

Prince Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) and the Jacobite Movement

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**WORLD
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Charles Edward
Stuart: why do we
remember ?

Where are his
contemporaries:
Catherine the Great,
George II, Joseph II?

Who were the
Jacobites, and what
did they want ?

- No achievements
- Personal qualities doubtful
- Part of public memory:
Culloden most visited battle site
in UK; *Outlander*
- Exclusion of senior heir
- Attempts of 1696,
1708, 1715, 1719, 1722, 1744, 1745,
1752, 1759
- Central to French foreign policy,
British imperial army and
Romantic Scotland



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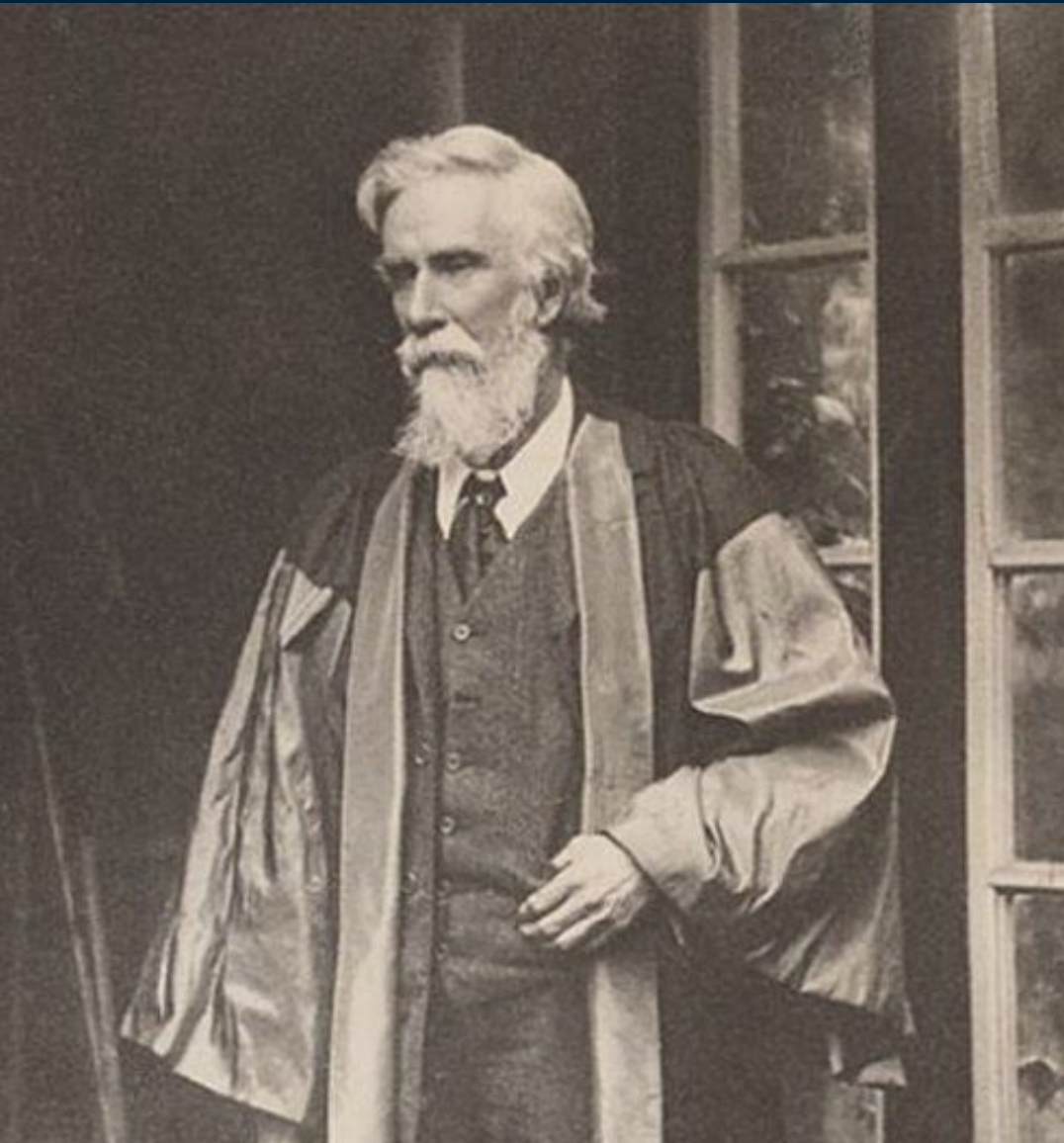


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Holyrood House, Edinburgh, in 1745

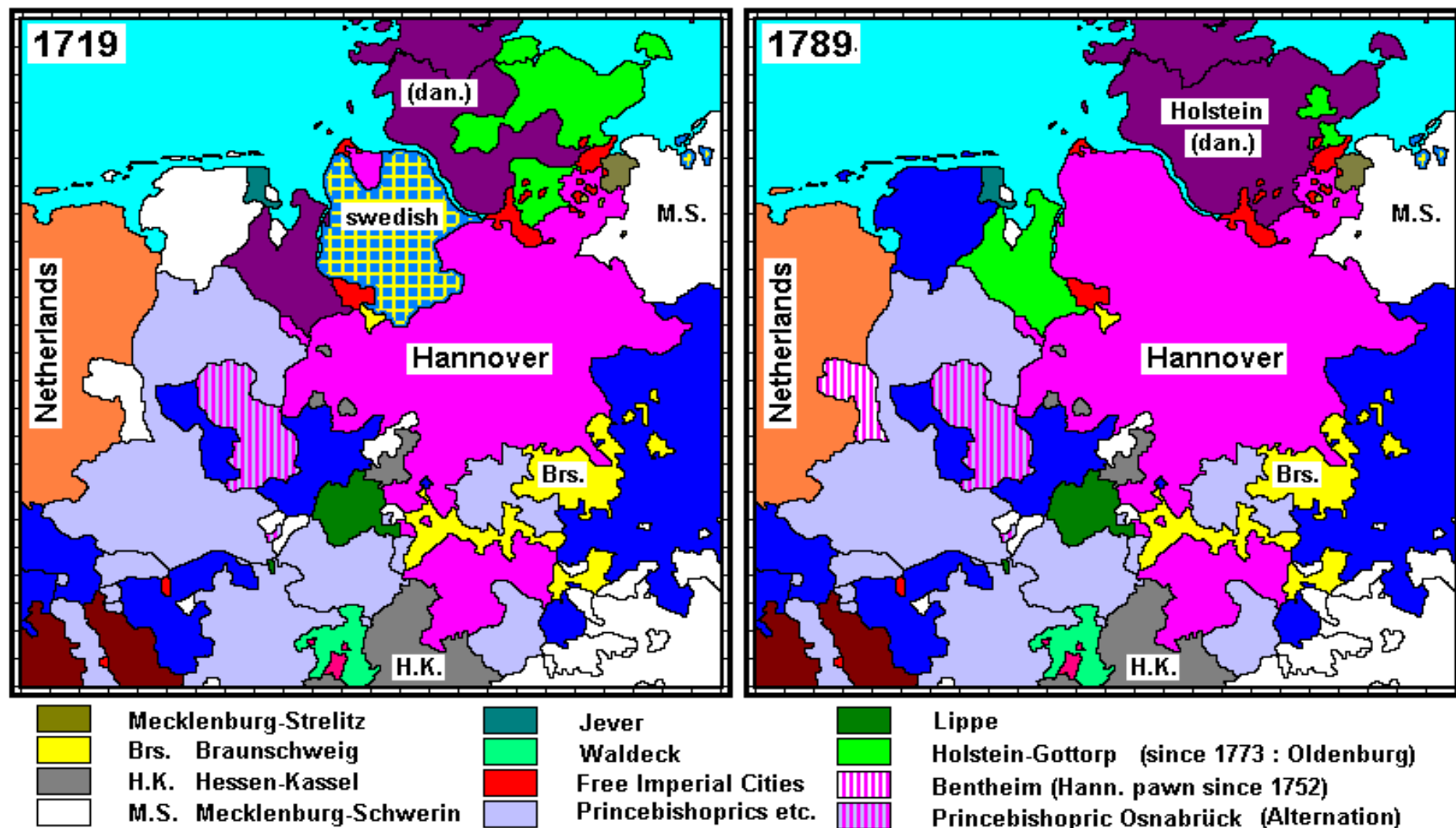
Image from Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, Vol 1, 1884



The principle of Parliamentary sovereignty means neither more nor less than this, namely, that Parliament thus defined has, under the English constitution, the right to make or unmake any law whatever; and, further, that no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament.

AV Dicey (1835-1922)

The Electorate of Hannover, 1719-1789 : Territorial Development



Who were the Jacobites and what did they want?

The Jacobites wanted to restore James VII and II (r. 1685-89) and his son James VIII (1688-1766) and grandson Charles Edward Stuart (1720-88), 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' to the thrones of England Scotland and Ireland. Their goals were dynastic and religious.

In fact, much more complex. English/ Welsh Jacobite outlook:

1. Dislike of foreigners and the Dutch/Hanoverian connexion

2. Anglicanism

3. Country vs city, local vs financial economy (cf 1)

4. Excluded Tories

Scottish/Irish Jacobite outlook

1. Union (James VII and VIII opposed Union strongly, not just for policy)
2. Multi-kingdom monarchy espoused by later Stuarts
3. Restoration of Episcopacy(Scotland)
4. Protection of Catholic rights (Ireland)
5. Diasporic/sojourning mercantile and military communities and the vexed history of trade access





Scottish
and Irish
Jacobitism

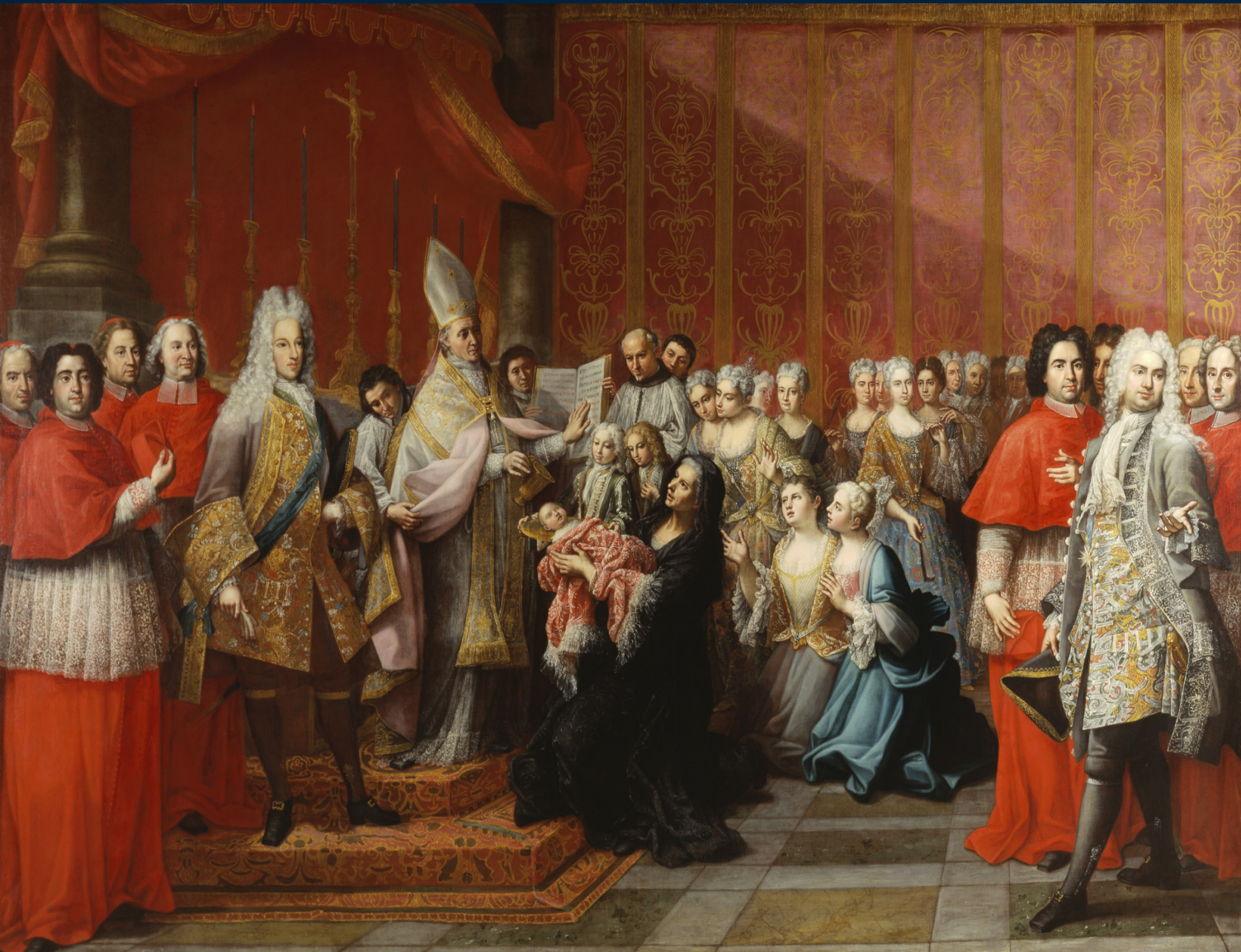
English
Jacobitism

Stuart
restoration

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graph TD; A[Scottish and Irish Jacobitism] --> C((Stuart restoration)); B[English Jacobitism] --> C;
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Charles Edward Stuart was born on 31 December 1720 (New Style) to James 'III and VIII' and Maria Clementina Sobieska, the daughter of the eldest son of John III Sobieski of Poland and Lithuania, still famous for his part in the victory over the Ottoman Empire at Vienna in 1683.



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James 'III' and 'VIII', Antonio
David (c1720)- *with thanks*
to Daniel Szechi



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- By 1744, ten years after Charles had first seen military action, Louis XV's France, embarrassed by its position in the War of the Austrian Succession was ready to launch an invasion on his behalf: but the build up of forces was slow, British intelligence alert, and the French Court was divided, with its diplomats leaking
- Charles decided to launch a Rising himself, even though the vast majority of his supporters regarded French troops as critical to success.
- Charles enlisted a few hundred Irish troops in the service of the French Crown to sail with his force on the 64-gun *Elisabeth*, and the *Du Teillay*, a 16-gun privateer, set sail on 5 July 1745 to restore Charles's father and destroy the post-1707 British state in its current form. Four days later, the scale of this task was clear when the Royal Navy's *Lion*, an ancient 60-gun fourth rate, damaged the *Elisabeth* so badly she had to return to port. On 23 July, the *Du Teillay* made landfall at Eriskay with Charles and a handful of men, including his Lieutenant General, the Marquess of Tullibardine and legitimate Duke of Atholl and Colonel John Sullivan, his quartermaster-general and a French regular. Sullivan and Sir John MacDonald, a cavalry officer in the French service, were the only effective soldiers he had.



- **The Prince's Strand, Eriskay**
- 29 July: first pledge of support
- 14 August: defeated British reinforcements at Fort William
- 16 August: 1st Foot defeated at Highbridge/Laggan
- 19 August: standard raised at Glenfinnan following advent of two Cameron battalions
- British forces defeated at Inversnaid; Cluny captured and joins Rising; George II returns from Hanover
- 4 September: enters Perth,. Joined by Duke of Perth, Earl of Airlie, Viscount Strathallan, Lord George Murray, Gask



- 17 September: city gates of Edinburgh left open
- 20 000 greet entry of Prince's army
- 21 September: British army in Scotland under Sir John Cope defeated at Prestonpans
- 24 September: pre-Union taxes begin to be raised in Jacobite held territory
- 25 September: battalion raised in Aberdeen, city abandons the government
- 28 September: run begins on Bank of England; land taxes withheld in England, government borrowing from City and individual merchants

[Image: courtesy of National Trust for Scotland]



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Charles Edward Stuart (1745) by Allan Ramsay (1713-84), the basis of a propaganda print by Robert Strange.

Charles stayed in a bedchamber on the first floor in the far west wing in the Duke of Hamilton's apartments, formerly those of Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza. William Adam had redecorated these for the 6th Duke of Hamilton-an equivocating Jacobite-in the early 1740s. Volunteers came into the great hall and-as was customary with European royalty-crowds came to see him dine. The Prince held levées and balls (though the evidence for these is limited, two ball dresses may survive. Colonel John Roy Stewart (Iain Ruadh Stiùbhart) led off the Scottish country dance section of the balls which followed on from the formal French section. He also approached Allan Ramsay to paint the Prince's portrait.



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- 6000 Dutch troops called in, 18 battalions and 9 cavalry squadrons recalled from the Continent; Forbes and Earl of Loudoun raise resistance; defeated Inverurie, 23 December
- 8 November: two Jacobite divisions enter England
- 14/15 November: Carlisle falls
- 22 November: Lord John Drummond lands at Montrose
- 23 November: defence of Manchester abandoned
- 3 December: Derby abandoned
- 5 December: Jacobite retreat from Derby; 1-2000 men at Finchley, Cumberland at Northampton.



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‘With respect to the pretended Union...the King cannot possibly ratify it, since he has repeated Remonstrances against it from each Kingdom; and since it is incontestable, that the Principal Point then in view was the Exclusion of the Royal Family’

- *Charles, Prince Regent, Edinburgh, 14 October 1745, following James III and VIII’s declaration of 1743.*

‘Scotland...is about to be destroyed and the English government is resolved to treat alike those who supported it and those who took up arms for me’

-Prince Charles to Louis XV, 10 November 1746

‘the Scots had preserved their liberty and independence down to the union of the two kingdoms in 1707’

-Chevalier de Johnstone, ADC to Lord George Murray and Montcalm



18 December 1745: British advance guard beaten off at Clifton by Lord George Murray's charge

23 December: Lord Gordon's victory at Inverurie

18 January 1746: victory against British Army at Falkirk, followed by retreat to Crieff

25 February: east coast ports abandoned, reinforcements of men and materiel lost

20 March: General Bland's forces defeated at Keith by Lord John Drummond

12 April: Perth and Drummond's division fails to contest the Spey

14 April: Drummond retreats from Nairn; Jacobite cavalry contest a five mile fighting retreat

15 April: decision on battle site to contest advance into Inverness, last major burgh in Jacobite hands



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Murray Pittock is Bradley Professor and Pro Vice-Principal at the University of Glasgow, and one of the leading scholars of Jacobitism and Romanticism globally. His books include *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, *Material Culture and Sedition*, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, *Jacobitism, Inventing and Resisting Britain*, *The Invention of Scotland*, and many others. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and of the Royal Historical Society and has won or been nominated or shortlisted for fifteen literary prizes internationally.

GREAT BATTLES

SERIES EDITOR: HEW STRACHAN

The world's most important
battles—and the long historical
shadows they have cast

The story of Culloden, the battle that
ended Jacobitism and laid the way for the
globally dominant Britain of the late eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries: how it was fought, how it
has been remembered, and what it means
for us today.

Cover illustration: The Battle of Culloden 16 April 1746. Coloured engraving published
by R Sayer and J Bennett, London, 1780. Courtesy of the Council of the
National Army Museum, London.

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.oup.com

ISBN 978-0-19-966407-8



9 780199 664078

£18.99 RRP \$29.95 USA

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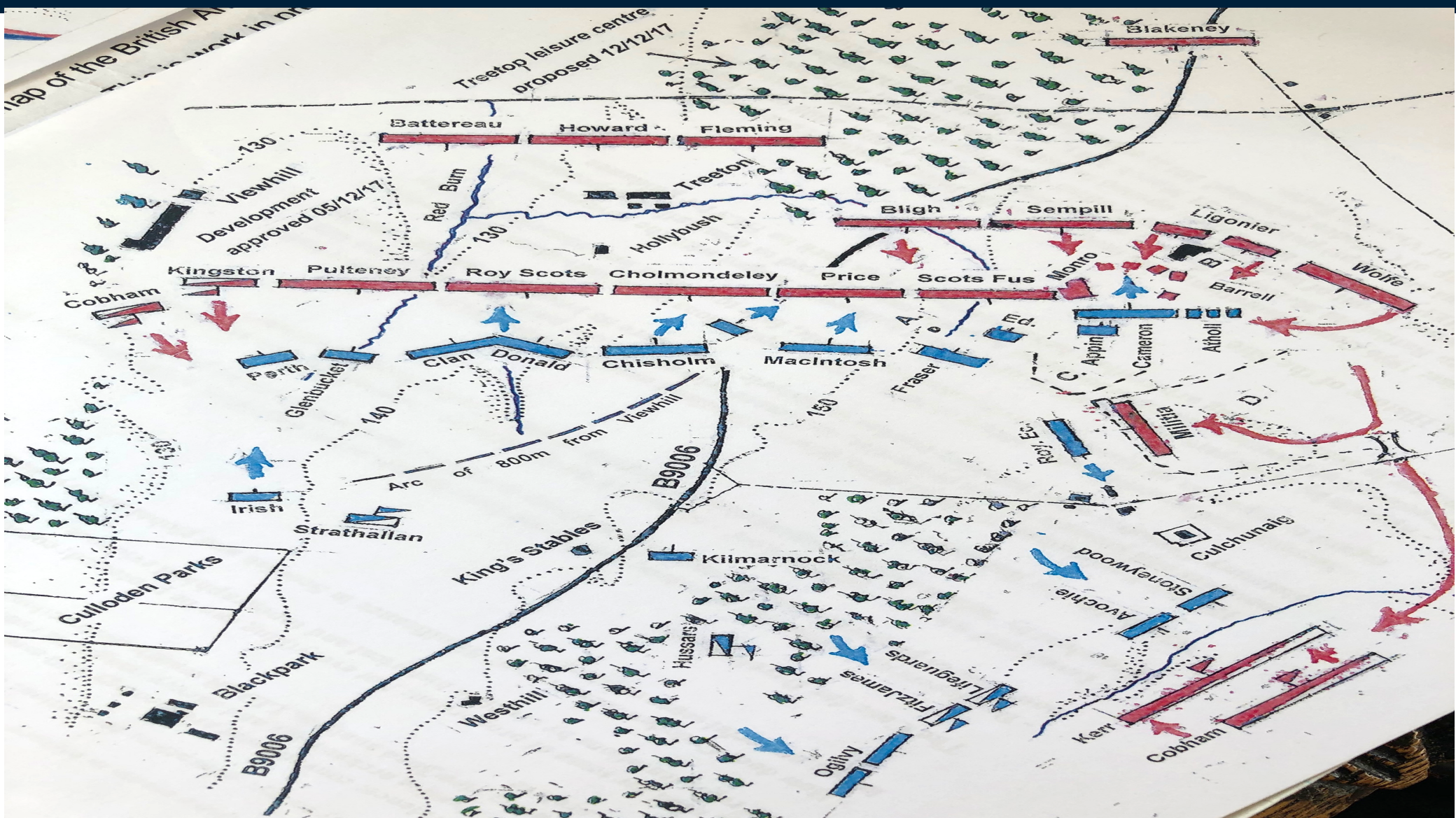
The battle of Culloden lasted less than an hour. The forces involved on both sides were small, even by the standards of the day. And it is arguable that the ultimate fate of the 1745 Jacobite uprising had in fact been sealed ever since the Jacobite retreat from Derby several months before.

But for all this, Culloden is a battle with great significance in British history. It was the last pitched battle on the soil of the British Isles to be fought with regular troops on both sides. It came to stand for the final defeat of the Jacobite cause. And it was the last domestic contestation of the Acts of Union of 1706-7, the resolution of which propelled Great Britain to be the dominant world power for the next one hundred and fifty years.

If the battle itself was short, its aftermath was brutal—with the depredations of the Duke of Cumberland followed by the occupation of large parts of Scotland and a campaign to suppress the Highland way of life. And its afterlife in the centuries since has been a fascinating one, pitting British Whig triumphalism against a growing romantic memorialization of the Jacobite cause.

On both sides there has long been a tendency to regard the battle as a dramatic clash, between Highlander and Lowlander, Celt and Saxon, Catholic and Protestant, the old and the new. Yet, as this account of the battle and its long cultural afterlife suggests, while viewing Culloden in such a way might be rhetorically compelling, it is not necessarily good history.







There were fewer than 14000 men on the field that cold wet April day on the edge of Europe, but Culloden is still one of the decisive battles of the world.

If the Jacobites had won the campaign-and here it is true victory at Culloden alone would have made little difference-the maximalist case is that

- A restored Stuart would once again have adopted-as Charles I, Charles II and James II and VII all had-terms of cohabitation rather than confrontation with France.
- In such a case, the war of 1756-63 would not have occurred, the American Revolution would have run the risk of French power in North America and might not have occurred or succeeded.
- The financial crisis faced by France would have been averted, the Revolution of 1789 would not have taken place, and the son of a commander in the Corsican resistance to France would not have become its Emperor in 1804 and changed the face of Europe.





The Battle of Culloden: Common Misconceptions

- The battle of Culloden was a dynastic conflict between the Stuarts and the Hanoverians
- The battle of Culloden was fought between a modern army and the Highland clans
- The battle of Culloden was fought between Catholics and Protestants
- The battle of Culloden was a victory of muskets over swords.
- The battle of Culloden was fought on a badly chosen site, and this was the fault of Charles Edward Stuart and his Irish officers
- The battle of Culloden was fought to end a British civil war
- The battle of Culloden was a defeat for Scottish nationalism

- 17 April: Orders of the Day sent a captain and company round all houses near Culloden with a ‘licence to kill’
- Around 70 executions by firing squad, up to 32 burned alive, 36 deserters hanged, 19 officers shot or clubbed to death together, hundreds killed on the field
- Those burned may have included Colonel O’Reilly, attached to Lord Ogilvy’s, Menzies of Shian, Stewart of Kynachan
- The Synod of Moray advised all its ministers ‘to be very careful and cautious’ in attesting to the guilt of anyone detained or suspected of complicity in the Rising
- Major-General Bland’s 1743 *Treatise on Military Discipline*: ‘a respectful attitude by occupying military forces towards the civilian population’
- Bland to Loudoun, 22 May 1746: ‘destroy all persons you can find who have been in the rebellion or their abettors’.

‘[It is] of absolute necessity, that the new laws take place before his Majesty’s forces quit this Country & I flatter my self that within a month or six weeks at longest, we shall have done all that can be done by the military’

-Cumberland to Newcastle, 23 April 1746. Ten years later, there were still 60 British Army patrols in Scotland.

The victory at Culloden gave birth to an inexpressible joy through the extensive dominions of the British empire; not only Europe and Africa, but the two Indies joined in the shout, and gave joyful acclamations.- Andrew Henderson

‘Scotland was not settled until the 1750s, and then only through the imposition of “systematic state terrorism” was Jacobitism finally defeated’- Christopher Whatley OBE

- On 18 July, Cumberland left for England:
 - Edinburgh and Borders: Nezens, 2nd battalion the Royals, Barrel's
 - Glasgow: Price's
 - Dundee and Angus: Skelton's
 - Aberdeen and NE: Handasyde's, Mordaunt's, Blakeney's
 - East Lothian: Sackville's
 - Stirling: Haughton's
 - Perth: 21 companies and 100 artillerymen, mostly Loudoun's
 - Inverness: Batterau's
 - Fort William: Lee's
 - 27 burgh deployments. Total 12 000 men, similar size to British establishment in Ireland

Depopulation was very much in Cumberland's mind. Initially, his goal had been to transport the entire population of Lochaber and the areas round, and eventually a limited version of this was practised in Lochaber and Morven. It was supported by Bland and others, including Lord President Forbes. Under the influence of Cumberland's concepts and practices, the British forces would initiate *Le Grande Dérangement* of 1755, which led to the expulsion of over 80% of the 14000 French settlers in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Even further from the public eye, Cumberland's policies could be put into more thorough effect. As the Duke himself said, he looked forward to the French being 'drove out' as he had once hoped to do in Lochaber.



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In June 1751, Colonel Wolfe (CO Perth late 1740s) recommended the incorporation of disaffected Scots into the British army in these famous terms: it would be '*no great mischief if they fall. How can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive to the common good?*'.

William, 2nd Viscount Barrington, the Secretary at War, supported this idea, and Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle, Prime Minister 1754-56 and 1757-62, passed on this suggestion to William Pitt, who in turn persuaded George II to approve the extensive recruitment of ex-Jacobites in the wake of the British defeat at Monongehala in 1755. The myth of the Scottish soldier, fed by landlords eager for money and rehabilitation, was born.

Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, CO 3rd battalion Lovat's at Culloden, raised 1100 men in three months in 1757, 78th (Highland) Foot, Fraser's Highlanders.



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‘The descent that was made...in 1745 had nearly proved fatal to the Anglo-Hanoverian government’.

-Thomas Paine to Thomas Jefferson, c1776

If the Corsicans are successful in ‘fighting for liberty’...’they will be no rebels, and this will likewise be the case, when your Americans set up for themselves; not to say that it had been likewise the case, if your Scotch had succeeded in their last rebellions’

-Giuseppe Marc’ Antonio Barretti to James Boswell, 1768

- Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair's (c1698-1770) elegy on MacDonald power in the modern era in *Birlinn Chlann Raghnail* (Clanranald's Galley)
- James Macpherson's (1736-96) Ossian, last of the bards of an heroic Gaelic Scotland
- Walter Scott's (1771-1832) *Redgauntlet* (1824) with its 'Cause' that is 'lost for ever', both Scotland's and that of the Stuarts, the Jacobite iconography of 'Highland' patriotism became the source material for Scotland's global brand.
- These men knew that world:. Alasdair was a captain in 1745 and Prince Charles's Gaelic tutor; Macpherson's cousin Lachlan was a lieutenant in Cluny's regiment where more than a dozen of Macpherson's relatives also served; and Scott's own father rode away as a boy with Murray of Broughton's Hussars in 1745 before being brought back home.
- The *Montagnards*, the exiled 'Highland' soldiers of Scotland recorded at Avignon in 1716, became fused with the Swiss as fighters for freedom, and after the Revolution the Jacobin *Montagnards* of France took the high benches in the Assembly.

Scotland the Brand

- La Sueur, *Ossian, ou Les bardes*: Paris Opera 1804
- Schubert Lieder settings; Mendelssohn, *Fingal's Cave (Hebrides Overture)* (1829)
- Paintings
 - Nicolai Abildgaard, *Ossian Singing* (1787)
 - Anne-Louis Girodet, *Ossian Receiving the Ghosts of Fallen French Heroes* (1805)
 - Jean-Auguste-Dominique-Ingres, *Ossian's Dream* (1813)







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