

NOVA ROMANA CALEDONIA IN BRITANNIA  
A CULTURAL HISTORY OF SCOTTISH JACOBITE PAGEANTRY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Department of History

Central Michigan University  
Mount Pleasant, Michigan  
March 2013

Accepted by the Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies,  
Central Michigan University, in partial fulfillment of  
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## ABSTRACT

### NOVA ROMANA CALEDONIA IN BRITANNIA A CULTURAL HISTORY OF SCOTTISH JACOBITE PAGEANTRY

by E. Wesley Reynolds, III

Much of the transnational Scottish sporting and festival culture at the Highland games recreates a rebellious clan perception of the Scots. At its root, many of the artistic forms of these events celebrate a Romantic portrayal of Jacobitism; the failed Scottish attempts to restore the old Scottish Stuart dynasty to the throne of Great Britain in 1689, 1715, and 1745. Yet the question remains how historically acceptable is the clan Highland image for scholarly investigation of the Jacobite wars. Historians do not agree. Two general approaches to the issue of Scottish participation in the Jacobite conflicts emerge; the proto-nationalist view of Jacobitism and the hierarchical clan view. The first school believes that Scottish Jacobites fought to assert their national existence, while the second school asserts that clan associations played a larger roll in the organization of militant Jacobitism. This work will attempt to avoid the pitfalls of either school by using a study of Scottish heraldry to prove the existence of pre-national orders in Jacobite armies, of which clan participation played a part. In my treatment of Jacobitism, I have demonstrated three concepts: that Jacobite nobility and the Stuart court created a hierarchical order of Scottish leadership through a pageant of heraldry, revised the Jacobite constitutional platform for Tory political elite, and applied Highlandism across all levels of their armies to enforce the legitimacy of hereditary power. Thus, Jacobitism was inherently elitist and pre-national in its political and military structures.

The approach of this work has been to determine the historical applicability of Highland myth through the cultural trappings of that myth, namely heraldry, poetry, and popular minstrelsy.

However, the social and political placement and organization of the Scottish Jacobite elite has also determined the factors of this cultural analysis. This work reconstructs clan Highlandism from its Jacobite seventeenth century origins and find threads of thought which continue on into nineteenth century myth and even into our present day. Jacobite leadership implemented a show of heroic martialism which solidified Highlandism as a patriotic expression. Jacobite soldiers, patriots, and minstrels celebrated clan heroism, and layed the foundations for modern myth.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

For centuries, Scotland's Highland legacy has inspired generations of enthusiasts and eulogists, while it has continued to puzzle scholars of Scottish history. Trans-Atlantic Highland sport attracts world class competitors and emphasizes the martial culture of a heroic Scottish past in the heavy games. Rules for Highland dancing and bagpiping are extremely rigid and equal to those of organized field sports. Many of the artistic forms of these events celebrate a Romantic portrayal of Jacobitism; the failed Scottish attempts to restore the old Scottish Stuart dynasty to the throne of Great Britain in 1689, 1715, and 1745.<sup>1</sup> American-Scottish heritage festivals preserve the nineteenth century pageant of Highlandism memorialized by Scottish poet Sir Walter Scott, where “all things Scottish are portrayed through heroic images of the Highlander, regardless of historical accuracy.”<sup>2</sup> As scholar of American Highlandism Celeste Ray argues about romanticized Jacobitism: “a 'Scottish' identity developed through the articulation of historical events [the Jacobite defeats in 1745-1746], historical responses to these events, and the

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1. “Blairsville Games Records,” *Blairsville Scottish Festival and Highland Games*, accessed 27 March 2012, <http://www.blairsvillescottishfestival.org/games.html>; “Highland Athletics,” *Capital District Scottish Games*, accessed 27 March 2012, <http://scotgames.com/>; “Scottish Festival and Games,” *Long Island Scottish Clan MacDuff*, accessed 27 March 2012, [http://www.liscots.org/festival\\_and\\_games.htm](http://www.liscots.org/festival_and_games.htm); “Highland Dancing,” *St. Andrew's Society of Detroit*, accessed 27 March 2012, <http://www.highlandgames.com/highlandDancing.html>; “St. Andrew's Society of Connecticut Scottish Festival: Highland Dance Competition Information & Entry Form,” *St. Andrew's Society of Connecticut*, accessed 27 March 2012, <http://www.sasct.org/festival.html>; “Piping and Drumming,” *United Scottish Society of Southern California*, accessed 27 March 2012, <http://www.scotsfest.com/p&d.htm>; “Piping and Drumming,” *United Scottish Society of Southern California*, accessed 27 March 2012, <http://www.scotsfest.com/p&d.htm>; Ray, Celeste, *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001) 6, 21, 176.

2. Margaret Bennett, “From the Quebec-Hebrideans to 'les Ecosais-Quebecois': Tracing the Evolution of a Scottish Cultural Identity in Canada's Eastern Townships,” in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 150.

myths that evolved about both.”<sup>3</sup> In North Carolina, Scottish Highland and Southern sympathy combine meaning for a lost cause, and Ray notes that much of the Scottish Highland post-WWII revival in the South is Presbyterian.<sup>4</sup> Jacobite specialist Paul Kléber Monod critiques the Romantic interpretation, “The work of the romantics [e.g. Scott] was often based upon impeccable scholarship, but it conveyed little sense of the complexity of Jacobitism...”<sup>5</sup>

Monod's frustration with Highland interpretations of Jacobitism is universally felt among scholars of Jacobite studies. The Stuart cause never entirely corresponded with Highland interest. Bruce Lenman relates that Highland chiefs like Norman MacLeod believed Prince Charles mad for landing in Scotland with only seven men and little arms. Economic distress racked many of the chiefs who did not particularly like the Hanoverian regime but felt they could do very little to end it. Nevertheless, the Prince's landing afforded him access to a very strategically central group of clans, like the MacDonalds, who had been instrumental in previous Jacobite attempts to restore the Stuart throne in 1689 and 1715. Both Lenman and Stuart biographer Frank McLynn attach great significance to Prince Charles' personality and charisma in holding his army together by a show of Highlandism.<sup>6</sup>

The Scottish political community in favor of reinstating the Stuart monarchy over Britain in the eighteenth century included a minority of Episcopal Nonjurors, clerics who believed in

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3. Celeste, *Highland Heritage*, 21.

4. *Ibid*, 2-3, 181, 200.

5. Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688-1788*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 1-2.

6. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Clans of the Great Glen: 1650-1784* (London: Methuen, 1984) 149-150; Frank McLynn, *Charles Edward Stuart: A Tragedy in Many Acts* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 308-313.

hereditary right of the Stuarts; a Catholic minority, and a Scottish Tory majority who wished to preserve their landed status. Daniel Szechi summarizes the social conditions for Jacobitism in Scotland by stating that Lowland Tories had great influence over their tenants and could generally motivate them to take up arms for the Stuarts, while in the Highlands, clan pro-Jacobite factions could mobilize proportionately vast numbers of ordinary clansmen. This is why, he argues, the Scots rebelled in greater numbers than their Southern neighbors.<sup>7</sup> But what were the motivations for revolt and reinstating the Scottish Stuart dynasty? Szechi believes that English Jacobites believed that British wars after the Stuart era impoverished the landed elite and rewarded the social and political authority of the bourgeoisie. In Scotland, Jacobites believed a restoration of the Stuarts would replace the Parliamentary Union between Scotland and England in 1707 with a more fully sovereign Scottish Parliament, thus ending the Anglo-Welsh *de facto* domination of Scottish constitutionality. Szechi claims, “It is not going too far to say that Scottish Jacobitism was... a proto-nationalist movement.”<sup>8</sup> Other scholarship favors a hierarchical explanation.

Allan MacInnes sees pre-national Scottish hierarchies as the basis for clan support to the Stuart dynasty. Highland clans were defined by territorial associations, with dominant kin-nexus and satellite families bonded together by paternal patronage of chiefs and gentry who protected clan settlements. By contrast, Lowland values progressively turned to commercialism, modern trends in justice with sheriffs and burgh magistrates, and central authority. Yet even in the Lowlands, arbitration between offending family groups depended much on the political clientage

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7. Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 55-56.

8. *Ibid*, 57-61.

of clan chiefs.<sup>9</sup> Macinnes argues that the consistent support of clans perpetually irritated successive British governments for over sixty years. Although Jacobitism drew Lowland support, clan elite maintained strategically more influential positions than was proportionate to their actual political authority. In the 1689 clan revolt, Highlanders composed most of the fighting force, and while the 1715 revolt entailed a national coalition of 16,700 men, seventy percent associated within the clan structure. Prince Charles' army in 1745 began with a fighting force of 2,430 clansmen out of a total of 2,580 soldiers, fell in England to about sixty seven percent, and remained at that percentage until the last Battle of Culloden. According to Macinnes' assessment, clan militarism dominated all three of the major Jacobite revolts in 1689, 1715, and 1745.<sup>10</sup>

Murray Pittock disagrees. He estimates Prince Charles' 1745 army to include about fifteen Highland battalions of 3,560-5,800/6,100 men, sixteen non-Highland battalions of 2,718-5,210, a 392-873 troop of highly modernized artillery gunners, four mixed battalions of 660-1,127, and five horse squadrons. Only about fifty percent of Prince Charles' army was from the Highlands. The army code of dressing in tartan confused British government reports, who often associated Lowland divisions with Highland clans. Likewise, Pittock argues that Lowlanders dominated the Jacobite army leadership. Out of 112 field officers, only fifty were Highlanders, and the senior officer staff included at most two narrowly defined Highlanders out of fifteen. Like Szechi, Pittock considers Scottish Jacobitism to be predominantly a Scottish nationalist movement to throw off Anglo influence. Conversely, he believes Whig historiography protracted

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9. Allan I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 7-8, 24.

10. Ibid, 159, 162-163.

the clan image of the Jacobites in order to denationalize the Stuart cause.<sup>11</sup> The historiography of Jacobite studies stumbles over the reality of Highlandism, clanship, and nationality.

Perhaps there is another way to approach nationality without short-circuiting over Highlandism. Scholars cannot afford to level Scottish Jacobite interests and present a socially unified approach to the Stuart cause. Further, Scottish nobility in the Jacobite officer class carried with them a sense of civilization distinctly pre-national and paternal. The “ancient kingdom” of Scotland so often mentioned by Jacobite leaders and used by Pittock to buttress a national interpretation has far more implications on social traditions of the landed Scottish elite than on Scottish/British systems of government.<sup>12</sup> The heroic emphasis on the ancient legacy of Scotland necessitates a socially relational rather than merely political method of review. Terms like “ancient” and “kingdom” dealt with the language of heraldic tropes which the Jacobite nobility emphasized to maintain a social hierarchy for militant Jacobitism. In my treatment of Jacobitism, I will argue that Jacobite nobility and the Stuart court created a hierarchical order of Scottish leadership through a pageant of heraldry, revised the Jacobite constitutional platform for Tory political elite, and applied Highlandism across all levels of their armies to enforce the legitimacy of hereditary power. Thus, Jacobitism was inherently elitist and pre-national in its political and military structures.

This work will use the term pageantry in its broadest possible cultural definition. The Encyclopedia Britannica defines pageantry as “a large-scale, spectacular theatrical production or

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11. Murray Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 80-82, 140-145, 156-157.

12. *Ibid*, 145.

procession,” with a connotation of immense ceremony.<sup>13</sup> Pageantry represents a ceremonial expression of the most relevant meanings of a culture's origin. Any ceremonial aspect of militant Jacobitism which harkens back to a cultural origin I will call pageantry. This work will address two Scottish cultural pageants: the pageantry of Jacobite heraldry and the pageantry of Highlandism, both of which represent a show of the mythic past. Unlike pageantry, I will refer to heraldry in its most specific form. According to Britannica, heraldry is “the science and the art that deal with the use, display, and regulation of hereditary symbols employed to distinguish individuals, armies, institutions, and corporations.”<sup>14</sup> The heraldry employed by the Stuarts ranked loyal nobles in a hereditary system of hierarchical peerage and military appointment. Stuart heraldry relied on feudal symbols such as the Scottish Seal, Cross of Saint Andrew, and the Unicorn to sanction hereditary kingship and lordship. If Jacobite peerage was theatrical in its language of command, it was also socially potent in calling for an institutional recognition of Scotland's “ancient” familial presence.

The revisionist and numerical approach to disposing clan myth cannot fight on its most important ground: the cultural. We have now deconstructed clan participation to its barest fractional levels, but the question of what purpose the clan image served in continuing the Stuart cause has yet to be answered. Ironically, Pittock's statistical deconstruction has forged a way back to the original clan dilemma. If not numerically accurate, the clan image must have rather supported a social protocol of allegiance and a pageant of poetic legacy. Scholarship must reconstruct clan Highlandism from its Jacobite seventeenth century origins and find threads of

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13. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. “pageant,” accessed March 26, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/438240/pageant>.

14. *Ibid*, s. v. “heraldry,” accessed February 26, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/262552/heraldry>.

thought which continue on into nineteenth century myth and even into our present day. In so doing, the historian will avoid presentism, and recognize the cultural validity of myth itself. Myth then is not that which is opposed to reality, but rather the primary and enduring interpretation of historic events.

## CHAPTER II

### JACOBITE PHILOSOPHY OF HIERARCHY, HERALDRY, AND HEREDITARY RIGHT

#### Introduction

When James VII of Scotland and II of Great Britain ascended the British throne in 1685, he brought with him the ideology of Catholic modernity, and began implementing policies which enhanced central administration of the early modern British state. Mimicking Louis XIV's dispute with Pope Innocent XI over the sovereign power to appoint clerics and collect revenue from bishopric vacancies, James created his own Roman Catholic Cabinet Council. This first modern cabinet replaced the Privy Council as the traditional English advisory group and administration of sovereign power over royal Charters and ecclesiastical judicial matters.<sup>15</sup> James accordingly pushed French Catholic literature into English churches, installed Benedictine Monks, and built a missionary infrastructure of Catholic schools and chapels throughout England. Marquis d'Albeville, James' replacement as ambassador to the United Provinces brought England ever closer to French policy abroad and distanced England from Dutch Protestantism. At home, James created England's first modern standing army, quadrupling its size from about nine thousand to forty thousand troops, and replacing local militias with martial law. As bureaucrats fanned across the land in 1686, surveying private housing for regiments, James made it illegal to try soldiers under common or statute law. An entire nation was outraged, and in the Revolution that followed in 1688, riots broke out in London, York, Hull, Carlisle, Gloucester, Oxford, and across Wales and Ulster.<sup>16</sup> James' political centralization was popularly resented.

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15. Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 91, 122-125.

16. *Ibid.*, 128-131, 143-146, 165, 244-246, 255-256, 257, 273.

In the wake of this revolution, William III's Declaration promised to restore constitutional laws, rights, and liberties. Issues of succession plagued Williams' new order. As the Stuart line remained still intact, albeit in exile, followers of James throughout Britain hoped for a Stuart restoration to the throne. These followers were known as Jacobites, from the Latin word *Jacobus*, meaning James. To avoid further unrest, Parliament passed the Act of Settlement in 1701 laying down restrictions which would hinder a return to James' regime. Future monarchs had to be Anglicans, foreign-born monarchs could no longer wage wars defending their homeland, Privy Councilors had to be native to England, and Royal pensioners were banned from the House of Commons.<sup>17</sup> Gradually, ministerial stability brought about a new political oligarchy, as elections were held only occasionally, the legislature and executive generally agreed, and the Church of England's power remained constant. However, Jacobitism, which retained a relationship with the Tory Party remained a powerful political force in Britain until the failed Jacobite revolt of 1714. During the first decade of the eighteenth century, Lord Bolingbroke began an attempt to unite Tory command of Church and State. His failure in doing so did not significantly undermine the potential of real administrative Jacobite influence in British affairs.<sup>18</sup>

Out of the political chaos of the Revolution, England managed to gain a three-fold path towards political stability. First, especially after 1714, the Whig Party dominated politics. Second, a constitutional settlement established legislative control over the executive. Third, with the rise

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17. John Miller, "Crown, Parliament, and People," in *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688*, ed. J. R. Jones (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 77-78; Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 23-24.

18. Hoppit, *Land*, 39-40, 47-49; Henry Horwitz, "The Structure of Parliamentary Politics," and Geoffrey Holmes, "Harley, St John and the Dearth of the Tory Party," in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes (New York: Macmillan St. Martin's Press, 1969), 110, 227; G. V. Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State 1688-1730: The career of Francis Atterbury Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 175.

of the merchant class, Whig politicians increasingly shared a common economic, social, and political identity. In the latter seventeenth century, England diversified its economy, developing its manufacturing sector with added colonial imports and exports and town based textile industries.<sup>19</sup> This was an age of a new public sphere; of coffee-house debates, pamphleteering, and satire in which the rage of party between Whigs and Tories and court and country took on popular significance. Furthermore, aristocratic travel guides and accounts provided the reading public with a concept of a common Christian Europe; the ideal of Christendom was recast in a cosmopolitan frame beyond Protestant and Catholic divides.<sup>20</sup>

These global transitions were by no means easy for landed interests in Scotland. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Scottish Privy Council served a highly administrative function as the king's primary executive committee. James I constructed the Council from lords under his patronage, and relied on it to curtail clan feuds by commissioning Scottish chiefs to check wayward clans by looting their lands. The Council also enforced James' rule for royal licensing of publishers during Scotland's printing revolution. During the 1660s, Charles II revived the Privy Council's Royal influence by making appointees accountable through peerage. He placed high ranking royalists into the Council to strengthen his support. In the Revolution of

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19. J. H. Plumb, *The Origins of Political Stability: England 1675-1725* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), xviii, 1-3; Pincus, *1688*, 50-54.

20. Robert Oresko, "The House of Savoy in search for a royal crown in the seventeenth century," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in memory of Ragnhild Hatton*, eds. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 349; James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society 1650-1750* (New York: Longman, 1998), 9, 61, 74, 198, 256; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 88, 134, 160, 362; Geoffrey Holmes, "Introduction: Post-Revolution Britain and the Historian," in *Britain*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes, 12-13; Plumb, *Origins of Political Stability*, 36; Bennett, *Tory Crisis*, 60; Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6, 28-29, 44-45, 220, 288.

1688, many Highland chiefs could not go along with the new settlement and rebelled unsuccessfully. Williams' Privy Council issued proclamations and Parliament legislated, but still central authorities lacked the strength to penalize powerful landowners who refused to support their tenants.<sup>21</sup> What little grip William had over Scotland depended on his influence over the nobles in the Privy Council and the dispositions of landowning interests. The new dynastic settlement in Scotland dangled on the thread of noble title and land. The Stuarts in exile saw their chance to harry centralization, and relied on Scottish heraldry to reorganize the Scottish nobility, particularly those influential in the Privy Council, along hereditary hierarchies in their Jacobite armies.

The leading Jacobite nobles organizing revolt in Scotland were John Graham, Viscount Dundee of Claverhouse in 1689 and John Erskine, Earl of Mar in 1715. Graham was descended from the Graham family of Kincardine, who had inherited an earldom around Dundee in the seventeenth century. During his early adult years, Graham served abroad in the Duke of Monmouth's army in Louis XIV's service. He was summoned to attend court in London in 1679, and in the next three years, he began a close acquaintance with James, duke of York, soon to be James II. In 1682, the Privy Council formally recognized his successful administration of two vacant titles (the heritable sheriffdom in Wigtown and heritable regality of Tongland). He initiated a Highland campaign against William's succession in 1689 by calling together a confederacy of clans, leading them to victory at the Battle of Killiecrankie, and dying on the battlefield.<sup>22</sup> Mar held a similar responsibility in the 1715 revolt as Commander-in-Chief of the

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21. Rosalind Mitchison, *Lordship to Patronage: Scotland 1603-1745* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 10-16, 23, 46, 69, 119-122, 126-127.

22. Magnus Linklater, 'Graham, John, first viscount of Dundee (1648?-1689)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0->

Scottish Jacobite forces. Mar quickly rose in the ranks of Scottish patronage under the Duke of Queensberry's inner circle, and gained membership into the Scottish Privy Council in 1697. Most probably, fear of detection of his secret correspondence with the Jacobite conspirator James Butler, the Duke of Ormonde led him to defect to the Stuart cause and lead the rebellion.<sup>23</sup> In both revolts, the delicate system of peerage in Scotland attracted Stuart attention and posed many questions regarding the legitimacy of Scottish nobility and dynastic succession.

A subsequent revival in Jacobite heraldry aimed at restoring institutional legitimacy to ancient Caledonian protocols of feudal symbolism. Charles II's Lord Advocate to the Scottish Privy Council, Sir George Mackenzie authored *The Science of Heraldry* in 1680, which argued that heraldry was a hereditary science of noble orders of hierarchy. Mackenzie had previously drawn up the Register Act for the Scottish Parliament in 1672, requiring all heraldic arms to be nationally registered in the *Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland* for legal recognition.<sup>24</sup> After the Revolution however, Jacobite peerage needed not only Scottish but also Continental European recognition. The Stuarts transnationally maintained and revived ancient

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[www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/11208](http://www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/11208), accessed 18 Feb 2013].

23. Christoph v. Ehrenstein, 'Erskine, John, styled twenty-second or sixth earl of Mar and Jacobite duke of Mar (*bap.* 1675, *d.* 1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/8868>, accessed 18 Feb 2013].

24. A. M. Williams, "Sir George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh," *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 13, No. 50 (Jan., 1916): 138-140, accessed March 2, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25518889>; Andrew Lang, *Sir George Mackenzie: king's advocate, of Rosehaugh, his life and times 1636 (?)–1691* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), 323-324; George Mackenzie, *The Science of Heraldry, Treated as a Part of the Civil Law, and Law of Nations: Wherein Reasons are Given for Its Principles, and Etymologies for Its Harder Terms* (London?: heir of Andrew Anderson, printer to His Most Sacred Majesty, 1680); James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms, *An Ordinary of Arms contained in the Public Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1895), viii-ix.

ecclesiastical and feudal orders of heraldry, while Scottish antiquarian Alexander Nisbet created the most scholarly and comprehensive survey of Scottish Medieval heraldry for Jacobite legitimacy. Nisbet presented a glamorous order to heraldic hierarchy which engaged post-Renaissance scholarship. His *System* has received no serious scholarly attention since the 1890s, when heraldic officers Andrew Ross and Francis J. Grant reevaluated its source-material. The Scottish Parliament first commissioned Nisbet to systematize Scottish heraldry in 1704 for the purpose of proving the historic honor of the nation. The work initially lacked the funds necessary for its research, and consequently the publication of its first volume did not appear until 1722 and its second volume until 1742.<sup>25</sup> However, Ross and Grant discovered that Robert Fleming published in Edinburgh a forged secondary volume in 1742, so as to fulfill Nisbet's promise to add an appendix. Ross and Grant evaluated Nisbet's manuscripts preserved at the Edinburgh University Library, Advocates' Library, and the Lyon office, and discovered that Fleming's edition altered Nisbet's Jacobite interpretations of the exiled Stuarts. The Dean branch of the Nisbet family greatly influenced the second volume's construction, claiming to be the principle branch of the family's origin. Fleming's risk in publishing an altered version demonstrates some level of popular demand for a sequel. Some Londoners also felt inclined to take the risk, and a subsequent printing of Fleming's edition appeared in A. Millar and J. Davidson's publishing house.<sup>26</sup>

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25. Alexander Nisbet, *A System of Heraldry, Speculative and Practical: with the True Art of Blazon, According to the Most Approved Heralds in Europe: Illustrated with Suitable Examples of Armorial Figures, and Achievements of the Most Considerable Surnames and Families in Scoland, &c., Together with Historical and Genealogical Memorials Relative Thereto*, vol. I, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Rodwell and Martin, A New Edition 1816), "Advertisement," "Dedication," a-b.

26. Andrew Ross (Marchmont Herald) and Francis J. Grant (Carrick Pursuivant), *Alexander Nisbet's Heraldic Plates, Originally Intended for his System of Heraldry, Lately Found*

Ross and Grant believed the only editions fully authored by Nisbet included *Cadency* in 1702 (a chapter of *System*), *An Essay on the Ancient and Modern Use of Armories* in 1718, and the completed *System* in 1722. In 1699, Nisbet issued subscription proposals to many of the great families in Scotland with little success. However, Nisbet's process for copper plating many of the Scottish families' crests succeeded, and he next solicited the Scottish Parliament's aid.<sup>27</sup> Parliament responded by commissioning Nisbet to sample the public's reception of such a work by publishing a minor selection, *Cadency*. Nisbet sent two more petitions to the Parliament of Scotland in 1702 and 1703. On August 8, 1705, the Parliament answered favorably to Nisbet's proposal, but could not afford to commission more of it.<sup>28</sup> Two years later, the Union of Parliaments ended any hope Nisbet had for publishing his *System*. He retired for thirteen years, improving his study of heraldry, and finally issued a one leaf quarto proposal for an essay version. Bookseller James M'Ewen in Edinburgh took the risk, and published the essay *Armories*. Its success drove the publication of the *System* in 1722 in M'Ewen's publishing house.<sup>29</sup>

Nisbet clearly articulated that national and feudal legitimacy in Europe amounted to one and the same, kingship being the principle means through which heraldic honors may be bestowed. Further, he repeatedly declared his allegiance to the Stuarts throughout his work, noting them as the natural kings of Scotland (hereditary right) and believing that Charles I had been murdered. Nisbet saw all legitimate noble succession as dependent on the hereditary

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in the Library of William Elliott Lockhart, Esq. of Cleghorn, Now Reproduced with Introduction and Notes, *Genealogical and Heraldic* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, MDCCCXCII), Part IV, "Alexander Nisbet, 'the Herald.'"

27. Ibid.

28. NAS. PA6/35, 'August 8 1705', 1-20.

29. Ross and Grant, *Heraldic Plates*, Part IV, "Alexander Nisbet, 'the Herald.'"

principle, and believed in a fundamental distinction between the noble and the common.<sup>30</sup> The importance of heraldry's philosophical significance has never before been plumbed by any scholar on Jacobite thought, perhaps because of its apparent irrelevance to the more immediate and energizing debates on clans and Highland myth. However, the broader values of chivalric Christendom and its evolving layers of heraldic meaning stood more at the heart of the philosophical axioms of Jacobitism. The “Pretender's” pretense, his noble pageant of heraldry, actually functioned as a conduit for loyalty. Heraldry assumed the legitimacy of hereditary right, justifying Stuart Restoration at its most basic philosophical level, and serving as the language through which Jacobite objectives were to be accomplished. For either side, the Jacobite fight for Britain entailed ordering the nobility, of which clans played only a part in the wider debate of social hierarchical legitimacy of Christendom and where political sovereignty lay.

#### Nisbet's Jacobite Tropology of Roman and Medieval Heraldry

Nisbet, his Scottish parliamentary commissioners, and his Jacobite audience did not stand philosophically isolated from the world, but actively embraced Elizabethan scholarship on the subject of nobility and knighthood as well as Baroque forms of art and science. Far from avoiding early modern patterns for liberal learning, Jacobite heraldry not only linked Roman nobility with Medieval tropes to justify continuity in Western civilization as a whole, but also committed the study of heraldry to its own scientific field. More accurately, Jacobite codifications of Western heritage in heraldic studies continued an obscure line of early modern British science begun by Edward Bolton. Quoting his *Elements of Armories*, Nisbet believed heraldry to be “the Mistress and Queen of Liberal Knowledge; for in it all the fair arts seem to

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30. Nisbet, *System*, vol. I, 5, 147, 151, 407.

assemble, and every grace of invention glitters there, with much significancy, ornament and utility; for armories are the only remaining customary evidences or testimonies of nobility now: for neither statues, arches, obelisks, trophies, spires, or other public magnificent erections, are now in use.”<sup>31</sup> In Nisbet's hierarchical view of civilization, arms stand at the crossroads of Greco-Roman forms of civilization and learning (*humanitas*), because they separate worthy men from vulgar men. Through signs of honor on weaponry (heraldry), persons, communities, and families distinguish themselves, and the noble proves himself above the plebeian. These signs eventually evolved into armorial ensigns, and when embroidered on the surcoat of Medieval nobles, they progressed to a higher form of heraldry in the coat of arms.<sup>32</sup> Nisbet conveniently ignored historic conflicts of allegiance and hierarchical balances of power in Medieval political structures as well as variations in feudal organization.

Among his favorite Elizabethan scholars, Nisbet cited William Wyrley and John Ferne for political theory behind heraldry. In his *True Use of Armories*, Wyrley argued:

And these matters being well conceived (as indeed with-out such tokens [armorial tokens of heraldry] no martiall discipline can be exercised, no armie ranged, no attempt of any companie atchieved, and so (by consequence) no conquest made, nor so much as any Commonwealth (whatsoever) defended, neither from outward enimies, civill discord, nor the rebellion of amy plebian rout, be the same never so simple, rude, or of small esteeme) it will (I hope) reduce into estimation a matter both of honor, order, and necessitie...<sup>33</sup>

Heraldry provided not only organization to military endeavors, it represented in Elizabethan scholarship a heritage of familial honor, and an almost magical pledge of duty and glamor. John Ferne described a socially delineating glamor to heraldry in his *Glory of Generosity* [an. 1586]

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31. Ibid, 2.

32. Ibid, 1.

33. William Wyrley, *The True Use of Armorie* (London: I. Jackson, 1592), 2.

by claiming that “If you would know the cause of intent why that Armes have beene borne by the auncients, I aunswere, they did it for the honors sake of vertue...”<sup>34</sup> Chivalry in this context continued Aristotle's virtue ethics through feudal honor. Just as Spenser had wished to allegorically embody the virtues of Aristotle in chivalry, Nisbet claimed that in coats of arms, “the people might behold their nobility and honours... [and] excite their posterity to imitate the virtues of their ancestors.”<sup>35</sup> In short, Nisbet assumed the legitimacy of the Spencerian view of Medieval hierarchy founded on Aristotelian virtues.<sup>36</sup>

The Romans possessed three orders of civilization of importance to Nisbet's study. First, *Nobilis* consisted of those families who were allowed to carry badges and erect statues of their ancestors who served in the state. The second Roman order included the *Novi*, those who only erected statues of themselves. Third, *Ignobilis* consisted of the order of commoners, without statues or the right to carry armorial bearings. Thus, Nisbet concluded that the Roman *Ius Imaginum* served the same purpose as the contemporary noble right to bear arms (with

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34. John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentry: The Glorie of Generositie* (London: John Windet, 1586), 147.

35. Nisbet, *System*, vol. I, 3-4.

36. Kathleen M. Swaim, “Heart-Easing Mirth: 'L'Allegro's' Inheritance of 'Faerie Queene II,’” *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (Autumn, 1985): 463, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4174223>; Robert L. Reid, “Spenserian Psychology and the Structure of Allegory in Books 1 and 2 of 'The Faerie Queene,’” *Modern Philology*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (May, 1982): 359, 372-373, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/437723>; Gerald Morgan, “Holiness as the First of Spenser's Aristotelian Moral Virtues,” *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), 817-820, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3729602>; George F. Butler, “Milton's 'sage and serious Poet Spencer': Error and Imitation in The Faerie Queene and Areopagitica,” *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (SUMMER 2007): 102, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40755479>.

heraldry).<sup>37</sup> In this view, the Romans could boast of having given the world civilization as a context for hereditary order, but the European art of coats of arms originated in place of the old Roman images by the Goths and Vandals in subversion of the Empire. Like many of his scholarly contemporaries, Nisbet contributed to the Renaissance view of the definitive fall of Rome, but not without making an irregular variation in the thesis. He argued that even as the Goths and Vandals sunk many of the arts and sciences of civilization, they birthed heraldry (as a science) by placing figures on their armor and linking them with hereditary honor. Throughout the centuries of Christendom, he argued, chivalry and honor in the Crusades and tournaments developed the medieval dressings of heraldic emblems like Crosses.<sup>38</sup> As Ross and Grant noted, Nisbet's research incorporated themes from Scottish scholar Robert Lord Seton's heraldic manuscript and Sir George Mackenzie's *The Science of Heraldry*, as well as addressing many English scholars, including Leigh, Bolton, Ferne, Dugdale, Boswell, Morgan, and Guillim.<sup>39</sup> Jacobite descriptions of heraldry proceeded out of a post-Renaissance scholarly and artistic tradition, rather than as mere political propaganda.

However, Nisbet's line of scholarship only narrowly addressed the entirety of Renaissance ideas on human organization, and flew in the face of Neo-Classical theories of civic virtue, republicanism, and popular sovereignty. Florentine humanists emphasized *vivere civile*; active citizenship within a Republic. *Res Publica*, or citizens interested in public matters defined by a constitution deflected the natural erosion of political society, namely *fortuna* (literally, fortune). Civic humanism was the real legacy of Rome as Florentines saw it. The noted

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37. Nisbet, *System*, 3.

38. Ibid, 4-6.

39. Ross and Grant, *Heraldic Plates*, Part IV, "Alexander Nisbet, 'the Herald.'"

Florentine humanist Niccolò Machiavelli disputed Guicciardini's view that Rome was inherently a disorderly state and argued against Guicciardini's need for a noble interest within republics. From *vivere civile* emerged a philosophy of social liberty which Enlightenment philosophers Edward Gibbon, Montesquieu, and Thomas Jefferson furthered. In this view, remnants of Gothic society were unstable and irreconcilable with Classical political theory. In Gibbon's case, his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* attributed Rome's decline to the coming of Christianity and the so-called barbarism of the Goths.<sup>40</sup> Recently, scholarship has demonstrated that Cambridge humanists furthered similar strains of republicanism for England, and that co-ordination of kings and legal ministers crafted English views of monarchy as early as the mid-Tudor era. Calvinism in the Puritan revolution and Lockean resistance theory in the English Enlightenment furthered parliamentary government and republicanism.<sup>41</sup> Roman tropes in Scottish heraldic revival were by no means Neo-Classical or republican. Unlike the English Enlightenment, Nisbet's line of scholarship did not pit the Gothic against Roman order, but instead drew parallels between Roman nobility and Western feudalism.

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40. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 4, 54, 56, 195-197, 211; Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, vol. I: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737-1764* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2, 29.

41. John F. McDiarmid, "Common Consent, *Latinitas*, and the 'Monarchical Republic' in mid-Tudor Humanism," in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, ed. John F. McDiarmid (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 63; Corinne Comstock Weston and Janelle Renfrow Greenberg, *Subjects and Sovereigns: The Grand Controversy over Legal Sovereignty in Stuart England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 167, 192; William M. Lamont, "The Puritan revolution: a historiographical essay," in *The varieties of British political thought, 1500-1800*, eds. J. G. A. Pocock, Gordon J. Schochet, and Lois G. Schwoerer (Washington: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 144-145; Lois G. Schwoerer, "The right to resist: Whig resistance theory, 1688 to 1694," in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 240-241.

## Royal Administrative Policy of Heraldry and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

Whether James II instinctively understood that while exiled, noble attachment would be his only durable connection with Great Britain, or whether he stumbled onto this system by default, I leave to future investigation. Almost unanimously, modern scholars of Jacobitism argue that James' great mistake consisted of insisting on a return to Roman Catholic political administration in England, which by this point had become an impossible policy for England. For instance, Paul Monod argues that, "King James lost his throne because he tried to give his coreligionists a measure of power within the English state, a policy that was totally unacceptable to most Anglicans."<sup>42</sup> Monod believes the idea of an intermediary priest-king between God and people would have attracted Roman Catholics in favor of mediation, but by the eighteenth century, most English Catholic leaders took an assimilationist approach.<sup>43</sup> Frank McLynn claims that James sacrificed his chances for restoration rather than denounce his Catholic faith.<sup>44</sup> Bruce Lenman approaches James' Catholicism with a little more complexity, admitting a fashionable line of scholarship which sees James as a modern monarch. Nevertheless, Lenman counters that James' toleration was not indifference; that he "intended, rapidly, to man all the commanding heights of social, political, and military power with Roman Catholics before throwing the prestige, pressure and power at his disposal behind a drive for mass conversions."<sup>45</sup> Beyond James' actual Catholic policies, adherence to a unified Jacobite Catholicism never materialized.

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42. Monod, *Jacobitism*, 132.

43. *Ibid.*

44. McLynn, *Charles*, 476.

45. Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd, 1980), 39, 295.

As McLynn commented, “One of the problems about the Jacobites was that they had no such binding ideological cement.”<sup>46</sup> The lack of universal political ideology conversely opened up the floodgates for various interpretations of James among his supporters. Monod notes that Whiggish Jacobites believed William a greater threat to liberty than James. On the other hand, many of James' Catholic ex-officers argued against all concessions to a Whiggish Jacobitism.<sup>47</sup>

James' Catholicism, while modern and French in its organization, also carried with it hints of pre-national hierarchy. While in exile, James and his Queen Mary of Modena immediately set about forming a correspondence with the Pope and his cardinals, as the Stuart Papers in the Windsor collection reveal.<sup>48</sup> James' letters are dressed in a language of submission and pretend to acknowledge the Pope's power over Great Britain. Both James II and James III emphasized a return to an ancient Scotland with hierarchical hereditary orders of feudal and ecclesiastical legitimacy. They began using the philosophy of a hierarchical European Church and nobility to both ensnare Continental European support and gain the trust of Scottish nobles. Furthermore, Nisbet had tied the ancient lineage of the Stuart claim to the throne to its family symbols. Heraldry served as a language of command; one which underscored hereditary legitimacy and feudal loyalty.

Virtually unnoticed by historians of Jacobitism, Queen Mary's mastery of diplomatic relations with the Holy See provided her husband with an advantageous relationship with Pope Innocent XI even before James' dismissal. In a letter dated January 13, 1686, Mary wrote to Pope

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46. McLynn, *Charles*, 5.

47. Monod, *Jacobitism*, 24, 99.

48. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, Mackie & Co. LD., 1902), v.

Innocent XI from Whitehall, “With all confidence I again present my prayers with those of the King in favour of my uncle, Prince Rinaldo, not doubting at all that our repeated intercession for one so worthy will be able to prevail with the fatherly mind of your Holiness, which is always disposed to gratify the homage of his most obedient children.”<sup>49</sup> She here spoke of a promotion of the utmost importance to the Ambassador Extraordinary dispatched to the Pope and referenced in a letter dated five days earlier. She continued that she did not merely recommend Prince Rinaldo on the basis of his blood alone, but also because he had voluntarily consecrated himself before the altar and wished to serve the Roman Catholic Church. In her previous letter she expressed that along with the Ambassador Extraordinary she presented her “filial respects” and verbalized “her joy at the great devotion of his Majesty to the Holy See and to the person of his Holiness on, the one hand, and on the other at the esteem and affection always shown by his Holiness towards his Majesty.”<sup>50</sup> Mary alluded to a reciprocation of relations which included Catholic ties and maintained the king's sovereignty over his realm.

Mary continued this sense in her letters to various Papal officials through the year of 1686. The Procurator-General of the Trinitarian fathers requested the Queen's assistance with the Pope in redeeming certain slaves at San Carlo and extending the saintly offices of Giovanni de Matt and Felice de Valoys throughout the Catholic Church. Accordingly, she wrote the Pope on April 19<sup>th</sup>, requesting that he approve the offices of these “glorious saints... it appearing to me that the glory of God would be greatly promoted by the increase of honour rendered on earth to His saints, I lay myself afresh at the feet of your Holiness as intercessor for that favour, that these

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49. Ibid, Queen Mary to Pope Innocent XI, Jan. 13, 1686, 12

50. Ibid, Queen Mary to Pope Innocent XI, Jan. 8, 1686, to Pope Innocent XI, Jan. 13, 1686, 12.

blessed saints may become intercessors for me with the Divine Majesty.”<sup>51</sup> Mary's prostration before the Pope only underscored rather than diminished her belief in the Stuart court's authoritative position before God and the Catholic world. Through the rest of the year she reached out in like manner to Cardinals Colonna, Altieri, Barberini, Corsi, Rospigliosi, de Angelis, Crescentio, Astalli, Barbarigo, Mattei, Carpegna, and Slusio at Rome; the Marquis de Gastanaga, governor of the Catholic Low Countries; the Abbesses of Ursulines and of the Benedictines at Dunkirk and Ghent; Monsignor Barberini, Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber at Rome; and Cardinals Melini, Casanati, Nerli, Marescotti, Ranuzzi, and Negrone.<sup>52</sup> Mary maintained Stuart sovereignty over Catholicism both at home and abroad. The guise of Papal authority actually underscored the legitimacy of James' monarchical sovereignty in institutionalizing Catholicism.<sup>53</sup>

While fleeing from Britain in 1689, James sent a descriptive outline of the ecclesiastical effects of his dismissal to “the father of the Christian flock.”<sup>54</sup> He counted his effort to promote the Catholic religion the chief cause for his dismissal, and believed the Orange usurper had charmed his subjects away from Catholicism to establish Protestantism by law. Providence would restore, he supposed, what he called the true faith to Britain along with his own restoration. Politically, James saw that success lay in a unity and a solid peace between Catholic princes. Viewing his part through the larger lens of monarchical Western hierarchy, he exclaimed, “If the sight of our misfortunes can accomplish so desirable an object, we shall think them fortunate

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51. Ibid, Queen Mary to Pope Innocent XI, April 19, 1686, 15.

52. Ibid, Queen Mary's correspondence from Apr. to Dec., 1686, 16-23.

53. Ibid, Queen Mary to Cardinal Melini, July 6, 1686, 17.

54. Ibid, James II to Pope Innocent XI, Feb. 1, 1689, 35-36.

since they have been of such advantage to Christendom.”<sup>55</sup> Yet, he noted Catholic stability only in France, where monarchical sovereignty of Catholicism had been firmly established. James feared that heresy in England might also prevail throughout Christendom if the Prince of Orange were allowed to lead astray other Catholic princes. This is why, he explained, the Prince of Orange immediately pillaged the ambassadors to Catholic princes, plundered Catholic churches, and permitted his own partisans to indiscriminately raid Scottish Catholics: “What a loss to Christianity unless Providence brings to naught such wicked designs.”<sup>56</sup> The Catholic flock needed shepherds for its sheep; kings who would assert their sovereignty in order to defend Catholicism in their spheres of authority.

James' resolution in restoring the monarchical hierarchy of Christendom continued throughout the rest of his life, and laid the groundwork for the administrative goals of Jacobitism. He maintained correspondence with the Cardinal of Norfolk towards that end, transnationally bestowed noble status and pardoned many of the old families in Britain including Knowles, Nagle, Roberston, Courly, Osland etc., and chartered a college at the Cathedral of Glasgow to the honor of “our royal predecessors, and that of our ancient kingdom.”<sup>57</sup> If charm had led Britain astray, charm would lead it back again. Thus began the fanciful web of Jacobite renewal of nobility and pre-national custom. Heraldry kept Jacobite nobles together in a transnational pageant of cultural allegiance to its dynasty.

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55. Ibid, 36.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid, James II College Charter, May 8, 1697, 123; James II's correspondence from 1689-1700, 38-147.

After James II's death, James III carried on not only his father's transnational system of administrative appointment, but also the duties of his family from centuries of tradition. For instance, he declared in 1704 the noble rights of the ancient family of Cunningham as the Earls of Glencairn. In 1705 he issued the following statement from his court at St. Germain, "Declaration of the *noblesse* of the Toby Geraldin who belongs to the old and gentle family of Geraldin of Gurteen c. Kilkenny, and branch of the very noble and old family of the Geraldins of Desmond, and who is a relative of Nicholas Geraldin of St. Malo to whom the late King granted a declaration of *noblesse* in 1700."<sup>58</sup> Such statements accompanied the Royal family's place in the hierarchical form of feudal succession still in vogue in Britain well into the eighteenth century. They reveal the necessity of Nisbet's heraldic and genealogical systematization of nobility in Scotland, and its significance to the European world. Behind James' statement regarding the lineage of such families lies entire volumes worth of history on familial relations in Britain, which the Stuarts needed for the maintenance of their hereditary creed and its feudal attachments. Not only the basic facts of genealogy needed to be established for maintaining noble succession, but also the accompanying heraldic symbols and ceremonies associated with various families. Nisbet's work jumps into perfect clarity with such a responsibility. In the continuance of this order, the Stuarts asserted their dynastic legitimacy over Britain.

Nisbet referenced the origins of the authority vested in the surname Stuart with its ancient office of Lord High Steward of Scotland, the line of kings afterward passing from the name Bruce to the Stewards. This put them in a doubly vital position to heraldry in Scotland, as Nisbet explained, "How agreeable, then, are the armorial ensigns of the Stewarts to their employments

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58. Ibid, James III, March 13, 1704; James III Declaration of noblesse, May, 1705, 194, 201.

and offices; who, long before they ascended the throne, were commanders in chief of armies under our ancient Kings... always in use to carry for their paternal ensign...”<sup>59</sup> Among these ensigns, he mentioned the Arms of Scotland going back to the Bruce and the Badge of Scotland, the Thistle. The Stuarts used the Thistle as the additament of honor for royal achievement, and bestowed it to the armorial bearings of Leslie Earl of Leven (during the English Civil War), Keith Earl of Kintore (the family marshals of Scotland), Sir Hugh Herries of Cousland, etc. Nisbet's theory for the origins of the Order of the Thistle as Scotland's highest noble order rested in the Order of St. Andrew since the twentieth year of Robert the Bruce's reign.<sup>60</sup> Regardless of the distinction between tale and reality, the Jacobite perception of the Thistle included ancient ecclesiastical significance.

In the case of the Earls of Leven, William III's peerage marked the security of their estates and titles through the Melvill family line. James II had forfeited the Melvill family's estates with the death of Charles II, but the family returned during Williams' invasion. Melvill's son the Earl of Leven was made Privy Councilor, received an Edinburgh regiment, and gained the position of Master of the Ordinance, Commander-in-Chief of Scotland.<sup>61</sup> If Leven's position was secured in the 1688 succession, the Earl of Kintore, Marquis of Athol, the Earle of Erroll, and the Earl of Marshall were all suspected for not fully supporting the Government. While Kintore pledged his full support to William in 1690, his son chose to be a Jacobite.<sup>62</sup> Division of

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59. Nisbet, *System*, vol. I, 43, 47-48.

60. *Ibid*, 37, 232, 370, 434.

61. *Leven and Melville Papers; Letters and State Papers Chiefly Addressed to George Earl of Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1689-1691*, Preface (Edinburg: Bannatyne Club, 1843), xiv.

62. *Ibid*, Earl of Crauford to Lord Melvill, June 25, 1689, The Earl of Kintore to the King,

loyalties within Scottish noble families plagued any system of peerage with grave difficulties. Politically, William believed the Highland nobility the main instigators to the revolt in the Privy Council and of the utmost importance. He commissioned George Viscount Tarbat to bring them back into submission:

Wee doe by these, comand and authorize yow, G. V. T. to treat with the Highlanders, who are in rebellion against us in Scotland; viz. With Sir Don. M'Donnell, M'Lean, the Capt. Of Clanrannell, Glengary, Lochiell, M'Colline M'Kenzie, unckle to the E. of Seafort, and others there affociats, dependers and followers, for bringing them in... And for incuradging those Highlanders to return to there duty... to secure them in all they possess be law, or were secured in by gifts from Our royal unckle King Charles, under his Great Seall of Scotland...<sup>63</sup>

Control over peerage was essential for William if he wished to maintain his government through the Scottish Privy Council. The Highland nobles and their “dependers and followers” under Viscount Dundee's political influence were the primary problem. As Kintore told Melvill, “Being informed of the Highlanders motions... It was Graham that spoke... My Lord Dunkell, and on Captain Makintosh was with this Graham, so they went off.”<sup>64</sup> Kintore's view of the Highland nobles under Graham is not very far off from Walter Scott's “To the Lords of Convention 'twas Claver'se who spoke, / 'Ere the King's crown shall fall there are crowns to be broke; / So let each Cavalier who loves honour and me, / Come follow the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.”<sup>65</sup>

If the Stuarts could reorder Scottish nobles within hereditary hierarchies through ancient title and loyalty, William would lose by degrees his delicate network of allegiance. It was no

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Oct. 18, 1690, 79, 471.

63. Ibid, His Majesties Warrant to George Viscount Tarbat to Treat with the Highlanders, Mar. 1690, 422-423.

64. Ibid, The Earl of Kintore to the Earl of Melvill, Aug. 17, 1690, 494-495.

65. Sir Walter Scott, *The poetical works of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. XII (Edinburgh : Robert Cadell & Whittaker), 194-195.

accident that these very Highland families gradually gained high positions of military command in the Jacobite armies from 1689 through 1715, and some, like the MacDonalds, through 1745. From Lord George Murray's report to the Duke of Athol in September of 1745, Lochiell, Keppoch, Glengary, and Apin served as military commanders. Almost as an afterthought, Murray mentioned that, "The Low country people seem to be much in our interest."<sup>66</sup> The first business in restoring an ancient Scottish Jacobite order was not building an army, but rather constructing a hierarchical collisional of old Scottish family nobles, both Highland and Lowland. The fact that, as Murray Pittock notes in his *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, many of the Jacobite nobles were bought off after the 1715 rebellion made this effort more difficult for Jacobite leadership, but as Murray's report demonstrates, enough support existed to enact a superstructure for the army along noble lines.<sup>67</sup> Heraldry functioned as the language of command on both sides, not the political rationale or incentive for choosing one side over the other. It reflected a protocol for military hierarchy within the ranks of the loyal (both for the Williamite and the Jacobite), with the Seal of Scotland in the exact center. William could not wield the Stuart Seal of Scotland, but he promised to secure property as if he could. Practically, William might grant land and peerage, but did not possess the rhetorical power of ancient hereditary right for their justification. Without the heraldic symbol, peerage might flux more easily with each administration and lose the language of permanence.

As cataloged by Nisbet, Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland until 1241 bore a seal with a mounted knight in a coat of mail and wreath, brandishing a sword and carrying a shield

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66. *Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family, During the Rebellion* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1840), Lord George Murray to the Duke of Atholl, Sep. 15, 1745, 15-16.

67. Pittock, *Myth*, 70.

marked by fesse *cheque hausse* (heraldic terminology for the French chessboard pattern, distinguishing the commander in chief). The upward placement of the fesse *cheque* set Stuart apart. Walter's son James carried a similar Seal.<sup>68</sup> In 1701, James III saw one of his Seals as a powerful tool to instill a transnational pageantry of loyalty among nobility, although he attempted its revival in England to little effect. He communicated to Norbertus Roettier, an English Mint engraver to forge the Seal of England, and the next year, did so with Scotland and Ireland as well. A few days after preparing for the English Seal, James issued a declaration to the nobles of England that the ceremonies and customs of the royal ancestors of the Kings of England should be maintained with their due privileges, warranting Ralph Sheldon and Richard Biddulph as his Equerries, Robert Buckenham as Equerries of the Great Stables, John Lewin as Riding Purveyor, Gerald Devereux as Purveyor of the Stables, Capt. Henry Griffith as Yeoman Saddler, Jolie Falvie as Harbourer of the Deer, John Dixey as Body Coachman, Henry Kerby and Thomas Umsworth as Chairmen, Thomas Conner as Farrier, along with various footmen and grooms.<sup>69</sup> Ancestral heraldry governed the Stuart's attempt to strengthen their courtly presence.

Other remaining symbols of Scottish Royal allegiance historically included the Imperial Ensign, Cross of St. Andrew, and Unicorn. Robert the Bruce carried the Imperial Ensign of Scotland upon becoming king, and meshed the symbols of the Annan Lords of Annandale into its basic design. It was considered sacred during the Crusades.<sup>70</sup> The sacredness implied in the tradition of royal ensigns proceeded from the belief in relics. Among its other elements here

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68. Nisbet, *System*, vol. I, 43.

69. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, James Declaration, Nov. 4, 1701, 165.

70. Nisbet, *System*, vol. I, 133, 179, 181.

described, the Royal Ensign contained the *argent*; the Cross of St. Andrew which had fallen from the air, as tradition had it.<sup>71</sup>

The Unicorn also featured on the Royal Ensign, representing Scotland's place in the British dynastic union (rather than parliamentary). According to Fleming's altered edition of Nisbet's manuscript, Charles I used the Unicorn in 1633 to advance Sir John Hay of Netherleif as Clerk-Register, High-Chancellor of Scotland, presenting him with, as Nisbet interpreted, “a coat of augmentation... to represent the union of these kingdoms in the person of King James VI [and I].”<sup>72</sup> The Stuart court afforded the unique position of defining national union within Britain on the basis of hereditary heraldry. They carefully dedicated the Royal Arms through peerage to Scottish nobility, actuating dynastic hereditary supremacy in a heraldic pageant which paternalized a Scottish feudal relationship.<sup>73</sup> The Royal Regalia of the House of Stuart accordingly revolved around the noble families of Scotland in a celestial orbit. Its constellation relied not on the “sun” of one individual for its light, as with Louis XIV, but on centuries of heraldic tradition and the varying degrees of its stars; here a knight, there a knight, for ages.

Daniel Szechi describes the social conditions of hierarchical authority in Britain in 1715, concluding that the Lowlands urbanized much faster than the Highlands. English and Welsh social hierarchy was influenced by wealth, but did not entirely depend on it. Accordingly, an aristocratic landowner, might be poorer than a merchant, but still possess a higher social status than a merchant. Public respect, deference, and sociability followed long ceased sumptuary laws. Szechie argues, “Edward Thompson, possibly the greatest social historian of eighteenth-century

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71. Ibid, 131.

72. Ibid, vol. II, Part III, 71.

73. Ibid, vol., I, 419.

England, in 1971 characterized English and Welsh social relations in this period as a kind of 'collective bargaining arbitrated by riot', and while this analysis may need to be nuanced, its basic insight remains valid. The ruling elite expected to command its social inferiors, but tacitly understood that in order to do so it needed to be perceived to be upholding its side of the social compact. As Thompson put it, there was a 'moral economy' in operation."<sup>74</sup> As the legalizing of Protestant religious Dissent trumped social ties to superiors in urban areas, riots broke out across northern England, as in the coal mines of Northumberland for instance.<sup>75</sup> Thomson's "moral economy" described an organic system of hereditary order which spanned from the end of feudalism to the early modern industrial revolution. Paternal nobles controlled the prices of local markets for their tenants, and tenants reciprocated by showing social deference. However, with the rise of a hostile bourgeoisie who threatened the organic order of local economies, food riots signaled a conservative reaction from workers in favor of a reinstatement of the old society. The abstraction of the free market became too complex for local economies to remain organic, personal, and structural.<sup>76</sup> Jacobite insistence for organic hierarchical authority vested in an ancient paternal nobility rather than in an abstract bourgeoisie potentially had a public ear in urban areas in the Scottish Lowlands and northern England.

Indeed, Lowland social structure was even more favorable to landowners than in northern England. Lowland heritors still maintained a distinction from their tenants, and could not summon their tenants to war, as clan chiefs could in clans which maintained their identity. "What

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74. Szechi, *1715*, 18-19.

75. *Ibid*, 20.

76. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 64-72; Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 32-37.

made so many Scottish plebeians nonetheless willing to accept commands from the elite that went far beyond the regular mores of deference and submission were the religious divisions that became embedded in Scottish society in the late seventeenth century.”<sup>77</sup> The Kirk transitioned into an episcopalian form of church government after 1660, and in 1689, the Kirk bishops largely defended James II as their divinely ordained monarch. Consequently, “Episcopalian meeting-houses thus became, by and large, 'the nurseries of rebellion', that served 'only to keep up the spirit and courage of the faction that favour it.’”<sup>78</sup> It was this very sense of social hierarchy which necessitated noble leadership in the Scottish Jacobite armies.

McLynn has summarized the social hierarchies of the Jacobite revolt of 1745, linking Stuart court administration with Scottish military high command, stating:

Charles Edward had been greatly impressed with Sir Hector Maclean, who was in France during the winter of 1744-5. Sending Maclean on ahead to prepare his clan, the prince made plans to land on the island of Mull. In addition to the Macleans, the prince hoped to have under his standard within weeks the combined forces of Cameron of Lochiel and Cluny Macpherson, plus the MacGregors, Appin Stewarts, and MacDonalDs of Glangary, Glencoe and Clanranald... Unfortunately, the plan to land on Mull aborted when Sir Hector Maclean was taken prisoner..

Last minute preparations were now made. The prince had given letters for Perth and Murray of Broughton to Sir Hector Maclean, but sent on separate messages for them in the changed circumstances plus his manifestos and Commission of Regency, with instructions that both be published together. He next sent Sir John MacDonald secretly to Nantes...”<sup>79</sup>

Prince Charles was not merely raising an army; he was organizing and maintaining a social hierarchy and the ancient dressing of its feudal significance in raising his standard. In this sense, the 1745 rebellion assumed the basic heraldry of leadership which Pittock notices in Mar's

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77. Ibid, 22.

78. Ibid, 22-23.

79. McLynn, *Charles*, 120.

manifesto: an “ancient kingdom.”<sup>80</sup> Of all the noble houses in Scotland during the early eighteenth century revolts, the MacDonalds perhaps featured most clearly with regards to understanding the social philosophy of revolt. Writing in the aftermath of the 1715 revolt, Clan Ranald, Sir D. MacDonald, and J. MacDougall issued a letter to James III, summarizing the Jacobite defeat as being a matter of a lack of loyalty among the great families in Scotland. They believed in the heraldic pageantry of James' attempt, but did not think it extended far enough within Scotland:

The most gracious singular regard your Majesty has shown this your ancient kingdom in coming with apparent danger to your sacred person twice to its relief... has added to the sense of our most humble duty the tenderest sentiments of gratitude...

We indeed acknowledge with no little grief that some of our countrymen, whose families lay under the strictest ties to the Royal, and who were great professors of loyalty, have shamefully failed in the performances which duty, honour, and even interest required, but we are confident none of us either did or ever will entertain a thought inconsistent with the allegiance due to our most dread and dearest sovereign...

We are also persuaded that as to human assistance you have made the best choice in having the Duke of Mar near to your sacred person. We doubt not of his being consummate in the knowledge of affairs from the great things of his doing, whereof we have been eye witnesses..

Though Providence for the punishment of our sins seems to smile on usurpation and rebellion, we are hopeful and shall always implore God that He will restore our natural, lawful and good King to rule over us.<sup>81</sup>

Their critique of the Jacobite attempt did not blame a lack of popular support among tenants, the King's absence, or even foreign aid, but familial attachment. The great houses of Scotland failed to muster, as their heraldic duty demanded. They did admire the Duke of Mar's promotion, and saw the naturalness of hereditary right. Such may be expected from the MacDonalds when seen

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80. Pittock, *Myth*, 54.

81. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. II, Clan Rannald, Sir D. MackDonald, and J. MacDougall to James III, 1716, 114-115.

in their feudal context as one of the greatest houses in Scotland. The double eagle *gules* rightly belonged to them as Lords of the Isles, the highest rank of feudal regency in Scotland save the Stuart line. Nisbet mentioned nothing of its forfeiture in the thirteenth century to the Stuarts, perhaps because the heraldic symbols of their rank changed little over time.<sup>82</sup>

According to the John Drummond's *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill*, the MacDonalds had previously been instrumental in the plan to summon the Highland Chiefs to support Graham, but their inter-clan disputes distracted them. A collision of Highland chiefs commissioned MacDonald of Keppoch to escort Graham into Lochaber, but Graham instead decided to conduct a tour through the Highlands to gather chieftain support. Keppch's clan was particularly prone to feuding.<sup>83</sup> The Clanrandald branch of MacDonald served in Graham's army against the M'Kay and Leven's battalions. Drummond explained that regimental organization was placed beneath Scottish clan authority. He further inferred that clan organization of regiments did not necessarily mean strictly Highland clans alone. Even Lowland families had some ancient claim to clan organization, but the Highlanders were believed to be a martial race. As he described:

Each Clan, whither small or great, had a regiment assigned them, and that, too, by Locheil's own advice, who attended the Generall while he was making his disposition. The designe was to keep up the spirite of emulation in poynt of bravery ; for, as the Highlanders putt the highest value upon the honour of their familys or Clans, and the renoun and glory acquired by military actions, so the emulation between Clan and Clan inspires them with a certain generous contempt of danger, gives vigour to their hands, and keenness to their courage.<sup>84</sup>

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82. Nisbet, *System*, vol. I, 338.

83. John Drummond, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, Chief of the Clan Cameron*, Book III (Edinburgh: Printed for the Maitland Club, 1842), 236-238.

84. *Ibid*, 266.

Clan structure lent inspiration to regimental organization, or so the tactical positions of Jacobite maneuvers demonstrated in Graham's campaign. This technique of clan inspiration, not entirely devoid of geographic specificity to the Highlands but endowed with Highlander meaning to all of Graham's army challenges Pittock's strict numerical divisions between Highland and Lowland loyalty. The clan image could be put on, and its vigor transcended geographic allegiances. As he argues for previous Jacobite conflicts, Pittock believes Lord Forbes' Highland strength of 32,000 included feudal leaders who hardly would have been recognized as Highlanders. But if, as he argues from Mar's Manifesto, ancient Scotland existed as a Jacobite goal, why would Highlander imagery, clan culture, or noble heraldry be particularly relegated to geographical lines? Pittock himself includes an ideological explanation of the phenomenon.<sup>85</sup> Perhaps the Highland image was just as much a cultural product of Jacobite martial techniques in imitation of an ancient Scotland as it had been sectarian before the Jacobite war. The MacDonald's certainly believed in its power, but more importantly, wished for heroic clan leaders to restore loyalty and heraldic hierarchy for an ancient Scotland.

Other great families of note who participated in the Jacobite revolts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included Perth, Drummond, Mackenzie (a Highlander), Murray of Athol, Campbell (Earls/Dukes of Argyle), and Graham. Many of these houses gained appointments in Jacobite high command and received noble honors from the Stuarts, while others featured prominently in the military operations of Jacobite leaders. To list a few obvious instances of the Scottish noble presence in military high command, an officers list dating from 1692, read of the Scots army at Dunkirk as follows, "Major-Generals Buchan [Irish] and Canon, the Earl of Dumfermline, Viscount Dundee, Sir G. Barclay, Sir W. Wallace, Strowan, Sir Alexander McLane,

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85. Pittock, *Myth*, 33-35, 69.

Earl of Wigtoun, Lord Dunkeld, Patrick Graham, and Col. Brown, Lieut.-Colonel Sir G. Maxwell, Col. Scot, Gordon, Ftizsimons, Major Farcherson (Farquharson) and James Buchan, Captains Thomas Dundar Fr. Scott, Maitland, King, Bradel, &c., Nicholas, priest, Edwards, minister.”<sup>86</sup>

Although not all noble, almost all the generals belonged to high families of which ancient heraldry and hereditary arguments of loyalty would appeal. James Malcolm wrote in the thick of tactical maneuvers in 1715 to Col. John Gordon of Glenbucket that he heard from Lairds of Inchdarnie and Gask that Gordon's parties seized Lady Benochy's horses, which concerned both the Marquis of Tullibardine (Murray of Atholl) and Drummond.<sup>87</sup> Noble interests and Jacobite military administration intersected at many points.

James III maintained and even extended Jacobite peerage. In 1706, he issued a warrant for the Duke of Perth's appointment to Knight of the Garter, gave David Nairne the office Clerk of the Council, swore in James Murray as a Gentleman-Usher, and bestowed the title Earl of Dundee to Giovanni Battista Gualterio<sup>88</sup> The Earl of Mar's appointment serves as another prime example. As governors of the Castle of Stirling, the Earls of Mar were influential to the Privy Council's ability to extend its administration. Mar's father was commissioned to administer the office oath to Captain Archibal Stewart as Deputy-General under James II in 1682. During the Revolution, Lord Chancellor Perth commanded Mar's father to organize one hundred Highland tenants and vassals into two companies. A month later, the Council ordered him and the Earl of Breadalbane to dispose of the Highlanders at Stirling; dismissing some and further organizing the

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86. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, List of Officers subsisted after La Hogue, June ?, 1692, 74.

87. *Ibid*, James Malcom to Col. John Gordon of Glenbucket, 1715, 458.

88. *Ibid*, James III, June 21, 1706; James III to Robert Power, King's Counsel, June 21, 1706; James III to James Porter, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, June 21, 1706, James III to Giovanni Battista Gualterio, Earl of Dundee, Jan. 25, 1706, 204-205.

rest. In 1705, Sir David Nairn gave Mar the position of Secretary of State in the Council in the place of Marquis of Annandale, who became President.<sup>89</sup> The Union of 1707 spelled the end of the Privy Council when the British government unwisely abolished the Privy Council in 1708, weakening central authority. Therefore, when Mar defected as Commander-in-Chief for the Stuart army in 1715, his familiarity with powerful Scottish families was considerable, and unchecked by any Hanoverian institution. James III cemented Mar's place in the Jacobite peerage of Scotland with the titles “Duke of Mar, Marquis Erskine, Earl of Kildrummie, Viscount Garioch, Lord of Alloa, Ferriton and Forrest..., in the peerage of Scotland, with remainder to his heirs in tail general.”<sup>90</sup>

In October, Mar reported that his plan rested on noble support for success. He worked on building a correspondence with between the areas of Fife and Newcastle, while waiting for General Gordon and Seaforth to join the army.<sup>91</sup> In his assessment of clan loyalty in the 1715 revolt, he summarized to the Laird of Glengarry:

I have mett with abundance of difficultys and dissapointments since you left me and mostly occasioned by my ungratefull landlord who... has done all the mischief by his bad example...

Lord Huntly acts the honourable parte I expredted of him and Glenbuckat his Bailly is very diligent. I have reason to hope that some of the Strathspey people will join him. Lord Huntly's men of Badenoch Strathavine, Glenlivet, Glenrinis, Anchindown and Cabrach as Glenbuchat just now writes me were in armes yesterday... The Athole people

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89. *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*, Act of the Privy Council, Dec. 14, 1682, Lord Chancellor Perth to the Earl of Mar, Oct. 31, 1688, The Privy Council to the Earl of Mar, Nov. 16, 1688, Sir David Nairn to the Earl of Mar, Sep. 29, 1705 (London: Ben Johnson & Co. York, 1904), 212, 235.

90. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, James III to the Earl of Mar, Oct. 22, 1715, 445; Mitchison, *Lordship*, 136.

91. *Report*, Instructions given by the Earl of Mar, Oct. 24, 1715, 511-512.

are reddy against we come near them and Lord Drummond is gone about his men as I hope Earl Bredalbain and some others in Perthshire are bussie about theirs.

The low country gentelmen are mostly reddy to join us upon the first advertisement.

I found it necessary that Lord Seafort should be one of them to join us... our scheme of the midle district which we found necessary to alter since you was here and that is the making our first randevous in the Highlands, and then to march down together in a body to be join'd by the Gentelmen in the low country... which had we mett in the low country we wou'd probablie have come in stragling and separat parties and so been exposed to some danger, and beside by this way we are now to follow we will take some of our nighbours along with us who want a show of force to excuse their joining us, which you may easily understand.<sup>92</sup>

The philosophical basis in the Jacobite system of leadership assumed the superior loyalty of feudal attachment in military affairs, particularly that of clan appeal. Troops were identified under the hierarchies of their leaders. Pittock believes the 1715 revolt was a national revolution, with Mar's manifesto calling for an ancient kingdom.<sup>93</sup> Such a stark interpretation ignores its ancient pre-national orders. From Mar's report, if the Scottish lords, both Highland and Lowland subscribed to the fight through the “show of force” (including the Scottish pageant of clan warfare organized according to ancient heraldry) Hanoverian central administration over Scotland would diminish by degrees as nobles competed for recognition in the Jacobite peerage instead of seeking Britain patronage. On the Hanoverian side in the 1715 campaign, leadership consisted of Scottish nobles including Lovat, Sutherland, Strathnaver, Grant, Munro, Forbes, Gordon, and according to the end of year resolutions at the Council of War, Government officials ordered that the primary objective of operations should be to defeat the Highlander clan Mackenzies.<sup>94</sup> The myth of clan warfare fell into a larger effort to control Scottish peerage, on

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92. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I, Earl of Mar to Laird of Glengarry, 1715, 422-423.

93. Pittock, *Myth*, 46, 54.

94. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I, Resolutions taken in a Council of War, Dec. 26-Jan. 6,

both sides, and for Jacobite mythology, the scheme included the old feudal attachment to Christendom and its heraldic orders. Not even most of the Scottish nobles could be considered Catholic in this way, but the heraldry of ancient Scotland held them into a hierarchical order which assumed social hierarchy at least.

James III maintained the Papal connection with the same vigor as his father. On May 30, 1705, he expressly declared to Pope Clement XI to follow his father's example of inviolate obedience to the Apostolic See.<sup>95</sup> The next year, he asked for a blessing:

Having attained the age at which our father directed by his will that we should become *sui juris*, our first duty is to render to your Holiness the homage and filial obedience due to you. Though driven from both our country and our throne for sake of religion alone, and by the furious hatred of the heretics... the greater help our worldly affairs will receive from the Ruler of all things. But, whatever may happen therein, we are resolved that with God's grace no temptation of this world, and no desire to reign, shall ever make us wander from the right path of the Catholic faith, having been taught how infinitely the kingdom of heaven transcends all the kingdoms of this world. We earnestly desire your apostolic benediction.<sup>96</sup>

Apostolic benediction on what?; on their kingship, surely. Although set in the heavenly realm, James really asked for a Papal sanction of a sovereign cohort of Christian princes, of which his principedom was merely a part. James III was playing the old hierarchical tune in order to gain international support. Later that summer, he recommended Cardinal Gualterio to the Clement, asking that he pay particular heed to Gualterio's account of the state of religion in Britain. James supported the beatification of Father Vincent de Paul, because of his sending missionaries to Scotland and Ireland in dangerous times.<sup>97</sup> To James, the Roman Catholic Church functioned as

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1715-1716, 483.

95. Ibid, James III to Pope Clement XI, May 30, 1705, 201.

96. Ibid, James III to Pope Clement XI, June 27, 1706, 205-206.

97. Ibid, James to Pope Clement XI, Aug. 27, 1706; to Pope Clement XI, Sep. 1, 1706.

yet one more way to establish monarchical legitimacy to ancient Scottish orders. He wrote to Cardinal Imperiali in 1710 and again in 1714, reinforcing the Stuart right to appoint bishops in Ireland and dissuading the Cardinal from forming a mission college over all three kingdoms.<sup>98</sup>

Behind James' transnational hold on both noble and ecclesiastical institutions in Britain, the fear of international irrelevance loomed. As James wrote in 1716 to one of his few remaining allies in Europe, Charles XII of Sweden, “they are trying to deprive you of what they have already robbed me, but the remedy is easy... and the same stroke, which will restore to me what belongs to me, is the only one that can preserve you your rights.. the more I appear to be abandoned by the rest of Europe, the more confidence I have in the justice of my cause and in the heroic qualities which have led your Majesty to take the side that is unjustly oppressed.”<sup>99</sup> Yet, Charles' diplomat did not wish his siding with James to be made public.<sup>100</sup> Diplomatic relations seemed generally unstable, as the Duke of Mar explained, “As to Patrick's [James'] writing to Edward (the Regent) as you propose, both Orbec (Ormonde) and he think it would have no more effect that what Andrew (Queen Mary) can write to him and Dutton (Dillon) can say... I am sure those reasons which would be good for persuading the nephew (Louis XV.) (were he a man and the manager of his own affairs) to assist Patrick... will not have great influence with Edward.”<sup>101</sup> Evidently, Louis XV still required more diplomatic persuasion, although the method for doing so would be easier than persuading the Regent. The league of Catholic Princes never materialized.

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98. Ibid, James III to James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 1710, 235; James III to Cardinal Imperiali, 1714, 329.

99. Ibid, vol. II, James III to the King of Sweden, July 16, 1716.

100. Ibid, The Duke of Mar to L. Inese, Aug. 25, 1716, 369.

101. Ibid.

However, the net of Scottish peerage and its hold over Jacobite administrative affairs remained potentially successful, factoring into every major Jacobite revolt.

Jacobite heraldry linked Scottish nobility to a form of chivalric Christendom by means of Medieval tropes in accord with Elizabethan scholarship on feudalism. Behind this play at arms appeared the fundamental political premise of both Stuart legitimacy and the ancient hierarchical standing of feudal Scotland itself; hereditary right. The Stuarts maintained ties with the Papacy, claiming the rights of Scottish noble order in ecclesiastical and political affairs in Britain. Rather than complete fabrication, Jacobite heraldry reinstated and embellished ancient Caledonian dressings of feudalism. Heraldic emblems such as the Royal Ensign, Unicorn, and St. Andrew's Cross placed kingship and Scottish national legitimacy in the Continental European hierarchy of Christendom. Even as Nisbet outlined the Gothic terminology of heraldry, the Stuart courtly protocol for its Scottish symbols revolved around Caledonian familial stewardship. James III's pageant for peerage maintained and revived noble ancestry and marks of ancient Scotland. Above clanship, Medieval Caledonia and its significance to Western Christendom served as the capital for the pillar of Jacobite hierarchy in an age when all of Britain was moving to more modern forms of centralization.

## CHAPTER III

### ANGLICAN MARTYRDOM AND JACOBITE ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONALISM

#### Introduction

Preserving a consistent system for Jacobite peerage would not be enough to secure a Stuart hold over English political institutions. James' Catholic regime ended forever Stuart power over Anglican institutions, and all future promises regarding concessions to the Church of England was backpedaling to regain former ground. The Church was a vast structure of immense power in the seventeenth century. Bishops appointed local officials of county administration and justice. Farmers and tenants on church land relied on the clergy for favorable leases and fair administration of fines. When a new Bishop arrived to his cathedral city, the gentry rode out to greet him, the farmers dressed their best, and soldiers paraded. The great dioceses of London and Winchester possessed rent-rolls on an equal footing with that of a duke.<sup>102</sup> Charles II expected his Bishops to promote beneficial elections for his administration and report on county politics. William Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1677-1691 believed passionately in a mystical reverence to monarchy and replaced no less than twenty-two out of twenty-seven dioceses with Royalist archbishops. This reverence for monarchy was driven by a belief in the divine right of kings. Divine Right theory held that a king was ordained by God Himself without the Pope's mediation, that he inherited the throne through hereditary legitimacy, that he was accountable to God alone for proper stewardship of his kingdom, and that subjects must passively obey him. By rights of an unchangeable ancient Constitution, or historical precedent of power, High Church men defended Divine Right and passive obedience in direct opposition to

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102. Pincus, *1688*, 128-131, 165; Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 3.

the Puritan argument that Common law existed before the king.<sup>103</sup> The Stuarts appealed to this High Church ideal with a political platform that addressed Revolutionary demands.

### Anglican Martyrdom and Church Policy

Charles I's sacrificial place in the Church of England evolved into Jacobite mythology. His martyr image dominated the liturgy and iconography of the Restoration Church, as John Spurr claims, and symbolized Anglican piety at its sincerest level.<sup>104</sup> Paul Monod has extensively treated England's cultural and social Jacobitism and argues that Jacobitism as a construct must include not only its solid political aspects, but also its sentimental and sympathetic recapitulations in culture. Jacobitism followed a pattern of iconographic appeal common in High Church Anglicanism.<sup>105</sup> Jacobite propagandists initiated an icon campaign throughout southern England, organizing Jacobite symbols around the royal Stuart claim. They represented Charles as a “man of sorrows,” following in the footsteps of Christ as a persecuted king. In contrast to these engravings of the martyr-king, Monod claims that visual sympathy for Charles included a more light-hearted symbol of Charles smiling down on the world from a flowering oak-tree. The oak tree image originated from Charles choosing to hide in an oak from his enemies. The hiding king image evoked a sense of love and loyalty; that the king was disguised and known only to his

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103. Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 5-6; John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), 5-6, 118; Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: W. W. Horton & Company, Inc., 1967), 30-37, 124-127, 148-155; Glenn Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction of English Political Thought, 1603-1642* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 50, 105, 113, 134-135, 182-183, 213; Hoppit, *Land*, 231.

104. John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 48.

105. Monod, *Jacobitism*, 6-8, 70.

supporters.<sup>106</sup> Despite Monod's lively interpretation, this iconography also evoked danger; the hounding pursuer who searches for its victim. Charles noted such persistence in his enemies in his last book to the English people before his execution, *Eikon Basilike*, which suggests that propagandists simply embellished Charles' original perception of himself.

Monod considered visual propaganda as appealing to the gentry, and differentiates it from Court art which “emphasized the grandeur and un-approachability of sovereignty.”<sup>107</sup> Accordingly, sovereignty and hereditary right constituted the two major themes of Court art at St. Germain.<sup>108</sup> Although Court art revealed these themes, James III understood the necessity of popular appeal, as did Charles I. Populist art and Court art reflected both sides of the same coin; the need to restore significance to nobility and to maintain a sympathetic popular image. Monod's dichotomy of grandeur and sentiment reflect a political as well as artistic need.<sup>109</sup> The primary sympathy for the humanity of the Stuarts lay in the person of Charles I and his claim to martyrdom within Anglican Protestantism. By 1763, churches throughout London memorialized the day of Charles' martyrdom with fasting and church services. James Boswell in his *London Journal* commented, “This tragical event is an indelible stain on the British nation. Worthy, though misguided Monarch! May thy soul rest in peace.”<sup>110</sup> Royalist pageantry argued the legitimacy of the Stuarts on the basis of their personal stewardship of the people of England.

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106. Ibid, 70-72.

107. Ibid, 72

108. Ibid, 73-74.

109. Ibid, 73.

110. James Boswell, *London Journal 1762-1763*, second edition, ed. Frederick A. Pottle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 173.

Although scholarship recognizes that *Eikon Basilike* was considerably embellished for its publication, the book argued Charles' fundamental beliefs in his trial and execution, and was understood by even its critical opposition as representative of the king. Lois Potter has called it, “the most important work of royalist propaganda in the entire period.”<sup>111</sup> In line with High Church Royalism, Charles favored constitutional legitimacy of kingship through historical and hereditary precedent. For Charles, preserving the social order of the realm was one and the same with protecting the liberties of its people: “hereditary kingdom for these thousand years... I do stand more for liberty of my people than any here that come to be my pretended Judges.”<sup>112</sup> He summarized his position on lawful assemblies by stating that if power alone without law be permitted to make laws or alter fundamental laws of the realm, then “I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life.”<sup>113</sup> Hereditary right for Charles only meant political validity insofar as it accorded with an ancient development of law which coincided with a fundamental safety for its people, subjects though they be. Charles augmented his representative position by claiming, “for I shall die a martyr.”<sup>114</sup>

*Eikon Basilike* or “the King's Book” expounded on English Protestant themes, bringing the tone of the martyr full-circle to a Low Church argument for individual Christian piety. The

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111. Lois Potter, *Secret rites and secret writing Royalist literature, 1641-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 7, 11, 165, 170-184; Diane Purkiss, *The English Civil War: Papists, Gentlewomen, Soldiers, and Witchfinders in the Birth of Modern Britain* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 561; John Milton, *Eikonoklastēs: In Answer to a Book Intituled, Eikōn Basilikē, the Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty In His Solitudes And Sufferings* (London: A. Millar, 1756), 10-11.

112. Purkiss, *The English Civil War*, 553; Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*, 148-155.

113. Purkiss, *The English Civil War*, 553.

114. *Ibid*, 558.

basic presupposition behind the work was the Protestant understanding of freedom of conscience. Speaking of his policy with Church and State, Charles argued that he only wished for a constitutional settlement to religious divisions, and asserted his conscience in the matter, “I resolved to reforme, what I should by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and grant whatever My Reason & Conscience told Me... I wish I had kept My self within those bounds... But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice.”<sup>115</sup> Although High-Church in form, the assumption behind his reformation of church hinged on the issue of conscience, even as the nation bore a responsibility to God.

Charles believed that a rational approach to High Anglican revisions in church government would standardize ecclesiology by compromise and serve as a balance between old and new English Christianity. Either relieving certain factions from the control of the State Church or delivering it up to any one extreme sect was beyond Charles' Oath as he saw it. He must accordingly settle for a golden mean, a balance of conscience, and a position of compromise and liberty. He wished for equal distribution of religious attitudes through the State Church, “Let the just liberties of My people be (as well as they may) preserved in faire, and equall wayes, without the slavery of My soul.”<sup>116</sup> He once again brought his own personal responsibility for the State Church and the liberty of his conscience with regards to it into the forefront of matters of religious freedom. Of course, Charles possessed no gauge for a general ecclesiastical opinion on doctrine. His method of installing Bishops and revising the English Prayer Book relied on his hierarchical position in the Anglican Church, more than on the

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115. Charles Stuart I, *Eikon Basilike or the King's Book*, ed. Edward Almack (London: De La More Press, 1903), 2.

116. *Ibid*, 26.

consciences of his people or their religious leaders. The Westminster Confession of Faith had been a more accurate picture of theological consensus, consisting of a selection of divines from throughout England and Scotland. Yet, High Anglicanism remained undefended within the Parliamentary attempt to reconcile national ecclesiology. The results of Charles' one-size-fits-all approach in the name of liberty only unsettled every faction but his own and awakened them to war.

Charles shaped his own position as king around the assumption that Englishmen possessed the rights and liberties granted them through the laws and traditions of England. He defined liberty as what men will do within the bounds of reason, laws, and religion; licentiousness being anything beyond the laws of the land, both Divine and human. His fear for Parliament was that the drive for power (licentiousness) would crush the moral support system of the nation and bring anarchical chaos: “I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a Chaos of confusions... as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects... As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitions and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever desire greater Freedomes then the Laws allow...”<sup>117</sup> Charles believed in hierarchical order to social liberty; an order which meant more to him than his life; “In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My owne Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Lawes established before those alterations they

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117. Ibid, 86-87.

propounded.”<sup>118</sup> For England then, Charles died, for the English Church, as he would have it. His daughter Elizabeth later remembered that he died for the Protestant faith and its liberty.<sup>119</sup> The martyr image reflected not only a cultural appeal; it included an underlying English Protestant political philosophy of Anglicanism as an national and constitutional institution. The Church provided a social order for England which established Protestant constitutionality of its rights and liberties.

Dissenters, those outside the Church of England, had been a problem for English ecclesiastical order since the Reformation. In 1660, Charles II surprisingly passed the moderate Declaration of Breda, which promised assimilation into the Anglican Church for those of slightly varying forms of Protestantism and gave toleration to those who could live peaceably in their dissenting churches. The Worcester House Declaration announced that the Anglican Church would be ruled by combining presbyters and bishops.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately an anti-monarchist rising in 1661 put an end to these moderate concessions. Panic ensued and persecution of dissenting Protestants became the keynote policy of the 1660s. The Clarendon Code with its Conventicle Act put fines on non-conformists meeting for worship outside the Church. High Churchmen like William Sancroft and Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham only gained the support of moderate Dissenters, while persecuting broader Dissenting communities. This process continued until James II hampered Church authority in his toleration measures and Catholic policies.<sup>121</sup>

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118. Ibid, 157.

119. Purkiss, *The English Civil War*, 557.

120. Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable hatred: Tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 19, 50-52, 162-166

121. Walsham, *Charitable hatred*, 19; Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 9; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, 41-42, 49-51.

In April 1687, James issued his Declaration of Indulgence, which decreed, “all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical for not coming to Church or not receiving the sacrament, or for any other nonconformity... be immediately suspended.”<sup>122</sup> James' declaration relied on a theory of liberty of conscious, which rested on the pietistic Anglican martyr image of his father Charles I. As its very name implied, pardon was intrinsically reversible, deriving not from a legal right, but from the king's long sufferings. The Declaration was reissued a year later with the promise that Parliament would give its consent. The motives behind Indulgence were apparent: James disabled oaths of allegiance to the Church because they slowed trade, discouraged immigration, and were ineffectual at bringing “an exact conformity in religion” throughout the Kingdom.<sup>123</sup> His modern Catholic propaganda machine would be much more efficient in a free environment. Through the dissemination of knowledge, voluntary conversions would restore Papal dominance. James was incredibly naive about the flow of information and its cultural effects in voluntary societies; the Revolutionary reaction must have surprised him. Yet as Alexandra Walsham argues, “Temporarily and theoretically, it sanctioned religious pluralism to an extent unmatched elsewhere in Europe.”<sup>124</sup>

James' Declaration shocked the Church with its suddenness. During the summer of 1687, judicial ecclesiastical power collapsed, as moral case law became irrelevant and prosecution against the laity for nonconformity diminished by degrees. As chaos moved up from dioceses across England, Sancroft and his Royalist allies uneasily began a protest. Representing the Court loyalist faction, Seven Bishops issued a famous petition to call the King back to the Church (or

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122. Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 9.

123. Walsham, *Charitable hatred*, 266.

124. *Ibid*, 266.

rather Anglican-Tory authoritarianism). They refused to read the Declaration aloud, and in so doing ironically gained the admiration of Nonconformists for standing against the King. Their subsequent arrest for trial and release marked a victory for Church strategy. It had outmaneuvered the King, who could not afford to try his own bishops, and gained national public appeal.<sup>125</sup> A revolutionary spirit hung in the air, but it did not bode well for High Church Anglicanism. After James fled to France, Parliament offered the crown to William and Mary, Protestants from the Netherlands. Sancraft refused to recognize the succession and was removed from office along with four others. Their loyalty to the old regime started a new ecclesiastical/political faction: the Nonjurors who believed the Church of England had apostatized since accepting a usurper for its head. The majority of the clergy took oaths of loyalty to William, but usually only as a *de facto* king, still honoring James as the *de jure* monarch.<sup>126</sup>

William's succession brought changes not only to Church policy but to constitutional procedure in England. Sympathy in the English Parliament lay with Protestant national sovereignty, not Catholic nations abroad, and if James were allowed to reinstate a Catholic order, foreign attachments in an antiquated ecclesiastical hierarchy might ensue. William's speech to Parliament said as much: "YOU, Gentlemen, that have been Members of the late Parliaments, I have desired you to meet me here, to advise the best Manner how to pursue the ends of my Declar. . ., in calling a free Parliament, for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and Restoring of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom."<sup>127</sup> How best to restore the liberties of

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125. Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 9; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, 93-97.

126. Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 10.

127. 'Prince of Orange's declaration: 19 December 1688', *Journal of the House of*

Protestants was the issue at hand, or rather how to embed Protestantism within the State so as to avoid Catholic influence. Lord Nottingham brought before the House of Lords two moderate bills for comprehension and toleration of Dissenters. Unfamiliar with entrenched Anglicanism, William made the grievous political error of publicly appearing before the House of Lords and proposing a sudden and complete abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, giving full fledged toleration. His proposal was soundly defeated, the Comprehension Bill blocked, and only the Toleration Act became law. This act essentially gave all Trinitarian Protestants who objected to the Church liturgy and government freedom of worship outside Church establishment. Even so, it only moderately addressed Dissenter demands, and many strings were attached. Only those who swore oaths of allegiance or affirmed loyalty and declared against Transubstantiation were included. Dissenting ministers had to subscribe to the Anglican statement of faith, the Thirty-Nine Articles, in all but Church government. Religious tests still remained in admissions to universities like Oxford and Cambridge, as well as for office-holding, which remained very narrowly an Anglican monopoly over civil and institutional government. It may even be described as a step backwards from the toleration of James' regime, but nevertheless set in motion a commitment to the English Constitution.<sup>128</sup>

Many of James' Catholic policies had violated constitutional law, liberty, and property rights. James removed at will members of corporations, nominating their replacements who distributed his propaganda, and purged entire corporations, sometimes even granting new

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*Commons: volume 10: 1688-1693* (1802), pp. 1-6. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=28733> Date accessed: 25 January 2013.

128. Geoffrey Holmes, “*Introduction: Post-Revolution Britain and the Historian*,” in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, 25; Bennet, *Tory Crisis*, 11, 13; Walsham, *Charitable hatred*, 267.

charters. Protestants universally associated this form of Catholicism with a subversion of their rights to liberty and property, and conversely crafted a rhetoric for the Revolution which called for a settlement of Protestant rights and liberties. This anti-Catholic feeling remained politically influential in England well into the eighteenth century.<sup>129</sup> The House of Commons read its Declaration of Rights to William and Mary upon their ascension, which defined in greater detail constitutional legality. First, the Declaration banned excessive fines and bail in the law courts, prohibited cruel punishments, stipulated that jurors be duly empaneled and in treason trials be freeholders, and denied a monarch's power to grant away fines and forfeitures which might be sentenced in an upcoming trial. Second, Parliament had to meet on a frequent basis, freedom of speech was established in the House of Commons, and a monarch could not violate free elections by packing Parliament. Third, Parliament gained the power of the purse through the prohibition of levying money without its consent and standing armies were forbidden unless Parliament consented. The Declaration became statute in 1689 as the enduring Bill of Rights, laying the foundations for universal rights of citizenship. Parliamentary reform followed with the Triennial Act of 1694, which established a general election every three years and hindered a monarch's ability to call and dispense Parliamentary authority at will.<sup>130</sup> William opened his administration by dispersing his appointments along party lines in an attempt to unify. In Scotland, he was compelled to abolish the Lords of the Articles, a committee which drafted the agenda of Scottish Parliamentary legislation, and trim his Privy Council in order to give the Presbyterian General

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129. John Miller, "Crown, Parliament, and People," and Howard Nenner, "Liberty, Law, and Property: The Constitution in Retrospect from 1689," in *Liberty Secured?*, 72, 92-93, 96-97, 121; Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England, c. 1714-80* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 4, 28, 140, 164.

130. Howard Nenner, "Liberty, Law, and Property: The Constitution in Retrospect from 1689," in *Liberty Secured?*, 81-83.

Assembly control of the Kirk. Everywhere, central administration seemed to change throughout William and Mary and Queen Anne's reigns, until it settled into a one-party Whig machine during the Hanoverian period. With this change came an enduring philosophical legacy of rights and liberties in a solidified English citizenship; a citizenship which John Locke would apply to all men in a social contract. From the Revolutionary constitutionalism, Classical liberalism took shape in England.<sup>131</sup>

These changes to the modern English state also altered the Stuart court platform for Jacobite political objectives in England. Through a series of Royal declarations entrusted to high ranking Jacobite conspirators, the exiled court wished to print and disseminate a Jacobite political position in accord with the Revolutionary settlement. As early as 1696, James wrote a liberal Declaration in conjunction with his planned landing and invasion of England from Calais. The invasion never materialized and the Declaration was never published. He died in 1701 without ever returning to England.<sup>132</sup> James III developed the post-Revolutionary stance of his court and entrusted leadership in the Tory Party with the publishing of his political platform. In 1715, James gave his declarations to Tory leader Lord Bolingbroke, who promised to circulate them through publishing houses in London. James also wrote letters to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which Bolingbroke would give to the university administration before circulating them in London. However, Bolingbroke was detained in France longer than he

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131. T. C. Smout, "The Road to Union," and E. L. Ellis, "William III and the Politicians," in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution*, 121-123, 179; Mitchison, *Lordship*, 14; Hoppit, *Land*, 47-49, 194-195; Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 435-436, 463-464.

132. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, "Introduction;" James II to all his loving subjects in the Kingdom of England, Feb. 28, 1696, XXXV, 111-112; "James II and VII (1633-1701)," W. A. Speck in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, October 2009, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/14593> (accessed February 21, 2013).

expected, along with James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, who had opened up an English commercial treaty with France in the Tory ministry before beginning a secret correspondence with the Stuart court. Bolingbroke gave these letters to his aid Ezekiel Hamilton to publish in London. By the 1745 campaign, Jacobite military officials spread James' and Prince Charles' English and Scottish Declarations in public house pamphlets throughout Scotland and Northern England, and nobles read them publicly at market crosses. While Jacobite pamphlet material circulated in the press throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, public readings of these Stuart declarations were reserved for primary periods of revolt.<sup>133</sup> Accordingly, the Stuart political platform moved first through the Tory Jacobite elite and secured their loyalty before it entered the public sphere.

#### Jacobite Claims to Revolutionary Constitutionalism and National Sovereignty

Tory politicians worried that Whig policies would threaten the constitutional settlement of 1688. In 1715, The Duke of Ormonde echoed these concerns in his *Letter of the Duke of Ormond to all true lovers of the Church of England, and their Country*, first published in London and sent even as far away as the Jacobite press in Perth. He condemned freethinking in the

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133. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, "Introduction;" James III Declaration, Jan. 3-14, 1715; James III to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Oct. 20, 1715, Ixxxix-Ixxxiii, 343, 488; H. T. Dickinson, 'St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/24496>, accessed 21 Feb 2013]; Stuart Handley, 'Butler, James, second duke of Ormond (1665-1745)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/4193>, accessed 21 Feb 2013]; James Allardyce, ed., *Historical papers relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750.*, vol. I (Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1895), xxxv, 177-184; John Wilson, *A history of the Scottish Highlands, Highland clans and Highland regiments*, vol. I, ed. Sir John Scott Keltie (Edinburgh and London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1875), 523-525; "A True Account of Mr. John Daniel's Progress with Prince Charles," in *Origins of the Forty-Five and other Papers relating to that Rising*, ed. Walter Biggar Blaikie (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1916) 169, 181.

universities and called for a return to Anglican Christianity.<sup>134</sup> Ormonde brought spiritual and national significance to ecclesiastical affairs by stating that the persecution of the Church of England under the Hanoverian administration forced him to leave his “native country” and accept commissions as Commander-in-Chief of England under James III “in so glorious a cause as that of delivering their country from the foreign yoke imposed on them by the violence of a faction.”<sup>135</sup> The cause did not simply rest on hierarchical structure in Church, peerage, or State, but in the entire country of England with all its citizens. This was a matter of national honor, of patriotism, of England itself. Furthermore, it depended on the spiritual health of its people. Ormonde appealed to the orthodoxy of his audience's Christian and English character for support, and claimed that liberalism in England had actually invaded the liberties of its countrymen. He attacked political and ecclesiastical corruption:

The authority of a pretended Parliament made by false returns and bribery and the turning out of members lawfully chosen has been applied to the subversion of the constitution. The orthodox clergy have been discountenanced, and Socinians and Freethinkers are encouraged under the pretence of moderation... the enemies of our religion are left at liberty to attack the most essential articles of it.<sup>136</sup>

Ormonde believed the essential articles of faith in the Anglican Church which had set England apart from Papal Europe as a Protestant and constitutional nation were perishing under Parliamentary secularism and Whig corruption. He continued, “The two famous Universities

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134. James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, *The Letter of the Duke of Ormond to All True Lovers of the Church of England, and Their Country* (Perth: repr. by Robert Freebairn, 1715); Ormonde, *Lovers of the Church of England* (London?: 1715); H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, The Duke of Ormonde to all True Lovers of the Church of England and their Country, Nov. ?, 1715, 537.

135. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol I. “Introduction,” XIX; Ibid, vol. II, The Duke of Ormonde to all True Lovers of the Church of England and their Country, Nov. ?, 1715, 537.

136. Ibid.

have been contemptuously treated, and a project is now on foot to set up a new University with a design to destroy the old ones, and, to show their hatred to a liberal education and the seminaries of the Church.”<sup>137</sup> Ormonde gave a conservative argument for Jacobitism, which appealed to the very Christian identity of the people of England. Although national in its import, his call spoke to the very individuality of faith within each of his countrymen; thus he called his efforts 'an enterprise on which everything which ought to be dear to them as Christians or Englishmen absolutely depends.’<sup>138</sup> The Marquise of Wharton exhibited perfectly the sort of dedication to the cause which Ormonde sought. He measured his capacity of obedience to James by what was consistent with a freeborn Englishman and the Protestant religion, expressing his firm service to king and country. Among his following ready to join, Wharton described the loyalty of his “fellow countrymen” as having “acknowledged at length your just and undoubted title to the crowns of your royal ancestors.”<sup>139</sup> For the Jacobite, this represented the perfect balance between conservative and liberal attachment.

After the Glorious Revolution and its cry for the rights and liberties of Protestants, Stuart politics conceded wholeheartedly to the rhetoric and constitutional revisions of the Revolution. Stuart Declarations to England used the basic terms of the Revolution, promising to leave undisturbed rights and liberties of the Protestant faith, lessen tax burdens, secure property rights, and even curtail Roman Catholicism in England. Nevertheless, their platform was large enough to address Tory and High Church issues. Letters to the universities largely concerned the maintenance of High Anglican interests and resolved to block both the separation of university

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137. Ibid, 537-538.

138. Ibid, 537.

139. Ibid, The Marquis of Wharton to James III, Aug. 21, 1716.

property from Church lands and heretical philosophy in the universities.<sup>140</sup> Indeed, behind these concessions to the Revolutionary settlements, the fundamental assumptions of legality and constitutionality in the Stuart declarations rested on an ancient precedent of hereditary authority and liberty of monarchical conscious which mimicked Charles I's claim to Anglican martyrdom. Both James II and James III harnessed this sense of Anglican institutional stability to argue for the restoration of English rights and liberties after the upheaval of 1688 in their declarations of loyalty to England from 1696-1715.

James II promised in his 1696 Declaration to England to restore and support the ancient order of England through liberal and Parliamentary means:

We further declare that we will with all speed call a free Parliament, that by their advice and assistance we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by the late usurpation; to redress all grievances and to free our People from the unsupportable burden of Taxes and Impositions they now lie under, that so our Kingdom of England may flourish again as formerly and stand firm upon the ancient and legal foundation. And to that end we likewise declare that we will give our Royal assent to any Bill that shall be tender'd to us for the confirmation of judicial proceedings during the time of the late Usurpation [the Revolutionary regime]... and to all such other Bills as shall be thought necessary to establish a general tranquility in the nation, or to secure our People in the undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, Rights, Liberties, and Properties, for we are satisfied that the true interest and glory of a King is the happiness of his subjects.<sup>141</sup>

James promised three concessions to the Protestant parliamentary agenda. First, he would not only call a free Parliament, but also take seriously its proposals. Second, he pledged to lessen land taxes and reduce the centralization of government. In so doing, James appealed to Whiggish Jacobites, who believed William and Mary's administration more centralized than James' old

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140. Ibid, James II to all his loving subjects in the Kingdom of England, Feb. 28, 1696; James III Declaration, Jan. 3-14, 1715; James III to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Oct. 20, 1715, 111-112, 343, 438.

141. Ibid, James II to all his loving subjects in the Kingdom of England, Feb. 28, 1696, 111-112.

regime.<sup>142</sup> Third, James vaguely promised freedom of religion, rights as citizens, and properties as free men. Yet, he still insisted on the strict recognition of his hereditary right to the throne, and buttressed hereditary social order through heraldic peerage. Just before issuing this Declaration, James II created a warrant for his illegitimate son, Henry Fitz-James under the titles of “Baron of Romney, Earl of Rochford, and Duke of Albemarle, in the kingdom of England, with the remainder to the heirs male of his body.”<sup>143</sup> Likewise, James certified the ancestry of Elizabeth Butler, Duchess of Ormonde and Comtesse of Grammont as descended from Hamilton and Ormonde, two of the greatest families in Scotland and Ireland.<sup>144</sup>

James' aversion to social upheaval, its damage to hierarchical structures and deprivation of liberty of the individual, led him to justify Stuart legitimacy from both pre-national structural and Revolutionary ideals. Thus, James explained that national structures in Church and State, and liberties of citizenship would coexist in his restoration; that he would establish legal provisions for “the full enjoyment of all their Legal Rights, Privileges and Immunities, and in the secure possession of all their Churches, Universities, Colleges and Schools, and that upon all vacancies of Bishopricks, and other Dignities or Benefices... to the end that all our subjects may live easily... that... we shall likewise with all earnestness recommend it to our ensuing Parliament, that by their advice... such a liberty of conscience may be settled...”<sup>145</sup> James' version of

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142. Ibid; Monod, *Jacobitism*, 132.

143. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I, James II to the Attorney-General, Jan. 13, 1696, 110.

144. Ibid, James II, Jan. 21, 1696; “Butler, Elizabeth, duchess of Ormond and suo jure Lady Dingwall (1615–1684),” M. Perceval-Maxwell in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, see online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, Oxford: OUP, , <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/67044> (accessed February 21, 2013).

145. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I, James II to all his loving subjects in the Kingdom of England, Feb. 28, 1696, 112.

constitutionality required a strong national Church tied to Parliamentary opinion and an Anglican presence in Universities as an institutional safeguard for the people's legal rights. Yet, he still remained dedicated to his pre-Revolutionary policy of “liberty of conscience,” one which not only satisfied his personal Catholic faith, but also one which symbolized the martyr piety of Stuart Royalism. Perhaps in emphasizing the Church of England along with liberty of conscience, James suggested that he would not institutionalize Catholicism again, but would simultaneously leave Anglicanism institutionally intact and grant more liberty to Dissenters. Of course, his platform would have been highly suspicious coming from an exiled court in the Catholic nation of France. The Parliamentary successes of the Bill of Rights had matured the English state beyond this point of return.

In January 1715, James III's Declaration to the English people after the new settlement of Hanoverian succession fleshed out specific issues relating to the legitimacy of the Church of England. James gave the standard Stuart preface for legitimacy; the sufferings of their family in the wake of social chaos (martyrdom), and the recovery of their rights over the Three Kingdoms of Britain. He announced his confidence that Providence would bring a timely end to the “absurd calumnies,” and reaffirmed his “right of blood, and Hereditary title.”<sup>146</sup> However, unlike his father, James put differences of religion at the forefront, and openly admitted to being raised Roman Catholic from birth. He claimed that if he ever decided to declare himself Protestant, he would only succeed in breaking the trust of his friends and bringing the scorn of his enemies. James proposed that his personal religion and his responsibility to Anglican Church matters were separate; that his individual conscience did not impose imperatives onto his public duties. Charles I had declared that his liberty of conscience dictated his responsibility to the State

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146. Ibid, James III Declaration, Jan. 3-14, 1715, 343.

Church through the Coronation Oath, but James III liberalized his position in 1715 by separating his Royal position as Defender of the Faith from his own Roman Catholic individual conscience. His liberalism only reveals the increasing imperative for a Parliamentary solution to Jacobite policy for restoration, and through it, the Bill of Rights.

Indeed, James featured the Constitution prominently in his policy towards the Church of England. Given in the third person, James conceded the legal legitimacy of a national rather than strictly monarchical opinion on Church appointment, and “as soon as it pleases God to give him the full and free opportunity of conversation with his own Subjects,” he pleaded to “fairly hear and examine whatsoever Churchmen or Laymen shall represent to him in these matters; and whatsoever shall be the result as to his private opinion, his administration shall be according to the Laws and Constitution, without giving the least ground of Offence, or making the least Inroad.”<sup>147</sup> Denying the institutional legitimacy of Rome over English Church affairs, he claimed that the interests of the crown (represented in himself) and the Church of England to be one in the same, and that through history, the two had always stood together.

Conversely, James believed that if the Stuarts did not return quickly to England, the Anglican Church would crumble under its own claim to institutional autonomy, for “her former Loyalty [to the Stuarts] has justly shined in the esteem of all the world; nor ought her principles to be reproached for the faults of those who have unhappily departed from them.”<sup>148</sup> Defending the institutional legitimacy of the Church of England, James argued that his Royal rights were likewise institutionally justified by Anglicans loyal to him. This brought him back to popular sovereignty:

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147. Ibid, 344.

148. Ibid.

As the K[ing] will put it out of his power to doe any hurt in matters of Religion, so he gives all possible assurances to the security of all other things, the Rights and Liberties and even the Satisfaction of his people; being fully resolved from the most solid and impartial considerations, to make the Law of the land the rule of his Government; and to conform himself to the advice of Parliaments, which he considers to be the security and happiness of the King as well as the people.<sup>149</sup>

Charles I would never have admitted that Parliaments are necessary as an interface for happiness between king and country. James III went further than a constitutional minimum, by promising that his administration would adhere to popular opinion as well as defend their rights.

Parliaments represented the expression of both Royal and popular happiness (satisfaction). James III admitted the nationhood of England, even calling it his country.<sup>150</sup> Jacobite politics followed the 1688 settlement.

James began a legal defense of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1715, granting a notice to preserve their lands from the Hanoverian administration's efforts to diminish their land holdings and perhaps their salaries. In so doing, James claimed a more general defense of all Anglican institutions. Such an appeal for the preservation of intermediary institutions would help James secure a deeper level of support than on the simply political or military levels. After enclosing copies of his declarations to Oxford and Cambridge, he summarized his dedication to “maintain all his subjects of the Church of England in all their legal rights, and in the sole possession of all their churches, schools and seminaries of education, and further promising to protect both Universities and all the particular Colleges and foundations in them in the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges...”<sup>151</sup> This was a complete reversal of his pre-

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149. Ibid.

150. Ibid, 344-345.

151. Ibid, James III to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Oct. 20, 1715, 488.

Revolutionary policy of imposing Catholic masters over Oxford and Cambridge. In 1687, when he insisted on electing a Catholic master for Magdalen College, stiff resistance compelled him to dismiss the entire body of fellows.<sup>152</sup> By promising to maintain an Anglican hold over the national universities, James inserted his agenda into secondary institutions of power in a more politically acceptable way. Through Oxford and Cambridge, he hoped to reinforce a bureaucratic means of indirectly interrupting Hanoverian power by diminishing its ability to exert political influence on higher education.

Robert Leslie, who had previously helped secure Stuart court relations with the Swedish ambassador to France, drafted a Declaration for the King which promised to continue the remittance of all tithes, restore the Convocations of England and Ireland, and protect all subjects in their civil liberties, rights, and properties through the justice of a free Parliament.<sup>153</sup> Peerage, titles, and honors of natural-born subjects from Queen Anne's administration would be maintained if they rallied at the Royal Standard or gave their support for James. It demanded every peer and commoner alike to leave the present Parliament, and proclaimed the Union of Scotland and England dissolved, restoring former independence and liberty to Scotland. The Union had “reduced the ancient kingdom of Scotland to the condition of a conquered province, and made the two kingdoms instrumental in destroying the liberties, constitutions and privileges of each other.”<sup>154</sup> Leslie argued that the Union threatened Scottish lordship. Regarding the Scottish hierarchy of lordship in both Scotland and England, the King “is well satisfied in the

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152. Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1714* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 272-273.

153. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. II, Draft Declaration drawn by Robert Leslie for the King, March [before the 19th], 1716, 24-25.

154. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

loyalty of the faithful Highlanders, assuring them that, as he is resolved to reward their firm adherence all along to his father and himself, so he promises all vassals whose lords shall persist in their rebellion that they, acting for him, shall hold their lands... and shall be discharged from all vassalage and dependence on their lords...; summoning all subjects... to repair to his Royal Standard.”<sup>155</sup> This heraldry of revolt, symbolizing a return to military order of lordship, caught the eye of one Oxford student, Nicholas Amhurst, who believed that traditional legitimacy was waning in government. He argued in verse: “Profoundly skill'd in Heraldry Divine, / He searches their Hereditary Line: / Uninterrupted thro' a Chain of Years, / Their Sacerdotal Pedigree appears... / Majestic *Mammon* now maintains the Cause, / And for the Church his pointless Weapon draws”<sup>156</sup> Ringing coffers were replacing hereditary order.

Leslie's draft serves as an excellent example of the great Jacobite rhetorical achievement of arranging the constitutional creed of England to the hierarchical tune of hereditary right. In the name of Parliament, Leslie argued, England had given up much of its former liberties. Parliamentary administrations had outlawed many of its subjects, murdering its people in the name of Church and Constitution through arbitrary justice. The Government unjustly suspended *Habeas Corpus*, illegally enforced unprecedented cruel whippings of prisoners, and disenfranchised universities with the High Commission. Therefore, the King was pleased to reveal himself as their natural king, return their “old liberties,” revive the “old constitution” of Church and State, and restore “the ancient freedom of Parliaments.”<sup>157</sup> Fitting liberal concessions

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155. Ibid, 26.

156. N. (Nicholas) Amhurst, *Poems on several occasions. To which is added, A letter to Mr. Law. By a student of Oxford* (London: printed for E. Curll, 1720) 57.

157. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol II, 27-28.

into an idealized English ancient order of freedom gave the Stuart administration a post-Revolutionary creed up to the task of becoming both conservative and liberal. Regardless of how far James actually used Leslie's draft, it shows the potential of Jacobite rhetorical arguments in the eighteenth century, and an altering scheme for rights and liberties which upheld Charles I's loyalty to Church, State, and ancient order while creating a contemporary platform.

Of course, the Jacobite press defied Stuart and Tory attempts to unify political theory or formulate a consistent Jacobite platform. The rage of party between Whig and Tory ideals took place within Jacobite journals just as it had outside Jacobite circles. In the longest running Jacobite newspaper, *Mist's Weekly Journal*, both Tory Jacobite notions of passive obedience and Whig arguments for lawful resistance played a significant role in defining the range of political opinion within English Jacobitism. One impartial poem in *Mist's* summarized the all too common political conflict; "Tories and Whigs, for all their loyal Pother, / Use Thee alone to cudgel one another."<sup>158</sup> A more vindictive Jacobite poem entitled, "The Whigs Defence of their Loyalty," ran, "Ye High-Church Vermin, how dare you to vye / With us for an extensive Loyalty?"<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, one author with the pseudonym "Loyalty" posed the following rhetorical question to the editor, "If I were a Person who believed the People of this Kingdom to be constant Original of the King's Power... that I am a Part of the Power which is King of this King... How could I go to Church... and promise to God in such unlimited Words as is here provided for me, *All loyal and dutiful Obedience in him, and for him, to his* (as I there call him) *anointed Servant...* without

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158. *A Collection of Miscellany Letters, Selected out of Mist's Weekly Journal*, vol. I, "Letter VI: On Loyalty" (London: N. Mist, 1722), 18; Monod, *Jacobitism*, 29.

159. *Mist's Weekly Journal*, "Letter VI: The Whigs Defence of their Loyalty," 18.

being a most solemn wicked Hypocrite?”<sup>160</sup> Such a question represents the conflicting political interests between passive obedience in the High Church definition of Divine Right, and the Revolutionary principle of lawful resistance.

An article in the London Jacobite journal *Mitre and Crown* presented a favorable explanation of the principle of constitutional resistance of a tyrannical monarch, but its author, like many Whiggish Jacobites feared that the new political Parliamentary establishment threatened constitutional law. He believed it possible to oppose James over matters of constitutionality without replacing the hereditary succession of the Stuart dynasty.<sup>161</sup> One commentator in the *Mist's* retitled version *Fog's Weekly Journal*, summarized the effects of political corruption and bribery in Parliament, “...the Constitution itself was subverted; these Men, under the notion of restoring Liberty, set up a Multitude of Tyrants... by Parliament, or at least... an Assembly of Men who call'd themselves a Parliament.”<sup>162</sup> He recommended more frequent elections as a remedy for corruption. Others were less democratic in their conclusions. Tories still attacked the social contract theory of governments which derived from popular consent.<sup>163</sup> Others stood against the infamous freethinkers, and referenced an expected, “Royal Visitation... in the Spring [1749] to the two Universities.”<sup>164</sup> Both Church and Tory influences as

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160. Ibid, “Letter LXXIX,” 235.

161. *The Mitre and Crown: For October 1748*, “Craftsman, October, 8” (London: J. Fuller, 1749), 40.

162. *Select Letters Taken from Fog's Weekly Journal*, vol. II, “Saturday, June 13, 1730” (London: Printed; and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1732), 20, 26-27.

163. *Mitre and Crown: For March, 1749*, 340-344.

164. Ibid, *For November, 1748*, “Answer to Doctor M----n's Discourse;” *For February, 1749*, “London, Feb. 5,” 95-96, 325.

well as Royal interests were keenly felt in these debates, but the playing field for political opinion in the Jacobite press did not arrive at popular consistency. However, Stuart declarations moved first through Tory peer circles before entering the press. Consequently, the primary connection between the Stuarts and England involved the High Church elite before it connected with a Whig following. In both Whig and Tory circles, Jacobitism included not only Stuart interests but also party debates on how best to accomplish a conservative return to the principles of the constitution.

In the post-Revolutionary era, Jacobitism evolved into a conservative constitutionalism. The exiled Stuart administration refined a rhetoric for the rights and liberties of Englishmen and the separate authority of the Church of England from Roman Catholic hierarchies which echoed the martyr image of Charles I. It clung to a hereditary form of government from the basis of constitutional precedent, unlike Nisbet's Renaissance and Elizabethan justifications for hierarchical Christendom and legitimacy of innate inequalities in man according to heraldic orders. This position attracted High Church politicians in the Tory party, who believed constitutional liberty dependent on the stability of Anglican institutions. Although published in a public venue, the Jacobite Anglican platform did more to mold Tory politics into Jacobitism than to define popular Jacobite sympathies in England. Similar to Scottish Jacobite policy, the Stuarts managed to artfully organize a set of powerful English political elite into Jacobite circles.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE JACOBITE HIGHLAND PAGEANT AND ITS HERALDIC LINEAGE

#### Introduction

What then was the advantage in engaging a Scottish elite to begin military operations five hundred miles from the British capitol? In all of the Jacobite revolts none succeeded in getting within one hundred miles of London. Graham's campaign in 1689 was almost exclusively conducted in the Highlands. After raising his standard of rebellion for James on Dundee Law, he moved along the edges of Lowland hills, and retreated into the Highlands for recruits, while the Williamite army under the Gael Hugh Mackay of Scourie trailed on in pursuit. Wishing to control the Atholl seat of power, Blair Castle in Perthshire, and its north-south routes through the Grampian Mountains, Graham struck Mackay's lines with a Highland charge, dying in the moment of victory. The Jacobite army was stopped at Dunkeld by the Cameronians.<sup>165</sup> The much grander 1715 campaign included four theaters of war: central Scotland, the Highlands, western coastal Scotland, and southern Scotland and northern England. The reluctant Scots army that invaded England in October was plagued with desertions, and eventually stopped at Preston in Lancashire. A brief Highland rising in the northeast region of Scotland in 1719 ended in defeat after only one battle at Glenshiel, because the supporting Spanish fleet sunk in a storm off the Cape Finisterre coast. Prince Charles' forces in late 1745 retreated from Derby with an impressive fighting force, which if its leaders had chosen otherwise, may just have gained London. However, Scotland still held the illusion of being safer, and the army began its long

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165. Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 30-31.

march to the fated battlefields of Culloden.<sup>166</sup> At all points, Scottish armies seemed to falter the farther south they moved. The Stuart attachment to Scotland can only be understood as a trust in traditional ideals of nobility, which despite early modernity, still existed in great capacities. Through the show of Highlandism, Scottish Jacobites maintained a pageant which represented the gallantry of its noble leadership.

The nobility had always occupied a very central place in Scottish politics and successfully remained unusually powerful through the seventeenth century. Late medieval Scotland never witnessed a successful feudal rebellion, and the assassinations of individual kings in 1437 and 1488 were hushed up as accidental. However, the two hundred year old Stewart (later spelled Stuart) dynastic hold over the nobility ended in a series of successful revolts and palace coups from the 1550s to the 1580s which removed many of the king's counselors. These revolts stemmed from a new Protestant theory of resistance. John Knox had argued in the 1550s that lesser magistrates had a God given duty above their service to the king to overthrow the tyrannical Roman Catholic regency under Mary of Guise. A band of Protestant lords, the Lords of the Congregation, rebelled against the king's Catholic ministers, and set in motion a Reformed parliament of lords and ministers which supported a Calvinist confession of faith in 1560 and promised a General Assembly.<sup>167</sup>

Protestant lords sat in the General Assembly as elders while ministers of Presbyterian churches represented a new ecclesiastical order, the Kirk. The Assembly legislated a moral reform of society, which prohibited sabbath-breaking and adultery. The alliance of nobles and

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166. Daniel Szechi, *1715*, 140, 172-181; Lenman, *Jacobite Clans*, 93-95; Pittock, *Myth*, 100-103.

167. Keith M. Brown, *Noble Power in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 3-7, 16-17.

ministers under the National Covenant in the 1640s worked similarly, with ministers being supported by Lords who maintained their landed interests in the General Assembly as ruling elders. Kirk polity often succumbed to elitism in its representative construction, featuring landed interests above every other interest other than ministers. By the 1640s, the Protestant nobility had precipitated a secular takeover of the Church in its General Assembly, Charles I's Scottish Lord Advocate pronounced the Covenant legal, and many members of the Privy Council defected to the Covenanters, seeing an opportunity for power at the king's expense. Reformation politics in Scotland was inseparable from landed interests from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries.<sup>168</sup>

The same was true for Scotland's counter-reformation. As the new Protestant establishment rooted itself in the Privy Council during the 1580s, ecclesiastic discipline increased. Commissions from the Privy Council compelled local nobles to suppress Catholicism in their jurisdictions. By the 1590s, support for Protestantism had all but disappeared among the higher nobility, and the Protestant league demanded action against Papist lords. A decade earlier, James VI had increased diplomatic relations with Spain, and the establishment of the first Scottish Jesuit college in 1581 at Douai resulted in many Catholic converts from higher nobility, including Lord Maxwell, Lord Claud Hamilton, and the Earl of Huntly. Mary Queen of Scot's execution in 1584 only augmented Catholic sympathy among the ranks of the higher nobility. By 1592, Catholic peers included one third of Scotland's nobility. Parliament issued an unconvincing statement to James VI to enforce religious conformity, which resulted in a show of military presence in the northeast and forfeiture of Catholic holdings. These nobles responded with rebellion, but the lack of foreign aid made their efforts impossible. Nevertheless, James could not

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168. Brown, *Noble Power*, 17; Mitchison, *Lordship*, 42-46.

afford to destroy the rebel nobles, and by 1596, moderate Protestant nobles refused to fight against their peers at the bidding of the radicals.<sup>169</sup>

James' removal to London in 1603 permanently altered monarchical and noble relations. In his efforts to secure union, James created a network of executive institutional support. He formed the Lords of the Articles to draft the agenda for the Scottish Parliament and to confirm proposals from his Privy Council. Through the Privy Council, James managed to organize noble power in such a way that decreased feuding in the Highlands and raiding in the Borders. His successor Charles I made the fatal mistake of installing hand-picked bishops of obscure families into the Privy Council, instigating a Scottish/English war which escalated into the English Civil War and the martial law of the Commonwealth.<sup>170</sup> The Restoration of Charles II witnessed a return of the Privy Council as an executive committee. The Lairds consisting of the non-noble tenants-in-chief and the vassals of the magnate gained greater independence in this period from the lessening of rents. The Restoration government treated these two sections as one set of landowning heritors without distinguishing them from the baronage. Local government administration was not withheld from them, and only in Parliament was the baron distinction still maintained.<sup>171</sup>

If kinship weakened in the Lowlands, it remained strong in the Highlands. Before 1000, Highland families began moving from bilateral descent groups to patrilineal kinship. Nevertheless in the fifteenth century, Highland groups countered the early modern weakening of central authority with broader clan associations. Surnames systematized inheritance, but Scottish

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169. Brown, *Noble Power*, 19-26, 34.

170. Ibid, 34; Mitchison, *Lordship*, 13-16, 20-21, 36-37, 68.

171. Mitchison, *Lordship*, 69, 79-80.

nobles still informally recognized bilateral family responsibilities. Thus, clan alliances or blood-feuds often followed the pattern of noble marriages. For example, the Argyll marriages with Campbell women pacified Argyll relations in the Lowlands, while marriages between the Mackintoshes and Grants mutually expanded territory and prevented feuding. To repel the blending of clan identities, Highland families collected questionable genealogies of lineage which maintained the statues of their chiefs and the hereditary valor of their noble ancestors. Genealogical data mesmerized Gaelic bards, who reinforced unity throughout various levels of clan society.<sup>172</sup>

This hierarchical culture of lineage combined with clan associations through kinship connected the Highlands. Confederacies formed and kindreds self-regulated potentially destructive internal conflicts. Alan MacInnes estimates that from 1661-1674, Highlanders committed only eighteen recorded crimes of aggression and twenty two crimes against property, while Lowland banditry included one hundred and seven recorded crimes of aggression and seventy against property. In situations of war, nobles quickly harnessed kin associations, and entire clans solidified into factions. Eventually, the Union and the consequent abolition of the Scottish Privy Council forced nobles to compete for peerage in the House of Lords. Accordingly, the Lowlands adapted to systems of patronage over landowning, but in the Highlands, social structures remained largely hierarchical and unincorporated into London politics.<sup>173</sup> By appealing

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172. Brown, *Noble Power*, 35-45; Jane Dawson, "The Gaidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands," in *British consciousness and identity*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 259-263.

173. Brown, *Noble Power*, 35-60; Mitchison, *Lordship*, 136-137, 161, 166-167, 175; Sarah Barber, "A state of Britishness?," in *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725*, eds. Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (New York: Longman, 1995), 310; Allan I. MacInnes, "Repression and Conciliation: The Highland Dimension 1660-1688," *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 180, Part 2 (Oct., 1986): 169-170, accessed August, 30, 2012,

to this hierarchical relationship, the Stuarts gained a very influential set of the Scottish noble elite who knew their power was threatened by Union. The Jacobite militant culture of Highlandism, or the clan spirit of Jacobite armies, encouraged a pre-national Scottish social identity which the Union had imperiled. Militant Jacobitism legitimized the bardic preoccupation with noble lineage by ordering clan nobles inside a rehearsal of the *noblesse* of ancient Scotland. The paternal responsibilities of nobles to their tenants in an organic social order and hierarchical attachment to a hereditary monarch defined Jacobite usages of the term ancient Scotland. Clan Highlandism underscored the social dominance of Jacobite nobles and the deference shown by clan warriors in fighting for their chiefs.

Since the 1689 Highland coalition, Jacobite myth portrayed the Highlander as a noble martial race. The heroic myth gained literary form in James Philip's Latin epic *The Grameid*. Philip served as Graham's herald, and his *Grameid* transformed Scotland into a martial Rome with imperial significance to Briton. Philip's reinstatement of the Grecian mythological pantheon followed the trend of John Dryden's Restoration court poetry. He portrayed the Highland chiefs as Greek heroes, linked Roman and Medieval hereditary distinctions with clan heraldry, and reinforced feudal duty in Graham's raising the Lion standard of Royal Scotland. Before the sign of the fiery cross, the clansmen called themselves to arms, dressing in their plaids and helmets and bearing swords, shields, dirks, and axes. The pipe and trump sounded the pibroch (bagpipe call), and clan upon clan conjoined. The tone of the work also incorporated Norse themes; the desolation of the north and the unbending fatal resolve of its Highland warriors who war for

war's sake. Living in the land of war, highland chiefs fought to defy the bleakness of their world.<sup>174</sup>

Although the epic ignored central political incentives, it gave the Highlander a place in Jacobite myth; a myth which would define the Highland pageant of the eighteenth century revolts. Meanwhile in England, the Highlander represented the uncivilized. Monod argues that Highland dress communicated a real martial look for Jacobitism in its art during the decade after 1745. Unlike genteel costume armor, the Highlander impression represented a brutal and reckless type of soldier, a Neoclassical ideal for the natural man.<sup>175</sup> As Monod interprets from a depiction of a tartaned warrior with claymore and targe (Highland shield) on a vintage salt-glaze jug, the romantic character of the Highlander did not originate from Walter Scott's literary revisions. In English eyes, "The Highlander was a barbarian, not a Roman."<sup>176</sup> In Philips' view, war in the Highlands was heraldry, bravery, and northern valor.<sup>177</sup>

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174. James Philip, *The Grameid: An Heroic Poem Descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689 and other pieces* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1888), 1-8, 10, 27, 30, 40, 45-47, 53-55, 58, 66, 73-78,, 90-91, 96, 100, 103, 106, 118-119, 125, 128, 135-136, 141, 148, 156, 163-164, 166, 175, 180, 183-186, 236-239; John Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatic Poetry*, ed. Thomas Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918), 14-16, 52, 91, 96, 100, 103, 125.; Dryden, *The Preface to Fables*, ed. W. H. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912) 1-11; Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 44; Philologist J. R. R. Tolkien argued in his critical essay on Beowulf that both Norse and Anglo-Saxon cycles departed from Classical mythology in that the northern poets substituted a elegiac sense for the epic form; Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics," Proceedings of the British Academy 22 (1936): 245-95.

175. Pittock, "Jacobite Ideology in Scotland and at Saint-Germain-en-Laye," in *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, eds. Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (Rio Grande: The Hambleton Press, 1995), 113-114; Monod, *Jacobitism*, 86-88.

176. Monod, *Jacobitism*, 87.

177. Philip, *The Grameid*, 90, 96, 100, 106, 103, 125.

## Jacobite Highlandism and Clan Pageantry

Graham's Highland legacy provided Jacobite heraldry with an epic interpretation of clan heroism, not only in poetry, but in actual military affairs. Expectations for clan heroism and the noble heraldry with which to summon the clan chiefs and Lowland nobility dictated the internal structural organization of Jacobite armies. Jacobite administration aimed first at establishing a hierarchical order to militant Jacobitism, before raising armies necessary to accomplish its ends. The Highlanders represented, in Jacobite myth, the particular faction worth James' consideration, being in his opinion, the heartbeat of loyalty for heraldic Scotland. To his Irish general Buchan in December 1691, James communicated his appreciation for the loyalty of his subjects in the Highlands, and gave them warrant to disperse for their own safety.<sup>178</sup> As plans began to move in 1714 towards another invasion of England, the Jacobite administration feared that Highlanders would not have sufficient military means to threaten the Hanoverian Government. Here, Jacobite leadership at least considered other factors such as foreign aid and supplies, but still the mustering of the clans held the hopes for a heraldic expedition together.<sup>179</sup>

Pittock counters that the Stuart court at Saint-Germain merely flattered the officer-class and gentry through a “‘social bandit’ ethos,” like Robin Hood.<sup>180</sup> He believes the noble Roman and highlander image did not mesh in a national fashion until Prince Charles, and argues that Jacobites abandoned political realities for mere poetic idealism. He claims, “Jacobite society in Scotland challenged the legitimacy of the British state in a lasting manner, but one divorced, like

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178. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, James II to Major-General Buchan, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, Dec. 11, 1691, 66.

179. *Ibid*, The Duke of Berwick to James III, April 11, 1714, 315.

180. Pittock, “Jacobite Ideology in Scotland and at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,” in *Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, 116, 119.

poetry, from realizable politics.”<sup>181</sup> However, Pittock does not endow Jacobitism's noble projection with heraldic, hierarchical, or structural validity, and over-nationalizes the Scottish nobility and officer orders by ignoring their pre-national organization. As Lenman summarized, “The Jacobite army also contained men of upright life and proven honour attracted to its standard by a loyalty rooted in firm conviction.”<sup>182</sup> Such an assumption dominated the philosophy of leadership in Jacobite armies.

Ancient Scotland, or the hierarchical and heraldic significance of Scotland within Western Christian pre-national orders, existed as a universal theme for Stuart declarations and manifestos for Scotland from the 1690s through 1745. Jacobite officers pamphletized these proclamations for Scottish and English public house circulation, and nobles read them at town centers.<sup>183</sup> Even while Major-General Buchan still maintained Irish command over Scottish forces, James II communicated to the Lord Marshal Keith to raise the militia with friends and dependents, while declaring “to all our loving subjects in our ancient kingdom that they may not be deprived of the glory of contributing to our restoration.”<sup>184</sup> The ancient kingdom was

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181. Ibid, 122.

182. Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 46.

183. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I, “Introduction;” James III Declaration, Jan. 3-14, 1715; James III to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Oct. 20, 1715, lxxxix-lxxxiii, 343, 488; H. T. Dickinson, ‘St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/24496>, accessed 21 Feb 2013]; Stuart Handley, ‘Butler, James, second duke of Ormond (1665–1745)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalog.lib.cmich.edu/view/article/4193>, accessed 21 Feb 2013]; James Allardyce, ed., *Historical papers relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750.*, vol. I, xxxv, 177-184; John Wilson, *history of the Scottish Highlands*, 523-525; “A True Account of Mr. John Daniel's Progress with Prince Charles,” *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 169, 181.

184. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS*. vol. I, James II to Lord Keith, May, 1692, 72.

inevitably linked with Stuart restoration through the re-invigoration of hereditary succession of noble families in Scotland. Traditionally the marshal of Scotland, Lord Keith claimed in his memories of the 1715 revolt that ancient mustering had a Highland dimension which conflicted with the English plan for popular recruiting methods in Scotland:

The Duke of Ormond [in charge of English recruiting] being now out of the Kingdome, the King's friends applied themselves particularly to the Duke of Marr, especial the Scots, who tho' not so numerous as the English, were not inconsiderable on many accounts: first, because of the body of Highlanders which, on the first occasion, cou'd be drawn together, and if well commanded were able to have made themselves masters of the wholle kingdome of Scotland; and, secondly, on account of the many sea ports they were masters of, by which succours might come from abroad; and indeed the English resolved to make use of those advantages: they push'd on the Scots (who wanted no spur), to the attempt... They concerted with the Duke of Marr that he shou'd immediately go to Scotland, and there declare publicly for King James.<sup>185</sup>

Keith, a Highlander himself, believed in the marshaling superiority of the Highlanders through feudal connection, and hoped that the Highlanders might be given room to be “masters of the whole Kingdom.” He wished leave to give the Highlanders access to the seaports and foreign arms. However, the Duke of Mar's leadership could not be superseded, and the English Jacobite command successfully vied for his attention. While these declarations might permit more English and Lowland interaction in military affairs to the de-emphasizing of Highland marshaling methods, it also brought the Stuart voice closer to home. Conversely, it also gave public appeal to the Stuart transnational project of maintaining a hereditary peerage over Scotland.

Since the Revolution, William's Privy Council began disrupting Stuart peerage by usurping Stuart dynastic heraldry. A threatened Jacobite noble, Philip Leslie wrote James II and explained that the Council commissioned the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Perth to patent under the Great Seal of Scotland a heraldic verification of genealogical documentation of Leslie's noble

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185. James Francis Edward Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith* (Edinburgh: for the Spalding Club, 1843), 8-9.

ancestry. Since Leslie refused to receive verification under William's copy of the Great Seal, he requested that James stamp his documentation with a temporary Royal privy seal until such time that a public demonstration under the Great Seal could be arranged. James accordingly provided a seal with the Scots signet and a cosignatory seal from the Earl of Melfort.<sup>186</sup> This sort of transaction demonstrated to Scottish nobility what James signified by ancient Scotland; a transnational verification of nobility until the Stuart dynasty might fully be realized, and through it, the hereditary rights of Scottish families. Far from being simply “national” in its liberal eighteenth century context, as Pittock argues for the 1715 revolt, ancient Scotland deserves a transnational and pre-national scholarly treatment for future Jacobite studies.<sup>187</sup>

Heraldry functioned as a conduit for reinstating hereditary ancient Scotland through Jacobite armies, at home and abroad. James and Melfort made sure to maximize the bearing of heraldic insignia, and commissioned the herald James Therry to examine whether a French Jacobite officer, John Jacquenot Jackson might bear the ancestral Jackson family of Yorkshire arms as a Baronet. Such an inquiry demonstrated a care to distinguish nobility by heraldry which Union politics had blurred through evolving definitions of landowners.<sup>188</sup> In February 1708, James III made the Earl Marshal Kieth a knight in the Order of St. Andrews, and in March, popularized the ancient pageant of heraldry by issuing a declaration addressed to “his good people of his Ancient Kingdom of Scotland.” It read, “We do therefore in the first place by this Our Royal Declaration under the great Seal of Scotland... promising that such persons as had forfeited their Estates, shall be restor'd to... the possession of their said Estates, Provided that

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186. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, Declaration by James VII (II), Dec. 31, 1692, 75-76.

187. Pittock, *Myth*, 54.

188. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, James II to James Therry, herald, [before June], 1694, 87.

they... repair to Our Royal Standard, or that they give some other publick proof... of their affection to Us... after Our Landing in Scotland.”<sup>189</sup> It was not enough for Scottish nobles to simply raise their own tenants; they had to publicly prove their support under the Standard. The term *affection* implied a chivalric attachment of each noble to his king. Further, the alternative reading of “Our Landing in Scotland” originally ran “any part of Our dominions,” revealing that James had finally settled on landing in Scotland because of his trust in the Scottish noble attachment.<sup>190</sup> Since this declaration was meant to be distributed by means of Jacobite noble officers in public proclamations, James rhetorically reconciled, through popular heraldry in conjunction with Keith's peerage, popular support and hierarchical association. Standard raising of the Loin of Scotland and Keith's place as hereditary marshal of Scotland symbolically conjoined. Popularly, this reinforced the heraldic pageant of noble title and Scottish military hierarchy, using the Royal Standard as a chivalric symbol of Scotland's heraldic Christian origins. The King's Declaration and Standard were instrumental in 1715 for the Earl of Mar in mustering the the clans, Scottish nobles, and independent companies of Seaforth, Grant of Strathspey, McIntosh, and Athol.<sup>191</sup> Likewise, Prince Charles' manifesto, which the Marquis of Tullibardine read at Glenfinnan, borrowed language from James' 1743 declaration, called for a return to ancient noble Scotland, and depended on local law administrators for distribution: “Lastly, we do hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewards of stewardies, and their respective deputies, magistrates or royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities... to publish this our declaration, at the

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189. Ibid, James VIII to his good people of his Ancient Kingdom of Scotland, March 1, 1708, 218.

190. Ibid.

191. Ibid, Earl of Mar correspondence from Sep. 4 [-15] to Sep. 12 [-23], 1715, 418-427.

market crosses... as under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty.”<sup>192</sup> Again, the North of Scotland featured as the beginning of cultural momentum for restoring ancient Scotland.

Whatever logistics required for a successful Scottish revolt, the Duke of Berwick believed English logistics more volatile. He feared structural chaos most:

Tis true that unless M. Robinson [James III] fixes a day, none will doe it on the other side, but yet, if one will hope for success, the day fixed must be so, as that they may have time to lay their measures, otherwayse it will be a confusion, and may for want of being advertised will become useless. Those at Elbeuf (Scotland) requires less precaution, but for Alencon (England) it is an other matter, and Orbec [Ormonde] will be very much puzzled, if you give him not time to dispose and order all things.<sup>193</sup>

Berwick's assertion that Scotland required less precaution than England depended on the social hierarchy of Scotland. Scottish nobles simply had more influence over their tenants through Highland kinship and clan lineage, and so were more prepared for sudden heraldic summons; or so he assumed. In England, war depended on Ormonde's public letter for Anglican loyalty and constitutional authority, rather than chieftain hereditary loyalty to the Stuart line and clan warfare. Whether racial, cultural, or familial, the martial theory of the Highland chiefs prevailed in Jacobite military expectations.<sup>194</sup>

By 1716, the Highlands seemed the last geographical position to hold, and with the dispersal of the Scottish nobility, all appeared lost. In L. Inese's report to Commander-in-Chief

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192. James Allardyce, ed., *Historical papers relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750.*, vol. I, xxxv, 177-184; John Wilson, *history of the Scottish Highlands*, 523-525.

193. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, The Duke of Berwick to James III, July 19, 1715, 375-376.

194. Brown, *Noble Power*, 35-45; Ormonde, *Lovers of the Church of England* (London? : 1715); H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, The Duke of Ormonde to all True Lovers of the Church of England and their Country, Nov. ?, 1715, 537; Spurr, *Restoration Church*, 48; Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*, 148-155; Burgess, *Ancient Constitution*, 105, 113, 134-135, 213.

the Duke of Mar, he despaired of not hearing any definite word of his friends. All seemed confusion without the Scottish nobility. Lord Huntly gave himself up as a prisoner and was on his way to London. Lord Seaforth departed with his men to Lewis, while Lords Southesk, Marshall, Ed. Drummond, Lithgow, and other officers accompanied Sir Donald MacDonald for the Isle of Skye. Lords Rollo and Kintore surrendered as prisoners at Inverness. Lord Ogilby and Charles Middleton left with some other on ship. M. Bulkley and Lord Tinmouth privately waited at Edinburgh, while Lord Kilsyth fell ill and went into hiding. Sir John Maclean had died, and some rumored that Marshall's brother M. Keith had also died.<sup>195</sup> From this report, Mar's Jacobite army consisted of a few Scottish nobles with their following hiding out in various places of the country, mainly in the Highlands.

While actual clans cannot be said to fill a majority of Jacobite participation during the 1745 revolt, social allegiance to Scottish nobles encompassed the entire effort. The army assumed the clan figurehead, the Scottish Jacobite image, under the tartaned Prince Charles with his ancient fluttering standards from Glenfinnan. The skeptic Normand MacLeod in his letter to Duncan Forbes could not see any tactical advantage to the Prince landing in the Highlands instead of England, but the heraldic standard raising at Glenfinnan would proceed. However, after the event, MacLeod admitted some charismatic momentum, clan cooperation between Glengarry and Athol.<sup>196</sup> A more enthusiastic Highland officer summarized:

The P. set out from Glenaladals house about 6 a clock in the morning and arrived at Glenfinin about eleven fornoon, being met at his landing by Mr. M c Donald of Morrор &c. with 150 men ; about 2 a clock afternoon Lochiel appeared at the head of 700 men,

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195. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. II, L. Inese to the Duke of Mar, April 13, 1716, 80-81.

196. Pittock, *The Myth*, 70-93; Duncan Warrand, ed., *More Culloden papers*, vol. IV, Normand MacLeod to Duncan Forbes, Aug. 1745 (Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Sons, 1929), 24-25, 39.

and was soon after followed by Keppoch with about 300 men ; upon which the P. immediatly caused erect the royall standart and proclaimed the K. his father. That night our Uttle army was encamped and provisions provided for them, we were now about 1200 men under the command of Clanronald, Lochiel and Keppoch ; Colonel OSullivan being appointed adjutant general and quarter master of the army.

Notice being given that Sir John Cope with the Governments troops was marching from Stirling, after 3 nights stay at Glenfinin H. R. H. set out upon the 12th with Lochiels and Keppochs regiments only, to encamp that night at Fassfarran in Lochaber, from whence he marched next morning to Moy, Clanronalds regiment being ordered to follow with the baggage and prisoners, from the head of Lochseal to the camp at Moy, where we joined them, after a great deal of fatigue, on the 15th, from whence we marched next morning in order to encamp at Latterfinlay. But H. R. H. having inteligence that Sir John (with about 3000 men) was got the length of Dalquiny in Badenoch, he marched on, under night, with Clanronald and Keppochs battalions till he came to the Castle of Invergarie, from whence he marched next day to Obertaive in Glengarie where Lochiel came up with us. Here Stewart of Ardshiel joind the P. with 200 of the Apin men ; also did the MDonalds of Glengarie, being 600 good men conducted by McDonald of Lochgarie.<sup>197</sup>

Standard raising afforded Jacobite officers the opportunity to coordinate tactically, and formalize heraldic organization. Symbolizing pre-national Scottish culture, the Highlander image extended far beyond its numerical percentage of the army. The very practice of standard raising harkened back to ancient Scottish poetry of Robert the Bruce marshaling the clans through the Lord Marshal Keith. In *The Brus*, the fourteenth century national poet Johne Barbour sang of martial unity, Christian chivalry, and feudal fealty in the act of standard raising,

The king send than James of Douglas,  
And Schir Robert the Keth that was  
Marschall of all the host of fe  
The Inglismenis com to se.  
Tha saw sa fele browdyn baneris,  
Standartis, and pennounis apon speris...

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197. "Journall and Memois of P... C.... Expedition into Scotland etc. 1745-6 by a Highland Officer in his Army," in *The Lockhart Papers* (London: R. and A. Taylor, 1817), 484.

Sa mony men it was ferly;  
And, quhen the erl wald sturdely  
Dres him to tham with his baner,  
Tha wald fle all that evir tha wer.<sup>198</sup>

Fourteenth century Scottish nationalism was feudal and connected with the chivalry of Christendom. The royal standard was a sacred trust, conveying the King's chivalry throughout the army. In this sense, Jacobite armies imitating the standard raising ceremony “became clan” by association, not by primary social orientation. Prince Charles was continuing the Jacobite hope for a restoration of ancient Scotland, with its heraldic allegiance to noble Scottish familial hierarchy. This fealty was heightened by the spell of Charles' natural charm, which as McLynn argues, lasted until Louis XV refused Charles Royal admittance near the end of 1746. McLynn comments, “In his darkest hour he had charmed the dour Highlanders.”<sup>199</sup> His charm would have not extended half so far if he had not continued the heraldic pageantry of noble leadership and clan loyalty.

John Murray, personal secretary to Prince Charles, viewed the Highlands as the ideal spot for revolt. Much like Philips' notion of a Highland martial race, Murray opened his history of the rebellion leading up to 1745 by stating:

During this winter [1741-1742] my Lord T[ra]q[ua]ir, as I observed before, was at London with Lord Semple and Mr. Drummond, and the gentlemen in the Highlands immediately concerned in his Majesties affairs were employed in cultivating his interest amongst their vassals and neighbours, which was the more easily done as the most part of that country are naturally Loyal and at the same time... run so high against the Government... that any scheme... was most acceptable.”<sup>200</sup>

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198. Johne Barbour, *The Brus: From a Collation of the Cambridge and Edinburgh Manuscripts* (Aberdeen: Printed for the Spalding Club, 1857), 266, 329.

199. McLynn, *Charles*, 308-313.

200. “John Murray's Papers,” in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 3.

Natural loyalty accompanied the conditional Highland dislike for the Hanoverian Government. Murray even used the proper feudal term vassal to describe Highland clan loyalty to chiefs, despite, as MacInness states, the conflicting loyalties among clans with the lack of alignment between the *oighreachd* [traditional chieftain trusteeship] of each *fine* [clan elite] and the *Duthchas* [granting of heritable jurisdiction] of each clan.<sup>201</sup> Either the real complexities of clan attachment in the Highlands passed over Murray's comprehension, or he simply did not wish to disclose them in his account. The general point was that Highland nobility would organize the army along pre-national Scottish familial hierarchies.

Murray referenced Graham's legend over the Highlands in his hopeful plans for a mustering of the clans. Unlike the debate in 1715, the muster would be conducted this time by the ancient marshals of Scotland; the family of Keith. He wrote, "L[ochie]l desires me to mention the great use General Keith would be off. The Highlanders having got the same notion of him they formally had of Lord Dundee [Graham]."<sup>202</sup> This sort of decision making could only have come from an understanding of historical Scottish noble heraldry, and an organization of its meaning along military lines. Scottish Jacobite administration finally arranged heraldic meaning to its pageant of leadership in the 1745; the fiery cross could now go forward. Murray informed John MacLeod that he thought Sir James Cambell's son fit to raise the Highlands for war.<sup>203</sup> By October 1744, plans ripened in the Highlanders for the Prince to raise the Royal Standard. All the Isles were up in arms, but manpower, troops, and supplies were still short. Murray's strategic report ran:

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201. Macinnes, *Clanship*, 2, 5-6, 51.

202. "John Murray's Papers," in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 26.

203. *Ibid*, 52.

3000 men landed, one half near Sir J[ames] Cam[pbe]ll to command Argyle Shire, the other half near Inverness, a L[ochie]l may join them to command the north, or if the one half can't reach near to Sir J[ames] C[ampbell], lett them be all landed together with 4 field pieces, 15 or 20,000 Stand of Arms, Gones, Pistoles and bread Swords, yett from the inquiry I have made I am satisfied 10,000 Guns or less, 10,000 Broad Swords and as many Pistoles will sufficiently do the Business, as all the Isles are lately Armed with Guns and most of them Swords, Likewise, as for the Inland Country, they want Swords and Pistoles very much... Never was there a people more anxiously concerned about a princes happiness and welfare than this nation when she heard of Highness imbarcation, nor do I believe Scotland ever made a more unanimous Appearance than they would have done then, provided the Conditions promised them had been performed, but we have been told here, how justly I won't say, that there was only 3000 Muskets designed for us without any troops, indeed, we are able, at any time, to command our own Country with Arms and officers, especially now when there is only four Regiments of foot and two of Dragoons, and each of these 100 Men draughted to flanders.

The Highland loyalty represented the spirit of the army, but could not supply the necessary numbers or weapons of warfare. Murray believed that his country had assembled like no other for their King and Prince, but did not have the power to affect a restoration single-handed. Both the Highland image and noble power dominated even ambassadorial relations with England. Lochiel and Murray decided to send Lord Lovat to represent the army, believing him “one of the fittest Persons we knew to instigate the English to join heartily for promoting the Kings interest, being both a highland man and one of power in the Country.”<sup>204</sup>

Prince Charles' private secretary in Scotland, Andrew Lumisden likewise saw the Highlanders representative of the loyalty and strength of the entire cause. In his account of the battle of Preston, Lumisden described the Scottish noble high command (both Highland and Lowland), listing Lieutenant General Duke of Perth on the right wing with the MacDonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry, Glencoe, and the Grants of Glenmoriston. On the right, Lord George Murray commanded the Camerons of Lochiel, Stuarts of Appin, and two MacGregor companies. Although notable families, not all of these constituted Highland clans in Pittock's

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204. Ibid, 44.

estimation.<sup>205</sup> However, even if the Camerons of Lochiel were not Highlanders themselves, they did factor into the Jacobite mythical impression of summoning the clans since Graham's 1689 campaign. They were conveyers of the clan legend in its universalized Jacobite myth. Major General Lord Nairne held the second line with Athole-men, MacLauchlans, Robertsons, and Perth's men. Lumisden attributes victory to a Highlander charge:

The highlanders, pulling off their bonnets and looking up to heaven, made a short prayer, and ran forward... The highlanders ran on with such eagerness that they immediately seized the canon... But what by the huzzas of the highlanders, and their fire which was very brisk, the dragoons were immediately thrown into disorder, which occasions some confusion among their foot. The highlanders threw down their muskets, drew their swords, and carried all before them like a torrent: so that in seven or eight minutes both horse and foot were totally routed and drove from the field of battle...

As our 2d line had no occasion to engage, it may with justice be said, that 1400 highlanders, unsupported by horse or canon, routed a regular army of 2000 foot and 700 dragoons, defended by a fine train of artillery, and obtained a most compleat victory. Such is the impetuosity of a highland attack!<sup>206</sup>

What of it if all these Jacobites were not actually Highlanders?! For that moment, they all were cultural Highlanders with a unifying Jacobite spirit under their Prince. Jacobitism mythologized the mustering of the clans, and brought with it a consolidation of Highland culture and tribal legend. Philip's conceptualization of epic Scotland depended on the Highland image underneath a feudal organization of Scottish nobility, both Highland and Lowland, and this Jacobite military hierarchy instilled a charisma of kinship throughout the army. Lumisden's conceptualization of Falkirk and Culloden fell out similarly, but not always with victorious results; “the Prince did all he could to rally his men, but to no purpose... 'Cum recte factorum sibi quisque gratiam trahat,

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205. “A Short Account of the Battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden; by a Gentleman who was in these Actions;” and “Introduction: Account of the Battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden,” in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, lxxxiv, 405-407; Pittock, *Myth*, 38.

206. “Battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden,” in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 407-408.

unius invidia ab omnibus peccatur.' Tac. Ann. 1. 3 c. 53."<sup>207</sup> Referencing Tacitus on Tiberius' addressed to the Senate, Lumisden gave Prince Charles the stately duty of heroic blame. Prince Charles is the Roman hero in Lumisden's account for voluntarily assuming representative responsibility for the lack of charisma in his men and the army's defeat, or in the words of Confederate General Robert E. Lee at Gettysburg, "...all this has been my fault – it is I that have lost this fight."<sup>208</sup> This universal mythologizing of the lost cause Lenman has noted in the interpretive significance of Jacobitism, stating, "it possesses all the attractions of a Lost Cause, and in the English-speaking world perhaps only the story of the Confederates in the American Civil War... can match its perennial attraction."<sup>209</sup> Indeed, the parallels between the two were made all the more easy through Walter Scott's Romanticism. Confederate soldiers often sang an adaptation of Scott's poem of Graham's mustering of the clans in praise of their generals, "'Tis old Stonewall, the rebel, that leans on his sword, / And, while we are mounting, prays low to the Lord; / Now each cavalier who loves honor and right, / Let him follow the feather of Stuart to-night."<sup>210</sup> As in the lost cause of the South, Jacobite charisma depended on the Prince's power to call ancient Scottish clans, universalized throughout the Jacobite army. The Jacobite "clans"

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207. Ibid, 418-419; Translated from Tacitus, "...whereas everyone takes credit to himself for his own well-doing, the odium of all men's sins fall upon me alone" in *The Annals of Tacitus: Books I.-VI. An English Translation*, Book III, Chapter 53 trans. George Gilbert Ramsay (London: John Murray, 1904), 235.

208. Lieut.-Col. Arthur James Fremantle, *Three months in the southern states: April-June, 1863* (New York: J. Bradburn, 1864), 269.

209. Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 11.

210. "Riding a Raid," in *Southern War Songs: Camp-Fire, Patriotic, and Sentimental*, collected and arranged by W. L. Fagan (New York: M. T. Richardson Company, 1892), 315.

existed as a mythic application of the pageant of loyalty, rather than in an exclusive Highland social or geographical context.

Pittock dismisses as myth the view that Culloden was the “last battle of the Highlanders.” Yet this myth was the primary Jacobite interpretation of the battle. Jacobite Colonel Ker summarized the dispersal of the clans at Culloden by saying, “they all separated, every man to do the best for himself he could. Most of the clans had gone from the field of battle towards their respective countries.”<sup>211</sup> Ker claimed not only a dispersal, but a diaspora from their unified banner. From a letter written in 1746 by Lieutenant General Lord George Murray or one of his close associates, the reasons for engaging the enemy at Culloden depended on the Highland chiefs. The Scots and particularly the Highland chiefs rushed to their deaths. He explained:

Before I conclude I must acquaint you that six week before the battle of Culloden some officers proposed sending up meal to several parts of the Highlands... in the event of the Duke of Cumberland's army marching towards Inverness... But this was reckoned a timorous advice... I have reason to believe that the opinion of mostly all the Highland officers was much the same. There was no doubt the Highlanders could have avoided fighting... Perhaps such succours might have come from France as would have made the Highlanders to have made an offensive instead of a defensive war. This was the opinion of many of the officers who considered the consequences of losing a battle. They know well that few of the Highlanders would join heartily against them, as long as they continued entire, but would upon a defeat. There was one great objection to this, that the Irish officers, who were all as brave men and zealous in the cause as possibly could be, and many of the low-country men, could not endure the fatigue of a Highland campaign. As to the common soldiers that came from France there were not four hundred of them remaining. They and their officers, even though a battle was lost, had but to surrender and be made prisoners of war. It was very different with the Scots, whose safety depended upon their not venturing a battle without great probability of success. But any proposition to postpone fighting was ill-received and was called discouraging the army.<sup>212</sup>

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211. Colonel Ker of Gradyne, “The Battle of Culloden,” in *Forbes Papers: Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, ed. Robert Chambers (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1834), 143.

212. “Copy of a Letter, said to be written by Lord George Murray or one of his friends, 1746,” in *The Lyon in Mourning*, by Bishop Robert Forbes, ed. Henry Paton (Edinburgh: Printed at the University press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1895), 265-267.

The Council decided the Lowland armies could not endure a Highland campaign, adding weight to the Highland faction, which had already wished for a fight. The Highland charisma of the army would falter if any other course of action diverted the war, or a longer defensive war ensued. This division of high command along Highland and Lowland lines confirms Lenman's assessment, "It cannot be overemphasized that the Jacobite army which invaded England in 1745 was not a rabble... but a properly regimented force organized in a Lowland Division and a Highland Division and commanded by men familiar with the standard routines of contemporary armies."<sup>213</sup> Regimental precision worked underneath the cultural hierarchy of pre-national familial Scottish leadership, and ordered a loyal elite.

John Walkingshaw's account of Culloden written in London a few months after the battle presented a picture of general confusion among the clans. He had interviewed the Laird MacKinnon, Malcolm MacLeod, Lady Clanranald, and the famous Flora MacDonald for his version. According to Walkingshaw, when the Highland clans fled, not enough of the army (or perhaps its charisma) was left to sustain the battle. Not even the Prince could rally the army after the Highlanders had departed. Walkingshaw described,

Lochiel and Keppoch, being both soon wounded in the advancing, were carried off, which their men observing, immediately they fled; which so alarmed all the corps to the left that they gave way in confusion.

Just at that time the Prince called out to stop and he would light from his horse and return to the carged at their head. But a number of his officers got about him, and assured him that it was improbable for them to do any good at present. For since the clans had turned their backs they would not rally, and it was but exposing his person without any probability of success; and therefore intreated he would retire, and really forced him out of the field.

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213. Lenman, *Jacobite Clans*, 26.

The retreat was made with the utmost regularity. Not above 500 of the Low-country men, having detached themselves from the main body, kept together till they received the Prince's orders to shift for themselves.<sup>214</sup>

Deterioration of the Jacobite fighting spirit followed “the last battle of the Highlanders.”

Commenting on the Glenmoriston Highlanders taken prisoner at Culloden, clan correspondent Donald MacLeod recorded in his journal that he and Malcolm (of MacLeod) believed they had never seen stouter or finer men able to draw the sword. Donald MacLeod reinforced the claymore image of the Highlanders by including the anecdote that when Murdoch MacLeod from the grammar school at Inverness heard of the approaching battle, he grabbed his claymore, dirk, and pistol, and joined the fight at the age of fifteen.<sup>215</sup> English Jacobite Captain John Daniel noted that both Highland and Lowland chiefs encouraged their men, which symbolized both noble hierarchy and clanship across all levels. Nevertheless, the Highlanders occupied the first ranks, while the Lowlanders and French filled the second. Daniel lamented the fact that Lord George Murray had pushed the brave MacDonalds out of the way to make room for his own Athol men in the front, and confirmed Walkingshaw's assertion that the Prince's highest commanders advised Charles to leave the field in the face of artillery fire. Confusion followed: Many went for the mountains [Highlands], all being uncertain what to do or whither to go.”<sup>216</sup> The Highlanders represented the clan spirit of ancient Scotland of which Highland and Lowland Jacobite nobility alike aspired to command in their own separate spheres with their own local allegiances.

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214. John Walkingshaw or Dr. John Burton, “A genuine and full Account of the Battle of Culloden, etc., taken from the mouths of the old laird MacKinnon, Mr. Malcolm MacLeod, etc., and of Lady Clanronald and Miss Flora MacDonald,” in *The Lyon in Mourning*, 66.

215. “Journal of Donald MacLeod,” in *The Lyon in Mourning*, 163, 181.

216. “John Daniel's Progress,” in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 213-214.

Hanoverian retributive measures against Jacobites permanently altered the clan structure of the Highlands. After the 1715 revolt, Westminster not only banned the carrying of weapons in the Highlands, but also demanded that all weapons be turned in to the government. Lenman humorously notes that the Disarming Act was only a counter-productive comedy, as only Hanoverian clans made an effort at surrendering weapons, and most Jacobite clans only handed in broken relics. They would hide their weapons in the thatch if it came to it.<sup>217</sup> Hanoverian measures after the 1745 were far more devastating. The Duke of Cumberland was urged to absolutely reduce the Highlands by putting a price on the heads of Highland chiefs and massacring the peasantry: “In the witch-hunt which follows most unsuccessful rebellions private vendettas flourish. Mandy, a Highland peasant gazing down from the high ridge on the flames and smoke marking the site of his home, must have reckoned he had made the best of a bad choice.”<sup>218</sup> The acts abolishing hereditary jurisdictions in the Highlands, Highland dress, and Highland weapons followed in 1747 and 1748.<sup>219</sup> A permanent policy of Highland clearances caused a Highland diaspora.<sup>220</sup> The British administration hoped to permanently destroy the hierarchical structure of pre-national Jacobite allegiance. Yet, measures against Highlanders did not simply affect Jacobites; they universally spelled the eventual end of centuries of clan political attachments. Even from the 1715, it was suspected that retaliation measures against clans might disrupt the delicate system. As John Forbes wrote on May 15, “The bill for disarming the hylands

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217. Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 210.

218. *Ibid*, 262-263.

219. *Ibid*, 277-278.

220. Alexander Mackenzie and Donald MacLeod, *The History of the Highland Clearances* (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1883), 21-27.

was before us this day and for ought I can see will doe us more ill then good, because not only the Rebellious Clans but also all benorth the Tay that are friends to the government are included.”<sup>221</sup> For better for worse, the fate of the Highland clans was inseparably linked with Jacobitism, and Culloden changed the course of Highland history.

According to Macinnes's assessment, removal and relocation integrated Scottish Gaeldom into the British Empire, particularly in Scottish regiments where the wars of the empire provided a militaristic outlet for cultural clanship, including bagpipe playing and tartan dress.<sup>222</sup> Previously, Highlandism had created the same sort of popular charisma in Jacobite Scottish armies through poetry and song. Lord Ogilvy's bagpiper James Reid was executed for carrying an instrument of war, as the court at York ruled that Highlanders never marched without the bagpipes.<sup>223</sup> Whether the court ruling was accurate or not, Macinnes has shown that vernacular clan poets linked Jacobitism with the fate of the clans while maintaining criticism of the clan elite. They simultaneously cut the Scottish nobility down to size, while linking militant Jacobitism with clanship. Macinnes argues that Prince Charles' birth gave poets hope in a deliverance from Hanoverian subjection of the Gael, but that with the failure of successive risings, the poets assumed a fatalistic sense that clans would lose chieftain protection. He cites the very earthy ramifications of Charles' failure in Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair's poem: “We've lost our tiller and our rigging, / Our sheet-anchor's torn away / We've lost our Charts our

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221. Duncan Warrand, ed., *More Culloden Papers*, vol. II, John Forbes to Duncan Forbes, May 15, 1715 (Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Sons, 1925), 117.

222. Macinnes, *Clanship*, 211, 216-217.

223. Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 273.

compass with them, / Our pole-star, our daily guide.”<sup>224</sup> Clan bards transformed Scottish heraldry into paternal protection, recasting nobility into chieftainship. In Mary MacLeod's poem *Tuireadh*, the poetess lamented that she was without shelter and away from home where she used to live “In the house of brown-haired Flora, / Lachlan's daughter, / milkmaid / among the cows / of Roderick Mor / MacLeod of the banners.”<sup>225</sup> Macleod's version of lordly banners implied security and protection more than Crusade. John MacDonald and Cicely MacDonald shared similar sentiments in their poems *Oran Cumhaidh air cor na Roighachd* and *Alasdair a Gleanna Garadh*, where they describe the chiefly valor of Jacobite heroism and the erosion of domestic tranquility under foreign control.<sup>226</sup>

Statistically however, vernacular poets did not stop the weakening of clan support for the Stuarts. Macinnes claims that only twenty one clans out of fifty maintained their classification in the three major risings. He interprets, “Adherence to traditional values, though of prime significance for the vernacular poets, cannot be taken as the primary factor inculcating support for Jacobitism among the clans. Each campaign had particular attractions based on the current political situation.”<sup>227</sup> Like heraldry, clan traditionalism explains how Jacobites justified their decisions more than why they chose one side over the other. Further, vernacular poetry by definition only extended to the people of its language. On the other hand, Jacobite minstrelsy in

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224. Macinnes, *Clanship*, 165, 169, 189.

225. Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh/Mary MacLeod, “*Tuireadh*,” in *The New Penguin Book of Scottish Verse*, eds. Robert Crawford and Mick Imlah (New York: Allen Land The Penguin Press, 2000), 210-213.

226. Iain Lom/John MacDonald and Sileas Na Ceapaich/Cicely MacDonald, “*Oran Cumhaidh air cor na Roighachd*” and “*Alasdair a Gleanna Garadh*,” Meg Bateman and Derick Thomson trans., in *Scottish Verse*, 214-221.

227. Macinnes, *Clanship*, 190-191.

English, or Scotch dialect, broadly defined the tone of “mass Jacobitism,” or the cultural dimension of the militant Jacobite image. This form greatly depended on stereotypes, not the least of which was the Highlander charisma of the army.

Adam Skirving's *Hey, Johnie Cope* (written in 1745) and *Tranent Muir* are excellent examples of the martial Highlander stereotypical victory at Preston.<sup>228</sup> *Hey, Johnie Cope* taunted General Cope with the clan ferocity, “But when he saw the Highland lads / Wi' tartan trews and white cockades, / Wi' swords and guns, and rungs and gauds, / O Johnnie he took wing in the morning.”<sup>229</sup> *Tranent Muir* repeated the theme: “And thought it best; it was nae jest, / Wi' Highlanders to fight, man.”<sup>230</sup> The post-Culloden Jacobite poetess Carolina Nairne celebrated the glamor of the Highland muster in the same tradition as Skirving, but with an almost Romantic flare,

Come thro' the heather, around him gather,  
Come Ronald, Come Donald, come a' thegither,  
And crown your rightfu', lawfu' king!  
For wha'll be king but Charlie?

The Hieland clans, wi' sword in hand,  
Frae John o' Groat's to Airlie,  
Hae to a man declared to stand  
Or fa' wi Royal Charlie.

Come thro' the heather, &c.

The Lowlands a', baith great an' sma',  
Wi' mony a lord and laird, hae

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228. Sir Leslie Stephen, “Skirving, Adam,” *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 52 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897), 358-359; Joseph Irving, “Skirving, Adam,” *The book of Scotsmen eminent for achievements in arms and arts* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1881), 479.

229. Robert Malcolm, *Jacobite Minstrelsy* (Glasgow, R. Griffin & Co., 1828), 193.

230. *Ibid.*, 200.

Declar'd for Scotia's king an' law,  
An/ speir ye wha but Charlie.

Come thro' the heather, &c.<sup>231</sup>

Jacobite minstrelsy before and after Culloden found a middle ground between clanship and heroism, and unlike the vernacular poets, included a heroic tone to even Lowland nobility. Bordering on the Romantic, it gave ancient significance to both Highland and Lowland Scottish heraldry. In a very real sense, Jacobite minstrelsy transformed Highland culture across all sectarian divisions, creating a unified Scottish image before either Sir Walter Scott's romanticism or British imperialism. It signified the unified rally of all militant Jacobites and a promise to regain Scotland's ancient hereditary orders.

Politically, clan warfare was far more controversial and suspicious for Jacobite administrators. James III in 1715 told Lord Bolingbroke that he did not trust Highlander reports.<sup>232</sup> The fear of insurrection always loomed. Daniel claimed that at Falkirk, “of the five or six thousand men that went with the Prince to the field of battle scarce three thousand returned back with him, for many of them, having loaded themselves with booty, returned up to the hills.”<sup>233</sup> Prince Charles' secretary John Murray referenced the unpopularity of the Government's order to shoot the deserted Highlander prisoners instead of sending them to American slave plantations. At Culloden, Daniel blamed Lord George Murray for remaining to fight despite the Prince's initial inclinations. As was apparent from Murray's summary of the battle, he felt

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231. Baroness Carolina Oliphant Nairne, *Life and songs of the Baroness Nairne: with a memoir and poems of Caroline the Younger* (London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1872), 199-200.

232. H.M.C. *Stuart MSS.* vol. I, James III to Lord Bolingbroke, Dec. 12, 1715, 473.

233. “A True Account of Mr. John Daniel's Progress with Prince Charles,” in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 199.

pressure from Highlander command, and did not personally wish to engage. Marquis D'Eguilles later objectively cleared Murray's name in his impartial French envoy report to Louis XV, explaining that Murray agreed with his proposal to retire to the mountains, but that the Prince and the war faction forced the issue.<sup>234</sup> Nevertheless, Highland loyalties were generally valued more the Lowland sympathies. Murray was obstinate in his opinion not to extend a Concert for rallying Lowland support as had been previously done in the Highlands. He explained,

Mr. Drummond told... the method he had taken with the Gentlmen of the highlands... He talked to them [in Concert, not unlike Graham's Convention]... that a Restoration was the only thing would save us... which brought all... to declare... they were very willing to promote it... the same method might be followed in the Low country, but upon trial found it almost impossible and dangerous, first because the Generallity are not so loyally inclined as in the Highlands and consequently not so easily brought to speak their mind, and the next place they have no following... of what use is the King's knowing that I wish him well... thirdly the present Government has been at pain to perswade the people... which makes people shy and afraid...<sup>235</sup>

Of course, this sort of thinking underestimated popular Jacobite Lowland opinion. Yet it demonstrates that Jacobite administrators believed in restoring old Scotland through loyalties of vassals; loyalties with which the social construct of Lowland Scotland seemed at odds.

Highland culture within Jacobite armies provided a charisma of martial vigor underneath Scottish noble hierarchies. Jacobite nobles moved their regiments with a clan pageantry which reinforced the familial supremacy of pre-national feudal orders in Scotland and appealed to the powerful political elite. Marshaling, standard raising, and Highland dress and weaponry colored Jacobite armies with a unifying culture. Politically, the Highland/Lowland divide plagued Jacobite high command with stereotypical decision making and sectarian differences. Vernacular

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234. "Introduction: Captain Daniel's Progress with Prince Charles," "John Murray's Papers," and "A True Account of Mr. John Daniel's Progress with Prince Charles," in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, lxvii-lxx, 42-43, 211.

235. "John Murray's Papers," in *Origins of the Forty-Five*, 32-33.

poets transformed heraldry into more domestic implications for chieftainship, and united the Jacobite endeavor for Stuart restoration with the eventual fate of the clan system. Likewise, the universal Jacobite interpretation of Culloden from the generals to the clan bards meant the demise of clan culture in the Highlands. Jacobite minstrelsy invented a patriotic “mass Jacobite” image of the fighting clans, which dominated both Scottish and English perceptions of Jacobitism inside and outside Jacobite circles. The British Government understood this clan culture of Jacobite armies, and politically dismantled the clans as a result of the Jacobite wars. Myth and politics intersected, not only for the nobility in Scotland, but also for the Highland peasant, whose world was now forever changed.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

While never formally reinstating the Stuarts or revoking the Union of 1707, Jacobitism succeeded in a variety of ways. By appealing to a set of powerful social elite in Scotland, the Stuarts secured a significant Scottish political following. Jacobite social networks alerted the Scottish nobility to the frightening aspects of early modern representative government and presented them with means to protest. Jacobitism allowed nobles a complex transnational system of peerage to revive hereditary lineages. Scottish nobles in Jacobite armies were given high positions, a heraldic language of command, and a sense of feudal glory which stood in opposition to the mediocrity of modernity. This emphasis on hereditary legitimacy inspired a scholarly revision of Scottish familial heraldry in the works of Alexander Nisbet. The Stuarts restored the military and hereditary basis for Scottish Jacobite nobles in mustering clans and bearing heraldic arms. In heraldic symbols, Jacobite peers distinguished the ancient hereditary right of their nobility from the rising status of tenants-in-chief in the British Union. Arguably, the Stuarts maintained a fair amount of power over the Scottish nobility during their exile. The Jacobite noble faction strained central power in the Privy Council until its end in 1708, and limited the expansion of British interests in Scotland until 1745. Jacobite noble power in Scotland was considerable and represented a commitment to defend Scottish sovereignty through pre-national legitimacy.

In linking Jacobite politics with the Tory party and Anglican interests, the Stuart court brought its platform in line with a powerful British elite. Their post-Revolutionary constitutional concessions appealed to those with a sympathy for established institutions of English government. Jacobitism became a political alternative for Tories who believed the British

government imperiled the foundational institutions in Church, state, and universities which had birthed the Revolutionary settlement, Parliamentary sovereignty, and Bill of Rights. In remaining open to the Protestant rationale for the Revolution, the Stuart court promised to uphold Anglican interests in these political institutions and uphold a moderation towards Dissent without institutionalizing Catholicism. Nevertheless, the Whig party grew too strong to be repulsed, and George I's government sealed its dominance for the remainder of the Jacobite era.

The Jacobite elite promoted the pageantry of clan attachment throughout both Highland and Lowland divisions of their armies in tactics and appointment. Jacobite leadership implemented modern aspects of regimental recruiting and organization underneath a show of heroic martialism. Conversely, soldiers, patriots, and minstrels celebrated clan heroism as a collective aspect of Jacobite culture. Thus, it was the Jacobites who first gave Scotland an encompassing form of clanship and Highlandism which subsumed all aspects of heroic Scottish culture. After Culloden, Jacobites foresaw the end of the clan system. The Hanoverian government also recognized the cultural and social force of Highlandism in Jacobite military structures, and dismantled the clans. However, the Government presented a British alternative to clan valor in recruiting Highland regiments for imperial service abroad. Raising Highland regiments like the 42nd Black Watch, Fraser's 78th Highlanders, and the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants in the mid to late eighteenth century seemed the only safe way to harness clan Highlandism while maintaining the British Empire.<sup>236</sup>

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236. Lenman, *Jacobite Clans*, 188-190, 208-218; Lenman, *Jacobite Risings*, 222-223; Pittock, *Myth*, 101-102; Macinnes, *Clanship*, 211, 216-217, 225-226; Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 104, 120-121, 345-346, 350, 381.

Scotland's Romantic revival in literature memorialized the Highland clans as part of a forgotten history. The Scottish poet Robert Burns artfully embedded Scotch dialect into English lyric, and nationalized the Highland tradition through Jacobite heritage.<sup>237</sup> Walter Scott's Romantic revisions to Highland myth created a Gothic nostalgic archetype for Scottish nobility and the landscape of Scotland. His melancholic images were timeless; a glimpse of a lost past perfectly positioned to conquer the modern literary world. His trilogy of Jacobite heroic novels *Waverley*, *Rob Roy*, and *Redgauntlet* were instant and enduring successes for a hundred years and began the modern genre of historical fiction.<sup>238</sup>

Highland imagery embedded itself into nineteenth century Western culture and American schoolhouse curriculum. In post-modern sporting culture, trans-Atlantic competitions have gradually moved away from the martial pageantry of the nineteenth-century, and increasingly present Highlandism as a product of mass culture. Yet, Scott provided a nostalgic ethnicity that runs through the sporting games of Highland festivals today in dance and music.<sup>239</sup> The Jacobite

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237. Leith Davis, "Re-presenting Scotia: Robert Burns and the Imagined Community of Scotland," and Raymond Bentman, "Robert Burn's Use of Scottish Diction," in *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. Carol McQuirk (New York: G. K. Hall & Co., 1998), 63, 67, 79, 86.

238. Walter Scott, *Poetical Works*, "The Lord of the Isles," Canto VI, XXXIII, Canto VI, XIX, Canto V, I, and "Lady of the Lake," Canto III, XVI, 279, 623, 653, 662; Andrew Lincoln, *Walter Scott and Modernity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 47-63, 209; Andrew Hook, introduction to *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 7-13; Jose Enrique Garcia-Gonzalez and Fernando Toda, "The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Spain," and Annika Bautz, "The Reception of Walter Scott in East, West, and Reunified Germany (1949-2005)," in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. Murray Pittock (New York: Continuum, 2006), 51, 121.

239. William Holmes McGuffey, *McGuffey's sixth eclectic reader* (New York: American Book Company, 1921), 177; N. L. Tranter, "Sport and the Economy in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Scotland: A Review of Recent Literature," *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 68, No. 185, Part 1 (Apr., 1989): 54-58, accessed March 24, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25530390>; Jean Bible, "SCOTTISH FETE IN NORTH CAROLINA'S HIGHLANDS," *New York Times* (1923-Current file), May 24, 1964, [http://0-](http://0-99)

legacy of noble clans continues to inspire transnational allegiance. What greater triumph could we wish from a lost cause?

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