The University of Aberdeen Special Collections is rich in holdings related to eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland. This material reflects a European context, but at the same time, offers a microcosm of the histories of Ireland, Scotland and England throughout the period. While the collections have a particular focus on Jacobite history, they illuminate all aspects of British and Irish life in the eighteenth century. Among the areas of particular strength are the holdings which in one way or another, reflect events in the grotesque mirror of satire, since the cruel paradoxes of the Jacobite period, particularly in Ireland and Scotland, were such that satire, whether polemic or despairing, was a rational response to those times.

The development of satire in the 'long' eighteenth century is rooted in the fact that, from 1688, Scotland, Ireland and England had in effect, two monarchs, two courts, and two aristocracies. (It would be possible to say that there were two realities fighting for the citizen's loyalty and belief, so absolutely did either side refuse to acknowledge the status of the opposition — to the loyal Whig, the exiled James is 'the Pretender'; to the court in exile, Queen Anne is merely 'the Princess of Denmark'). A rare map of the territory near Inverness where the last acts of Charles Edward's campaign were fought out reveals the strange ambiguities, the suspension of meaning in titles and dignities which attended the 1745 rising. Throughout the annotations, the engraver refers to Charles Edward by the two letter 'Pr —' so that the purchaser may enter 'Prince' or 'Pretender' at will.

The conflict which began with the 1688 flight of the Catholic James II and his subsequent replacement by his Protestant daughter and her husband continued, in a series of rising and suppressions, until the decisive defeat of the Jacobite forces at Culloden at the end of 1745. In all this, the North of Scotland played a pivotal role. For the Jacobite heartlands in northern Scotland, particularly the traditionally Episcopalian and Catholic territories of Aberdeenshire and Moray, Culloden ended a way of life based on traditional loyalties and customs and brought in (often forcibly) modernisations of husbandry and society. This local interest has

A general map of Great Britain; wherein are delineated the military operations in that island during the years 1745 and 1746, and even the secret routs of the Pr after the Battle of Culloden until his escape to France: illustrated by an authentic abstract of that interesting piece of history, and an exact chronological table. John Finlayson circa 1750.
given us superb holdings of ephemera of all kinds relating to the Jacobites, and thus to every aspect of eighteenth-century political life in Ireland and England as well as Scotland.

Throughout this period, the two Colleges which later became the University of Aberdeen – King's (1495) and Marischal (1586) – flourished with different atmospheres and different political and religious allegiances (they did not merge until 1860.) Thus they offer a microcosm not only of the virtuosity — the advances in sciences, medicine, philosophy and the arts — which characterised the Scottish and European eighteenth centuries, but also of that century's tensions and divisions.

King's College, remained (despite repeated attempts to bring it into line) tolerant in matters of religion, inclined in general to a Continental Lutheranism, and thus a natural focus of support, post-1688, for the exiled Stuarts. It evidently maintained distinct channels for the acquisition of continental material. The splendid depiction of the 1688 celebrations at the Scots College in Paris for the birth of James Francis Stuart (in the University's print collection) illustrates the view predominantly held on the continent, and common at King's, that the birth of the Prince was the continuation of the legitimate royal house.

The sixteenth-century Marischal College, on the other hand, was founded with the specific intention of forming a bulwark of Calvinism in a city which had not embraced reform with any very marked enthusiasm. Thus there were Whigs as well as Jacobites in Aberdeen – we have a satirical print from 1786, caricaturing these very Jacobite and religiously-suspect tendencies of King's College: H. Jack's engraving shows The Sapient Septemviri presided over by a Principal (College President) wearing the Papal tiara and one of his colleagues in (post-Culloden, illegal) Highland Dress while the current holder of the oldest medical post in Britain offers dubious "Degrees male and female in Medicine and Midwifery, sold here for ready Money."

The libraries of the two colleges in the eighteenth century reflect these disparities, though both were distinguished. Thomas Blackwell published an indicative account of the flourishing condition of Marischal College library in 1736.

... many other private Donations of Nobleman, Gentlemen and others, with the Books yearly published from Stationers Hall, have considerably increased it, and contributed to make it, if not the most numerous, one of the Best chosen Collections in the Kingdom.

By contrast, King's College, in keeping with its overall ethos, was consistent and diligent in buying books abroad. In the eighteenth century (while twice re-housing its substantial library, especially after the great bequest of James Fraser, private Royal librarian) it became a leading centre of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy. The modern University's Historic Collection also hold the majority of the papers of the Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid (1710–96) whose 'Common Sense' philosophy influenced the constitution of the fledgling American Republic.

The collecting traditions initiated by the modern university have ensured that the pamphlet holdings reflect the major events of the century — the 1707 Union with England (The Smoking Flax Unquenchable, where the Union between the Two Kingdoms is... Confuted and Annullled, 1706); the Enlightenment; the Jacobite risings; the continuing, vituperative, battles of Tory and Whig. For the last part of the eighteenth century, the Colleges were beneficiaries from the Copyright Act and acquired wonderfully diverse collections of fugitive literature and engraved music. We also acquired significant museum collections of

H. Jack, The Sapient Septemviri, print satirising the ‘seven wise men’ of King’s College, Aberdeen, 1786
Jacobite memorabilia and relics, one of the most remarkable being an ostrich-egg engraved with Jacobite symbols. Thus, with respect to many key issues of the times, our holdings permit us to cross-refer visual material and polemical material in a variety of media.

Because of the university’s historic spectrum of loyalties, our collections reflect the condition of a divided society, and accrued material from both sides of the division. King’s College continued to benefit from maintaining its continental contacts (which gives us, for example, a variety of satirical Dutch responses to English politics). The early twentieth century donation of the MacBean collection has enriched this holding considerably.

**THE MACBEAN COLLECTION**

The MacBean Stuart and Jacobite Collection, donated to Aberdeen by the New York businessman William M. MacBean, is a resource of international importance, the finest collection of its kind outside the British Library. It includes both seventeenth and eighteenth-century engravings, nineteenth-century romantic and retrospective depictions of Jacobite history, and a rich variety of pamphlets and broadsides, with not a few manuscripts. Some 3,500 books and 1,000 pamphlets, as well as numerous engravings cover many aspects of the histories of the Stuarts and the Jacobite risings. Some are held in no other collection in the UK, and some are unique.

The Collection thus offers a resource of international importance for research into cultural and historical aspects of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Britain and Ireland and on the Continent. The MacBean collection is a superb resource for the study of politics at all levels for at least the first half of the eighteenth century, while the University also holds strong pamphlet collections for the second half.

In the period of prologue to the ‘long’ eighteenth century, we hold diverse and high-quality prints, pamphlets, and manuscript material relating to the reign of James II and the ‘glorious revolution’. For example, a broadsheet called *The Last Will and Testament of Father Petre* attacks, in a way which is precisely poised between the seventeenth and eighteenth century modes of satire, the much-hated Jesuit who was one of the King’s closest confidants. We also have a mock play *The Bloody Duke: or The Adventures for a Crown* as it was acted at the court at Alba Regalis (1690), and a libel on the unfortunate Mary of Modena, *Amours of Messalina, late Queen of Albion* (1689). Conversely, we also hold a considerable amount of material satirising William of Orange, in which the eponymous fruit, inevitably, receives at least its fair share of attention, as, for instance, in *A New Song of an Orange* (24 Nov. 1688)

We also have a variety of reactions to the Battle of the Boyne, and other material relating to Jacobitism in Ireland.
Other ballads and broadsheets already display the loose, irreverent eloquence of eighteenth-century political satire both Whig and Tory; such as *The Geneva Ballad*, or the Occasional Conformist Display’d; *A Satyr upon the French King, Written by A Non-Swearing Parson, and drop’t out of his Pocket at Samm’s Coffee-House* and then, as James’s hopes dwindled, *Jack Frenchman’s Lamentation*.

The pamphlet war inevitably intensified considerably around the times of the two Jacobite risings, events as crucial to Irish as to Scottish history, the Fifteen and the Forty-Five, and this is well represented in our collections. While we have a great deal of controversial writing which is pro-Stuart, our satire holdings, ironically, tend to be Hanoverian. *The Pretender’s Declaration, explain’d in VERSE. By H.B. Poet-Laureat, and one of his Master’s Principal Secretaries of State* (London: for James Roberts, 1716), in the aftermath of the Fifteen, presents the Stuarts as monarchs only in fantasy:

> James, by the Grace of Mar, the Thing
> That made him Duke, to make Us King
> Sendeth to Perth, his Place of Meeting
> To all his Unhang’d Subjects, Greeting.

The colophon gives this out as ‘given at our Court, Gratis, in the Fifteenth Year of our Desire to Reign.’

One of our unique (and most entertaining) objects is a manuscript pasquinade attacking the sons of the Old Pretender. Such posted libels were a great feature of political life: one of our most significant manuscript diaries, compiled by James Fraser in the 1650s, recalls that during his visit to Cromwell’s London, he had seen ‘another despot Satyr reflecting upon his [Cromwell’s] Originall & presaging his end was set upon Whithall gate which I have set downe here …’ (AUL MS 2538, f 34v). But writing down and disseminating such works was potentially risky, and their chance of survival was miniscule. This particular libel is in the form of an advertisement for runaway dogs, also known as Charles Edward and Henry Benedict:

> Run away from their Master at Rome … two young Lurchers … being of a Black tan Colour, with sharp Noses, long Claws and hanging Ears have been taken Abroad for King Charles the

Second’s Breed, but a Bitch from Italy unfortunately broke the Strain in 88, by admitting into the Kennels a base Mongrel of another Litter … They go a full Dog Trot by Night for fear of being catch’d. They answer to the Names of Hector and Plunder, and will jump and dance at the Sound of the French Horn, being used to that Note by an old Dogmaster at Paris. They prick up their Ears also at the Musick of a Lancashire Hornpipe … whoever can secure this Couple of Curs, and bring them back, … shall have the Reward of 13½d or any Sum below a Crown, and the thanks of all the Powers of Europe, except France, Spain and the Pope.

We also hold a variety of Whig responses to the Forty-Five. *The Sequel to Arms and the Man: A New Historical Ballad* (London, for W. Webb, near St Paul’s, 1746) is particularly lively:

> Ye Whigs sing Te Deum, ye Jacobites fret:
> There’s excellent News in the London Gazette.
> That stripling Invader, the young Chevalier,
> Is gone back to the North with a Flea in his Ear.

A particularly mordant (and exceptionally well-engraved) cartoon from the aftermath of the Forty-Five depicts Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat as a pedlar sitting on a wall holding out a ballad. (We also have Hogarth’s trenchant portrait of Lord Lovat in captivity.) But the sample stock pasted to the wall (itself an interesting glimpse into how ballads and satirical prints were made public) consists of visual
and verbal gibes at Lovat’s career. The verses are savage:

Among them was a Politician
With more Heads than a Beast in Vision,
And more Intrigue in every one
Than all the Whores of Babylon.

The verses look back to the style of the mid-seventeenth century; the cruel image looks forward to the caricatures which responded to the American and Napoleonic Wars. In the pamphlet collection donated by George King, from the later eighteenth century, we have a particularly vigorous satire in Scots: *A Cure for the fykes; or, Sour plumbs frae the tree o’ liberty, being an answer in Scotch verse, to Ca Ira, and the other famous French songs* (Edinburgh, 1795; K 16).

**Cartoons and Visual Material**

Material in the Aberdeen collections offers fine examples of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century development of the Dutch large-format satirical broadsheet, the ‘spotprent’, in which the top half of the sheet typically bears a high-quality, if scurrilous, engraving, and the bottom half is taken up with letterpress verses. These large-format *spotprenten* document the development of satire as Low Countries emblematic political prints merge with the street ballads which had played an essential part in the propaganda of the Thirty Years’ War. We hold several of these wildly irreverent representations of European political events, poised to develop into the political cartoons of the high eighteenth-century. A late seventeenth-century example *Les Monarches Tombent*, with the Pope threatening to fall backwards off his insecure seat on the globe, and the unicorn of Scotland apparently running amok, is a perfect illustration of a stage in this evolution of political caricature.

An eighteenth century example, captioned *Paye qui Tombe*, (Whoever falls off, pays) depicts a fairground tent in which competitors attempt in turn to dance along a slack rope. There is a discreet number attached to every figure, with a trilingual key. A thesis could be written on this print alone. The Young Pretender (Charles Edward) has just lost his balance, while the Emperor awaits his turn. France and Holland stand by as musicians, while the Old Pretender is peeping anxiously over the hangings of the fairground tent —thus subtly implying that he has not been prepared (or able) to pay the price of admission). From 1750 we have a fascinating example of the hostile depiction of Celtic peoples as subhuman monsters, a retrospective summary of the Forty-Five Rising. In *The Caledonian Slaughter-House* an unknown artist imagines cannibalistic Jacobite Highlanders attempting to lead John Bull to slaughter.

But despite these occasional highlights, from the mid-eighteenth century our significant holdings of pamphlets, polemics and broadsides are
essentially verbal rather than visual. For the later eighteenth century, we hold a relatively small number of political cartoons, some by such noted figures as James Gillray — his 1780 *John Bull Triumphant* (including a caricature of Lord Bute restraining the bull: Bute was Chancellor of Marischal College and a most generous donor to the library) and his 1783 commemoration of the loss of the American Colonies. (The library also contains the pamphlet recording the trial of Cornwallis for his carelessness in this matter.)

We have, on the other hand, an extraordinary collection of folio broadsheet popular entertainment from the late eighteenth through to the early nineteenth century, much of it produced in Dublin, Belfast and Glasgow. There are, of course, London prints; but the Irish and Scottish material we hold is certainly rarer, plentiful, and of great interest. Many of these prints are Celtic equivalents of the French Epinal prints, with a bold woodcut illustration, often hand-coloured, and a letterpress text. There are prints produced for an exclusively Scottish market: illustrated broadsheets with Robert Burns’ *Tam O’ Shanter* or an episode from Walter Scott’s *Rob Roy*. Aberdeen also holds further fine popular prints in

These prints are rich material for future research into perceptions of alterity from one Celtic country to another, as exemplified in a pair of images from the early-nineteenth-century Belfast printer, J. Smyth, of *Shon-ap-Morgan, Gentleman of Wales*, and his wife, *Unnafred Shones, Wife to Shon-ap-Morgan*. Both are riding upon goats, and the verbal caricature of Welsh language and lifestyle they embody can easily be paralleled as far back as the mid-seventeenth century. In some cases, the prints recycle eighteenth-century woodcuts (for example, *The Landlord’s Kind Caution*), a silent testimony to continuities in popular culture.

Thus the range and diversity of our satirical holdings allows of setting our eighteenth-century Jacobite material in a broader context, relating it both to the seventeenth-century conflicts which gave it birth, and, crucially, to the development of the satirical print and a visual language of political controversy. It also demonstrates a continuum in the verbal and visual expression of popular politics in the late seventeenth to early-nineteenth centuries — the ‘long’ eighteenth century.
Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat in the disguise of a beggar. Anti-Jacobite engraving, 1740s.
Paye qui Tombe, Dutch satirical print, 1740s, MacBean Collection