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# The Trampling of the White Rose: The Jacobite Impact on British Politics

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To the Dean of the Graduate School:

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THE TRAMPLING OF THE WHITE ROSE: THE JACOBITE IMPACT
ON BRITISH POLITICS

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty

Of the

College of Liberal Arts

In Partial Fulfillment

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By

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**Abstract**

During the Glorious Revolution, King James II of England and VII of Scotland was deposed, and the main line of the House of Stuart, along with the concept of divine right monarchy and the acceptance of Catholicism, were swept aside in Great Britain. In exile, the remaining heads of the House of Stuart relied on sympathetic Catholic powers or domestic loyalists known as Jacobites. These Jacobites developed distinct versions of their Jacobitism in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Real or perceived Jacobite interference was a constant variable in the rivalry of the Tories and Whigs. The Catholic powers of France, Spain, and the Papacy and domestic Jacobites, would be instrumental in shaping the foreign and domestic political landscape of London during the period of 1688-1745.

## Acknowledgements

As I finish my MA in history all I can think of are those who have made this possible for me. The three people who I would like to thank first are my mother Sarah, my grandfather Papa Tim, and my father Dwight. My mother has always been my rock since I was a child, especially in the absence of my father who passed away in 2019. I hope in his eternal rest I have made him proud. The emotional and financial security provided by them have been essential in my career; I could not have made it this far without them. I would also like to thank my very special friend Miro, her love has been essential in finishing my degree.  I would also like to thank the history department at Winthrop University for their professionalism and friendship. I am indebted to my committee members Dr. Dave Pretty, Dr. Don Rakestraw, and Dr. Allan Charles.

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*Come thro' the heather, around him gather,*

*Ye're a' the welcomer early;*

*Around him cling wi' a' your kin;*

*For wha'll be king but Charlie?* – Eighteen-Century Jacobite Song in Scots[1]

## Introduction

Eighteenth-century British society was constantly troubled by a force perceived as radically different and regressive from the order established in the Glorious Revolution. This force was Jacobitism, a complex, multinational movement that was dedicated to restoring the House of Stuart as the legitimate rulers of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Often misunderstood in the modern world as a force of Catholic legitimists, Scottish nationalists, and Tory "Little England" xenophobes, the Jacobites were paradoxically all of these and none of these. While a portion of each of these are correct, any comparison to modern movements requires strenuous gymnastics for whomever attempts it. In their effort to restore their beloved monarchs in exile, the Jacobites started four rebellions, planned many more, and were behind famous plots that shook the nation, such as the Atterbury Plot and Cornbury Plot. This thesis will examine the massive Jacobite impact on British foreign and domestic politics. The second and third chapters are chronological; however the first and the fourth are case studies of regional Jacobitism and foreign relations, respectively. I have relied heavily on the Stuart and Georgian papers, and of the works of authors such as Eveline Cruickshanks, Bruce

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1. Caroline Nairne, "Wha'll be king but Charlie?" National Library of Scotland, Accessed October 19, 2022. https://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/archive/91519914.

Lenman, Daniel Szechi, and Frank McLynn. However, there are many more good scholars on Jacobitism. This thesis mostly focuses on later Jacobitism, after the Rising of 1715. However, there were times it was necessary to delve in the period of 1688-1715. The first chapter examines the different forms Jacobitism took in England/Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. As I define these forms, I show how they were connected to a larger Jacobite underground that often facilitated activity through various subversive methods. The second chapter primarily looks at the Tory-Whig rivalry and broader factionalism throughout the 1715 Uprising (also known as The '15) until the Atterbury Plot. Chapter three examines the 1745 Uprising (also known as The '45) and Parliamentary reaction, the collapse of the Tory Party, and the systemic destruction of the clans in Scotland. Chapter four, the final chapter, addresses Jacobite and Hanoverian battles in the diplomatic arena and takes a glance inside the Jacobite court-in-exile.

Jacobitism reduced to its most simple form was support for the senior line of the exiled House of Stuart. This is one of the few statements historians can agree on surrounding Jacobitism. However, some Jacobite historians such as Murray Pittock argue that the dynastic claim was often overshadowed by more pertinent issues that caused one to be a Jacobite.[2] Since the nineteenth century, Whig historiography has clashed with the romanticism of Sir Walter Scott over how to understand Jacobitism. Whig historiography entails an outright hostility towards Jacobitism, seeing it as antithetical to the civil and scientific advancements that caused the rise of the British Empire. These historians, such as Sir Lewis Namier, understood the Glorious Revolution (the term glorious deriving

2. Murray Pittock, "Who were the Jacobites and what did they want for Scotland" (Lecture, University of Dundee, Dundee, Scotland, United Kingdom, April 24, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_zXZz0Jar8&t=2664s.

from Whig vocabulary) as the last revolt against feudalism.[3] To throw off the vestiges of archaic absolutist government in exchange for a pure parliamentary system was the only path to progress for Britain. Whig contemporaries and historians interpreted the Jacobites as a regressionist movement. The Stuart association with absolutism, the divine right of kings, and Catholicism caused these views to be conflated with Jacobitism at large. However, individual Jacobites tended to possess more pragmatic views. These pragmatic views depended on the region; in Scotland anti-Unionism and a belief in free trade were often causes for one to be a Jacobite. Distrust of the post-1688 financial systems of government debt economics and banking in London were among the reasons for one to be an English Jacobite.

There are those who have viewed Jacobitism as merely a peripheral movement, and that it was often the bogeyman of Jacobitism that was more dangerous for the Hanoverians than the Stuarts or their Jacobites supporters. There is a great overlap between these historians and Whig historians. However, a Whig historian may admit it was a widespread movement, but dismiss the Jacobites as unwitting puppets of their European masters. However, historians since the 1970s have largely shared the view that Jacobitism was a massive and complicated political movement. This view is well corroborated by the Stuart Papers, the Georgian State Papers, European archives (especially French and Vatican), and the writings of Horace Walpole. Indeed, the Jacobites had a major impact upon British politics and society. Eveline Cruickshanks and Daniel Szechi have been of vital importance, succinctly and studiously depicting the

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3. Frank O'Gorman, "Fifty Years After Namier: The Eighteenth Century in British Historical Writing." *The Eighteenth Century* 20, no. 2 (1979): 99–120. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41467187.

importance of Jacobite impact upon Britain.[4] Dr. Darren Layne is the foremost American

scholar of Jacobitism and is currently working on a Jacobite database for the Rising of

1745.[5]

      Accounts of Jacobitism have radically changed over time. A prime example of

this is the perception of Scottish Jacobitism, the most famous of its strains. The classic

image of the Scottish Jacobite was an uneducated, fearless, feudal, and disheveled

Highlander. The epitome of this is the immortalization of a particular perception of the

Battle of Culloden in the oil painting by Daniel Morier.[6] On the left tartan-clad

Highlanders bear spears and swords, much as their medieval ancestors would. The

Highlanders have long hair and a grimy appearance, and their positions lack any kind of

clear formation. On the right is the British Army, clad in their redcoats. The British Army

is well-armed and face the barbaric-looking Highlanders in an organized firing formation.

This perception of civilization versus barbarism was the perception of Culloden for

centuries, and is still prevalent in popular history. However, Murray Pittock and others

have gone to great lengths to dispel this complete inaccuracy. Pittock has proved that the

Jacobites actually employed more firepower than the government army during The '45.

The myth that guns prevailed over swords at Culloden is further disproved by the fact

that it was the government cavalry who charged the Jacobites on the flat Culloden Moor

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4. Daniel Szechi. *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019) 2.
5. Darren Layne, "The Jacobite Database of 1745." Jacobite Database of 1745. Accessed March 1, 2023. https://www.jdb1745.net/.
6. David Morier, *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745,* oil on canvas, 1753, Royal Collection Trust, https://www.rct.uk/collection/401243/an-incident-in-the-rebellion-of-1745

that essentially won the day for the Hanoverians.[7] Hanoverian propaganda surrounding the Jacobites continues to shape many perceptions.

An issue that all Jacobite historians encounter is evidence from primary sources. Due to the illegality of Jacobitism, it is often hard to discern who wand who was not a Jacobite. The Earl of Mar and George Murray are obvious Jacobites as they fought in The '15 and The '45, respectively. However, determining exactly how many Jacobites existed in a given region in the three kingdoms is difficult. Accurately measuring popular Jacobitism is nearly impossible. A common practice among Jacobite historians is to look at the various riots that broke out in the eighteenth century that had connections with Jacobitism. These riots, such as the Porteous Riots, were often said to have a Jacobite connection or were instigated by Jacobite agents. What is easier than determining exact numbers of Jacobites is to get a rough estimate of sympathies from a given region. For example, looking at the Bonnie Prince Charlie's campaign into England during The '45 gives a glance at popular English Jacobitism. While the Jacobite Army took on thousands of recruits from Scotland, very few Englishmen joined the Jacobites. To use the lack of armed English Jacobites in The '45 is not a perfect measure of the lack of Jacobitism in England. Many Englishmen were awaiting the call of prominent English and Welsh Jacobites such as Sir John Hynde Cotton or Sir Watkins William Wynn. Eveline Cruickshanks believed that Jacobitism was intrinsic to English Toryism and that, had the

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7. Murray Pittock, "Who were the Jacobites and what did they want for Scotland?" Lecture, University of Dundee, Dundee, Scotland, United Kingdom, April 24, 2018

French intervened and the Bonnie Prince Charlie pushed forward during his campaign in England during The '45, large numbers of English Jacobites would have risen up.[8]

It is possible to wonder what would have happened if the Bonnie Prince Charlie never retreated from England and had marched on London as he would have liked. Jacobite historian and Roman Catholic Sir Charles Petrie delved into this what-if.[9] He described this scenario where George II flees from London to Hanover and the House of Stuart is restored to Great Britain. This new French-aligned monarchy would either fight with the French or remain neutral in the Seven Year's War. This meant Louisiana and Canada would have remained French, and the English North America remained largely restricted to the Thirteen Colonies. The lack of debt funded wars would either prevent or delay the French and American Revolutions. While alternative history is best left as a hobby, Petrie does a fine job at illustrating consequences of a Jacobite victory. This thesis shows that there were many moments in which the House of Stuart almost returned and would have radically altered the path of British history. The stability of constitutional British government and Whig Enterprise long thought to be the creators of British hegemony would have ceased to exist.

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8. Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publisher, Inc, 1979), 79.
9. Charles Petrie, "If: A Jacobite Fantasy," *The Weekly Westminster*, January 30, 1926.

**Chapter I –** *Domestic Jacobite Maneuvers and Parliament*

Origin of Jacobitism within the Three Kingdoms

Jacobitism is more than a simple allegiance to the senior line of the House of Stuart. It is a diverse culture, an ideology, a uniting and dividing force, and an aspiration. However, these forms look different depending on the Jacobite in question. Desire for a "Second Restoration" was not exclusive to any one religion, nationality, gender, or socio-economic class. The most renowned Jacobite is the Scottish Jacobite, the tartan-clad disheveled warrior charging at the Redcoats in the hills of Culloden. Beyond that this depiction is largely inaccurate, it fails to do justice to the almost international landscape of Jacobitism. While Jacobitism may have had its strongest base in Scotland, it was an ideology and allegiance present and persistently intrusive in the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is important to look at the causes of what made an English, Welsh, Scottish, or Irish Jacobite. Motivations ranged from pragmatism to conviction, or a mixture of both.

As with any ideology, many contradictions and infighting occurred among Jacobites. Scottish Jacobitism was a victim of one of the worse challenges that Jacobitism faced, the Act of Union. Many Scottish Jacobites were Jacobites simply to oppose the Act of Union which merged England and Scotland into the Kingdom of Great Britain. Some Scottish Jacobites even supported a full severance of Scotland from England by returning to separate monarchies. The exiled senior line of the Stuarts had to walk an exceptionally fine line, paying lip service to anti-Unionists, but never fully committing to a hypothetical abolition of the Act of Union.

## Scotland

Scottish Jacobitism was by far the most prevalent of the flavors of Jacobitism, and what it lacked in stability, it made up for in complexity. In order to tap into the true complexity of the issue the romanticization that has enveloped Scottish Jacobitism must be undone. While Highlanders made up a significant portion of Bonnie Prince Charlie's army during the Uprising of 1745, it was by no means exclusively Highlander. Further, while Roman Catholicism was certainly a prominent element of Jacobitism, it was not exclusively Catholic; the Protestant Reformation was extremely successful in Scotland, enough that Scotland was ninety-nine percent Protestant by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Scotland was divided between liberal-leaning Presbyterians and conservative-leaning Episcopalians. This religious rivalry would also translate into the political rivalry of the liberal Whigs and the conservative Tories, at least in the Lowlands, which shared numerous traits with England, including political trends.[10] The Presbyterian-Episcopalian divide on liberalism and conservatism was not a perfect distinction. While Presbyterians could reliably be found in both major and other minor political parties, Episcopalians were more predictably Tory.

Whigs would rarely be Jacobites or share their sympathies. Whigs could be summarized with two words: liberty and property. While Jacobitism was not opposed to these things per se, it was typically not a concern for them. The exception to this was the Country Party, a portion of which was made up of anti-Union patriotic Whigs whose goals would sometimes align with the Jacobites, though only out of a perceived

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10. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995), 129.

patriotism. The Episcopalian-Presbyterian rivalry was exacerbated by a fluctuation of power from 1688 to 1714. The Parliament of King William supported the traditional Presbyterian leaders of Scotland, much to the chagrin of the Episcopalians who enjoyed many privileges under Charles II and James II, making many indecisive Episcopalians into ardent Jacobites. Later in 1714 the new united parliament of Great Britain would force tolerance of Episcopalians, much to the disdain of Presbyterians. While the Tory-Whig rivalry had slightly less of an impact on Scottish political life in the early and mid-eighteenth century than in England, it was still an influential force amongst the Scottish elite and in population centers such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, and Aberdeen.[11] The Highlands were still dominated by feudal lords through the clan system. These clans still ruled as their ancestors did centuries prior, and the very few Catholics that could be found in Scotland would be among these lairds (Scottish noble title, basically the Scots dialect equivalent of lord). The idea of political parties to the people of the Highlands was outlandish and unnecessary.

Another facet of Scottish Jacobitism was support or opposition to the Act of Union in 1707. This was perhaps the greatest contradiction and controversy within the movement. There were Scottish Jacobites who supported the Act of Union under the Stuarts and there were those who were Jacobites solely because they believed the senior line of the Stuarts would abolish the act. Further, there were Scottish patriots who were content with taking on one of the Stuarts as only a Scottish monarch, nullifying the work of Mary, Queen of Scots who worked to put her son James I on the English throne

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11. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies: DE/P/F156, "Commissions of the peace: letters of recommendation, etc, Scottish counties, 1706-10"

through her marriage to Lord Darnley. However, there were also Scottish patriots who denied the Jacobite cause who were anti-Union. A very prominent Scottish patriot, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun was one such Scotsman. Fletcher was a very radical Whig who supported total parliamentary control over the monarch and opposed a standing royal army. His ideas of liberty and property endeared him to the Founding Fathers of the United States.[12] He could not have been more opposed to Jacobite ideals. Pro-Union Scottish Jacobites existed, and their ideas seemed most in line with the goals of the exiled Stuarts. George Murray was a Scottish laird who was a very prominent Jacobite, fighting in the uprisings of 1715 and 1745, featuring most prominently in the latter. Murray served as the second-in-command to Bonnie Prince Charlie during The '45. Though he was an ardent Jacobite, he despised the character of the young prince, and the two would clash relentlessly. Prince Charles would even mistakenly doubt Murray's loyalties in the aftermath of Culloden.

Anti-Unionism would prove a veritable recruiting ground for Jacobitism. At the very least it often produced a disaffection which could lead to a passive Jacobitism. English members of Parliament held a perpetual majority in the united kingdom's legislature. A majority Scotland had little chance of overpowering due to Scotland's smaller population. This now meant Englishmen were making foreign policy, levying taxes, troops, tariffs, and regulations over Scotland.[13] Scottish nobility could not serve in

12. "From Thomas Jefferson to the Earl of Buchan, 10 July 1803," *Founders Online,* National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-40-02-0534. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 40, *4 March–10 July 1803*, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 708–710.]
13. Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 121.

the House of Lords, and taxes were much higher than the usual Scottish standard. These were a part of a series of Anglocentric acts passed by the early 1710s. To some Scottish nobility, this was seen as a necessary sacrifice as the union would give unfettered access to lucrative English markets, overriding their now fettered access to international markets.[14] Nonetheless the Act of Union was a deeply unpopular move across Scotland, and the Scottish parliament required a large government force to protect it as it signed itself into submission. While that is a pessimistic view, one can see that it signed itself into global prominence through a strong and united country, though that unity has always been called into question. Later James "III and VIII" (using Jacobite nomenclature) would use the Act of Union as an impetus for the Jacobite rising in 1715, calling for "a free and independent Scots Parliament."[15]

## England and Wales

Jacobitism never possessed the qualities of coordination and breadth in England and Wales, that it did in Scotland and Ireland. By percentage of the population it was more likely stronger in Wales, but by virtue of simply being larger England was a larger percentage of the Jacobite movement than Wales. English Catholics of course were almost exclusively Jacobites, at least passively. Under James II English Catholics enjoyed freedom they had not seen since Mary I and would not see again until the nineteenth century. Since the Reformation, the majority of English society despised

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14. Christopher Whatley, "Economic Causes and Consequences of the Union of 1707: A Survey," *The Scottish Historical Review* 68, no. 186 (1989): 150–81, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25530416.
15. Murray Pittock, "Who were the Jacobites and what did they want for Scotland?" Lecture, University of Dundee, Dundee, Scotland, United Kingdom, April 24, 2018.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0_zXZz0Jar8&t=3510s

Roman Catholicism, thus the few English who remained with the Roman Church were subject to extreme persecution. However, the Stuarts alleviated that, namely Charles I, Charles II, and James II, all three kings married Catholic women, and Charles II and James II converted to Catholicism themselves, though Charles II only did so on his deathbed. However, this tolerance and conversion of James II would be seen by many Englishmen as a "popish plot" to return England to Catholicism. William of Orange and Mary Stuart ushered in a new age of persecution for Catholicism by effectively abolishing the Roman Church in England. Catholic dioceses would not be reestablished until the mid-eighteenth century. Obviously, English Catholics would be the most loyal of Jacobites, though far too small in number to make an impact and too vilified to be a great influence among non-Catholics. The majority of English Jacobites wished to distance themselves and the movement away from a Catholic identity. English Jacobitism as a popular movement tended to be found mostly in the northwest of England, especially in cities like Manchester and Lancashire. Later, Manchester would provide Bonnie Prince Charlie the most sizeable contingent of the English to fight for him during the Uprising of 1745.[16] It is unknown exactly how many English Jacobites there were, as the English Jacobites never provided the same kind of measurable rising that occurred in Scotland and Ireland. Indeed, English Jacobitism could be described as more of a passive Jacobitism.

As in the Lowlands of Scotland, the majority of English Jacobite support came from the Tories, especially High Tories. High Tories were essentially the radically

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16. Johnathan Oates, "The Manchester Regiment of 1745." *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 88, no. 354 (2010): 129–51. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44232840.

conservative branch of the Tory Party; they could be identified with religious formality, xenophobia, and an extra emphasis on the non-negotiable rights of inheritance of monarchs. Many Tories were rural gentry who still fashioned themselves as the Cavaliers of Charles I, as knights of the House of Stuart undefiled by Parliamentary interference. Though Tories were disaffected by the coup d'état of 1688, some could remain content in believing that eventually the succession would correct itself through the accession of the future child of Queen Anne. Further the Tories remained satisfied by both William and Mary. Later Anne consistently placated the Tories when she could.[17] Parliament was dominated by the Tories until 1714, easing a guilty Tory conscience after sitting idly through the coup in 1688. However, this placation would alienate the more radical Whigs, who figured the post-1688 government would be progressive, impatiently disregarding their Tory counterparts. This would lead to a small handful of Whig Jacobites, who figured they could have total control over Parliament if they had had an indebted and weak recently restored Catholic king. This was mostly grasping at straws on the part of the most desperate of Whigs, such as Charlwood Lawton and Sir James Montgomery.

The Church of England was put into very precarious situation by the 1688 coup. While the majority of the Anglican Church pledged their allegiance to the usurping monarchs, about two percent of the clergy refused, seemingly a small number. It included the Archbishop of Canterbury and nine other bishops. Their refusal ushered in the nonjuring schism, nonjuring meaning "refusal of oath."[18] This schism would last

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17.Henry L Snyder, "The Last Days of Queen Anne: The Account of Sir John Evelyn Examined." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (1971): 261–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/3816703.
18. TNA : SP 35/65/92 Part 2, Folio 7

arguably until the early nineteenth-century and would be very influential on the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement of John Henry Newman. Emphasis on religion waxed and waned throughout Jacobite history. James III (III in Jacobite succession) was a devout Catholic, which more than likely prevented a Stuart restoration. When Queen Anne died in 1714, James III, "The Old Pretender" (a derogatory name given by Whigs), was given an offer from a group of Jacobites from Oxford. The proposal was that if James converted to Protestantism, they could guarantee his accession to the throne of Great Britain. These Jacobites included Viscount Bolingbroke, Secretary of State for the Southern Department (the predecessor of the Foreign Office). It has even been suggested by various historians that Queen Anne herself was a Jacobite, meaning she desired the throne to pass to her half-brother. Toward the end of her life and reign she sought to overturn the Act of Settlement of 1701 which forbade Catholics from the thrones of Great Britain and Ireland.[19] Of course, the Act of Settlement was not terminated, and James refused to convert to Protestantism. He would write a reply to the Oxford Jacobites in saying, "These are my sentiments, and had I others, or should I act contrary to those I have where is the man of honour that would trust me? And how could my subjects depend upon me or be happy under me, if I should make use of so notorious a hypocrisy to get myself amongst them?"[20]

Welsh Jacobitism is difficult to measure primarily since Wales was subject to England, rather than a constituent realm. Welsh identity had been suppressed for centuries by this point and began to flounder. Thus, in most documents Welsh Jacobites

19. Edward Gregg, "Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?" *History* 57, no. 191 (1972): 358–75, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-229x.1972.tb01272.x.
20. MS Carte 210, ff. 409-10: James's personally written reply to Bolingbroke, Oxford and the English Jacobites refusing to convert to Protestantism, [Bar le Duc] 2/13 March 1714.

are identified by others or themselves as English. There was a period where Welsh

Jacobitism was romanticized in a similar fashion to Scottish Jacobitism, the Welsh

Jacobite was portrayed as Celtic freedom fighters against the tyrannical Anglo-Saxons.

However, there is little to no evidence to substantiate this supposed ideal. Nonetheless,

Wales was rife with Jacobite activity, as evidenced by the vast riots after the death of

Queen Anne, possibly instigated by the Welsh noble, the Third Wynn Baronet, Sir

Watkins William-Wynn. William-Wynn was an ardent Jacobite, going as far as burning a

portrait of George I in 1722. He also headed a very prominent Jacobite Club, the Cycle of

the White Rose (white roses were the most distinct Jacobite symbol). Wales was home to

various clubs dedicated to Jacobitism and would contribute to the cause in several ways.

Jacobite art was an important contribution from Jacobites of all nations, making various

things such as clothing, household items, and less tangible items such as poetry and

songs.[21] Wales was home to many Jacobite artisans who would make these things,

especially poets. David Morgan was one such poet who wrote numerous ballads and

poems dedicated to James III and Charles III.[22] Morgan would fight with the Bonnie

Prince Charlie during the Uprising of '45 and was captured and executed. Some Welsh

nobles such as the Third Wynn Baronet promised support in the case of French support,

but as the French did not seriously support The '45, no major help from Wales came.

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21. Chloe Smith, "The Circulation of Political Things." *The Eighteenth Century* 58, no. 2 (2017): 243–48. https://www.jstor.org/stable/90010497.

22. William Llewellin, David Morgan, the Welsh Jacobite: A Contribution to the History of Jacobitism in Wales. Tenby: R. Mason, 1862.

Ireland

Irish Jacobitism is more straightforward than other strains. Simply put the exiled Stuarts were Catholic and that was cause enough for most Irish to support them. Land was also a crucial issue in Ireland; starting with the first Stuart, James I and VI, the Plantation System began in Northern Ireland. James II began to ease up on his coreligionists through the returning of land to the Irish and loosening up on restrictions imposed by the Anglo establishment, endearing many Irish to his cause. There were a few Irish Protestants who possessed Jacobite sympathies, such as Tory gentry and Episcopalian nonjurors. Irish Protestant support paled in comparison to their Catholic counterparts, however. Irish Jacobites fought valiantly alongside James II at the Battle of the Boyne, only to be abandoned by their king. Irish Jacobite soldiers would affectionately grant James the nickname, "James of the shit."[23] Nonetheless, Irish Jacobite soldiers would spread throughout the Catholic realms of Western Europe, providing thousands of soldiers primarily for France and Spain. They would accrue an acumen for combat that would later aid Jacobite uprisings, particularly in The '15 and The '45. However, Ireland itself would never rise again in support for the exiled Stuarts. Ireland would still provide great Jacobite art and literature which would become cathartic outlets for expression of their Gaelic language. As Jacobitism was an underground movement, it was the perfect realm for an illegal language.

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23. Eamonn O Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause: A Fatal Attachment*. (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002), 88.

The White Rose in the Thicket: Culture, Espionage, and Parliament

Jacobitism was far more than the various uprisings it inspired, from the Boyne to Culloden. It spawned an entire subculture that thrived for nearly a century that defined the social, political, and religious lives of many throughout the British Isles. A Jacobite was not just the Scot from Inverness, or the Englishman from Manchester who fought the government. It was the priest who said prayers for the Stuarts, the Irishmen who dreamt of tolerance, and the Scots deprived of their traditional dynasty and their own parliament. It was pubs that used Jacobite drinking glasses engraved with a white rose and the property owner whose study had white rose wallpaper. The culture of Jacobitism impacted Scotland, Wales, and Ireland more so than England; however, it was still a significant underground subculture in all three kingdoms.

As mentioned in the last section, Jacobitism spawned generations of art. Jacobite wineglasses are some of the more recognizable and valuable Jacobite art in circulation today. They were usually engraved with various symbols of the Stuarts. The symbols would range from the more "discreet" white rose, to initials of the exiled Stuarts, to a telling portrait of the Bonnie Prince Charlie.[24] Many of these glasses are in museums throughout the British Isles today, though many reproductions are kept by modern Jacobite enthusiasts.

Jacobite art was instrumental in giving an avenue for participation in Jacobitism that did not entail picking up a musket. That, or being arrested for sedition for being far too outspoken as a Jacobite sympathizer. Possessing art and performing cryptic rituals

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24. John Shuckburgh Risley, "Jacobite Wine Glasses. Some Rare Examples," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 36, no. 207 (1920): 276–87. http://www.jstor.org/stable/861106.

were a way for ardent Jacobites to let off steam in a way that would not result in physical

harm. Another practice popular primarily in Scotland was the wearing of white gloves,

and inside the cuffs of these gloves was the word "liberty" tailored in red. Other Jacobite

symbols included a medusa head, thistle, oak leaves, and the insignia of the Prince of

Wales. These seemingly inconsequential symbols could easily blend into whatever they

were emblazoned upon. A good example of this is one of the more famous portraits of

Flora Macdonald, perhaps the most prominent woman in Jacobite historical memory. The

portrait seems innocent, something purely to preserve her likeness for all time. However,

like any good art it rewards the inquisitive and learned onlooker: a white rose sprouts out

of her hair.[25]

Music of course is an exceedingly powerful medium for any idea, and Jacobite

musicians produced many great ballads and sonnets. Most Jacobite songs were Scottish

or Irish, and these songs would remain in cultural memory for centuries after the decline

of Jacobitism. One of the better known was "Wha'll be king but Charlie," sung in Scots.

It describes the Bonnie Prince Charlie's leading role during The '45. It became a Scottish

folk song and remains in use until this day. It is an affectionate outpouring of emotions

for Prince Charles singing, "His very name warms our heart's blood; to arms for Royal

Charlie!"[26] While Scottish and Irish songs were more widespread and remembered,

English songs did exist. A very sarcastic anti-Hanoverian hymn was created by an

anonymous song writer only identifying as, "Written by Mr—during his Concealment

after his Escape from—." The dashes represent words being cut out of the original copy

25. Allan Ramsay, Flora Macdonald (oil on canvas), 1749, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/flora-macdonald-142575

26. Caroline Nairne, "Wha'll be king but Charlie?" National Library of Scotland. Accessed October 19, 2022. https://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/archive/91519914

of the song held by the National Archives. The song reflects High Tory attitudes typical

for an English Jacobite, themes of xenophobia, divine right, regality, and special qualities

that only royals possess. The xenophobia is apparent in this particular verse, "No more

shall foreign scum pollute our throne, no longer under such we'll blush & groan, but

Englishmen an English *King* will own."[27]

## Espionage

Cryptology was exceedingly important for Jacobites, or anyone interested in the

cause. It should be remembered that Jacobitism was sorely illegal and those caught

professing it would be tried for either sedition or treason, depending on what exactly

revealed them as Jacobites. Sedition was usually punished by life imprisonment. Treason

was punishable by death, usually by hanging, drawing, and quartering. While the

Enlightenment was one of the more prominent features of the eighteenth century, it was

still a very oppressive age. Somewhat ironically the law that formalized legal procedures

for those accused of sedition was passed by Charles II's Parliament after the Restoration,

a law that would later be cited against his descendant's supporters. The section of the law

most pertinent to Jacobites was, "to levy war against the King, within this realm, or

without," and "to 'move or stir' any foreigner to invade England or any other country

belonging to the King."[28]

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27. TNA: SP 35/40 Folio 179
A Prophetick Congratulatory Hymn to His Sacred
Brittanick Majesty King James the III
Written by Mr—during his Concealment after his Escape from—
O.S & Left at his Lodgings
28. "Charles II, 1661: An Act for Safety and Preservation of His Majestie's Person and Government against Treasonable and Seditious practices and attempts," in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1819), 304-306. *British History Online*, accessed October 19, 2022, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp304-306.

This cryptology would dominate Jacobite culture, enabling compatriots to recognize each other, and to avoid detection. In Scotland certain types of tartan were colored red, green, yellow, navy blue, and white. Known simply as Jacobite tartan, it was a great non-prosecutable expression of loyalty to the exiled Stuarts. Of course, the Hanover government would later outlaw the use of any tartan in the aftermath of The '45.[29]

## Atterbury Plot

This subversive Jacobite society would coalesce into the Atterbury Plot, between the Uprisings of The '15 and The '45, led by the Bishop Francis Atterbury, a High Church Anglican. An interesting aspect of the Atterbury Plot was the varied backgrounds and nationalities of the plotters. Noble and poor, English, Irish, and Scottish, the Plot represented the winding roots that Jacobitism had in the societies of the three kingdoms.

Francis Atterbury was the archetypal High Tory Jacobite, dean of Christ Church College in Oxford, a long time High Churcher, and he refused to back the Hanoverians during The '15. He was also the chief religious advisor to Queen Anne, to whom he was very close. While he did swear allegiance to George I, he probably did so out of an attempt to remedy his career that the Hanoverian succession hampered. However, he was quick to move against the Hanoverians; Atterbury kept in near constant contact with James III and communicated with his court-in-exile, especially the Duke of Mar. The Duke of Mar led the disastrous Uprising of 1715 and was certainly at fault for its failures;

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29. Act of Proscription, 1746, 19 Geo. 2, c. 39.

however he had many connections that were instrumental in moving a Jacobite plot forward.

The other chief plotters included Lord William North and his agent Christopher Layer, Charles Boyne, John Plunket, the Earl of Orrery, and the Reverend George Kelly.[30] Kelly was truly an interesting figure, being one of the few Irish Protestant Jacobites. He was a nonjuring clergyman of the Church of Ireland and remained a dedicated Jacobite. Kelly would escape the Tower of London after the failure of the Atterbury Plot. Later, Kelly would fight in The '45 and served the remainder of his life in the Jacobite court. The goal of the Atterbury conspirators was to take advantage of the failing Whig government under the Earl Stanhope to begin a fresh and energetic rising. The fall of the Stanhope government, the South Sea Company collapsed, which impoverished many investors in the formerly lucrative and influential colonial company. The elections of 1722 were expected to be the catalyst for this new rising. However, rather than rising with the election, the plot disintegrated.

The plot was revealed to the new Walpole government in 1722 by the Duke of Orleans saying that the plotters had requested French aid in a new rising. France was the traditional ally of Jacobitism; however, the Treaty of Utrecht a decade prior normalized relations between the Bourbons and the post-1688 establishment in London. Thus, the Duke of Orleans was more than likely trying to maintain a degree of trust with London. James III's relationship with Louis XV was never as good as it was with his father, Louis

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30. TNA: SP 35/33/146 Folio 241-242
A warrants issued by Lord Carteret permitting access to the [Jacobite] Bishop of Rochester [Francis Atterbury], by: the physician, Dr Friend; the apothecary, Mr Markham; Abraham Birch, for 'scribing'; Temple Stanyan; and Reverend William Ayerst also mentioned.

XIV. That combined with the multiple failures of Jacobite risings over the previous decades meant that France was less enthusiastic for Jacobitism than pre-Utrecht. A new Jacobite rising would certainly be linked to France, and the Duke of Orleans established a plausible deniability for France by informing London. The Duke of Orleans's admission led to Walpole suspending Habeas Corpus and launching a thorough investigation, leading to the arrest of most of the conspirators.[31] Only Christopher Layer was executed, and John Plunket died in the Tower of London. Atterbury was defrocked and exiled, and Lord William North was found innocent of all charges. John Plunket was subject to interrogation, in which he maintained an admirable resilience and did not relinquish the Jacobite network of which he was a proud member and knew much about.[32] While Walpole was largely unsuccessful in his goals of finding all of the plotters guilty of treason, his conduct is revealing of his character. The plotters, as experienced Jacobites, were very secretive, thus very little evidence of their complicity could be found. It may have never been found if not for the Duke of Orleans. Walpole suspended the law and arrested them on suspicions rather than evidence, which was the primary reason most of them walked or ran in the case of Sir Henry Goring.

The aftermath of the plot resulted in the life imprisonment of Kelly, Plunkett, and the execution of Layer. Kelly escaped to France after fourteen years in the Tower. Atterbury also escaped and become the Secretary of State to the Old Pretender. Lord

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31. Paul S Fritz, "The Anti-Jacobite Intelligence System of the English Ministers, 1715-1745." *The Historical Journal* 16, no. 2 (1973): 265–89. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2638312.
32. TNA: SP 35/33/136 Folios 227-228
A further examination of Serjeant Matthew Plunket, of Drum Alley, Drury Lane [London, Middlesex], concerning: his association with Christopher Layer; with John Plunket; about questions John Plunket asked him concerning the proposed Jacobite rebellion involving Francis Atterbury; and about his associates in the army who had been with him in Spain and at the Battle of Preston Lancashire.

North escaped serious charges, but the damage to his reputation caused him to go into exile. However, Walpole did not waver in his hunt for the conspirators and in late 1722, months after the collapse of the plot, a clandestine Parliamentary Committee was established to root out the remaining plotters. The committee attempted to crack the ciphers used by the Jacobites. There was no one Jacobite cipher. They varied heavily depending on the senders and recipients and purpose of writing. The more consequential results of the committee would lie with the 1722 Papists Act. The law sought to force a compromise of beliefs among Jacobites by requiring landowners to swear total allegiance to George I and to abjure James III; failure to do so would result with having to register your properties with the government, which would possibly result in the loss of estates. The government hoped to cause a crisis of conscience among crypto-Jacobites, who ideally would refuse compliance, effectively rearing their heads for the government.[33]

## Propaganda Surrounding Jacobitism

Propaganda has always been an essential facet of undermining institutions and movements, and Jacobitism thrived on propaganda, especially in Scotland and Ireland. As mentioned before, Jacobitism blossomed into a sub-culture in Scotland and Jacobite rhetoric began spreading by means of poetry, art, and paraphernalia. William Hamilton in his *Gladsmuir* wrote passionately of the Jacobite's victory at Prestonpans during The '45: "Rouse, England! rouse, Fame's noblest son, In all thy ancient splendour shine; If I the glorious work begun, O let the crowning palm be thine: I bring a prince, for such is Heav'n's decree, Who overcomes but to forgive and free."[34] Gaelic poetry has a long

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33. Papists Act, 1722, 9 Geo. 1, c. 24.
34. William Hamilton, "Ode on the Battle of Gladsmuir," Stanford Libraries, accessed February 4, 2023. https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/8735325

tradition across Scotland and Ireland, with the first written poetry going back to the Christianization of Ireland. Pamphleteering was very common for supporters and opponents of Jacobitism. The content of Jacobite pamphleteering, just like Jacobitism itself, widely varied depending on the location. Scottish Jacobite pamphleteering centered around the return abolition of the Act of Union (especially prior to 1718) which entailed return of the pre-Union Scottish tax codes, independent Scottish enterprise and commerce, and an independent Scottish parliament. While the core of Scottish Jacobites were Episcopalian, it was never intended to alienate Presbyterians and the Kirk, to which the exiled Stuarts promised tolerance.[35] English pamphleteering focused on English Tory values, emphasizing the primacy of the state church, the Germanness of the Hanoverians, and the divine right of the Stuarts.

Anti-Jacobite propaganda was just as, if not more extensive. Jacobitism had a fragile ideology and network of supporters. As a movement that needed to unite so many disparate groups with centuries of hatred, it was especially vulnerable to prods at pressure points. The Catholicism of the Stuart monarchs was one of the greatest pressure points, especially in England and Scotland. Anti-Catholicism was at least present in some form or another in the average non-Catholic Jacobite. Hating Rome was an important part of the identity of England and Scotland. Whig propagandists would attempt to tap into this inherent contradiction of the movement. While changing the mind of a Jacobite was difficult, reminding the people of the "Popishness" of the pretenders was effective. In 1717 a pamphlet was distributed throughout London that described a hypothetical

35. TNA: SP 54/10/173
A handbill addressed 'to all true-hearted Scotsmen' to restore James Francis Edward to the throne, 1 January 1715

Jacobite victory during 1715, and shows the royal procession of James III (Old

Pretender), Pope Clement XI, and Satan in London. Whig fears of a Jacobite victory were

described in a fictitious speech given in the pamphlet, "Thus let our Sov'raign Triump

o're his Foe, And Rome and Hell's dark Stratagems expose. These breathless Sacrifices

serve to shew. What in Defence of LIBERTY we'd do. Oh LIBERTY! Whilst ev'ry real

Protestant, that draws. His Breath in Liberty, secur'd by Laws, Times with one Voice in

general Applause."[36] Whig propaganda saw much more success in London, and England

in general, than the other kingdoms. Of course, the Jacobite pamphleteers did not have

the luxury of government patronage or legality.

Indeed, propaganda was always at the root of the Jacobite-Government battle.

One of the major controversies with the waning years of James II's rule was the

legitimacy of his heir, the later Old Pretender. Rumors abounded about the fertility of

James II and his wife, Mary of Modena. When James Francis Edward Stuart (The Old

Pretender) was born, it sparked a succession controversy not only because he was to be

raised Catholic, but more importantly because of the accusation that he was suspected to

be illegitimate. Rumors circulated that he was either not the son of James II, or that he

was not the legitimate child of either parent, that James was delivered as a sham heir in a

"warming pan." Where these rumors originated from is debated; however once William

of Orange took the throne shortly after James' birth, William immediately capitalized on

these rumors, especially the warming pan myth, as this was the most damning of all.[37]

William even hired William Fuller, a notorious imposter who was associated with the

36. John Read, *An Account on the Whole Procession* (London: J. Baker in Pater-Noster-Row, 1717), 7.
37. Margaret Steele, "Anti-Jacobite Pamphleteering, 1701-1720." *The Scottish Historical Review* 60, no. 170 (1981): 140–55. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25529418.

progenitor of the Popish Plot, Titus Oates. William Fuller can be described as a professional liar. He initially served Queen Mary, but as the tides changed against her and in James' II favor, he defected to William. He spent time in prison for giving fake accounts of Jacobite plots during the 1690s. He was constantly cycling between free and imprisoned life; however, King William found use in this professional liar to be the means of conveying the rumors about the legitimacy of James Francis Edward Stuart.[38]

Portraiture was one of the most effective means of conveying Jacobite propaganda. portraits of James Francis Stuart and the princes were full of symbolism and used as pillars of authority. Many portraits were distributed throughout the courts of Europe and the gentry of the British Isles. The events of The '45 saw the creation of some of the most famous pieces of Jacobite propaganda. Allan Ramsay was a famous eighteenth-century Scottish painter, known for many notable portraits of George III, Queen Charlotte, John Burgoyne, and others. However, one of his most controversial pieces was the so called "*Lost Portrait of Bonnie Prince Charlie.*" During The '45 Bonnie Prince Charlie took up residence in Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh; Ramsay visited Holyrood and painted the first portrait of a Stuart done in their homeland since before 1688. With victory in mind the portrait was intended to be the official royal portrait of Charles Edward Stuart, and it became a standard symbol of Jacobite paraphernalia for decades after. The portrait exhibits the personality of the Bonnie Prince through his stern yet pensive look. The Bonnie Prince bears the pin of the Order of the Garter, and the Order of the Thistle to show his legitimate claim to the crowns of England

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38. John Hutchinson, *Men of Kent and Kentishmen: A Manual of Kentish Biography*. (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 207.

and Scotland, respectively.[39] As is so often in history this portrait was eventually lost for roughly two and a half centuries. During that period of obscurity, Charles' likeness was actually a portrait of his brother, Henry Benedict Stuart, "Cardinal Duke of York." French painter Maurice Quentin de la Tour painted the portrait of Henry, though a beautiful piece that depicted Henry as a knight-like figure of glory, was not Charles.[40] The portrait of Henry represented Charles in many Jacobite objects, snuff cans, drinking glasses, and home engravings. The Scottish National Portrait Gallery held the portrait of Henry with the belief it was Charles for decades until the art historian, Bendor Grosvenor discovered it was actually Henry in 2009.[41] Grosvenor greatly desired to find a replacement for Charles iconic portrayal and found the portrait by Ramsay stowed away in Gosford House in 2013. Ramsay's portrait is now held in the Scottish National Gallery. The portraits most famous engravings began with Robert Strange, who, unlike Ramsay, was a dedicated Jacobite for the majority of his life. Strange actually fought for the Jacobites during The '45 and went into exile after Culloden. Eventually Strange relinquished his Jacobite beliefs and accepted Hanoverian rule; however during his time as a Jacobite he refused to make an engraving of most notably Frederik, Prince of Wales (eldest son of George II), and other notable members of the Hanoverian court.[42]

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39. Allan Ramsay, *Prince Charles Edward Stuart, 1720 - 1788. Eldest Son of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart*, Oil on canvas, 1745, National Galleries Scotland, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/154566/prince-charles-edward-stuart-1720-1788-eldest-son-prince-james-francis-edward-stuart.
40. Maurice Quentin de la Tour, Prince Henry Benedict Clement Stuart, 1725 - 1807. Cardinal York; younger brother of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Pastel on paper, 1746/7, National Galleries Scotland, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/36356/prince-henry-benedict-clement-stuart-1725-1807-cardinal-york-younger-brother-prince-charles-edward.
41. Auslan Cramb, "Gallery Admits Portrait Is Not Bonnie Prince Charlie," *The Telegraph*, December 2009.
42. James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange V1*. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), 272.

Conclusion

Jacobitism truly cannot be called a Scottish or English movement, nor even solely a British movement. It cannot be described solely as a political, dynastic, or social movement either. Jacobitism is certainly an enigma that takes different forms depending on its location and followers. While they were all united in the belief that the exiled Stuarts should have their crowns returned to them, the inherent contradictions of the movement would have even questioned how many crowns that would be, one, two, or three. Followers of Jacobitism essentially joined a subculture once fully inducted into the web of Jacobite networks and intricacies. This subculture maintained a certain distinctiveness that allowed their particular expression of Jacobitism and conspicuousness among fellow travelers.

Nonetheless Jacobitism presented a present danger to the British government, a rebellious and incalculable movement that sought to overthrow the order established by the Revolution of 1688. Walpole constantly maintained a large network of agents to track Jacobite activity, from English Jacobite gentleman clubs, to Scottish Jacobite smugglers. As an underground movement the Jacobites excelled at espionage, especially with their international channels that could be used as extra sources of information and means of escaping prosecution. Soft power was almost always the greatest source of Jacobite strength, something the Stuart court-in-exile understood very well and exercised as often as possible.

## Chapter II – *Jacobitism in the Tory-Whig Rivalry*

Backgrounds of the Original Political Parties

The formation of Britain's first "formal" political parties and the Jacobite cause were intrinsically tied to the same set of events; it can be said they were nursed in the same cradle. This event was known as the Glorious Revolution of 1688 by Whigs or more simply as the Revolution or the usurpation by the Tories. Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites can arguably trace their roots back to the Stuart succession in England of James VI of Scotland, but more particularly to James' son, Charles I and the Civil War of his reign.

Due to a variety of factors the Stuarts were far less accustomed to the parliamentary tethering exercised in England. While Scotland had possessed a parliament since 1235, its influence over the crown of Scotland was far less pronounced than that which the English Parliament had over the English Crown. In many ways it was similar to the French Estates-General: it contained three estates representing the most influential sectors of society. The first estate was the clergy, the second the nobility, and the third the burghers of the cities. Also, as in France this Scottish Parliament was not seen as the ultimate arbiter of authority in the nation, as was the case in England. That power would ultimately de-jure lie with a powerful monarch. The operative word is powerful; as there were various weaker monarchs of Scotland who would become subject to the whims of their parliament.[43] However, this Scottish Parliament should be seen more as a council of

43. National Records of Scotland Web Team. National Records of Scotland. National Records of Scotland, May 31, 2013. https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/research-guides/research-guides-a-z/scottish-parliament-records.

powerful gentry and individuals of wealth who would puppeteer their monarch, rather than a popularly elected body with checks and balances that we would associate with a parliament today.

Further, the Stuarts did not embrace the Reformation until the ascension of James VI to the throne of Scotland, despite their Scottish subjects, noble and peasant, having long embraced Presbyterianism. James never met his Catholic mother Mary; thus he was tutored by Presbyterians and would later convert to Anglicanism in order to assume the role of the Supreme Head of the Church as demanded by the crown of England. Though James I was never Catholic, the "shadow" of Catholicism never fully left his family. Charles I would marry a devout French Catholic, Henrietta Maria, much to the dismay of his Protestant subjects, especially the Puritans. Charles I was suspected of being a crypto-Catholic; while there is no evidence of this, he was a dedicated High Churcher. In the eyes of the Puritans he was making the Anglican Church into a Roman temple rather than a "proper Christian church." After the Restoration, Charles II became something of a crypto-Catholic by promising the King of France in exchange for military aid that he would convert to Catholicism. Charles II later threw off the veneer and converted to Catholicism shortly before his death, but since he did not rule as a Catholic, it was a politically benign action.[44] This flirtation with Catholicism would become consummated through James II's conversion to Catholicism in 1668. Aside from theological differences, English concerns over a Catholic monarch lay in the absolutist style of rule exercised by Catholic monarchs, especially by the French monarch. Anti-Catholicism

44. Nathan Harkey, The Political Consequences of King Charles II's Catholic Sympathies in Restoration England. 6. Vol. 6. Searcy, (Arkansas: Harding University, 2017), 50.

often manifested in England as a fear of Catholic political power, rather than theological disputes.

When James II (then Duke of York) refused to cooperate with the oaths demanded by the Test Act, a law that forbade Roman Catholics from holding any public office[45], his Catholicism became known throughout England. This controversy culminated in the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-1681. The two sides of the controversy formally became the Tories and the Whigs. The Whigs sought to disinherit James, Duke of York, over his Catholicism and further the Test Act into legislation that would bar Roman Catholics from the Crown of England.[46]

Tories believed Parliament had no right to determine the God-ordained succession of the Crown. The Tories could trace their roots back to the Royalists (Cavaliers) of the Civil War. They tended to be High Church Anglicans, opposed to standing armies, owners of rural agrarian estates, and protectionist (mercantilist) in economic principles. Tories sought to curb the reach of Parliament and ensure the monarchs possessed what Tories considered their "God-given right to rule." The Whigs, briefly known as the "country party," were a collection of classically liberal English. They tended to believe in the primacy of Parliament, free trade enterprise, and desired more restrictions on Roman Catholics, and more tolerance for non-Anglican Protestants (non-conformists). However, the character of the two parties would shift over time. Initially the Whigs would be protectionist, especially in opposing free trade with France, which they saw as especially

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45. An Act for the more effectual preserving the Kings Person and Government by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament, 25 Car. II. c. 2.
46. *Grey's Debates of the House of Commons: Volume 6*. Edited by Anchitell Grey. London: T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt 1769. *British History Online*, accessed November 5, 2022, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/greys-debates/vol6 402.

damaging to the English market. It was even a Tory Parliament which passed the Act of Settlement in 1701 due to a general satisfaction with William and Mary.

The Whigs would seize on a fabrication that described a Catholic plot to assassinate James's brother, Charles II, known as the "Popish Plot." Many Whigs sought to disband the army in England out of fear of reprisals from James, Duke of York. As noted in the commons debate of the Parliament of 1679: "This Army is a limb of Popery, set up by this great Minister, who is not yet quite out of the way."[47] James conversion to Catholicism fostered this fabricated plot, with the popular narrative being that James wanted his brother dead in order to take the thrones for himself to reinstate Catholicism. Stirring memories of the Gunpowder Plot, this lie would result in a delirium of anti-Catholic hysteria that would eventually be curbed. The progenitor of this lie, Titus Oates, would be caught and tried and sentenced for perjury. This hysteria would contribute to the far more consequential Exclusion Crisis over the issue of Catholic succession in the three kingdoms.[48]

As James II did not lose his birthright in 1679, the Exclusion Crisis would be a short-term victory for the Tories and James II. Significantly, it did see the formalization of habeas corpus. It would be used to protect the Whigs who attempted to disinherit James. Merely three years later, James II would be deposed by the Whigs and their Dutch allies under William of Orange after James II sired a Catholic heir. This "Glorious Revolution" created the Jacobite movement out of the Tories who supported James's

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47. "Debates in 1679: March 26th-30th," in *Grey's Debates of the House of Commons: Volume 7*, ed. Anchitell Grey (London: T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, 1769), 55-67, *British History Online*, accessed November 8, 2022, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/greys-debates/vol7/pp55-67
48. John P Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London: Phoenix, 2000), 14.

succession for a second time. For the first decade after 1688, Tory and Jacobite had very similar definitions; only later did the terms separate, although they remained closely tied for much of Jacobite history. However, as discussed in the previous chapters, Jacobitism would become a movement that encompassed the other kingdoms James ruled, even beyond the British Isles, that would transcend Toryism, though stay closely associated with it.

<div align="center">Whigs and Jacobitism</div>

Though the Whig party formed as an opposition to what would become Jacobitism, their relationship with Jacobitism and the Stuart exiles is more complicated than at face value. Earlier Whigs (1688-1710) possessed a different character than later Whigs, meaning that many early Whigs were upper gentry, rather than the enterprising middle class later associated with Whiggism. The term "Whig" derives from an abbreviation of a slur for the Scottish Covenanters in the Civil War, but later came into colloquial English usage through the Exclusion Crisis. Most historians credit this shift in usage to the Whigs' support for non-conformist Protestants (in the case of the original usage, Presbyterians), as opposed to the Torie's support for a High-Church style Anglicanism.[49]

During the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, the Whigs chafed under a measurable Tory opposition. William and Mary, and then Anne, would cater to the Tories as they supported a monarch's ability to intervene in parliamentary procedures. From 1688 to 1715 the Whigs enjoyed a healthy competition with the Tories. However, the

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49. Robert Willman, "The Origins of 'Whig' and 'Tory' in English Political Language," *The Historical Journal* 17, no. 2 (1974): 247–64, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2638297.

accession of the Hanoverian dynasty in 1714, and the defeat of the Jacobite Rising of 1715, dealt the Tories a major blow due to outward and secretive collusion with the Jacobites. The period that ensued is known as the Whig Supremacy. From 1715 to 1760 the Whig Party had near absolute control over the government, with much of this period dominated by Robert Walpole and his circle. To this day Walpole is still the longest serving prime minister at twenty years, though not every term was consecutive. [50]

The period of Whig Supremacy saw a shattering of Tory control in any area the government could intervene in. Whig enthusiasm for and near unwavering loyalty towards the Hanoverian succession was chiefly behind Whig success. Hanoverian patronage allowed the Church of England, professorships, and nearly all government appointments to be staffed solely with Whigs. Though the Rising of 1715 destroyed Tory control, the writing was on the wall by the time of the Hanoverian succession. During George I's voyage to London to be crowned, a regency council was established for the time before his arrival. Of the eighteen Lord Justices chosen to be on this council, fourteen were Whigs, and only four Tories.[51] The Tory-led government under Robert Harley collapsed in 1714, and another Tory-led government would not be seen until the Bute ministry in 1762. The successor to this regime was a Whig ministry led by former opposition leader James Stanhope, and up-and-coming politician and country gentleman, Robert Walpole.

The Rising of 1715 was a direct response to the Hanoverian succession the year prior. It was led by disaffected English and Scottish Tories who refused to swear

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50. Alexander Charles Ewald, Sir Robert Walpole: A Political Biography. 1676-1745. (London, 1878), 15.
51. Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760*, Edited by C. H. Stuart. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 153.

allegiance to the German dynasty. General enthusiasm for George I was negligible at best throughout the British Isles. However, to many people he was better than a Catholic monarch, or their toleration for the Hanoverians outweighed the effort it would take to commit to the Jacobite cause. The Hanoverian succession and the Whig's sweeping purge against Tory leadership caused demonstrations throughout the Tory strongholds in England, such as Oxford and Staffordshire. These demonstrations erupted into violence that was directed towards Whigs and non-conformists. Powerful Tories within newly united Great Britain such as the Earl of Mar, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Earl of Strathmore were prepared to start a rising.  James III himself said, "I think it is more than ever, now or never."[52] However, James "III" (also known as the Old Pretender by Whigs) is generally regarded as having been extremely incompetent, and would give the most counsel to those who would tell him what he desired to hear.

James's illegitimate half-brother the Duke of Berwick was not enthusiastic nor supportive of a potential Jacobite rising, and thus refused to lead Jacobite forces in The '15. Had the Duke of Berwick reconsidered and led the Jacobite army rather than the green Earl of Mar, the Jacobites may have succeeded. James III also desired the Duke of Marlborough to lead his armies, but the Duke was not a Jacobite. James III thought his past loyalties to his father, James II, would stir the passions in the Duke, however the Duke abandoned his father during 1688. James III would land in Scotland in December 1715, though his stay would be embarrassingly short. He arrived after the defeats at Prestons and Sheriffmuir; although Sheriffmuir was not technically a defeat, the lack of

52. James III Letter to the Duke of Berwick from, Stanhope, Philip Henry. History of England: From the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713-1783, 1836.

victory meant the same thing.[53] Nonetheless, the atmosphere throughout 1715 was ripe

for a Jacobite rising. The rising would end disastrously for the Jacobites and the Tories.

The '15 possessed far more potential than The '19 or The '45 for a variety of reasons.

The Hanoverians were still complete strangers to the throne; George I barely spoke

English initially.[54] While the Act of Settlement made it well-known that the Hanoverians

would inherit the throne, the reality was much different than the expectation. This was

especially true in Scotland, the ancestral home of the Stuarts. This was evidenced in the

Battle of Sheriffmuir where the Jacobites outnumbered the government twelve thousand

to six thousand[55]. Though the Jacobites enjoyed the largest numerical advantage they

would ever enjoy, the incompetence of Mar led to defeat. To many in Britain, the mask

was now off, and the Tories were exposed as the treasonous Jacobites they were.

The last Tory leader in government before the Whig Ascension, Robert Harley

was imprisoned in the Tower of London; his successor Bolingbroke had fled to France.

The devastation of the Tories was evident in the general elections of 1715, with 372

Whigs being elected and only 186 Tories.[56] While many Whigs would have made an

equivalency between Jacobites and Tories, this was by no means the case. As the Whigs

achieved dominance and internal factions formed, Whigs allied with various Hanoverian

Tories. This especially was the case during the Era of Walpole, and the anti-Walpole

53. James Sandilands, Lord Torpichen. *TNA: Coppie of Lord Torphichen's Letter*, 1714.
54. Ragnhild Marie Hatton, *George I.* (New Haven, Conn. etc.: Yale University Press, 2001), 68.
55. John L. Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars: Scotland and the Military Campaigns of 1715 and 1745* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctvxcrqws. 32.
56. Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), 149.

Country Party Whigs would align with Tories during basically the entirety of Walpole's tenures.

However, the Whig Ascension was not met with harmony. A rift within the Whig Party itself formed in 1717 between Stanhope and Walpole. Stanhope represented the government Whigs while Walpole represented the opposition Whigs; and this would become known as the Whig Split. The Whig Split was celebrated by the Fourth Earl of Barrymore, James Barry, a Jacobite Tory MP: "They minded indeed strengthening themselves to carry on private piques and getting as much money as they could, but I have observed that when such people fall out, and and then some good con of it, so it may prove now."[57] Stanhope became a yes-man for George I and would travel with George I on his summer sojourns to Hanover. Anyone who could secure their place at George's side during this trip was given an opportunity to win over his patronage. Stanhope's willingness to blindly follow George would lead to Stanhope's severe unpopularity. According to the Act of Settlement, the independent interests of the Electorate of Hanover would never be the responsibility of Britain.[58] This would come to a head during the Great Northern War primarily between Russia and Sweden. Hanover desired the Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden in northwestern Germany. Stanhope enthusiastically supported George I in this effort.[59] Back in Britain power lay primarily with Walpole and Lord Townshend, who vehemently opposed this act.

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57. TNA: SP 44/104/46 Cox, M. "Sir Roger Bradshaigh and the electoral management of Wigan', *Bulletin of John Rylands Library* xxxvii. 120-64; Lodge, *Irish Peerage* i 309-12.
58. Act of Settlement, 1701, 12 and 13 Will. 3, c. 2.
59. Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760* (Edited by C. H. Stuart. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 167.

A break between King George I and his son, Prince George (the future George II), would coincide with the Whig Split. Clashes between the reigning monarch and the Prince of Wales were a common theme throughout the eighteenth century. Factions supporting George I and Prince George tended to fall along the lines of the Whig Split, as seen with Stanhope with George I in Hanover, and Walpole and Townshend with Prince George. This would go as far as Townshend's being sacked from his leading role in the Northern Department (precursor to the Foreign Office) due to his lack of support for British involvement in the Great Northern War. However, Townshend was brother-in-law to Walpole and his supporters would threaten to, and then resign from government. While Walpole had made a name for himself by 1717, the coming collapse of the South Sea Company transformed his career to become the longest sitting Prime Minister in British history.

The South Sea Company was formed as a private company in 1711 under the direction of Tory leader Robert Harley. Its purpose was to trade in South America, but from its inception it was a corruption scheme. The company promoted an idea that citizens could buy company stock that would be used to pay off government debt. Harley and his cadre sold the idea that the company would become the conveyor of the British economy and that it would become the most profitable company in the world. With Harley leading Parliament, the company was allowed free reign. By 1718 the majority of British citizens had invested to some degree in the company. Not only average citizens, but the majority of Parliament was involved in the scheme.[60] Overconfidence in the company would peak in 1720 when stock price increased from a hundred pounds to a

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60. John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (Whitefish, MA: Literary Licensing Books, 2011), 52-63.

thousand pounds in a matter of months. This caused frenzy buying, but by the end of

1720 the price dropped back to one hundred. Bankruptcies from buying stocks through

credit and other types of loans occurred throughout the country. An investigation was

immediately commenced as faith in the economy of Britain plummeted though, the

majority of Parliament was involved in the scheme, Robert Walpole was not. Walpole

kept his hands clean throughout the whole affair and was the only man George I could

rely on as a statesmen with a clean reputation. Walpole would lead the investigation, but

he would create a large cabinet of loyalists by pardoning the majority of the schemers of

the South Sea Bubble.

## Tories and Jacobitism

According to their Whig rivals, the Tories were an arm of Jacobitism that

extended into the government. While there was slight truth in the Whig assumption, it

was not the entire truth. Though Jacobitism was generally more ideologically sound for

Tories, pragmatism was a strong force in keeping many Tories on the Hanoverian

payroll. The Tories had many disgraceful events after the Hanoverian ascension, such as

the Rising of 1715 and the Atterbury Plot. These combined with a lack of patronage from

George I, resulted in the near collapse of the Tory party. However, they retained a great

deal of influence and leverage, though relegated to mere allies of pragmatic Whig

factionalists. For example, Walpole would ally with many Hanoverian Tories in the wake

of the collapse of the South Sea Bubble.[61] This trend would continue for the duration of

the Whig Supremacy. The more the Whig Party grew, the more factions it would spawn

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61. Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760* (Edited by C. H. Stuart. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 183.

as a bloated and increasingly big-tent party. The extent the Tories were involved with Jacobitism from the 1720s to 1745 is heavily debated. While Toryism and Jacobitism were certainly distinct enough to be two separate ideologies, there was an intensive crossover between the two. However, as both terms covered large and diverse areas, crossover would vary greatly depending on time and location. Irish Jacobitism had almost nothing in common with English Toryism for example, though they would sometimes find themselves fighting alongside each other. Toryism and Jacobitism would both change shape throughout the eighteenth century, with both taking on different forms in the Uprising of 1715 and the Uprising of 1745. These changes would sometimes come as reactions to their opponents or as innovations by reform-minded believers. While eighteenth-century British politics is usually associated with Whig dominance, the Tories remained an important minority player in Parliament, often being the decisive force in inter-Whig power plays.

Like any political party, the Tories suffered infighting and disagreements, but what united Tories were their belief in an indisputable royal succession. This was especially pertinent regarding the Hanoverians as Tory identity was intrinsically tied to the House of Stuart. Along with Anglicanism, Tory identity was derived from the Royalists of the Civil War. Accepting a non-Stuart dynasty was thus exceedingly difficult for Tories. Of course, some did not and moved to the Jacobite camp of the Tory Party. While this would seem the least compromising move for the Tories from a dynastic point of view, the question of Catholicism presented itself as a barrier for many Tories. While British society was characterized by vehement anti-Catholicism (rather known as popery to them) the Tories were often the most fervent supporters of the Anglican Church. This

was brought to the surface during the waning years of James II's rule. James worked to provide tolerance not only for Roman Catholicism, but for Protestant non-conformists. Tories would regard this as a blatant attack against their state church, causing some Tories to support the Revolution.[62]

Tory traditionalism would take perhaps its most radical form with High Toryism, "high" deriving from the "high church" and "low church" designations within Anglicanism. The Great Awakening ushered in evangelicalism into Anglicanism through figures like George Whitefield, who would establish Methodism. The participants of the Awakening would seek to remove the last vestiges of what they saw as popery from the Anglican Church. In effect they desired to remove the formalities that came with a traditional Anglican service, which was similar to the Catholic mass. High Toryism sought to double down on the Apostolic traditions of their state church, echoing the intentions of Henry VIII to establish a church that was Catholic, but not Roman. High Toryism encompassed more than ecclesiastical positions; in nearly many ways they amplified what they perceived the ideal Cavalier to be. While Lockean Liberalism was becoming entrenched in British identity, High Tories opposed nearly every tenet of it. High Tories opposed standing armies, international ventures, and taxes on land. Of all the ideological factions of Toryism, High Tories would see the most intimate involvement with Jacobitism. [63]

Prior to the Whig ascendancy the Tories held a considerable degree of power, especially under Queen Anne. From the time after the Revolution of 1688 the Tories and

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62. John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship*. (London: Methuen Publishing Ltd, 1989), 107.
63. Linda Colley, *In Defiance of Oligarchy: The Tory Party, 1714-60* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1985) 50.

Whigs enjoyed a relatively equal playing field in Parliament and on other grounds. Tories

enjoyed the patronage of King William as he desired their support in the form of their

ideological disposition for a strong executive power. Queen Anne herself was said to

have been ideologically a Tory, and the party enjoyed her patronage as well. However,

from 1688 to 1714 the Tories and Whigs had to begrudgingly work together; especially

through the coalition government of the Godolphin-Marlborough ministry from 1707 (the

first unified British government post-Act of Union) to 1710.[64] The governments prior to

Walpole are less recognizable and less straightforward than how British governments are

structured today. Since Walpole essentially established the office of prime minster,

governments prior were led by various high ministers, such as the Chancellor of the

Exchequer or the Lord High Treasurer. John Churchill, the Lord Marlborough, and

Sidney Godolphin, Earl Godolphin, were both Tories; however the government was

comprised primarily of Tories.  The jockeying for power between the two parties would

quickly become one-sided with the ascension of George I and the uncovering of the

Atterbury Plot in 1722.

<div align="center">Case Studies of Jacobite Tories</div>

During the period of the Whig Supremacy many Tories turned towards

Jacobitism, though it is heavily debated to what extent this was done. It is inaccurate to

designate the Tories as a purely Jacobite party, as Hanoverian Tories made up the core of

the party. The Hanoverian Tory base allowed the party to continue functioning, as

Jacobite Tories tended to be severely alienated by the Whig governments throughout the

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64. Henry L. Snyder, *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*. I. Vol. I. II vols. (Oxford University Press, 1975), 81.

1720s-1740s. However, Jacobite Tories were still very numerous and at times influential.

Though it can be difficult to acquire a precise measurement on Tory-Jacobite collusion

and crossover due to the clandestine nature of Jacobitism, historians have utilized the

Stuart Papers and other documents to make various hypotheses.[65] Some Jacobite Tories

made their loyalties as clear as they could without incurring the wrath of the law.

Usually, these men were rich gentry who could avoid being prosecuted for treason, short

of overtly supporting a Jacobite rising. These MPs usually came from rural boroughs,

such as in northern Wales or rural England (e.g. Lancashire or Oxford). Their dedication

to the cause waxed and waned throughout the 1720s-1740s. When Scotland rose against

Westminster in The '45, their Jacobite brethren in the south remained largely quiet. This

is remarkable considering there were many active covert Jacobites south of Hadrian's

Wall during the 1720s and 1730s.

Among these notable Jacobite Tories were Sir John Hynde Cotton, Third Baronet;

Sir Watkins William Wynn, Third Baronet; John Boyle, Fifth Earl of Cork; James Barry,

Fourth Earl of Barrymore; Thomas Carte; Samuel Johnson; and Charles Somerset, Fourth

Duke of Beaufort. Most of these men besides Johnson and Boyle sat in Parliament as

Jacobite Tories. These men were primarily active throughout the 1720s and 1730s; the

only one of these men to participate in The '45 was James Barry. They serve as examples

of the breadth of Jacobitism throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Most of them were

wealthy gentry who helped spread Jacobite propaganda, participated in Jacobite

underground society, and sometimes supported overtures with France to support a

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65. Ian R. Christie, "The Tory Party, Jacobitism and the 'Forty-Five: A Note." *The Historical Journal* 30, no. 4 (1987): 921–31. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0018246x0002238x. 924.

Jacobite invasion. A brief look into their lives is useful, as they possessed a diverse range

of motives that led them to Jacobitism. Unreliability was common across all of these

men, but not due to a lack of character. Most of these men were landed gentry with deep

familial ties to the nation; they all possessed a certain reputation they had to uphold. Post-

1715 pessimism was a common theme across Jacobites. Failure after failure, coupled

with loss of serious foreign support, led to a lack of willingness for any well-to-do

Jacobites to commit to anything beyond clandestine activity and discreet posturing.[66]

They learned from the exiles of Bolingbroke and Atterbury that lack of flexibility in their

loyalties could very well lead to ruination of image, finances, and loss of home.

Sir Watkins William Wynn was the most well-known Welsh Jacobite. He was of

a long line of Welsh aristocrats. The family had a tradition of the head of the dynasty

bearing the name "Watkins William Wynn," with the Third Baronet being the particular

Watkins William Wynn who was an ardent Jacobite. Sir Watkins enjoyed a successful

political career, sitting in Parliament from 1716-1749. As was common with politically

active Tories, he was a graduate of Jesus College in Oxford. Sir Watkins was in many

ways the stereotypical Tory: he was landed gentry who was a dedicated High Churcher.

Sir Watkins consistently opposed any measure of religious tolerance in Great Britain. In

1736 radical Whigs attempted to repeal the Test Act and other religiously restrictive

bills.[67] These laws restricted Catholics, yet Sir Watkins supported the Catholic House of

Stuart. Situations like this show the diversity and contradictions in Toryism and

Jacobitism. Nonetheless Sir Watkins was an ardent Jacobite who founded a Welsh

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66. Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45*. (London: Duckworth, 1979), 21.
67. Stephen Taylor, "Sir Robert Walpole, the Church of England, and the Quakers Tithe Bill of 1736." *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 1 (1985): 51–77. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0018246x00002211. 52.

Jacobite club, the Cycle of the White Rose (discussed in the previous chapter). Sir Watkins became the leader of the Tory Jacobites in Parliament after the death of Sir William Wyndham, who succeeded Lord Bolingbroke after the failure of the Atterbury Plot. He would serve in this capacity until his death in 1749. Though he lived to see The '45, like many English Jacobites, his support depended on the assurance of a French invasion on behalf of the exiled Stuarts. Thus, he was inactive during The '45. The Old Pretender sent Colonel Arthur Brett to gather a report on notable reported Jacobites throughout England, in his report he extolled Watkins above all others in their devotion to the cause, "Watkins Williams is hearty and may certainly be depended on."[68]

Sir John Hynde Cotton was perhaps the most active of all English Jacobites throughout the eighteenth century. Like Sir Watkins he led a very successful political career. He sat in the House of Commons for forty-four years while leading a very complicated political career. While usually a Jacobite, he would eagerly work with Hanoverian Tories and Whigs with regularity. He was a constant rival to Robert Walpole, who accused Cotton of being the secretary of state to the Jacobite pretender. While this was not true, Cotton did swear allegiance to James Francis Stuart (James III) in 1740 and intended to sit on the regency council that would be established in preparation for the arrival of what would have been King James III. Ideologically Cotton was a mixed bag. While he was not a non-juring High Tory, he was never quite satisfied with Hanoverian rule. However, he went to great lengths to disguise his Jacobitism, as one naturally would. Cotton closely aligned himself to Frederick, the Prince of Wales (eldest son of George II) after Cotton's near discovery of collusion with The '45. Due to this,

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68. Stuart mss. 221/109 and 131

discovering the root of one of the most enigmatic Jacobites in English history is a very difficult task that demands inquisitive discernment. [69]

Born in 1686, two years prior to the Revolution of 1688, Cotton was the eldest son of the Second Cotton Baronet. He was born into and remained in the High Church-style of worship of the Anglican communion. In 1714 he married Lettice Crowley, a woman from a middle-class family. Her father Ambrose sold tools as a trade. They were married in the High Church St. Mary's Cathedral in London. Cotton was well respected by his peers, regardless of their political persuasion. Son of Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole wrote fondly, "had wit and the faithful attendant of wit, ill nature; and was the greatest master of the arts of the House, where he seldom made but short speeches, having a stammering in his elocution, which however he knew how to manage with humour."[70] Though described as the most zealous English Jacobite, Cotton was described by Colonel Brett as self-serving. Nonetheless, he was an integral part of English Jacobitism and of the Tory Party in general. As Horace Walpole noted, Cotton possessed a strong mind that translated well into orating; he was often regarded as the best Tory speaker in the House of Lords.

Charles Somerset, Fourth Earl of Beaufort, was another prominent Jacobite Tory, sometimes also referred to as the Lord Noel Somerset. He was a typical English Jacobite, whose Tory interests put him in a paradoxical situation. He voted along with Watkins Wynn when the Whigs attempted to repeal the Test Acts, but also like Watkins,

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69. Gabriel Glickman, "The Career of Sir John Hynde Cotton (1686-1752)." *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 4 (2003): 817–41. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4091597. 821.

70. Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Second*. (London: Henry Colburn, publisher, Great Marlborough Street, 1846), 33.

supported a claimant whose personal religion was Catholicism. Somerset was instrumental in the Tory-Opposition Whig battle against Prime Minister Walpole. He was an MP in the House of Commons from 1731 to 1745. After the death of his brother, he became the Duke of Beaufort and entered the House of Lords in 1745. Both Somerset brothers were Jacobites and throughout the early 1740s maintained communication with the French court to gain their support in an uprising. However, as no French support came, Somerset remained quiet, apart from empty assurances, in The '45.[71]

Samuel Johnson is usually known for his contribution to literature and lexicography; however, he was also a staunch Tory and Jacobite, only supporting the House of Hanover with the accession of George III. Johnson wrote the standard dictionary for the English language that remained the standard until 1884 with the publication of the Oxford English Dictionary. While that was arguably his greatest achievement, the was also very politically active and a devout Anglican. His convictions were contemporarily well known, and he was regarded as a intense man, an image he enjoyed furthering. Johnson's intensity was put on display in artistic portrayals, which show concentration, with a stern and contemplative look sprawled across his face.[72] His portraits are certainly unusual for the century and drive home his character.

While politically not a Tory, nor gentry, Thomas Carte was integral to English Jacobitism. Born in 1686, his family had a long history of loyalty to the Stuarts, and like

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71. Eveline Cruickshanks, "Somerset, Lord Charles Noel (1709-56). | History of Parliament Online." Accessed January 31, 2023. https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/somerset-lord-charles-noel-1709-56.

72. Fig. 1, Joshua Reynolds, Portrait of Samuel Johnson ("Blinking Sam"), oil on canvas, 1775, The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, https://emuseum.huntington.org/objects/48194/portrait-of-samuel-johnson-blinking-sam

many English Jacobites, he was enamored with the memory of King Charles I. He delivered a sermon while he was a reader that defended Charles I against the accusation that Charles supported the Ulster Rebellion of 1641. Later, when he was ordained in 1714, he joined the non-juror faction of Anglican clergy. Carte became closely tied to the Tory Jacobite gentry, and most importantly became secretary to Bishop Atterbury and he played an intrinsic role in the Atterbury Plot. His discovery in 1722 led him to flee to France, but he maintained connections with Jacobites and he is the source of many letters preserved from the 1740s. He described the breakdown of cooperation between opposition Whigs and Tories in 1741: "Was set on foot by the Duke of Argyll and the party of the Old Whigs without either concerting measures with the Tories or acquainting them with the matter, so that when it was moved in the Commons, Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the House to solicit their friends to stay the debate."[73]

James Barry, Fourth Earl of Barrymore, participated in The '45 more than any prominent Tory MP. He was an Irish Anglican, MP for Stockbridge, and career soldier. He fought against Spain under Queen Anne and supported the arrival of William of Orange in 1688. However, he later turned against the Hanoverians after he was forced to sell his regiment under George I. Barry remained politically active throughout the twenties and thirties. Initially he served in the Irish House of Lords, but for most of his life he served in the English House of Commons in Stockbridge and later Wigan. He expressed his disillusion with the Hanoverian system in Parliament in 1717: "Nobody has

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73. John Percival, Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of Viscount Percival Afterwards First Earl of Egmont. 3. Vol. 3. 3 vols. (London: H.M. Stationery off., 1920), 92.

more thorough contempt for ministers and what is called men in great offices than I have, I cannot remember they ever did true service to their country."[74] Barry would later attempt to commit to The '45; however government spies discovered his intentions and he was arrested in 1744. After 1740 Barry was in contact with the French government of the time led by Cardinal Fleury, and he conspired with Jacobites-in-exile in France such as the Second Duke of Ormonde to organize an invasion. Being a well-connected peer and MP, Barry was able to avoid prosecution when The '45 failed, dying soon after in 1748.

## Conclusion

The Jacobites were a constant source of paranoia for Robert Walpole, though it was not an irrational fear. Identifiable Jacobites, such as those above were typically above serious repercussions for involvement with Jacobitism. If the government seemed likely to pursue serious charges against them, they would have the capital and means to go into exile and join the Jacobite community abroad. The international Jacobite community alarmed Walpole greatly, he intended to alleviate this throughout the 1720s and 1730s by trying to take on more Tory characteristics. He gave more patronage to the Church of England akin to the level of a High Tory and reduced the standing army. This move led to the falling out between Tories and opposition Whigs, as the Tories began to prefer Walpole over the opposition Whigs.[75]

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74. Marjorie Cox, "Sir Roger Bradshaigh, 3rd Bart., and the Electoral Management of Wigan, 1695-1747." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 37, no.1 (1954): 120–64. https://jstor.org/stable/community.28211591.
75. Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (London: Duckworth, 1979), 42.

Jacobitism was a major disruption of eighteenth-century British politics. Further, the "two party" system of the Tories and Whigs, and Jacobitism all stemmed from the events leading up to, and the 1688 Revolution itself. Jacobitism could not be described as a third party, rather it was a shadow that haunted the entirety of the British state apparatus. The failure of The '15 and Atterbury plot, and association with Jacobitism were core components of the fall of the Tory party which allowed the Whig Supremacy that defined the majority of the eighteenth century. However, the Jacobite cause could never be quite defeated throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, it would always disperse back into inconspicuousness. Disorganization and loss of major foreign support led to a lull of Jacobite activity throughout the twenties and thirties, however the movement would come to a head. The 1745 Uprising, or The '45 would see the final showdown between the Hanoverian stallion and Stuart rose.

**Chapter III – *The Rising of 1745, Prince Charles and Cumberland, and***

***Parliamentary Aftermath***

Background

The 1730s was a bleak time for Jacobitism, it was an era largely dominated by the imposing figure of Robert Walpole. Pessimism featured most strongly among domestic Jacobites, while exiled Jacobites were constantly at work in the courts of Europe. At best they were looking for sponsors for a Jacobite-backed foreign invasion; at the least they sought to undermine the House of Hanover. Domestic Jacobites struggled to maintain morale in the aftermath of the failures of The '15 and Atterbury Plot. There was an intense struggle of subterfuge between agents of the government and of the Jacobites to interrupt or maintain the channel of communication between Jacobites on the isles and on the continent. France and Rome were especially focal points of government interest. French Jacobite support since the Treaty of Utrecht 1713 had been largely clandestine. The French establishment of Louis XV, and of the two French government leaders that marked his reign, the Duke of Bourbon and the Cardinal Fleury, maintained a very ambiguous relationship with the Jacobites. In summary, the French governments generally treated the Jacobites as another tool to advance their power, and when they were no longer necessary, returned them to the toolbox.[76] Jacobites in France remained firmly in the French toolbox throughout the later 1710s and the majority of the 1720s. The Duke of Bourbon and (later) Cardinal Fleury had a particular interest in maintaining the Anglo-French Alliance of 1716-1731. The alliance with London was conducive to

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76. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1747* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), 239.

French trade, which had previously been constantly harassed by the Royal Navy. France was also given breathing room to focus on their traditional enemy, the Habsburg Empire. However, under Cardinal Fleury relations began to sour, although not any fault of his. Cardinal Fleury constantly worked to avoid war with London and kept a close correspondence with Walpole.[77] Due to international factionalism, by 1731 Anglo-French relations once again took the form of the traditional rivalry, with the final straw being the alliance of Great Britain and Austria that same year. Cardinal Fleury died in 1743, and Louis XV sought to govern on his own. However, he was soon overpowered by four secretaries of state during this period of "personal rule."[78] The French government now under the four ministers once again began showing interest in the Jacobite cause, and there was an invasion scheduled for 1744 that would combine the might of the Bourbon powers of France and Spain to restore the Stuarts to their homelands.

Foreign support was vital to bring the Jacobite movement out of the shadows and to incite a true rising. Many prominent Jacobites had little space to prepare a rising due to the prying eyes of the Walpole administration, and many of them had either turned Hanoverian, or at least constructed a veneer of support for Hanover. English and Welsh Jacobites were the most dependent on foreign support to determine their willingness to rise. Walpole not only boasted an extensive and well-funded intelligence network, but sufficient garrisons throughout Great Britain and Ireland, especially in London. Walpole wanted a minimum of an eighteen thousand-man ever-vigilant standing army across Great Britain, with about ten thousand of those men in London.[79] While standing armies

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77. TNA: Ch(H), Correspondence, 1, 2857, Fleury to Robert Walpole, 16 April, 1739.
78. Olivier Bernier, *Louis the Beloved: The Life of Louis XV* (New York: Doubleday Publishing, 1984), 79-101.
79. Bruce Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1747, 234.

were certainly controversial at the time, Walpole was very effective at silencing opposition with bombastic speeches filled with accusations of Jacobitism, or with personal favors of money and/or office.

Though Scottish Jacobitism generally possessed more traits that stressed independence, they still had much to lose and wrote to James that they would not rise without French aid. The lairds of the Scottish clans still needed similar assurances as their English aristocratic counterparts. However, in 1745 the sheer charisma of Prince Charles Edward Stuart was enough for thousands of mostly Highland, but also Lowland Scots to join the Stuart cause on the field of battle.[80] Though, beyond the charisma of the young prince, there was also his willingness to embellish or outright lie in his pursuit of his family's ancestral thrones.

The impetus for a new rising would finally come in December 1740 with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, a pan-European conflict that the Jacobites would see as a grand opportunity to restore the Stuarts. The opportunity primarily lay in the fact this was the first time since the War of Spanish Succession that London and Paris were opposed belligerents. Also, a continental war meant that Hanover was threatened, and George II was not only the King of Great Britain, but also the Elector of Hanover. Although George II could not personally determine foreign policy, many ministers were happy to cater to his Hanoverian interests to earn his patronage. London had a vested interest on the continent; this was useful for the Jacobites militarily, as it would cause the diversion of thousands of British troops to fight on the continent.

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80. Frank McLynn, "Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745." *The Eighteenth Century* 23, no. 2 (1982): 97–133. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41467263.

Although Walpole's garrison still largely remained on the home front, a portion of it was now in Europe. It was also a useful recruiting tool for the Stuarts, as Jacobite propaganda could latch onto London's support of Hanoverian interests as a point to emphasize the foreignness of the Hanoverian monarchs, that the Hanoverians were exploiting the resources of Britain for their far-away continental realm.

An alliance of the might of Bourbon Spain and France would become formalized in 1743 with the Pact of Family. Part of the Pact was a common desire to restore the Stuarts to their homelands; preparations for a joint invasion began on 1743, and projected to launch the next year. Word was sent to the Old Chevalier (James Stuart, or "Old Pretender") of the timeline and intentions of the French and Spanish. The French built up a massive transport fleet at Dunkirk that would ferry about twelve thousand French soldiers and exiled Jacobites to land right outside of London. The goal was to stage a "counterrevolutionary" version of the 1688 Revolution.[81] The corruption and excesses of the Whig Supremacy created a broad disillusionment across Britain, especially against the taxes of the era. The Malt Riots of the 1720s and the Porteous Riots of the 1730s were both results of excessive taxation, which grew nearly exponentially throughout the Whig Supremacy. The growth of British taxes of the eighteenth century far outgrew the taxation of the autocratic French regime.[82] When the Franco-Jacobite army landed outside of London headed by the Stuarts, it was hoped that it would be accompanied by such a great rising as to cause the government to go down with a whimper.

81. Bruce Lenman, 236.
82. Bruce Lenman, 232.

As was so often with the Stuarts, the plan would fail miserably. A French diversion fleet was based in Brest that was meant to distract the Channel Fleet of the Royal Navy and allow the army to cross; however the Royal Navy did not fall for it. Even worse, a massive storm not only destroyed much of the diversionary fleet, but the transport fleet as well. Louis XV called off the invasion, and again put his full attention on the continent. However, Charles Stuart, the Bonnie Prince Charlie as he would soon be known, would not accept this. Due to his notoriety he had to travel in secret from Rome to France in order to meet up with the invasion fleet. He was ready for an invasion and suggested that an alternative landing in Scotland would be the solution, as suggested previously by John Gordon of Glenbucket in 1739.

John Gordon was a lifelong Jacobite who fought in nearly every rising, and he would follow the Bonnie Prince in 1745. He was the archetypal Scottish Jacobite who created the mold of the loyal Highlander. A minor laird of the Glenbucket estate, and one of the few Catholic Scottish Jacobites, he began his Jacobitism early in life, fighting in the 1689 Rising at the Battle of Killiecrankie at sixteen years of age, (although this is disputed). There is no debate over his involvement in the Rising of 1715, where he fought at Sheriffmuir under the Earl of Mar. After the Jacobite defeat in The '15 he was imprisoned for a little less than a year as his aristocratic connections secured his early release with no charge. He was appointed the bailie (essentially a Scottish tax collector) by the Second Duke of Gordon, which offered him a great deal of influence, much more than his mere Glenbucket estate. Between The '15 and The '45 he relentlessly endeavored to instigate a new rising, and as a Catholic was often the preferred agent to

communicate with France.[83] Eventually he desired to join James III in Rome and sold all of his assets in 1737, moving to Rome to live in the Jacobite court. The route taken to Scotland by the Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1745 was originally suggested in 1739 by Glenbucket to Cardinal Fleury as a strategic path of invasion. Cardinal Fleury, who rarely listened to the counsel of Jacobites, dismissed the idea as fantasy. However, when Louis XV began to plan a Jacobite invasion in 1744, Glenbucket was central to the communication between the Jacobites and the French.[84] After the storm destroyed the French fleet and the invasion plan was scrapped, Glenbucket of course joined the Bonnie Prince Charlie in his own independent rising.

## The '45

The Bonnie Prince Charlie has been described many ways, but rash is certainly an accurate assessment. Even though the French invasion fleet was destroyed, and French support lost, he was very insistent on carrying on with his own rising. Charles was warned by nearly everyone that without French support, a new rising was nigh impossible. However, he fiercely wanted to embody this idea of him being the "Young Chevalier," and went ahead with his foolhardy plan. He wrote to the chiefs of the highlands and other prominent Jacobites his family was aware of. Their answer was unanimous: without French support they would not rise, and he should stay home. James Stuart agreed with this majority opinion, and wished his son to return to Rome when the news came of the failed French invasion. Charles began to buy arms and find volunteers

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83. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1747* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press), 238.
84. TNA: SP 54/12/194C
Statement of the case of Glenbucket

throughout mid-1745. Most of the volunteers came from the Irish brigades of the French Army who were part of the Flight of the Wild Geese.

The Flight of the Wild Geese described Irishmen who were remnants of the Irish Jacobite army of the 1691 Rising, and other Irishmen recruited by the French and Spanish. Their chief reasons for foreign service were Jacobitism, fleeing anti-Catholic persecution, better wages, and/or adventurism. However, probably due to the impossibility of Charles' plan, he was only about to muster about one hundred Irish volunteers.

The French did not completely abandon Charles and offered him two ships, the *Du Teillay* and *Elizabeth*. The *Elizabeth* was an older ship the French captured from the English in 1704; Charles was able to hire the French privateer Antoine Walsh in order to use his ship the *Du Teillay.* The two ships were able to escape the brass of the Royal Navy, but they were intercepted by the HMS *Lion* off the Hebrides. The *Du Teillay* was a smaller, sixteen-gun privateer ship that had the advantage of maneuverability and continued to sail, while the *Elizabeth* engaged.[85] In yet another setback, the *Elizabeth* was so badly damaged that it was forced to return to port in France. While the *Du Teillay* contained one-thousand five-hundred muskets, one-thousand eight-hundred broadswords, and gold coins worth four-thousand pounds, the *Elizabeth* had this and more. The *Elizabeth* contained a larger stockpile of guns, including cannons, but also many volunteers, thus depriving Charles of a large part of what little supplies he had.[86] Initially

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85. TNA: SP/55/13/197
Report about the taking of four merchantmen, including a Gothenburg ship (master's name Miller) at Callick Stone by a large French vessel under English colours, namely the frigate 'Du Teillay'.
86. Desmond Seward, *The King over the Water* (Birlinn Limited, West Newington House, Edinburgh), 268.

landing on the small island of Eriskay in the Hebrides, the *Du Teilay* eventually made its way to the mainland at Kinlochmoidart.

It was the landing of Kinlochmoidart that gave the name to the mythos of the Seven Men of Moidart in Scottish historical memory. Though famous to the Scots, only two of them were Scottish; four were Irish, and one an Englishman. John O'Sullivan initially commanded Charles troops when they landed, until later being replaced by George Murray, who was more familiar with the Highlanders. John O'Sullivan was a well-seasoned veteran who served in the French military for decades; he was one of the few of the seven liked by James. O'Sullivan later wrote an account of what transpired during The '45.[87] Also among the Seven Men was Charles' advisor regarding Highland politics, William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine and brother of George Murray (in the Jacobite peerage, the Duke of Atholl). The one Englishman was Francis Strickland, a Roman Catholic from the prominent Cumbrian Strickland family. James Stuart was said to have hated Strickland as he attempted to convince Charles to convert to Anglicanism to make him more attractive to the British. James was not able to rid him from the Jacobite cause and Strickland was appointed the majordomo of Charles and colonel in the Jacobite army.[88] A familiar face was George Kelly, who previously conspired with Francis Atterbury. After Kelly escaped from the Tower of London, he went into exile, serving primarily with the exiled Second Duke of Ormonde. Distrusted by James, Kelly constantly connived in the Jacobite court and sought to undermine his fellow agents.[89]

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87. John William O'Sullivan, *1745 and After*. Edited by Henrietta Tayler and Alastair Tayler. (London: T. Nelson, 1938)
88. Desmond Seward, 269.
89. Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 107.

One ship short and having been told not to come if he was not accompanied by a French army, Prince Charles nonetheless pressed forward and called a meeting of the Highland clan chiefs. However, his landing ship and party were not sufficient for a rebellion and had to initially operate clandestinely. They told the locals they were smugglers and Prince Charles disguised himself as a monk. Slowly word began to spread to the chiefs that their Prince Charles was in a ship in the Bay of Borrodale. They trickled in mostly with the intention to persuade Charles to go home; "I am come home," Charles replied, "and I will not return to France, for I am persuaded that my faithful Highlanders will stand by me."[90] Charles was described as having embodied a tremendous amount of charisma and a larger-than-life personality. Eventually Charles was able to simultaneously gather many chiefs, such as Macleod of Macleod, Ranald Macdonald. There were many branches of the MacDonald clan who came, such as Macdonald of Glencoe and MacDonald of Keppoch. Charles astutely focused on the bellicose young Clanranald who was easily roused and stuck closely to the martial Highland code of honor, and when Charles asked if he would not serve his king, young Clanranald promised, "to raise his clan and defend his prince, even if no other highlander should join him."[91] Charles was able to convince every major chief he met with the exception of Norman Macleod, who fought for the government during The '45, who is known as the "Wicked Man" in Scottish historical memory.[92]

The Stuart royal standard was hoisted at Glenfinnan on August 19, and Charles declared himself to be the regent for his father, James III. The Highland chiefs then

90. Frank McLynn, 131.
91. McLynn, 131.
92. McLynn, 129.

marched towards Edinburgh; however they took Perth on the road towards Edinburgh.[93]

Once they took Perth the Jacobites were joined by George Murray, a veteran of The '15,

and he was made the commander of the Jacobite army. Here Murray was able to reunite

with his brother, the Marquess of Tullibardine. Reaching Edinburgh, they literally walked

through the gates to an open reception. What should have resulted in an extended fight

and the first land engagement of the Bonnie Prince Charles's expedition ended as a

celebration; it was rumored a Jacobite sympathizer opened the gates for them. The prince

and his army were met with a cheering crowd, especially of commoners and women. This

is where Prince Charles was given the nickname "Bonnie Prince Charles," as the women

found him very handsome.[94] However, Edinburgh Castle refused to surrender, and was

never taken by the Jacobites. Charles and his forces soon won their first major land battle

at the Battle of Prestonpans against a smaller government army led by General Cope.[95]

Shortly after there was a debate in Scotland among his forces whether a new

independent Scottish Parliament should be established, similar to the pre-1707

Parliament.[96] This was part of a larger argument between two camps that debated whether

or not they should consolidate their Scottish foothold or push into England. The

consolidation camp was much larger than the invading camp; however the Prince

belonged to the invade camp. The Prince's general George Murray was part of the

consolidation camp. Murray argued that the Prince should deliver what promises he could

that were given by James in exile. For example, the Jacobite army could boost its

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93. Porcelli Ernest George Macdonald. The White Cockade: The Lives and Adventures of James Francis Edward Stuart and His Sons "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and Cardinal York. (London: Hutchinson, 1949), 59.
94. Porcelli Ernest George Macdonald, 67.
95. Macdonald, 72.
96. Bruce Lenman. *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*. (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1980), 250.

popularity by reworking taxation to the pre-1707 Stuart model and calling an emergency

Parliament. While a large recruiting pool already existed, this would change the minds of

many Scots on the fence between the Stuarts or Hanoverians. Prince Charles argued that

they could gain the much-desired French support if they were able to secure a significant

enough victory in England. He went further saying if they failed to take London, the

entire rising would be for nothing. George Murray and the Prince never got along, and

Charles later went as far as to question the loyalty of Murray.[97] By December Parliament

was responding in force and suspended habeas corpus in Scotland in October. The Court

of Session Act of 1745 was also passed to adjourn the Scottish Sessions Court since

Edinburgh was under Jacobite occupation.

     The pro-invasion camp won, and the Jacobite army marched into England on

November 7th. This would be the first time a Stuart was in England since 1688, and at

this point Jacobite morale was high. However, Westminster and George II were on high

alert about the rebellion, and the Duke of Cumberland and his army were recalled from

the continent. Cumberland was a veteran commander and was seen as the perfect man to

put down the uprising. On November 15th the Jacobites took Carlisle Castle, previously a

very important border fortress between England and Scotland, which had become

dilapidated over the last decades. By November 28th the Jacobites took Manchester,

which saw the greatest rising of English Jacobites of The '45 with the raising of the

Manchester Regiment. Comprising around three hundred Englishmen, it was a far cry

from the thousands that Prince Charles promised would rise in England once the

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97. Macdonald, 96.

Jacobites made contact.[98] Prince Charles made many promises which were found to be

blatant lies at worst or hopeful thinking at best about their invasion of England. He

promised that they would meet with prominent Jacobites such as Sir Watkins Williams

Wynn, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and the Duke of Beaufort. However, the best reception the

Jacobites received was gawking from the commoners who were amazed that the rumors

they heard were true.[99] Cumberland soon began his march from London at the head of ten

thousand soldiers who were seasoned by combat from the continent. George Murray and

the other Jacobite commanders forced Prince Charles to withdraw from England, as no

French invasion was coming as he promised, and there was no English rising. Scottish

trust in their Prince was severely, and permanently damaged. About two thousand

desertions occurred during their retreat to Scotland.[100] Their retreat back to Scotland was

impressive in evading Cumberland, which only prolonged the inevitable.

The Jacobite Army crossed the Scottish border on December 20th, with

Cumberland hot on their trail. While morale was high and recruitment skyrocketed, the

hierarchy of the Jacobite army was in disarray. George Murray and the Prince had

essentially broken contact by this point. The Prince was only prevented from sacking

Murray due to the respect Murray had among his fellow Jacobites. After some last-ditch

attempts to entrench the Jacobite Army, Cumberland and Prince Charles met for their

final showdown in Culloden on 16th of April. Outnumbered and out: supplied, the

Jacobite army had very few prospects; Culloden was not their choice of battlefield, but

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98. Eveline Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publisher. Inc, 1979), 93.

99. Thomas E. Kaiser, "The Drama of Charles Edward Stuart, Jacobite Propaganda, and French Political Protest, 1745-1750." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30, no. 4 (1997): 365–81. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30053865.

100. Frank McLynn, Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts, 213.

due to low supplies they were forced to engage there. The multinational Jacobite army was decisively defeated by Cumberland and the rising altogether collapsed. The Prince went into exile, fleeing throughout Scotland until he was able to finally escape to France in July 1746.[101]

## Politics, Careers, and The '45

William, the Duke of Cumberland, was a well-known and generally well-respected career soldier and the third son of George II. He was the opposite of his brother Frederick, the Prince of Wales. This was an important aspect as this was during a time where the Tories and Whigs constantly vied for support between the members of the House of Hanover. However, these alignments were not defined by party, but by factions which often transcended party lines. Throughout the 1730s and 1740s the Whigs still enjoyed much more Hanoverian patronage than the Tories. The Prince of Wales was much more willing to work with Tories than his brother and generally found himself with the opposition, be they Whigs or Tories. Frederick was an enjoyer of the humanities and a major contributor to the English enlightenment. Frederick wrote, "Rule Britannia," which is still one of the most renowned British patriotic songs.[102] Cumberland was a no-nonsense martial man who fought across Europe, and enjoyed the patronage of their father George II.[103] Even their personal figure was radically different, Cumberland was significantly overweight, and Frederick was very lithe. The two princes and their opposite

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101. Macdonald, 193.
102. Edward Rimbault Dibdin, "The Bi-Centenary of 'Rule Britannia.'" *Music & Letters* 21, no. 3 (1940): 275–90. http://www.jstor.org/stable/728364.
103. "William, Duke of Cumberland." William, Duke of Cumberland, son of King George II. Accessed March 2, 2023. https://www.englishmonarchs.co.uk/hanover_19.html.

approaches would be very important in the aftermath of the '45 and how it shaped politics.

While the consequences of The '45 had permanent consequences on the careers and livelihood of many people, Scotland easily felt the largest impact of the three kingdoms. Beyond the brutal and widespread reprisals of Cumberland, Parliament passed many laws that effectively outlawed Scottish culture, especially in the Highlands. Westminster took many more precautions than after the previous risings. Jacobitism was treated like a disease; when a body is threatened by disease, it will often destroy the host of this disease, and the Highlands were seen as the host. The collapse of Jacobitism as a feasible movement also contributed to the recovery of the Tories as an equal party. Many Jacobite Tories escaped prosecution, especially in England, where they intelligently remained covert, even as their preferred king was less than a day journey away.

Scottish Highland society was nearly demolished by the aftermath of The '45. What has been described as a genocide of the Highlanders took place in the following years, though it was most violent immediately during the occupation of Scotland by the British Army. Army and Parliament worked together to commit search and destroy against what caused the Scottish Jacobitism. The Dress Act of 1746 and the Proscription Act of the same were year intended to destroy Highland culture, which was seen as the petri dish of Jacobitism in Scotland. The Dress Act banned the use of tartan completely, outlawing a vast portion of the male Highland wardrobe.[104] The Proscription Act banned the use of the Gaelic language, playing bagpipes, and the owning of firearms in the

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104. Act of Proscription, 1746, 19 Geo. .2, c. 39.

Highlands.[105] Further, the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1746 abolished the judicial power of the chieftains. In order to do this, it transferred the position of the sheriff principals (judges) from the jurisdiction of the clan chief to the Crown. Another effort to destroy the clans that is often overshadowed by the previous acts is the beginning of the Highland Clearances.[106] With the loss of judicial control of their subjects, the chiefs began evicting many of their tenants, which depopulated large portions of the Highlands. Many of these Highlanders immigrated to The Thirteen Colonies. This worked in tandem with the Industrial Revolution in Scotland which saw the rapid growth of urban centers due to this exodus.[107] Obviously these laws were extremely unpopular in Scotland, but there was opposition to them even in England. English Tories were especially opposed to them, and in an unthinkable act, many English Tories would don tartan in solidarity with and protest for the Scots. There were mobs of English Tories who came out in Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Staffordshire in tartan. This was very notable for the usually xenophobic Tories, who typically held very little regard for the Scots.[108] In an act of rebellion against his brother and father, Frederick, the Prince of Wales, had a portrait commissioned for his family months after Culloden in which Prince George (the future George III) was clad in tartan. It was able to escape the ban as it was the tartan of the Royal Company of Archers, as military tartan was the only exception to the law. As such, Prince George bears a bow in the portrait, clad with the tartan of the company.[109] This

105. Act of Proscription, 1746, 19 Geo. .2, c. 39.
106. T.M. Devine, *People and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald in Association with the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1988), 90.
107. Devine, T. M., and Rosalind Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, 109.
108. Political Untouchables 106
109. Barthélemy du Pan, *The Children of Frederick and Augusta, Prince and Princess of Wales*, oil on canvas, 1746, Royal Collection, London. https://www.rct.uk/collection/403400/the-children-of-frederick-and-augusta-prince-and-princess-of-wales

would foreshadow the repealing of the aforementioned anti-Scottish laws during the reign of George III in the 1780s.[110] However, by the 1780s the damage had largely been done.

Of the many careers that were made during The '45, William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, earned one of the most controversial but temporary rises. Despite his disgraceful defeat at the Battle of Fontenoy on the continent, the Duke became a Whig hero after Culloden and his rash reprisals in Scotland. He became in their eyes the man who saved the House of Hanover. However, to the Tories, Scots, and even some Whigs he became "the Butcher." Born in 1721 in Leicester House (which would become the seat of his brother's opposition faction) the Duke of Cumberland was given a high quality classical education under Edmund Halley, a renowned mathematician and physicist. At five years of age William Augustus was made the Duke of Cumberland and bestowed various other titles.[111] He showed early interest in a martial career, quickly making him the favorite of George II, who was quite the warmonger. He served with distinction during the War of Austrian Succession where he commanded British and Hanoverian troops. The Jacobites rose during the war of the Austrian Succession while he and his father were away in Hanover, causing them to quickly return. Already known as the "martial boy," and the favorite of the king, the decision to give him the leading role in putting down the Jacobite rebellion was very popular. After Cumberland chased Prince Charles back to Scotland, and soundly defeated the Jacobites at Culloden, his marital dedication shone, "Since the battle of Culloden, harbored, concealed, or entertained any

110. William Pinkerton, "The Highland Kilt and the Old Irish Dress." *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 6 (1858): 316–27. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20608882.
111. "William, Duke of Cumberland." William, Duke of Cumberland, son of King George II. Accessed March 2, 2023. https://www.englishmonarchs.co.uk/hanover_19.html.

rebels who have been in arms against his majesty, knowing them to be such; and with the assistance aforesaid, to seize and commit them to prisons in order to trial."[112]

At the conclusion of the rebellion the Duke of Cumberland faced a celebrated return to London. He did face criticism during and after The '45 from Tories and the Leicester House faction of his brother, the Prince of Wales. Members of the royal family of Britain were never able to openly criticize each other, but they were able to make slights under various veneers. Frederick, Prince of Wales, held a gala while Cumberland was laying siege to Carlisle and during the gala he had Carlisle Castle recreated with sugar and bombarded it with plums. While not a direct mockery, it was enough at the time to discredit his opponents.[113]

Frederick consistently opposed his brother and their father. The estrangement began at a young age when Frederick was left in Hanover as the representative of the royal family when George I ascended to the throne of Great Britain. While Frederick obviously was not a Jacobite, he often showed sympathy for their cause, especially after The '45. He called for clemency for many of those captured during The '45 and was disgusted with the barbaric practice of hanging, drawing, and quartering. Frederick was instrumental in securing the release of Flora McDonald, who was imprisoned in the Tower for aiding the escape of Charles Stuart.[114] As a major figure in the British

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112. Richard Rolt, Historical Memoirs of His Late Royal Highness William-Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. Including the Military and Political History of Great Britain, During That Period (London: Printed for T. Waller, 1767), 357.
113. John Walters, The Royal Griffin: Frederick, Prince of Wales, 1707-51 (New York: Stein and Day, 1972), 179.
114. Flora Fraser. *Flora Macdonald "Pretty Young Rebel": Her Life and Story*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2023), 97.

enlightenment, patron of humanists, and a romantic musician, Frederick saw it as his duty to show mercy and to avoid antiquated barbarism.

English Tories were in a complete state of disarray after the failure of The '45. Names of prominent Jacobite Tories were leaked to the government primarily through Murray of Broughton, who served as secretary to Charles Stuart in Scotland. To the credit of the many captured Jacobites, very few divulged information even despite the immense amount of torture they endured. However, Murray of Broughton not only revealed what he knew personally but gave away muddled secondhand knowledge he had learned during his service to Charles Stuart. A major split occurred in the Tories after The '45 in the way of the faction of Lord Gower and his opposition, the latter usually made up of Jacobites. Lord Gower showed Jacobite sympathies as a young man and took an interest in the Rising of 1715; however he put his political career first. Gower would become one of the foremost Hanoverian Tories. Arguably he could be described as a Whig later, as he sat on the Whig dominated cabinets of the 1740s. He became extremely unpopular with the Tories as he continued to sit with the Whigs in the aftermath of The '45 and refused to show solidarity with Scotland.

By this point the Tories were at their lowest point, having been completely overshadowed by the Whigs. Their discontent with the government victory during The '45 was certainly not conducive in their electoral performance in 1747, which saw only 117 of the 558 seats of the Commons go to the Tories. The government Whigs took 338 and the remaining 94 went to Opposition Whigs.[115] This was a further decline from 1741

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115. Dan Bogart. "Political Party Representation and Electoral Politics in England and Wales, 1690–1747." *Social Science History* 40, no. 2 (2016): 271–303. https://www.jstor.org/stable/90017505.

where the Tories won 136 seats.[116] The core of the Tory party were essentially remnant

Jacobites who even after The '45 continued feeble attempts at restoring the Pretender.

Various riots erupted in Tory and Jacobite aligned constituencies, and a friend of Lord

Gower had his house vandalized. In the Burton constituency, rioters came out with white

roses to support the House of Stuart.[117] Watkins William Wynn led the Tories in the 1747

election and later continued Jacobite operation. The opening of the Radcliffe Library in

Oxford University was a very rare display of post-'45 eighteenth century Jacobitism.

Very prominent Tory Jacobites were trustees, as was very often the case with Oxford.

Among these men were the Duke of Beaufort, Sir Walter Bagot, and Sir Watkin Williams

Wynn. There were talks about the undermining of the universities under the House of

Hanover and the opening ceremony was closed with the phrase, "redeat ille genius

Brittaniae," let the genius return home (Britain). This was a call for James III and VIII

and the Stuart exiles to return home. Due to either the insignificance of the Tory party or

English Jacobites, the government took no action against this clear and open display of

sedition.[118]

There was one final hurrah of Jacobitism, in a very peculiar event which still

sparks lively debates. Plotting with the remaining Jacobites in England (Sir Watkins had

died by this point), Charles Stuart made a secret voyage to London in 1750. Escorted by

an exiled member of the English Jacobite Manchester Regiment, Charles made his way to

London from his landing point in Dover. Rumors were circulating of the ill health of

George II, and the rivalry between Cumberland and the Prince of Wales was widely

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116. Dan Bogart. "Political Party Representation and Electoral Politics in England and Wales, 1690–1747."
117. Eveline Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45, 107.
118. Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, 112.

known. Charles planned to seize upon this predictable succession crisis and be installed king, as James was very old and could no longer weather a journey from Rome to London. He planned to meet with the English Jacobites and raise an army of four-thousand men to lead his coup. However, the Prince was met with the typical English Jacobite concerns about a rising: lack of foreign support, lack of funds, inability to train an army in secret, and elevated suspicion from the government since The '45. To encourage his supporters Charles made a very controversial move. The Prince was never a religious man like his father and brother; he was Catholic only by birth. He came to blame his lack of success in retaking his family's thrones on his Catholicism, so during his visit he went to a non-juring Anglican Church, apostatized his Catholic faith and converted to non-juring Anglicanism.[119] James Stuart was advised to do this decades prior, but refused what could have granted him the support he needed during The '15. Charles did so on his own, but it only backfired on him later. He lost international Catholic support and caused a further rift in his family. Charles continued to obsessively seek his birthright for the remainder of his life; however, each attempt became more feeble until he finally succumbed to alcoholism in 1788.

## Conclusion

The failure of The '45 would be the final death knell of Jacobitism and would result in essentially a genocide of the Highlanders. Parliament under George II would attempt to annihilate the culture of the Highlanders. The Duke of Cumberland would enact extremely harsh reprisals during his occupation of Scotland. He charged many

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119. McLynn, 398-400.

Scots who were seen as Jacobite sympathizers or having aided the rebellion, with treason. Parliament would act further as a tool for this. The Dress Act of 1746 outlawed tartan, which was seen as an act of passive rebellion. Parliament and Cumberland attempted to deport the population of the Highlands to the Americas, planned in a similar way to what later happened to the Acadiens during the Seven Year's War. Of course, this never succeeded, primarily due to the influence of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who consistently opposed Cumberland and his father George II.

The Rising of 1745 has been seen usually as either the last desperate attempt of the Jacobites, or the climax of an impossible vision. At the time it was not seen as the end of Jacobitism; the government stayed alert for decades after. The Hanoverians would not finally rest easy until the death of Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal Duke of York, in 1807. Parliament worked to make The '45 the last Jacobite rising through the many laws passed against the Gaelic people of Scotland. Jacobitism died through the decades, and while Parliamentary procedure was a factor in the death, it was only one of many. The shameful behavior of Prince Charles, the naturalization of the Hanoverians, and simply the time passed since 1688 spelled a slow death for Jacobitism after 1745.

**Chapter IV –** *Jacobite Diplomacy, Court-in-exile, and the Northern and Southern*

*Departments*

Background

The eighteenth century was a time of ever-shifting alliances among the states of Europe. Unpredictability was the name of the day, and its twin of opportunism was just as applicable. Traditional alliances and rivalries were nearly abandoned, Britain battled and allied nearly with every power in western Europe. This was the perfect atmosphere for the Jacobites, who by the early eighteenth century were spread throughout the courts of Europe. Jacobite agents, diplomats, and soldiers would maintain varying degrees of connection to the nucleus of the international Jacobite movement: the Jacobite court.

This court was pushed and pulled by the winds of change. Initially based in Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Paris, James Stuart was pushed out by the Peace of Utrecht at the conclusion of the War of Spanish Succession. The Jacobite court found a home later in the papal holding of Avignon, then Urbino, and finally settled in Rome at the Palazzo Muti.[120] In accordance with his position as claimant, James would award titles that would be known as the Jacobite peerages. Although these titles amounted to pageantry, the titles granted a relative amount of prestige that was respected by sympathizers of Jacobitism. While their move to Rome would further disillusion the Jacobite movement from their Protestant subjects in Britain, the Jacobite court would still function as a sort of layover destination for British and Irish travelers. The Jacobite court would slowly decline in political importance and become simply accommodations for James and his exiles. From

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120. Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1991. 28.

The '45 onwards, most serious Jacobite efforts for a restoration were handled independently by Charles Stuart, who became more and more distant from the court and his family.[121]

The Hanoverian regime possessed a vaunted luxury the Jacobites did not: time. The longer the Stuarts were away from Britain, the longer the Hanoverians could cement their legitimacy. Thus, Hanoverian diplomats had a much simpler task than their Jacobite counterparts. London worked primarily to intercept Jacobite diplomats and placate European powers to prevent alliances between the Jacobite court and the powers of Europe. However, this would complicate British efforts to wade through the confusing arena of eighteenth-century politics. Traditional rivalries, especially with France, were thoroughly challenged with the Anglo-French alliance. Hanoverian ties were a contentious topic throughout the period, as the Georges had a vested interest in protecting, and even expanding their homeland. However, they had to contend with the Patriot Faction back home that opposed any British money or blood being spent on Hanover. To circumvent the Patriots, Britain initially allied with Austria, the traditional rival of France. Having this continental power as an ally would help protect Hanover primarily from France, but also Sweden and the Netherlands. Austria was replaced during the Diplomatic Revolution in 1756, an event which characterizes the enigmatic nature of eighteenth-century diplomacy. Prussia became the replacement as the continental protector of vulnerable Hanover.

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121. Frank McLynn, Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts. 83.

The Jacobites primarily found allies in the Catholic powers of Europe, especially in France and Spain, though following the normal Jacobite theme of contradictions and confusion, the Jacobite cause interested the Protestant power of Sweden. Continental relations with London remained complicated due to there being "two" British courts. The Jacobites and their court were often perceived as the deadly weapon against the London government. Supporting a Jacobite rebellion was perceived as a method to destroy the Hanoverians and incapacitate Britain for at least a decade. In a worst-case scenario for Britain in the event of Jacobite victory, a Stuart restoration could spark another civil war. While aiding rebellions was generally seen as dishonorable conduct, as it would grant legitimacy to rebellion in general, it was nonetheless a common enough practice. France particularly was eager to aid rebellions to hamper their enemies, as seen in the Dutch War of Independence and Rákóczi's War of Independence in Hungary.[122] Reasons for supporting the Jacobite cause would varied maong their foreign sponsors. The Catholicism of the Stuarts presented a compelling case at least for personal sympathy from the monarchs of France and Spain, and the Papacy. However, James and his supporters were always very careful to be seen as "too Catholic." James always worked to portray himself as an independent monarch that merely held Catholicism as his personal religion, and he would respect the Protestantism of his subjects. Global strategy was a far more compelling reason to support Jacobitism, especially during the cataclysmic War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1715) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).

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122. Lothar Höbelt. "The Impact of the Rákóczi Rebellion on Habsburg Strategy: Incentives and Opportunity Costs." *War in History* 13, no. 1 (2006): 2–15. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26061787.

Hanoverian Diplomacy

British diplomacy was handled by the Northern and Southern Departments, named for the geographical regions in which they operated. However, the monarch and prime minister (or equivalent) would handle a great deal of international relations. The Glorious Revolution flipped British diplomacy on its head. James II oriented Britain closer and closer towards France, which greatly angered his English aristocrats. Once King William and Queen Mary seized the three kingdoms, he remained perpetually at war with France throughout the entirety of his reign.[123] Louis XIV initially refused to recognize King William and gave James II and later James Francis a place a pride in Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

King William was extremely active in his diplomacy and set the precedent for decades for how diplomacy was to be conducted in the three kingdoms. In his effort to protect his native Netherlands and contain the French he worked to establish the Grand Alliance. This alliance would fight together in the Nine Years War (1688-1697). William allied with Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor, in order to pose a serious land threat to France. This would be the first of the Anglo-Austrian alliances throughout the eighteenth century. Diplomatically isolated and facing threats from Spain, Italy, and the German/Dutch border, France attempted to knock England out of the war through an attempt to restore James II. Ireland refused to accept the Williamite succession, due to James II's tolerance towards Catholics and his halt of the plantation system. Thus, the bloodless myth of the Glorious Revolution is dispelled by the Williamite War in Ireland

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123. Robert D. McJimsey. ,A Country Divided? English Politics and the Nine Years' War." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 23, no. 1 (1991): 61–74. https://doi.org/10.2307/4050542.

(1689-1691). France sent significant aid to the Irish Jacobites, who were led by James II.

James II was defeated, and in a common Stuart theme became despised by his former

troops for his self-centered arrogance. After William defeated the Jacobites in Ireland he

sought to surround and limit the absolute power of Louis XIV. The combined navy of

England and the Netherlands was sufficient to keep the French out of major naval

operations. The French Army was still the strongest in Europe, and remained so

throughout the eighteenth century.[124] It was contained simply because nearly all of

France's land borders were exposed to enemy nations. William succeeded in protecting

his home country, established his legitimacy as monarch of the three kingdoms, and

began shaping the Royal Navy into the global maritime hegemon. However, the Treaty of

Ryswick, which ended the Nine Year's War, was only a short interlude to the much

larger War of the Spanish Succession.

Queen Mary II died in 1694, leaving William as the sole monarch of the three

kingdoms. When he died in 1702, he was succeeded by Queen Anne. During her reign

the Jacobite front was exceptionally silent. Her support of the Tories and her Anglican-

English background granted her much more legitimacy than King William and his Dutch-

Calvinism. However, Anne contended with the drama around the Act of Union and the

War of the Spanish Succession, which lasted for the entirety of her reign. British aims of

preventing a Franco-Spanish personal union, keeping the Lowlands in Austrian control,

and maintaining a balance of power was achieved (which meant containing Louis XIV).

When Queen Anne died childless in 1714, the Hanoverian (Guelf) dynasty would come

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124. Steven T. Ross, "The Development of the Combat Division in Eighteenth-Century French Armies." *French Historical Studies* 4, no. 1 (1965): 84–94. https://doi.org/10.2307/285876.

to power, and many changes that would define modern Britain would occur under their long reign.

The ascension of the Georges can be seen as the beginning of the serious degradation of the royal power. Men like Charles Townshend, the Stanhope family, and the Walpoles began to dominate the British government. Thus, anti-Jacobite activity and foreign policy fell into their hands. The 1720s and 1730s were relatively quiet, bolstered by the new continental order established by the Treaty of Utrecht and other agreements. The exile of the Old Pretender to Rome and the Anglo-French Alliance were major causes of this unusual peace, during which Walpole was building modern Britain. Self-made entrepreneurs and artists like Alexander Pope (an opponent of Walpole), began to appear throughout England. The colonies were expanding and Scotland became more integrated into a new "Britain." However, Walpole still faced challenges from Jacobites and the foreign arena, the Jacobites were courting the Swedish government during the British involvement in the Great Northern War, which came as a result of Hanoverian interest. The Atterbury Plot presented a serious threat in the 1720s, as did the Cornbury Plot of the 1730s.[125] Walpole certainly had his hands full. All the while he had to juggle the interests of his Whig supporters, assuage the Hanoverian interests of the monarch, and combat the Country (Patriot) Whigs and the ever-plotting Tories.

Perhaps Walpole's greatest achievement was his diplomatic war against the Jacobites. He was able to do this by depriving the Jacobites of their two greatest alliesSpain and France. The post-Utrecht settlement effectively tied France, Spain, and

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125. Patricia U. Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal the Politics of Reputation in British America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 37.

Britain into a mutually beneficial relationship. Trading rights given to Britain with the Assiento Treaty created a great source of wealth. The colonies of Britain, France, and Spain were far more prosperous without constant warfare and New World colonies rapidly grew, especially the Thirteen Colonies. While Britain expanded to encompass a massive economic empire through these alliances, Jacobitism was left hanging. Walpole used these economic issues to deter Jacobitism, claiming it would be financially disastrous for the Jacobites to succeed. Whatever foreign power sponsored a successful Jacobite rebellion would expect something in return: France would seek the Lowlands, Spain would want Gibraltar back and a return to Spanish-dominated world trade.[126] Though extremely successful, Walpole always had a strong opposition, and it was widely known he was corrupt. Walpole found his position untenable by the late 1730s with the death of Queen Caroline, his insider in the royal family, and of his involvement with the War of Jenkins Ear.

<div align="center">The White Rose in Rome: The Jacobite Court-in-exile</div>

When James II was deposed, many of his supporters followed him into exile. While there was a Catholic element to this, many Protestants accompanied the man they saw as their rightful monarch. He was offered the palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye; this became the first home of the Jacobite court. This mock court attempted to offer everything the Stuarts were previously able to offer from London in order to maintain the

126. Basil Williams, "The Foreign Policy of England under Walpole." *The English Historical Review*, vol. 15, no. 58, 1900, pp. 251–76. *JSTOR*, http://www.jstor.org/stable/548451. Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

legitimacy they claimed. The court also served as a focal point for the Jacobite diaspora, however this feature would begin to decline after its move to the Palazzo Muti.

To this end James II and Charles III would grant titles known as the "Jacobite Peerages." The Stuarts granted duchies, earldoms, baronies, baronets, viscounties, and awarded membership in the Knights of the Garter and Thistle. The Stuart Papers do not cover every Jacobite title granted, and very few primary sources contain reliable records of them. The most reliable source comes from the nineteenth and twentieth-century Jacobite, Melville Henry Massue.[127] These peerages were almost exclusively awarded to members of the court-in-exile, such as John Erskine, Earl of Mar. James Stuart elevated him to the Duke of Mar during Mar's exile after The '15. The vast majority of these titles were granted by James Stuart. By the time James died 1766, Charles had become a generally despised man and incapable alcoholic. Thus, Charles did very little in his capacity as head of the Jacobite court, only granting a single title in his two-decade rule. He granted the Duchy of Albany to his only child, the illegitimate Charlotte Stuart.

The Jacobite court reflected the international aspect of the movement through the cultures that would flourish within the courts. The move to Rome gradually Italianized the Stuarts, James Stuart would even address Charles as "Carluccio,"[128] it would still retain elements of the British Isles, French, and Spanish culture. James Stuart was able to fund many operas and other luxurious ventures through his handsome papal allowance of twelve-thousand Roman scudo. The Italian Opera became widely popular in the Stuart court, especially the compositions of Francesco Gasparini, Nicola Porpora, and Leonardo

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127. Melville de Ruvigny, The Jacobite Peerage: Baronetage, Knightage and Grants of Honour (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1904)

128. Marion F Gain, *The Stuart Papers at Windsor* (London: Royal Stuart Society, 1981), 185.

Vinci.[129] The operas of these men would filter through the Stuart court back into Britain through its shared contacts of fellow travelers.

<div align="center">French-Jacobite Collusion</div>

France was always the special friend in the eyes of the Jacobites, or at the least the most important. France was the most obvious and most capable potential ally, due to their Catholic links, France's status as the original refuge for James II, and proximity to Britain. On paper France should have been an immensely capable ally: they possessed the strongest army on the continent, which was maintained by a burgeoning international trade network. Regardless of all the theoretical benefits of French partnership, the French were consistently unreliable at best, and completely deceitful at worst. Even when the French would commit wholeheartedly to an invasion, some disaster would befall the Franco-Jacobites.

The French planned three major invasions of Britain aimed coincide with Jacobite risings in some way, and create a new Jacobite Britain that would be indebted to, or even a client of the French. Three invasions were planned in 1708, 1744, and 1759 that entailed landing thousands of French troops in England or Scotland. In 1708 the French invasion fleet carrying six-thousand men was caught and forced to return to port by Williamite Admiral Byng.[130] In 1744, perhaps the most famous of all attempts, a catastrophic storm wiped out the invasion fleet. Later 1759 saw the least amount of Jacobite involvement, as mentioned prior Charles had become a former shell of his pre-

129. Diana Blichmann, "The Stuart-Sobieska Opera Patronage in Rome." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, no. 131-1 (2019): 177–200. https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrim.6296.
130. Sarah Kinkel, "Saving Admiral Byng: Imperial Debates, Military Governance and Popular Politics at the Outbreak of the Seven Years' War." *Journal for Maritime Research* 13, no. 1 (2011): 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/21533369.2011.565986.

1745 self.[131] Charles completely botched the invasion planning, and his distrust of the

French and what he perceived as false promises would send him into a fit of drinking.

When presented by the Duc de Choiseul with a plan of one hundred thousand French

troops to land in England, Charles overplayed his hand in negotiations. The Jacobites

were out of the picture by the time the invasion was launched, but it was once again

cancelled due to major French naval defeats.[132] It is a wonder that the Stuarts who

believed so thoroughly in the divine right of kings would not see these constant failures

as a divine rejection.

There are many words that can describe Franco-Jacobite relations, and

consistency is not among them. Louis XIV recognized King William after the Treaty of

Ryswick. As the War of the Spanish Succession began Louis quickly scrapped the treaty

and recognized James as James III of England and VIII of Scotland. However, once the

war was concluded with the Treaty of Utrecht, Louis once again abandoned the Jacobites

and recognized Queen Anne and the Act of Settlement which established the Hanoverian

succession. In addition, James and his court were forced to leave France under the terms

of the treaty.[133] Practicality and sound policy were the true kings of the day; France had a

certain diplomatic reputation to maintain. While France was officially a Catholic nation,

it still had many Protestant German allies who allied with France against Austria. Thus,

appearing as a nation dedicated to spreading Catholicism would not only isolate the

French from their anti-Habsburg allies but could also threaten the order established in

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131. Frank McLynn, Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts. 493.
132. Frank McLynn, *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World* (London: Vintage Digital, 2011), 289.
133. "Peace and Friendship Treaty of Utrecht between France and Great Britain." March 13, 1713. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Peace_and_Friendship_Treaty_of_Utrecht_between_France_and_Great_Britain

Europe by the Peace of Westphalia. Due to this the French always maintained their

Jacobite connections through espionage after the Treaty of Utrecht. For example, when

Charles Stuart went to France in 1744 on an invite from the government to join the

invasion, he was still forced to travel in secret, granting France plausible deniability.[134]

While the French never landed substantial numbers of troops in Britain, they still

lent aid in materiel and professional soldiers. France occasionally tolerated the

accommodation of the Jacobite spy network; however, after Utrecht, the French were on

paper required to root out Jacobite agents. However, the French were responsible for

aiding the Williamite War and The '45.

In 1689 the French sent James II to Ireland to reconquer it from the Williamites

and establish it as a base from which to reconquer the main prize: London. James II was

sent with French officers and supplies to train the Irish. Though part of the larger Nine

Year's War, the results of the Williamite War are substantially important in Ireland.

Ulster Protestants still celebrate with a procession known as the "The Twelfth,"

celebrated by organizations such as the Orange Order. Conrad von Rosen, a Baltic

German in service of France, accompanied James II to Ireland. Von Rosen and James II

rarely cooperated with each other, however. James II's lack of military prowess often

meant he possessed a poor understanding of the seasoned von Rosen's methods. William

also commanded a multinational army of English, Welsh, German, French Huguenot,

and, of course, his own Dutch soldiers. James II possessed a much more "native" army as

the vast majority was Irish.[135] Despite French support, James II was thoroughly and

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134. Frank McLynn, Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts. 108.
135. Daniel Szechi, The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788. 65.

finally defeated at the Siege of Limerick in 1691. The greatest French impact would not stem from their military aid of the Jacobites in the campaign but through the peace settlement. The Treaty of Limerick that ended the war in Ireland provided that any member of James II's army who wished to escape to France could do so unhindered. Around twenty thousand Irish soldiers in James' army and family members moved to France over the next months.[136] Known as the "Flight of the Wild Geese," it added to the growing Irish exodus that continued over the next centuries. These Franco-Irish aided the Jacobite cause in various capacities as soldiers, informants, and professionals. However, many of these Franco-Irish settled permanently in France and displayed little interest in Jacobitism.

## Ibero-Swedish Jacobite Collusion

Spain's interest in Jacobitism was much more limited than their Bourbon cousins in France. However, the Spanish played a pivotal role in the obscure Rising of 1719. It was essentially the brainchild of the Spanish as part of the larger War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720). The Spanish sought to reclaim their Italian possessions lost during the War of Spanish Succession, and in doing so fought a coalition of Europe's great powers: Great Britain, France, Ausria, and the Dutch. Spain quickly lost control of the war and political situation when Britain intervened after the Spanish occupation of Sicily (ceded to Savoy after Utrecht). The same Admiral Byng who thwarted the Jacobites a decade before, dealt a serious blow to Spain in the Battle of Cape Passaro. Alberoni plotted two more schemes, a Jacobite invasion of Britain and ending the Franco-British

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136. Szechi, 73.

Alliance. To end the alliance, Alberoni needed to replace the pro-British Duke of Orleans, and his candidate was Philip V of Spain.[137] This was not only another violation of the Treaty of Utrecht, but its discovery enraged France, who thus declared war on Spain.

The 1719 Rising was a doomed venture from the start, and can accurately be seen from the Spanish perspective as simply a distraction for London rather than a serious rising. Of course, the Jacobites took it seriously and many of the senior Scottish Jacobites joined the rising. They were encouraged not only by Spanish, but by the Swedes encouragements. Hanoverian-Swedish tensions over Bremen and Verden caused Jacobite-Swedish dialogues to be initiated. While short-lived, Swedish involvement cause great excitement for the Tories. Charles XII, also known as Carolus Rex for his exemplary military service; Sweden was seen at the time as the defender of Protestants in Europe, and thus having a very capable leader like Charles at the head of the major Protestant continental power was not only a great military, but propaganda boost for the Jacobites.[138] It would help wipe away the "Catholic stain" that the Whigs often associated with Jacobitism. The Tories were excited enough that they offered Charles XII a loan to help him in his efforts against Russia to encourage him to intervene. Charles XII planned a joint Swedish-Spanish invasion that would land about five thousand Spanish troops in the West Country as the Duke of Ormonde (Jacobite MP) could ensure a rising in his homeland. Another force would be sent under Tullibardine and James Keith with Swedish and Spanish troops to Inverness to incite a Scottish rising.

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137. Nuno Júdice, *A conspiração Cellamare* (Lisbon: Don Quixote, 2016), 20.
138. Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788*, (Manchester University Press). 182.

Charles XII died in 1718 before the rising could be launched; the death of the Lion of the North ended Swedish involvement, as their progress against Denmark and Russia stagnated. The main invasion of five thousand troops was intercepted by the Royal Navy, with only a small force of thirty-nine Spanish soldiers and the Jacobite commanders landed at Inverness. They attempted to retreat after hearing of the failure of the main invasion, but the Royal Navy prevented them. Desperate and trapped, they made their stand at the Battle of Glenshiel. A numerically smaller government force destroyed the Jacobite-Spanish army and the Jacobites were scattered to the wind. Unlike in The '45, the Jacobites were allowed to escape. A famous exile of this battle was James Keith, who like many other Scots abandoned the Jacobite cause for a European career. Keith served in the Russian and later Prussian militaries. He served with distinction under Frederick the Great, becoming a Generalfeldmarschall.[139]

<div align="center">Papal-Jacobite Collusion</div>

The Papal States were an amalgamation of Italian states and Avignon in France ruled by the Pope. The Papacy could never contribute militarily to a Jacobite campaign, but it provided residency and funds for the Jacobites. It can easily be assumed that the Papacy was eager to support a Catholic family to restore Catholicism to a Protestant land; however, this was rarely the case. While a sitting pope did not recognize the Hanoverians as legitimate monarchs until the death of James Francis Stuart in 1766, the pope was still careful about instigating and overtly funding any Jacobite movements. Anti-Catholicism often stemmed from the disdain for the political power of the Vatican. Thus, any move

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139. Rodger L. Tarr, "Carlyle on Field Marshal James Keith: A New Impression." *Carlyle Newsletter*, no. 7 (1986): 34–37. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44945690.

from the Pope to support what could be perceived as militant Catholicism would instigate Catholic pogroms in Protestant nations.

The same caution was exercised by the exiled Stuarts, who were ever vigilant of appearing to be beholden to the Pope, which would harm the Stuarts already overly-Catholic image in Britain. The Pope was often seen as the Antichrist by Protestants in the British Isles, and Protestant Jacobites only tolerated the Stuarts' Catholicism.[140] This tightrope had to be walked carefully after the Stuarts' move to Rome. Regardless of the Stuarts' caution, it was very obvious they were beholden to the Papacy. Pro-Jacobite factions in Rome ensured a lavish court and lifestyle for the Stuarts. James Stuart had largely lost faith in his birthright after the Rising of 1719 and resigned himself to the luxuries of the Palazzo Muti, and he adopted more and more of an Italian Catholic lifestyle. However, Papal support for the Stuarts ended when Charles Stuart became head of the house. Charles' temporary apostasy from Catholicism to Anglicanism in the 1750s and his obnoxious drunken behavior caused the Holy See to tire of him. However, Stuart-Vatican good relations lasted through Henry Stuart, who gave up secular life and was ordained a priest, and later became a Cardinal in 1747.

Jacobitism was only as feasible as the commitment of its international patrons, from the livelihood of the Stuarts in exile to the possibility of a restoration. However, through poor planning and bad luck, the Stuarts failed time and again to see any real foreign support come to fruition. Nonetheless international Jacobitism created a vibrant community that contributed to the continent. The Whig government through mastery of

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140. Daniel Szechi, The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688-1788, 210.

espionage and diplomacy, and the luxury of the financial and diplomatic might of the

combined realms of Britain and Hanover, outmaneuvered the Jacobites time and again.

**Conclusion**

Jacobitism was a movement that defined eighteenth-century political life in Great Britain. It developed distinct subcultures in the three kingdoms and caused constant paranoia for the London government. Their paranoia was not irrational, as the Jacobites were constantly waiting and plotting. Whenever crisis came to Britain, the Jacobites were waiting to seize the opportunity to restore their exiled monarch. It is no coincidence that the Atterbury Plot coincided with the fallout of the collapse of the South Sea Company. The War of the Spanish Succession and the War of the Austrian Succession were some of the largest wars London fought in during the period of Jacobite activity; both saw a foreign-sponsored Jacobite uprising. It is most popularly remembered in Scotland, and to this day Culloden is the most visited battlefield in the United Kingdom.[141] Jacobitism essentially created and destroyed the Tory movement and constantly haunted the party.

Jacobite society was as influential as it was dangerous to the Whig establishment. The well-connected network of fellow travelers allowed a well-oiled means of communication. However, Jacobite society was also diverse among the three kingdoms. While diversity offered strength in an array of skills among Jacobites, it also created tension and conflicts due to a lack of agreement. The English Jacobites were by far the most unreliable of them all. The Scottish Jacobites were far more ready to rise, and this Jacobitism was far more popular than its English counterpart. English Jacobitism in many ways was relegated to gentry who were far too concerned with their prestige and wealth and were unwilling to commit to any rising unless it was essentially already won.

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141. "Culloden." National Trust for Scotland. Accessed March 19, 2023.
https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/culloden.

Nonetheless this entrenched underground network was vital in facilitating plotting and scheming. This network constantly worked against Whig intelligence, which reached its full potential under Robert Walpole. The ultimate clash of intelligence networks came with the Atterbury Plot of 1721. Once made aware of the Jacobite plot, Walpole shattered the plot and the dreams of a Jacobite Restoration. While Jacobitism was vast, it could not contend with the giant of a man that was Robert Walpole.

The 1715 Uprising and the 1745 Uprising were perhaps two of the closest periods to a Stuart Restoration the Jacobites achieved. The Rising of 1715 was a more opportune moment for the Jacobites, with the death of Queen Anne and the Hanoverian Succession. The Hanoverian Succession was hardly a popular event; at best Whigs saw it as the only way to prevent a Catholic Stuart Restoration. Tories and many commoners perceived it as an illegal event act brought in a foreign ruling family. While the Hanovers were Protestant, they were Lutheran, and this was not acceptable to many citizens. Riots plagued London and the rest of the three kingdoms.[142] Scotland saw more anti-union riots and there were calls to restore James Francis Stuart in England and Scotland. The Earl of Mar, John Erskine led the Jacobite army that mostly functioned in Scotland. Erskine mustered an army of twelve thousand, which was the largest Jacobite Army ever assembled. Erskine failed to defeat an army half the size of his own at Sheriffmuir and the 1715 failed at Preston. James Stuart would never again take the lead in a rising after his defeat in The '15. While The '45 has a larger place in modern memory, it was far less likely to succeed. By The '45, the Hanoverians were well entrenched British society.

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142. Nicholas Rogers. "Popular Protest in Early Hanoverian London." *Past & Present*, no. 79 (1978): 70–100. http://www.jstor.org/stable/650249.

While George II was still more of a German than a British prince, the younger members of the family, such as the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland, were exemplifying many British traits. The Prince of Wales even led the Patriot faction which emphasized distancing foreign policy away from the Electorate of Hanover. However, the War of the Austrian Succession was beginning to take a toll on the Whig regime. There were many who still clamored for a Stuart monarch, especially in Scotland, where the Stuarts were always remembered most fondly. The on-and-off Jacobite patron of France was committed to an invasion and Prince Charles travelled to France to lead this invasion. After the French abandoned the plan, Prince Charles pressed forward with many fewer men and supplies he had been promised. After a storm took out one of his ships, he landed with next to nothing at one of the most remote locations in Scotland. He convinced thousands of Scots and about two hundred English to rise in his father's name and he fought the last protracted war on British soil. While the war itself was relatively small, it rocked the history of Scotland and of Jacobitism as a whole. The '45 was the last kick of the Jacobite movement. While activity continued, they remained fully passive.

Henry IX was the last Jacobite pretender of the House of Stuart. However, he was a cardinal in the Catholic Church by the time he received the title. Henry Benedict Stuart seldom had interest in the Jacobite cause and only accepted the title in order to honor his family, but never committed himself to using the title. Henry IX lived to see the French Revolution and died in 1807. The Jacobite succession passed to the House of Savoy, Austria-Este, then to the House of Wittelsbach today. The current Jacobite pretender is Franz, Duke of Bavaria. No Jacobite pretender after Henry Stuart has disavowed the title, but also none have ever expressed interest in it.

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Fig. 1, Reynolds, Joshua. Portrait of Samuel Johnson ("Blinking Sam"), oil on canvas, 1775, The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, https://emuseum.huntington.org/objects/48194/portrait-of-samuel-johnson-blinking-sam

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