they fire, they shall no more,
We'll run upon them with a Roar,
And make them flee once with our Cries,
Then thrash them down, they shall not rise.
A thousand Men will guard the *Spey*,
And there shall none escape that Day.
Then *Cumberland* shall taken be
And a cruel Death we'll make him die
As ever Man Mortal did thoal
We'll roast him quick on Fires of Coal:
Then Silver and Gold we will not want,
They've surely more than at *Tranent*;
With Spoil we will enriched be,
England again then shall we see.
And every Place that's done us Harm
We'll pay them with a double Ferm.[566]
The *Hessian* Troops they will not stand[567]

[565] **Stent** to put in position, to raise. **Streck** strike.
[566] **Ferm** yearly amount paid in money, rent.

To meet with ours wi' Sword in hand,
Altho' they be expert at Fire,
We'll rush upon them in furious Ire.
If once we break them out of Line,
To kill them then it is no Pine.[568]
We'll first unto *Cullodon* Place[569]
Where *Cumberland* we'll surely face.
When we have won the Battle, syne
We'll go to *Inverness* and dine.
But first we'll send into their Sight
A Band to give their Camp a Fright,[570]
Perhaps that they will break and fly,
Then we can chace them manfully."
When this their Council ended were,
Fort Augustus blew to the Air[571]
Four thousand of the *Highland* Band
Did *Murray* choose for his Command,[572]
And travell'd with them all the Night,
In the Morning to give them Affright
(60)
But when they did near hand approach
They heard them making for their Voyage,
The Drums were beating, *To your Arms*,
And then they knew they lost their Charms,[573]
To hear the Drums they grew so faint
That back they turn'd with one consent,
Their Colours fell, and none wou'd stay

---

[567] **Hessian troops** There were, in fact, none nearer than Perthshire.
[568] **Pine** hardship.
[569] **Culloden Place** As well as the battlefield, this may refer to Duncan Forbes' Culloden House, requisitioned by Charles as headquarters. Forbes, like Loudon, had taken refuge in Skye.
[570] **To give their camp a fright** the abortive night raid on the Hanoverian camp, the night before the battle.
[571] **Fort Augustus** had been captured a month before this, but the first mention of it in The *Scots Magazine* is at this point.
[572] **Murray** Lord George Murray (1694-1760) Brother of both the Hanoverian and the Jacobite Dukes of Atholl. Murray had been out in 1715 and 1719, but had been pardoned, and joined Charles in 1745 though pessimistic about the outcome. A talented general, he was arrogant and lacking in respect for Charles, who did not trust him. Escaping after Culloden, he died in exile, permanently estranged from the Prince. Pittock assesses him as brave, petulant and a gifted –though conservative-field commander (DNB). **His command** the failed night attack.
[573] **Charms** talisman, luck.

To lift them they got such a fray.

They lost a Book when so they fled
Wherein no Quarters shall be had,[574]
For they should have the Victorie,
It was Death for any of them to flee.
If Judgement had gone by their own Size[575]
They had slain far moe who wan the Prize:

Now *Cumberland* foreward did steer,
To meet with *Charles* the Chevalier:
From *Nairn* by five of the Clock
To march thro' Moss and many a Rock,[576]
He was not of a Moment sure
But meeting with the *Highland* Power,
Therefore he did his Men divide
In Columns four to march and ride.[577]
Each Column was seprate from anither
And foreward march'd they altogether,
Thro' Moss and Boggs this March they keep
And Water holes to their Haunches deep.

Of the *Campbells* and *Lord Kingston*'s Horse
He sent Vanguards before the Force
To view where that these Rebels lies,
And led them right, even as their Spies;
The General Quarter master gead
Along with them to be their Head;
They saw their Foes approaching twice
Which made them form in Battle ways,
But yet they came not up the Length,
They turn'd again unto their strength.

The Duke he said, *We will advance*

---

[574] **No quarters** The notorious order to the Jacobites to give 'No Quarter' seems here to refer to the night attack, rather than the battle the next day. Anderson describes it so too; Hughes gives a copy at the end of his History (as does Graham, in 1774) but says that it was in the pocket of a prisoner, presumably taken after the battle, implying that it was relevant for the day of Culloden itself. Lord Balmerino swore on the Scaffold it was a forgery.It is unlikely that the argument will ever be resolved.

[575] **Size** a duty or impost.

[576] **Moss** marsh.

[577] **Columns four** this has been described as 'highly original and efficient'. Duffy, p. 511. If attacked, they could reform immediately into three front facing ranks with horsemen to support them.

Unto the Ground they've made their Stance.

So did he march with his small Power

(61)

Into the Field, *Cullodon mure*,

Seven thousand and fifty three,[578]

No more was in his Companie.

St George Dragoons they were not there,[579]

And Troops were left in several Where,

Some were sick as I understand

With travelling so by Sea and Land;

Broken Regiments in foreign War

Their Number could not advance by far.

Twelve thousand was of the *Highland* Bawn,

But all to Field they never wan;

Nine thousand did the Battle see

Who thought to gain great Dignitie;[580]

A thousand was in *Inverness*

A Dinner for these Nine to dress;

A thousand was going to guard the *Spey*,

And got the Tidings by the Way[581];

A thousand *McGregors* with old *Glengyle*[582]

Thought fit to stay behind three mile;

Ae hunder lay with the Pretender,

Ane old Stane Dyke was his defender:[583]

He trusted Stones in Time of War,

And Strength of Men who fled right far.

[578] **Seven thousand and fifty three.** Accurate, though the estimate of 9,000 Jacobites on the field is overstated. Graham admits that about a quarter of the Jacobite forces were not present.
[579] **St. George Dragoons** The *Scots Magazine*, 8 (1746), p. 192, was dubious about the numbers involved, and directly asked where the Hanoverian troops were; this seems to be an attempt to answer it.
[580] **Dignitie** distinction.
[581] **By the way** *en route.*
[582] **McGregors** went home to Balquhidder via Finlarig. *Scots Magazine* (1746), p. 194.
[583] **Old stane dyke,** the Culwhiniac enclosure. 'The rebels looked upon themselves as quite covered on their right by the walls of a park'. *Scots Magazine* (1746), p. 186.

CHAP. XX

A Discription of the Battle of Drummossie-Moor.[584]

Now CUMBERLAND the Battle did busk,
With General *Blands*, *Hawley* and *Husk*;
The Wind and Rain blew mighty foul
Soldiers fear'd their Fire to spoil:
Duke *William* said, *Brave Boys hear me,*
The Powers above will let you see
It is in him always I trust,
And to Day for his Cause fight we must.
Then Weather fair we'll have most clear,
And Victory I hope for here.

(62)

Hawley and *Blands* went on the left,
The Duke and *Husk* held the Right in tift[585]
The *Highlanders* had such a Ling[586]
They did outflankthe *Barrels* wing,[587]
Who with the *Wolfs* was on the left,
Hawley and *Blands* went in beneath't
And strack upon the second Line,
When *Campbels* did the Dykes o'ermine,[588]
With them the Light-horse and Dragoons,
And part of Foot, who gave Platowns.[589]
The Rebels stood high up on a Bank[590]

[584] **Description** Taken from the *Scots Magazine* (1746), p. 186. Accounts from the Scots Magazine do not always correspond. Modern accounts, with maps, like Duffy's or Pittock's, help to visualise the overall picture.The map of Culloden given in the Graham's second edition is taken from the *Newcastle Courant*, not, as one might expect, from the *Gazette*, perhaps unobtainable in Glasgow 1752.
[585] **Tift** Tyfte prepared, ready.
[586] **Ling** line.
[587] **outflank** Edition 2 says 'did not flank' which seems to be a misreading. Cumberland said 'the greatest part of the little loss we had was there'. Black, p. 169.
[588] **O'ermine** analogy with undermine? A company of Loudon's Highlanders, posted within the Culwhiniac enclosure where they could shoot at the enemy, jumped over the wall.
[589] **Platown** a number of shots fired simultaneously by a platoon, a volley or fusillade. The verb to platoon means to fire a volley.
[590] **A Bank** Duffy says that 'an east-west ridge too low to register on standard contour maps was a barrier to view for people located on the lower ground on either side'. Duffy, *The '45*, p. 520.

And knew not how to gain their Flank;
Their Cannons then began to fire[591]
On Batteries that could do no Ire.
From Right to Left Fire did begin,
The Rebels then came briefly in,
And in the Middle they opened wide,
Thinking to encounter on every Side;[592]
The *Athols* and the *Barrels* met,
And *Camerons* on *Monroes* were set;
With Fire and Smoke they could not see,
Which made them strake or they came nie,
For the Wind upon their Face it blew,
And all the Smoak among them flew,
They did not see to fight with none
While Baynets thro' their Backs were gone.
These *Burrals* and the bold *Munroes*
In this Manner withstood their Foes,
When Bayonets crumping thro' their Bones[593]
Dismal it were to hear the Grones.
But on the *Burrals* they came so deep
That they their Ground could scarcely keep:
Duke *William* then he did draw near,
And made the *Burrals* backward retire,
For the *Wolfs* and *Blyths*, with *Semples* fine
He caused march to the *Burrals* Line,
With firing close they turn'd them back,
And would pursue their End to mak,
The Duke he cries, *Keep whole your Ro,*

And at the Time no further go.
Then in their teeth they met *Bland*

[591] **Their** Hanoverian. The Royal Artillery, with both round ball and ultimately, grape and canister shot. The Jacobite cannons were ineffectual.
[592] **Every side**. Having breached the enemy line, the Highlanders' technique was to turn right and left, and destroy the enemy in hand to hand fighting. The tactic failed here, because reinforcements were brought up immediately.
[593] **Crump** to crunch.

And *Hawley*, in whom no mercy they fand;
From every Side the Ball did fly
As Herds when they correct their Ky
Between the two they ran thro' there,
Their Hips was never skelpit so sair.
Forenent the *Royal* upon the Right,[594]
Being their left, they'll sey their might,
Glengarie, Keppoch and Clanronnalds,[595]
McLeans, McLeods with a' their *Donalds*
Came running down with such a Roar
As nothing could stand them before.
The Duke he cried for to present,
And no to fire without Consent.
When they perceiv'd their Motion fair,
They ran to the Hill back like a Hair;
For ay when they came down to fight
To see the Gun did them affright.
The *Royal* thrice presented so,[596]
And did not fire, they're ordered no:
But with Cannons then they beat them down
As Roads thro' Woods into a Town,
When once they were allowed to Greps[597]
Their naked Hips turned up in Heaps.
The *Mackintoshes* made little Sturrage,[598]
For Lady Captain lost her Courage,[599]
Though wanting Breeks, and Buttocks bare,
Great Pity it was she fell not there:
By this Time the Day was fair and clear,
And the Field was conquer'd very near;
The Rebels knew not where to run,
When *Cumberland* came on their Grun',

[594] **Forenent** in front of, opposite.
[595] The Macdonalds were not in their accustomed place of honour, the right wing.
[596] *Scots Magazine* mentions three attacks. *Scots Magazine* (1746), pp. 185-94; 215-9.
[597] **Greps** come to grips.
[598] **Sturrage** commotion.
[599] **Lady Captain**…. **Courage**. Lady Anne Farquharson-McIntosh (1723-1784) 'Colonel Anne', raised her clan for the Jacobites, while her husband was a captain in the British Army. She was arrested the day after Culloden. Since courage means confidence, lust and male potency, the line is a coarse double entendre.

Some cried out *O! pardon me.*
The *French* Brigades to a Bogg did flee
For to be saved from the Horse,
Who spared none in such a Force,
Kilmarnock cri'd out spar'd to be,[600]
My Folly now, alake! I see,

(64)

What for a Man (they said) *are ye?*
Earl of Kilmarnock *Town.* (said he)
Then was he taken Prisoner.
To chace the rest foreward they fare;
Between *Cullodon* and *Inverness*
They fell in Heaps, as I profess,
The Horsemen did them so mischieve
Their Heads in sunder quite they cleave
Thro' *Inverness* in haste they fled,
And nouther cry'd for kail nor Bread,
Altho' their Dinner was ready there
They wou'd not stay to get a Share.
Some threw away their Plaid and Gun,
And for their Life did truly run;
Those who did the Prisoners guard
They ran and left them to their ward.[601]
The Prisoners came out in haste,
And the *Highlanders* with Stones they chac'd,
Who had long Time their Enemies been,
But sic a turn thought ne'er to seen,
So did they all with Joy weep,
To see their Foes get such a Sweep.[602]
The Horsemen yet they did pursue,
And ay the Hindmost of them slew;
They ran ten Miles like Sheep from Hounds,
And hundreds fled with deadly Wounds.
Charles himself with them did flee

[600] Kilmarnock seems to have found himself among enemy soldiers by mistake.
[601] **Ward**. DOST 4. a place of confinement.
[602] **Sweep**; pun on sweep, meaning to rake another ship with fire and to get rid of refuse.

The foremost of that Companie,
Who from the Battle a-distant stood,
And met the first who fled like wod,[603]
And said, *What makes you, Sir, to flee?*
Go to the Field and then you'll see.
But *Charly* said, *You must go back.*
The Fleer says, *Hear how they crack?*
But *Charly* said, *I'll make you turn.*
The *Highlandman* he lap o'er the Burn,
And swore an Oath he would not turn.
'Twas Time for *Charly* then to mourn;
He saw that better might not be,

(65)

But with the rest away did flee;
At Loviat's House he staid that Night,[604]
And mournfully he moan'd and sigh'd.
Duke WILLIAM was yet on the Fiel,
Where Coahorns and Cannon reel,
On every Side away they flew,
To break his Ranks he'll not pursue.
These cunning Rogues is ill to ken,
Who knows but they might face again?
He bade the Horsemen stiff the Chace,[605]
And he shou'd keep the fighting-place;
Which was done to so good Effect
That many a hunder lost their Neck.
Three thousand fell in half an Hour,
And many dy'd who ran o'er Power![606]
The Rebels confess of theirs was slain
Four thousand, and a hunder men
Who into Rocks and Woods were gone,
And there they dy'd with Blood and Woun';[607]

---

[603] **Wod** mad.
[604] **Loviat's House** Gorthleck; the house of Fraser of Lovat's factor, and the location for the events of the *Lamentations* passage which is inserted later as an unnumbered chapter.
[605] **Stif** to encourage, make determined.
[606] **Power** capacity, beyond their strength.
[607] **Dy'd with Blood and Woun'** Accurate. Speck, *The Butcher*, p. 161.

Many among long Hether fell:
The perfect Number few can tell.
In secret Places did many dy,
And yet unburied do they lie,
Their Bones with Dogs are picked bare
And flying Fowls out of the Air
According to the old Prophecie[608]
That such thing should on the Wicked be,
"The Dogs of Mens Carcases should share,
"And all the Fowls that's in the Air."
For their Voluptuousness ye ken,
And shedding the Blood of righteous Men,
Which has been done into thir Nations
With bloody bygone Generations,
Whose Offspring here did think to stand
Against the Duke of *Cumberland,*
Who has now prov'd an Instrument
To give Reward and Punishment;
Though it be the fourth Generation[609]
They are punish'd for the old Transgression.

(66)

Their own Transgression was truly seen,
For *Antichrist* they fought fu' keen.
But WILIAM upon *Cullodon* Mure
There did he overthrow their Power:
When all their Field was dead and fled,
Some Prisoners they taken had,
Lord *Lewis Gordon* a man of Might,[610]
Strathallan dy'd when on his flight,[611]

---

[608] **Prophecie** Jeremiah, 15.3.
[609] **Fourth Generation** goes back to Charles I, and presumably the National Covenant.
[610] **Lord Lewis Gordon (**1725-1754) the third son of the Duke of Gordon. Though holding a commission in the Royal Navy, he joined Charles and headed a company of lowland (Aberdeenshire) recruits and French regular soldiers from the Royal Scots. In hiding after Culloden, he escaped to France, but died five years later, having become increasingly mentally unbalanced.
[611] **Strathallan** William Drummond, 4th earl of Strathallan **(**1690-1746). A lifelong Jacobite, he commanded in Scotland after Charles went south, until the arrival of Lord John Drummond. He died heroically (not fleeing) at Culloden, traditionally by the hand of **George Howard,** Colonel of the Buffs, and was given the last rites in whisky and oatcake. Howard gained a reputation for harshness after Culloden, and later, in Stirling, where his regiment was involved in the Maiben incident.

For Col'nel *Howard* did him chace,
And made him fa' upon his Face,
Into his Pocket a Book were foun'
With many a Name that few dare own.[612]
The Prisoners then they drove away
To the Town of *Inverness* that Day,
They were of them such a Crew
They fill'd the Church and Prison fow[613]
Some with Wounds dy'd by the way,
And many in Prison as I heard say.
These *French* Brigades more Favour found[614]
The Wounds of them they drest and bound.
When all the Spoil was gathered in
Twelve Brazen Cannons there did they fin,
Five thousand Stand of Arms clare,[615]
And thirteen Stand of Colours rare,
And every Man who brought a Stand
Got sixteen Guineas in his Hand
In Honour of the Victorie
For all their Colours his Grace did gi'e
Which after made a great Affront
When by the Hangman's Hands were brunt.
Then did he go to Inverness,
And *Charly*'s Room he did possess;
The Rebels Dinner was left there,
His Men did eat and hearty were,
Rejoicing for cheap Victory,
Lost but two hundred and sixty three,
Their Musicks plaid and Bells did ring,
But *Charly* both his Hands might wring,
Commands were sent both *East* and *West*,

[612] **Book; Name** *Scots Magazine*, 8 (1746), p. 188.
[613] **Fow** fu', full. An answer to Tom Curious?
[614] **French Brigades** were regarded as prisoners of war and entitled to better treatment than rebellious subjects.
[615] **Clare** clear, fully. This figure clearly contradicts Morier's *Incident in the Rebellion of 1745* which shows the Jacobites armed with only pikes, claymores and Lochaber axes.

And Rebels then were gripped fast,
When Prisoners could no more contain
They sent to *London* to the King
To get their Doom for Treacherie.
Great Shipfu's went up by the Sea:
But *Charly*, *Murray* and Traitor *Perth*
Could not be found above the Earth,
For *Perth* took *Badinoch* at the Flight,
And *Charly* Lord *Loviat*'s House that Night,
Some fled to the Island *Bute,*
And there was gripped by the Kute.[616]
Others thought to win into *Ireland,*
At *Saltcoats* they were made to stand,[617]
Dumbarton Castle with good will they got,
Though *Stirling* Castle het their Coat;[618]
The Chief of them was *Tillybairn*[619]
Who with old *Mar* did ravle Yarn,
And ever since had been in *France,*
He's ta'en to *London,* to stand a Chance
Some says he dy'd dreading his Crime,
Or with a Loosness in his Wame[620]

[616] **Kute** cuit ankle. Ironic reference to fetters.
[617] Possibly a reference to Craigbarnet, who was taken at Saltcoats, but later escaped from Dumbarton Castle to skulk in his own neighbourhood.
[618] **To get a hot coat** SND to be overheated through exertion, to be thrown into a perspiration.
[619] **Tillybairn** Tullibardine. Legend says he was betrayed to the garrison of Dumbarton and impending execution by a kinsman by marriage; official sources say he simply surrended.
[620] **Wame** belly.

(68)

The LAMENTATION

OF

CHARLES the Son of JAMES

FOR THE

Loss of the BATTLE;[621]

To his LORDS and GENTLEMEN,
The Night after the ACTION,
met at the House of Lord. LOVIAT.[622]

WHEN we in Council last did meet[623]
we had good Hopes in Store, [624]
It's perished like the Hypocrite;[625]
declipsed is our Glore.[626]

O! weep and owl ! you've plaid the Fool[627]
the north side of the *Spey*[628],

[621] This chapter is not numbered, interrupts the action and is probably an add-on. It is a Scots rhyming adaptation of a ministerial publication called *The First and Second Book of the Lamentations of Charles, son of James* (https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/ecco0970900200 (Edinburgh, 1746) Price 1d. – (six pence in London. Jeremy Black, *Culloden and the Forty Five*, p. 196. It was based on the Books of Lamentations in the Old Testament, and written in the fashionable pseudo-Jewish Chronicle style. Graham no longer objects to the form, but adjusts language, style and nuance.

[622] **Loviat** Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat (1667-1747) Conspirator, army officer, courtier and highland chief. A semi-criminal compulsive plotter, now over eighty, this was the only time he met Charles. The contradictions in his character have fascinated biographers and novelists ever since his execution for treason in 1747.

[623] A virtuoso performance of three quatrains, using phraseology from the government pamphlet, but dense with puns, biblical references and coarse double entendres. **Council** Merely a remnant of his council – Elcho, Sheridan, and O'Sullivan. F. McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart, A tragedy in many Acts* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 263. **Mete** to measure; to measure for magical purposes; to dream, often of spirits, or visions. An allusion to 'Popish' superstitions and fantasies.

[624] **Hopes** punning on Hope meaning an enclosed sheltered valley. **Store** animals brought in for fattening, hence valleys full of grazing animals.

[625] **Hypocrites** Direct reference to Job 34.30 'That the hypocrite reign not lest the people be ensnared'; Matthew 28. 51 (the destruction of the Temple) 'And shall cut him asunder and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.'

[626] **Declipsed** Nonce word? Combination of decline (as the sun declines) and eclipse. For Jacobites the sun was a key image, with Charles representing its return. **Glore** glory, reputation in archaic Scots, as well as contemporary French.

[627] **Weep** also wipe- to clear away (sin) etc. or to erase something from ones conscience. Possibly a reference to Charles' irresponsible attitudes and behaviour –he could always find scapegoats for his blunders. **Howl** may echo the word *how*, the biblical formula for the beginning of a lament, as in David's for Johnathan. **Play the fool** double entendre DOST 9, to sport amorously, or have intercourse; OED quotes Pepys 'I staid up a little while, playing the fool with the lass of the house.'

And of your Bagpipe break the Dool,[629]
let no more Musick play!

We thought this Night to dance a Jigg,[630]
and Dredgys for to drink;[631]
But WILLIE blew his Pouder-pipes;[632]
we cou'd not bide the Stink![633]

Now Gentlemen, our Hopes are gone,[634]
Great Cause we have this Night to moan,
O fatal *Culloden* thou art to me,
For I have lost a brisk Armie.
Thou'st pluckt the Lawrels from off my Head
And on the face of *William* they're laid.
(69)
Why are we discomfeited so sore?
Could you not stand as in Times before?
Was not our Bucklers strong at *Preston-pans*?[635]
And on *Falkirk* Moor few stood our Clans.
Was it not valiant for me to doo
With a Handful to march this Island thro'?
Was it not Wisdom my Retreat
Out of *England*, to find a Great?[636]
But now it will be ca'd Cowardliness,
Because to Day I met with this.

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[628] **North** the inauspicious direction. Witches traditionally preferred the north door. **Spey** echoes spae, prophesy, or omen. Also the hymen; in the *Ballad of Eppie Morrie*, a highlander tries to deflower the heroine, but 'couldnae streitch her spey.' DOST give spey as a sluice on a river.
[629] **Bag-pipes** a common double entendre, used in the poem *Maggie Lauder*. **Break** to bring to an end, to throw into disorder, unload a cargo. **Dool** sorrow, etc., but also punning dowel, a peg of wood used for keeping two pieces of wood together. An obvious double entendre; the overall image is impotency.
[630] **Jigg** dance, double entendre - see Hamlet's strictures on Polonius 'he's for a jig or a tale of bawdry.' Also means the vulva.
[631] **Dredgies** dirge, funeral service, drinking to the deceased. They were expecting wanton merrimemt and dissipatation after the annihilation of Cumberland.
[632] **Blew** exploded; also to break wind; like 'crack', meaning both the sound of cannon and farting. **Pouder pipes**, guns, and rectum. Powder (vb.) to pulverise, collocates and contrasts with the 'broken' bag pipes.
[633] **Bide** wait for, endure, abide. **Stink** pun on stink of powder, a metonyme for actual experience of battle.
[634] When Charles is talking, the language is anglicised.
[635] **Bucklers** small round shields. The usual term would be targes.Echoes ironically Psalms 91:4 'his truth shall be thy shield and buckler'.
[636] **Great**- a friendly (country understood)? Edition. 2 has the more plausible **geat** meaning road.

O *Cumberland!* Thou makes me sory
I'm quite outshin'd in Military Glory:
The Terrour of thee is still in my Heart,
And when I sleep, Fear makes me start!
Before my Eyes you're a present Sight,
My very Knees doth smite wi' Fright!
Likewise my Teeth doth gnash my Tongue!
O terrible Man in Battle throng![637]
His Army is dreadful for to see,
But to hear his Name it frighteth me!
Weep old Women, and Widows fair
Rent your Curch, and riveyour Hair![638]
Weep all ye Mountains north from *Spey,*
Hanging down your Heads cry *O dismal Day!*[639]
Weep old Father, and holy Pope
Rent all your Robes, and keep you from a Rope.
Mourn holy City that stands on seven Hills,
For an *English* Duke your Glory quells:
Be at Ease, old father, and thy Masses sing,[640]
Over this Island we'll never reign!
Kindle thy Wrath against the King o' *France*,
Curse him to the Pit, never to advance!
For greatly he has deceived me!
Lock him deep, deep! and break the Key!
North Britain thou thought for to increase,
But now thou art in great Distress:
Mourn for the Joys thou had before,
Break all your Pipes, and play no more!
On *Culloden* Moor we have lost the Field,

And sore against our Will did yield:
Kilmarnock is taken, for ought I fin'

[637] **Throng** (adj) pressed tightly together.
[638] **Rent** rend, tear. **Curch**, kerchief, woman's cap. **Rive** tear. In this couplet the language is Scots. Widows and mothers are not mentioned in the government pamphlet.
[639] **Heads** referring to mountains, DOST 7 gives summit. Another double entendre.
[640] **Ease** act of relieving the bowels.

And ?ound as with a fettering Chain!
Strathallan on the Field was slain,
And brave *M Donald*, a Man worth ten;[641]
Who well could handle the Broad Sword,
And order Horse with virtuous word.
Captain *Lochiel* is wounded sore,[642]
And *Gordon* is ta'en! woes me therefore.[643]
In Time o' the Throng, among them he got,[644]
Seeking for Death and found him not.
Now all are scattered, kill'd and ta'en,
And none is left but we alane!
Why did I turn this Day and fly?
Might we not in the Bed of Honour dy
Far better than to be hounted here?
Out of his Hands where shall we steer?
His Armies will like the Locust spread,
And into *France* we'll not get fled.
The sea doth groan his Fleets to bear,
His ships on Seas is everywhere:
I trusted all in Man before,
England and *France* I'll trust no more;
They were to assist me on every Hand,
But in my Need no help I faund!
My famous Fleet are yet in *France*,[645]
How help they me out of this Stance?
England, *England*! False is thy league![646]

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[641] **MDonald** Possibly Macdonald of Clanranald, who was on horseback when he was struck down, but more probably Macdonald of Keppoch, alumnus of Glasgow University and chief of a clan particularly notorious for theft.
[642] **Lochiel** Donald Cameron of Locheil (1700-1748).The first clan chief to declare for Charles, his presence effectively guaranteed the rising would go ahead. Known as the Gentle Lochiel and a man of honour, he was also acknowledged to be in financial difficulties. Wounded at Culloden, he escaped with Charles to France, where he was given command of the Regiment d'Albanie. He died in 1748.
[643] **Gordon.** Both Lord Lewis Gordon and Gordon of Glenbucket escaped to die in exile. This might refer to George Gordon of Hallhead, apparently taken at Culloden, but who managed to escape. The pamphlet is vague about Scottish names and titles, confusing Appin with Ardshiel, suggesting that the *Lamentations* was originally printed in London.
[644] **Throng** melee.
[645] **Fleet.** A French fleet had been prepared to invade England in 1744, but was destroyed by a fierce storm. Another had been projected in late 1745, when Charles was at Derby, but would have been too late to affect the outcome of the rebellion.
[646] **League** a compact, a confederacy, a covenant.

Thy vow to me is not worth a Fig;[647]
This I'll never attempt to conquer
Unless I have sufficient Power
For to put Success out of Doubt.
What Vengeance brought me here unstout![648]
But Flattery and deluding Snards;[649]
I got no help but broken Lairds[650]
Who was ready their Lands to Loss,
But now they're sunk in deeper Cross.[651]
Where shall we hide us from this Fate
While once we find a safe Retreat[652]
(71)
Out of thir Lands some where to fly,
For of them we'll find no Clemency.
Like poor gentle Men now let us live,
For Fear we meet with more Mischieve;
And keep *Cullodon* still in Memory,
For there I've lost my former Glory!

CHAP. XXI

How D. William *sent out a party to bring in Prisoners and camped at* Fortaugustus, *and pardoned the press'd Rebels, and gave order to Plunder and burn the* North Highlands, &c.[653]

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[647] **Fig** thing of little worth; obscene gesture, also the disease ficus (piles).
[648] **Unstout** weakly.
[649] **Snards** snares?
[650] **Broken Lairds** Kilmarnock and Sir Archibald Primrose were among those on the verge of bankruptcy. The highland chiefs who took part were also in financial straits.
[651] **Cross** n. vexation. Also Reference to the Catholic Symbol.
[652] The pamphlet has Charles behaving in a relatively gentlemanly fashion 'With you' he says 'we shall share our fortunes, and we shall desire to live in no higher rank than private Gentleman, whilst any one of you is unprovided for.' Graham has him simply seeking a safe retreat. He was no doubt aware of the Jacobite troops gathered at Ruthven only to receive instructions indicating 'that everyone should look out for the means of saving himself as best he could.' The Highlanders 'sent forth screams and howlings, groaning and weeping with bitter tears at seeing their country at the mercy of the Duke of Cumberland'. *Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone*, p. 115. 'The Prince's reputation in Scotland never recovered from his message to the troops at Ruthven'. McLyn, *Charles Edward Stuart*, p. 263.
[653] **Chapter XX1** leaves an unpleasant taste; it is no longer an account of events, but a defence of the indefensible. Even without referring to the rather excitable descriptions in The Lyon in Mourning, but simply by reading the letters of Joseph Yorke (Cumberland's aide) or Michael Hughes (a private volunteer's *Plain Account*) it is clear that the behavious of the government army was atrocious – and that not one of them, from

DUKE WILLIAM was yet at *Inverness*,
And *Charly* fled thro' *Caithness:*
Brigadier *Mordaunt* he did mount[654]
With ninteen Hunder, *Charly* to hount,[655]
They all consented free Voluntier
To go and seek the *Chevalier.*
Eight Miles they kept their Tract with Blood[656]
When from the Battle they fled like wod,[657]
Into the *Frasers* Country then
Some Rebels there did apprehen',
But *Charly* he could not be found,
It's thought he's hid beneath the Ground;[658]
But he was fled to *M'Donald*'s Isle,[659]
And there in ambush[660] dwelt a While;
They thought to search for him was vain
Thinking he had been o'er the Main;
To *Inverness* they turn'd again,
With Prisoners which they had ta'en.
The Duke to *Fortaugustus* went,
And camped there, upon the Bent:[661]
A Proclamation then did he make
Thro' all the *North*, for Pities sake,
Who from the Priest wou'd fetch a Line[662]
That they were press'd against their Mine[663]
(72)
To go and serve the *Chevalier*,

---

the highest to the lowest, saw it as other than justified. The anonymous Historian – a Whig - states clearly 'I shall not dissemble that the regular forces, after the battle, equalled, if not exceeded, the Rebels in insolences and outrages' *History*, p. 248.

[654] **Sir John Mordaunt** (1696-1780). Commanded the reserve at Culloden.

[655] **Nineteen hunder** More accurately nine hundred. Speck, *The Butcher*, p. 140.

[656] **Tract** track, trail.

[657] **Wod** mad (archaic).

[658] **Hid beneath the ground** Dead and buried? Gone to earth, like a fox?

[659] **Lewis** *Scots Magazine* (1746), p. 239.

[660] **Ambush** hiding.

[661] **Bent** (archaic) a stretch of open ground covered in bent, coarse grass. In fact, some of the rooms in the derelict fortress were still habitable.

[662] **Line** missive, note, certificate. *Scots Magazine*, 8 (1746), p. 272.

[663] **Mine** mind, DOST v. 5.will.

And against King *George* Arms to bear.

Space of a Month this Time were set,

(Full Time it was these Lines to get,)

To render their Arms he did demand,[664]

And get a Pass seal'd with his Hand:

Then did they come trembling with Fear!

Rendering their Arms and freed they were.

Who did not answer at this Call

The Fault's their own if Death befall.[665]

For whom the Priest could not attest[666]

To the Rebellion they were not press'd,

Or if the Priest clok'd Treacherie,[667]

And prove the same, then shall he die?[668]

Gif innocent Persons here be slain[669]

I'm sure the Fault it was their ain;

And when this Time it did expire

Then did he all their Houses fire

Who had not the Pass with *William*'s Seal

Their Houses was burnt without fail.

Commands he sent among them there

Houses to burn and plunder bare,

And see that they did take no Lives,

Bring out their Children and their Wives.[670]

They burnt their House and Plenishon[671]

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[664] **Render** hand over, give up. *Scots Magazine* (1746), pp. 230-2.

[665] As reported in the *Sots Magazine*, Cumberland initially operated 'in a gentle paternalistic way' but the 'perfidy' of the rebels who handed in useless weapons ensured he made 'the rod more heavy'.The country was to undergo fire and sword, with women and children dying in the hills, but Graham insinuates that it was entirely their own fault.

[666] **Priest** Presbyterian ministers were some of the very few Scots that Cumberland was prepared to trust.

[667] **Clok'd** covered up, disguised.

[668] **He** the rebel, not the priest.

[669] **Innocent persons**….. A remark that chills the blood, but much the same as JosephYorke's 'Glengarry may thank himself'. *The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwike*, ed. Yorke (Cambridge U.P, 1913), p. 543. Graham presumably echoes the feelings of the army.

[670] Defensive. The *Scots Magazine*, (1746, June), p. 287 prints extracts from the Caledonian Mercury (less anti-Jacobite than the London Gazette) describing starving women and children. Graham's account is both disingenuous and unfeeling – if children were lost, it was the mother's fault for deserting them. It was not safe to be critical of the army in 1746; the Maiben incident in Stirling, in August (*Scots Magazine*, 8, p. 392) where a journeyman and his master were assaulted and the former severely flogged for insolence to an officer, in spite of protests by local civic officials 'may have given general disgust' but the Buffs, the soldiers responsible, were being wined, dined and given the freedom of the city of Glasgow a few days later. Since this incident also features in the Albemarle Papers and the work of Anonymous Historian, the fact that a Stirling man did not see fit to include it in his narrative seems highly suspect.

And left them no Habitation,
Some Wives ran to the Mountains wild
And in their Flight wou'd leave their Child,
But Captains made Soldiers ripe and see[672]
That within the House no Living be.
Babes wou'd they got sleeping fu' soun',[673]
Out on the Green they laid them down,
Perhaps their Mother to hide the Geat[674],
To save her Child she cou'd not wait.
Their House was set then in a Low,
Rokes and Reels, Lint and Tow,[675]
All was here burnt up at once,
Nothing stands but reekit Stones.
The most Diversion the Soldiers gat

In Time o'this Burning to keep the Cat,[676]
For when the Low came her about
Poor Badrans she came skipping out,[677]
The Soldiers at her lets a drive[678]
And cries to burn the Witch alive.
Through all the *North* where Rebels were
With Fire made their Biggins bare,
The Curates Kirks they burnt also,[679]
For *Charly* did that Lesson show
By burning of *St Ninians* Kirk,
He shew'd a *Patron* how to work.[680]

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[671] **Plenishon** (plenishing), furniture, household equipment.
[672] **Ripe** search.
[673] **Got** 'wou'd they get'makes more sense, as the past tense in the second edition confirms. 'Babes their they got, sleeping full sound'.
[674] **Geat** goats, i.e. livestock.
[675] **Rock** (distaff) and reel (the frame the yarn is wound on), lint- (flax in the early stages of processing) and tow (the fibre before it is spun).
[676] **Keep** DOST 10- to attend to.
[677] **Badrans** informal name for a cat.
[678] **Drive** punning; hit out at, or force an animal in a certain direction, here, back into the flames.
[679] **Curates Kirks** Episcopal Chapels. Both Catholic chapels and Episcopal meeting houses were burned and the dragoons used any left-over timber as firewood.
[680] **Patron** a church patron – punning with pattern or example. Lay patronage, reintroduced five years after the Union of 1707, was the underlying cause of all Kirk of Scotland seccessions for a hundred years from 1733 onwards and was hotly disputed in the Stirling area, where Ebenezer Erskine had a huge following. Graham's home parish, St Ninian's, notoriously had two patronage disputes in the 18th century, one of which

From *Inversnade* to the *nor'east Sea*
He burnt the Rebels utterlie!
Where they had most their Habitation
There's nothing now but Desolation![681]
Twenty Miles you'll travel, alas!
And see nothing but Wilderness!
Neither reeking House, nor crawing Cock,
Herds nor no kin- kind o' Flock;
For when he did from Burning stay
Then carried all their Flocks away.
He saw they durst no more him face,
An Order put in every Place,[682]
The *Hessians* returned unto the Sea,
Who got no War in this Countrie.[683]
He sent his Army here and there
To search out Rebels every Where,
And when they got of them manie
Were sent to *London* by the Sea.
The Nobles of them they hang and slay,
The rest for Slaves are sent away;[684]
Who found Probationthey were press'd[685]
To Liberty they were address'd.
Duke *William* from the *North* did retier,
Who stay'd in *Scotland* half a Year:
(But to keep the Jacks frae thinking Lang[686]
Unto their Praise made mony a Sang,[687]
They height to pay the way I served,[688]
But I said no more than they deserved.)

---

took ten years to resolve. Nevertheless, with the exception of his denunciation of Roman Catholicism, Graham is inclined to play down religious differences. The anonymous historian is more out spoken 'To be Episcopalians and to be Jacobites are in Scotland almost equivocal terms.' *History*, p. 8.

[681] **Desolation** a common prediction in chapbook '*Lives*' of Covenanting Saints e.g, Cameron, Prophet Peden etc.

[682] **Order** methodical arrangement. DOST 8. Scotland was divided into military districts.

[683] **Hessians** *Scots Magazine* (1746), pp. 285, 289. They took no part in combat.

[684] **Slaves** were transported.

[685] **Probation** the act of proving, demonstrating, i.e. proof.

[686] **To think lang** – to weary.

[687] **Praise** Ironic, but it may not have been clear enough. By edition 2 it has been changed to the unambiguous 'To their disgrace'. 'I' made understood

[688] **Height** promised, vowed. Referring back to the Dedication.

Duke *William* home to *London* pass'd,
And *Scotland* left in Peace to rest;
So did the *Highland* Rebellion en'
In which were lost ten thousand Men.
Of Prisoners were told and seen[689]
Eighteen hundred and Fifteen:[690]
In Defence of King *George* were slain
About nine Hunder and Fifty Men;
All this was done within one Year,
Fighting for a young Chevalier.
The rest of their Acts if ye wou'd know,
Read o'er the Book of *John* my Jo,[691]
The Chronicles of it he makes
Was written in the Land of Cakes;[692]
To write mine there I did not stay,[693]
I made this in the Land of Whey.[694]

F I N I S.

[689] **Told** counted.
[690] **Eighteen hundred and fifteen** Speck gives a total of give 3,400 prisoners, of whom 120 were executed. It is difficult to estimate the total number of lives lost; Government retribution after Culloden caused many deaths, and there was a high death rate among the wounded, and those languishing in prisons and overcrowded hulks. Figures for the government army are more likely to be accurate.
[691] **Jo** a term of endearment. It would have been virtually impossible for anyone not to have thought of the song '*John Anderson, my Jo*' and mentally inserted the name Anderson.
[692] **Cakes** oatcakes. Regarded as a treat; barley bannocks were the standard fare. The 'Land of Cakes' is normally Scotland, but here may be Midlothian, regarded as producing the best oatmeal, and by extension, Edinburgh.
[693] **there I did not stay**. This may be the first Glasgow-Edinburgh barb on record.
[694] **Land of Whey** The last word, carrying special emphasis. The Land of the Whigs, or Covenanters, the South West Lowlands, and Glasgow. Whey, or Whig, is sour milk. According to OED, there is no historical foundation for the etymology of the word whig as coming from whey, but it was accepted in 18th century Scotland. Wodrow makes the connection- 'The poor honest People who were in Raillery called Whiggs from a kind of Milk they were forced to drink in their Wandering and Straits'(SND). In folk song, Whigs collocate with sour milk- e.g. *Will ye go to Sheriffmuir*, mentions 'sour milk and girnin gools'.

Appendices

Appendix I: Elegy on the death of Dougal Graham

AN ELEGY

On the much-lamented Death of that witty Poet and Bellman, DOUGAL GRAHAM, who departed this Life on the 20th Day of July, 1779.

Attend, ye mighty sons of fame,
While I th'unwelcome news proclaim,
And mournfully rehearse the name,
Sad task indeed!
The great renowned Dougal Graham
Our Bellman's dead.

Ye mothers fond! O be not blate
To mourn poor Dougal's hapless fate;
Oftimes you know he did you get
Your wander'd weans;
To find them out both soon and late
He spar'd no pains.

Our footmen now sad tune may sing,
For none like him the streets made ring,
Nor quick intelligence could bring
Of caller fish,
Of salmon, herring, cod and ling,
Just to their wish.

For Dougal was so very wise,
Whene'er the Bailie fix'd the price,
He did not need to be told twice,
But off he went,
Informed the whole town in a trice,
To full content.

The Bull Inn and the Saracen
Were both well serv'd with him at e'en;
As oftimes we have heard and seen
Him call retour,
For E'nburgh, Greenock, and Irvine,
At any hour.

The honest wives he pleas'd right well,
Whenhe did cry bra' new cheap meal,
Cheap butter, barley, cheese, and veal,
Was selling fast;
They often call'd him lucky chiel,
As he went past.

If any spark had drunk too much,
Or had in B-----n's ta'en a touch,
And with a slee beguiling witch,
Lost book or watch;
Soon Dougal, with his little crutch,
The prize would catch.

Had any rambler in the night,
Broken a lamp, and then ta'en flight,
Dougal would bring the same to light,
'Gainst the next day,
Which made the drunk mischievous wight
Right dearly pay.

It is well known unto his praise,
He well deserved the poet's bays,
So sweet was his harmonious lays;
Loud sounding fame
Alone can tell, how all his days
He bore that name.

Of witty jokes he had such store,
Johnson could not have pleased you more,
Or with loud laughter made you roar,
As he could do.
He had still something ne'er before,
Exposed to view.

But now, alas! Poor Dougal's gone,
His head is laid beneath a stone,
And left the Glasgow folks to moan,
At cruel death,
That Dougal would not let alone,
But stop'd his breath.

Then since he's gone, ne'er to return,
And left us here his fate to mourn:
We'll drop a tear upon his urn:
Thus griev'd we'll go,
And from our minds shall ne'er be worn
This tale of woe.

The DYING SONG of a repenting Sinner when near the point of death. By D.G.

O EVERY where! and good of all!
Creator out of nought
The earth, the sea, and likewise me
When I of thee take thought.

That I'm but dust, a vapour sprung,
As from the earth and water:

Who by the smallest breath of wrath
My vitals all can scatter.

O Mercy's Flood! Fountain of Life!
Above all things thou art,
Incomprehensible to find,
By thoughts of human heart!

Let it suffice, a soul I've got,
And laws it to govern;
The precepts of thy holy word,
Let them be my concern.

O thee to fear! and still admire
The wonders of thy grace!
That such a spawn as fallen man
Is called to seek thy face!

Since it's beyond all human art,
My God thee to define;
I'll honour give, and praise to thee,
Let ignorance be mine.

Thou did'st protect me in the womb,
Ere I this world did view;
So when my body goes to dust,
My soul thou wilt rescue.

Yea, sleeping, waking, where'er I be,
My God, I'm surely thine;
In trouble or prosperity,
My trust's on thee, as mine.

My rock, my fort, my sure defence,
On whom I shall rely;
No merit, but my unworthiness;
O thy sweet clemency!

Who suffers such to look again,
And for thy mercy hope:
My soul, my soul, O take to thee
When I the ghost give up.

Appendix II: Address to the Jacobites (extracts)

1. Mind bloody James, the Duke of York

And John of Rothes wicked work,

The Duke of Munmouth, and George McKinzes,

The Advocate for Satan's Chinzes,

And John the Duke of Lawderdal,

And Thomas the General, old Dalziel

(All of those mentioned, together with Charles II, were excommunicated by Cargill at Torwood).

2. Now ye gnash your Teeth and rives your Hair

For to hear tell of Justice fair!

But Guthrie's head on Edinburgh Port

To your Grand Gutchers was a Sport!

Now a Rebel's Heart in the Hangman's Hand,

To look on that ye downa stand,

When Martyrs to the Gibbet comes

Your Forefathers caus'd beat the Drums,

The Sound of Prayer that none should hear.

Vengeance of that comes down this year,

The solemn Band for to affront

With the Hangman's hand they have it brunt:

Now Charles' Colours in that same Place

The Hangman burnt before your Face; […]

Kilmarnock's wife, this is well ken't

After *Falkirk*, how she did vaunt.

Asking where was the God o' *Whigs,*

When *Highlandmen* chac'd them down the Rigs?[…]

Voluptuous and blasphemous Wife

Trust Highlandmen *to save thy Husband's Life.*

Who suffered an ignominious death

By your Council and Satan's Breath.

(Though the term Jacobite could be regarded as interchangeable with Episcopalian in 1746, neither term was applicable at the period described here, the Restoration and the "Killing Times", but only after the Revolution of 1688. Graham's argument is that present-day Jacobites are rightly suffering retribution for the sins of their ancestors, over sixty years since. The 1746 version is aimed particularly at Anne Livingstone, Countess of

Kilmarnock, whose husband had been executed the previous month. The ‘solemn Band’ is the Solemn League and Covenant, burned publicly at the Restoration.)

Appendix III: Second Edition, Front Cover

A

FULL and PARTICULAR

ACCOUNT

OF THE

REBELLION

In the Years 1745 and 1746.

Giving

A FULL Account of all the BATTLES, SEIGES SKIRMISHES, and secret CONSPIRACIES,

Both in *Scotland* and *England*

The Second EDITION greatly

enlarg’d and corrected by the Author

DOUGAL GRAHAM

GLASGOW

Printed for, and sold by DOUGAL GRAHAM

Merchant in Glasgow; and ALEXANDER YOUNG

Merchant in Stirling 1752

(Price Six Pence)

Appendix IV: Dedication, Second Edition, 1752

"It's evident in many Books
That dedication is to Dukes
Or Noble-men of high degree,
It is not so in this you see:
But unto all who loves to buy it,
There's truth in it, who can deny it
Though many say I've acted Transgression
Against a viperous Generation,
Because it speaks unto their shame,
Let all take warning by the same
Not with Beelzebub to rebel
And get your necks rax'd out an ell,
Go forth, my Book, I end the Sonet
Good health to all that reads upon it,
Tho' many think I am to blame,
Your humble Servant Poet, D Graham."

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