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**Jacobite Revolution 1689 – 1746 and its Consequences**  
Bachelor Thesis

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English Philology – Applied Economics

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**Statement:**

I hereby declare that I have completed this thesis myself and all used sources are properly listed and cited.

In Olomouc ..... ..

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## Introduction

*'The first lesson a revolutionary must learn is that he is a doomed man.'*

Huey Percy Newton

A country without a functional governing system is doomed to fall into chaos. That much is certain according to the experience of mankind. Once the system is found, the question is how it will govern. People have different opinions, views and faiths that they believe in, and the ideal ruling system has to balance its actions to satisfy its people and to not trample their beliefs in the process. However an ideal government never existed and perhaps never will and thus each ruling system has to be careful of its actions and the effect of them on their people. When not careful enough or when there are other forces at play, people start to question their government or worse, to rebel.

Where words no longer work, weapons are taken up. Just as many times before around the world, an armed conflict broke out at the end of the seventeenth century in England, Scotland and Ireland and lasted up to the second half of the eighteenth century. It would be fit to mention that it was not one long, continuous war but a series of open attempts, supported by the continuous effort of those who were concerned with changing the government that escalated into several military campaigns.

Wars that are led between different states, nations, even races are usually clear and those who wage it have little difficulty determining who is friend and who is foe. But when wars are waged from the inside, in one nation, inhabiting the same area and speaking the same language, everything gets complicated, confusing and often horrible. People usually call these inner wars 'revolutions' or 'civil wars.' For people living at the time, these conflicts were alive and may have posed an imminent threat. In time, those who lived through them passed away and only through their recorded perception can we learn about their struggles and experience. These events, glorious or horrifying as they might have been, have become historical facts from the past.

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Thus, for a person in the 21st century, it is less difficult to understand the various circumstances and facts that played roles during these events. Despite the subjective nature of recorded history, after a long period of time when more and more sources of information about a certain event are found and put into context, people can get an objective picture of what really happened.

The goal of this thesis is to summarize the Jacobite risings, the events themselves, circumstances and impacts on further development. The aim of this thesis is not to judge, nor to evaluate anything, but doing so has been necessary throughout the work as there are certain facts that need further comment and need to be viewed subjectively.

The basis of this thesis will be not only books containing the necessary information but also several internet sources which are generally acknowledged and accepted among the academic audience. Some informal and unaccepted web sites will also be used solemnly for the purpose of tracking down the contemporary remnants of the Jacobite movement, as the people use internet as the main means of communication and self presentation. As proclaimed in the statement on the second page of this thesis, all used sources will be properly listed and mentioned in the bibliography at the end of the thesis.

The thesis will logically lack any practical part and will focus exclusively on the theoretical aspect of the topic, as history is a theoretical subject that describes real, practical events.

## Political background

Prior to the events leading to the Jacobite revolution, England went through a series of large political changes. The systematic reduction of the king's power by Parliament in the 1640s prepared the ground for a long term plan to diminish the role of a king from being a leader with true power, to a simple puppet representing the state. The king, Charles I, despite being the rightful holder of the English crown, had literally no power over Parliament which declined to give him money without meeting their terms and also joined forces with Scotland against him when he declared war on Parliament during the civil war. The king's supporters were few and, even in spite of the fact that many of the people who supported Parliament flocked to the king's side after the parliament 'went too far' with its reforms, Charles I was executed by the authority of Parliament in 1649.

Charles I was succeeded by his son Charles II who managed to regain his father's power as a king and he was also able to omit the role of Parliament as a part of the governing body of the kingdom, mainly during the Exclusion crisis.<sup>1</sup> Due to the interregnum which predated his ascension and which was accompanied by disorder, radicalism and military rule<sup>2</sup>, Charles II got a warm welcome from Parliament. Expected to rule more responsibly than his father, Charles II soon became a source of distress and worries for Parliament and the gentry. This was because of his close relations to France which was led by Louis XIV, who was not only an absolute monarch but also a devout catholic. Furthermore, Louis led a military campaign in the Netherlands, which according to the English gentry, posed an immediate threat to England because of the close proximity of French forces.<sup>3</sup>

Charles II was replaced by his younger brother James II of England and VII of Scotland, a Catholic king that was the alpha and omega of the whole Jacobite movement. Charles II had an illegitimate son though, known as James

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Charles Prestwich, 'The Popish Plot,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/615557/United-Kingdom/44871/The-Popish-Plot>.

<sup>2</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 1.

<sup>3</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 2.



Scott, the first Duke of Monmouth, who was the first choice of the Whigs for king, should the Bill of Exclusion succeed. After Charles' death and after the crowning the new king James, the Duke of Monmouth did not dally and hurried to England to take the throne by force. Unfortunately for him, James II managed to gain the support of Parliament, which by then had supplied him with money and soldiers. There were some encounters with the local militia as well as with the regular royal army. The overall outcome was not good for the Duke of Monmouth. He failed to conquer a strongpoint in the area, which was the city of Bristol and his forces could not hope to surpass the well trained and disciplined royal army. The rebellion was crushed and the Duke of Monmouth was executed for treason, thus ending any open rebellion against the new king.<sup>4</sup>

The second half of the seventeenth century was marked by the struggle of succession. The two most famous political parties, the Tories and Whigs, emerged at that time. The Whigs, who were against the absolute rule of the king and wanted a constitutional monarchy, came up with the Bill of Exclusion. This Bill prevented James II of England and VII of Scotland, The Duke of York, brother of king Charles II, from inheriting the throne after the king's death. This action was opposed by the Tories. The Tories were a conservative royalist party that defended the monarchy as a strong power opposing the parliament and bringing balance into politics. Even the names used for both parties can signify the hatred between their supporters and its importance, as they both mean an insult of some kind.

The events connected to the Bill of Exclusion led to the Glorious Revolution in 1688, when James II and VII was officially deprived of power and forced to leave the British Isles for French soil. Louis XIV supported James, and later also his son, in their endeavors to get back the English throne, mainly because Louis' strong belief in hereditary rights of kings' descendants and also because his firm Catholic faith. However, as a monarch, Louis had to put the interest of France above everything else and was thus not prepared to fully support the deposed king and his son, unless it would correlate with something that would benefit France.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 5.

<sup>5</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 10-11.

## The Tories

Tory Party is a political party, which emerged prior to the Glorious revolution. The name is derived from Gaelic term ‘Tóráí’, which means pursuer, and at the time symbolizing a ‘papist outlaw’<sup>6</sup>, a person that supports the hereditary right of the king to the throne. The Tory party was first led by ‘Sir Thomas Osbourne, the Earl of Danby’ who strongly supported Charles II, the king, according to his family tradition, and worked hard as he believed he would be generously rewarded.<sup>7</sup>

The fact that James II and VII was Catholic was ironic, as most of the Tories despised Catholicism and strongly supported the reformed Church of England. Also, the fact that his predecessor Charles II reestablished Episcopacy, did not help much in gaining support among the Tories during the Glorious Revolution and the following Jacobite uprisings.

However, the Tories were successful in restoring King Charles II after the interregnum and also managed to ensure the succession of James. After the coronation of James, there was an attempt at rebellion of Monmouth and his radical Whigs that the Tories were able to crush. In a long-term view though, Tories failed to uphold their most important principle, to support the monarch and his right to rule. This was caused mainly because of Tory ‘deserters’ that joined the Whigs in the effort to deprive James of the throne.<sup>8</sup>

Despite this failure, the party remained strong and influential. They were friendly to the monarchs succeeding James, which allowed them to maintain power and still be able to oppose the growing influence of the Whig party during the reign of William III. Later, when William was succeeded by Queen Anne, the Tories gained a privileged position in Parliament as the Queen excluded the Whigs. She later reestablished the same system of balanced power between the two parties as her predecessor.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, ‘Whig and Tory,’ Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/641802/Whig-and-Tory>.

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Ashley, *England in the Seventeenth Century* (Maryland: Penguin Books, 1952), 56.

<sup>8</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 68.

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 85.

The year 1714 was a major turning point for the well-being of the Tory party. After the Queen's death, the contemporary leader of the Tories did not manage to take any action towards shaping the process of succession in favor of the direct descendant of the Stuart line James Francis Edward Stuart. This inability allowed George I of Hanover to be acknowledged as the new king of the Great Britain.<sup>10</sup> The new monarch brought in a new, exclusively Whig government, which aimed to completely abolish the Tory party. The Tories were marked as traitors, especially after the rebellion in 1715, many of them fled to France to offer their services to James III and the rest was stripped of their offices. The Tories then remained in minority opposition to the last half of the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Whigs**

Just as the Tories did, the Whigs also emerged prior to the Glorious Revolution and were the ones to introduce the Bill of Exclusion. The name comes from Scottish Gaelic and means a “horse thief.” Its political connotation of the time was: ‘those who usurp power through revolution and ignore the hereditary right of the heir to the throne’<sup>12</sup>. Whigs strongly supported the role of Parliament as the governing body of the kingdom. The factors that led the Whigs to the exclusion of James was his Catholic faith but more importantly, the possibility of the liberty of electing a king they desired. However, in 1685 James officially became a king. After he imposed edicts of religious toleration that signified the return of Catholicism to England, the Whigs gained strong support. Mainly because many of the opposing party members leaned towards the Whig intention to exclude James from the throne, which was accomplished in 1689.

After the exclusion, the reins of power were held by William III and Mary II. William openly favored the Tories, as they were more tolerant and friendly towards the king, but he was aware of the need of a continuous balance of power

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<sup>10</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 31.

<sup>11</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, ‘Whig and Tory,’ Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/641802/Whig-and-Tory>.

<sup>12</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, ‘Whig and Tory,’ Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/641802/Whig-and-Tory>.

between the two parties.<sup>13</sup> This allowed the Whigs to be able to maintain a stable and influential position in English politics. Worse times came soon though, with the ascension of Queen Anne, who attempted to establish a Tory-only parliament, excluding the Whigs. Fortunately for them, Queen Anne soon realized her attempt would not work and established both parties once again.

A complete turnover awaited the Whigs. After the queen's death in 1714, and following ascension of George of Hanover to the throne, Whigs gained not only the upper hand but a complete dominance over the country. They then proceeded to pursue the Tories and removed them from their offices.<sup>14</sup> The Whigs maintained this position until the ascension of George III of Hanover.

### **The Blending**

Although the two parties were immensely hostile towards each other, there were cases in which their members reached an agreement and joined forces. Many Tories, who, at first, were the main supporters of the king, refused to accept the return of the Catholic faith. This weakened the Anglican Church and caused the Tories to side with the Whigs in their intentions to dispose of James. Furthermore, after the Glorious Revolution and establishment of the new king, the Whig party split into two groups. This caused the creation of the so called Junto Whigs and Country Whigs which merged with the Tories in opposition.<sup>15</sup> As in any other political party in the world, today or historically, in this time it was also common for some members to change sides or to only support the other side's opinion or action in certain fields of interest. Had that not been the case, the whole Revolution of 1689 would have, perhaps, developed differently.

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<sup>13</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 52.

<sup>14</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 46.

<sup>15</sup> Ralph Charles Atkins, 'United Kingdom,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/615557/United-Kingdom/44878/The-sinews-of-war>.

## The Religion

England, Scotland and Ireland were places of religious turmoil during the seventeenth century, mainly during the English Civil War, after Charles I was defeated and later executed. Oliver Cromwell, the lord protector who led Parliamentary forces which were the so called New Model Army, aimed to cleanse the English Isles of religious dissidents once and for all. He was especially cruel and thorough concerning the Catholics in Scotland and Ireland, butchering them by the thousands and also confiscating their property and estates and giving them to 'good' Protestants from England<sup>16</sup>. After the interregnum, Charles II took the throne and, despite being in exile in Catholic France for some time and being married to Portuguese Catholic Catherine of Braganza, he ruled as a Protestant king. At this time, Parliament played a more important role in ruling the country and its members feared Charles' Catholic background. They feared it so much, in fact, that they introduced the 'Clarendon Codes' which privileged the Protestant clergymen, brought an obligation to attend Sunday masses and prevented large gatherings of people revering any other religion.<sup>17</sup>

Until the succession of James II, Parliament, the king and the clergy had maintained a 'status quo' by upholding Protestantism in the country. James promised he would not attempt to re-establish Catholicism in the beginning but later, in 1688, he applied the Declaration of Indulgence, which prevented any kinds of repressions against religions other than Protestantism. This greatly angered and frightened Parliament and the clergy and was one of the main reasons for the Glorious Revolution.<sup>18</sup> Parliament asked Mary II and her husband William, both Protestants, to invade the country and to usurp the throne, which they did.

After the English Civil War, the interregnum and the Glorious Revolution, the fires of religious disputes had died out. The only event worth notice was a

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<sup>16</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 28-29.

<sup>17</sup> The Editors of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 'Clarendon Code,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/119821/Clarendon-Code>.

<sup>18</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 4.

need to find a new Protestant king after Queen Anne's death in 1714 because she, unfortunately, outlived all of her offspring. As was mentioned in the previous text, the right candidate was seen as George I, the Elector of Hanover.

Three major conflicts existed in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. One was in the faith itself between Catholicism and Protestantism, the latter being the mainstream faith on English soil but having a smaller foothold in Ireland where the majority believed in Catholic principles and Scotland where the majority revered Calvinism. The second conflict emerged from a dispute over church governing systems, the Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. Last but not least, the third problem was between the state and the church concerning the division of authority.<sup>19</sup>

### **The Catholics versus Protestants**

To understand what the conflict of faith was about, one must look back at the events that predated the Glorious Revolution. In the sixteenth century Henry VIII destroyed much of the established Roman Catholic influence, in England, led by the Pope, due to his unfortunate decision making regarding marital issues. The country began to slowly absorb the ideals and values of the reformed church. Henry VIII and his associate Thomas More are generally known for having founded the Church of England, which was independent of Rome.<sup>20</sup> Not only did this remove the obligation to pay tribute to the Pope, but it also allowed Henry to divorce. There was not much of a general change of faith to talk about though until the reign of his son Edward VI. He was very young and led by his advisers to accept the reformed church's ideals and thus establishing Protestantism firmly in the realm.

However, he died very young and the throne was taken over by his older sister Mary, a devout catholic that restored faith in Catholicism in the county rather turbulently. To this day, she is known as Bloody Mary for rooting out and burning alive many of the reformed believers.

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<sup>19</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 17.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Ascension of James II* (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 2008), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1468/1468-h/1468-h.htm> (accessed March 17, 2014).

Once again, after the death of Mary, her sister, Queen Elizabeth, was crowned and she took it upon herself to restore Protestantism and restrict Catholicism in England.<sup>21</sup> James I and VI, her successor, carried on with this quest diligently which resulted in an attempt at revenge by Robert Catesby. He hired a group of terrorists, led by Guy Fawkes, to tear down the Houses of Parliament in 1603. Needless to say, they did not succeed.

Knowing the preceding events, the reality that general public and the gentry did not cherish Catholicism much, is no surprise. The whole country literally feared the return of the Catholic Church and did everything to ban it altogether.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Episcopalians versus Presbyterians**

Episcopacy is a vertically fashioned system of hierarchy in the church consisting of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The Episcopacy was shunned by most of the reformed churches in England and Scotland, mostly because the High Church government always participated in ruling the country.<sup>23</sup> The second reason was fear of the return of the Catholic faith to England. Opposing this hierarchy system was Presbyterianism which is a form of church management where all the clergymen are on the same 'level' and only one superior in terms of power is god.

Episcopacy was generally firmly established in the Catholic Church whilst Presbyterianism was more used in Reformed Churches. The Episcopacy was officially banned from England until the reign of Charles II who re-introduced it. Generally this form of church government was strong in Scotland and Ireland. It is not only associated with the Catholic Church, but also with the Protestantism. The main problem was in the ideology, which viewed Episcopacy as popish and involved too much in state affairs in comparison to its ecclesiastical basis.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Ascension of James II* (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 2008),

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1468/1468-h/1468-h.htm> (accessed March 17, 2014).

<sup>22</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 1.

<sup>23</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'Episcopacy,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/190169/episcopacy>.

<sup>24</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 16.

Episcopacy was largely connected to rebellions, as the churchmen often supported Jacobite actions throughout the three British countries and it was handled accordingly by the government. The sole act of leaving the contemporary king out of a prayer was considered an offense and an act of support for the Stuarts. Throughout the rebellions, the clergy, mainly from the Episcopalian Church, were fined and had to make promises of loyalty and others were forbidden to minister, stripped of their property or even chased out of the country.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 56.



## The Glorious Revolution

The Glorious Revolution is a term used to mark a two-year period at the end of the seventeenth century, specifically the years 1688 and 1689. In these turbulent times, the lawfully and officially elected king of England was dethroned and forced to leave his country and was replaced by a parliamentary favourite. The whole revolution was mostly bloodless, perhaps even thanks to the civil war between King Charles I and Parliament, which was still very much alive in people's memories.

### Reasons

There were several reasons for preventing James from ruling the British Isles. James was a Catholic, which was unpopular. Because of the Protestant nature of religious institutions and the overall faith of the people, there was a general resentment towards Catholicism or any display of active Catholic worship of the king. This was very unfortunate as James II Stuart was a devout Catholic, not willing to alter his beliefs for the good of his realm. Firstly, before his coronation in 1685, James' brother Charles II, the contemporary king, attempted to introduce an act which gave the people of Catholic faith a modest toleration, mainly because of James. Secondly, there was Charles' close connection to France, which was an example of absolutistic monarchy and militant Catholicism.<sup>26</sup>

James II and VII himself did not ameliorate the situation. He started to lean towards the absolutist form of rule and aimed to reestablish Catholic faith in England by issuing edicts of toleration. One of them was the Declaration of Indulgence, which cancelled any acts of repression against nonconformists and dissenters.<sup>27</sup> Due to this, he managed to anger the whole country, even the previously mentioned Tories, who were otherwise natural supporters of the

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<sup>26</sup> John Miller, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: Longman, 1983), 3.

<sup>27</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'Glorious Revolution,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/547105/Glorious-Revolution>.

monarch. Perhaps even more distressing to the gentry and the clergy was the birth of James's son James. Under different circumstances, everyone would rejoice that a new heir to the throne was born, but, in this situation, it underlined the king's Catholic policy and set the course of development towards the return of Catholicism.<sup>28</sup> This could not have been allowed in the eyes of the gentry, clergy and the common folk.

Six members of the Tory and Whig parties and one bishop wrote a concerned letter to William of Orange, the husband of James' daughter Mary. In it they invited them to invade the country and take over the throne. If it were not for James' son James, Mary would be an apparent heir to the throne and, because she was Protestant, there would be no need to even depose James.<sup>29</sup>

William had been in exile in the Netherlands and for a long time, he was preparing for that day to come. He also maintained connections in England. He immediately accepted the invitation and off to England he went. He landed at Brixham, which is in the south-western part of England, and marched towards London. Poor James could only watch most of his subjects change their coats and merge with William's side. The last drop for James was the departure of his own daughter Anne and his best general John Churchill to join William's numbers. Perhaps as the only possible solution, James decided to leave for France, hoping to gain support from Louis XIV of France.<sup>30</sup>

After his great and bloodless victory, William summoned Parliament which then interpreted James' departure as an official abdication, acknowledged William as a king and introduced a Declaration of Rights which should have secured the succession of James' daughter Anne after Mary's death, prevented any Catholic monarch on the throne, abolished the king's right to suspend laws and made the existence of a standing army in the time of peace illegal. This declaration is also known as the Bill of Rights.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'Glorious Revolution,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/547105/Glorious-Revolution>.

<sup>29</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 61.

<sup>30</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 2.

<sup>31</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'Glorious Revolution,' Encyclopædia Britannica,

## Impact

The male line of Stuart monarchs was effectively stripped of the right to rule. There was still Mary II, wife of William of Orange and later Queen Anne, both James' daughters, but Anne's death in 1714 meant a complete end of the Stuart line on the English throne. Also Catholics were generally banned from contending for the throne and Catholicism itself was strictly forbidden.

Parliament was firmly established in the process of ruling the country. The revolution meant a significant victory of Whig ideals about the importance of Parliament and also about the monarch, who could be overthrown if unsuitable. It can be stated that the revolution failed to limit the power of Parliament, which gained control over taxation or, for example, the right of succession.<sup>32</sup>

Last but not least, the revolution caused major divisions and distress among the people of Ireland and Scotland, where the revolution was fought.<sup>33</sup> It also created a very persistent and determined movement that still exists today, the Jacobite movement, which sought to return the English throne into the hands of the Stuart dynasty.

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<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/547105/Glorious-Revolution>.

<sup>32</sup> Edward Wallace, 'The Glorious Revolution,' BBC History,

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil\\_war\\_revolution/glorious\\_revolution\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/glorious_revolution_01.shtml).

<sup>33</sup> Edward Wallace, 'The Glorious Revolution,' BBC History,

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil\\_war\\_revolution/glorious\\_revolution\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/glorious_revolution_01.shtml).

## Jacobites

The term itself originates from a Latin word 'Jacobus' which means 'James' in English and came into existence in the end of the seventeenth century. It mainly labeled people supporting the deposed king, James II, and his descendants. However a University of St. Andrews professor Bruce P. Lenman in his article 'The Jacobite Diaspora 1688-1746: From Despair to Integration,' suggests a certain connection to a biblical story of Jacob who tricked his father into giving him a blessing previously meant for Jacob's brother, attaching the term 'imposter' to the meaning.<sup>34</sup> Generally a Jacobite is someone who believes in the right of succession of the Stuart line of monarchs to the English throne. This movement continues even today long after the death of the last of the direct descendants of the Stuart line, Cardinal Henry Benedict Stuart, in 1807 when the right of succession passed onto the house of Savoy. Following the family line of the Savoy dynasty, the Jacobite doctrine acknowledges Franz von Wittelsbach, the head of the royal house of Bavaria, as the present lawful ruler of England, Scotland, Ireland and France.<sup>35</sup>

Jacobites disclaim the political changes implemented during and after the Glorious Revolution such as the Act of Settlement, the Act of Succession and also the Act of Union with Scotland as well as Ireland. Thus the Jacobites consider the present form of the United Kingdom invalid. Furthermore, Jacobites come from various religious backgrounds and generally acknowledge religious tolerance, though most of them are Episcopalians and Catholics.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Bruce Lenman, 'The Jacobite Diaspora 1688-1746: From Despair to Integration,' History Today,

<http://www.historytoday.com/bruce-lenman/jacobite-diaspora-1688-1746-despair-integration>.

<sup>35</sup> The Jacobite, 'Jacobitism,' Jacobite Wordpress,

<http://jacobite.wordpress.com/about/>.

<sup>36</sup> The Jacobite, 'Jacobitism,' Jacobite Wordpress,

<http://jacobite.wordpress.com/about/>.

## The Non-jurors

The term 'non-juror' is a religious counterpart of political Jacobites.<sup>37</sup> Non-jurors believe that the religious system that emerged from the Glorious Revolution is as illegitimate as the ascension of King William and his wife Mary. The clergy, who were later marked as non-jurors, basically refused to take an oath to William III because the contemporary, and lawfully introduced head of the Church of England, James II, was still alive. This decision was made by several bishops and about four hundred clergymen. The simplest action for William would be to strip them of their income and estates and force them to abandon their offices. This would have angered the church and lead to a schism, as the offices would be left vacant because *'no worthy man would be forward to accept these preferments and hereby shutting the doors to their predecessors.'*<sup>38</sup>

William cleverly imposed penalties upon the bishops who were the head of the non-jurors but allowed them to keep their offices and part of their income. This was okay until a scandalous event in which one of the bishops was implicated. This allowed William to discredit the non-jurors and to proceed with filling the vacant spaces, which was not easily done. Through bullying and threatening the spaces were finally filled. The bishops, despite being evicted, refused to leave their property. They took legal advice and tried to defend themselves. This failed and therefore, in the end, they were persecuted by law enforcement and had to abandon the premises.

The non-jurors thought of the whole situation as being unjust and invalid. The fact that the bishops were unseated because they did not swear fealty to the new king was seen as an insufficient reason and thus making the action unjust. Furthermore, there is no power other than the church itself that would hold right to name or banish bishops. The above mentioned problems made the clergy aware of the influence of the state on the church and, needless to say, it was unwanted by the majority of them. Something needed to be done to separate the church and state authorities. As opposition to this notion, the government had to develop a

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<sup>37</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 15.

<sup>38</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 19.

scholarly defense, mainly relying on new scholars trained at Oxford University.<sup>39</sup> These non-jurors became one of the main supporting forces for the Jacobites, providing money and information and working as undercover agents for James and his descendants.

### **England, Scotland and Ireland**

Generally speaking, the density of Jacobites coincides with the density of Catholics and perhaps even Episcopalian Protestants in various parts of Britain, especially at the beginning of the revolution. Later the movement consisted of many different religious branches and did not put a large emphasis on Catholicism anymore. Catholics sought redemption of their beliefs in Britain which was personified by Catholic Stuart family.

Most of the support for the Jacobite cause came from the Scottish Highlands, mostly from the Catholic Highland clans. They participated in the first rising with Viscount Dundee and also the last with Prince Charles Stuart. There were many Catholics and Episcopalians in Scotland, making them natural allies of James and his cause. The Catholic Highlands were the first to join the rebellion in 1689 but in later risings, the Episcopalian Lowlands contributed significantly too.

The Irish support of the Stuart family practically ended with the treaty of Limerick, the defeat of Jacobite rebellion in Ireland and with the flight of James back to France after losing the battle. Poor James got an unpleasant nickname in Irish folklore and the only support for his cause from the Irish came from the Irish brigade in the French army.

### **The Jacobite Diaspora (Jacobites in Exile)**

Many Jacobites stayed in Britain, but many of them wanted or were forced to leave the countries and those who did, spread throughout the Europe and tried make a name for themselves. After the rising in Ireland, many people left Britain to join forces with James in France, one of them was James' commander Patrick Sarsfield. He was allowed, by William, to take an army of volunteers with their

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<sup>39</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 21.

families with him, which was about twelve thousand men and about four thousand dependents.<sup>40</sup>

It is not hard to guess who paid for the upkeep of the army as James was financially dependent mainly on French King Louis. But Louis did not support James' army for nothing as the regiments merged with the French army in 1697. There were many units of Scottish, Irish and Englishmen in the service of other European countries at the time but not all of them supported James. The most famous of them was the Scots Brigade in the service of the United Netherlands and they were strictly Protestant and stood by the Whig ideology.<sup>41</sup> Each Jacobite rising produced more and more emigrants, who spread throughout all of Europe. Some of them enlisted with one of the Catholic powers, some did not care for whom they fought. Just like the soldiers, the Jacobite gentry also had to leave the country on several occasions. Generally it was those who accepted Catholicism or had gone too far with their intrigues to join William. Especially after the Fifteen Rising, whole aristocratic families moved to the English continent. They did not plan to work though because the range of professional activities for a 'blue-blood' was very limited as to not embarrass themselves in the eyes of others. The ones suitable were unavailable. For example a profession of arms which was not easy to obtain, then there was church diplomacy but most of the Jacobites were either Catholics or only Episcopalians in mostly Protestant Europe. Then, the third possibility was international diplomacy which was one of the hardest fields in terms of getting into.<sup>42</sup> Instead, they relied on the financial support of their relatives and friends that were still in Britain. Apart from soldiers and aristocracy, the Jacobites also made their name as merchants and bankers, mainly settling in Europe's major ports in France, Spain and Scandinavian countries. They founded

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<sup>40</sup> Bruce Lenman, 'The Jacobite Diaspora 1688-1746: From Despair to Integration,' History Today,  
<http://www.historytoday.com/bruce-lenman/jacobite-diaspora-1688-1746-despair-integration>.

<sup>41</sup> Bruce Lenman, 'The Jacobite Diaspora 1688-1746: From Despair to Integration,' History Today,  
<http://www.historytoday.com/bruce-lenman/jacobite-diaspora-1688-1746-despair-integration>.

<sup>42</sup> Bruce Lenman, 'The Jacobite Diaspora 1688-1746: From Despair to Integration,' History Today,  
<http://www.historytoday.com/bruce-lenman/jacobite-diaspora-1688-1746-despair-integration>.

many businesses, banks and trade connections that provided the deposed Stuarts with a means of movement and correspondence.



## **Rising in Ireland (Attempt at Reclaiming)**

After the Glorious Revolution and James' rather hastened departure to France, French King Louis XIV decided to help the former King of England to gain back his place. Not only did he establish a stable financial income for James, he also supplied him with troops for his cause.<sup>43</sup>

The first attempt to reclaim the throne of England by the deposed King James II with the support of French troops went through Ireland. There was much Jacobite sentiment in Ireland, which originated earlier with the ascension of James I who, having Gaelic ancestry, was proclaimed the first 'Irish' king of Britain and, logically, that applied to his descendants too. Furthermore, the mentioned religious tolerance which James introduced joined the rehabilitation of Cromwellian actions against Catholics and the acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish Parliament almost made James a role model in Ireland. The Rising had considerable potential of gaining all of Ireland for James' side. The conditions were almost ideal, as the majority of Ireland was Catholic and there were not many Protestant gentry that would have the force to stop James at their disposal.<sup>44</sup>

During the invasion James II became the lawful king of Ireland once again, however only for a short time when the Parliament of Ireland met and swore fealty to him while stating that the English Parliament had no right to intervene in the affairs of Ireland. He rose to power once more only to flee to France again after a lost battle, leaving his subjects to fight for themselves.

### **Development**

James, with his 'borrowed' army from the French, landed in Ireland in March of 1689 and captured Dublin with minimal difficulties. The only Protestant garrison was in Londonderry in Ulster which was besieged by the Jacobite army. However, fortunately for the defenders, the siege was lifted after three months

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<sup>43</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 29.

<sup>44</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 34.

thanks to a heroic action of the naval forces. The besiegers were forced to retreat and were soon driven out of Ulster. There were several skirmishes between the rebels and the Williamites but considering that the latter were largely untrained, undisciplined and poorly armed, they did not stand a chance.<sup>45</sup>

The deadly blow to the head of the Jacobites was delivered at the battle of Boyne. Shortly before William himself arrived in Ireland as he was displeased by the development and the incompetence of local leaders. At this battle, he led the English forces to victory, though he did not break the spirit of the Jacobites, nor inflict too much damage. It was the flight of James back to France that struck a major blow to the rebels' morale. It did not stop the rebellion immediately, but the rebels were demoralized. Many of them deserted and those who did not only continued to see their numbers dwindle and their battles being lost. The absolute end of the Jacobite rebellion in Ireland is considered the Treaty of Limerick. Limerick is a city that was still besieged at the end of the rebellion's lifespan. The treaty lifted the siege allowing many of the rebels to continue their struggle in vain, as some of them returned to their homes, others left Ireland and a small portion joined William's forces. It also issued a religious tolerance but that did not last long as with the return of the English Parliament, the treaty was nullified and the rebels systematically punished.<sup>46</sup>

### **The Consequences ('James the Shite')**

After his cowardly escape, James II lost any kind of support from Ireland and to this day, he is known as 'James the Shite' in Irish folklore. Furthermore, the Irish refused to support any of his descendants. The rising in Ireland also quickened the church reformation process in Ireland, as the majority of Catholic gentry escaped Ireland in what is today known as 'the Flight of the Wild Geese.' The gentry and their families left their ancestral region and moved abroad, mainly settling in France and leaving Ireland to the Protestant influences from England.

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<sup>45</sup> Bruce Lenman, 'Jacobite Rebellions 1689 to 1745: Royalists versus Jacobians,' Heritage History,  
[http://www.heritage-history.com/www/heritage.php?Dir=wars&FileName=wars\\_jacobite.php](http://www.heritage-history.com/www/heritage.php?Dir=wars&FileName=wars_jacobite.php).

<sup>46</sup> Bruce Lenman, 'Jacobite Rebellions 1689 to 1745: Royalists versus Jacobians,' Heritage History,  
[http://www.heritage-history.com/www/heritage.php?Dir=wars&FileName=wars\\_jacobite.php](http://www.heritage-history.com/www/heritage.php?Dir=wars&FileName=wars_jacobite.php).

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The people that left the country continued to support the Stuart family but those who remained on the continent did no such thing ever again.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 2.

## The First Attempts at Revolution

This attempt of the restoration of James II to the British throne happened more or less simultaneously with the rebellion in Ireland. It was mainly the work of one of James' most faithful subjects, John Graham of Claverhouse, largely known as the Viscount Dundee. He led King Charles II's forces and managed to befriend James II.<sup>48</sup> Only a month after William of Orange and Mary were crowned, he raised James' standard and started recruiting men. The majority of conscripts came from the Highland clans which were Catholic. Despite the initial problems, Dundee managed to form an army of about two and a half thousand men, ready to defend the right of their lawful king to rule.<sup>49</sup>

The most famous battle was at Killiecrankie, where the royalist forces, led by General Mackay, were lured into a pass at Killiecrankie. There the Highlanders attacked, swooping down from a hill, and utterly crushed the Williamite army. However, this event means also a defeat for the Jacobites, and much larger at that, because 'Bonnie Dundee', as he got to be called later, was shot during the battle. He fell from his horse and died shortly after. The rebels continued to pursue their cause until the battle of Boyne in Ireland. This had a major impact on Jacobite morale. The impact was so hard in fact that it ceased the Jacobite resistance in Scotland. There were some battles between the remaining Highlanders and the Royalists though, one of them being the battle of Dunkeld. This a city where the Royalists maintained a foothold. The rebels were unable to root them out and had no other choice than to give up.

After the rebellion the Highland people returned to their homes and, as an attempt to prevent anything similar from happening in the future, William asked the clan leaders to prepare a signed statement where the promise of loyalty, acknowledgment and submission of the clans would be incorporated. There was

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<sup>48</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'John Graham of Claverhouse, First Viscount of Dundee,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/173679/John-Graham-of-Claverhouse-1st-viscount-of-Dundee>

<sup>49</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 42.

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much pressure put on the clans from the king's side, alas most of them wrote a letter to James asking for permission to submit to William. In the end, the majority of clans swore loyalty to William but there were those who, despite swearing loyalty, met a bitter end. Like the MacDonalds of Glencoe. To destroy the MacDonald tribe, their enemies stepped towards a more radical solution and had them assassinated with the consent of King William. This later came to be known as the 'Massacre of Glencoe'. The killers abused the famous highland hospitality during winter in 1691, accepting shelter and food and then, *'Without any warning they turned on their hosts, and before dawn of a winter's morning slew nearly all the dwellers in the valley'*<sup>50</sup>, burned their houses, drove off the cattle and left the few surviving people to die of exposure.

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<sup>50</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 159.

## The Act of Union 1707

What is known today as the Act of Union between England and Scotland is a treaty from 1707 that officially united England and Scotland and united their parliaments. It is also known that both countries were regally joined since 1603. In other words they had one common king but still maintained their separate parliaments until the Act of Union in 1707 and thus making England and Scotland a parliamentary union.

There was a lot of tension between England and Scotland in the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. Events like the Massacre of Glencoe, The Darien Scheme or, for example, the misunderstanding with Captain Green of English East India Company caused major dissension between the two countries.<sup>51</sup>

### Background

The Massacre of Glencoe has been mentioned in the previous chapter, thus it will be omitted in this one.

The Darien Scheme was an attempt of the Scottish people to establish a colony in Central America because of the false belief of William Paterson that he had found a shorter way to India. The whole Scottish nation was listening closely to Paterson's misguiding words, his promises of untold riches that awaited everybody, the rich and fertile land, et cetera. Rich and poor alike contributed to the fund-raising, which meant about the half of Scotland's capital was invested in him.<sup>52</sup>

When the time came, money was secured, ships bought and other preparations finished, twelve hundred emigrants led by Paterson set sail for the new colony. When they arrived, they called the land 'New Caledonia' and built the town of 'New Edinburgh' and a fortress of 'St. Andrews'. However,

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<sup>51</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 92.

<sup>52</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 156.

maintaining twelve hundred people in a completely new environment and climate needed the support of others to have success. England, Holland, New England and East India Company, all the large trading powers, were able but not willing to help the settlement. There only help was bringing supplies, thus leaving the settlers to their own fate. Moreover, the Spanish proclaimed they were the owners of the land where New Edinburgh stood and intended to take it by force if necessary. And last but not least, the ranks of the settlers were thinned by a rampant disease, against which people had no natural defense because of the different climate, fauna and flora.<sup>53</sup>

The few who survived decided to leave the colony and thus escape certain death, set sail for New York. At the same time, Scotland was not aware of the unfortunate new development in the colony and the overall enthusiasm was still very much present. For that reason another thirteen hundred emigrants sailed to join the former colonists, only to find New Edinburgh abandoned and surrounded by graves. These new settlers did not fare better than the previous ones and were soon driven out by the Spanish. For a long time after that, Scottish people have been angry at William III for not doing anything for the colony, despite being their king. However, the decision about the colony was passed in the king's absence and that meant that the king could not support something he did not even know about.<sup>54</sup>

Another potential source of hostility was the trial and death of Captain Green of the East India Company. He was given a death sentence for abducting one of the Darien ships and murdering its captain. He and a few others were tried, convicted based on a black slave's testimony and were hanged afterwards. This was very unfortunate as it later turned out that the mentioned Darien ship had problems when sailing close the Island of Madagascar and was forced to land there. The ship's captain was safe and sound on shore.

These events only sharpened the knife that has already been very deep between both countries. The main reason was fear of the English and that there

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<sup>53</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 160.

<sup>54</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 161.

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would be an open war against Scotland, as the Scottish Parliament had right to declare a war.

## **Development**

One can imagine that because of all this unfriendliness or even hatred between two peoples, the majority of people would not want a parliamentary union. That was true for the most part and mainly among common folk. Many commoners of Scotland resented the thought of entering a union with the English and vice versa in England. On the other hand, a hundred years went by during which the two countries cooperated and communicated. People from both countries demographically, culturally and financially blended. People of both countries were arguing because of their opinions on the Union. Nothing is ever decided by the common folk because they had no money and no power. As always, the main role was played by the gentry and people who were the contemporary power wielders. The whole business was very unclean and the practices like bribing or threatening were not rare.<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, two people were chosen to be the main commissioners and to consider the best way of implementation. They were Godolphin, the Royal Treasurer of England and the Duke of Queensberry, the Royal Commissioner of Scotland. These men presented the English Parliament with the Treaty of Union, which was immediately passed over to the Scottish parliament. The Scots made some minor changes and accepted the treaty, as did the English. The regal union was now officially a parliamentary union and the first common parliament met on the 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1707.

## **Consequences**

At the time the act was mostly beneficial for Scotland on one hand, in terms of commerce and overall economy and for England on the other, in terms of political stability and increased influence on Scotland. The parliaments joined to make the Parliament of Great Britain. Both states agreed on the same seal and on the same trade privileges. Furthermore, the same measure units and currency.

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<sup>55</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 162.



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However the legal system of courts stayed as it was and was supreme to the House of Lords on Scottish land. Scotland witnessed an exponential growth thanks to an open trade with England and its colonies. (This lasted almost half a century but was then restricted by the Navigation Acts in 1651.)<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 164.

## The 'Fifteen' Rising

James II died in 1701 and the quest of taking up the official right to rule Britain fell onto the shoulders of his son James III and VIII later called the 'Old Pretender.' Shortly after James, William III also passed away and in his place James II's daughter Anne was elected. After his father's death, during the reign of Anne, James III did not take any action to get to the throne, as he explained in one of his manifestos (Plombières), that he did not want to take any action against his sister because she meant well for him.<sup>57</sup>

At the end of his sister's life, James III started preparations for an uprising in Britain that would secure his heritage, but time was essentially against him. After the death of Anne, he had six months before George I of Hanover would arrive and that was too little time for James. Furthermore, just before the rising was prepared, the greatest supporter of the house of Stuart, Louis XIV died and was replaced by his great grandson, The Duke of Orleans, who was very young at the time. The young king had a friendly relationship with the English government and had no intention of openly supporting James in his conquest and even sabotaged an arms delivery for the Jacobites in the port of Havre.<sup>58</sup>

The Tories supported the claim of James III and VIII but the majority did not admit it openly nor offer any kind of assistance for the rebellion. In spite of this, however, the Whigs, who recently gained power in the parliament with the ascension of George I of Hanover, managed to brand the Tories traitors for siding with the rebels. The Tories were stripped of their offices, considered traitors and thus had no real power in the country.

### Development

By the time the arms were being prepared in Havre, John Erskine, the Earl of Mar and former Whig member, changed sides for his personal gain and started

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<sup>57</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 160.

<sup>58</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 160.

supporting James diligently. He had also raised James's standard in Scotland and started conscripting troops for an uprising. It is important to mention that he did not get any orders from James to do so. He managed to conscript about sixteen thousand men for his cause, two thirds being the Catholic Highlanders and other Episcopalian groups.<sup>59</sup> The rebellion was quick and successful at first, taking many towns in the North, for example Perth, Inverness and Dundee. But the Jacobites were generally rather inefficient against well trained and well financed government forces.

The head of the opposing forces was the Duke of Argyll who was more experienced in the art of war but lacked the manpower the Jacobites had. The two generals met in the battle of Sheriffmuir which was very confusing and ended more or less in a draw.<sup>60</sup> However, The Earl of Mar managed to bleed the government forces badly, inflicting many losses on their side while the rebels withstood only little damage. Mar then thought that he had won and decided to fall back to Perth, which he had captured before. It was this decision that allowed the Duke of Argyll to regroup and gain back the strength of his army. The following events were almost exclusively in favor of Argyll. The government forces captured Inverness and other cities and systematically pushed the Jacobites back.

Later, James III arrived in Scotland to support his uprising but, at that time, the Jacobite army had mostly disintegrated and was falling apart. On the other hand, thanks to the time for recuperation after the battle of Sheriffmuir, Argyll had acquired heavy artillery and his forces were growing significantly in number. There was not much James or the Earl of Mar could do to alter the fate of the rebellion and in the end of January 1716, they both departed for France, leaving behind the remnants of the Jacobite army. Many of the rebels were arrested and

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<sup>59</sup> Parliament Website Editors, 'The 1715 Rebellion,' Parliament of the United Kingdom, <http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/evolutionofparliament/legislativescrutiny/act-of-union-1707/overview/the-1715-rebellion/>.

<sup>60</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 215.

sentenced to death for treason. However, in 1717, most of them were pardoned by the Act of Indemnity<sup>61</sup>

The part of the rebellion that was in England met a similar, but perhaps even faster, more turbulent fate. There were plans about the uprising in western England but those were discovered and the initiators arrested. Nevertheless, this uprising was meant to be supported by a lesser action of the Jacobites, who went from Northumberland to the Scottish borders where they managed to join a portion of Scottish Jacobite forces. Together, forming a small army, they marched into England and were forced to stop at Preston, where they met with the government army. Despite winning the first battle with minimal losses, government reinforcements arrived the next day, against which the Jacobites did not stand a chance and were defeated.<sup>62</sup>

### **The Fear of Return**

There were also political attempts to persuade the Jacobite lords to accept the regime from London, offering them bribes appealing to their sense of duty, et cetera. Those were not successful in most cases and thus the Jacobite problem had to be handled in a different manner, resulting the conviction of most of the originators of high treason. However, by this time, the vast majority of important people connected to Jacobite rising had fled to France to join James III.

There were precautions made for Jacobitism to never pose a threat again. All of Scotland was turned into a fortress. The government ordered the construction of a vast network of roads and bridges connecting major and minor fortresses alike and allowing the fast mobilization of troops should the need arise.<sup>63</sup> Many parts of this infrastructure are still used to this day and many castles and forts from this period still stand and commemorate their sinister historical purpose.

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<sup>61</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 54.

<sup>62</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 56.

<sup>63</sup> BBC Editors, 'Jacobites and the Union,' BBC History, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/union/features\\_union\\_jacobites.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/union/features_union_jacobites.shtml).

## The 'Forty-Five' Rising

In 1745, yet another rising broke out in Scotland when a descendant of James II, his grandson, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, came and attempted to take possession of the British throne. This rising, in particular, was very specific as there was no support for the Jacobites in the English territory and thus all of it came exclusively from Scotland. It was in this period, that the Stuart family and Jacobitism in general acquired a brand new face. It was no longer about religion, although Episcopacy in Scotland played a significant role. The Stuart line symbolized the freedom and independence of England, the national pride of Scotland and, as the Scots saw it, the end of the English oppression.<sup>64</sup>

This uprising was perhaps the most important, the most successful and thus largely popularized and written about. It is a source of a great enthusiasm and Jacobite sentiment, as well as beautiful ballads, songs and poetry. On the other hand, the end of the rebellion is also talked about in more sinister superlatives, as it was the bloodiest. Also the repressions and the revenge of the British government towards the rebels were perhaps the most cruel and thorough.

### The Period of Relative Peace

Two years passed from the unfortunate turn of events in the Rebellion of 1715. The Jacobites were in hiding or abroad and generally went on with their lives. James III married Polish princess Clementina Maria Sobieski, one of the wealthiest women of that time. She later, in the end of 1720, gave James a healthy son named Charles Edward Louis John Casimir Silvester Maria Stuart. The prince was born in Rome and received a personal blessing from the Pope himself, which later prevented him from turning to Protestantism to improve his chances to get on the English throne.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 67.

<sup>65</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 240.

No major conflicts between the Jacobites and the government were reported from this time, perhaps apart from the failed attempt in 1719. After the ascension of the Duke of Orleans to the French throne and his friendly policy towards England, French support of the Jacobite cause was no longer a viable option. Instead a strong support was found in Spain represented in this case by the Minister to the King of Spain, Giulio Alberoni. A whole fleet of ships set sail from Spain to Scotland, carrying about five thousand men led by Lord Tullibardine and Earl Marischal. A majority of the ships were destroyed by a storm while sailing close to England and only two ships managed to land safely. The weakened forces captured Eilean Donan castle but were soon overrun by the naval forces, the castle was destroyed and its holders were forced to surrender, ending the whole campaign.<sup>66</sup>

In the years prior to 1745, many still feared the coming of a Catholic Stuart king, so in order to discredit young Charles Stuart, people started spreading rumors about his dwindling intelligence and misshapen body. However, this tactic did not have any effect as the truth was soon uncovered. Uninvolved observers of the prince testified that he was handsome, not misshapen, brave and not cowardly. He could speak French, Italian, Latin and of course English, as he was well educated, excluding him from the possibility of him being somehow mentally disadvantaged.<sup>67</sup>

### **The Deliverer Has Come**

Everything was fairly quiet until the year of 1745. Prince Charles, who was an adult and capable of handling himself, decided to take up arms and retrieve the English crown for the Stuart family. He attempted to do so with the help of none other than the French. The relationship between France and England was abysmal, and the French, by offering seven thousand men and a strong naval force to carry them to England, hoped to gain a strong foothold on English soil. This would serve as a point of possible future attacks. However, the gift soon turned

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<sup>66</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 73.

<sup>67</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 240.

out to be in vain, as most of the naval forces crashed near the English coast due to a storm, driving most of the surviving ships back to where they came from.<sup>68</sup>

By the time of Charles's maturity, the Stuart family would have become idealized in Scotland and England, but following the experience of failed rebellions that were followed by a series of repressions, at first most of the people were reluctant to openly join the Jacobite cause. This was the case with the Highland clans, in which Charles, just as his predecessors, sought the largest support. Charles arrived to Scotland in July 1745. The first to join was Ranald MacDonald who initiated a wave of support flocking to Charles' side. He managed to recruit around one and half thousand highlanders.<sup>69</sup>

The army marched south towards Perth, gaining support and recruiting additional soldiers as it went. They reached Edinburgh by September. Apart from a few minor encounters, the Hanoverian army, led by Sir John Cope, avoided an open battle and was stationed not far from Edinburgh while waiting for reinforcements. They did not come and the government forces were surrounded and attacked from behind by the Jacobites, led by an experienced tactician George Murray. After a short, fifteen minute long battle, they were left broken and crushed. After this victory the Jacobites retreated to Edinburgh and rested there for five weeks.<sup>70</sup>

In November 1745 Charles decided to march south, towards London. They reached Derby in the beginning of the month of December but the winter conditions were harsh and there were not many who would join Charles's forces in England. Also there were two enemy armies closing in, one coming from the north and the other from the south. Because of this, Charles's commanders started to argue to turn around and head back towards Scotland. The Prince did not want to. He urged that the army should push onward and lay siege to London. Had he done this, he would have been crowned a king of Great Britain, as the contemporary Hanoverian King was ready to flee and had his property packed. Also the French were preparing a second wave of invasion to England to support

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<sup>68</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 252.

<sup>69</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 74.

<sup>70</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 78.

Charles, of which he was aware, but with the message about the retreat, the preparations stopped.<sup>71</sup>

### **The Beginning of the End**

The Forty-Five rebellion was not destined to succeed. The Jacobite generals eventually forced Charles to accept the strategic retreat. Thanks to the careful and skilful planning of George Murray, the army managed to get out of English territory unscathed and then they retreated to Glasgow. After a rather quick regrouping, it was decided that the army would march south to take Stirling castle. By the time, an English general approached to help the forces defending the castle and met with the Jacobites in the field at Falkirk. The battle was swift and ended in a decisive victory for the Jacobites, again thanks to the perfect tactics of George Murray.<sup>72</sup>

After the victory at Falkirk, Charles wished to press south and march towards London again, but was again convinced by his generals to march north. Much of his army deserted and they were constantly pursued by the English army under the Duke of Campbell's command, that eventually caught up with the Jacobites, and faced them at the battle of Culloden. This battle is forever a black spot in Jacobite's history, as it meant a complete defeat of the Jacobite forces, a brutal aftermath accompanied by arresting, hanging, deporting, selling as slaves et cetera. As most of the rebels came from the Highlands, the wearing of kilts was forbidden and the clan system of Highland government was abolished.<sup>73</sup>

Despite the great defeat suffered at the Culloden field, Prince Charles managed to escape, went into hiding and, after a time, managed to sail back to France. It would not be such a deed, if it was not for the government desperately trying to catch him. He was helped by a Highland woman named Flora MacDonald, who is even famous today for doing so.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 125.

<sup>72</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 143.

<sup>73</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 263.

<sup>74</sup> Margaret MacArthur, *History of Scotland*, ed. Edward A. Freeman (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), 215.



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The ending of the rebellion meant the of Prince Charles Stuart, as he turned to drinking, which he finally died from in 1788. It would be suitable to mention the attempt of the French to contact Charles in 1756 about another planned invasion of England. They believed he still had support among the people of Scotland and England but he replied he would only go if all of England supported him. This made the French doubt the prince's ability to lead any similar action. The French soon abandoned their goal after a lost naval battle with the English, which drastically reduced their military strength at sea.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 'Charles Edward, the Young Pretender,' Encyclopædia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/107328/Charles-Edward-the-Young-Pretender>.

## The Decline of Jacobitism

For many people on the British isles, Jacobitism was a form of belief, similar to a religion. The Stuart family began to symbolize ‘the good old times’. The Jacobites did not find much support in England after the ‘Fifteen’ rising. Most of the Stuart supporters had either emigrated, gone into hiding or had to take an oath of fealty to the contemporary King of Great Britain and upheld their Jacobite beliefs in secret.<sup>76</sup> The Jacobite sentiment was present mainly in the Scottish Highlands for the whole time span of the risings and was mostly backed by the possibility of the success of rebellion. However after the Forty-Five, success was no longer a viable outcome of any other attempt.

After the Forty-Five the conflict became a matter of nationality rather than ideas. All Scots were branded incurable Jacobites by heritage and were handled as such by the British government,<sup>77</sup> despite the fact that a major portion of the populace did not support the rebellion and were even openly against it. They were the target of terrible punitive actions that led only to a bitter resentment towards the people punishing them.<sup>78</sup>

### The Consequences

Most of the true Jacobites left Britain and sought good fortune elsewhere. Those who remained had to either fully renounced Jacobitism or remained in hiding, physically or mentally. As an aftermath of the Forty-Five, a punitive bloodbath was unleashed by government forces in the Highlands led by the Duke of Cumberland, brother of the contemporary king, George of Hanover, who was behind the victory at Culloden. He entered the Highlands, established himself at Fort Augustus and engaged his forces in a process of elimination of Jacobite remnants, as well as a systematic weakening and destruction of the Scottish

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<sup>76</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1982), 188.

<sup>77</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 266.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 264.

Highlands which were supposed to serve both as a punishment and precaution. People were arrested or killed, even those who did not have anything to do with the rebellions, villages and castles were burned et cetera.

This was not enough in the eyes of some contemporary influential people. The whole governing body demanded harsh repression but one man in particular, Lord Chesterfield, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland took action to an extreme. He urged a genocide in the Highlands.<sup>79</sup> He was so determined, in fact, that he ordered a blockade of the Highlands in order to starve the region. Cumberland was ordered to systematically butcher the peasants while Chesterfield put a considerable sum of money as a bounty onto the heads of Highland clan chieftains. However, the repressions did nothing but deepen the resentment against the government in Scotland. Many Scottish 'Lowlanders' served in the Hanoverian army as officers, and it was them that fulfilled the orders of the Duke of Cumberland to the letter and with a zeal and hatred which could compete with that of Chesterfield.

Some of the clan chieftains, as well as Prince Charles Stuart with the help of the French, managed to escape the country. Some of them dropped their weapons at the feet of the government generals and swore loyalty to the king under the condition of a royal pardon, which was nothing more than an empty promise in the end, and those who did so were punished for high treason. The rest were systematically hunted down, killed or arrested and then tried.

Furthermore, there were political and cultural consequences as well as those in the military field. For example the wearing of a kilt and tartan dresses were banned, as well as the possession of any kind of weapon. Both were punishable by death, arrest or deporting to a slave colony for a period of seven years. The fate of the Highland clan system was sealed long before, as it was in decay already but after the Forty-Five, it was officially abolished by the British government.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Methuen, 1980), 263.

<sup>80</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 194.

There was also a notion to undermine the Episcopalian church in Scotland, which was blamed for supporting the Jacobite cause. Only five Episcopalians were allowed to worship at a time and the clergy had to take oaths of support to the Hanoverian king and had to pray for him publicly, while omitting any reference to Prince Charles Stuart.

The same things that applied to the clergy applied to teachers who had to take an oath to prevent '*a rising generation being educated in disaffected or rebellious principles*'.<sup>81</sup> The threat of punishment hung above not only the teachers, but also above the parents or guardians that would send their children to an inappropriate school where they would be educated by 'rebellious teachers'.

The jurisdiction system was trimmed. The private courts that the influential families and landowners exercised were banned. Thanks to this, the landowners were previously able to recruit their subordinates by force for the Jacobite, or any other, cause. This government act prevented that from happening. Finally, the property of all the major Jacobite families and gentry was confiscated by the crown but most of it was later returned to the descendants.

### **The Psychological and Social Impact**

Speed, bonnie boat,  
like a bird on the wing,  
Onward, the sailors cry;  
Carry the lad that's born to be king  
Over the sea to Skye...

(The Skye Boat Song by Sir Harold Boulton)

Jacobite rebellions have become significant events in British history, influencing major parts of society and its actions, behavior and mentality. The excerpt from the poem, collected from Highland folklore and published in 1884, being more than a hundred years after the end of the rebellions, shows how deep into the memory of the people the event sunk.

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<sup>81</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 194.

The rebellions, especially the 'Forty-Five,' are connected to the Romantic Movement in the field of art. Bonnie Prince Charlie was viewed as a tragic hero, fighting for an indescribably important cause but ultimately failing to surpass much greater power. There is, in fact, still a Jacobite collection in the National Gallery today.<sup>82</sup>

It is much more sinister to describe the political impact of the risings. After 1707 and the Act of Union, the Scots felt left out, abandoned and abused by the English. The Stuart monarchs, especially James III and Prince Charles Stuart, took the goal of nullifying the Act of Union as their own. The whole Jacobite movement became associated with the separation of England and Scotland.

The amount of people who joined the rebellion in Scotland and the amount that joined in England can give the reader a notion of how badly the Scots wanted to separate from England. Furthermore, the fact that the English, (though there was not only the English involved, an example being the Irish General Chesterfield), turned to very harsh repression after defeating the rebels, only embossed the national desire for separation of the two countries. This desire is still visible today, as the Scots intend to run a referendum on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2014, in order to decide whether to separate from England or not.

Furthermore, if it was not for the deposition of the Stuart line of monarchs, the overall development of Great Britain could have been very different, but that is perhaps a topic for an evening pondering and not for a thesis about history.

In England, Ireland and Scotland, there were always religious differences which were often causes for disputes or even armed conflicts. The most visible is the above mentioned difference between Catholics and Protestants and also, subsequently, the struggle between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. During the Jacobite rebellions, England managed to gain religious supremacy, rooting out the majority of Catholics and Episcopalians from both Ireland and Scotland.

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<sup>82</sup> John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 1.

## The Remnants

Despite being generally unpopular, the Jacobite movement has survived to this day. It still upholds the primary principles, beliefs in the illegitimacy of the House of Hanover, of which makes the Queen of Great Britain a ‘woman who has been sitting on a stolen throne for sixty years’ according to a self proclaimed Jacobite on an unofficial online forum.<sup>83</sup>

In Scotland, for example, there is a group called a ‘Circle of Gentlemen’ which still upholds the Jacobite doctrine, although it is very much different than the general Jacobite sentiment in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They still consider the House of Windsor (earlier Hanover) an illegitimate line of monarchs, who stole the throne from a descendant of the House of Stuart Franz von Wittelsbach. They still support Scotland in its effort to separate from the Parliamentary Union. However, the Circle lacks any kind of hostility against anybody, any hatred, feeling of being wronged by someone, bigotry et cetera. They uphold Jacobite traditions, make use of traditional Jacobite Highland clothes and do their best to commemorate the most important events of the Jacobite movement, for example the battle at Culloden. They take pride in their romantic historical heritage.<sup>84</sup>

As for the remnants of the whole movement, it all comes down to groups like the one mentioned above. People in Britain generally view the Jacobite movement as romantic but wrong in its ideological level. Most people believe that an absolutist monarch and a devout Catholic on the throne would be a disaster.

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<sup>83</sup> Geradamas, comment on ‘Jacobitism Today,’ Yahoo Groups: Jacobitism Today,comment posted July 8, 2012,  
<https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/ScotsKings/conversations/messages/74> (accessed March 16).

<sup>84</sup> The Scotsman Editors, ‘Jacobite Uprising: ‘To us it doesn’t feel that long ago; in evolutionary terms it’s nothing’,’ The Scotsman,  
<http://www.scotsman.com/news/jacobite-uprising-to-us-1745-doesn-t-feel-that-long-ago-in-evolutionary-terms-it-s-nothing-1-135537>.

## Conclusion

The time of the Jacobite rebellions was a romantic period, wrapped in a veil of myth. A time which not much attention has been paid to by historians, a time of bloody conflicts, hardships of people and suffering. The fact is, however, there was nothing romantic to it at the time, as it only gained this feature over a long period of time, starting when all of the unfortunate consequences faded. The fact is that the actions of the Jacobite movement were very important in the process of forming Britain culturally, sociologically and even in terms of international relations.

I have taken up the quest to summarize the most important factors of this period and to pinpoint the consequences to which it led. In my eyes this has been fulfilled, considering the extent of this thesis and the amount of information possible to incorporate.

After putting together all of the pieces of the puzzle, one can clearly see the consequences of the rebellions and of events that immediately predated or followed. Among others, the belief in the unlawful rule of the House of Windsor as opposed to the House of Bavaria which is related to the House of Stuart, the religious dominance of the Church of England and the political dominance of England over Ireland and Scotland. The bitter resentment of the Scottish against England is still upheld by some people to this day and they have been wanting to break the Union from 1707.

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the Scottish plan to run a referendum which has been acknowledged by the British Parliament, and should it succeed, apart from the geographical data being changed, it will end a three hundred year lasting union of two countries and thus England and Scotland will become two sovereign states inhabiting one island. That would be a great victory to anyone still true to the Jacobite doctrine and would, at least partially, fulfill the desired agenda of the Jacobites. However, the success or failure of the referendum to this day, is still a mystery and matter of fierce political and sociological dispute and only time will show what it will bring.

## **Anotation**

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## **Abstrakt**

Cílem této bakalářské práce je sumarizovat události vedoucí k jakobínským povstáním, popsat jejich průběh a rovněž události, které následovaly později. Zároveň tato práce bere v úvahu dopady, které tyto povstání měly na vývoj dnešní politické situace, konkrétně na otázku rozdělení parlamentární unie mezi Anglií a Skotskem. Práce vychází nejen z akademicky uznávaných zdrojů, knižních i internetových, ale rovněž z nepodložených zdrojů v podobě internetových diskuzí a článků, které byly vytvořeny samozvanými členy skupin uznávajících jakobinismus. Nepodložené zdroje jsou použity pouze za účelem sledování aktivit a názorů dnešních jakobínů. Celá práce má teoretický charakter, vzhledem ke svému zaměření na historii postrádá praktickou část.

## **Abstract**

The Aim of this bachelor thesis is to summarise the events leading to the Jacobite risings, describe their development and last but not least to describe the events that followed and their impacts. Furthermore, this thesis takes into consideration the impacts the risings had on contemporary political development, specifically concerning the question whether to separate the parliamentary union of England and Scotland or not. This work is based not only on the academically acknowledged sources, including books or websites, but also on the online discussions and articles, which were created by the self proclaimed members of contemporary groups, that still uphold the Jacobite ideology. These not academically correct sources are used exclusively for the purpose of tracking the remaining Jacobite groups in today's world. The whole thesis is theoretical in nature due to its historiographic nature and thus lacks any form of practical part.



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