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**Romanticism as Resistance: Bishop Robert Forbes's
Jacobite Collection, *The Lyon in Mourning***

Abstract

In the thirty year period following the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46, communication of Jacobite sympathies in Scotland retreated from the public realm. Jacobite discourse became characterised by covert tactics of expression and secretive exchanges of political conviction. This dissertation examines the way in which these private sentiments were portrayed within one exemplary manuscript collection compiled throughout this period. Bishop Robert Forbes's ten volume collection entitled *The Lyon in Mourning* is an eclectic composition of first-hand narratives from the rebellion and its subsequent aftermath, transcribed conversations with those involved, speeches delivered by convicted rebels prior to their executions as well as contemporary Jacobite verse and material relics related to the cause. Through a merging of book historical and material culture approaches to the study of the manuscript, the nature of this furtive expression is examined. The study has found that the manuscript and its content underwent a process of de-politicalisation beginning in the late eighteenth-century, which has carried false conceptions regarding contemporary Jacobite discourse through to the present day. Analysis of the material aspects of the collection in connection to its written content reveal the intricacies of an active political movement that was forced to develop new means of verbal, written and silent expression. This new idiom was romantic in character but remained purposeful its execution until its later re-contextualisations stripped it of its political origins. *The Lyon in Mourning* thus signals the emergence of the romanticism of the Jacobite cause, and in turn, the false representations of the Scottish national image that developed from it. This study further concludes that the layers of material and textual meaning employed in Jacobite circles cannot be explored in isolation but must be readdressed as interdependent elements of an unique political language.

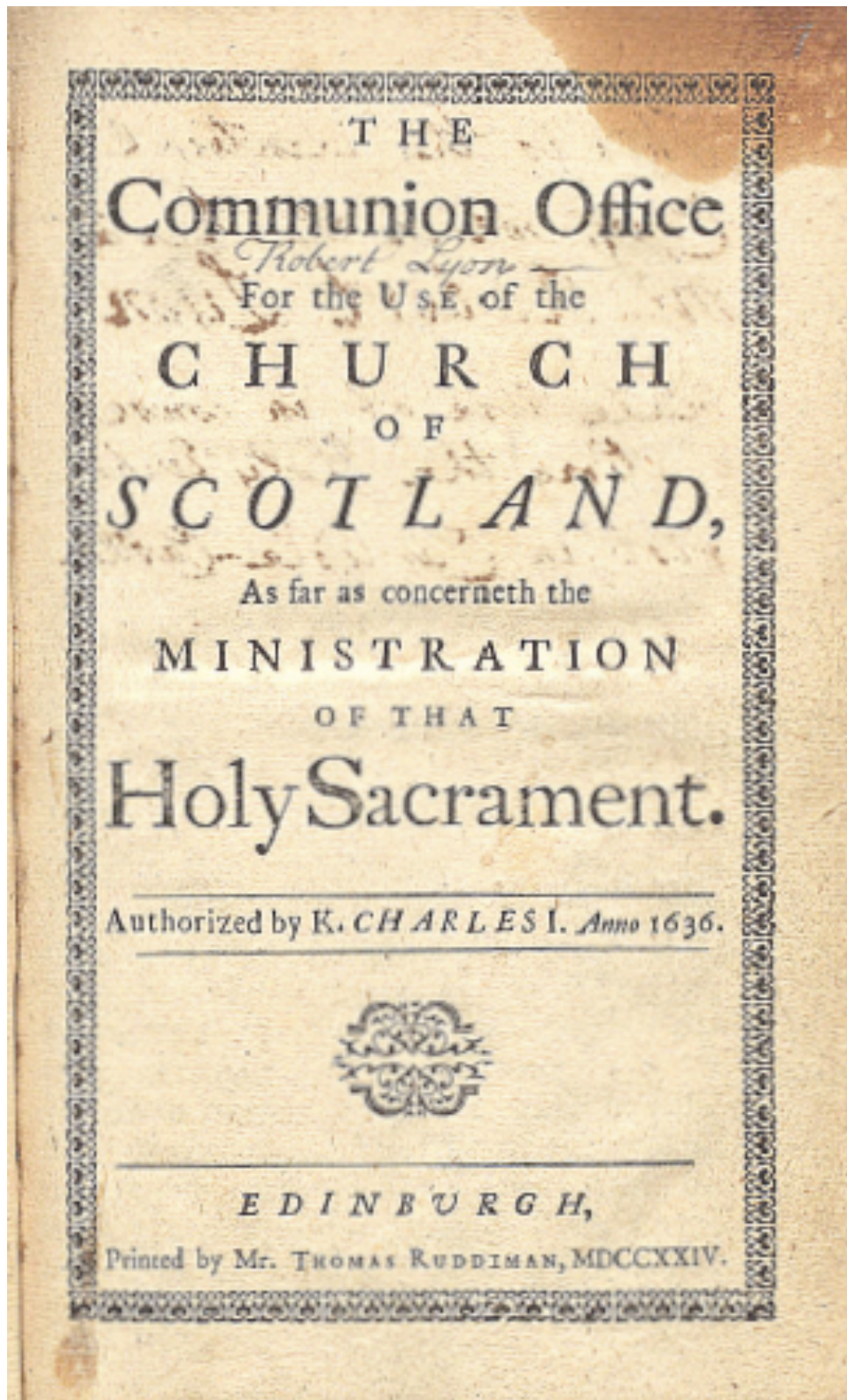


Image 1:

Title page of *The Communion Office for The Church of Scotland*. Autographed copy used by Robert Lyon while imprisoned in Carlisle Castle. Bound between pages 21-22 in volume one of *The Lyon in Mourning*.

Robert Lyon's death speech is found on pages 15-34 of the same volume.
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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	4
Preliminary.....	5
Table of Contents.....	6
Lists of Figures and Images.....	7
1.0 Introduction.....	8
1.1 Background.....	8
1.2 Premise.....	10
1.3 Argument.....	12
1.4 The Collection.....	12
1.5 Theoretical Premise.....	16
2.0 The Historical Context of <i>The Lyon in Mourning</i>	19
2.1 Treason and Sedition.....	19
2.2 Jacobite Historiography and Publication History.....	23
2.3 Provenance.....	30
3.0 Bishop Forbes's Jacobite Relics.....	35
3.1 The Betty Burk Dress: Materials and Narrative.....	35
3.2 The Relics of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.....	38
3.3 The Brogues: Meaning, Documentation & Authenticity.....	41
4.0 Jacobite Verse in <i>The Lyon in Mourning</i>	48
4.1 Materials, Verse & Narrative.....	49
4.2 Love, Loss and Nationalism in Connected Texts.....	56
5.0 Conclusion.....	59
5.1 The Manuscript in Changing Contexts.....	59
5.2 Material Meaning.....	60
5.3 Materials, Verse and the National Image.....	61
Bibliography.....	63

Lists of Figures and Images

Figure 1: The Structure of the Collection.....	13-14
Figure 2: Publication of the Content from <i>The Lyon in Mourning</i>	23-24
Figure 3: History of Ownership of <i>The Lyon in Mourning</i>	30
Image 1: Title page of Robert Lyon’s copy of <i>Communion Office</i>	5
Image 2: Title page of volume one of <i>The Lyon In Mourning</i>	15
Image 3: Robert Chambers’s Note.....	32
Image 4: Letter dated 1889.....	34
Image 5: Garter ribbon, red velvet from sword hilt, floral dress fabric and apron string.....	36
Image 6: Location the pieces of the brogues once occupied.....	42
Image 7: Poem written on unbound paper.....	48
Image 8: Plaid waistcoat fabric worn by Charles Edward.....	51
Image 9: Wood from Charles Edward’s boat.....	53
Image 10: Dried flower (white rose).....	55

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

Few topics in Scottish history have received more scholarly and literary attention than the failed Jacobite Rising of 1745-46. Studies addressing this event and its aftermath have examined the movement through historical records, contemporary poetry and material culture; little attention has been paid to the ways in which these elements interacted with each other to produce a distinctive Jacobite discourse. Anti-sedition legislation targeting Jacobite language has rendered written records from the period relatively scant.¹ Attempts at reconstructing the nature of Jacobite political and cultural discourse in the three decades following the rebellion based entirely on poetic verse or material artefacts offers unique, albeit inherently limited, perspectives. It is thus the aim of this study to examine how the interdependence of these textual and material components helped to produce a characteristic mode of expression particular to the Jacobite cause.

1.1 Background

Robert Forbes was baptised in Rayne, Aberdeenshire, a predominately Episcopalian and Jacobite region of Scotland, in 1708. The only son of Charles Forbes, a schoolmaster, and his wife, Marjory Wright, Forbes was educated in the parish school and later at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he graduated AM in 1736. Ordained in the Scottish Episcopalian Church in 1735, he was later made the bishop of Ross and Caithness in 1762. Forbes spent the majority of his life in Leith, from his ordination until his death in 1775. The bishop published miscellaneous articles relating to church affairs in *Scots Magazine* under various pseudonyms in the later years of his life as well as one pamphlet relating to the Jacobite rebellion, first published in 1750.² By far his most significant work, however, was *The Lyon in Mourning*, a manuscript he began to compile in the immediate aftermath of ‘the ’45’.

¹ Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 3.

² William Donaldson, ‘Forbes, Robert (bap. 1708, d. 1775)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford Press, 2004), doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/9845.

On 7 September 1745, Forbes was arrested at St. Ninians on suspicion of Jacobite sympathies while on route to rendezvous with Charles Stuart's gathering forces. He spent the entirety of the rebellion a prisoner in Edinburgh and Stirling Castles and therefore unable to actively fight for the cause for which he was dedicated. Upon his release Forbes began to compile narratives, correspondence, conversations, poetic verse as well as objects connected to Charles Edward Stuart and the failed rebellion. He adhered many of these artefacts to the covers of his manuscript. This collection swelled to ten volumes by the time of his death and constitutes one of the most comprehensive extant contemporary resources for the history of the '45.

The full title of Forbes's manuscript, *The Lyon in Mourning: or, a Collection (as exactly made as the Iniquity of the Times would permit) of Speeches, Letters, Journals, &c. Relative to the Affairs, but more particularly the Dangers & Distresses of ...*, offers the first indication of the nature of his endeavour. Proceeding under the shadow of anti-Jacobite and anti-Catholic legislation, Forbes placed himself and his correspondents at risk of prosecution and severe punishment through his efforts to compile, 'a collection as complete and exact as possible'.³ He notably avoided recording the inferred end to his title, which would likely have read, 'Charles Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales'. Forbes offered continual reassurances to those whose narratives of events he recorded. To MacDonald of Kingsburgh Forbes writes, 'I assure you no other use shall be made of it but to preserve it for posterity; it being my intention not so much as to speak of it, and to make wise and discreet use of every discovery I am favoured with ...'⁴ Thus Forbes's stated intention of the project was to preserve the history of his time for transmission to future generations.⁵

³ Forbes in Paton, 'Preface', in Robert Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning Or, A Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1895-1896), p. xiv.

⁴ Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, *The Lyon in Mourning or, a Collection (as exactly made as the Iniquity of the Times would permit) of Speeches, Letters, Journals, &c. Relative to the Affairs, but more particularly the Dangers & Distresses of ...*, Adv. MS 32.6.16-25, p. 321.

Page numbers will be cited for the manuscript of *The Lyon in Mourning* according to Forbes's own numbering in the text. These page numbers correspond directly to the 'folio' numbers listed in the margins of Henry Paton's print edition. Paton inaccurately recorded the pages as 'folios'.

⁵ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 800.

The Lyon in Mourning represents an act of personal defiance and conviction for Bishop Forbes.

The later owner and editor of the collection, Robert Chambers, would make much Forbes's personal dedication to the cause by claiming that he, 'contemplated, above all things, the triumphant pleasure he should have, in laying before the new King Charles, when established in St. James's, the affecting history of all his former mishaps'.⁶ The factual accuracy of *The Lyon* was also of paramount importance. Forbes insisted upon recording only firsthand accounts when they were available as well as comparing narratives from multiple perspectives in order to clarify any potential discrepancies.⁷ The value of this work as a reliable historical source was thus accepted by early scholars of Jacobitism who noted that, 'Forbes's fervent Jacobitism in no way vitiates the value of the materials he so religiously preserved'.⁸

1.2 Premise

More recent scholarship addressing the Jacobite period has done much to dispel the historiographical narrative that proclaimed a decisive end to Jacobitism as a political feasibility in 1746. Hindered by historical hindsight, studies had traditionally marginalised even the contemporary support of the Stuarts throughout the last half of the eighteenth-century.⁹ This 'lost cause' perspective which predominated until recently has framed the limited scholarship that has addressed Robert Forbes and his collection. A brief biographical sketch of Forbes composed in 1886, primarily relating to his work with the Church of Scotland, characterised the movement in these terms:

The last of Scotland's ancient martial glory was ended at the fatal field of Culloden. There only remained the affectionate remembrance of an adored hero, fighting for his birthright, the sad scenes of the merciless cruelty of his

⁶ Chambers, 'Preface', in *Jacobite Memoirs* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1834), p. x.

⁷ NLS, *Lyon*, pp. 578-639; 1231.

⁸ Dorothy A. Guthrie and Clyde L. Grose, 'Forty Years of Jacobite Bibliography' *A Journal of Modern History* 11 (1939), p. 50.

⁹ Doran Zimmerman, *The Jacobite Movement in Scotland and in Exile, 1746-1759* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 7; Murray Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: the Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to Present* (London: Routledge, 1991) p. 9; Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 5.

opponents, and the spectacle of a church once established, for a time even hopeful in adversity, now prostrate in the very dust.¹⁰

It is this desperate and sentimentalised historical framing that has dominated the characterisation of *The Lyon in Mourning* and the post-Culloden Jacobite movement generally for centuries. Influenced by the romantic writing of Scottish nationalist poets beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, Jacobitism became formally depoliticised, domesticated and divorced of its active principles.¹¹ By the early nineteenth-century Scottish nationalism became synonymous with a romanticised Jacobitism and the movement itself was, ‘rejuvenated to a harmless and rather sentimental virility’.¹²

It is upon this premise that the historian J.C.D. Clark has asked, ‘If scholars have successfully reconstructed a Jacobite world of discourse, did it amount to more than mere sentiment?’¹³ Framed between a period of active military resistance and the adoption of an invented and romanticised national image, *The Lyon in Mourning* is perfectly situated to present the nature of this transitional dichotomy. In doing so, the manuscript exemplifies the move in Scottish Jacobitism from the overt and public to the hidden and personal. The prominent historian of Jacobitism, Murray Pittock, provides a basis on which this examination must proceed:

The study of Jacobitism is one which...requires careful exploration of a private, personal and associational world, deliberately assembled to minimise the risk of prosecution under constructively extensible legislation.¹⁴

Robert Forbes’s ‘associational world’ will be examined through an analysis of the material, textual and at times verbal components found within *The Lyon in Mourning*.

¹⁰ J.B. Craven, *Journals of the Episcopal Visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes of the Dioceses of Ross and Caithness, and of the Dioceses of Ross and Argyll, 1762 & 1770 with a History of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ross Chiefly during the 18th Century* (London: Skeffington & Son, 1886) p. 46-47.

¹¹ Pittock, *Invention*, p. 101.

¹² Guthrie & Grose, p. 50.

¹³ J.C.D. Clark, ‘On Moving the Middle Ground: The Significance of Jacobitism in Historical Studies’, in *The Jacobite Challenge* ed. by Eveline Cruikshanks and Jeremy Black (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), p. 180.

¹⁴ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p. 12.

1.3 Argument

The Lyon in Mourning is a physical manifestation of a personalised, persistent and active allegiance to the Jacobite movement and the restoration of the House of Stuart. Political and cultural conditions in Scotland throughout the three decades following the Rebellion of 1745-46 formed a socio-political climate of written and verbal repression which restricted traditional modes of expression and communication amongst Stuart supporters. Therefore, Forbes's Jacobitism manifested itself through a paradoxically passive, sentimental and nostalgic idiom. His collection is defiant in its execution but romantic in its nature.

This study will argue that the romantic and memorial character of *The Lyon in Mourning* is not inconsistent with its expression of a sincere belief in Jacobitism as a political endeavour. In examining this dichotomy it is necessary to first access the subversive origins of the manuscript and secondly, the text's subsequent manifestations and contextualisations over time. The domestication of Jacobitism as a political movement had direct implications on the reception and perceived significance of Forbes's collection which reverberate to the present day. As the Jacobite movement became merged with the conception of the Scottish national image generally, the romantic qualities of *The Lyon* became defined by these false conceptions. Bishop Forbes's expression of unfailing allegiance to the House of Stuart was reduced to romantic symbols of a glorified and lost past.

1.4 The Collection

The collection is composed of ten octavo volumes, each consisting of approximately 180 to 270 pages with the exception of volume ten which has only 34 pages of text.¹⁵ The first three volumes have title pages dated 1747, the next three 1748, the seventh 1749, the eighth 1750, the ninth 1761 and the final volume is dated 1775. There is evidence to indicate that Forbes had each volume in his collection bound as they were completed. He offers an indication of his compiling process in a letter to Rev. James Taylor dated 4 July, 1748 when he writes that, 'Your history is to have a place in my collection, which (I thank God) is already beyond sixty sheets of large paper,

¹⁵ In volume nine Forbes makes an error in his collation, numbering from page 2099 directly to page 3000.

neatly bound in several 8vo volumes'.¹⁶ These large sheets, once folded, would have constituted roughly 960 octavo pages, indicating that by the summer of 1748 Forbes had compiled and bound the first four volumes of the collection and was advancing on the fifth, in which this quote is found. In addition to material objects, transcribed letters, conversations, poetry and personal accounts, the manuscript includes a number of printed documents relevant to the Jacobite cause. The content of *The Lyon* proceeds chronologically as Forbes compiled the entries, and not in the sequence of the events that they describe. Unnumbered content pages are also included at the end of each volume, except for that of the tenth, which remains incomplete. The inclusion of printed documents bound with the manuscript sheets accounts for the variations in page lengths of otherwise uniform volumes.

Figure 1: The Structure of the Collection

Volume	Date	Pages/Leaves	Page Range	Additional Materials
One	1747	224 pp. / 112 leaves	1-198 + contents pages & inserts	Robert Lyon's Communion Office bound-in / Letter by Chambers / Newspaper Article
Two	1747	182 pp. / 91 leaves	199-380 + contents page	N/A
Three	1747	244 pp. / 122 leaves	381-624 + contents page	Garter Ribbon, Piece of Sword Hilt, Piece of Gown, Apron String, Waistcoat Fabric, Dried Flower
Four	1748	244 pp. / 122 leaves	625-868 + contents page	Wood from Boat / Note in MacDonald's hand / Poem Pasted to Cover
Five	1748	244 pp. / 122 leaves	869-1112 + contents page	Pieces of Brogues
Six	1748	244 pp. / 122 leaves	1113-1356 + contents page	N/A
Seven	1749	242 pp. / 121 leaves	1357-1598 + contents page	N/A

¹⁶ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1052.

Volume	Date	Pages/Leaves	Page Range	Additional Materials
Eight	1750	272 pp. / 136 leaves	1599-1840 + contents page and inserts	<i>Alexis, the Young Adventurer: A Novel</i> bound-in
Nine	1761	272 pp. / 136 leaves	1841-3014 + contents page and inserts	Carlyle Family Tree tipped-in / Letter dated 1889 pasted to back cover
Ten	1775	34 pp. / 17 leaves + blank leaves	3015-30149+ blank pages	N/A

Each volume is presently bound in relatively uniform stained black leather binding covers. These bindings appear to be Forbes's originals but with notable indications of conservation work applied to sympathetically reattach the spines of many volumes. The binding style of the first eight volumes are consistent, with the exception of volume two, which lacks the four raised bands along the spine found on the other bindings. Whether this dissimilarity was the result of later preservation measures or contemporary with Forbes is undetermined. Laid paper was employed by Forbes consistently throughout the collection. A single page of lower-quality paper was used in each binding, appearing as the front endpapers in volumes one and two as well as volumes four through eight but appears as the back endpaper in the final two volumes. The third volume contains no endpapers at all. The depreciated appearance of these endpapers indicates the extended length of time in which they have been bound into the manuscript. Should these be the original sheets employed by Forbes's binder, these minor alterations in technique suggest that Forbes employed a different binder post-1750 for volumes nine and ten when the binding technique varies from the previous volumes. Title pages to each volume are inserted to an existing bound page by cutting the centre from the paper and adhering Forbes's hand-crafted title page upon the edges. It is likely that this process took place for all of the volumes after they had been bound due to their consistency in style and the nature of their insertion into the volumes.

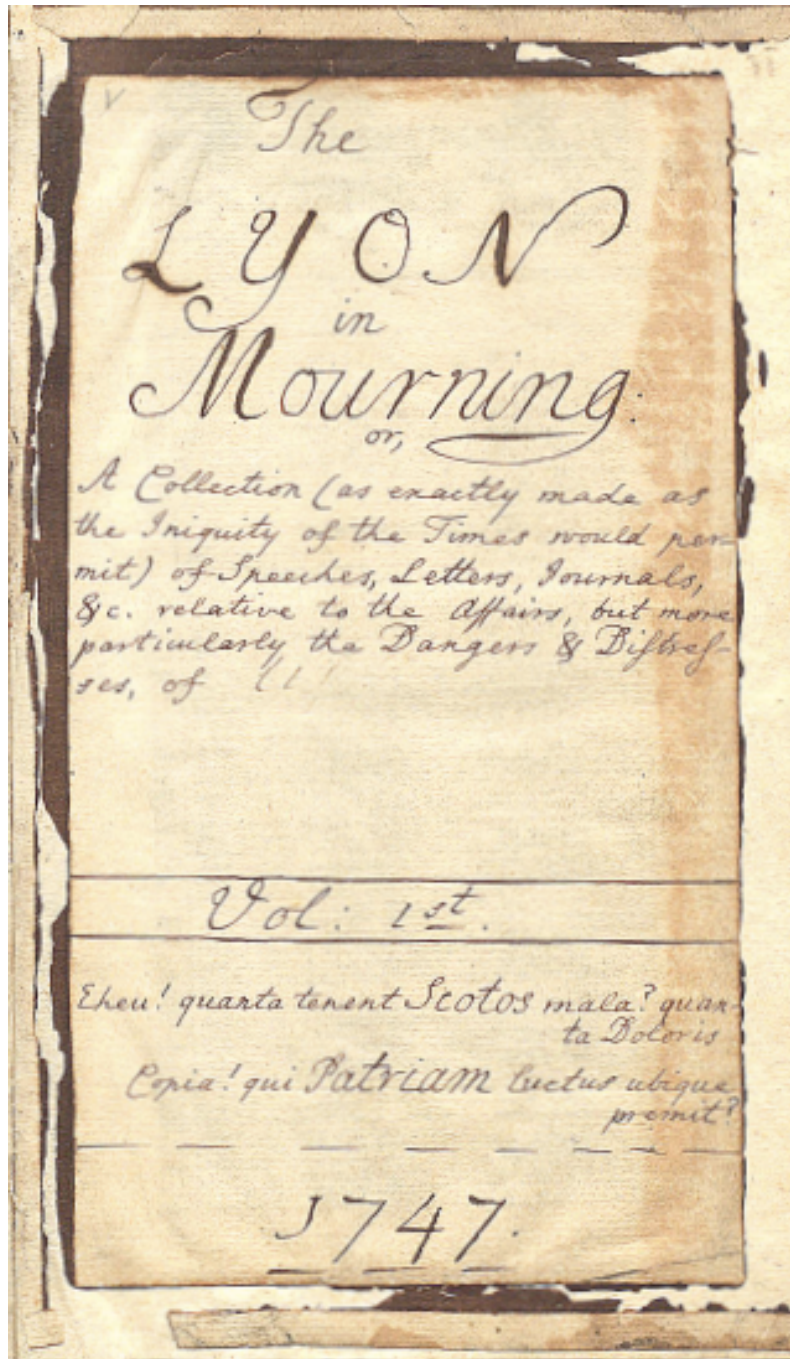


Image 2:
Title page of volume one of *The Lyon in Mourning*.
Reproduced with the kind permission of The National Library of Scotland

Although the majority of *The Lyon's* content was compiled between the years 1746-1748, Forbes's dedication to the project did not decline in the later years of his life, despite his sources becoming fewer. Forbes writes to Dr. John Burton of York,

...since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have collected above thirty sheets of paper; and though my collection be already about seventy sheets, yet, so far am I from being done with collecting, that when I may come to an end I cannot really foresee.¹⁷

Indeed, the end of Forbes's collecting is indicated only by his choice to bind the final volume in 1775, which consists of a meagre 34 pages of text bound in with hundreds of blank sheets. The tenth and final manuscript indicates Forbes's desire to present the collection as a cohesive whole despite the lack of adequate sources for a fully completed tenth volume. Forbes optimistically left room for the inclusion of additional content. It is an apt, though likely unintended gesture to the nature of Forbes's Jacobitism that after three decades of collecting, he should leave nearly an entire volume blank in anticipation of the stories yet to be told.

1.5 Theoretical Premise

These stories and personal entries recorded by Forbes throughout the collection reveal the intricacies of Jacobite discourse in the post-Culloden period. Political expression is woven throughout the written text and material objects found within *The Lyon*. The nature of Forbes's politics is found within the ways in which these elements encompass meaning individually as well as through their reciprocal interactions. Analysis of material artefacts in relation to textual narratives, however, is a precarious practice. When disassociated with written language, objects, such as those embedded in the manuscript, have the capacity to portray and represent meaning beyond the capabilities of purely textual expression. David Lowenthal refers to this material quality as an 'existential concreteness', which enables the to mind to perceive history and memory directly through the senses, unhindered by the engagement and filtering that is required when processing written language.¹⁸ The materiality of an artefact can create subconscious, non-verbal and often

¹⁷ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1067.

¹⁸ David Lowenthal. *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) p. 245.

times emotional responses from subjects that is inexpressible by language alone. Alternatively, the attachment of an artefact to a specific narrative is at risk of giving preference to one interpretation of its use, significance, and expression while excluding or devaluing its potential for alternate meanings, particularly over time. *The Lyon in Mourning* offers an opportunity to examine how the significations of Forbes's Jacobite artefacts in the manuscript are defined by the written narrative as well as how they develop independent of it.

Theories of material culture and book history are equally applicable to the eclectic composition of *The Lyon in Mourning*. The process of tracing the 'life-cycle' of artefacts is one that is familiar to both disciplines. A 'cultural biography of objects' proposed by Igor Kopytoff places an emphasis on an examination of material culture, 'in its different moments of production, exchange and consumption', which places each item within its social context by drawing attention to the ways in which human subjects and objects inform each other.¹⁹ The social action surrounding an object creates and alters its meaning over time and only by examining an object through a cyclical life process can their signification be fully understood. Similarly, D.F. MacKenzie's *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* advocates for an extensive biographical reading of a text as it is influenced by historical contexts at different moments in time.²⁰

Material culture theory does not typically include the study of documents or large segments of text. In existing Jacobite material studies, examination of written language in connection to objects has focused primarily on short inscriptions or verses attached to the artefacts.²¹ Theorists of material culture have asserted, however, that the 'artefact-document dichotomy is to a great extent artificial'.²² The exceptional physical and textual qualities of *The Lyon in Mourning* demands an

¹⁹ Gosden, Chris, and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, 31 (1999), p. 169; Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditisation as Process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

²⁰ D.F. MacKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

²¹ Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 79-110; Jennifer Novotney, 'Sedition at the Supper Table: The Material Culture of the Jacobite Wars, 1688-1760' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013) pp. 60-66; Pittock, *Material Culture*, pp. 64-72.

²² Guthrie, p. 3.

unconventional merging of these disparate disciplines. Such an approach is theoretically in line with the assertions of material culture studies as an ‘inevitably eclectic; relatively unbounded and unconstrained, fluid, dispersed and anarchic rather than constrained’ academic endeavour.²³ Similarly, an expanding field of book historical studies advocates the inclusion of bibliographical materials in addition to ‘non-book texts’.²⁴

²³ Christopher Tilley, ‘Introduction: Theoretical Perspectives’, in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. by Christopher Tilley (London: Thousand Oaks, 2006), p. 1.

²⁴ McKenzie, p. 39.

Chapter Two

2.0 The Historical Context of *The Lyon in Mourning*

2.1 Treason and Sedition

From 1746-1752 a legislative package was executed which sought to eradicate the remnants of the clan system in the Highlands and prohibit customs and cultural activities which were believed to promote violent and radical activities associated with the Jacobite movement across Scotland. The nation's 'primitive' state of culture, commerce and manufacturing was thought to have rendered dangerous and reactionary politics an inevitability.²⁵ The threat of legal repercussions remained a constant concern for Robert Forbes throughout the three decades in which he developed *The Lyon*.

Beginning with the Act of Succession (1701) at the turn of century, the promotion of the rights of an alternative claimant to the throne became an act of treason. An extension of this legislation was introduced through the 1704 act against 'traitorous correspondence with her Majesties' enemies'.²⁶ Much of the private correspondence recorded by Forbes in *The Lyon*, therefore, was subject to prosecution under these laws. Forbes was aware of the illegal nature of his actions in the years prior to the rebellion as evidenced by the nature of his communications with his friends and fellow Jacobites, the Oliphants of Gask:

On the 9th of April, 1743, Gask had a letter from Mr. Forbes, an Episcopalian clergyman, who long afterwards became a constant correspondent on the matter nearest the hearts of the Oliphants Veteran plotter that he is, he never signs his name to a single letter he writes. His allusions to the King over the Water are easily seen.²⁷

Similar precautions were taken within the text of *The Lyon* to ensure that the names of individuals mentioned within the text were either omitted, altered or replaced with a pseudonym. In a letter to Rev. James Hay in August, 1749, Forbes felt compelled to reassure the reverend that any information relayed to him for the purposes of inclusion in *The Lyon* would be used with caution. He

²⁵ David Allan, *Scotland in the Eighteenth Century: Union and Enlightenment* (London: Longman, 2002), p. 60.

²⁶ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p. 7-8.

²⁷ T.L. Kington-Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask* (London: Grampian Club, 1870), p. 100.

writes that, 'where giving names may be a point of delicacy and danger, I do assure you of the utmost secrecy and that they shall not be mentioned by me in any shape'.²⁸

In certain instances Forbes chose to simply remove characters of a name by the use of dashes, as in 'A Song by Mr. C---s' in an effort to protect the writer from conviction under seditious libel.²⁹ Jacobites figuring more prominently within the text, however, were assigned classical pseudonyms in keeping with the wider Jacobite practice of coding political dialogue to avoid recording explicitly seditious statements. The *Aeneid*, the *Eclogues* and Horace's *Odes* were popular texts drawn upon for this furtive discourse.³⁰ In a letter sent to Forbes by the Oliphants, the Stuarts are referred to as 'Aeneas and his two sons' while a letter to MacDonald of Kingsburgh invokes the name of Aeneas' helmsman when Forbes states, 'Palinurus has promised to drop me a line by post to inform me of his safe arrival...Pray keep him in mind of his promise, and let him not mention any other thing in his letter'.³¹ Forbes offers a key to these many allusions in volume eight of the manuscript where he has bound in a thirty-two page publication of *Alexis or, the Young Adventurer, A Novel*, printed in London in 1746. Obviously inspired by the escape of Prince Charles through the Isle of Skye after the battle of Culloden, Alexis is described only as 'a brave youth' and not directly as a pretender to the throne. Flora MacDonald is represented as 'Heroica' and MacDonald of Kingsburgh is given the name 'Fidelius'.³² These names were intended to invoke the traits of heroism, loyalty and reliability associated with their classical origins. The use of these pseudonyms, therefore, serves the dual purpose of both concealing and sentimentalising the individual in the text.

Charges brought against Jacobites accused of seditious words were not uncommon. Paul Monod's study of seditious prosecutions between 1689 and 1760 reveal approximately 2 000

²⁸ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1426.

²⁹ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1251; Paul Kebler Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 234. Monod distinguishes 'seditious words' as verbal statements from 'seditious libel', which were written ones.

³⁰ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p. 18.

³¹ Kington-Oliphant, *Lairds of Gask*, p.100; NLS, *Lyon*, p. 322.

³² *Alexis, or The Young Adventurer: A Novel* (London: Printed for T. Cooper, 1746), in NLS, *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. 8, Adv. MS. 32.6. 23

instances of allegations, of which at least seventy-five percent involved specifically Jacobite words.³³ Although Monod notes that this number is ‘substantial, but not huge’, the penalties for such convictions were nonetheless severe. Legislation post-1689 extended into the realm of religious affiliation whereby from 1748 onwards a Scots Episcopalian such as Forbes was at risk of transportation to the colonies for conducting common religious services because they were considered tainted by political associations. Upon a second offence, Episcopalian congregations faced upwards of two years imprisonment for taking part in a service.³⁴ Forbes was subjected to these charges at least once, when in August of 1764 his morning service was interrupted by English dragoons due to his failure to pray for George III.³⁵ As Monod has suggested, these charges were not always pursued consistently. Seditious words charges often appeared in periods surrounding moments of active political upheaval. His study revealed a concentrated rise in cases in the periods from 1689-97, 1714-24 and 1745-52. From this data Monod concluded that seditious Jacobite language was vocalised more frequently when there existed a realistic belief that it would be vindicated.³⁶

Monod’s assessment has interesting implications for Forbes’s untiring efforts, which extended into the 1770s. As late as 1769, Bishop Forbes’s correspondence with Bishop Robert Gordon reveals his intimate knowledge of marriage negotiations then taking place for the exiled Charles Edward with the hope that finding an appropriate Queen may lead to renewed support for his claim.³⁷ Knowledge of Charles Edward’s life in exile was routinely relayed to Forbes from the Oliphants of Gask, whose biographer summarised the nature of the three-way correspondence with Bishop Gordon:

³³ Monod, p. 245.

³⁴ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p. 10.

³⁵ Craven, p. 30.

³⁶ Monod, p. 246.

³⁷ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1944; Kington-Oliphant, pp. 369-70.

Thus we are enabled to pry into the intrigues of this little knot of plotters, the Bishops and the Gask household. These good folks, “true, leal, and aefald,” were living in the sure hope of another happy Restoration. With a constant side-glance to that end did they look upon the politics of the day. They had little doubt but they could turn aside the stream [...] to their own mill.³⁸

Correspondence between Gordon and Forbes was frequent in the final years of Forbes’s life, though it is only partially recorded in the volumes of *The Lyon*. Communications with Gordon found within Forbes’s personal papers, those of the Oliphants of Gask, and within *The Lyon* reveal an extensive network of illegal correspondence worthy of prosecution under the treason and sedition legislation of the time. Most notably, however, this correspondence continues long after the immediate wake of Culloden and decades after historians would label the cause a dead one.

The Lyon in Mourning remained restrained by legal measures throughout Forbes’s lifetime. The anti-Catholic and anti-Jacobite penal laws began to be repealed only after his death, beginning in the 1780s. The infamous Disarming Act of 1746 banned the wearing of certain forms of Highland dress along with the ownership of weapons. This legislation played a role in the symbolism of Jacobite poetry in these years and arises as a point of contention for Forbes in *The Lyon*.³⁹ Unfortunately for Forbes, this proscription was not lifted until 1782. Similarly, the restoration of Scottish estates that were forfeited in 1746, and annexed to the crown in 1752, did not occur until 1784.⁴⁰

It is therefore unsurprising that Bishop Forbes conserved *The Lyon in Mourning* with the utmost security during his lifetime. In a letter to Rev. James Hay Forbes writes that, ‘I keep my collection in concealment always, so that I am not afraid of it being seized by enemies, and it is not every friend I allow to see only the bulk and outside of my favourite papers’.⁴¹ Forbes was reluctant to lend even portions of the manuscript to other writers, but was thought to have placed the

³⁸ Kington-Oliphant, p. 369.

³⁹ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 950.

⁴⁰ Colin Kidd, ‘The Rehabilitation of Scottish Jacobitism’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 203 (1998), p. 60.

⁴¹ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1426.

manuscript in the keeping of a close friend when threatened with a search of his residence.⁴² In 1749, Forbes drew attention to the state of the press, noting that he was awaiting a time when, ‘a safe and proper opportunity appears of publishing dangerous truths -- and when that may happen -- God only knows’.⁴³ Forbes would publish only one brief pamphlet from his collection within his lifetime. As the Jacobite scholar E.P. Thompson aptly states; ‘The press was muzzled, subject to prosecutions, and the thin surviving organs of opposition...wrote mainly in riddles. In few periods do the contemporary published sources give less away’.⁴⁴

2.2 Jacobite Historiography and the Publication History

Throughout the period in which Forbes was compiling *The Lyon in Mourning*, the Jacobite rebellions had not yet emerged as a subject of serious analysis for historians. Publications addressing the movement were dominated by attempts to depreciate the importance of the Jacobite threat. Influenced by the anti-sedition legislation and the fragile nature of the political environment, Whig ideological principles dominated what little printed discourse occurred on the subject.⁴⁵ *The Lyon in Mourning* would first become a victim to these publishing restraints and later to the romanticism imposed upon Jacobite history by the literature of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Selective portions of its narratives would be published throughout this period but *The Lyon's* written text would not be printed in its entirety until nearly the turn of the twentieth-century.

⁴² Paton, ‘Preface’, p. xviii.

⁴³ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1426.

⁴⁴ E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1975), p. 3.

⁴⁵ J.C.D. Clark, ‘The Many Restorations of King James: A Short History of Scholarship on Jacobitism, 1688-2006 in *Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, ed. by Paul Monod, Murray Pittock and Daniel Szechi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) p. 10.

Figure 2: Publication of Content from *The Lyon in Mourning*, 1750-Present

Title	Author	Year
<i>A Plain Authentick and Faithful Narrative of the Several Passages of the Young Chevalier, etc.</i>	Philalethese (Robert Forbes)	1750
<i>A Plain Authentick and Faithful Narrative of the Several Passages of the Young Chevalier...to which are added poems, &c. wrote on that occasion</i>	Philalethese (Robert Forbes)	1765 (3rd edn. amended with poetry)
<i>Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745</i>	Robert Chambers	1834
<i>A History of the Rebellion of 1745, 1746</i>	Robert Chambers	1840 (5th edn. amended with content from <i>The Lyon</i> . Final 7th edn. in 1869)
<i>The Lyon in Mourning: Or, A Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart</i>	Ed. by Henry Paton	1895-1896
<i>Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from his Landing in Scotland July, 1745 to his departure in September, 1746</i>	Ed. by Walter Blaikie	1897

Forbes's only publication from *The Lyon in Mourning* entitled *A Plain, Authentic and Faithful Narrative of Several Passages of the Young Chevalier* was published in 1750 anonymously, 'by a gentleman who was personally acquainted not only with the scenes of action but with many of the actors themselves'.⁴⁶ This 107 page pamphlet is a succinct reworking of multiple narratives recorded by Forbes within *The Lyon*. It details the movements of Charles Edward beginning two days prior to the battle of Culloden and concludes with the Prince's successful escape to France. A third edition of this work was amended with Jacobite poetry from Forbes's collection and published in 1765. Conscious of the risk of publishing such material Forbes adopts the pseudonym 'Philalethese', or

⁴⁶ Philalethes, *A Plain Authentick and Faithful Narrative of the Several Passages of the Young Chevalier, &c.* (London: Printed for W. Webb, 1750)

'lover of truth'. He is also careful to refer to Charles Edward as 'P-----' to be interpreted as either 'Prince' or 'Pretender' dependent upon the political leanings of the reader.⁴⁷

Serious treatment of the history of the Jacobite movement did not begin to emerge until the late 1770s, in the years after Forbes's death. The emergence of the first genuine phase of Jacobite scholarship was marked by the publications of Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* published in 1775 followed by his companion, James Boswell's publication of *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, eventually published in 1785. Despite Johnson's conscious avoidance of potentially contentious Jacobite commentary, both he and Boswell were the recipients of intense criticism by Scottish Whigs who wished to curtail any significant exploration of the movement. Similar treatment was given in England and Scotland to Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771-73) and James Macpherson's *The History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover* (1775), both of which cautiously referred to Charles Edward Stuart as the 'Pretender' and criticised Catholicism as 'Popery'.⁴⁸ The political climate in the last quarter of the eighteenth-century was not yet conducive to hold open discourse regarding the Jacobite cause, its history or its culture. Thus, *The Lyon in Mourning*, along with its wealth of historical content would remain hidden from the public realm for nearly six decades.

A resurgence of interest in Jacobitism would occur in the early-nineteenth century, not in the historical, but in the literary realm. This was precipitated by Scottish poets, most notably James Macpherson and Robert Burns, whose sentimentalised and nationalist verse found common ground amongst divisive political factions through a passive historical voice. Although Macpherson's *History* was poorly received, his poems of Ossian made waves in literary circles across Europe by painting a picture of an ancient, honourable and primitive Scottish culture in the midst of the Enlightenment.⁴⁹ His poems express elements of nostalgia, grief and regret that have been

⁴⁷ Philalethes, *A Plain Authentick and Faithful Narrative of the Several Passages of the Young Chevalier...to which are added poems, &c. wrote on that occasion*, 3rd edn (London: Printed for W. Webb, 1765)

⁴⁸ Clark, 'Restorations', pp. 11-12; 17.

⁴⁹ Pittock, *Invention*, p. 73.

recognised as encompassing, ‘the spirit of the Scottish Highlands in the generation that followed Culloden’.⁵⁰ *The Lyon in Mourning* holds a particular thematic parallel to this ‘romanticisation of loss’. Similarities to the work of Macpherson and the verse compiled by Forbes in *The Lyon* will further substantiate the claim that, ‘Jacobitism was, even before Macpherson, a romantic political movement; it was alienated, revolutionary, nationalist, and daring and dangerous on a personal level’.⁵¹

Macpherson was not alone in his promotion of an ancient, partially fabricated, romantic Scottish heritage. While Macpherson’s literary career was burdened by challenges questioning the authenticity of his ancient Scottish verse, poets such as Robert Burns perpetuated a similar myth by publishing compositions with the claim that they were genuine contemporary lyrics. William Donaldson has made the convincing argument that Burns, ‘single-handedly invented the later Jacobite song as an independent type’, and did so deceptively, aware that he was, ‘creating a myth’.⁵² Burns was sympathetic to the Jacobite cause and often adopted the Jacobite image as a symbol of national loss.⁵³ Iconic poems such as ‘A Highland Widow’s Lament’ and ‘It was a’ for our Rightfu’ King’ draw upon the nostalgia, grief and bitterness characteristic of the post-Culloden environment and present in the verse recorded by Forbes in *The Lyon*.⁵⁴

Complicit in the conscious formation of a romanticised Jacobitism into that of the national Scottish image was the later owner and the first editor of *The Lyon in Mourning*, the prominent author and publisher, Robert Chambers. Chambers’s major publication of Jacobite verse, *The Scottish Songs*, appeared in 1829. This collection featured an unprecedented amount of ‘traditional’ Scottish poetry. It was introduced by a historical essay by Chambers in which he frames the subsequent

⁵⁰ George Pratt Insh, *The Scottish Jacobite Movement* (Edinburgh: Moray Press, 1952), pp. 76-77; 187.

⁵¹ Pittock, *Invention*, pp. 72; 75.

⁵² William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), p. 4.

⁵³ Pittock, *Invention*, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁴ Marilyn Butler, ‘Burns and Politics’, in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* ed. by Robert Crawford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 110.

poetics within an ancient tradition. Tracing Scottish popular rhymes to the time of William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, Chambers drew a parallel between the heroic and romanticised history of the nation and the development of Scottish verse into the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ Presented as a historical narrative, Chambers's sentimental thematic premise is nevertheless more heavily influenced by the prevailing literary, not historical, milieu.

The context in which Chambers was publishing was dominated by arguably the most guilty of the Scottish literary image-makers. Sir Walter Scott's fiction, most notably *Waverley* (1814), blurred the lines between Scottish history and romance, rendering each indistinguishable. Scott wrote, 'as if he believed he were telling the truth about things as they were, as if he has somehow forgotten the gap between imagination and reality'.⁵⁶ His role in shaping the popular view of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Scottish history cannot be overemphasised. Essential to an understanding of the eventual reception of Forbes's collection is the acknowledgement that Scott's unprecedented popularity led to the dissemination and adoption of a shared understanding regarding Scotland's history and culture that was inextricably connected to a romantic Jacobite image. Scott expressed through his writing that, 'the Jacobite cause stands for Scottish national feeling as a whole'.⁵⁷ Modern criticism has since sought to minimise his influence by placing more emphasis on the figures already discussed, such as Burns and Macpherson.⁵⁸ Regardless of the distribution of responsibility assigned to these writers, the consensus emerged that the romanticisation of Scottish history through its use of Jacobitism as a sentimental metaphor was a creation born of this later period.

The romanticised historical context into which *The Lyon in Mourning* was published was therefore established through decades of historical and literary discourse. Robert Chambers first

⁵⁵ Robert Chambers, *Scottish Songs: Collected and Illustrated by Robert Chambers*, vol. 1-2 (Edinburgh: Printed by Ballantyne and Company, 1829), p. ix.

⁵⁶ James Kerr, *Fiction Against History: Scott as Story-Teller* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 17.

⁵⁷ Pittock, *Invention*, p. 85.

⁵⁸ Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 160; Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin Press, 1962), p. 32.

published selections of narratives from *The Lyon in Mourning* in 1834 in *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. Having recently acquired the manuscript volumes from a previous collector, Chambers wrote:

It was then resolved, in consideration of the encouragement now given to the publication of historical documents, especially to the class of memoirs, that a selection of the more important articles should be submitted to the world in their original state...⁵⁹

Chambers published only a small selection of narratives amounting to approximately one third of those found within *The Lyon*. The text at times merged disparate entries in an attempt to create a cohesive timeline of Prince Charles's movements from his arrival in Scotland to his return to France. Within the context of historical publishing of Jacobite materials, Chambers's *Jacobite Memoirs* had little company in the early decades of the century. The *Culloden Papers* published in 1815 and the *Lockhart Papers* in 1817 constitute the bulk of this early phase of historical literature, while the vast majority of publications relating to Jacobitism remained in the falsified literary realm.

Although Chambers never published the content of *The Lyon in Mourning* in its entirety, he did chose to employ its materials a second time in conjunction with additional historical papers for the publication of *A History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745, 1746*. First published in 1827, this work did not originally contain content from *The Lyon* but would be amended with its sources in subsequent editions, reaching its seventh and final edition in 1869.⁶⁰ The multi-volume duodecimo format selected by Chambers for his *History* subtly implied his desire to present this work in the spirit of the historical novel. More explicitly, Chambers made clear the lens through which he viewed the content of *The Lyon* as he stated in his preface:

I have been induced to forego what is called the philosophy of history, by conviction in my own mind, that the merit of the subject, does not lie in any political questions which it involves, but purely in its externally romantic character.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Robert Chambers, 'Preface', pp. xvii-xviii.

⁶⁰ Chambers, *History of the Rebellion*, 7th edn. (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1869), pp. v-vi.

⁶¹ Chambers, *History* (1869), pp. v-viii.

Just like Robert Forbes, Chambers was a Scots Episcopalian who held overt Jacobite leanings which permeate the content of his text.⁶² Unlike Forbes, however, Chambers's Jacobitism was not bred of active, political principles but rather overwhelmed by glorified, romantic sentiments towards a version of Scottish political and cultural history that was an invention of his own time.

As the romantic movement began to recede in the late nineteenth-century, a resurgence of interest in Jacobite history would occur alongside a boom in publishing.⁶³ *The Lyon in Mourning* was at the forefront of this resurgence with its first and only complete publication in a three volume set edited by Henry Paton in 1895-96. A second significant publication, also produced the Scottish History Society, was published in 1897 under the title *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*. This work by Walter B. Laikie was originally intended as an appendix to the third volume of *The Lyon* in 1896 but was determined to contain a sufficient amount of content to constitute its own work.⁶⁴ Additional primary source material emerged in the *Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750*, published in 1895-96. These publications culminated in a renewed academic interest in the Jacobite record and the production of multiple historical works.⁶⁵ Although freed from the editorial constraints imposed upon it by Chambers's sentimental Jacobite leanings, even the complete publication of Forbes's collection during this resurgence at the end of the century was marred by the reverberations left by the romantic literati. As will be further explored through the framing of the manuscript's provenance below, J.C.D. Clark's analysis that, 'the Jacobite scholarship c. 1880-1914 never recovered from Sir Walter Scott's translation of it from the political to the social sphere' is of particular relevance to the print version of *The Lyon*, which remains the only widely accessible source of text.⁶⁶

⁶² Clark, 'Restoration', p. 25.

⁶³ Donaldson, *Song*, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Walter Biggar Laikie, 'Preface' in *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from his Landing in Scotland July, 1745 to his departure in September, 1746* (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1897), p. vii.

⁶⁵ Guthrie & Grose, p. 51.

⁶⁶ Clark, 'Restoration', p. 30.

2.3 Provenance

The history of ownership of *The Lyon in Mourning* following the bishop's death in November 1775 remains questionable. The progressive embellishment and sentimentalisation of the manuscript throughout its various published forms parallels the process of romanticisation imposed upon its provenance. After the death of Robert Forbes the manuscript entered a period of obscurity until it was purchased by Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton in 1806. The collection was later obtained by Robert Chambers approximately thirty years later and would remain in his possession until its transference to the Advocates Library in Edinburgh in the mid-century. *The Lyon in Mourning* is currently held by the National Library of Scotland (Adv. MS 32.6.16-25).

Figure 3: History of Ownership of *The Lyon in Mourning*

Years	Owner
1746 to 1775	Robert Forbes
1775 to 1806?	Unknown
1806? to 1832?	Sir Henry Steuart
1832? to 1847	Robert Chambers
1847 to 1925	The Advocates Library
1925 to Present	The National Library of Scotland

The currently accepted and referenced history of the manuscript is that which is outlined in *The Lyon's* first and only complete print publication by the Scottish History Society in 1895-96. The preface to this edition states:

After the death of Bishop Forbes *The Lyon in Mourning* remained a possession treasured by his widow for fully thirty years, she alone knowing of what it had been in the eyes of her husband. With advancing years, however, she fell into poverty, and was obliged in 1806 to part with the collection, a suitable purchaser having been found in Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton.⁶⁷

This affectionate history of Forbes's collection is false in all but the final point. Sir Henry Steuart did eventually acquire all ten volumes of *The Lyon* sometime around 1806 with the intention of

⁶⁷ Paton, 'Preface', p. xx.

employing its narratives in a historical work on the Jacobite rebellions; a project which would fail to come to fruition.⁶⁸ Sir Henry Steuart, however, could not have purchased the manuscript from Bishop Forbes's widow in 1806. Forbes was first married to Agnes Gairey in 1749. Agnes died on the 4th of April, 1750. Forbes's second and final marriage was to Rachel Houston, sometime after the death of Agnes and it is she that would outlive him to become his widow.⁶⁹

Rachel Houston survived her husband by only six weeks. Her obituary appears in *Scots Magazine* in January, 1776, one month following Forbes's death notice. To dispense of any doubts as to her identity, Rachel Houston's death notice states clearly that she is, 'relict of Mr. Robert Forbes, one of the bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland', and references the issue and page number of Forbes's own obituary.⁷⁰ His obituary attested to his Jacobite sympathies stating that, 'In a word, as he lived, so he died, a truly HONEST MAN'.⁷¹ The concept of the 'honest man' in Jacobite literature was well-established and was often used as a means of identification in conjunction with other signs of Jacobite affiliations, such as a stated allegiance to the Episcopal church.⁷²

The origin of the tale of the poverty-stricken, elderly widow who was forced to part with her husband's lifework only when faced with near destitution, appears to have originated from Robert Chambers. Chambers provides unsubstantiated details surrounding his acquisition of the manuscript from Sir Henry Steuart which took place in either 1832, 1833 or 1834.⁷³ Chambers records his ownership of the manuscript in a hand-written note pasted onto the inside back cover of the first volume of *The Lyon*.

⁶⁸ Chambers, *History* (1869), p. v-vi.

⁶⁹ Craven, p. 11.

⁷⁰ 'Rachel Houston Obituary', *The Scots Magazine*, January 1776, p. 54.

⁷¹ 'Bishop Robert Forbes Obituary', *The Scots Magazine*, November 1775, p. 638. Emphasis in original.

⁷² Monod, p. 67.

⁷³ Chambers, *History of the Rebellion* 5th edn. (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1840), p. v; In the 1840 edition Chambers gives the date of acquisition as 1832. Chambers's letter pasted into *The Lyon in Mourning* states '1833 or 1834'.

Edinburgh, May 5, 1847.

I hereby certify that the accompanying manuscript in ten volumes, entitled The Lyon in Mourning, was purchased by me in 1833 or 1834 from the late Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton, Baronet, by whom I was informed that he had bought it about thirty years before from the widow of Bishop Forbes, of the Scottish episcopal church, the compiler, who had died in 1775.

The volumes contain in a chronological progress many documents and anecdotes respecting the civil war of 1745 and the individuals concerned in it. On this account, I desired to possess it, as I designed to make use of its contents for the improvement of a history of the insurrection which I had written.

Robert Chambers.

Image 3:

Robert Chambers's note found in volume one of *The Lyon in Mourning*.

The first paragraph reads: 'I hereby certify that the accompanying manuscript in ten volumes, entitled *The Lyon in Mourning*, was purchased by me in 1833 or 1834 from the late Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton, Baronet, by whom I was informed that he had bought it about thirty years before from the widow of Bishop Forbes, of the Scottish episcopal church, the compiler, who died in 1775'.

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The straight-forward account of the manuscript's history provided in Chambers's note lacks the detailed sentimentalised treatment that he afforded to it in the preface of *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*:

About the year 1806 ... application was made to him (Sir Henry of Allanton) by a friend, in behalf of the widow of the late Bishop Forbes, to learn whether he would purchase the manuscripts left by that learned person ... The widow, it appeared, had fallen into poverty, and was now, in the decline of life, obliged to sell, for what it would bring, a work which had occupied the attention of her husband for the better part of his life, and was appreciated by him above all earthly possessions.⁷⁴

Chambers takes liberties through his hyperbolic language to proclaim the collection as the most treasured of Forbes's 'earthly possessions', a theme which was later build upon in the Scottish History Society's preface composed six decades later. Already valued for the wealth of historical content contained within its volumes, the history of this long-lost collection developed into an invented and heart-breaking story of struggle and loss.

Chambers's reference to an intermediary in the sale of *The Lyon* from Forbes's supposed widow to Sir Henry of Allanton appears in his 1834 preface but it is mentioned no where else. Whether Sir Henry believed he was purchasing the collection directly from Forbes's widow is suggested by Chambers but remains unclear, as does the identity of the owner of the collection from 1775 until approximately 1806. Alongside his Jacobite collection, Bishop Forbes maintained personal papers and journals related to his travels and his work with the Episcopal church. These journals were preserved by the church for over a century following his death. They were published, in part, in 1886. Although *The Lyon* is referenced within this publication, no indication is given that this manuscript was also held by the church alongside Forbes's other personal documents.⁷⁵ The bishop left no children from either marriage and bequeathed what possessions are documented to his sister, Mrs. Watt, in New Rain parish. Among his valuables were portraits of Queen Mary,

⁷⁴ Chambers, 'Preface,' p. xvii.

⁷⁵ Craven, p. v.

James I, James II, Charles I, 'The Royal Oak', as well as two paintings of, 'C. and Miss M.', presumably Charles Edward Stuart and Flora MacDonald. The bishop's library was valued at approximately 40 pounds, but the titles within his collection were not recorded.⁷⁶

Additional indications of ownership within the manuscript itself fail to reveal its possessor prior to Chambers's acquisition. A single marginal notation found in volume six is dated 1806, which can likely be attributed to Sir Henry Stueart.⁷⁷ Marginalia, cross-referencing and edits also appear in a darker ink throughout the volumes. These appear to be the work of Forbes returning to the text at a later date to insert detailed references, such as those employed to link the material relics pasted onto the covers of the manuscript to their associated narratives. Remaining marks of ownership include a brief article pasted onto the title page verso of volume one, which outlines the transferal of the collection from Dr. Robert Chambers to the Advocates Library in Edinburgh.⁷⁸ Additionally, a letter dated 11 May, 1889 indicates the collection may have been used to settle a legal dispute, or perhaps for historical research in this year. The merging of the non-legal materials from the Advocates Library to the National Library of Scotland in 1925 brought *The Lyon in Mourning* to its present-day location.

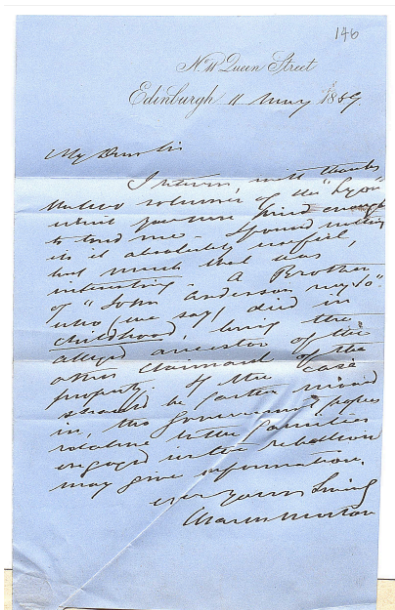


Image 4:
Letter pasted into volume nine of *The Lyon in Mourning*. Although nearly illegible, it notes the confirmation of the death of John Anderson, 'the other claimant to the property' and its return to the Advocates Library in May in 1889.
Reproduced with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

⁷⁶ Craven, p. 53.

⁷⁷ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1238.

⁷⁸ NLS, *Lyon*, vol. 1, title page verso.

Chapter Three: Material Meaning

3.0 Bishop Forbes's Jacobite Relics

Robert Forbes was an avid collector of Jacobite artefacts, some of which he attached within the covers of his manuscript collection.⁷⁹ These objects are primarily items that have been worn or have come into contact with Prince Charles Edward Stuart during the period immediately following Culloden. A piece of a gown, garter, apron, brogues as well as pieces of wood from a boat used in the escape constitute the central items in the manuscript. These material objects are bonded to the manuscript not only physically but also textually through Forbes's systematic process of cross-referencing the artefacts to the segments of narrative in which they figure. The result is a cohesion of the material artefacts to the manuscript as a whole and the production of a 'text' in a theoretical and etymological sense.⁸⁰ Elements within the manuscript, whether they be transcribed correspondence, recorded memoirs or the pieces of Prince Charles's clothing are intricately 'woven' as components of a single material entity.

3.1 The Betty Burk Dress: Materials and Narrative

The piece of floral fabric preserved by Forbes in the front pastedown of volume three offers an example of the changing significance attributed to the Jacobite objects as they become adopted by new contexts over time. Theorists of material culture have demonstrated how physical objects have the ability to transcend temporal barriers, acting as references to past, present and future moments or events simultaneously and over time.⁸¹ Forbes records:

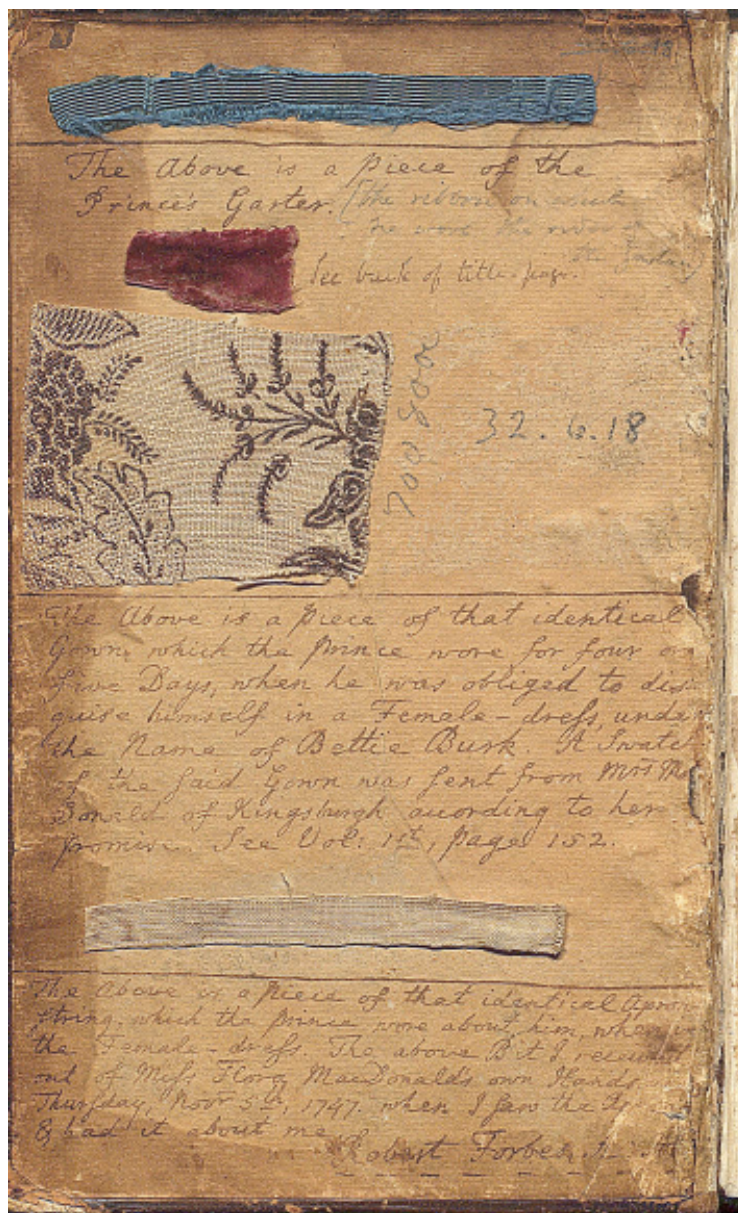
The above is a piece of that identical gown, which the Prince wore for four or five days, when he was obliged to disguise himself in female-dress, under the name Bettie Burk. A scratch of the laid gown was lent from Miss MacDonald of Kingsburgh according to her promise. See volume the 1st, page 152.

⁷⁹ Kington-Oliphant, p. 396.

⁸⁰ David Greetham, 'What Is Textual Scholarship?', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 24.

⁸¹ Yvonne Marshall, 'The Social Lives Of Lived And Inscribed Objects: A Lapita Perspective', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 117, (2008), p. 61.

Image 5:
 Relics in volume three of *The Lyon in Mourning*
 from top to bottom: blue garter ribbon from Betty
 Burk disguise, red velvet from Charles Edward's
 sword hilt, floral fabric from Betty Burk dress and
 piece of apron string from the same disguise.
 Reproduced with the kind permission of The
 National Library of Scotland.



The description accompanying the dress fabric fixes the significance of the object both temporally and geographically, essentially rendering it static and unchangeable. The fabric is representative of the Prince's remarkable escape from Scotland through the Isle of Skye assisted by the creative heroism of MacDonald of Kingsburgh and Flora MacDonald. A conversation with Kingsburgh held in July of 1747 provides the necessary context for the fabric:

Agreeable to Kingsburgh's advice they met at the edge of the wood, where the Prince laid aside his female rags, which were deposited in the heart of a bush till a proper opportunity should offer to taking them up; for these that were present resolved to preserve them all as *valuable tokens of distress*... Away he went to struggle through a series of fresh dangers, the faithful MacKechan still attending him.⁸²

⁸² NLS, *Lyon*, p. 144.

The dress fabric is thus assigned its value based upon the textual connection made to the tale of the Prince's escape. By imposing this item with a purposeful political and nostalgic value, an otherwise ubiquitous item becomes a symbol for the Jacobite cause. This process has been termed the 'singularisation' of an artefact. It is the process through which an object is extracted from its originating form as a material commodity by means of adhering a 'sacralised' function upon it.⁸³ Singularisation in *The Lyon* is achieved by the connection of the relics directly to the textual narratives of struggle and loss contained in the manuscript.

Having successfully concealed the female clothing in the bush, Forbes relates how the items were later taken into the house by the MacDonald family where they were under threat of being discovered by government troops who had been informed of their existence.⁸⁴ Both Kingsburgh and MacDonald had been taken prisoner following their separation from the Prince and thus sent instructions to have the 'rags' destroyed in advance of the anticipated search of the house by English troops. The clothing's existence, therefore, becomes representative of subversion and resistance to the established monarchy. The fabric becomes physical evidence with the potential of further condemning those who preserve them.

Despite the risk inherent in concealing the Prince's dress, the fabric was nonetheless saved from destruction by Mrs. MacDonald's daughter. Forbes relates that, 'The gown was accordingly preserved and Kingsburgh and his lady promised to send a swatch of it to Mr. Stewart Carmichael at Bonnyhaugh as a pattern to stamp other gowns from'.⁸⁵ The gown was subsequently reproduced for sale to Jacobite women across both Scotland and England. This specific floral pattern of dress functioned as a silent mode of communicating Jacobite sympathies amongst like-minded females throughout the following years. Similarly, a tartan dress named the 'Bettie Burke' was manufactured and 'distributed as far afield as York, as mute symbols of the Prince's heroism'.⁸⁶ During a period in

⁸³ Kopynoff, p. 73.

⁸⁴ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 152.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Pittock, *Material Culture*, pp. 79; 90.

which Jacobite sympathies were suppressed by the sedition laws, silent modes of material expression such as this were employed to express sentiments and convey meaning in a non-verbal but the nonetheless direct fashion.

One of the ways in which written text interacts with material meaning is by rendering the material a representation of a memory, or a receptacle in which its history is held. The piece of fabric found within Forbes's manuscript is a relic of extended cultural and historical perceived value. Commemoration and memorialisation of an object is dependent upon an element of associated narrative.⁸⁷ This small material fragment embodies the biographical narrative supplied by the text and thereby attributes sentimentalities, both personal and political within its physical material.

3.2 The Relics of Prince Charles Edward Stuart

Jacobitism as a political movement was highly charged with religious sentiment. George Dalgleish has argued that the affinity between fervent Christian belief and Jacobite political leanings produced a, 'pseudo-religious nature [that] gave rise to a rash of 'devotional' relics associated with heroes to the cause'.⁸⁸ Relics connected to Prince Charles Edward Stuart constitute the greatest segment of extant Jacobite relics. These items are imbued with a memorial function in connection to the '45 and the Jacobite political cause as well as a reverence towards the Prince as a divine identity. In this way, these relics transcend their associations in the political realm and become icons of Charles's celebrity. This removal of Jacobite memorabilia from the political milieu into that of the sacred, mythologized and iconic was firmly achieved by the early-nineteenth century when the movement as a political threat was deemed harmless and Jacobitism itself was reduced to a sentimentalist activity. The memorial framing of history through material means descended into a 'cult of Romantic celebrity'.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Novotny, p. 172.

⁸⁸ George Dalgleish, 'Objects as Icons: Myths and Realities of Jacobite Relics', in *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity*, ed. by J.M. Fladmark (Lower Coombe: Donhead Publishing Limited, 1999), p. 92.

⁸⁹ Pittock, *Material Culture*, pp. 148; 150.

Relics connected to the Stuarts abound in the form of bodily remains, possessions owned by them or items which came into contact with them.⁹⁰ The religious act of sanctifying items or images connected to the Stuarts was also a political one and was not limited to only individuals of the Roman Catholic Church. Forbes's relics constitute a materiality of his faith as well as his politics. The bishop's transcription of the dying speech of Rev. Robert Lyon, for whom the manuscript may be named, reveals the interdependence of his religion and his Jacobitism:

I soon determined from rational and solid arguments to embrace the doctrines of passive obedience, the divine right of kings, and in particular the indefeasible and hereditary title of our own gracious sovereign, James the Eighth and Third, and of his royal heirs, whom God preserve and restore.⁹¹

The veneration of Stuart items into 'relics' is substantiated by a belief in the divine right of kings. That this view was held by Forbes and most of his Jacobite companions is confirmed by the publication of the death speech from Robert Lyon quoted above in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 'on account of the well-expressed and well-reasoned view which it gives of the opinions by which a large portion of Prince Charles's adherents were actuated'.⁹² Relics became the manifestation of the religious-political interdependence of Jacobitism.

Amongst the relics compiled by Forbes within *The Lyon in Mourning*, those that have been worn upon the Prince's body figure prominently. A blue strip of ribbon from the Prince's garter, a string taken from the apron of the Prince's female disguise and a piece of velvet from his sword hilt are present in the manuscript.⁹³ Items worn next to the skin of the mythified royal figure come to represent an extension of the subject.⁹⁴ In Western culture, objects are understood to exist as separate entities from those who possess or interact with them. Material culture studies examining Malaysian and Maori culture, however, have suggested a cultural link can exist between objects and

⁹⁰ Guthrie, p. 118.

⁹¹ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 19.

⁹² Chambers, *History*, (1840), p. 464.

⁹³ See image 5.

⁹⁴ Novotny, p. 195.

subjects which personify personal items as detached parts of the individual.⁹⁵ Such perspectives share an affinity with the sentimental and memorial attachment held by preservers of historical or religious relics.

To take an example, the garter ribbon appearing inside the front pastedown of the third volume serves a memorial function in its relation to the tale of Prince Charles's disguise and secretive escape.⁹⁶ His physical proximity to the item during this famed episode in the collective Jacobite memory, however, takes the signification of the garter beyond the memorial and into the realm of treasured relics. The garter ribbon functioned as an embodiment of the absent Prince, encompassing his essence and that of the glorified narrative. It becomes a 'material vestige of the celebrated dead or absent'.⁹⁷ As a relic, the garter is not simply a representation, symbol or indicator of the icon but rather serves as a material manifestation of the divine.⁹⁸

The establishment of proximity between the object and the subject is closely linked to the artefact's tactility. These materials, once defined by their physical connection to Prince Charles, can be physically engaged, touched, and felt as a means to recall the episode that exemplifies their significance. Forbes's description of his acquisition of the Prince's apron string emphasises the importance of this physical connection:

The above is a piece of that identical apron string, which *the Prince wore about him*, when in female-dress. The above I received out of Flora MacDonald's own hands Thursday Nov 5th, 1747 when I saw the apron and *had it about me*.⁹⁹

The physical interaction that Forbes describes works on the emotional level of 'existential concreteness', which is inexpressible by textual articulation.¹⁰⁰ A tactile and palpable connection to the Prince is made by Forbes through his physical connection to the apron. Annette Weiner refers to

⁹⁵ Gosden & Marshall, 173.

⁹⁶ reference image - volume 3 relics

⁹⁷ Murray Pittock, 'Traacherous Object: Towards a Theory of Jacobite Material Culture', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 34 (2011), p. 52.

⁹⁸ A. Walsham, 'Introduction: Relics and Remains' *Past & Present*, 206 (2010), p. 11 <doi:10.1093/pastj/gtq026>

⁹⁹ NLS, *Lyon*, vol. 3, front pastedown.

¹⁰⁰ Lowenthal, p. 245.

these items as ‘inalienable possessions’, or those in which, once given to a subject by a royal figure, serve as statements of their legitimacy as well as a manifestation the subject’s loyalty.¹⁰¹ Forbes’s Jacobite relics, particularly those which can be worn next to the body, form a physical connection to the absent Prince rendering him present in his rightful realm. The act of engaging with the relics further enhances their mythical appeal by evoking an emotive response in the subject and thereby perpetuating the romanticism of the cause.

3.3 The Brogues: Meaning, Documentation & Authenticity

The two pieces of Prince Charles’s brogues, once worn as part of his disguise as the female servant Betty Burk raises issues of authenticity in relation to Jacobite artefacts. The space which these leather fragments from the Prince’s shoes once occupied inside the back pastedown of volume five is currently vacant. The remnants of the bishop’s glue in two parallel blotches remains as an indication of their placement above a rudimentary pencilled sketch of a brogue, which is perhaps the work of a later reader.¹⁰² The brogue pieces were evidently present inside the binding when it was acquired by Robert Chambers as he noted their presence in the preface to his *Jacobite Memoirs*. They were likewise noted as attached to the fifth volume in the preface of the print edition of 1895-96, indicating that they were retained throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁰³ The loss of these artefacts, however, does not entirely strip them of their perceived value and meaning. When revered objects are lost, destroyed or otherwise misplaced, the space in which they once occupied can become endowed with renewed significance, as a kind of surrogate for the missing object.¹⁰⁴

The brogues were provided to Prince Charles Edward Stuart by MacDonald of Kingsburgh upon the Prince’s brief stay on the Isle of Skye. Once discarded by the Charles, the shoes remained in MacDonald’s possession with the remaining items of Charles’s female dress.¹⁰⁵ In a letter

¹⁰¹ Guthrie, p. 15.

¹⁰² See image 6 below.

¹⁰³ Chambers, ‘Preface’, p. xiv; Paton, ‘Preface’, p. xx.

¹⁰⁴ Walsham, p. 11

¹⁰⁵ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 144.

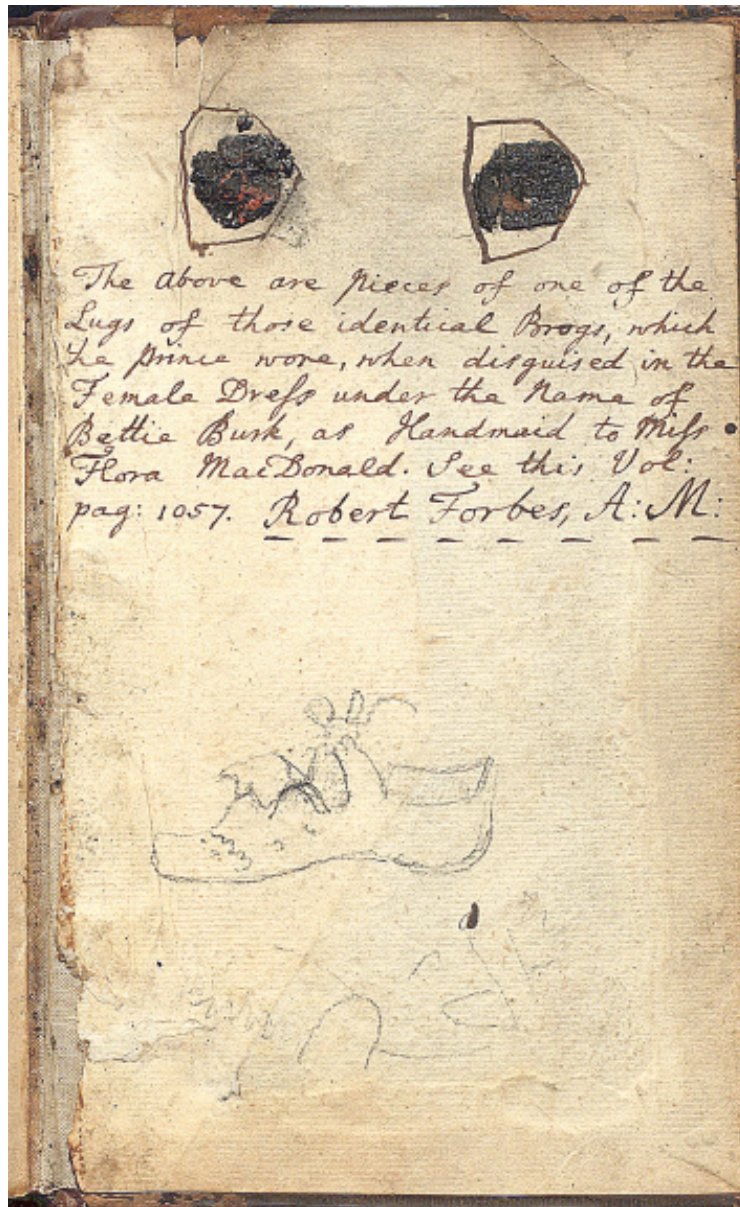


Image 6:

Location where the pieces of the Prince's brogues were held in volume five of *The Lyon in Mourning*.
Reproduced with the kind permission of The National Library of Scotland.

addressed to MacDonald in January of 1748, Forbes requested that a piece be broken off the brogues and sent to him as a, 'very great favour'.¹⁰⁶ The request was subsequently granted in July of the same year when MacDonald responded noting that, 'inclosed [is] the piece [of] leather you wrote for some time ago, which, on my honour, is the real piece you wanted'.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 797.

¹⁰⁷ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1057.

The Prince's brogues emerged as a quasi-mythical foci of Jacobite support and optimism in the years following the rebellion. Their story appears in the semi-fictional account of the Prince's escape entitled *Alexis, or the Young Adventurer*, preserved by Forbes in volume eight of *The Lyon*. In this short narrative, the brogues (here referred to as buskins) play a role akin to Cinderella's slipper in their capacity as a material signifier of a happy ending:

'But, Alexis, what is this I see? Your buskins are so old and tattered, that your toes have made their way through them. Wo is me, that my dear Alexis should be reduced to rags! Who should dare complain of hardships and difficulties, when the great Alexis cheerfully undergoes the greatest? Please accept a pair I have never used'. Then, taking off the old ones, he carefully tied them together, and hung them upon a piece of an old crook in the corner of his hut and spoke thus to his beloved guest. 'You see where I have placed them, *I will sacredly preserve them as long as I live...When my beloved Alexis (adds the happy landlord) comes to his wished for Sanctimia, I will quickly visit him with joy, and as my introducers these I will take along with me and shake them on him.*' Alexis, much pleased with the jest, bade him be mindful to do as he said.¹⁰⁸

In this light-hearted account, the landlord speaking to the Prince, Alexis, is referred to as 'Fidelius', the pseudonym attributed to MacDonald of Kingsburgh in the character key amended by Forbes in *The Lyon*.¹⁰⁹ That MacDonald did retain the brogues until his death was confirmed by James Boswell's account of his visit with Flora MacDonald on the Isle of Skye in 1776. Upon hearing the account firsthand Boswell writes, 'Kingsburgh kept the shoes as long as he lived. After his death, a zealous Jacobite gave twenty guineas for them'.¹¹⁰

Potentially confused nineteenth-century accounts record that Bishop Forbes and not MacDonald of Kingsburgh was in possession of the brogues themselves. Rev. J.B. Craven's brief biographical account of Forbes published in 1886 notes his affinity for Jacobite collectibles beyond those present in *The Lyon in Mourning*:

¹⁰⁸ *Alexis, or The Young Adventurer*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁰⁹ *Alexis, or The Young Adventurer*, p. 29.

¹¹⁰ James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London: Printed by Henry Baldwin, 1785), p. 183.

But the Bishop had greater treasures still, as we learn from the following note, “The Prince, hearing that his brogues had been preserved by Bishop Forbes, who made friends drink out of them, laughed most heartily, and said, ‘O! he is an honest man, indeed, and I hope soon to give him proofs how much I love and esteem him’”.¹¹¹

It is unfortunate that Craven does not feel compelled to offer the source of this quotation, particularly as it is inaccurately recorded. The statement is repeated in Henry Paton’s *The Lyon in Mourning* publication of 1895-96, which likewise asserts that the brogues were the possession of Bishop Forbes who delighted in drinking from them with like-minded companions.¹¹² The proliferation of *The Lyon* in its entirety by the Scottish History Society and the absence of subsequent revised editions has rendered these historical ‘facts’ immutable. The origin of this potential fallacy appears to have arisen sometime after Chambers’s publication of *History of the Rebellion of 1745-46* in its fifth edition in 1840. In this revised preface Chambers assigns the ownership of the brogues to MacDonald of Kingsburgh as the correspondence recorded by Forbes implies.¹¹³

The root of this confusion may lie within the secretive nature of Jacobite correspondence. The original quotation, refashioned by Craven to attribute the brogue’s ownership to Forbes, is careful to omit the names of the Prince’s supporters. In a letter dated 22 October, 1763 written by Mrs. Oliphant of Gask to Fidelius, Charles Edward is referred to as ‘Cousin Peggy’ and Lady Gask is recorded as simply ‘L.G.’:

Your cousin was in perfect good health, God be thanked, on September 14 and 25. Having been well informed about a *certain friend*, particularly that he had sacredly preserved the favourite brogues and made friends drink out of them. He laughed most heartily and said, ‘O! he is an honest man indeed, and I hope soon to give him proofs how much I love and esteem him.’¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Craven, p. 14.

¹¹² Paton, ‘Preface’, p. xx; Forbes, Robert, *The Lyon in Mourning: Or, A Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1895-1896), vol. 3, p. 211.

¹¹³ Chambers, *History* (1840), pp. 496-497.

¹¹⁴ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1887.

No record is left by Forbes to indicate that he was in possession of the brogues, nor how he may have acquired them. The ‘certain friend’ is nonetheless identified as Robert Forbes in a footnote in the Paton edition, perhaps due to a confusion of identities caused by the covert nature of the correspondence.¹¹⁵

Further evidence raises suspicion of these claims when the leather pieces themselves are viewed within their own ‘use-life’. A use-life approach to the cultural biography of objects prioritises the morphological progression of an artefact as its shape or form changes with successive use.¹¹⁶ The brogues are a ‘particularly poignant souvenir of the ’45’ and as such, the process of their fragmentation and distribution over time offers insight into their power as a symbol and agent of Jacobite sympathies.¹¹⁷ Upon examining the leather in the 1830s, Robert Chambers observes that;

These relics seem, from circles of ink drawn round them, to have been originally somewhat larger than they now are. Probably the bishop was induced to give away a few minute parings, to his more eminent or valued friends among the Jacobite party, as a particularly precious memorial of the object of their political idolatry.¹¹⁸

If Chambers’s speculations are accurate, the small pieces of leather were so highly regarded that their progressive depletion represents a physical manifestation of their perceived significance.

Chambers’s scenario, however, also casts doubt on the assertion that Forbes was in possession of the brogues themselves. The items as a whole would have provided a more abundant source for the distribution of fragments than the small portions allotted to Forbes by Kingsburgh.

If it is unlikely that Bishop Forbes was the ‘honest man’ referred to by the Prince, then the question of how this fallacy emerged is worth further pursuit. Craven’s attribution appears in print approximately a decade prior to the full publication of *The Lyon in Mourning* and may have served as the basis for the inaccurately copied quotation in the latter’s preface. Craven’s account relies heavily

¹¹⁵ Forbes, Robert, *The Lyon in Mourning: Or, A Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, ed. by Henry Paton (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1895-1896), vol. 3, p. 211.

¹¹⁶ Gosden & Marshall, p. 169.

¹¹⁷ Hugh Cheape, ‘The Culture and Material Culture of Jacobitism’, in *Jacobitism and the ’45* ed. by M. Kynch (London: Historical Association Committee for Scotland and the Historical Association, 1995), p. 42.

¹¹⁸ Chambers, ‘Preface’, p. xv.

upon the records of the Oliphants of Gask.¹¹⁹ Multiple entries by the Oliphant's biographer suggest that the chest of relics accumulated at Gask, including the brogues, the ribbon from the garter and 'Prince Charlie's bonnet', were compiled with the assistance of Bishop Forbes.¹²⁰ Furthermore, the brogues worn by Charles Edward as the servant Betty Burk are amongst the relics at Gask when they reemerge in the twentieth century. The 1911 *Palace of History* exhibition held in Glasgow notes the following entry contributed by the decedents of the Oliphants of Gask:

CASE OF RELICS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART.
Containing the Highland bonnet and brogues, the white cockade, Garter, spurs,
crucifix, autograph letter, and portrait as a child.¹²¹

The extensive correspondence between Robert Forbes and the Oliphants over several decades, particularly in relation to Jacobite activities, underlines the closeness of the relationship between these households. Forbes's ownership of the brogues and his subsequent bestowal of them with other relics at Gask is therefore possible, although unlikely, given the conflicting textual record.

The desire to connect the provenance of these particularly significant Jacobite items to the bishop provides insight into the precarious relationship between material artefacts and their textual histories. Formal written narratives attached to items, such as those provided by Forbes, offer a wealth of biographical information in relation to particular objects and can endow them with associated meaning. The proliferation of Jacobite relics brought forth in exhibitions throughout the nineteenth century which lack any verifiable evidence of their histories casts a shadow of doubt across the authenticity of the category as a whole. Issues of documentation and authentication is 'endemic to the study of Jacobite material culture,' and thus must be approached with caution.¹²²

The case of the brogues is problematic in that their recorded history is elaborate enough to contain potential conflicts which raise more questions than they answer. How did the brogues come

¹¹⁹ Kington-Oliphant, p. 100.

¹²⁰ Kington-Oliphant, pp. 213; 321-322; 396.

¹²¹ Scottish Exhibition of History, Art, and Industry, 1911, *Palace of History Catalogue of Exhibits* (Glasgow: Dalross, 1911), p. 375.

¹²² Guthrie, p. 153.

to reside at Gask if not from the hands of Bishop Forbes? If this question cannot be resolved how can one be sure that the brogues that are listed as part of Prince Charles's relics at Gask are the original items? The answer to this question is resolved by Dalgleish who notes that a direct connection between the artefact and the Stuarts is not crucial, 'because of the nature of the cult of relics did not have to be genuine to have the required political effect'.¹²³ More importantly then, the unreconcilable history of the brogues suggests a desire in nineteenth-century documentation to attach these highly regarded items to one of the only significant collections of Jacobite textual history by linking them to Forbes, whether or not this was in fact true. By establishing this connection, the brogues assume a greater signification in their association to the wealth of historical narratives recorded in his collection.

¹²³ Dalgleish, p. 94.

Chapter Four

4.0 Jacobite Verse in *The Lyon in Mourning*

Within the ten volumes of the *Lyon in Mourning*, Robert Forbes recorded over fifty distinct poetic pieces addressing Jacobite themes. These verses are in the form of song lyrics, poems in both Latin and English as well as inscriptions or epitaphs for martyred Jacobite heroes. These entries occupy approximately two thirds of volume three and can be found sporadically scattered amongst the following volumes; presumably recorded by Forbes in the order in which he encountered them. Their proliferation throughout the collection is unsurprising. The popular song has been deemed the ‘dominant cultural form’ in eighteenth-century Scotland and functioned as both a reflection of popular sentiment and an agent of societal change.¹²⁴

Poetic verse has a place in Forbes’s collection because the sentiments it expressed were central in the formation of a collection, ‘as exactly made of the iniquity of the times would permit’.¹²⁵ Jacobite songs were often expressions of seditious words, although they posed less of a threat when exchanged verbally. Amongst the poems recorded by Forbes is one he overheard while travelling and preserved on a scrap of paper. Monod has argued that these statements, ‘reinforce the

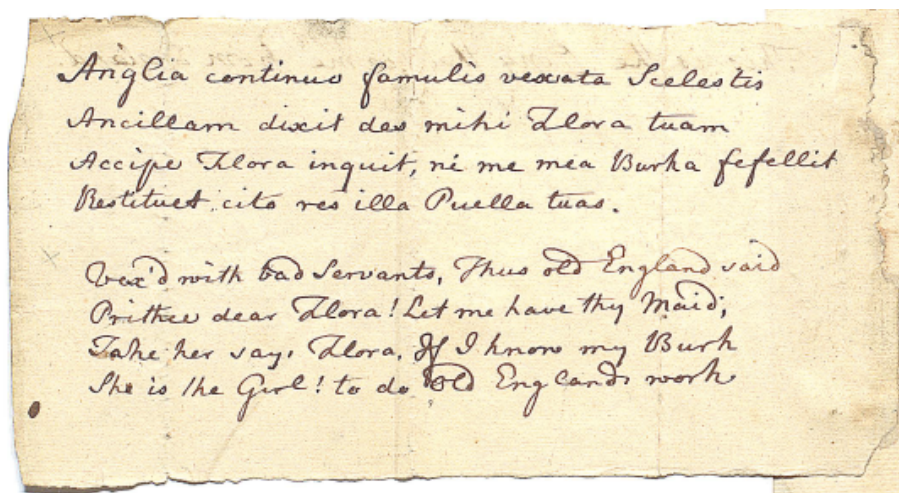


Image 7:

Poem in praise of Flora MacDonald and Charles Edward Stuart preserved on an unbound piece of paper and pasted into volume four of *The Lyon in Mourning* Reproduced with the kind permission of The National Library of Scotland.

¹²⁴ Donaldson, *Song*, p. ix.

¹²⁵ NLS, *Lyon*, vol. 1, title page.

impression that oral and written culture were not separate stems'.¹²⁶ Poetic verse was one means to express and disseminate Jacobite views abstractly, through the guise of classical references or shrouded in metaphors of lost love and grief. This approach is analogous to expressions of Jacobite material culture, which likewise sought to communicate through a covert exchange of symbolism. The connection amongst material expression and that portrayed in Forbes's narratives and verse will be explored further below.

Eighteenth-century Scottish Jacobite poetry has been the focus of both historical and literary studies addressing the movement and its associated culture. In *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, Pittock argues that within twenty years of the loss at Culloden, Jacobite poetry had lost its oppositional voice, descending into a passive, sentimentalised and largely feminine character.¹²⁷ The work of later romantic poets, therefore, provides a comparative framework to those recorded in the pages of *The Lyon*.

The formation of a romanticised Jacobite image is often attributed to later writers such as Macpherson, Burns and Scott.¹²⁸ Recent studies, however, have argued that the development of a nostalgic Jacobitism was in fact contemporaneous with the cause.¹²⁹ For Jacobites such as Robert Forbes, a nostalgic and passive representation of the cause was not incompatible with active political sentiments. The often heavily romanticised verse found in *The Lyon* provides an interesting compliment and contrast to Forbes's self-proclaimed impartial and fact-based narratives.¹³⁰

4.1 Materials, Verse & Narrative

The most prominent example of the communicative process between materials and text is found in the use of the tartan as a cultural and seditious symbol. The tartan was used as an

¹²⁶ Monod, pp. 255; 259.

¹²⁷ Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 177.

¹²⁸ See Pittock, *Poetry*; Donaldson, *Song*

¹²⁹ Corrinne Harol, 'Whig Ballads and the Past Passive Jacobite' *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2012), p. 581. doi: 10.1111/j.1754-0208.2011.00458.x

¹³⁰ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1231.

unspoken signifier of resistance as well as immortalised in song and verse as a symbolic representation of Jacobitism and the loss of the Scottish nation.¹³¹ Employed in the uniforms of Jacobite soldiers in both 1715 and 1745, the tartan became defined as a signifier of Jacobite sympathies in English imprints as early as the 1730s.¹³² In 1749, Forbes transcribed a portion of a letter sent to a companion in Leith from a gentleman in England, which describes an occasion of Jacobite social exchange that occurred in Bath. Both the tartan and the Jacobite song are employed in conjunction to communicate a thoroughly Jacobite message:

I believe I forgot to tell you that the gay world at Bath and other parts of England seem very fond of white rosed button, plaid or tartan...[I have seen] a new dance called the Scotts dance consisting of about 20 lads and lasses dressed after the Highland fashion...The music plays either Prince Charles's minuet or the Auld Stewarts Back Again...¹³³

This display of Jacobite symbolism appears to be at best a poorly concealed declaration of ideological principles and at worst a treasonable offence worthy of prosecution. Such abstract interactions, however, avoid explicit seditious statements through implied meaning.¹³⁴ Without stating it, this entry implies Jacobite support existed as far south as Bath. It also provides a substantial example of the wordless Jacobite communication that was enabled through the complimentary use of popular music in conjunction with the rose and the tartan as material signifiers.

Use of symbolic materials appear in other forms throughout the written text of *The Lyon*. The pieces of Prince Charles's plaid waistcoat that adorn the interior cover of *The Lyon*, for example, connect not only to their own narrative history but also to related entries in the text. Forbes records in great detail a raid, 'for ladies and other women dressed in tartan gowns and white ribbands' which occurred on 20th of December, 1746 throughout Edinburgh and its surrounding

¹³¹ Donaldson, p. 69.

¹³² Pittock, *Material Culture*, pp. 83; 90.

¹³³ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 1228.

¹³⁴ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p. 79.

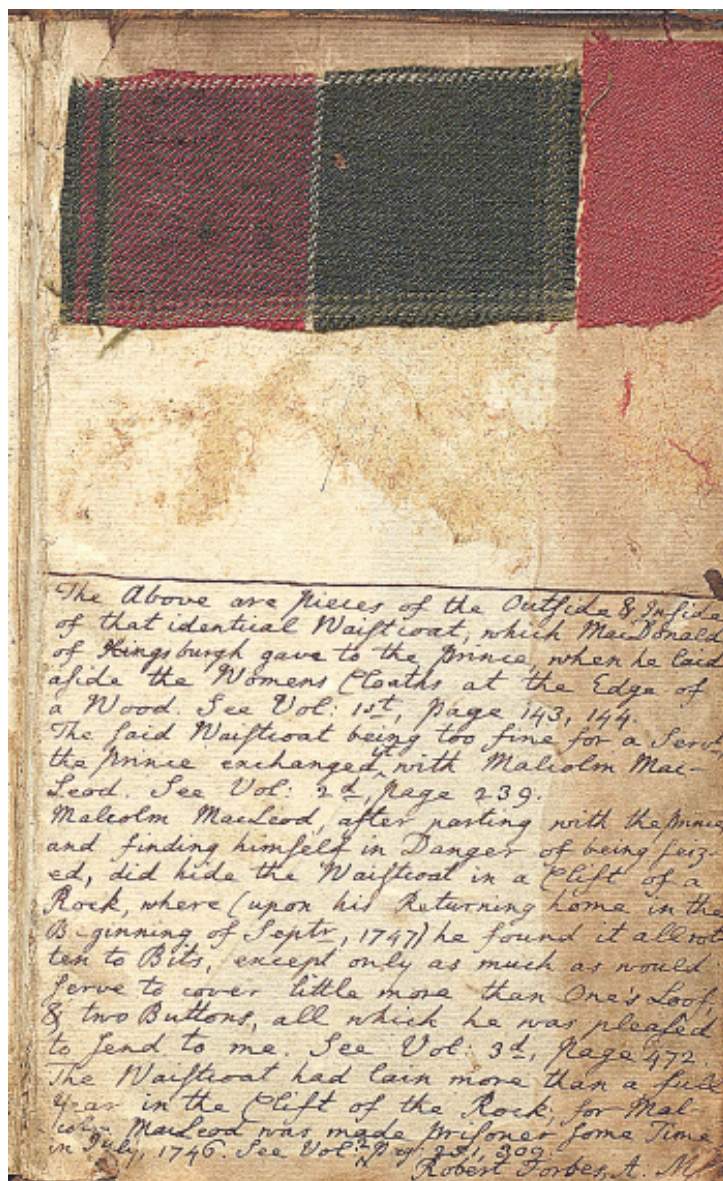


Image 8:

Charles Edward's plaid pasted onto the back cover of volume three of *The Lyon in Mourning*.
 Reproduced with the kind permission of The National Library of Scotland.

suburbs.¹³⁵ Forbes wrote of the search for the 'REBELLIOUS TARTAN' by English dragoons as a laughable farce and entertaining distraction.¹³⁶ His disdain for the officers and the laws they imposed is made palpable throughout his account. Upon reading the search order, Forbes writes, 'I could not help laughing...for it deserved no other treatment'.¹³⁷ It would be an injustice to the fervent nature of Forbes's ideologically beliefs to interpret his reaction as anything but vehement indignation in the face of government authority. His laughter is not an act of simple passivity but rather a measured

¹³⁵ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 950. The date used in the manuscript is in the old style.

¹³⁶ NLS, *Lyon*, pp. 953; 956. Emphasis in original text.

¹³⁷ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 954.

and camouflaged response born of the impotence of his circumstance. In this way, his laughter holds an affinity to the sentimentalised symbolism of Jacobite materials and verse. They function as amiable masks concealing the true nature of their message.

Forbes's narrative of this event also reveals the beginning of the process of the romanticisation of the tartan as a Scottish national symbol. The emphasis of Forbes's narrative lies not in the oppression of this Scottish 'tradition' directly but rather in what he perceived as an overzealous and radical abuse of power by the English regiment in Edinburgh. The tartan to Forbes became a material signifier of perceived misgovernment. Forbes was not alone in forming these connections. Charges of corruption, immorality and potential enslavement by the English had been visible in Jacobite literature in the decades prior to the '45.¹³⁸

Such sentiments proliferated amongst the Jacobite verse of the period, often using the tartan and the Disclothing Act of 1747, an extension of the Disarming Act, as the starting point for a broader statement regarding Scotland's suppression by the English. The notable Gaelic poet, Captain Alexander MacDonald, 'is generally regarded as the most original and vital of the notable group of eighteenth-century Gaelic poets'.¹³⁹ It is from MacDonald whom Forbes received the two pieces of wood from Prince Charles' boat.¹⁴⁰ His narratives of the '45 and Prince's escape are also among the most detailed transcribed in *The Lyon*.¹⁴¹ MacDonald expressed his distain in *A Song Against the Highland Disclothing Act*:

That the handsome, lovely clothes we boasted
should be exchanged for a ragged cassock!
We'll be in a bad way if it happens,
mere slaves to the men of England.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Literature and the Jacobite Cause: was there a Rhetoric of Jacobitism?', in *Ideology & Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* ed. by Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), p. 55.

¹³⁹ *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: A Bilingual Anthology* ed. & trans. by Derek S. Thomson (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1993), p. 13.

¹⁴⁰ See image 9.

¹⁴¹ NLS, *Lyon*, pp. 578-639.

¹⁴² *Gaelic Poetry*, p. 47.

The process through which the tartan and ‘traditional’ Highland dress became a false signifier of an ancient and lost Scottish culture has been well-established.¹⁴³ The value of the tartan as a symbol of resistance and independence in the mid-eighteenth century is nonetheless prevalent. The romantic splendour and nationalist symbolism which the tartan would later adopt can be seen emerging from the Jacobite verse of Forbes’s time. Contemporary poetry was used to deliver the message of enslavement and disempowerment that weighs heavily in Forbes’s writing.

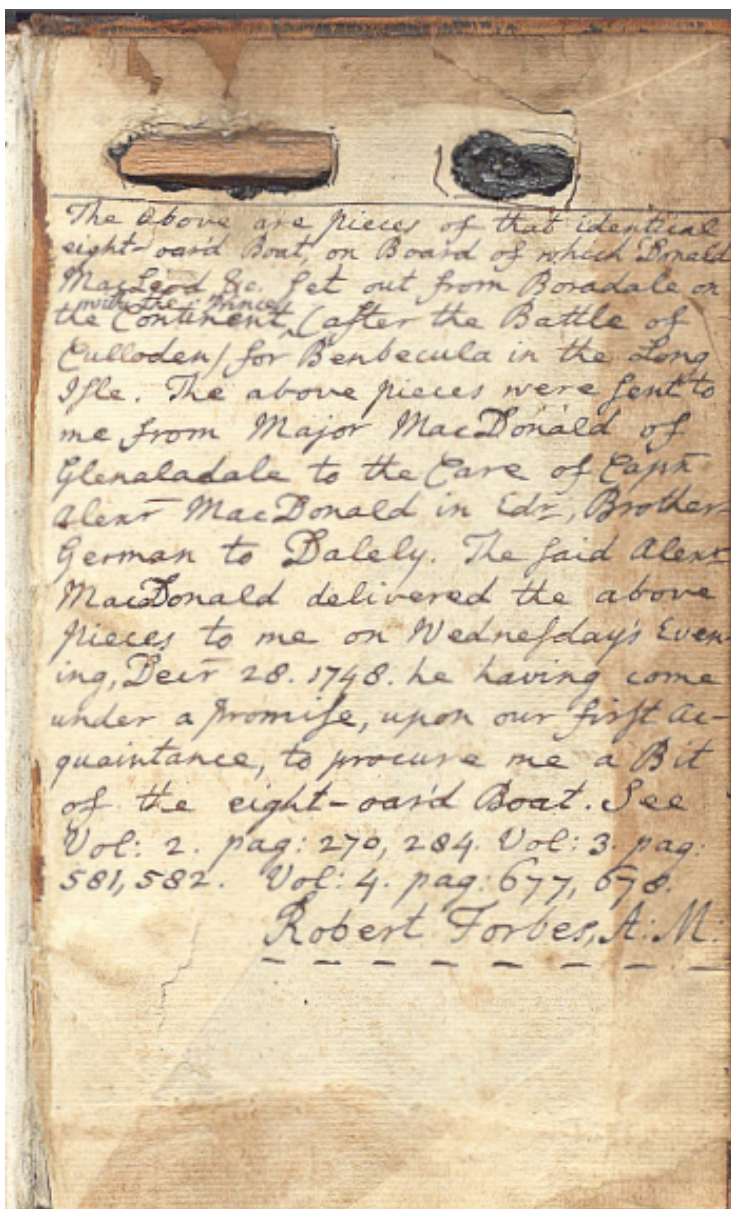


Image 9:
One of two pieces of wood taken from the boat used to carry Charles Edward after the battle of Culloden. One piece of wood is now absent from the manuscript. These fragments appear on the inside back cover of volume four of *The Lyon in Mourning*. Reproduced with the kind permission of The National Library of Scotland.

¹⁴³ Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland’ in *The Invention of Tradition* ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 18.

Relationships between Jacobite materials and verse found within *The Lyon* extends still

further. On the ribbon Prince Charles wore in his hair, the following verses are recorded by Forbes:

Most honoured ribband, of all else take place,
Of green and blues, and all their tawdry race.
Thou wast the laurel the fair temples bound
Of Royal Charles, for greatness so renowned.
Thee I'll reserve, as Heaven reserves his crown,
Till his rebellious foes be overthrown.
Then in thy place a diadem shall shine
His by his virtues, as by right divine.¹⁴⁴

These verses inspired by the ribband harken back to the concept of the divine relics noted in the previous chapter. Immortalising Prince Charles's material manifestations through verse was one way in which the material itself was inscribed with meaning and, in turn, able to portray a silent and seditious message. The tone of this piece is hopeful. The ribband substitutes for a crown while its preservation becomes a manifestation of sustained hope for a Stuart restoration. It is this optimism in the face of defeat that is the true subject of the poem. Although the imagery is sentimental, it is nonetheless powerfully defiant.

The culmination of Jacobite material and textual culture exhibited in *The Lyon* would later manifest itself in the nationalist poetry of the next generation. The romanticised Jacobitism of the revival poets, however, would strip the imagery of its subversive nature. Central to this transition was the work of Robert Burns whose, 'Jacobitism was perfectly genuine, as genuine as his patriotism, and intimately connected with it'.¹⁴⁵ In *The White Cockade*, Burns incorporates the same subversive materials found within *The Lyon*, though now deprived of their political force:

Oh leeze me on the philapeg
The hairy hough and garten'd leg;
But aye the thing that blinds my ee,
The white cockade about the bree.

I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,
My rippling-kame and spinning wheel,
To buy my lad a tartan plaid,
A braidsword, dirk, and white cockade.

¹⁴⁴ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 478.

¹⁴⁵ Donaldson, *Song*, p. 76.

Jacobite materials and symbolism permeates this piece. Notably absent, however, are the themes of enslavement, oppression and unwavering faith that is found in the text of *The Lyon*. The white cockade by the time of Burns had long since passed its use as a provocative political symbol, having been recognised, alongside the tartan, as a sign of explicit Stuart support in the early eighteenth-century and therefore no longer served as a covert means of communication.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, donning a tartan or a white rose as a cockade in the period after the '45 remained a political act. A crushed flower, likely a white rose, was preserved within the pages of volume three of *The Lyon in Mourning*. Whether the bishop had worn this flower as a indication of his allegiance or simply preserved it as another relic to the cause, it nevertheless functioned as a sentimental representation of his subversive politics.

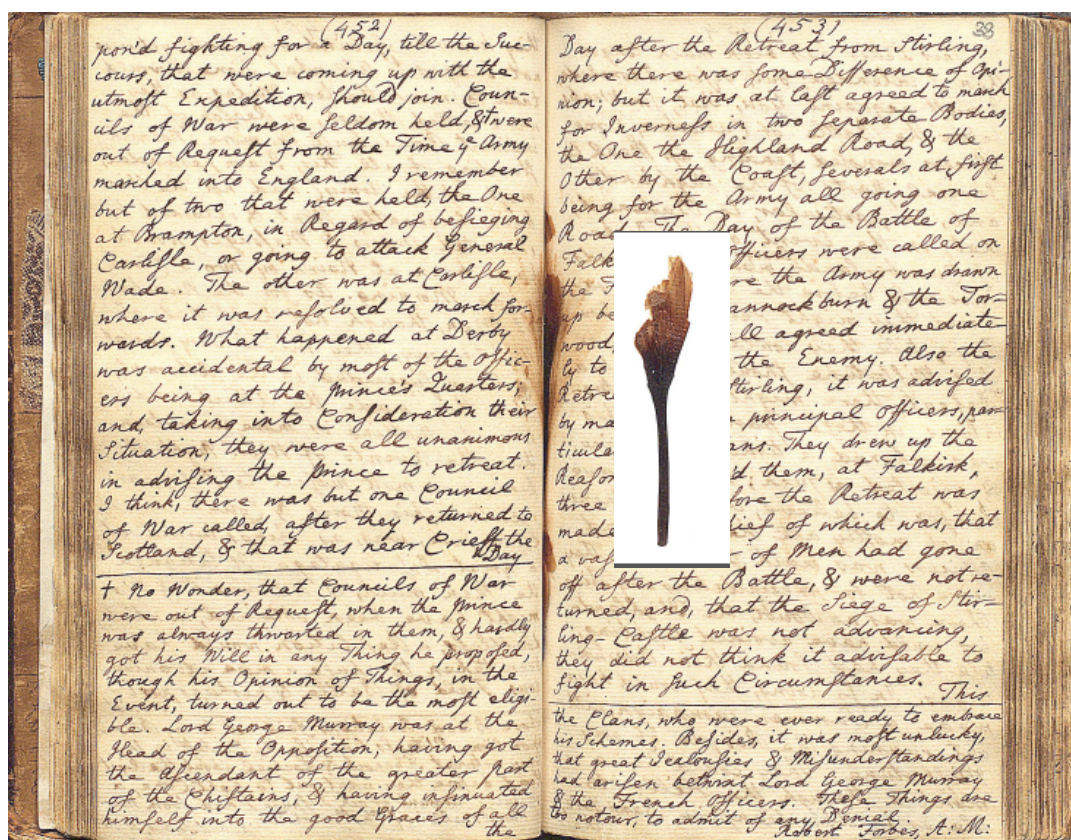


Image 10:

The dried flower found within the pages of volume three of *The Lyon in Mourning*. Reproduced with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

¹⁴⁶ Pittock, *Material Culture*, p. 93.

4.2 Love, Loss and Nationalism in Connected Texts

Unsurprisingly, many of the poems selected by Forbes for inclusion in *The Lyon* portray a prevailing tone of loss. Poetry of love and loss proliferated in the years following the failure of '45 as the deaths of Jacobite rebels were raised to the height of martyrdom. Through these grief-stricken poems emerged the sentimentalisation of the cause. These verses are associated with what Pittock has termed the 'erotic class' of Jacobite poetry.¹⁴⁷ In the third volume of *The Lyon* Forbes transcribes the following lines beneath the title, 'Upon a young lady, who died on seeing her lover, Mr. Dawson, executed on the 30th of July 1746':

As the fair martyr her dear lover saw
Lie the pale victim of inhuman law,
His gen'rous blood distilling all around,
And life, swift ebbing, thro' each crimson wound:
It seemed as if from mortal passion freed
She blest his death, for honour doom'ed to bleed.
But when, high-raised, she saw the panting heart,
Now let thy handmaid, Heav'n! she cried, depart.
Receive our souls to pardon and to love!
At once she burst the feeble bonds of clay,
And her free soul, exulting, springs away.
To endless bliss, they issue, out of pain.
One moment separates, and joins again.¹⁴⁸

Recorded by Forbes in 1747, the expression of ardent loss and grief is glaringly present in the lines he transcribes. Elements of sentimental nostalgia, which would eventually come to epitomise Jacobite verse have not yet risen to foreground of the movement's expression. This poem does, however, introduce a Jacobean motif utilised by both Macpherson and Burns. Originating in the Old Testament, a mourning woman is often representative of a defeated nation as in Burns's 'It was a' for our Righfu' King', and 'The Highland Widow's Lament'.¹⁴⁹ In Forbes's recorded piece, the romanticisation of the death of the 'fair martyr' who 'for honour' was 'doom'ed to bleed' emerges through the grief of the martyr's supposed lover in the immediate aftermath of the '45.

¹⁴⁷ Pittock, *Poetry*, p. 143.

¹⁴⁸ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 407.

¹⁴⁹ Butler, p. 110.

That this tale has been purposefully amplified is obvious by Forbes's own explanatory note stating that Mr. Dawson had never met the female subject in the poem who came across the 'bloody scene' of the man's death.¹⁵⁰ This brief clarification by Forbes, however, falls short of revealing a comprehensive view of the nature of the execution. English law for the execution of commoners or ordinary gentleman dictated that the man be,

...hanged until semi-conscious then let down, laid out and butchered by the executioner. Some witnesses were appalled by the scene, and for one of them the worst vision of all was that of the feeble efforts of a man who was trying to beat the executioner aside as he came at him with a knife'.¹⁵¹

The contrast between the reality of an execution of a Jacobite rebel and the poetic representation of the loss in *The Lyon* could not be greater. Indeed, Forbes's multiple transcriptions of the final speeches delivered by convicted Jacobite rebels from the scaffold stand in stark contrast to the sentimentalised treatment afforded executions in his recorded verse. Yet, Forbes believed in the truthful representation of the events of his time. He states that, 'one cannot observe too much exactness in these things ... I would not wish to advance a falsehood upon any subject'.¹⁵² Such claims are curious when applied to his transcriptions of quasi-mythified Jacobite verse such as that quoted above. His decision to include them suggests that Forbes accepted that these overly sentimentalised poems deserved a place within the greater political and cultural discussion of his time.

Forbes took his approach of written resistance still further when in 1765 he chose to amend the publication of his narratives with selections of verse compiled in *The Lyon*.¹⁵³ This edition includes a selection of six poems, one inscription and one epitaph also preserved by Forbes in *The Lyon*. This publication is an example of Forbes's desire to merge the Jacobite historical narrative with sentimental prose. The concept of grief and loss is continued in this collection. *A Paraphrase*

¹⁵⁰ NLS, *Lyon*, p. 407.

¹⁵¹ Christopher Duffy, *The '45* (London: Cassell, 2003), p. 538.

¹⁵² Paton, 'Preface', p. xv.

¹⁵³ Philaethes, *A Plain Authentick and Faithful Narrative* (1765), p. 56.

Upon Psalm 137 (As it is said) by Willie Hamilton has obvious roots in religious devotion while its message is one of diligent commitment delivered with notes of nostalgia to an idealised past:

On Gallia's shore we sat and wept
When Scotland we thought on,
Rob'd of her bravest sons and all
Her ancient spirit gone....

If thee, O Scotland! I forget
Even to my latest breath,
May foul dishonour stain my name
And bring a coward's death.¹⁵⁴

Composed in 1747 by William Hamilton, it is the Scottish nation as opposed to a Scottish martyr that is mourned in this piece. Unlike many Jacobite participants in the '45, Hamilton was fortunate to return to Scotland in 1750 following a three and a half year exile in Sweden.¹⁵⁵ His loss is both a literal and a figurative one. Hamilton yearns to physically return to his home, while he also laments on the loss of the nation's 'ancient spirit'. Emphasis on a lost past intricately connected to the glorification of the nation's 'brave sons' can be found reflected two decades later in the antiquity of Ossian and the patriotism of Burns. These early poems found within *The Lyon*, however, find their place juxtaposed to Forbes's associated historical narratives. A thematic interdependence exists between these poems of loss and the speeches of patriotism delivered upon the scaffold by executed Jacobites.¹⁵⁶ Both of these forms employ the language of opposition mingled with grief.

¹⁵⁴ NLS, *Lyon*, pp. 391-392.

¹⁵⁵ Pittock, *Poetry*, p. 175.

¹⁵⁶ NLS, *Lyon*, pp. 1-34; 36-60; 62-70; 81-112.

Chapter Five

5.0 Conclusion

The extensive nature of Robert Forbes's collection necessitates a selective approach to an analysis of his entries, whether they be material or textual. This study has outlined the progressive romanticisation of the manuscript in its entirety as well as identified prominent elements of its content which exemplify its subversive, yet sentimental, qualities. By merging book historical and material culture approaches to the text, the relationship between the physical and the written components of the collection have revealed the intricacies of a secretive Jacobite discourse suffused with optimism while veiled in grief. The nature of this dichotomy has been obscured by the re-contextualisation of the manuscript and its elements throughout the nineteenth century and into the present day.

5.1 The Manuscript in Changing Contexts

This study has traced *The Lyon in Mourning* from its subversive origins through to the emergence of Jacobitism as a benign national and cultural motif. Through its subsequent print publications a process of depoliticisation was imposed upon the manuscript. *The Lyon* was first presented to the public framed by its romantic connotations during a period in which Jacobitism was witnessing a revival as a largely sentimental and harmless movement. Complicit in the domestication of the collection's content was the manuscript's later owner, Robert Chambers, who actively sought to harmonise the history of the '45 with the prevailing literary milieu. *The Lyon* would remain contextualised by this perspective for over a century. Serious consideration of the active and resilient nature of Jacobitism in Forbes's time and how this was expressed through sentimental discourse was disregarded in favour of an exercise in purely romantic creation.

Despite the print publication of the manuscript in its entirety in the late nineteenth-century, fallacies surrounding the collection, its provenance and its contents have persisted in this vein. This study has revealed inconsistencies with the previously recorded provenance of the manuscript as well as its most prominent relic, the Prince's brogues. Despite the uncorroborated claims made by

Chambers in relation to Forbes's widow, neither of these cases suggest a conscious effort to falsify the historical record. They do seek to embellish, to hyperbolise and to complete a historical narrative and, in doing so, emphasise the romanticism of the cause to the detriment of the contemporary political reality. The perceived value of the manuscript is emotionally heightened by the tale of the desperate widow, just as the significance of the brogues is magnified by their association with Robert Forbes and his extensive Jacobite records.

The only widely available text of *The Lyon* from 1895-96 has further diminished the political potency of Forbes's original collection in its inability to accurately portray the material aspects of the manuscript. Brief and inaccurate discussion of the relics in its preface is insufficient in framing the breadth of meaning portrayed through these objects. Indeed, in relegating Forbes's descriptions of them to mere footnotes to their associated narratives, this 'modern' edition has physically and figuratively dismissed their communicative value and rendered them subordinate, not equal, contributors to the text.

The Lyon in Mourning was thus first made a victim of contemporary censorship and later the victim of nineteenth-century romanticism. This process has obscured an understanding of how Jacobite sympathies were expressed and exchanged in Scotland in the period of government repression in the aftermath of Culloden. Contemporary textual and material evidence from this period should be re-contextualised within modern historical studies in an effort to reconstruct the political elements of this discourse from a perspective untainted by the falsified and romanticised influence of Jacobite historiography that emerged in the nineteenth century.

5.2 Material Meaning

The multi-faceted and expanding scope of book historical studies is perfectly situated to investigate the relationship between material artefacts and their associated narratives. By attributing specific narratives and passages from the text of *The Lyon* to the materials found within its covers, Forbes 'singularised' impassive objects into Jacobite relics. These relics functioned as both political and divine representations of the Stuarts, maintaining a physical presence in Scotland while the

court remained in exile. Furthermore, the relics became a focal point of political expression comparable to a religious shrine. Possession of these objects and physical engagement with them became an act of political subversion as well as of reverence. The religious-political interdependence of Jacobitism is accentuated through Forbes's preservation and interactions with these materials. Examining both the independent signification of these relics and those defined by associated written narratives becomes essential to a reading of the manuscript. Inferred meaning from these objects is gained through their non-textual and non-verbal expression and reveals a wider breadth of intricate Jacobite discourse.

Bishop Forbes's Jacobite relics have been examined in their capacity as silent political signifiers, carriers of unspoken emotive value as well as later romanticised manifestations of a lost cause. The process of their depoliticisation is synchronous with that of the Jacobite cause. Signification imposed upon these Jacobite objects continued with the assistance of narratives beyond that of Forbes's collection. The correlation between the later poetry of Robert Burns, for example, and the material relics found within *The Lyon* further confirms the re-contextualisation of the materials in the manuscript over time and in turn, invests these materials with new meanings in new contexts, now void of their political origins. The collection of relics in *The Lyon* were ascribed political faculty by Forbes through their interdependence with the text as a whole.

5.3 Materials, Verse and The National Image

In addition to Forbes's relics, the Jacobite verse recorded in *The Lyon* constitutes the most obvious symbols of the sentimentalisation of the movement. The function of poetic verse as a covert communicative device amongst Stuart supporters shares an affinity with material signifiers, at times working in conjunction with them to portray a veiled message. The interaction of materials, narrative and verse has been outlined on two levels; the first is the established correlation amongst materials such as the tartan found in volume three, with both Forbes's politically charged narratives and contemporary verse through a shared use of this seditious symbol. The second is the inferred associations linking material symbols and verse to the harsh realities presented in Forbes's narrative

entries. This connection is established through the juxtaposition of sentimentalised, fictional tales in the manuscript to that of bleak factual references and undeniably sombre entries such as the final speeches of Jacobite martyrs delivered from the scaffold.

Inextricably linked to the process of depoliticisation underwent by the manuscript is the later development of the Scottish national image as one synonymous with the Jacobite cause. This process is most prevalent in connection to Jacobite poetic verse. Images of a primitive, heroic and glorified national history 'invented' and perpetuated by writers such as Macpherson, Burns and Scott drew inspiration from the verse written in the aftermath of the '45 and that which is found within *The Lyon in Mourning*. Bishop Forbes's preservation of this poetic verse and choice to publish selections of it alongside his synthesised history of the rebellion contributed to its proliferation and acceptance into the literary milieu. Indeed, his merging of verse and history foreshadowed the romantic framing of the '45 undertaken by these later writers. In doing so, Forbes unknowingly planted the seeds of a romantic movement and can therefore be afforded a degree of agency in the development of the invented Scottish image. Although the unwavering faith of Bishop Forbes's Jacobitism was lost to history, the sentiment through which he expressed it reverberated throughout the later centuries.

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