NATIONAL TRUST *for* SCOTLAND

Culloden Learning Resource

This resource was developed to support teachers in developing and delivering the Jacobites and the ’45 topic. Learning at Culloden is about discovering the story of the Jacobites and also to explore some of the wider issues around conflict.

This document was written by the Culloden Learning team with special thanks to the individuals who contributed their thoughts and insights, Professor Christopher Duffy, Professor Murray Pittock, Dr Dòmhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, Catriona Murray, Professor Allan MacInnes and Eilidh MacKenzie, Fèisean nan Gàidheal.

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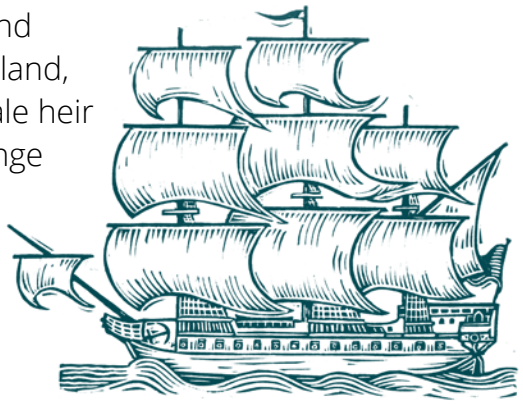
Orange Revolution 1688

Since the 1630s, Britain had been going through a time of political and religious upheaval. When the first Jacobite Risings took place, conflict had been ever-present in the memory of people living in Scotland and the rest of the British Isles. Civil war was a constant threat as Scotland, Ireland and England struggled to find a way to live and prosper together.



King James VII of Scotland & II of England was a Catholic and became increasingly unpopular with his parliaments in Ireland, Scotland and England. Following the birth of a Catholic male heir to James, a group of leading nobles invited William of Orange (James's nephew and son-in-law) to land an invasion army in England, which he did to popular support. James's position became increasingly vulnerable and he fled to France. The English and Scottish parliaments then agreed to make William and his wife Mary, James's Protestant daughter, joint monarchs. This became known as the 'Glorious Revolution', although war in support of King James continued in both Scotland and Ireland, as the Irish parliament did not accept William and Mary until 1691.

Not only did William and Mary's arrival signal political change, but in Scotland religious divisions deepened and there was civil unrest. The Protestant Episcopal Church, which had been the state religion in Scotland under James VII, was overturned by the Scottish parliament and replaced by Presbyterianism.

The Early Years 1689–91

In 1689, in reaction to the exile of King James VII & III, John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee (1648–89), called upon supporters to fight for the Jacobite cause. Dundee was an experienced military commander who understood how to win the loyalty and enthusiasm of the Highlanders. His army won a resounding victory at the Battle of Killiecrankie on 27 July 1689, but Dundee was killed during the battle. Following his death, leadership of the Jacobite army passed to Colonel Cannon, who proved to be an ineffective commander and was defeated three weeks later at the Battle of Dunkeld, by a small government force. Without their charismatic leader, the men who had fought in the first Jacobite Rising became less effective until their defeat in Scotland at Cromdale, near Granton-on-Spey. The Jacobite Rising in 1689 officially ended at the Battle of the Boyne on the 1 July 1690.

John Graham of Claverhouse earned the nickname 'Bloody Clavers' for his ruthless suppression of Presbyterians in the west of Scotland. But his supporters called him 'Bonnie Dundee' – a Jacobite hero who led the first Jacobite Rising in Scotland.

Glencoe Massacre 1692

After the defeat at the Battle of the Boyne clan chiefs were required to swear an oath of allegiance to the new monarchs, William and Mary. Some clan chiefs like MacDonald of Glencoe had sworn an oath to James VII&II and were waiting to be released before swearing a new one. On the 12 December, James released the clans from their oath and on the 28 December, a messenger arrived in the Highlands with the news - leaving little time to swear allegiance.

Alastair Maclain, 12th Chief of Glencoe, made his way to Fort William but was told on arrival that he would have to travel some 70 miles to see a sheriff at Inveraray, in Argyll. After a series of unfortunate events, Maclain arrived and swore his oath of allegiance. However, on the 13 February 1692, 38 men, women and children were killed by a regiment of government soldiers, soldiers who had been billeted and living with the families.

Anne's Amalgamation

Upon the death of Mary II in 1694 and then her husband William III 1702, the thrones of Scotland, England and Ireland passed to Anne, the only surviving Protestant child of James VII & II and his first wife Anne Hyde, Duchess of York. At this time, Scotland was facing an uncertain economic and political future. Under extreme pressure its parliament accepted the Act of Union in 1707, combining the parliaments of Scotland and England.

Anne then became Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. Anne died in 1714 with no living heirs, and the crown passed to the Elector of Hanover, George, after the Act of Settlement of 1701. This Act was rejected by the Jacobites, as there were more than 50 people who stood ahead of George in the traditional hereditary order of succession.

Mar and Mackintosh make their moves; Sheriffmuir 1715

George I was crowned on 20 October 1714 as King of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as being Elector of Hanover. Following the coronation there were disturbances in many towns and villages, and there followed several months of rioting in favour of James Francis Edward Stuart. These riots occurred throughout Great Britain and Ireland and the civil unrest resulted in the passing of the Riot Act in 1715.

Meanwhile James Francis Edward Stuart, who was known to the Jacobites as James VIII & III and also recognised by the Vatican, applied to Pope Clement for help to fund a Jacobite Rising.

Jacobites residing in Scotland had three main issues which both divided and united their cause – the Act of Union of 1707; the restoration of the Stuarts, who in their eyes were the rightful kings; and finally, what form of Protestantism should be dominant in Scotland.

John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar, arrived in Scotland in August 1715. He had supported the Union in 1707 but later converted to the Jacobite cause.

Mar held his first Council of War with leading Jacobites in September 1715. Around 600 fighting men raised the Jacobite standard for him at Braemar. This caught everyone, including James Francis Edward Stuart who had not been consulted, by surprise.

During the night of 13 September 1715, Brigadier General William Mackintosh of Borlum seized Inverness with over 250 men.

On 22 October 1715 Mar received a commission from James, appointing him commander-in-chief of the Scottish Jacobite army.

Once this news spread, other Jacobites began to muster, even in England. A small uprising in the north was planned as a decoy for bigger things afoot in the west of England. But the government got wind of Mar's plans and the leaders of the rebellion were swiftly arrested.

Towards the end of 1715, a battle took place on 13 November when Mar and his Jacobite army of 10,000 men met government forces at Sheriffmuir, near Perth. The government troops were outnumbered and the fighting was confused and inconclusive. Mar thought he had won and withdrew his troops to his base at Perth. Meanwhile the government commander was able to regroup his much depleted forces. The following day Mackintosh of Borlum and more Scottish and English Jacobites were defeated at Preston in Lancashire.

During December, the 'king over the water' or the 'Old Pretender', James Francis Edward Stuart arrived in Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, in the hope of claiming his throne. But the initiative had been lost and further military operations achieved nothing. Early in February 1716 James Francis Edward Stuart and the Earl of Mar fled to France. The government was in control of Scotland and the Rising was over.

The government punished only the leaders of the rebellion: they were deprived of their estates and some were executed.

Coehorns, Clansmen and Glenshiel, 1719

The least known of the Jacobite rebellions is the 1719 Rising, which was sponsored by the Spanish government as Britain and France were theoretically at peace. The Spanish intended their main invasion force to strike at the west of England, but their fleet of ships was scattered by severe storms. As a diversion they also invaded the north-west Highlands.

The Battle of Glenshiel was fought on 10 June 1719 between Jacobites, supported by Spanish troops, and the government army, supported by the Dutch and Swiss. The battle took place on the narrowest part of the glen. The Jacobites were positioned at the high point, although the government army had little problem in dealing with them by using their Coehorn mortars which fired directly up to the Jacobite position.

The battle ended the brief attempt at a Jacobite Rising of 1719.

A die is cast – planning the Rising

Political infighting, charges of corruption and military setbacks abroad had left the British government in a very weak position and it was taken by surprise by the Jacobite Rising in 1745. War in Europe had been simmering since 1740, and to divide the British further the French had been deliberately encouraging Jacobite plotting by Charles Edward Stuart and other leading Jacobites on the Continent.

Jacobite leaders knew they needed three things if they were to succeed:

1. **Support from the Continent, in particular from France**
2. **Support from Jacobites in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland**
3. **Support from the English Jacobites**

The unexpected visitors – Glenfinnan to Culloden 1745

When Charles Edward Stuart arrived in the Highlands in summer 1745 he brought just a handful of supporters and seven close companions. However, his charm and promises of French aid eventually persuaded local clan chiefs to support his cause. On 19 August, before around 1,500 men, Charles raised his father's standard at Glenfinnan and the 1745 Jacobite Rising began.

The government was confident that Sir John Cope, commander of forces in Scotland, would quell the rebellion, using the new network of forts and roads which had recently been constructed in the Highlands by General Wade.

But this failed, and the Jacobites marched south, unopposed. Less than a month later the Jacobites took Edinburgh by surprise and seized control of the city (only the garrison up at the castle held out). Four days later, on 21 September 1745, Cope's government troops suffered a disastrous defeat at the Battle of Prestonpans where they were skillfully outmaneuvered by the Jacobites. Cope's men finally gave way when they were faced with the Highland charge. This victory was a huge morale boost for the Jacobites and Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

Following the battle, Prince Charles held court at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh for nearly six weeks. During this time he strengthened his army and set about improving his finances. When he and his Jacobite commanders met for a Council of War they were faced with a critical choice:

1. **They could remain in Scotland to strengthen their grip on the country.**
2. **They could march south to Newcastle to cut off London's vital coal supply.**
3. **Or they could march to London to encourage the English Jacobites to rise.**

Swayed by the Prince, they decided upon the third option, with the hope that on approaching London the French would launch an invasion as the Prince had promised.

The government, shocked by their defeat at Prestonpans, also called a Council of War. It decided to assemble two armies: one under Field-Marshal Wade which was concentrated in the north-east near Newcastle; the other was positioned in Chester to defend the west.

Decisions at Derby

By early December 1745, and showing astonishing speed, the Jacobite army had reached Derby, just 125 miles from London. In the capital, the government, banks and businesses were panicking, but doubt was growing among the Jacobite officers.

In particular, Lord George Murray thought it was madness to continue. He knew that two government armies were behind them and he believed that a third defended London. There had been very little support from English Jacobites, and although the French had arrived in Scotland there was no sign of them landing an invasion on the south coast of England.

During angry meetings on 5 December, the Prince's leadership was challenged by his senior commanders. They were just a few days' march from London but the Jacobite commanders had lost confidence in their strategy, and in their Prince. They decided to turn round and withdraw to Scotland.

What if they had continued? What if they had known that a French invasion fleet was at that moment preparing to cross the English Channel?

Although in retreat, the Jacobite army was still a force to be reckoned with. As they travelled north, the Duke of Cumberland, who had recently been made commander-in-chief of the government army, and his troops were close behind them. But rumours of a French invasion briefly drove the Duke and his army back south.

On arriving back in Scotland the Jacobites defeated the government army at Falkirk on 17 January 1746. But in the confusion after the battle, the Jacobites failed to build on their victory. Against Prince Charles's will, they decided to retreat further north into the Highlands where they could gather strength over the winter and start the Jacobite campaign afresh in the spring.

Race to the north

On hearing news of the government defeat at Falkirk, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, commander in chief of the government army, rushed north to take charge. He arrived in Aberdeen in February 1746 and began to drill his troops, as well as devising a strategy against the ferocious Highland charge.

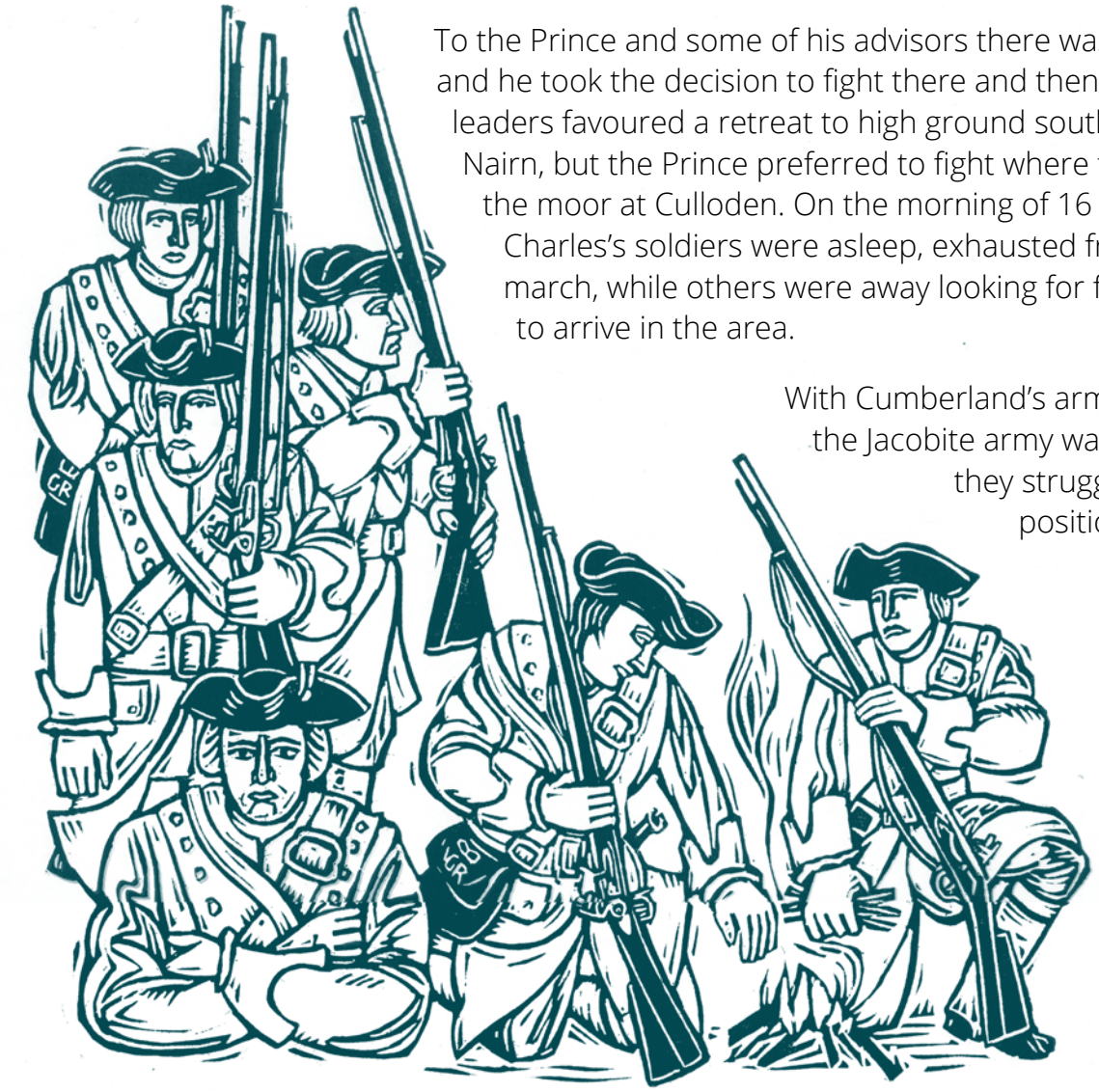
Meanwhile the Jacobites entered Inverness and took Fort George, Inverness; this was followed by the capture of Fort Augustus. But an attempt to take the strategically important Fort William from government forces was unsuccessful. By now Jacobite resources were stretched and many of their supply lines had been blocked.

For Prince Charles, time and money were running out.

At the beginning of April, Cumberland's forces began their advance west from Aberdeen. His troops were in good order and they soon closed in on the Jacobite army for what would surely be the decisive battle. Morale was high as they camped at Nairn on 15 April – Cumberland's 25th birthday.

Rather than risk a pitched battle in their weakened state, the Jacobites agreed on a desperate plan: they would surprise the sleeping government forces. This attack had to happen at night as the Jacobite army was in full view of the Royal Navy ships in the Moray Firth. They left their fires burning so that from the water it looked like they were resting. This could have been a brilliant strategy: sleeping troops would have been no match for Jacobites. However, in reality, the hungry and exhausted Jacobite column stumbled along in the dark, their progress was too slow and they had to turn back. It was a complete disaster.

As dawn broke on 16 April 1746, battle was still not inevitable – there was time for the Jacobites to draw back to Inverness and regain their strength. Bitter arguments broke out between the senior commanders about the best course of action.



To the Prince and some of his advisors there was no alternative, and he took the decision to fight there and then. Some Jacobite leaders favoured a retreat to high ground south of the River Nairn, but the Prince preferred to fight where they stood, on the moor at Culloden. On the morning of 16 April many of Charles's soldiers were asleep, exhausted from the night march, while others were away looking for food or had yet to arrive in the area.

With Cumberland's army approaching, the Jacobite army was in disarray as they struggled into position.

The Battle of Culloden

	Jacobite army (5,500 men)	Government army (approx. 8,000 men)
15 April 1746	Preparing to fight – they are where the Cumberland Stone is today, roughly 1/2 mile east of the final position on 16 April.	Camp at Nairn.
15 April 1746 7pm (approx.)	Lord George Murray agrees to lead a night march.	Spirits are high – to celebrate the Duke of Cumberland's 25th birthday they have been given a day's rest along with a ration of spirits and cheese.
16 April 1746 3am	Murray realises that the march has failed as half the army have not kept pace with him. He turns the column and heads back to Inverness. The men are cold, tired and hungry. Charles does not want to turn around as he thinks it will discourage the men and they will lose any advantage.	Government sentries pick up a 17-year old boy lurking near the camp. He had learning difficulties and the guards took him as a Jacobite spy and tried to hang him. It was only after a presbyterian minister intervened that the boy was cut down, after hanging for 10 minutes.
5am	Arrive back at Culloden, exhausted, hungry and demoralised.	Begin marching west towards Inverness.
10.30am	Scattered 1 mile east of Culloden, very disorganised after the failed night march.	
11am	Spot the government army heading west towards their position. Begin to gather and form battle lines. This is delayed by arguing and they arrange themselves with the bog in front of the north flank of the army.	See the Jacobites and begin to move into battle formation.
12noon	Firming up positions. Clans argue over positions on the front line – the MacDonalds are on the left of the Prince when they have been on the right in previous battles of the '45. O'Sullivan wants 1,000 men placed in Culwhiniac enclosure; Lord George Murray disagrees.	Cavalry and Argyll militia start to move towards Culwhiniac enclosure.
Battle starts around 1pm	Artillery fire the first shot of the battle. Jacobite's response to the Argyll Militia is to send 1000 men to secure it. this removes most of the Jacobite second line.	Royal artillery return fire. Iron round shot is fired from the field guns every 40 seconds and destroys the centre Jacobite artillery. Argyll militia begin to pull down the walls of Culwhiniac enclosure.
+ 5 minutes	Wind blows smoke from government line, making it harder to see. Bombarded by cannon shot and mortar bombs, regiments hold back, waiting for order to attack. Order to charge given by messenger galloping down the Jacobite line, from north (left) flank to south (right) flank. But first messenger is killed by artillery fire and the charge is delayed until another is found.	Royal artillery take out Jacobite artillery and begin firing on clan regiments.

+ 20–25 minutes	Highland charge is released –south flank was meant to wait for north flank, to move forward as one for greatest impact on government front line. But south flank moves before it is meant to and the charge is ultimately ineffective.	When Highland charge is 200m out, government cannon switch to firing canister/ grapeshot instead of iron round shot, essentially turning the cannon into a huge shotgun. When the charge is 50m out, government troops fire their muskets. Government foot regiments fire 3 shots per minute in volley line fire formation, which means a musket shot is fired every 6 seconds.
+ 30 minutes	South flank reaches government front line under musket fire. North flank is bogged down. Meanwhile, cavalry in second line moves round to form defensive line against Argyll militia and Hawley's Dragoons in Culwhiniac enclosure.	Barrell's, Monro's and Royal Scots Fuziliers regiments on south flank of government line feel force of Highland charge. One officer of Monro's regiment reports later that 6 musket balls went through his coat.
+ 35 minutes	Those in Highland charge take part in fierce hand-to-hand fighting. Highland charge is surrounded and government second line fire muskets for 2–3 minutes. Around 700 men are killed. At north end of field, Jacobites are stuck in the bog.	Second line of south flank moves forward. Most of the men killed and injured are from Barrell's and Monro's regiments.
+ 40 minutes	Begin to retreat west across moor. Jacobite second line defends their retreat. Attacked on south flank by Argyll militia who are by Culwhiniac enclosure. Prince Charles leaves field under escort.	Regiments swoop forward with bayonets fixed. Cavalry now in action.
+ 45 minutes to 60 minutes	Full retreat of all regiments. Dead and wounded on the field number around 1,500.	Cumberland orders cavalry charge to pursue retreating Jacobites. Official number for government dead is 50, but this is likely to be inaccurate. Leanach Cottage used as field hospital for over 200 wounded government soldiers and officers. Government army offers no medical aid to injured Jacobites. The only prisoners-of-war are from French regiments of the Royal Ecossais and Irish Picquets; all others are treated as traitors.
17 April 1746	Surviving Jacobites meet at Ruthven Barracks, Kingussie. Prince Charles Edward Stuart ends the campaign and begins his escape from Britain.	Cumberland and his troops re-occupy Inverness. Battlefield is 'closed': no one allowed on or off the field. Government injured moved to Balnain House in Inverness.

Culloden and its consequences
Government occupation

Following his victory at Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland was determined to crush the unruly Highlanders once and for all, capture the Prince, and return to the main war in Europe as soon as possible.

In the 12 months following the Battle of Culloden the communities living around the garrison towns of Fort Augustus, Fort William and Inverness were intimidated and hounded out. Women found sheltering wounded Jacobites or those on the run were often violently searched, and individuals carrying weapons were killed. Much of the violence and atrocities carried out in the Highlands were indiscriminate. To justify their actions, the British government in London claimed the Jacobites had ordered that 'no quarter', or no mercy, was to be given to the government forces. But this was untrue.

Below is an extract from a letter by Captain Thomas Ash Lee from Wolfe's regiment, written on 31 May 1746, where he describes the government army's occupation of Fort Augustus and the Great Glen.

> ***'We're encamped near the ruins of Fort Augustus. Our tents are among the cattle of a thousand hills, for our parties hourly bring in large droves.... Our fellows grow so fat they'll seem like strangers to a campaign soon. We're among hills, some are 7 miles high. Yet daily we erect pyramids higher than those, made of smoke. Thirty houses are now burning in my view.***

Major Lockhart's back from Glenmoriston, where he killed seventeen, hanged some by their heels, burnt four hundred houses and drove back fourteen hundred cattle. Lord Sackville does the same in Glenshiel. Glengarry broke his word to turn in his men so his house and country are now blazing …'

Below is an extract from a letter from a Scottish nobleman, William Kerr, Earl of Ancram, to Sir Everard Fawkener, Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland, written on 25 June 1746 and sent from Aberdeen. He discusses Jacobite resistance to military occupation in the north-east of Scotland and the consequences of attacking government soldiers.

'The officer of Loudon's Regiment who commands the small Garrison … had sent two soldiers with a copy of the certificates … to be given to rebels that surrendered … [when] five or six Rebel Gentleman who were lurking in that country attacked the men, fired upon them, but both made their escape, one of them was wounded.

I ordered immediately the ministers to point out the houses of such as had surrendered that they might be safe, but at the same time ordered the country there about to be burnt & lay'd waste, and on Sunday the Ministers to acquaint their congregations that where ever a man belonging to His Majesty was attacked that the country should be treated in the same way. I hope that I did right.'

Prisoners of the '45

There are no reliable estimates of the number of individuals killed in the aftermath of Culloden. Men, women and children could be arrested as suspected Jacobites or Jacobite sympathisers on charges of treason.

The records show that around 3,500 people were arrested and shipped to England to face trial after prolonged imprisonment in prison hulks; or in places like Carlisle, York and London. The conditions were terrible and overcrowding was rife. One in 20 stood trial for treason and if found guilty they faced execution, indentured slavery or exile.

Many people died in transit or in prison, of those who survived 936 were deported for indentured service, 120 were executed and 1287 were either exiled or freed.

Many Jacobites who managed to escape after Culloden ended up across Europe and North America. Some did incredibly well for themselves. One of these was John Wedderburn of Ballindean, who was around 16 at the time of the battle.

He served in Ogilvy's Regiment. His father was also at Culloden and served in the Prince's Lifeguards, but he was caught and was executed on 28 November 1746. However, John made it to Jamaica, where he invested in land, sugar and slaves. At one time he was the largest landowner in Jamaica. He came back to Scotland in 1769, bringing with him one of his slaves, Joseph Knight. Wedderburn became famous as the first man in Scotland taken to court by Joseph Knight to gain his freedom.

Pacification

On 1 August 1746 the Act of Proscription came into force as part of the assimilation project to bring the Scottish Highlands into the British fold, as well as to put a stop to any ability to revolt.

The Act of Proscription had three key aims:

1. Disarming the Highlands in Scotland

No person was to have in their ***"custody, use or carry a broadsword, target [targe], poingard [a small, slim dagger], whinger, or dirk, side pistol, gun or any other warlike weapon"***. This was an extension of the Disarming Act of 1716 which stopped the general population of the Highlands carrying any type of offensive weapon. Individuals had to surrender their arms on a set date in a given location.

Anyone found with weapons after the surrender was detained and had to pay a fine of fifteen pounds sterling (around £180 in Scots money).

If this could not be paid then the person would be detained for a month. After this time, if the fine had still not been paid, they could then be transported to America.

If individuals were able to pay the fine and were then caught a second time with banned weapons, they would be transported '***beyond the seas, there to remain for the space of seven years'***.

2. Restraining the use of Highland dress

'... no man or boy, within that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty's forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the plaid, philibeg, or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of peculiarly belongings to the highland garb ...'

For a first offence of wearing Highland dress, an individual would be imprisoned for 6 months. If caught a second time, they were liable to be transported to any of the king's plantations overseas for 7 years.

3. **Prevent any future risings by ensuring that children and young people were not educated by disaffected or rebellious people**

To do this the government set up a system to regulate teaching staff and institutions, including Scotland's four universities and public schools. Masters, teachers, chaplains, tutors, or any governors of young people in Scotland had to take an oath to George II, his heirs and successors, and were required to pray for the royal family by name. This pledge had been in place since the 1690s and was being reinforced through the Act.

Educators were also banned from entering Episcopalian meeting houses, many of which were burnt. Educators caught working without a certificate or caught in an Episcopalian meeting house would, in the first instance, be imprisoned for 6 months, and on a second offence be transported to plantations in America for life. If they returned to Great Britain they would be imprisoned for life.

This also affected Scots who had fought for and supported the government throughout the '45. Many government supporters in the north saw the pacification process as a betrayal.

End of an era

Following Culloden, Prince Charles Edward Stuart gave orders for the Jacobites to disperse and he went into hiding. For now, the Rising was over and he was heading back to France.

However, he did not give up on the idea of another Jacobite Rising.

A packet of letters were sent on 5 November 1746 to King Louis XV of France, via his Minister of War, asking for help. At the time of writing, Jacobite leaders and people involved in the Rising were being executed or held in horrendous conditions.

The letter includes a memoire which tells us a lot about Charles Edward Stuart's thoughts on the Rising in the 12 months after Culloden.

Throughout, Charles gives examples to Louis why the Rising failed, and he firmly lays this at the fault of the French for not sending provisions and money. Charles ends the letter by offering Louis XV an opportunity to compensate for this. If France could provide 18–20,000 men, Charles could begin a fresh Jacobite Rising immediately. The tone of the letter shows that Charles is becoming more secretive as he will only tell Louis his actual plans if he can see him in person. Charles ends by saying that the King of France should not worry as these plans are intertwined with the aims and ambitions of France and God.

His letter was unsuccessful and Charles would never lead another Rising and in many ways Culloden marked the end of an era.

Document 1 (To the French Minister of War)

Clichy, 5 November 1746

I enclose, Monsieur, a letter for his Majesty: no-one, without exception, knows that I am writing, nor the manner in which I am sending the letter. Mr Kelly, the courier, is a subject whom I esteem and whose merit is well known, but despite his discretion he knows nothing of the content, since as you know I suspect everyone. I am utterly convinced of your friendship, as you can be of mine.Your good friend

Charles P.

Document 2 (To Louis XV)

Clichy, 5 November 1746

Monsieur my Brother and Cousin,

I have the honour of writing to your Majesty before my departure for Fontainebleau and I take the liberty of representing to you at this time that I have just completed a small note of the affairs I have in hand, and that I hope to have the honour of delivering it directly into your Majesty's hands. The sooner the better. I will eagerly await your instruction as to the day and the manner in which you judge it appropriate to afford me this pleasure.

If your Majesty thinks it fitting that I should come in secret, I could do this with a companion, and arrive at whatever place you see fit to indicate to me, unknown to anyone. I take pains to do nothing without taking the liberty of asking your advice, in everything and everywhere.

I have the honour of remaining, Monsieur, the good brother and cousin of your Majesty,

Charles P

Document 3 (To Louis XV)

Mémoire

The situation in which I left Scotland on my departure merits the complete attention of your Majesty, this Kingdom is on the verge of seeing itself annihilated and the government of England is resolved to confuse those subjects who have remained loyal to it with those who took arms for me, from which it is easy to conclude, that the discontent of this nation is general and that I would find today three partisans for every one I found when I arrived.

It would be to deceive your majesty to claim that I could still take Scotland now. If Parliament has the time this winter to enact the penal laws there, your Majesty should renounce forever the hope of a revolution in that country. And me, I would have no resource other than in the courts of the subjects of the King my father, however much it would please providence to remember him.

Armed men were not lacking in Scotland. Instead I missed at once money, provisions, and a handful of regular troops – with just one of these three resources I would be master of Scotland today, and probably of all England too.

With three thousand regular troop[e]s I would have penetrated England immediately after having defeated Lord Cope, and after that nothing would have stood in the way of my arrival in London, since the Elector [George II] was absent and the English troops had not yet returned.

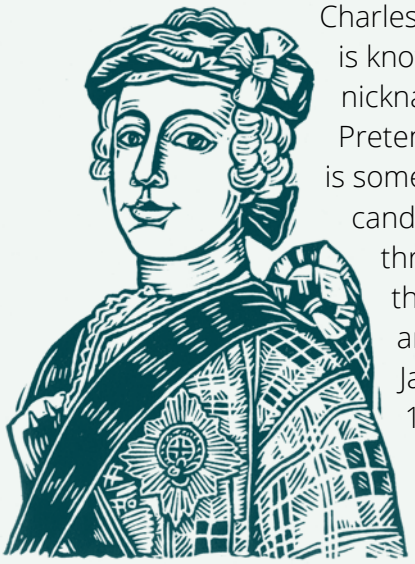
With adequate provisions I would have been in a position to pursue Lord Hawley at the Battle of Falkirk, and to destroy his army which was the flower of the English forces.

If I had received even half the money that your Majesty sent me but two months earlier, I would have been able to meet Prince William of Hanover [Duke of Cumberland] with an equal number of troops, and I would certainly have beaten him, since even with four thousand troops against twelve thousand I prevailed for a long time, and just twelve hundred disciplined, regular troops would have decided it in my favour, in plain view of my whole army.

The loss could still be remedied if your Majesty could provide me with a corps of eighteen or twenty thousand men. It is to him alone that I will confide what I wish to do with them; I shall employ them in both his interests and in mine, these interests are inseparable, and should be regarded as such by all those who have the honour of approaching your Majesty, and who have your Glory, and the advantage of your Realm, at heart.

Biography:

Charles Edward Stuart (31 December 1720 – 31 January 1788)



Charles Edward Stuart is known by several nicknames – the Young Pretender (A Pretender is someone who is a candidate for the throne); in France as the Young Chevalier; and following the Jacobite Rising of 1745 as Bonnie Prince Charlie. He was the second Jacobite claimant to the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland and styled as 'Charles III' by his supporters after the death of his father in 1766.

Charles was born in the Muti Palace in Rome and was the eldest son of James Francis Edward Stuart and Maria Clementina Sobieska, Princess of Poland. Charles and his younger brother Henry were brought up in Rome at the exiled Stuart court, and Charles grew up determined to win back the thrones of Britain for his father.

In July 1730 Charles suffered a bout of smallpox, and in the same year his unruly behaviour was commented on. Charles's behaviour grew worse and in 1733 he kicked his tutor and threatened to kill him if the tutor tried to discipline him again: Charles was confined for a week until he calmed down.

In 1734, when Charles was 13, his father sent him to Naples where he experienced war for the first time at the siege of Gaeta. He was seen as a charming and charismatic young man and it was at this point that British agents began to see him as a greater threat than his father had ever been.

Charles was secretly invited to Paris by Louis XV in late 1743. The plan was for the Prince to accompany a French invasion force to England and Charles had gained the impression that Louis would endorse his regency in the name of his father. But by mid-1745 Charles grew tired of waiting for orders from the French that never came, and he set off for Scotland despite the lack of French support, and against his father's wishes.

On arriving in Scotland Charles was told by some clan chiefs to go home, he perceived and headed to Glenfinnan.

After initial success in raising a small Jacobite force at Glenfinnan and collecting more support en route south, Charles struggled to manage personalities and clashed frequently with Lord George Murray, the Lieutenant General of the Jacobite army.

After the failure of the '45, Prince Charles Edward Stuart returned to France and for a short time he was a hero in Europe.

His life after Culloden was a protracted anti-climax. He was expelled from France in 1748 and spent the next decades drinking heavily and involved in futile conspiracies.

In 1750 Charles plotted to lead a further Jacobite Rising. He arrived in London and spent time with the English Jacobites; however, this came to nothing.

After his father died in 1766, Charles assumed that the Pope would recognise him as king, as his father had been, but this didn't happen. In 1772, when Charles was 52, he married 20-year-old Princess Louise of Stolberg-Gedern. This was a political match which Charles hoped would lead the Pope to acknowledge him as the rightful king of Britain and that France would lend him money for another Rising; neither happened.

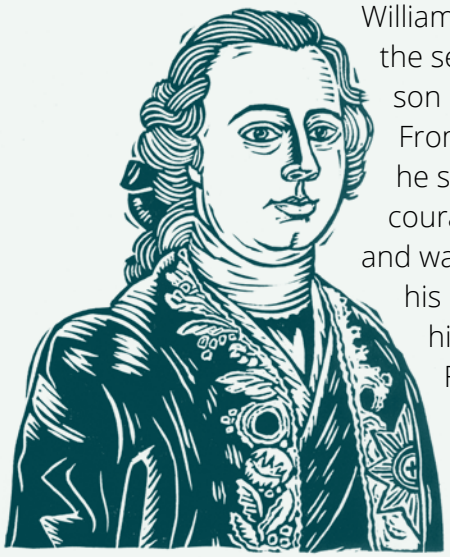
In 1780 Princess Louise left Charles. She claimed that he had physically abused her and she moved into a convent for a short while.

Throughout his life Charles had many affairs, most famously with Clementina Walkinshaw from Glasgow, who he met during the '45. Their only child, a daughter named Charlotte, was born in 1753. Charles signed an act of legitimation for Charlotte in 1783, and gave her the title of Duchess of Albany in the peerage of Scotland. But this did not give Charlotte any right of succession to the throne.

He died in Rome in 1788, a defeated and broken man, deserted by his wife and followers.

Biography:

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (15 April 1721 – 31 October 1765)



William Augustus was the second surviving son of George II. From childhood, he showed physical courage and ability, and was favoured by his parents over his elder brother Frederick, Prince of Wales.

Before he led the government army at Culloden, Cumberland had fought on the Continent during the War of the Austrian Succession. He modernised the government army by drilling his troops, paying them on time and working with the Royal Navy to ensure his army was supplied and supported; as a result he was very popular with his men.

Cumberland showed his ruthless side after the capture of Carlisle in December 1745, when he had four prisoners hung in sight of the castle: '*As a specimen of what the rest may expect*'. He was reminded that they were defending a constitution upholding the right to life, liberty and property by due process of law, but Cumberland felt that leniency after the 1715 Rising was why Jacobitism had survived and resurfaced.

Cumberland's victory at Culloden ended the Jacobite threat, but his severe treatment of the Highlanders afterwards earned him the nickname of the 'Butcher'. He also backed many of the legal measures against the Highlanders, including the Act of Proscription . He was described by a contemporary as *'proud and unforgiving, fond of war for its own sake'.*

The Duke's efforts were acknowledged by his being awarded an income of £25,000 per annum over and above his money from the civil list. A thanksgiving service was also held at St Paul's Cathedral, which included the first performance of Handel's anthem, *See the Conqu'ring Hero Comes*, composed especially for Cumberland.

In 1747 Cumberland returned to active service fighting in the Austrian War of the Succession. On 2 July 1747, while defending Maastricht, his 90,000-strong army was defeated by Marshal Saxe, commander of the French army. Cumberland was nearly captured during the engagement and only narrowly escaped.

Afterwards, Cumberland spent much of his time as Ranger of Windsor Great Park – he employed hundreds of demobilised soldiers to construct a lake called Virginia Water and to plant many trees which still exist today.

Although Cumberland was supportive of former soldiers, he did not have much sympathy for local people. He ran Windsor Forest ruthlessly, attempting to revive the courts which enforced forest laws to prevent people from entering the Great Park to collect firewood on the grounds it disturbed the game.

Cumberland's brother, Frederick, Prince of Wales died in March 1751, and with an aged George II who likely to die before his grandson George III (Cumberland's nephew) was old enough to inherit the throne. George II was in favour of Cumberland becoming Regent. Many of the royal advisors became rattled and stated that Cumberland's unpopularity would made this dangerous, especially as many thought he had an ambition to wear the crown.

Within the decade Cumberland fell from his fathers favour. In 1757 he was sent to the Continent to aid Prussia and stop Hanover becoming occupied by the French. But Cumberland's army was defeated at Hastenbeck and he signed a convention with the French at Kloster-Zeven on 8 September. Since this was virtually a surrender, George II rejected it and dismissed Cumberland, who returned home in disgrace.

His reception in London on 11 October 1757 was very different to the one he had received as the victor at Culloden. The king informed Cumberland that he had ruined the country and the army, his own reputation. Cumberland resigned all his military commissions.

On 21 August 1760 he suffered a stroke. Although he recovered the power of speech, he never took command of an army again. Shortly after this George II died and Cumberland was the chief mourner at the funeral. His father's will left him £180,000 which he gave to his sisters.

Cumberland became a valued advisor to George III and held a ministerial post. While attending a cabinet meeting at his London residence on 31 October 1765, he collapsed and died. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on 9 November.

Commonly used terms in Jacobite Studies

Absolute monarchy	An absolute monarch wields unrestricted political power over the sovereign state and its people.
Act of Settlement (1701)	As King William III and Queen Mary II, and later Queen Anne, had no direct heirs, this English Act of Parliament was passed to settle the rights of succession to the English and Irish crowns. Under the Act, the crowns of England and Ireland would pass to the lawful descendants of the Electress Sophia of Hanover (a granddaughter of James VI of Scotland and I of England) and her non-Roman Catholic heirs. Sophia died on 8 June 1714, just before the death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714, at which time Sophia's son duly became King George I and started the Hanoverian dynasty. English pressure on Scotland to accept the Act of Settlement was one factor which led to the parliamentary union of the two countries in 1707.
Acts of Union (1707)	This was two separate acts, one in Scotland and the other in England, which took effect on 1 May 1707. On this date, the Scottish parliament and the English parliament united to form the parliament of Great Britain, based in the Palace of Westminster in London, which had previously been the home of the English parliament. This is sometimes referred to as the Union of the Parliaments
Divine Right of Kings	This asserts that a monarch derives the right to rule directly from the will of God. The king or queen is not subject to the will of the people, the aristocracy, or any other estate of the realm, including the Catholic Church.
Field hospital	A temporary hospital set up near a battlefield to provide emergency care for the wounded.
Flank	The right or left side, or end, of a military formation.
Musket	Several types of musket were used during the '45. The government army used the long land pattern/Brown Bess musket as it was regular issue. The Jacobites had access to the French 1726 musket and the Brown Bess musket, which were acquired as spoils from Jacobite victories before Culloden.
'Glorious Revolution' of 1688	The removal of the Catholic King James VII of Scotland and II of England to put the Protestant William of Orange and his wife Mary on the throne.
Government army	The standing army of Great Britain (post-1707). It is also known as the British army, but not the king's army or royal army, as technically both the Jacobite army and the government army were royal armies. At Culloden there were Scottish regiments (eg Scots Fuziliers) who fought in the government army.
Hanoverian dynasty	The German family who ruled the Electorate of Hanover and succeeded to the throne of Britain in 1714 after the death of Queen Anne. The House of Hanover ruled Britain and Ireland until the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837.
Coehorn Mortars	A Coehorn mortar is portable and fires high arching, short range projectiles. It is a portable piece of artillery which had been in use from late 17th century.
Highland charge	First used by the Jacobites at the Battle of Killiecrankie, gaining them a fearsome reputation as unstoppable warriors. Their tactic was to fire their muskets at close range, then drop them and run at the enemy, roaring and shouting, to engage in ferocious hand-to-hand combat with their broadswords.

Indentured service	Many people arrested after Culloden were sent to the West Indies and the Colonies in North America as slaves. Indentured slavery lasted for a fixed period of time, typically 4 to 7 years, in exchange for food, clothing and shelter. After this time they were given their freedom.
Jacobite	King James VII's supporters became known as Jacobites, which comes from the Latin *Jacobus*, meaning James.
Presbyterian	A Protestant form of religion. Before the exile of James VII & II, Presbyterians were forbidden to worship and were heavily persecuted by John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who was an Episcopalian. Presbyterians generally supported the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the Acts of Union 1707. Because of their support, the Church of Scotland was unequivocally recognised as a Presbyterian institution by the monarch.
Redcoat	The term redcoat came widely into use after Culloden and starts to be used during the American Revolution in the 1760s. *Dearganach* is Gaelic and describes men in red coats; some scholars believe it was used during the Jacobite era to describe government soldiers.
Riot Act (1715)	This was enacted by George I after rioting broke out in favour of James Francis Edward Stuart. It was 'an act for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies, and for the more speedy and effectual punishing the rioters.'
Stuart dynasty	The Stuarts were a Scottish royal dynasty that began with Robert II in the late 14th century. In 1603, under the Union of the Crowns, James VI of Scotland also became James I of England. The Stuart reign saw a brief interruption with the republican Commonwealth, but it was restored in Scotland in 1650 and England 1660 with Charles II as king. After the 1707 Acts of Union, the Stuarts became the head of state of the newly created Great Britain. The direct male Stuart line was in exile in France. However, Queen Anne died with no heirs and in 1714 the crown passed to the House of Hanover. The variant in spelling, from Stewart to Stuart, was due to James VI & I, with the French spelling being adopted on his accession to the English throne in 1601. This became the standard for future generations.
Treason	In the 18th century this was focused on an act of aggression or attempting to overthrow the monarch.
Rising	Is an act of resistance or rebellion; a revolt. The Jacobite conflict is often called a Rising so that it does not appear illegitimate or unlawful.

NATIONAL TRUST *for* SCOTLAND

Mary Queen of Scotland
b. 1542 d.1587
Rule 1542-1567
m. 2 **Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley**

James VI Scotland & I England and Ireland
b.1566 d.1625
Rule 1567-1625
m. **Anne of Denmark**

Charles I
b 1600 d.1649
Rule 1625-1649
m. **Henrietta Maria of France**

Charles II
Rule 1649 – 1685

Mary Princess Royal
b.1631 d.1660
m. **William II Orange**

William III of Orange
b.1650 d.1702
Rule 1688-1702

m.

Mary II of Scotland & III of England and Ireland
b.1662 d.1694
Rule 1688-1694

James VII Scotland and II of England and Ireland
b.1633 d.1701
Rule 1685-1688
m. 1
Anne Hyde
m. 2
Mary of Modena

Anne of Great Britain
b.1665 d.1714
Rule 1694-1714
m. **Prince George of Denmark**

James Francis Edward Stuart
(also known as James VIII & III)
b.1688 d.1766
m. **Maria Clementia Sobieska**

Charles Edward Stuart
b.1720 d.1788

Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal – Duke of York
b1725 d. 1807

Son of Fredrick
George III of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover
b1738 d.1820
Rule1760 –1820

Elizabeth Stuart
b.1596 d.1662
m. **Frederick V of Palatine**

Sophia of the Palatinate
b. 1630 d.1714
m. **Ernest Augustus Elector of Hannover**

George I of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover
b. 1660 d.1727
Rule 1714 -1727
m. **Sophia Dorothea of Celle**

George II of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover
b1683 d.1760
Rule 1727 -1760
m. **Caroline of Ansbach**

Fredrick Augustus, Prince of Wales
b.1707 d.1751
m. **Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha**

William Augustus Duke of Cumberland
b.1721 d.1765