“Here’s Tae Us! Wha’s Like Us?"

Jacobitism and the Creation of a Scottish National Identity

by

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I. Introduction

Winston Churchill once claimed that “of all the small nations of this earth, perhaps only
the ancient Greeks surpass the Scots in their contribution to mankind.”\(^1\) Scotland has produced a
plethora of important writers, philosophers, historians, and scientists. During the Enlightenment,
Scotland’s capital, Edinburgh, was called the “Athens of the north,”\(^2\) a tribute to the number of
influential figures who lived or were educated there during the eighteenth century. Such famous
and significant figures as David Hume, Andrew Carnegie, Alexander Graham Bell, Dr. David
Livingstone, Sir Walter Scott, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle were Scottish. Despite influence of
Scotland’s famous progeny, the country is not known for its contributions to the sciences and the
arts. Instead, the mention of Scotland brings to most minds such things as kilts, tartan, bagpipes,
clanship, and other tourist images that were primarily Highland customs before the eighteenth
century.

This vision of a timeless Celtic Scotland is in opposition to the reality that existed before
the eighteenth century. William Donaldson emphasizes this, maintaining that this widespread
image of Scotland as expressed by the traditions of the Celtic Highlands “would have astonished
an average Lowlander of even a generation before.”\(^3\) For centuries, there was a strict division
between Highland life and Lowland culture.\(^4\) Lowlanders saw those who lived in the Highlands
as uneducated, uncivilized, barbaric, and in need of redemption. Each society spoke a different
language, practiced different customs, and valued different things. In 1380, John of Fordham

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\(^1\) Lamont, ix.
\(^2\) David Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience* (London: Oxford University
\(^4\) The Highlands are the northwest section of Scotland and are divided from the Lowlands, which cover the northeast
and southern areas of Scotland, by the Grampian mountains. The term “Highlands” also generally includes the
western isles of northwest Scotland.
described Highlanders as “a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent…and exceedingly cruel.”

The distinction between Highland and Lowland is emphasized by the realization that some parishes that existed on the border between the two lived with “virtually no exchanges between them.” The two communities were separated by custom and language; those in the Highlands spoke only Gaelic, while those in the Lowlands spoke only English, despite their proximity to each other.

This prejudice was not one-sided. The Highland Scots didn’t understand the ways of the Lowlanders either: a report on the state of the Highlands in 1724 states that the Highlanders held those who lived in the Lowlands “in the utmost Contempt, imagining them inferior to themselves in Courage, Resolution, and the use of Arms, and accuse them of being Proud, Avaricious, and Breakers of their Word.” The feeling between the English and the Scots was similar; “to the English, the Scots were poor, proud, and politically dangerous; to the Scots, the English were rich, arrogant, and obstructive.” Many Lowlanders resented the English habit of grouping all Scots together, with no differentiation between Highlanders and Lowlanders. They wanted to emphasize their civility, and part of the way they attempted to do that was by expressing their own dislike of the Highlanders’ barbaric ways.

Why, then, was there such a drastic shift in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries toward the acceptance of Highland culture? It was a time when Scotland was struggling to find a national identity even as it was subsumed under the English crown. The Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707 had created a new political state, and some Scots wanted to

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8 Daiches, 3.
embrace that union culturally as well. Others, however, wanted to express themselves as Scottish rather than as British. In the late eighteenth century, Scotland was not yet “North British,” and it was also “no longer possessed of the clear identity which religious nationalism had given to it in the seventeenth century…Scottish society was culturally adrift amidst a complex of confusing and variously paced changes.”\(^9\) In the late eighteenth century, Scottish society began to find a focus for its new national identity in what had once been the political movement of Jacobitism.

During the time when Jacobitism was still gaining enough military, financial, and political support to put rebellions against the Hanoverian government into motion, it had become “a focus for Scottish national feeling.”\(^10\) Many Jacobites fought in hope of revoking the Union of Parliaments, and Jacobite propaganda helped to portray the image of Jacobites as patriots who were fighting for their country’s freedom. After Jacobitism as a political movement was crushed by the legislation and suppression of the Highlands in the years following 1746, those traditions which had once been used to express a desire for political separation were instead used to express a cultural separation. The propaganda that circulated during and just after the Jacobite Risings presented the Risings as a primarily Highland movement, and it helped to create a new awareness of Highland culture. During the late eighteenth century, Jacobitism, which had become a lost cause with no hope of revival, played an instrumental role in the Lowland incorporation of Highland culture into their notion of national identity.\(^11\) It was during this time and specifically because of the effects of the Jacobite Risings that a new sense of Scottish identity, which remains today, was created from Highland culture.

Several aspects of the Jacobite Risings, and particularly the ’45, made this change possible. After the Risings, Jacobite culture was embraced by Britain and expanded into a “cult

\(^10\) Daiches, 16.
\(^11\) Leneman, 120.
of Jacobite nostalgia” that bore little resemblance to the facts about Jacobitism. Poets, Highland societies, and Lowland mimicking of Highland traditions helped create an image of the ’45 that was, and remains, “as much a part of Scottish mythology as of Scottish history.” This was possible because of the total defeat that the Jacobites of the ’45 experienced at the hands of the British government. They did not simply lose a battle; they lost their lifestyle. After the ’45, the government put into place legislation and other measures that were successful in crushing even the possibility of another Rising.

The destruction of the Highland way of life helped facilitate its adoption as the national face of Scotland. The fact that Jacobitism was unable to rise again made it possible to latch onto Jacobite culture both as a way of expressing mild rebellion, especially against the Union, and as a way to create a distinction between Scotland and England. The Scots created an image of themselves that allowed them to keep their identity separate from the English even if their politics were irrevocably linked. The Jacobite Risings made it possible for Scotland to create a new identity for itself that both differentiated between England and Scotland and reaffirmed its position as a part of political Britain. Two important factors of Jacobitism made this possible; the first was the culture that Jacobitism created by drawing on Highland traditions, and the second was the complete defeat that it experienced at the hands of the government. This defeat allowed Jacobite culture, which relied on both real and invented Highland traditions, to be embraced as a way to express national identity without the fear of political retribution.

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12 Lynch, 337.
II. Historiography

Jacobitism as political history has always been problematic. All history is built on interpretation, and every historian makes decisions regarding selection, sources, and language. Topics that are emotionally charged make these decisions even more difficult. Most of the histories that have been written about Jacobitism are works by British historians, and many Britons have strong feelings about the consequences of the Jacobite Risings and the final battle at Culloden. Because of the emphasis that the Jacobite Risings and Culloden are often given as turning points in Scottish culture, we find that “historians of the present century have often been as pro- or anti-Stuart as those of the past”\textsuperscript{14} This makes the task of attempted objectivity, picking and choosing sources, and deciding what to include in a Jacobite history particularly difficult.

Additional difficulties arise because much of what we think we know about the facts surrounding the Jacobite army have later been brought into question by historians who have compared accounts of battles, various correspondence, and other sources. Computing an accurate count of the number of soldiers at any given battle, for example, seems an impossible task, since the multitude of primary sources that attempt it disagree. At times it appears that the government army was exaggerating Jacobite numbers in order to explain their defeats, and at others it seems that the Jacobites themselves were exaggerating their numbers, first in order to persuade others to join their cause and later to emphasize the excessive brutality of the government army.\textsuperscript{15}

Another problem lies with the accuracy of sources. An example is the use of George Murray’s supposed orders to the Jacobite army just before Culloden. These orders make it clear

that the Jacobites should give no quarter to the government soldiers. Copies of this order exist, and were even reported in newspapers at the time. Most scholars today, however, believe that the orders were forged by order of the Duke of Cumberland in order to validate his own orders to give no quarter to the Jacobites after Culloden. Controversies over such “simple” facts as the number of soldiers at a battle and the orders given to an army lead to even larger debates that revolve around the motivations of whatever group provided the incorrect information. Are the miscalculations of army size due to a desire to make one group look larger, or are they simply mistakes? Were George Murray’s orders actually forged, and if so, why did the Duke of Cumberland present the “give no quarter” order as fact? These debates can at times obscure the history of Jacobitism rather than adding to the dialectic. Historians writing about Jacobitism must be careful not only of their inherent biases, but also the temptation to become involved in theoretical arguments rather than basing the weight of their work on a well-researched hypothesis.

A.J. Youngson discusses the problems that any historian writing history faces in The Prince and the Pretender: A Study in the Writing of History, which appeared in 1985. He declares that “the task of the historian is…to select, and to prefer one interpretation of the evidence to another…he selects and prefers so as to produce a version of events which he himself finds believable and agreeable.” Inevitably, this can be problematic. Readers trust the historian to present them with an accurate and fair history that comes as close to the truth as possible. In the best cases, the historian finds a particular version most believable because the evidence supports that version, and the historian will strive to offer as complete and unbiased a

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16 Ibid., 151.
17 Alan I. Macinnes, Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788 (East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 204.
19 Ibid., 13.
picture as possible. In the worst, historians will choose their version and research according to their own bias, with the intent of finding evidence that fits the history they have already decided to write. Even when every fact is accurate and a broad range of information is included, however, the very writing of history is going to contain some biases.

Youngson applies these notions to the study of Jacobitism and attempts to understand not only the political facts of the Risings, but also the way in which they have been portrayed by both Jacobites and Hanoverians. He does this by writing two entirely truthful and accurate histories of the Risings, one which is biased toward the Jacobites and the other which favors the government. Youngson deals with the problems of language, the flexible nature of “facts,” and the decisions that a historian makes when writing even something as seemingly straightforward as political history. Even the choice to use terms such as “Prince,” “Pretender,” “Rising,” or “Rebellion,” for example, can affect how the history is read and understood. In his pro-Jacobite history, Youngson refers to “Bonnie Prince Charlie” and the “Risings,” while his pro-Hanoverian section uses the terms “Pretender” and “Rebellion.” In addition, the inclusion or exclusion of various facts, anecdotes about major figures in the Risings, and the credibility given to rumors can vastly sway an audience’s opinion. Pro-Jacobite histories often give more credence to the mostly insubstantial rumors about government actions in the Highlands after Culloden, while pro-Hanoverian histories might choose to focus on the reports of unruly Highlanders and dismiss the recorded rumors of excessive government cruelties as exaggeration. Reading both versions of Youngson’s Jacobite history is an enlightening and extremely interesting experience. His dual histories help make clear both the difficulties that are inherent in all history and those that are especially troublesome in writing Jacobite history.
Near the end of the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth, a trend of publishing primary sources that were previously unavailable to a wide audience helped historians immensely in their study of Jacobitism and, in fact, brought many of the earlier mentioned inconsistencies and doubts to light. There are a vast number of published primary sources that deal with Jacobitism, and most of them became available between 1895 and 1929. One of the most famous, *The Lyon in Mourning*, was collected by the Reverend Robert Forbes beginning as early as 1746.\(^{20}\) He considered it his life’s work, and was extremely protective of it. Forbes refused to publish the work during his lifetime, and although parts of it were published in 1835 as *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, it was not until 1895, one hundred and twenty years after his death, that his complete collection of letters, diaries, speeches, and other recollections of the events in the Highlands directly after the Battle of Culloden, was made available to scholars. Perhaps Forbes was nervous about the consequences of putting his name on such a work with the 1745 Rising still so recent; Forbes refused even to allow others to read his manuscripts during his lifetime.\(^{21}\) Publishing it could have easily been seen as criticism of the government, something which would have been particularly dangerous for a Scot at the time.

With the distance of a century, sources that were previously kept private became more available. Forbes’s suspicion that sources which focused on the Jacobite side of the conflict could not be widely distributed until Jacobitism was no longer a valid political threat seems to have been a legitimate one. A collection of the papers kept by Duncan Forbes, lord president of Culloden, who was both a Highlander and a government supporter, were published in part as *The

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\(^{21}\) Henry Paton, M.A., preface to *The Lyon in Mourning*, xvii.
*Culloden Papers* in 1815,22 and the remaining papers were finally published in 1927 as *More Culloden Papers.*23 Although Forbes was not a Jacobite and was supportive of the government, his letters chronicle the suppression of the Highlands by government soldiers and paint the post-Culloden occupation in an unfavorable light. The correspondence between Forbes and the Duke of Cumberland before, during, and after the Rising of 1745 is particularly useful in gauging the state of the Highlands because Forbes, as a government supporter, would not have been likely to overly exaggerate the brutality of the government soldiers. In 1929, another useful collection of primary documents was published. *Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period 1699-1750*24 appeared in two volumes, and the work made available such primary sources as reports on the state of the Highlands, final speeches given by condemned Jacobites, proclamations made by James and Charles Edward Stuart, and depositions of Jacobites after the 1745 Rising. These are only a few examples of the multitude of Jacobite-related documents that were collected and published in the early twentieth century.25

Jacobitism appeared primarily as political history from the time of Enlightenment writers in the eighteenth century until the 1960s. In many works, Jacobitism was simply squeezed between the lines of the Stuart monarchs and the Hanoverian line as part of a larger history of Great Britain. The earliest of these works often seem to seek to legitimize the Hanoverian rule

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22 H. R. Duff, ed., *Culloden Papers: Comprising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence from the Year 1625 to 1748; Including Numerous Letters from the Unfortunate Lord Lovat and Other Distinguished Persons of the Time; With Occasional State Papers of Much Historical Importance* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1815).


and to minimize the importance of Scottish history. David Hume’s multi-volumed work on *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, published in six volumes between 1754 and 1762, ends just after James II leaves the throne and doesn’t discuss the Jacobite Risings, but it makes a clear effort to portray the new monarchs, William of Orange and Mary, as preferable to the deposed Stuarts. He describes William as having “maintained a very prudent conduct, agreeably to that sound understanding with which he was so eminently endowed,” while James is found a “wanting monarch” because he lacked “a due regard and affection to the religion and constitution of his country…when it was wanting, ever excellency which he possessed became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.”

Tobias Smollett’s *The History of England from the Revolution in 1688 to the Death of George the Second in 1760*, published in five volumes between 1762 and 1765, spans the time period of the Jacobite Risings. Smollet does address the conflict, but it is viewed in the context of a larger history, and the activities of the English parliament gain just as much attention as the battles of the Risings. Similar to Hume’s text, Smollett’s work always speaks of the “rebels” and the “rebellions,” and occasionally the “Jacobites,” rather than using terms such as “risings” that current historians often prefer. Works such as these are often considered primary sources in the study of the Jacobite Risings because they offer contemporary evidence of the Lowlander perception of the Risings.

Some of the most comprehensive and important political histories of Jacobitism appeared just after the availability of primary sources that emerged in the end of the nineteenth century.

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27 Hume, vol. 6, 274.
28 Ibid., 295.
and the first two decades of the twentieth. Most notable are the numerous and massive works by sisters Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, published between 1928 and 1939, which are still used today by many historians who study Jacobitism.\textsuperscript{30} The Taylers chronicle the people, events, and battles of the Risings with readable detail, and they occasionally offer informed speculation on such issues as the various reasons Jacobites may have had for supporting a Stuart monarch or why the 1715 Rising failed so quickly. Their inclusion of such details as James Stuart’s health, the weather accompanying ships from France to Scotland, and quarrels within the Jacobite ranks\textsuperscript{31} help outline a relatively complete picture of the politics of Jacobitism. Perhaps it is for this reason that their works still appear in many contemporary bibliographies.

The mid-twentieth century saw very few Jacobite histories, political or otherwise. When Jacobitism is mentioned, it is usually given a few paragraphs in an overarching history of England, Scotland, or Great Britain. R. B. Mowat’s 1932 history, \textit{England in the Eighteenth Century}, for example, nominally focuses on the very time period of Jacobitism, yet it gives only a five page overview of the entire affair.\textsuperscript{32} Jacobitism appears in a chapter that is solely devoted to Scotland, as if it had no affect on England or English society in the eighteenth century and after. G. M. Trevelyan’s 1942 work, \textit{English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria}, devotes thirty pages of a six hundred twenty eight page book to the Jacobites.\textsuperscript{33} His focus is on the social conditions in the Scotland at the time rather than the politics or the influence of Jacobitism. The implication is that Jacobitism was a minor influence on British life, and its effects were felt only in Scotland. While a few Jacobite-specific works

\textsuperscript{30} The Taylers’ works include Alistair Tayler and Henrietta Tayler, \textit{1745 and After} (London: T. Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1938); Alistair Tayler and Henrietta Tayler \textit{Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Rising of 1715} (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1934); Alistair Tayler and Henrietta Tayler \textit{1715: The Story of the Rising} (London: T. Nelson, 1936).

\textsuperscript{31} Tayler, \textit{1715}, 6-7.


were published between 1940 and 1960, they are rare, and it wasn’t until the latter half of the
century that Jacobitism became a popular subject again as social history became more prevalent.

The move in the mid twentieth century from the political to the social in Jacobite history
seems logical for many reasons. The legislation that was intended to suppress the Highland way
of life, the sharp division between Highland and Lowland culture, and the vast changes in social
structure that followed the last Jacobite Rising made eighteenth century Scotland a country in
turmoil, and therefore a fascinating area in which to study social history. Social histories of
Jacobitism began to appear as the discipline itself was rising and gaining acceptance in the
1960s. David Daiches’ *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth Century Experience*
was published in 1964 and deals with many of the earlier mentioned social issues that surround
Jacobitism. He addresses the conflicting feelings that surrounded the Union of Parliaments in
1707 and what the Union meant to the politics of Scotland.34 Daiches also discusses the
difficulty of balancing between the eighteenth century Lowland desire to become “British” rather
than “Scottish,” and the loss of national pride that would have meant.35

Social history remains popular in the study of Jacobitism. In 1988, Leah Leneman served
as editor for *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchinson.*36
Articles in this book deal with many of the same issues that Daiches addressed, specifically the
changes in attitude that occurred during the eighteenth century. Leneman’s article, “A New Role
for a Lost Cause: Lowland Romanticization of the Jacobite Highlander,” deals specifically with
the ways in which such things as the Highland soldiers during the Napoleonic wars, Sir Walter

34 Daiches, 4-15.
35 Daiches offers specific examples of works, such as Professor James Beattie’s 1797 work *Scottisicms, arranged in
Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Impropieties of Speech and Writing,* that were intended to help Scots to
“avoid in their writing the language they naturally spoke and write a carefully composed standard English.” (22).
36 Leah Leneman, “A New Roles for a Lost Cause: Lowland Romanticization of the Jacobite Highlander,” in
*Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honor of Rosalind Mitchinson,* Leah Leneman, ed., 107-124
Scott’s writing, and the Gaelic societies that formed in the eighteenth century affected these changes in perception.\textsuperscript{37} T.M. Devine’s \textit{Clanship to Crofters’ War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands} offers insights into many of the same subjects. He focuses on the changes that occurred in the Highlands both during the early eighteenth century and after 1745. The creation of Highland societies, the role of Highland regiments in the army, George IV’s visit to Scotland bedecked in tartan, and many other factors were instrumental in the development of what Devine terms “the cult of Highlandism.”\textsuperscript{38} By looking at these issues in detail, historians such as Daiches, Leneman, and Devine helped to broaden the perspective of political history, allowing scholars to understand the effect a political topic, such as the Risings, had on the social ideas and organizations of the time.

The Jacobite Risings are also an interesting field for economic historians. Alan I. Macinnes’s \textit{Clanship, Commerce, and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788},\textsuperscript{39} for example, focuses on the economic impact of the Risings on the Highlands. Macinnes begins his study with background on the historical roles played by the clan elite and then discusses the economic effects of the actions of the government soldiers after Culloden. Some historians have examined a possible link between the Risings and the Highland Clearances, which left the Highlands full of sheep and empty of Highlanders. Although they were separated by decades, some argue that the effects of Jacobitism can be directly traced to the Clearances. Others, such as Macinnes, say just the opposite by declaring that “absentee landlordism, indebtedness, rent-raising, and the removal and relocation of clansmen were not products of the ‘Forty-Five, but part of an ongoing process

\textsuperscript{37} Leneman, 107-124
\textsuperscript{39} Macinnes.
of commercialism and cultural assimilation that can be traced back to the early seventeenth
century."\textsuperscript{40} From this perspective, Jacobitism was a part of the trend, but not the cause.

The move from economic and social histories such as those written by Daiches, Leneman, and Macinnes toward cultural history at some point included the relatively new idea of nationalism. The ideas that social historians began to examine, specifically about the importance of the Union and the romantic authors of the nineteenth century, grew into theories about the ways in which Scotland shifted from political discord to a more subtle dissension that was expressed through nationalistic means. National identity has long been important to the Scots. Whether it was being used to distinguish themselves from the English or whether Lowlanders were attempting to pull away from Highland culture to create their own identity the issue is hard to escape. The trends and explanations behind the Scottish use of national identity are often flexible and ever-changing, a fact which is clearly seen in the immediate rejection of Jacobite culture by the Lowlanders, and then, mere decades later, a broad acceptance and encouragement of that same culture. Even today, Scottish nationality is an important force in politics and culture, and it is as unstable as ever. Joyce McMillian writes about her experience growing up in Scotland in the 1950s and 60s, and she makes it clear that during that time she considered herself strongly British.\textsuperscript{41} Later, as the politics in Britain changed and policies that were heavily supported in southern England, but disliked in northern England and Scotland, were put into effect, there was an increase in the general desire to be perceived as Scottish rather than British. This change in perception also affected the desire to reinstate a Scottish Parliament after more than two and a half centuries without one. The study of nationalism is relatively recent, but it is

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., x.
obvious that the effects of national identity were important centuries ago in many areas, and Scotland was no exception.

While the concept of nationalism is usually traced to the end of the eighteenth century, it was not until the middle of the twentieth that the exploration of the importance of nationalism really began to take place. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith state that “sustained investigation of nationalism had to wait until after the First World War,” and even then it took several more decades for the influence of nationalism to be widely studied. Writers such as Joseph Stalin and Max Weber struggled to define nationalism, and the politics and propaganda of the World Wars encouraged the view of nationalism as a political tool. As time progressed, however, historians and other writers began to question not only how nationalism could be used in propaganda, but how it affected various peoples and what it may have meant in the past for our present, popular notion of nation. The influence of nationalism is not merely something controlled by the government to encourage patriotism; it goes both ways.

Scotland’s notion of national identity is one that has given rise to much disagreement. Some attempt to link it to antiquity and claim that the Highland Scots have had a sense of national identity for centuries, much like James MacPherson did when he “translated” the Gaelic tale of Ossian. MacPherson’s *Fingal*, supposedly written by the Gaelic hero Ossian and translated by MacPherson, appeared in 1762 and was received by many Scots with pride and excitement. For them, tracing the Celtic traditions backward and linking them to present customs established a Scotland whose people understood themselves as Scots long before historical heroes like William Wallace and Robert the Bruce appeared. This is a theme that is particularly noticeable in popular works such as Nathaniel Harris’s *Heritage of Scotland: A*

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Cultural History of Scotland and Its People, which claims that “The Scots became aware of their national identity at a remarkably early date…through all their vicissitudes they have remained stubbornly themselves.” 44 John Tosh discusses this trend in terms of the development of a social memory that is quite separate from the reality of history. 45 Social memory, which involves a shared understanding of past events, helps to foster “a collective identity.” 46 Tosh also suggests that such nationalistic interpretations help provide a “picture of the past which serves to explain or justify the present.” 47 This sort social memory, which relies on the acceptance of an ancient Scottish identity offers a sense of legitimacy to both historical and contemporary Scotland.

Others, however, argue that this understanding of Scotland’s perception of identity is solely a modern invention, and that Scottish identity has fluctuated and changed vastly over the centuries. The notion of Scottish identity as ancient is part of the myth that has been created in order to form the present notion of Scottish identity. In some ways, Harris’s book supports this notion as well, since it is more popular history, intended for the coffee table and light conversation, than well-researched, scholarly history. Perhaps his writing has been affected by the invented historical identity that has been created in order to legitimize modern national identity. Hugh Trevor-Roper makes a claim about this notion of invented historical identity in his article “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” which attempts to detail the creation of a Highland “culture.” 48

The notion of invented tradition and myth has been an extremely important and influential one in the study of Scottish national identity. In 1983, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence

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46 Ibid., 3.
47 Ibid.
Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition* appeared and offered a new perspective on the traditions that we so often take at face value. *The Invention of Tradition* argues that such things as state ceremonies are not, as some might believe, products of an ancient and long-lived national feeling. Instead, they are “often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.”^49^ Hobsbawm uses the example of France’s Bastille Day, which he says “gave the Republic the legitimacy of prosperity, technical progress…and the global colonial conquest they took care to emphasize.”^50^ According to this view, traditions are often nothing more than elaborate, multi-media propaganda that are cunningly and deliberately inserted into our culture, and thus our notion of nation.

The idea of invented tradition opens the door for new insights and fascinating speculation not only on the origin of traditions, but on the function that they have served within society. Why are some traditions more long-lived than others? Why are some customs resurrected while others are allowed to fade away? Is the popularity of traditions controlled by government and imposed downward, or are traditions embraced by the masses in order to make a political statement and affect change? These questions can help broaden the understanding of cultural, social, and even political movements.

Hugh Trevor-Roper’s article “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland” is included in Hobsbawm and Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition*. Trevor-Roper’s article attempts to make what could have been a legitimate and very interesting argument about invention of Highland tradition. He fails, however, because he takes the notion of invented tradition too far. A myriad of possibilities are opened by the suggestion that the traditions we

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today think of as ancient and Scottish may have been invented at a much later date. Many traditions were adapted from Highland customs for universal use and adopted by Lowlanders as well as Highlanders. Rather than exploring these possibilities, Trevor-Roper persists in claiming that “the whole concept of a distinct Highland culture and tradition is a retrospective invention.”\(^{51}\) Such a broad generalization cannot help but have exceptions, and this one has several. Trevor-Roper proceeds to contradict himself in many of his poorly-argued points. For example, he first asserts that it wasn’t until the latter half of the eighteenth century that Scotland finally broke free from its Irish ties and was able to establish such traditions as “a peculiarity of dress,”\(^{52}\) and then goes on to make it clear that in 1715 Highland Scotland had a dress distinctive enough that “the British parliament had considered banning it by law.”\(^{53}\) While Trevor-Roper’s argument is inherently flawed, he does help bring the study of eighteenth and nineteenth century Scotland into a new light that focuses on how Highland traditions were used in creating the national identity of Scotland. His observation that “the Celtic Highlanders, so recently despised as outer barbarians, were claiming to be the sole representatives of Scottish history and culture,”\(^{54}\) while not completely accurate,\(^{55}\) is one that scholars have since explored with great skill and enthusiasm.

In recent years, the subject of Scottish nationality and its development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been a popular one. Changes in historical methodology have contributed to the rise of cultural history and the interest in national identity. It is more acceptable today for historians to rely on the tools and even the vocabulary of other disciplines.

\(^{51}\) Trevor-Roper, 15.
\(^{52}\) Ibid., 18.
\(^{53}\) Ibid., 20.
\(^{54}\) Ibid., 27.
\(^{55}\) This statement suggests that the Highlanders were imposing their customs and traditions on the rest of Scotland. In reality, however, it seems to have been just the opposite. Such Lowland writers as Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns embraced Highland tradition, and Lowland-based Highland societies spang up in the nineteenth century as a way of claiming Highland culture for all of Scotland.
Methods that once belonged to disciplines such as cultural anthropology are being adopted by historians in order to understand the lived culture of their subjects. The idea that culture is created and flexible has opened up a field which allows historians to speculate about what factors helped to create a particular culture and how it has changed over time.

Many scholars see Scotland’s recent history and current identity as a direct result of the years following the Jacobite Risings. Lesley Scott-Moncrieff, writing the introduction to *The '45: To Gather an Image Whole* in 1988, states that the “occupying armies of Sitka spruces, the Crofting Act, the teaching of Gaelic in schools, the question of a Scottish Assembly, or of land use in the Highlands, these daily disputations are still the unsolved legacy of an eighteenth century battle and its aftermath.”\(^{56}\) This collection of essays deals with various cultural issues related to the 1745 Jacobite Rising. G.V.R Grant’s article, “The ’45: A Disastrous Mistake,”\(^{57}\) for example, discusses the penal laws against the Episcopal church that were put into place after Culloden and the effect that the romanticization of Highland culture had on Scotland. This romantization, he argues, is “unhealthy and sentimental,” and it keeps Scots from feeling true pride in their past, and thus their future.\(^{58}\) Some historians feel just the opposite. Michael Lynch’s *Scotland: A New History*, for example, discusses the importance of economic issues and the “cult of Jacobite nostalgia”\(^{59}\) before concluding that this cult had a positive influence on Scotland. It is because of this widespread interest in things Jacobite and Highland that the eighteenth century is “hailed as the age when Scotland became one of the most important centres


\(^{58}\) Grant, 33.

\(^{59}\) Lynch, 337.
of intellectual culture in the western world. It did so…not by cutting loose from its past but by building on it."60

One of the most influential authors on the subject of Jacobitism’s effect on Scottish nationality is Murray Pittock. His works, ranging in publication date from 1991 to the present day, span many subjects and serve as a perfect example of interdisciplinary study. He uses the tools of historical analysis, literary critique, gender studies, and cultural anthropology to shed light on subjects that always revolve around the topics of British national identity, Scottish history, and more often than not, Jacobitism. His works make it clear that he sees a direct correlation between the image of traditions presented during the Jacobite Risings and the widely-accepted view of Scotland. His *Celtic Identity and the British Image*61 focuses on the way in which Celtic traditions were first feared and discouraged and later embraced as a way of expressing identity. The work gives useful historical background for a reader who is attempting to understand how historical differences fit into the impact of Jacobitism. Pittock discusses the role of Jacobitism in the creation of Scottish culture specifically in both *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* and *Jacobitism*.62 Other works, such as *Scottish Nationality*, broaden the topic of Scottish culture, while *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* narrows in on a particular aspect of Jacobitism and its effect on the later acceptance of Highland culture.63

Pittock states his position quite clearly when he argues that “in the eighteenth century and afterwards, the mythology and ideology of the Stuart cause became a…self-expression of

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60 Lynch, 353.
identity on behalf of those whose identity was under threat. In this underground history, many of
the ideas still current today concerning Scotland’s place in the Union came into being.”

Pittock’s various works emphasize the role Scotland’s history, from the arrival of the Celts to the
romantic writings of Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, and James MacPherson, has played in the
development of the current understanding of what it means to be Scottish. With careful study of
historical background and context, Pittock traces the development of the Highland/Lowland
dichotomy, the image of Jacobites as Highlanders, and the use of literature in creating a romantic
Jacobitism, among other topics, and links them with the Scotland we today see celebrating clan
gatherings and building the new quarters for the first Scottish Parliament since 1707. Pittock
covers everything from late twentieth century polls on national identity to the seventeenth and
eighteenth century creation of an Arthurian-like myth that revolved around the Stuarts. It would
be impossible to study the topics of Scotland and nationalism in conjunction without referring to
Pittock’s works.

As the cultural impact of Jacobitism becomes a more accepted area of study, some
historians have turned their focus to the impact that literature has had on Scottish national
identity. While most “Jacobite” literature was not written during the actual Risings, it is hard to
deny that the work of such writers as Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, James Hogg, and Tobias
Smollet had a dramatic impact on the way Scots viewed themselves. Murray Pittock, for
example, addresses this topic in *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish
Identity* by discussing Jacobite ballads and the writings of MacPherson, Burns, Hogg, and Scott.
He gives specific examples of works by these authors that portray Highland traditions in a
positive light and links them to the “Celticized Scotland of primitive and heroic images, drawing

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64 Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, 5
heavily if negatively on Jacobite ideology” that developed “full flower in these years.”

Likewise, Mary Lascelle addresses this topic by examining the role that literature has taken in shaping history, and vice versa, and William Donaldson devotes an entire work to the role that Jacobite ballads played in the formation of a Scottish national identity by exploring both songs that are contemporary with the Risings and those which were written later. He discusses the way in which historical memory was created through these songs and how the Scotland that they express has come to be accepted as the ‘true’ Scotland. Specific authors, particularly Scott and Burns, have vast fields of scholarship that deal with their works, and in most cases it is impossible for scholars, whether historian or literary critic, to ignore the impact that history had on their writing. Increasingly, the effect that their writing had on history is also being discussed.

The twentieth century has also seen an increased popular interest in Scottish history of all sorts, and Jacobitism is no exception. Sir Walter Scott’s Jacobite novel, *Rob Roy*, has been made into five separate movies since 1911, with the most recent incarnation featuring the popular British actor Liam Neeson in 1995. One of the most widely-read authors of Scottish history, John Prebble, writes works that border between scholarly and popular, with a flair for entertaining narration and an acceptance of rumors and others sources that more scholarly

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67 Donaldson.
historians may not feel comfortable using. His *Culloden* was published in 1961, and while it functions as an interesting and readable introduction to Jacobite history, it is clearly biased in favor of the underdog Jacobites and leaves much to be desired for scholarly use. Coffee-table books that focus on Scottish history and nationality, such as Nathaniel Harris’s *Heritage of Scotland: A Culture History of Scotland and Its People*, have also appeared. The overall trend of historical methodologies toward cultural studies and the acceptance of techniques from a wide range of disciplines has broadened the scope of Jacobite history and has encouraged a resurging interest in the subject from both scholars and more mainstream audiences. This interest has offered new insights about how identity is formed and what role the Risings played in that formation.

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70 Harris.
III. The Historical Jacobites

Since 1745, the Jacobite Risings have become a mythic bit of history that resides more in the exaggerated tales of childhood and the extravagant pageants of Highland Games and tartan-clad gift shops than in actual fact. Ballads, legends, and romantic novels continue to help paint a romanticized vision of the Risings that has been embraced by many Scots as an important part of their heritage, while the harsh realities of the actual Risings are left primarily to historians. Despite, or perhaps because of, the “underdog” status of the Jacobites, they persist in being held forth as an example of true Scots, and Culloden is regarded as a national tragedy. The battlefield itself, once divided by a road and left unkept, is now neatly sectioned off, with markers to place each regiment of the government and Jacobite armies, a giant cairn to memorialize the Jacobites who fought there, and the long row of stone markers that indicate trench graves where dead Jacobite soldiers are buried. Reenactments on the battlefield at Culloden are forbidden, and in 1996, five thousand people gathered at Culloden on the anniversary of the battle. It is obvious that at least the idea of Jacobitism has been embraced by Britons. But what of the actual history? The political roots of Jacobitism are often ignored in the popularization of the history, and complex questions with many answers tend to be reduced to a single, simple response. According to popular knowledge, Jacobites were Highlanders, they were fiercely loyal to Scotland, and they were heroic underdogs. The reality is somewhat more complicated.

Jacobitism began in 1688 when James II, a Stuart monarch of Scotland and England and staunch Roman Catholic, lost the throne. The following year, the Bill of Rights named the Protestant William of Orange and Mary joint sovereigns in place of James II. Their accession to

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71 Ibid., 136.
72 See [appendix 1](#) for a timeline of important dates, events, and legislation.
the throne was legitimized by Mary’s Stuart blood and the public support for a protestant monarch. James II had been a convert to Catholicism for some time before his accession, and this fact worried many Scots and English. The prospect of a Catholic lineage continuing on the throne was troubling to the primarily protestant population. At the invitation of concerned representatives from the English church and nobility, William of Orange landed in England with an army in 1688, and in December of that year James II fled to France. Some perceived this as an abdication of the throne, while others speak of James II having been deposed.

Jacobite sentiment from those who supported James II began to manifest politically as early as 1689, when minor attacks begin. It seems obvious that, while many embraced the regime change, there was significant opposition to it as well. As Jacobite feeling was gaining ground, rumors intended to prevent the return of a Catholic descendent of James II to the throne began to circulate. A legend which claimed that James II’s son, also named James, was smuggled into the palace in a warming pan, and thus not royal, became common. The intent was to both emphasize Mary’s connection to the royal line, thus helping Mary and William claim the throne, and to discredit any future claim to the British throne that James II’s son and subsequent heirs might have felt they had. It also served as an attempt to halt the spread of support for the Jacobite movement, which aimed to restore the “rightful” Stuarts to the throne. These stories and any doubts they may have raised did not seem to affect the Jacobites. Perhaps they recognized the rumors for what they seem to have been, or perhaps they simply didn’t care whether James (III) was actually royal or not. Regardless of the reasons, the Jacobites who had

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73 Mary was James (III)’s half-sister. Mary and Anne were the children of James II’s first wife, Ann Hyde, while James (III) was the son of his second wife, Mary of Modena. See appendix 2.
75 This last explanation was probably particularly true after the Union of Parliaments in 1707 made support for Jacobitism more about politics and less about religion or the divine right of kings. Most Jacobites probably did not pay attention to the stories one way or another; the Stuarts were promising political changes that they wanted, and so, for their intents and purposes, the Stuarts were the rightful kings of Britain.
previously supported James II in his bid to reclaim the throne shifted their support from the deposed James II to his son when James II died in France in 1707.

In 1702, William’s death left the throne to another Stuart, Anne. Mary had died eight years earlier, and the joint sovereigns left no heirs. The crown was instead passed to Mary’s sister. Anne, whose children did not survive childhood, would be the last Stuart to wear the crown, despite continued Jacobite efforts to the contrary. When it became apparent that she was ill and that she, too, would leave behind no heirs, the Jacobites hoped that she would name her half brother, James (III), as her successor. Upon Anne’s death in 1714, however, it was not the Stuart James, still living in France, who took the throne, but George of Hanover. George, like William and Mary and Anne, was a Protestant, while the Stuarts were still practicing Catholics. George was a German and could not even speak English. It is said that there were at least fifty-seven other descendents who were closer to the throne at the time,76 but George was the nearest Protestant, which earned him the crown.77 Anne’s death may have been the perfect time for a Jacobite Rebellion, but it wasn’t until a year later, in 1715, that James (III), now known as the Old Pretender, returned to Scotland to fight for the crown. By then it was too late, and the attempt failed swiftly. The age of the Stuarts had ended, and the era of the Hanoverians had begun.

The change of dynasty was not nearly so clear in 1715, however. Jacobitism continued to be a driving force in English and Scottish politics for the next forty years, and the threat lingered for several decades beyond that. Who, then, were the Jacobites? What were they fighting for? Why did they gain enough support to attempt multiple rebellions over the established kingship in

76 Tayler, 18.
77 George of Hanover was the great-grandson of James I through the line of James I’s daughter, Elizabeth. See appendix 2.
favor of a deposed line? Was there ever any chance of a Rising succeeding? These questions are several of the complex issues that have, at best, multi-layered answers.

In the strictest sense of the word, Jacobites were the supporters of the deposed James II, and later his son. During the 1745 Rising, the Jacobites followed James (III)’s son, Charles Edward, who actually traveled to Scotland for the Rising, but the goal was still to place James (III) on throne and thus secure Charles Edward’s future inheritance. The term “Jacobite” comes from “Jacobus,” the Latin for James. The heart of their cause was the desire to restore the rightful Stuarts, James II and later, James (III) to the throne, but the actual reasons for supporting such a restoration of the royal line were varied, as were the supporters themselves.

Despite the fact that the popular version of the Jacobite evokes pictures of Highlanders charging, with flying kilts and broadswords, toward the government soldiers, many Jacobites were not in fact Highlanders. It does seem to be true that more than half of the Jacobite army during the 1745 Rising was composed of Highlanders, but their majority was slim rather than the sweeping image of an entirely-Highland army which both contemporary tales and later myth painted. Murray Pittock quotes Charles Edward’s muster roll as listing 5,710 soldiers that served in predominantly Highland regiments, while 4,200 soldiers served in predominantly Lowland regiments and 1,200 soldiers were serving in regiments that weren’t Scottish at all, but were instead made up of primarily English, French, and Irish soldiers.78 Similarly, Allan Macinnes states that only 67% of the Jacobite army at Culloden was composed of Highland clans,79 and these numbers reflect what was left of the Jacobite army after a long march northward, out of England and into the Highlands of Scotland.

78 Pittock, Invention of Scotland, 64.
79 Macinnes,165.
Most of the actual soldiers of the Jacobite army were men, but women certainly had their own role to play as well. Jacobitism, was “a ‘subversive movement’ which ‘would accept all volunteers, regardless of sex.’”\(^{80}\) Because it was, in essence, a rebellion, Jacobitism accepted help wherever it could find it. In addition, the nature of Jacobitism meant that such things as propaganda, espionage, and secret messages played an important role; this offered a way in which eighteenth-century women could be helpful in the cause even if they were unable to carry a broadsword into battle. Women were immune to the harshest punishments, which also made them particularly useful to the Jacobites.\(^{81}\) For many women, this was an opportunity; they could correspond and smuggle messages, win supporters to the cause, organize secret meetings, participate in fund raising, and perhaps most influential of all, pass Jacobite traditions and politics on to their children. Murray Pittock says that “women participated in propaganda, nonjuring activism, publishing, espionage, and military recruitment; the whole gamut of Jacobite activity.”\(^{82}\) A few women served as soldiers as well. Miss Jenny Cameron is well known for having led two hundred men into battle on three separate occasions during the ’45, while Lady Ogilvie, Jean, dowager Duchess of Perth, Lady Straffhallan, and the Countess of Errol were all “prominent in recruiting men to the cause.”\(^{83}\)

Each country, clan, and participant had different reasons for supporting James (III) in his bid for the crown. When James II left Scotland following his loss of the throne, he moved to France, taking with him several supporters. King Louis XIV of France constantly promised money and men to James if he could also gather significant support within England and Scotland. From across the North Sea, many Scottish lairds promised much the same thing; they

\(^{80}\) Pittock, *Jacobitism*, 78.
\(^{81}\) Ibid., 82.
\(^{82}\) Ibid., 82.
\(^{83}\) Ibid., 80-81.
would support James II if the French would commit money and soldiers to their cause. Neither side was willing to commit fully without the support of other, and as a result, neither side ever truly gave their full strength to the Jacobites, despite negotiations that hoped to secure it. King Louis did, however, offer some support, primarily in name, but also with limited resources in the form of money and soldiers. Historians have speculated on the motives for this support, and answers range from the desire to restore Catholicism to England to the more sinister wish to create disorder in England. A civil war in Britain would have left France to deal with the rest of Europe as it saw fit.

English and Lowland Jacobites often promised their support in letters and other communication to James II in France, but it was slower to materialize than that of Highlanders. Particularly in the Rising of 1745, it seems clear that as the Jacobite army marched southward and gained victories, more and more lords came to join the Jacobites and add their soldiers to the cause. Supporting the exiled Stuarts was risky business at best, and it is not difficult to understand why those in powerful positions, such as the English nobility, would be hesitant to declare their support openly until it seemed relatively clear that there was a chance for success. Much of the correspondence between the Jacobites in France and those in Britain was couched in vague and noncommittal terms, and the reported numbers of Jacobites that were ready to rise at James II’s order did not match the number who actually came forward to support him in 1715.

The same was true to some extent in the Highlands. Not every clan who had corresponded with the Jacobites actually “came out” during the Risings. Despite considerable
pressure for the MacLeods of Skye to declare their support for the exiled Stuarts, for example, many MacLeods steadfastly refused to choose a side and instead did their best to stay out of the conflict. Some clan lairds, most notably the “Old Fox,” Lord Lovat, Simon Fraser, tried to play both sides of the conflict in an attempt to come out ahead. This plan didn’t end well for Lord Lovat, who, in 1747, gained the dubious distinction of being the last person to be executed on Tower Hill in London. Many Highland clans, including the Grants, the McDonalds of Sleat, the Munros, and the Sutherlands, fought not for the Jacobites, but on the side of the government army. It is clear, then, that the simple image of a Jacobite army filled with Highlanders fighting against the English government army is inaccurate and problematic.

Despite the numerous exceptions to the popular image of Jacobite as Highlander, the majority, however slight it may be, of Jacobites who actually fought in the Risings do seem to have been Highlanders. When the Earl of Mar came to Britain in 1715 and Charles Edward followed in 1745, they both chose to land in Scotland and begin their campaigns in the Highlands. The reasons for this are as complicated and complex as the make-up of the Jacobite armies. Some speculate that the massive fighting force of the Highlands, estimated by one contemporary at 21,650 and by another at 31,930, was especially attractive to the Stuarts, particularly since the clan system in place in the Highlands dictated that if a laird declared his allegiance, those men in his clan would fight according to that declaration, no matter where their own personal loyalties may have lain. Others mention that the culture of the Highlands was particularly well-suited to embrace many of the ideas that were prominent in the support of Jacobitism. Allan Macinnes states that “polemical support of the Jacobite cause was based primarily on the projection of traditional values of clanship onto the national stage. The House

87 Youngson, 125.
88 Contemporary estimates are given in Allardyce, 172, and by Duncan Forbes in Prebble, 38.
of Stuart was the rightful trustee of Scotland in the same way that the chiefs were the customary protectors of the clan patrimonies.”89 Other reasons for supporting the Jacobites, such as religion, nationalism, and anti-Union fervor, also seem to have been particularly important issues to the Highlanders.

The most ideological of these reasons was a simple belief in the divine right of kingship. James II was king, and therefore, his son ought to have sat on the throne after him, and Charles Edward was the rightful Prince. Many of the letters, speeches, and dictates from Charles Edward use language that supports his right to the line of the throne and that suggests that the Hanoverians are the actual rebels. In October of 1745, Charles Edward asked at Holyrood Palace if the Scots had “found Reason to love and cherish your governors, as the Fathers of the People of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a Family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed a Diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due Sense of so great a Trust and Favour?”90 This image of the Stuarts as the fathers and chiefly rulers of Scotland was intentional, and it most likely held particular appeal for the Highland clans, to whom such an image was familiar and correct according to their notions of clanship. Charles Edward’s words both reminded his audience that his inheritance had been stolen from him and questioned whether those who had taken it were performing their job as “the Fathers of the People of Great Britain and Ireland” properly. The insinuation is that no one but a Stuart could rule Britain as it ought to be ruled.

While the Stuarts’ Catholicism was an important factor in their removal from the throne, it does not seem to have been as significant in the support for their reinstatement. The stereotypical eighteenth century Highlander may have been Catholic, but the reality was somewhat different. In the Highlands, “no more than six of the 50 principal clans were or

89 Macinnes, 188.
became predominantly Catholic during the Jacobite period,”⁹¹ and as many as 75% of Jacobites were nonjuring Episcopalians.⁹² The Stuarts’ promises of religious freedom were more important than the actual religion that they professed. Charles Edward stated in a proclamation, dated 16 May 1745 that his father was “fully resolved to maintain the Church of England, as by Law established, and likewise the Protestant Churches of Scotland and Ireland,” and that James was “utterly averse to all Persecution and Oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of Conscience and Religion.”⁹³ The Catholics among the Highlanders wanted to be free to practice Catholicism, and the Episcopalians who had refused to swear an oath to William wanted to continue to practice their own form of worship without being forced to recognize what they perceived as an unlawful head of state. Of course, it is also easy to be doubtful of James (III)’s motives in taking this stance; it seems both calculated to gain support and to make a point about the unfairness of his father’s removal on the basis of his religion.⁹⁴ In actuality, issues of religion were probably far less significant to Jacobite support than issues of sovereignty and nationalism.

Once the British throne was in the hands of George of Hanover, nationalism became an even greater motivation for Jacobite support. For many Scots, the idea of having a king who was neither Scottish nor English and who didn’t even speak their language was not a comfortable one. Furthermore, there were worries that a German king’s priorities may not always lie with his new kingdom, but with his homeland. Mary, and by marriage William, and Anne had been more

⁹¹ Macinnes, 173.
⁹² Nonjuring Episcopalians were those who had refused to swear an Oath to King William when he was crowned. (Donaldson, 16). The percentage is from Macinnes, 176.
⁹⁴ This reading is supported by evidence such as a letter “To the People of England,” which questions whether it is “consistent either the Justice or Reason, to deprive a man of his Birth-right, for no other Reason, but because he worships the Supreme Being in the Manner he thinks most agreeable to him, tho’ his Subjects do it in another Manner, which to them seems best?” (British Library (BL), ADD 35,889, Hardwicke Papers vol. DXLI, p. 4, To the People of England.)
acceptable because they were not only British, but also Stuarts who were directly related to James II.95 This idea of nationality is closely linked to that of the right of inheritance. A.J. Youngson points out that “it made no sense in the highlands to have a king who was both foreigner and a figure-head. But a king who was a Scotsman and whose family was connected, both by blood and by history, with the families of many highland chiefs and therefore with the clans themselves, was altogether a different matter.”96 The issues of inheritance and nationality came together when the British throne was given to a German in 1714, further complicating an issue that was already quite complex.

Perhaps the greatest driving force behind Scottish support for the Risings was the issue of sovereignty. In 1603, the crowns of Scotland and England were merged when James I of England, the VI of Scotland, succeeded Elizabeth I to the throne. In 1707, the two countries took a step that some saw as the completion of that merger and that others viewed as a loss of Scottish sovereignty. The Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland was, according to Sir John Clark in 1730, “contrary to the inclinations of at least three-fourths of the kingdom”97 of Scotland. Many feared that Scotland would become a colony of England and lose its proud independence. James (III) encouraged this sentiment in speeches, as when he declared in 1743 that “We see a Nation always famous for Valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign Potentates, reduced to the condition of Province, under the specious Pretence of an Union with a more powerful Neighbour.”98 This feeling was more prevalent in the Highlands than in the Lowlands, where the economic benefits were more likely to be felt, but it seems clear that there was significant opposition to the Union throughout Scotland.

95 See appendix 2 for the Stuart and Hanoverian Dynasties.
96 Youngson, 170.
97 Lynch, 313.
James (III) gained support for his cause by renouncing the Union and promising to revoke it when he had gained the throne. In the same speech, he referred to the “pretended Union”99 and declared that “the Nation may be restored to that Honour, Liberty and Independency, which it formerly enjoyed.”100 When the Jacobite standard was raised at Braemar, one side was decorated with the Scottish arms in gold, and the other bore a thistle and the words “No Union.”101 Jacobite broadswords were often engraved with the phrase “Prosperity to Scotland and no Union.”102 For many, the promised abolition of the Union of Parliaments was the most important and persuasive reason to support the Jacobites. Murray Pittock suggests that “the extent of Scotland’s engagement with the Jacobite cause in the 18th century was a focus for dissatisfaction with the Union.”103 It seems unlikely that the Jacobites would have gained as much support as they did without the added motivation that the Union provided.

While there was evidence of Jacobite sentiment, including smaller skirmishes and Risings, throughout the early eighteenth century, there are two Risings that are generally accepted as the most significant. The first, in 1715, was led by the Earl of Mar. Alistair and Henrietta Tayler suggest that a wiser course of action would have been to attempt to raise the clans the year before, when Anne’s death on 1 August had left the country in an uncertain state of confusion.104 The Jacobites did not seize the opportunity, however, and instead waited until almost exactly a year later; the Earl of Mar started for Scotland to raise the standard, without the knowledge of the Stuart court in France, on 2 August 1715. This trend of bad decision-making and failure to capitalize on the opportunities their small successes offered, such as the capture of

99 Ibid.
100 Ibid, 178.
101 Pittock, Jacobite Clans, 97.
102 Ibid., 97.
103 Pittock, Scottish Nationality, 62.
104 Tayler, 12.
a ship full of arms in October, continued throughout the Rising. It is generally accepted that Mar’s lack of skills as a soldier and commander greatly contributed to the swift and unsuccessful end of the ’15. He was slow to make decisions, reluctant to take advice, and by the time James (II) arrived in Scotland in December of 1715, the hopeful Stuart found “his cause already lost.”

The loss of the 1715 Rising did not mark the end of Jacobite sentiment by any means. Despite King Louis XIV’s death in September of 1715 and the subsequent loss of French support, Jacobitism remained a noticeable and influential force in English and Scottish politics. After Louis’s death, the Jacobite court in France moved to the Vatican, where the Catholic Stuarts found more support than they had in France once the country was in the control of Phillipe of Orleans, a first cousin to George of Hanover and regent to five-year-old Louis XV. After the 1715 Rising, the Highlands were officially disarmed, but the reality of the situation was somewhat different. George Wade declares that the Act of Parliament that had been passed in 1716 and was intended to disarm the Jacobite Highlanders was “so ill executed, that the Clans the most disaffected to Your Majesty’s Government remain better Armed than ever.” In many instances, the clans loyal to the government obediently disarmed, while those who were inclined to rebel in favor of the Jacobites retained their weapons. It was a mistake that allowed the 1745 Rising to take place with the force and strength that it did, and it was one that the government was certain not to make a second time.

While several smaller conflicts occurred in the thirty years between the ’15 and the ’45, it wasn’t until 1745 that Charles Edward set sail for Scotland in a move that began the second major Rising. It is the ’45 that lives most vividly in the historical memory of Scotland, in part

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105 Ibid., 127.
106 Tayler, 10.
because it was the last Rising, but also perhaps because it was the Rising that came the closest to success.108 Despite the fact that, by the time of the ’45, there had been thirty-one years of Hanoverian rule and fifty-six years had passed since James II had left the throne, Charles Edward was convinced that he was the rightful Prince, that his father should be king, and that the people of Britain, and Scotland in particular, would rally to him in order to bring the Stuarts to power again. Charles Edward was a charismatic leader who steadfastly believed in the ability of his soldiers to win their battles and who won supporters with his passionate speeches, belief in the Jacobite cause, and personable charm.109 The Jacobites of the ’45 won battles or took control of towns in Perth, Edinburgh, Prestonpans, Carlisle, and Derby, and support, particularly in Scotland, grew with each Jacobite triumph. Charles Edward did not, however, find the support he had expected in England. He had counted on gaining soldiers from English Jacobites as he marched southward, but only a few regiments joined his army, despite victories in England. With their army only 150 miles from London and the threat of the government army seeming to loom threateningly near, the Jacobites decided to retreat northward into Scotland.

Many historians see that decision as the turning point of the ’45. “What if” questions abound; what if the Jacobites had continued their march to London? Could they have taken the capital? If they had, would the Rising have succeeded in returning the Stuarts to the throne? Could the Jacobite army have defeated the government soldiers who were marching toward them under the command of the Duke of Cumberland? While the speculation may provide interesting theories, the reality lies in Culloden. After a long retreat northward into the Highlands of Scotland, Charles Edward chose his place of battle; Culloden moor, a flat area just outside of Inverness that most agree was completely unsuited to the sort of battle that Charles Edward’s

108 Murray Pittock suggests that “Part of the enduring attraction of the forty-Five is that it contained the chance of victory as well as the reality of defeat.” (*Invention of Scotland*, 63).
soldiers knew best. Rather than choosing to meet the government army in the hills and mountains that the Highlanders would have been able to use to their advantage, he chose to fight in terrain that was well-suited to the cavalry and artillery of the government army, despite advice to the contrary by General George Murray.

The night before the Battle of Culloden, April 15, was the Duke of Cumberland’s birthday, and Charles Edward ordered a surprise attack on the government camp. He assumed that the soldiers would be drunk from celebrating their commander’s birthday, and thus easy to defeat. The attack never reached the camp, and in the early hours of the morning, it was finally cancelled. After they returned to their camp, some Jacobite soldiers crept off to Inverness in search of food, while others, weary from travel and lack of sleep, took the chance to rest. The morning of 16 April 1746, found the Jacobite army cold, wet, hungry, and sleep-deprived, facing off against the better-fed and better-rested government army on terrain that was more suited to the enemy than to themselves. Charles Edward fled the battle before it was over, escaping into the Highlands and Scottish legend, while at Culloden it didn’t take long for the government army to completely overwhelm the Jacobites and win the battle. The government measures to crush the Jacobites, however, had just begun, and they would last much longer.

The Duke of Cumberland, the commander of the victorious government army, began his campaign to thoroughly defeat the Jacobites with orders that would later earn him his nickname of “The Butcher.” Cumberland ordered a captain and fifty infantrymen “to march directly and

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110 Alan Macinnes calls Charles Edward’s decision a “monumental blunder” and points out that the Highland charge was most effective when coming downhill. A flat area like Culloden moor was perfect for the artillery of the government army, while the Jacobites had to artillery with which to return the shots. Macinnes says that “Charles exposed his army for an hour to a cannodade of grapeshot without reply – the Jacobites had no ammunition to match the calibre of the calvary.” (202).
111 Macinnes, 202.
112 Speck, 135.
113 James Maxwell, an observer, describes the Jacobites as “faint with hunger and ready to drop down with fatigue.” (Speck, 139).
visit all the cottages in the neighbourhood of the field of battle and to search for rebels” and made certain that “the officer and men will take notice that the public orders of the rebels yesterday was to give us no quarters.”\textsuperscript{114} The implication behind these orders was clear; the Jacobites had been ordered to give no quarter, or mercy, to the government soldiers,\textsuperscript{115} and therefore the government army was justified in hunting down and killing all those Jacobites who had not died in the battle. An eyewitness from Inverness describes the scene after Culloden, where “for near four miles from where the pursuit began, the ground is cover’d with dead bodies. Rebels, as they were, shocking even to look on!”\textsuperscript{116}

Some hailed the Duke as a hero; when he returned from the Highlands, he found that his salary had been raised, and pictures crowning him with victory laurels were circulated.\textsuperscript{117} Others, however, were critical of the extreme measures taken after Culloden. A letter to the \textit{National Journal} in May 1746, for example, observes that “none of those taken were wounded” and continues, “Now, as in every Battle there are a great many wounded, and left in the Field of Battle a Prey to the Conquerors, who generally take as much Care of their wounded Enemies, as of their own wounded Men, I wish you would inform me what became of the Rebels that were left wounded in that Field of that Battle.”\textsuperscript{118} The author, who signed with the pseudonym “Tom Curious,” was making clear point; the government soldiers had not followed the unwritten rules

\textsuperscript{114} Speck, 148.
\textsuperscript{115} Copies of these “orders,” given by George Murray, were printed in newspapers such as the Virginia Gazette of Williamsburg and circulated as fact. (Macinnes, 204) Most historians, however, acknowledge that the circulated orders were forgeries, and copies of George Murray’s orders make no mention of the “give no quarter” clause. (Speck, 151-3) Even at the time, there were doubts about the legitimacy of the orders. Lord Balmorino’s paper, read just before his execution on Tower Hill, for example, declares that the orders would have been “such an unchristian a thing and so unlike His Royall Highness’s behavior all along that nobody who has the Honour to know him can believe it...For my part I declare upon the word of a dying man that I believe it was a malicious Report industriously spread to excuse themselves of the Murder they committed in clam blood after the Action.” (National Library of Scotland (NLS), Stowe 158, p. 226, Lord Balmorino’s Paper That He Read upon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, 18 August 1746.).
\textsuperscript{116} Quoted in Speck, 145.
\textsuperscript{117} Prebble, 224.
\textsuperscript{118} BL, ADD 33,954, p. 83, Tom Curious to the Author of the National Journal, May 1746.
of war, and the slaughter of their enemies even after the battle was already won was a breach of battle etiquette.

The brutality directly after the battle and in the months following was not simply meant to punish the Jacobites; Allan Macinnes suggests that “the clear intent of the Whig commanders by the time of Culloden was to inflict a crushing defeat on the Jacobite clans that would be remembered for generations.” Correspondence from the Duke of Cumberland supports this notion; in one of his most infamous letters to the Duke of Newcastle, he states that “the Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted in this nation’s mind that this generation must be pretty well wore out, before this country will be quiet.” This mindset explains both the strict legislation that was put into place and the pillaging that destroyed the Highland way of life. Ironically, what began as an attempt to crush the Jacobite rebellion and to integrate Scotland into Great Britain helped to create many of the circumstances that allowed Jacobitism later to be used as a way to express national identity and Scottish separateness.

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119 Macinnes, 211.
120 BL, ADD 32707, Newcastle Papers Vol XXII, p.128, Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle, 30 April 1746.
IV. The End of Highland Life

After the Battle of Culloden, the suppression of the Highlands was put into full force. The measures used may have been intended to crush Jacobitism, but it was not only Jacobites who suffered at the hands of the government soldiers and legislation. Lord Lyon wrote to Duncan Forbes in July of 1746 to pointedly ask “what Crimes had the Campbells, Sutherlands, McLeods, Munro’s, McKays, &c. been guilty of, that they should be punished by the legislature whilst they were in arms for the Government?”\(^{121}\) Those enforcing the laws often didn’t bother to distinguish between those Highlanders who had fought with or supported the Jacobites and those who had not. The Magistrates of Inverness expressed frustration, indicating that they had “been often told that we were all Rebells, which we know was given to excuse many a complaint.”\(^{122}\) The laws put into place after Culloden opened the way for less formal aggression as the soldiers stationed in the Highlands took advantage of their position and carried out what Allan Macinnes terms “systematic state terrorism, characterized by a genocidal intent that verged on ethnic cleansing.”\(^{123}\)

Formally, laws that were intended “to impose lowland values on Gaeldom, destroy the basis of lawlessness and control the perceived excesses of clanship”\(^{124}\) were put into place. Some measures, such as the execution of Jacobite prisoners and the disarming of the Highlands, were not at all unusual or unexpected in the context of rebellion. Others, however, targeted not the military power of the Highlands, but the entire culture and way of life. The banning of

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121 Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, 112.
123 Macinnes, 211.
124 Devine, 13.
Highland dress,\textsuperscript{125} for example, can be seen as nothing but an attempt to demoralize the Highlands, and the informal discouragement of the use of Gaelic, the only language most Highlanders spoke, was a clear indication that English and Lowland traditions were preferable to those of the barbaric Highlanders. These demoralizing structures, when coupled with the often violent abuse of the new power the government now had in the Highlands, successfully destroyed a way of life that would only rise again to appear in the romantic stories and traditions that came to be accepted as the embodiment of Scottish culture.

The line between legal and illegal suppression was rarely clear in the days after Culloden. Legitimate laws would often be exploited and carried to an extreme that punished Jacobites and non-Jacobites alike, leaving much of the Highlands in fear of the government soldiers who now occupied their lands. Such exploitation was not always controlled; in fact, in many instances it was encouraged and given legal legitimacy. In July of 1746, Captain Charles Hamilton of Lord Cobhaim’s Dragoons was accused of driving off cattle and taking possession of a Highlander’s house. In his defense, an Act of Parliament, known as the Act of Indemnity, was cited. The Act of Indemnity states:

\begin{quote}
All Acts, matters and Things advised, commanded, appointed or done, before the 25\textsuperscript{th} day of July 1746, in order to suppress the unnatural Rebellion, or for the Preservation of the publick peace, or for the Safety or Service of the Government, are justify’d, and all sorts and Prosecutions for or by Reason thereof, are discharged and made void; and the Partys by whom any such matter or Thing are advised, commanded, appointed or done, are freed, acquitted and indemnified, as well against The King’s Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, as against all and ever other Person or Persons.\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

Captain Hamilton’s case apparently did not fall under these confines, as he was found liable for the cattle and house, but the Act of Indemnity remained a convenient means of sidestepping the

\textsuperscript{125} Highland dress included kilts, plaids, philibegs (another form of kilt), trews (tartan breeches), and the use of any tartan at all.
\textsuperscript{126} BL, ADD 35,890, Hardwicke Papers vol. DXLII, p. 32, Case against Captain Charles Hamilton of Lord Cobhaims Dragoons, 23 July 1746.
law for many soldiers and commanders who were accused of abusing their power. This legitimization of informal suppression made it clear that the government’s goal was not simply to put down the current rebellion but to crush the Highlands; in the Duke of Cumberland’s words, the government wanted “to bruise those bad seeds spread about this country so as they may never shoot again.”

One of the most significant changes in the Highlands was the forced disarming of the clans. While legislation to disarm the Highlands was passed after the 1715 Rising, it wasn’t until after Culloden that the laws were enforced. The Disarming Act was passed on 12 August 1746 and “stiffened previous laws aimed at depriving people who lived in the Highland zone of weapons of war.” Jacobites were assured that those common men who came in to offer their weapons of their own free will would receive “pardon and protection” and would be given certificates that labeled them as having done so and that would enable them to travel safely and “unmolested” to their homes. Officially, anyone who did not turn in their arms and was found with an outlawed weapon, which included broadswords and bagpipes as well as firearms, was to be fined. If they did not pay their fine, they could be jailed or drafted into the army and shipped to America. The actual safety of Jacobites who came to turn in weapons depended greatly on the officer they approached. Major General John Campbell, for example, was careful to list the names and places of those common soldiers who surrendered their weapons for future reference, so that they could return home safely, while those of rank who came in were to be held as prisoners. Others, however, used the Disarming Act as an excuse to lay further waste to the

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127 Quoted in Speck, 144.
128 Speck, 173.
129 Ibid., 165.
130 Ibid.
131 Ibid., 173-4.
132 Ibid., 165.
Highlands. Colonel Whiteford recorded that “those who are found in arms are ordered to be immediately put to death, and the houses of those who abscond are plundered and burnt, their cattle drove, their ploughs and other tackle destroyed.”\textsuperscript{133} While this means of punishing Jacobites found to be hiding arms is not technically supported by the laws and legislation, it is clear that those in authority often supported such drastic measures and, in fact, encouraged them.

The same day that the Disarming Act received royal endorsement also saw the approval of legislation to suppress nonjuring meeting houses. Ministers who had previously refused to take an oath to the new monarchs were now required to take oaths of loyalty to George II by September 1, 1746, and to pray publicly for King George.\textsuperscript{134} Any churches whose ministers refused to follow these orders were to be closed. Those who did take the oath were required to display certificates inside and outside meeting houses stating their newly sworn allegiance. In addition, it was suggested that anyone who had met in a nonjuring congregation twice since September of 1745 should not be allowed to hold office. While that was not a part of the final legislation, anyone who attended services in a meeting house that remained nonjuring “was to be deprived of his civil rights, as well as paying a fine of £5 and risking imprisonment for six months if it were not paid.”\textsuperscript{135} Practically, this meant that “Scottish Lords could neither be candidates nor vote in elections for the sixteen representative peers for Scotland in parliament, while others could not stand or vote in parliamentary, country, or borough elections.”\textsuperscript{136} Schoolmasters were also required to take an oath and to pray for King George by name. Such requirements were meant “to prevent the rising generation being educated in disaffected or

\textsuperscript{133} BL, ADD 36,592, Whitefoord Papers vol. I, p.90, Colonel Charles Whitefoord, July 1746.
\textsuperscript{134} Grant, 30.
\textsuperscript{135} Speck, 175.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.
rebellious principles."137 While that may have been the official rationale behind the suppression of nonjurers, it also seems clear that, at least in part, forcing nonjuring ministers and schoolmasters to take oaths and exhibit public support for King George II was a way to prove the control the government now had over the Highlands.

The government made itself further felt by removing much of the power that had been traditionally held by the clan chiefs. Allan Macinnes points out that the right of clan chiefs “to protect and administer justice to their clans was deemed a personal, but hereditary, authority.”138 These rights were taken away from the clans; this change was not merely a reorganization of legal systems, but a complete alteration of the way of life that Highlanders had known. The Act of Union in 1707 guaranteed heritable jurisdictions that gave clan chiefs the right to try cases and act as legal authority in their region, and any legislation abolishing those jurisdictions was in direct opposition to that Act.139 This difficulty delayed the legislation until 1747, but eventually private Scottish courts were abolished and the power of hereditary jurisdictions was drastically reduced in favor of a “course of justice free and open to any one as in England.”140 The government was concerned that private courts would be able to rule in favor of interests that opposed the crown, and those who supported the measure praised it for ridding Scotland of one of its barbarous customs. Courts which had once controlled all legal matters were now only allowed to try minor cases such as assaults and issues that involved rent. By 25 March 1748, the judicial system of Scotland was the same as that of England, a completion of the bill that had received royal assent in June 1747.141 At the same time, George II agreed to a bill that removed

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137 Quoted in Speck, 175.
138 Macinnes, 3.
139 Speck, 175.
140 The Duke of Cumberland; quoted in Speck, 173.
141 Ibid., 177.
the tenure of ward holding, which allowed landlords to call their tenants into military service.\textsuperscript{142}

Thus, the traditional Highland chief, riding into battle with his clan following behind him, became a thing of the past.

While not as politically devastating as other legislation, the Act of Proscription was one of the most significant legal attempts to remove Gaelic influence from Highland culture. This act, passed in August of 1747, outlawed the wearing of all Highland dress outside of the government army.\textsuperscript{143} The Act of Proscription, perhaps more than any other, punished Jacobite and government supporters alike. The government rejected the suggestion that those clans that had supported the crown be exempt on the grounds that it would be impossible to enforce. Some Highlanders claimed that their dress was particularly adapted to the Highland way of life in the cold mountains, but such arguments were ignored, and kilts, plaids, trews, and tartan became illegal to possess outside of the army. The punishment was not one that affected the political or legal lives of the Highlanders, as the Disarming Act and the removal of heritable jurisdictions had been. Instead, it attacked Highland culture by banning one of the most remarkable and noticeable traditions that separated the Highlands not only from the English, but also from the Lowlands.

Dress was not the only aspect of Highland culture that was attacked; there was also a broad movement to encourage the use of English in the Highlands instead of the native Gaelic. For the Highlanders, this was not a matter of simply speaking English instead of Gaelic; most Highlanders spoke only Gaelic. Leah Lindeman states that in some parishes near the Highland/Lowland border, English and Gaelic speakers lived in separate communities with

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{143} The Highland regiments in the British army wore tartan kilts as a part of their uniform. (Speck, 174).
“virtually no exchanges between them.” The sudden shift to English in public places such as schools and churches would have meant learning an entirely new language. No laws were ever put into place officially sanctioning the forced abandonment of Gaelic, but much of the correspondence between government officers at the time suggests such a change. Captain Barton, offering ways in which the Western Isles of Scotland could be civilized in 1754, suggested that “Publick Schools should be erected in order to Root out, if possible, the Language, and Instruct poor Popish Children in right principles of Religion and Government.” Gaelic, or “Irish,” is referred to as a “Stronghold of Ignorance and rebellion,” and Barton argues that “nothing lends itself more to perpetuate Barbarity and ignorance among them than this very thing, which renders it impossible for them to go Learn of the rest of the world, or the rest of the World to understand them.” Perhaps Barton’s motives really were as pure as his professed desire to bring civilization to the Highlands, but even if that were the case, his words still exhibit a clear bias against Highland traditions and culture that seems the have been prevalent among Lowlanders and English at the time.

The laws that were put into place months, and sometimes years, after Culloden certainly created drastic changes in the Highland way of life, but they were most likely not the tools of suppression that had the most impact directly after that final battle. For those men and women living in the Highlands during and after the last Jacobite Rising, other measures were more immediately evident. The new and sudden presence of government soldiers, the absence of husbands, brothers, sons, and lairds, and the fear of pillaging and looting were likely the most

144 Leneman, 107.
145 BL, ADD 35,891, Hardwicke Papers vol DXLIII, p. 24, John Barton, Captain in the Buggs, 1 February 1754.
146 BL, ADD 35,891, Hardwicke Papers vol DXLIII, p. 47, Memorandum for my Lord Advocate Concerning the Highlands of Scotland, 1755.
147 BL, ADD 35,891, Hardwicke Papers vol DXLIII, p.50-51, Hints Concerning the Reformation of the Highlands, 1754.
pressing concerns. In addition to those soldiers who died during the campaign and in the massacre directly after the Battle of Culloden in 1746, thousands were taken to forts and held as government prisoners. Of the 3,400 who were taken prisoner, at least eighty died in prison,148 684 are unaccounted for,149 and 120 were executed.150

Most of those executed were ranking Scotsmen rather than ordinary soldiers. In part because of the clan system of the Highlands, which dictated that clansmen would follow the loyalty of their lairds, it was primarily those lairds who were tried. It was, after all, the lairds who were responsible for the entire clan’s support of Jacobitism. The most prominent were put on trial in London, and many drew large crowds for both their trials and their executions on Tower Hill. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, was impeached by the Commons in March of 1747, and his trial drew a vast crowd of observers.151 For the most part, tales of the prominent Jacobite executions generally depict the condemned as brave and stoic. At Lord Kilmarnock’s execution, for example, it is said that he “behaved with such decorum that he brought tears to the eyes of nearly all the thousands of spectators present…even the executioner cried, and had to be braced for his job with spirits.”152 Executions were often opportunities for Jacobites, whether noble or common, to express their thoughts, whether they were maintaining their innocence or declaring the right Charles Edward Stuart and his father had to the throne of Britain. Copies of the condemned men’s speeches, prepared before hand, were often circulated and sold through the gathered crowd. Lord Balmorino, who was executed on Tower Hill in August 1746, is one of the more famous examples of a Jacobite who used his time to make a political point; he argued that

148 Speck, 181.
149 It’s highly likely that those prisoners who are unaccounted for fell victim to the “appalling filthy and disease-ridden prisons in which the rebels were held.” (Speck 182)
150 Prebble, 231.
151 Speck, 178.
152 Ibid.
Charles Edward had never ordered that no quarter be given to the government soldiers at Culloden.\textsuperscript{153}

Lesser Jacobites were tried elsewhere, but the event was still very much a show. W.A. Speck refers to the "theatre of last meals, mob-lined processions, dying speeches, and heads impaled on gateways"\textsuperscript{154} that accompanied the trials and executions of Jacobite prisoners. Besides London, the majority of the trials were held in Carlisle, Newcastle, or York. At York, seventy-five men were brought to trial, and of those only five were acquitted. The rest were condemned to death.\textsuperscript{155} Such numbers, as well as the public fascination with the Jacobite trials, can make it seem as though those taken prisoner were being systematically slaughtered as traitors. It is likely that it seemed so at the time as well. In reality, however, the one hundred twenty Jacobites executed is a relatively small number when compared with the thirty-four hundred who were taken prisoner, and plus, more than a third of those taken prisoner were freed.\textsuperscript{156}

While many were not condemned to death, the treatment of those who remained prisoners was reportedly appalling. There are numerous recorded instances of the government army refusing to treat wounded soldiers, even going so far as to take away the instruments of Jacobite surgeons who were also taken prisoner so that they could not provide help.\textsuperscript{157} James Bradshaw of the Manchester regiment used his speech just before his execution to describe the conditions he encountered as a prisoner just after Culloden; he stated that he was "put into one of the Scotch kirks together with a great number of wounded prisoners who were stript naked and then left to

\textsuperscript{153} BL, Stowe 158, p. 226, Lord Balmorino’s Paper That He Read upon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, 18 August 1746.
\textsuperscript{154} Speck, 181.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., 180.
\textsuperscript{156} Speck (182) reports that 1,287 prisoners were released, 382 of whom were exchanged for prisoners of war that the French had captured.
die of their wounds without the least assistance.”\textsuperscript{158} Very little food was provided to the prisoners; Bradshaw comments that they were generally allowed half a pound of meal a day, and never more than a pound,\textsuperscript{159} while another report indicates that the captors were ordered to deny their prisoners “meat or drink for two days”\textsuperscript{160} after they were taken. Francis Stewart, of Inverness, wrote in response to Reverend Robert Forbes’ request for information on the cruelties after Culloden to say that he had “gone often by the prison at that melancholy time when I heard the prisoners crying for watter [sic] in the most pitiful manner.”\textsuperscript{161} Stewart also notes that many were denied bedding and reports that several dead prisoners were carried out every day, a fact that seems to be consistent with Bradshaw’s claim that he “was an eye-witness that great numbers were starved to death.”\textsuperscript{162} Stewart sums up his report by declaring that “the usage the prisoners in general met with was so monstrous that I am certain there are few, if any, histories can parallel the like of it.”\textsuperscript{163}

Those who remained in their homes had nearly as much to fear from the government soldiers as those kept in prison. Government soldiers searched the Highlands for the fleeing Charles Edward, and their orders were clear; Lord Loudoun was given instructions to “drive the cattle, burn the ploughs and destroy what you can belonging to all such as are or have been in the rebellion, and burning the houses of the chiefs”\textsuperscript{164} on his march from Skye to Fort Augustus. General Henry Hawley, who earned the dubious nickname of ‘The Hangman,’ indicated his feelings when he wrote in June to the Duke of Richmond, saying, “There’s still so many more houses to burn, and I hope still some to be put to death, tho’ by computation there’s about seven

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., 49.
\textsuperscript{160} John Farquharson to Robert Forbes, 24 November 1752, in Robert Forbes, \textit{Lyon in Mourning} vol. III, 155.
\textsuperscript{161} Francis Stewart, 18 April 1748, in Robert Forbes, \textit{Lyon in Mourning} vol. II, 191.
\textsuperscript{162} The Speech of Mr. James Bradsaw, 28 November 1746, in Robert Forbes, \textit{Lyon in Mourning} vol. I, 49.
\textsuperscript{163} Francis Stewart, 18 April 1748, in Robert Forbes, \textit{Lyon in Mourning} vol. II, 191.
\textsuperscript{164} Speck, 164.
thousand houses burned already, yet all is not done.” Hawley paints a picture of both the
damage that had already been done in the Highlands by June of 1746 and the most extreme sorts
of bias against the Highlanders who lived there.

When the Duke of Cumberland left the Highlands in July of 1746, he “left behind him in
Scotland the strongest military presence the country had ever seen…the Highlands were virtually
occupied territory.” That occupation destroyed much of the Highlands through pillaging and
destruction. For example, in September of 1746 John Hossack wrote to Thomas Stewart to ask
for an inquiry into the state of a house before the military had entered. After the military had
gone, the house was left in ruins. The soldiers took “away all the timber, Lintels, from windows,
Doors and Chimneys, and window casements, they have raised and taken away all the deal
floors, they have taken away all the joists, and they have taken away the Balks of the roof.”
The inventory of the destruction by the military continues, and Hossack concludes by noting that
“My Lord President is not the only person who has met with such usage.” In a similar case,
the magistrates of Inverness wrote to the President in January of 1747 to complain about their
treatment at the hands of government soldiers. The magistrates claim to have met all demands,
and point out that “they had not indeed any particulars to ask of us as they saved the trouble to
themselves.” The soldiers helped themselves to coal, candles, quarters, and “all Portable
timber that could be found,” and they also performed acts of what seem to be pointless
destruction as they “Broke down the Sepulchers of the Dead, they have carried off Plows and
Plow-Irons…Broke down Enclosures and Fences.” Stories such as this were common in the

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165 Ibid., 166.
166 Speck., 170.
167 John Hossack to Thomas Stewart, 26 September 1746, in Ducan Warrand,
168 Ibid.
169 From the Magistrates of Inverness to the President, 9 January 1747, in Ducan Warrand,
170 Ibid.
Highlands after Culloden. Whether government soldiers were stealing from Highlanders, even those who were not Jacobites, setting fire to their buildings, or destroying their lands, it seems clear that a great many Highlanders agreed with the magistrates of Inverness when they called the soldiers who were plaguing them “generally the greatest Rogues in the British Army.”\textsuperscript{171}

While it is almost certain that some reports were exaggerated, the sheer multitude of these reports makes it clear that at least some amount of pillaging and destruction took place in the Highlands. In addition to such sources as the formal letters and complaints lodged by those who hoped to stop the actions of the government army, Reverend Robert Forbes preserved a vast collection of rumors on the subject that he began collecting in 1746. \textsuperscript{172} It contains letters, formal inquiries, and copies of the speeches Jacobite prisoners gave before their executions. Forbes was meticulous in his research and seemed to be aware that he was preserving details for future generations. As often as possible, he questioned his source for specific names, dates, and places to go with the stories they told, and he kept copies of both the letters he sent requesting information and those he received. His manuscript, finally published in its entirety in 1895 as \textit{The Lyon in Mourning}, is disturbing to read. Even if a full half of the reports contained within are falsified or exaggerated rumor, the devastation caused by the government soldiers would have still been immense. Forbes’ work in preserving the rumors that were circulating at the time helps make it clear just how vast the extent of the atrocities that took place in the Highlands was and is extremely useful in understanding how the Highlanders felt about the government occupation.

While the Highlands were suffering from new legislation and occupation by the government army, the Lowlands were moving away from Highland traditions in their own way.

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{172} Forbes.
There was more approval of the Union in the Lowlands, where many of the economic advantages would be felt, and there was a subsequent trend, especially among intellectuals and writers, to become “North Britain.” There was an emphasis on acknowledging their Britishness and downplaying their Scottishness as both a sign of support for the Union and a way in which “Scottish Enlightenment disassociated themselves from the ‘Highland rabble’ of the Jacobites.” One of the most noticeable ways of doing this was to write in correct English rather than using their native Scottish voice. Enlightenment writers in the Lowlands often had their work proofread to remove “Scotticisms,” and in 1797, Professor James Beattie of Aberdeen published a book titled *Scotticisms, arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Impropieties of Speech and Writing* that was meant to help Lowland authors. By ignoring their Scottish roots, Lowlanders hoped to both escape the persecution that the Highlanders were facing as a result of Jacobitism and become a part of British society.

It is clear that the aftermath of Jacobitism left a distinct mark not just on the Highlands, but on Scotland in general. From the treatment of prisoners, the pillaging of the Highlands, and the legislation aimed at controlling Gaelic traditions to the Lowland attempt to become North Britain, Scotland would never be the same. Future years led to a renewed interest in Scottish history and Highland legends, but they also included the Highland clearances and mass immigration out of Scotland to British colonies in Australia and America. Even today, the population of the Highlands is only about one half of what it was in the eighteenth century.

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174 Daiches, 22.
175 Ibid., 20-1.
176 In 1750, more than 1/3 of Scots lived in the Highlands. Today, the number of Scots who live in the Highlands is closer to 5%. (Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, 107).
V. Highland Culture Revived

Despite the effort to dissociate the Lowlands from the Highlands, the historical division between Highlands and Lowlands, and the systematic destruction of the Highland way of life, the Lowlands eventually accepted, embraced, and exaggerated Highland customs. Today, our vision of stereotypical Scotland is made up almost entirely of Highland images, and a good many of these images are also linked to Jacobitism. The beginnings of this change in perception were seen as early as the late eighteenth century and were full fledged by the Romantic era.177 The seeds of this change, however, were planted during the Risings themselves. The ’45 was particularly rich with a Jacobite culture that lingered and captured the imagination of romantic Britain not even a century later, and there is evidence that much of this was purposeful propaganda that was intended to raise support for Jacobitism. Jacobitism quickly moved from harsh reality into legend and myth in large part because it was firmly steeped in legend even while it was a vehicle for political transformation.

The Stuarts contributed to this move toward legend, and they themselves were a line steeped in myth. Murray Pittock sees similarities between the mythology surrounding the Stuarts and that which accompanied Arthurian legend,178 Gaelic myths, and Christian stories. These mythologies, as well as that of the Stuarts, draw on symbolism of fertility, death, and rebirth.179 According to this mythology, the Stuarts were meant to rule Scotland, and their removal was in opposition to the way things should be. The reign of the Stuarts represented a legendary and

177 The Romantic movement in Britain followed on the heels of the Enlightenment and in many ways was an answer to the emphasis the Enlightenment placed on rational thought and reason. Its peak was in the latter half of the eighteenth century and throughout most of the nineteenth. Romanticism emphasized emotion and imagination, which led to an interest in the purity of nature and the development of the concept of the “noble savage.”
178 Pittock, Invention of Scotland, 1-2.
179 Ibid., 10, 42.
desirable “golden age of plenty.” The Stuarts were on the throne when the crowns of England and Scotland joined in 1603, and it was a Scot, not an Englishman, who was crowned the King of Britain; it was a long-lived line that ended only when James II was forcibly deposed. Scottish myth made their rule even longer by tracing the Stuart genealogy back for centuries. Perhaps this longevity is part of the reason that “the view of [the Stuarts] as sacred monarchs of folkloric tradition and power…endured among all ranks.” Michael Lynch states that “for sheer concentration of kingly mystique, the Stuarts were one of the most glittering dynasties in Christendom,” and Pittock suggests that from as early as 1603, the Stuarts were “clad in a mystique they did much to design.” The Stuarts themselves encouraged and cultivated their role as mythic rulers of Britain. Doing so legitimized their claim to the throne and later encouraged support for their bid to reclaim it. This mythic role may have seemed particularly important as the Hanoverian line took power and Scotland struggled with the Union of Parliaments; Scotland was losing its identity as a historically powerful, independent nation, and the deposed Stuarts became a part of that lost past. In many minds, they became linked with other Scottish legends like William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. In fact, some Jacobites intentionally provoked this connection; Wallace appealed to the rebels, while Bruce attracted the royalists.

The ’45 came with its own personal hero in the form of Charles Edward Stuart. Today, he lives on in historical memory as “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” but this image is far from a modern

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180 Ibid., 41.
181 James I of England and VI of Scotland was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots.****
182 In 1705, Mathew Kennedy published *Chronological Genealogical and Historical Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts*, which traces the Stuart line back through important Scottish historical figures all the way to the Biblical Adam.
184 Donaldson, 14.
186 Ibid., 27.
creation. Many historians comment on the remarkable fact that Charles Edward, a foreign born “prince” who spoke English with an Italian accent, was able to capture the imagination of Scotland and inspire such extraordinary loyalty. Alistair and Henrietta Tayler refer to Charles Edward as a “gallant figure of romance,” and some of the most enduring stories of the ’45 revolve around Charles Edward’s flight through the Highlands as he attempted to escape the government soldiers after Culloden. Ballads such as “The Skye Boat Song” and the romantic story of the heroine Flora MacDonald, who smuggled the fugitive prince, dressed as her maid, to Skye, are favorites. Contemporary evidence seems to support the argument that this interest in romantic Jacobitism was not something that occurred only after the Risings. There was a great deal of myth and romance that revolved about Charles Edward even during the Risings. Portraits of Charles Edward were popular during the ’45, as were ballads about the prince. Charles Edward encouraged this by making a point to identify himself with the Highland traditions that would have been familiar to most of his supporters. In many of the portraits painted during the Rising, he was portrayed in tartan and sometimes in full Highland dress; Hugh Cheape states that Charles Edward was “strongly aware of the symbolic value of tartan and encouraged the adoption of Highland dress as a form of uniform for the Jacobite army.” By using Highland customs, he helped create the image that his fight was not only to restore the Stuarts to the throne, but also to help recreate a proud and independent Scotland.

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187 Tayler, 5.
188 See appendix 3 for the text of “The Skye Boat Song,” by an unknown author. The song is one of the most popular “Jacobite” ballads today and is often used as a lullaby.
190 See appendix 4 for examples of Charles Edward portrayed in Highland dress. The first is a good example of a portrait that was painted and circulated during the ’45, while the others stand as evidence that the image of Charles Edward as an “honorary” Highlander persevered in the nineteenth century.
191 Cheape, 44.
One of the most enduring myths about Jacobitism is that it was an entirely Highland affair; this can be linked to Charles Edward’s adoption and encouragement of Highland dress and the Jacobite propaganda that portrayed the Jacobite Highlander as patriot. “Under the influence of Jacobite propaganda” during the Risings, Highlanders became a “symbol of traditional and patriotic Scottish behavior.”

Some historians trace the beginnings of the “cult of tartan” to James (II)’s court at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh, something that Charles Edward continued when he ordered that the Highlanders be in kilts at Culloden and encouraged the adoption of “a Highland profile by the Jacobites armies.”

While not all of the Jacobite army wore tartan, its use wasn’t limited solely to Highlanders, or even Scots; in 1745 a Whig Commissary reported that out of five thousand Jacobites, “two thirds be real highlanders and one third lowlanders, altho’ they are putting themselves in highland dress like the others,” and “even the Manchester Regiment found itself wearing it.” In the depositions that took place after the ’45, being seen in Highland dress or with those who were in Highland dress seems to have been accepted as evidence of having been involved in Jacobite activities, while the absence of such dress was occasionally used as a defense. Of ninety-eight depositions published in a section of Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period 1699-1750, sixty-four specifically mention that the accused was in Highland dress, and several more record witnesses who were quick to point out that the accused had not been wearing Highland clothing. It is clear that even to contemporaries, the Jacobite Rising

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192 Pittock, Invention of Scotland, 71.
193 Pittock, Jacobitism, 74.
194 BL, ADD 35,889, Hardwicke Papers vol. DXLI, p. 95, George Murray, Orders at Culloden, 15 April 1746.
195 Macinnes, 159.
196 Pittock, Jacobite Clans, 56.
197 Pittock, Celtic Identity, 86; The depositions in James Allardyce, Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 372-482, mention members of the Manchester Regiment being accused of wearing Highland dress.
198 Depositions of Jacobite Prisoners listed in James Allardyce, Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 339-482.
of 1745 appeared to be a Highland movement. Charles Edward’s encouragement of tartan and Highland dress, as well as his belief in the fighting power of the Highland clans and their infamous Highland charge, fed this belief. After Culloden, the notion that all Jacobites were Highlanders led to the dangerous and disastrous supposition that all Highlanders were Jacobites. Later, however, it was in part this link that kept Highland traditions alive.

During the Risings, there was an underground culture attached to Jacobitism. Traditions such as secret toasts to “the king over the water,” the adoption of the Jacobite white cockade as a stylish statement of support, and ballads recording the feats of the Stuarts were present before, during, and after the Risings. The appeal of these traditions, which at times was as powerful as the appeal of the political stance, was acknowledged even at the time. For example, many believed that women were particularly susceptible to Jacobitism; the belief was that they were drawn to it because of its sentimental nature, not because they agreed with Jacobite politics.¹⁹⁹ Ballads and poetry were particularly popular; Allan Macinnes states that “from the first rising, the major Jacobite campaigns were reported by the vernacular poets with journalistic fervour.”²⁰⁰ The image of Jacobitism that these poets created was hard to separate from the reality, and the popularity of their ballads expanded after the Risings. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the creation of many ballads that claimed to be contemporary with the Risings, but that were actually written decades later. William Donaldson points out that these ballads were not only for entertainment; “instead of merely reflecting popular attitudes and beliefs, popular song was capable of generating important cultural change.”²⁰¹ This was true both during the Risings, when ballads were used as a sort of propaganda to gain support for the Stuarts and to

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¹⁹⁹ Pittock, *Jacobitism*, 82.
²⁰⁰ Macinnes, 165.
²⁰¹ Donaldson, ix.
incite dislike of the Hanoverian government, and after, when they were used to affect cultural change that included the adoption of Highland customs.

The traditions of Jacobitism had developed and expanded during a political movement with which most English and Lowlanders, as well as some Highlanders, disagreed. It seems unlikely that these traditions would survive the oppressive methods of the government and would not only continue to thrive, but would also be embraced by those who disliked the politics they had once represented. The goal of Hanoverian oppression had been to “eradicate all cultural vestiges of clanship”\(^\text{202}\) and to crush the political feelings that led to support of Jacobitism. Ironically, the harsh legislation was part of what led to the reclamation of Jacobite traditions. In the aftermath of Culloden, “the mythology and ideology of the Stuart cause became a kind of protest history.”\(^\text{203}\) As political rebellion became an option that was no longer logically viable, Jacobites turned to embracing the traditions that had been associated with Jacobitism as a way to express discontent with the current state of life in the Highlands.

It is clear that Highland dress, for example, did not disappear despite the legislation forbidding it and the strict consequences for one found wearing tartan. In June of 1750, a Captain Patton reported “six Highlanders Dress’d in Kilted Plaids and Philebegs” near Loch Rannoch,\(^\text{204}\) and in November of the same year, Captain Thomas Ball reported seeing “a man in the Highland Dress.”\(^\text{205}\) By singing Jacobite ballads, wearing bits of tartan, and continuing their secret toasts to the “king over the water,” Jacobites made it apparent that, while they may no longer have the means to rebel politically, they did not like the changes taking place. In many ways, Jacobite traditions served as a passive rebellion against the government in a time when

\(^{202}\) Macinnes, 211.
\(^{203}\) Pittock, Invention of Scotland, 5.
\(^{205}\) Thomas Ball, 7 November 1750, in James Allardyce, Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 583.
active rebellion was no longer possible. The crushing defeat at Culloden and the oppressive measures that made it impossible for Jacobitism to rise again as a political movement also created the atmosphere in which Jacobite traditions could be safely adopted as a form of protest and separation.

Possibly the most convincing reason to adopt Highland and Jacobite traditions after the Risings was not an actual desire to see the Stuarts restored to the throne, but a desire to create a national identity that was firmly different from that of England and that drew on Scotland’s heroic past. The very impossibility of any sort of political resurrection of Jacobitism that government oppression had created now allowed those traditions to be safely adopted by those who wanted to see a change in identity but not a change in policy. At the same time that many Lowlanders were distancing themselves from their Scottish identity and struggling to integrate themselves into Britain, other Scots wanted to do just the opposite. England and Scotland have a long history of distrust and violence; since the Union of Crowns in 1603, Scottish armies had invaded England three hundred times.²⁰⁶ For many Scots, “the passion to differentiate is one with a long pedigree,”²⁰⁷ and it was difficult to abandon that pedigree simply because the two countries suddenly shared a parliament. Once there was no longer a legitimate hope for the political separateness that they had had before the Union of Parliaments and that the Stuarts had promised to restore, clinging to Highland and Jacobite traditions represented a separateness born of national identity, something that attracted even those who were opposed to political Jacobitism.

²⁰⁶ Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, 56.
²⁰⁷ Ibid., 32.
Tartan and Highland dress were especially popular for use “as a controlled and nostalgic means of expressing Scottish difference.”\textsuperscript{208} This can be linked directly to the Jacobite image of Highlander as patriot; Highlanders, in their tartan kilts, had fought for a free and independent Scotland, and adopting their dress was a way to show passive support for that same Scotland. Additionally, the use of Highland dress in the British Army after it had been outlawed elsewhere attached further positive connotations to tartan. Because the only Scots legally allowed to wear tartan after the ’45 were those fighting for the British army, the tradition became identified in many minds with their actions. Highland heroism during the Napoleonic Wars meant that “images of cannibalistic savagery were transmuted into those of appetite, loyalty, strength and bravery.”\textsuperscript{209} The rebellion of the Jacobites was replaced in many minds with the courage of the Highland regiments, who were fighting not only for Scotland, but for Britain. They helped seal the vision of Highlanders as both fierce warriors and brave patriots who fought for the safety of their homeland, which had expanded to include all of Britain.\textsuperscript{210} T. M. Devine comments that “the reputation of the Highland regiments, especially during the Napoleonic Wars, lent a new prestige and glamour to the wearing of tartan… thereafter the kilt was forever associated with the heroic deeds of the Scottish soldier.”\textsuperscript{211} The Highland regiments during the Napoleonic wars helped to eradicate the negative connotations attached to Highland dress and tartan and replaced them with positive images as the former “Jacobites” fought against the immediate threat of the Jacobins.

The Napoleonic Wars also encouraged further interest in Scotland and the Highlands simply because of the turmoil that they caused in Europe. The wars “made Scotland virtually the

\textsuperscript{208} Pittock, \textit{Jacobitism}, 74.
\textsuperscript{209} Pittock, \textit{Celtic Identity}, 39.
\textsuperscript{210} Leneman, 115-116.
\textsuperscript{211} Devine, 87.
only (or even partly) foreign place to which English tourists could safely travel at the turn of the century. As the world moved from the familiar safety of the eighteenth century into the turbulence of the nineteenth, which was filled with changes such as industrialization, retreating to an area that remained for the most part unmarked by modern changes was a way to escape into the past. The events and ideologies of the past, while once dangerous and filled with destruction and violence, now seemed to be an idealized version of a time when life was simpler. For many Scots, it seemed “better the burns, broadswords, and tartans of a Jacobitism sentimentalized into Tory nostalgia than the industrial realities of the Lowlands.” Murray Pittock maintains that “it was Jacobite ideology alone which maintained a coherent framework in which to define the identity of Scotland and the Scots in an era of national and cultural flux.”

The influence of Romanticism encouraged this retreat into the past and created new interest in traditions that government suppression had attempted to crush. In true Romantic form, Highlanders fit the image of the “noble savage” who was in tune with the wilder, more natural side of his nature and was thus privy to truths that more “civilized” people were not. For Romantics, the Highlands were “a laboratory of natural knowledge…the Highlands were invested with qualities of wildness, scenic grandeur, and sublime horror because of contemporary aesthetic attitudes towards a recreational and adversarial nature and a related rejection of the regularity of improved and cultivated landscapes.” These sorts of attitudes show up in Sir Walter Scott’s descriptions of the Highlands as “the land of romance,” where his hero is accompanied by a “wild native” who may be “some renowned outlaw, a second Robin

212 Pittock, *Scottish Nationality*, 80.
213 Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, 100.
214 Ibid., 63.
Hood, perhaps.” Queen Victoria also exhibits a love for the Highlands, which she describes as “wild and solitary, and yet cheerful and beautifully wooded.” The same aspects of the Highlands that had once been feared and disliked were now popular due to Romanticism. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, “being primitive was a new hobby for the sophisticated.”

This influence is easy to see in the sudden surge in the popularity of Highland traditions in the Lowlands and England, as well as in the tourist industry that began to spring up in the Highlands, particularly during Queen Victoria’s reign. A report from Ralph Bigland as early as 1749 tells us that “the gay world at Bath and other parts of England seem very fond of white rosed buttons,” plaid or tartan” and that there was in London “a new dance called the Scotts dance consisting of about 20 lads and lasses dress’d after the Highland fashion.” In 1778, the Highland Society was founded in London. The society had two primary goals: “the preservation of ancient Highland tradition and the repeal of the law forbidding the wearing of the Highland dress in Scotland.” The second was achieved in July of 1782 when the Act of Proscription was repealed, and the first was celebrated by such things as the wearing of tartan and the holding of Highland gatherings, Highland games, and Highland dances. Both Highland games and Highland dancing, which are staples of today’s Scottish tourist industry, began to appear in the 1780s. England embraced these traditions and gave little or no thought to their “barbaric” roots. They also flocked to such tourist sights as Loch Lomond, Ben Nevis, and Fingal’s Cave.

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217 Ibid., 148.
219 Pittock, Celtic Identity, 40.
220 “White rosed buttons” are reminiscent of the white cockades that Jacobites wore to mark their allegiance. These cockades were the distinguishing feature of Jacobites and served as their only formal uniform.
222 Devine, 87.
223 Pittock, Scottish Nationality, 86.
A tourist trail that visited these sights was established by 1792, and eventually more would follow. Today, visitors can follow the Castle Trail, the Malt Whiskey Trail, the Victorian Heritage Trail, and many other such trails that are well marked in both tourist brochures and roadside signs. The tourist traditions that began at the close of the eighteenth century have evolved, but their influence remains important in the industry today.

The influence of Jacobitism on popular Scottish culture is especially evident in the widespread popularity of Jacobite ballads in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was in large part these ballads that spread the popularity of Jacobite legend and helped to depoliticize Jacobitism, which allowed it to be reformed as a way to express national identity rather than political feeling. The trend began with the publication of collections of ballads in what was publicized as an effort to preserve Scotland’s fading tradition of oral history. These collections were marketed as works filled with ballads that had been written and circulated during the actual Risings, as well as other traditional Scottish songs. Later, it became apparent that many of these “Jacobite ballads” had in fact been written decades later, and scholars today still debate the origins of some songs. The fact that “fake” Jacobite songs were being published when original ballads were having a hard time finding an audience says a great deal about the effect Jacobitism was having on the society of Britain in the decades after Culloden. It is obvious that there was an enthusiastic audience that was ready to embrace the remnants of Jacobitism in the form of these ballads.

Robert Burns was, and remains, one of the most popular poets of eighteenth century Scotland. One of his first publications was the six-volume *The Scots Musical Museum*, which, although nominally a collection of traditional Scottish ballads, contains “about two hundred

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224 Lynch, 362.
songs and fragments…written, revised, or communicated by Burns.”

The first volume appeared in 1787, and volumes continued to be published regularly until 1803. Many of the ballads contained in these volumes, as well as those published later, tell stories of the Highlands and the Jacobites. “Johnnie Cope,” for example, tells the story of a government soldier who searched for Jacobites to fight, and when he found them, “Wi’ tartan trews and white cokauds, wi’ swords and gunds and rungs and gauds…he took wing in the morning.”

One of the most popular forms of the Jacobite ballad, “Highland Laddie,” has a Burns version as well, in which “Satan sits in his black neuk…breaking sticks to roast the Duke.”

Burns used his writing not only to tell the stories of Jacobites, but to praise them and to give them in song the victory that they never had in battle. Positive portrayals of the Jacobites and negative, and at times mocking, portrayals of the government and its army helped to reinvent the way Britain perceived Jacobitism.

Burns’s most significant contribution to Scottish culture lies not merely in the writing and publishing of these ballads, but in the effect they had on Jacobitism. Burns helped to make Jacobitism respectable. It became something to be discussed and celebrated during parties and dances rather than something that belonged on a battlefield. Murray Pittock suggests that Burns “helped those who wished to render an image of Jacobitism as a glorious failure, touchingly elegized by sentiment.”

The two key notions here are the transformation of Jacobitism into a “failure,” with the implication that there is no further chance of success, and the sentiment that allowed it to be embraced by a world that would have rejected the actual politics of Jacobitism.

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229 Ibid.
William Donaldson summarizes the importance of Robert Burns when he says that “it was as a national symbol that Burns presented Jacobitism in his poems and songs, and he was able to prevail upon generations of his countrymen subsequently to accept it as such,”230 and he goes on to suggest that the Scottish identity that was evolving around Jacobitism in the eighteenth century was “in very considerable measure his own creation.”231 Even today, two centuries later, Burns’s ballads are popular, and in January Scotland celebrates “Burns Night” with traditional meals of neeps, tatties, and haggis and readings of his most famous works.

Sir Walter Scott wrote several decades after Burns, and in many ways his writing continued the work that Burns’s poems had helped begin. Scott played a significant role in the popularization of Highland traditions, both through his writings, which often portrayed the Highlands and their inhabitants in a romantic light, and by his actions. Scott was instrumental in the organization of King George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822, where the king, who was the first monarch to visit Scotland since the Risings, appeared in full Highland dress and was hailed as the “Chief” of Scotland. Less than a century after Culloden, a monarch of the same Hanoverian line that the Jacobites had fought to remove was being accepted as a Scot, and in particular as a Highlander. One observer commented that during this visit, Scott “made us appear a nation of Highlanders.”232 The visit was outwardly a pageant for all things Highland, from the dress that was worn to the games that were presented; it “reinvented Scotland, forging an image of the nation which for better or worse has proved permanent, blending the bravery and romance of the Highlander with the good sense and loyalty of the Lowlander.”233 The visit was significant for Scotland not only because it seemed to indicate an acceptance of the Hanoverian

230 Donaldson, 88.
231 Ibid., 89.
233 Lamont, 118.
royal line, but also because it presented the world with a country that was not only content, but proud, to allow itself to be represented by Highland customs.

Sir Walter Scott’s works were one of the most significant factors in the romanticization of Highland and Jacobite customs. As a writer, Scott glorified things that were uniquely Scottish. His first work was *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, a collection of ballads from the Borders of Scotland that was published from 1802 and 1803. Like Burns’s earlier work, *The Scot’s Musical Museum*, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* gave Scottish oral traditions validity and fed the interest in “historical” Scotland. A great number of Sir Walter Scott’s novels are set in Scotland, and he focused heavily on Scottish history and Highland culture. Scott was a Lowlander with an obvious soft spot for the Highlands. He wrote about them with a romantic sense of beauty and glory that makes them seem, at the same time, a place of exciting adventure and of peaceful reflection. Critics tend to agree that Scott was at his best when writing about the things he knew best; the Highlands, their customs, and even the Highland way of speaking are quite obviously among those things. It would be difficult to read his Scottish novels and not come away with the feeling that not only were glens, mountains, and Highland brogue more natural to Scott’s pen than his stilted and formal English characters, but that they were also more dearly cherished.

Scott also focused specifically on Jacobitism; he wrote three novels that deal with the subject. *Rob Roy* is set during the ’15, *Waverly* during the ’45, and *Redgauntlet* takes place during a fictional third Rising in the 1760s. In his Jacobite novels, Scott furthers the depoliticization of Jacobitism by separating the traditions from the politics. Scott uses flowing

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234 David Brown, for example, says that “Scott’s achievement in the best of his novels is to make his characters’ dialect both comprehensible and apparently authentic.” He also notes that “the further back in time he went the more difficult this obviously became” Thus, Scott was at his best when dealing with settings, subjects, and times that he knew, as discussed in David D. Brown, *Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 193.
imagery and romantic plots filled with adventure and bravery to make the Highlands seem fantastical and wonderful, but he also provides firm rational reasons against the political rebellion of Jacobitism. In *Redgauntlet*, for example, the protagonist Darsie Latimer describes Scotland in the 1760s:

> I look around me, and I see a settled government—an established authority—a born Briton on the throne—the very Highland mountaineers, upon whom alone the trust of the exiled family repose, assembled into regiments, which act under the orders of the existing dynasty….All without and within the kingdom is adverse to encountering a hapless struggle.\(^{235}\)

He goes on to state conclusively that “an enterprise directed against a dynasty now established for three reigns requires strong arguments, both in point of justice and of expedience, to recommend it to men of conscience and prudence.”\(^{236}\) Scott makes it clear that no such arguments exist, and that the politics of Jacobitism are dead in Scotland. This leaves only the traditions, which can now be embraced with enthusiasm. In his Jacobite novels, Scott makes his characters romantic and his Highlands fascinating, but he make a clear distinction between the interesting and exciting traditions of Highland Jacobites and the political rebellion that they participated in. The traditions themselves were a positive way to express national identity, while the latter were, in Scott’s time, dead. Scott’s work seems to emphasize that they should remain that way. Scott’s novels were vastly popular,\(^{237}\) and his habit of focusing on the Highlands had a visible affect on the way in which not only Britain, but the world, viewed Scotland.

While Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott were the most significant Scottish authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were certainly not the only authors who were


\(^{236}\) Ibid., 317.

\(^{237}\) Scott was even offered the position of poet laureate in 1813, but he declined on the basis that he was not able to write regularly, and today one of the most significant features of Edinburgh’s skyline is the massive Scott Monument that towers over Princes Street.
reinventing Scotland’s history and, through it, Scotland’s identity. James Macpherson, a Scottish poet, published a famous “translation” of ancient Gaelic poetry in 1760. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highland* was published in 1760, and was quickly followed by *Fingal*, which appeared in 1762.\(^{238}\) *Fingal*, the most famous of Macpherson’s publications, is a Homeresque epic that retells a traditional Scottish myth. Its significance lies in the fact that Macpherson claimed to have translated the tale from scraps of ancient poetry, written by the bard Ossian. This claim was meant to establish historical Scotland as a land with education and culture, a view that conflicted with the eighteenth-century belief that Scotland, and the Highlands in particular, was uncivilized and uneducated. While there are signs of Gaelic traditions in Macpherson’s work, such as the myth itself, it is now generally accepted that rather than merely translating *Fingal*, Macpherson wrote it and created the fictional bard Ossian.\(^ {239}\) In fact, the authenticity of Macpherson’s work was a subject of great controversy even in the eighteenth century. This may have been at least in part due to the implications a legitimate *Fingal* would have had for the historical Highlands, as well as the reflections of Jacobite attitudes that some saw in the work.\(^ {240}\) While Macpherson’s publication may not have achieved the effect intended, it certainly helped to renew and encourage an interest in Gaelic Highland culture, and the loss experienced in the legend of Fingal poignantly echoed the loss of the Highlands after Culloden.

The popularity of Jacobite poetry was not limited to Burns and Macpherson. James Hogg, who was born in the Borders of Scotland, began his life as a farmer, but he made his name by collecting and writing Jacobite poetry. He was a contemporary of Sir Walter Scott’s, and

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\(^ {239}\) Daiches, 94; Pittock, *Invention of Scotland*, 73-5.

\(^ {240}\) Murray Pittock, for example, suggests that *Fingal* “adopts the post-1746 Jacobite tone of loss as a metaphor for the whole Gaelic experience” and sees parallels between Ossian’s hero and the Stuarts. (*Invention of Scotland*, 73-75).
Hogg supplied Scott with ballads for his *Border Minstrelsy* in 1802.241 In 1819 and 1820, Hogg published two volumes of *Jacobite Relics of Scotland*, which contained both poems he had collected and those he had written. The songs in Hogg’s collection portray Scotland in the midst of a struggle that pitted “honour against corruption, good against evil, liberty against gold, Moses against Pharoah, Scotland against England.”242 Through this struggle, he portrays Highlanders and Lowlanders not as divided, but as united. In this unity, “Bruce and Wallace are glorified as honorary Highlanders and the dynastic struggle of the Stuarts is subsumed under an encompassing fight for freedom.”243 Hogg’s songs helped enforce the idea of Highlander and Jacobite as patriot; in portraying the fight for the Stuarts as a fight for Scotland’s freedom, he helped make Jacobitism less about rebellion and more about a fervent pride in Scotland and a desire to remain independent and free. It was because of this reworking of historical Jacobitism that “Jacobite literature and ideology…outlived Jacobitism itself. They were tied to a positive, unified, and patriotic view of Scotland”244 and were freed from the political ramifications that would have made them both unpopular and dangerous. Jacobite literature now served as a social criticism and a way to express Scottish pride, but it no longer functioned as a political movement intended to overthrow the established government.

Poetry also served as a forum for public criticism of government actions after Culloden. Tobias Smollet, a Scot who was educated in Glasgow, is primarily known as a novelist and historian. However, he also wrote the immensely popular “The Tears of Scotland,” which mourns the death of “hapless Caledonia” and does much to romanticize the historical Highlands.

243 Ibid.
244 Ibid., 98.
and their traditions. Published in 1746, “The Tears of Scotland”\textsuperscript{245} is obviously an outcry against the losses that followed Culloden. Smollet’s poem speaks to Scotland itself, urging it to lament “thy banish’d peace, thy laurels torn!” At the same time, the poem reinforces positive imagery of Highland Scotland; the line “Thy sons, for valour long renown’d, lie slaughter’d on their native ground” both mourns the loss of the Scottish soldiers and establishes them as historically valorous. Smollet mentions the loss of “hospitable roofs” “martial glory,” “towering spirit” “the rural pope and merry lay,” and “social scenes of gay delight,” all of which portray Scotland as a once-wondrous nation now wrongfully crushed under the cruel oppression of the government. These positive images are replaced with “monuments of cruelty” and “the pale phantoms of the slain.” Smollet is particularly critical of the cruelties that occurred after Culloden; he complains that “when the rage of battle ceased, the victor’s soul was not appeased;--the naked and forlorn must feel devouring flames and murdering steel.” As the poem concludes, Smollet declares that “resentment of my country’s fate within my filial breast shall beat” and encourages his country to likewise mourn its loss. “The Tears of Scotland” was a popular ballad in 1746, and its influence is evident in the fact that a quick search online today will bring up hundreds of copies that reside on websites whose subjects range from tourist services to historical pages. The bittersweet tone of loss that Smollet’s work embodies reflects the sense of loss that even today surrounds Culloden. Today, many see Culloden as a “symbol of the death of an old order,”\textsuperscript{246} and Smollet’s vastly popular poem helped create that image.

If the poets and novelists of Scotland were important in creating a vision of Scotland that relied heavily on its past and its Jacobite heritage, then the monarchs of Britain were instrumental in creating a nationwide acceptance of that vision. The monarchy’s interest in

\textsuperscript{245} Tobias Smollet, “Tears of Scotland” (Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, ca 1746).
\textsuperscript{246} Lynch, 337.
Highland traditions such as tartan is evident as early as 1789, when three of George III’s sons, including George IV, who was then the Prince of Wales, were given complete Highland outfits and were instructed in the proper way to wear them. George himself wore the outfit to a masquerade in London that year.247 George IV’s interest in the tradition of tartan may have begun early, but it was during his visit to Edinburgh that it became something more. When the King visited Edinburgh in 1822, “the cult of tartan, bagpipes, and clans – for George had been kitted out as ‘Chief of Chiefs’ – was a caricature, but it did answer a deeply felt need for some satisfying national identity, which ‘North Britishness’ had been unable to do.”248 This helped solidify George IV’s position not simply as King of Britain, but also the ruler of the Scots. Despite the political union, Scotland had persisted in an attempt to differentiate itself. Having a monarch who adopted Scottish customs and acknowledged Scotland’s past allowed Scots to support both Scottish nationality and the monarch. It was no longer a choice between one or the other. The trend that began with King George IV’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822 continued to grow. Once found, other monarchs embraced and encouraged that sense of national identity, both on a local Scottish level and on a national level that was able to celebrate and enjoy the different aspects of British culture.

Queen Victoria was essential in the adoption of Highland traditions as an expression of Scottish identity. She embraced the Highlands with great enthusiasm; during her first trip to Scotland, she wrote to her uncle and described the festivities of the evening before. Victoria wrote that “the grounds were splendidly illuminated, and bonfires burning on the hills; and a number of Highlanders danced reels by torchlight, to the bagpipes, which was very wild and

247 Devine, 87.
248 Lynch, 355.
pretty.” Queen Victoria did return to the Highlands. In 1848 she leased Balmoral House, of which she says, “this house is small but pretty, and though the hills seen from the windows are not so fine, the scenery all around in the finest almost I have seen anywhere. It is very wild and solitary, and yet cheerful.” Later, in 1852, she bought it, and construction began on Balmoral Castle. The Queen spent her springs and autumns at Balmoral, and she was always loathe to leave the Highlands. She wrote, “I love my peaceful, wild Highlands, the glorious scenery the dear good people who are much attached to us” and mentions her “great sorrow at leaving this dear place.” Victoria was especially fond of tartan. Once Balmoral Castle was built, it was draped in tartan, and the queen herself was painted in the midst of kilt-and-tartan-clad men in “Evening at Balmoral.” She mentions in a letter to her uncle that “the boys always wear their Highland dress.”

It was during Victoria’s reign that “Jacobitism was turned into a tourist industry, a heritage trail into extinct history, the virtues of which could be patronized and the vices forgotten.” Today, one of the many tourist trails one can follow through Scotland is the “Victorian Heritage Trail,” which visits such places as her castle at Balmoral. Sir Walter Scott

249 Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 8 September, 1842, in Benson et. al., The Letters of Queen Victoria, vol. I, 538.
250 Queen Victoria to Viscount Melbourne, 10 September 1842, in Benson et. al., The Letters of Queen Victoria vol. I, 539.
251 Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 13 September 1848, in Benson et. al., The Letters of Queen Victoria vol. II, 231.
252 Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 6 October 1851, in Benson et. al., The Letters of Queen Victoria vol. II, 290.
253 Carl Haag, Evening at Balmoral, 1854, Windsor Castle, Royal Library.
254 Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, 13 September 1848, in Benson et. al., The Letters of Queen Victoria vol. II, 231.
255 Pittock, Invention of Scotland, 90.
and James Hogg were both writing during her time on the throne, and her enthusiasm for traditional Scotland was fed by their popularity and helped legitimize their works. Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott, along with other authors, “had made the Jacobite song more respectable; but Victoria helped to enable its transformation into a cult.”256 Her obsession with things Highland both spread downward through society and legitimized an interest in such things. The cult that she enabled quickly became identified with Scottish identity; the popularity of tartan, bagpipes, Highland games and dancing, and Jacobite ballads soon became a “convenient shorthand for the Scottish identity”257 that still remains today.

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256 Ibid., 103.
257 Ibid., 99.
VI. Conclusion

It is clear that there is a link between the Jacobitism of the eighteenth century and the surge in popularity of all things Highland that followed. The Jacobites used Highland customs even during the Risings to create a “Jacobite culture” that functioned as a sort of propaganda. During the nineteenth century, that culture was first depoliticized and then romantized in such a way that everyone, from “the people’s poet” Robert Burns to Queen Victoria, could enjoy and encourage it without fear of political retribution. The popularity of this depoliticized Jacobite culture, which continued to draw strongly on Highland traditions, can be closely linked to a desire to express a national identity that was separate from that of England. Scotland was, culturally at least, a distinct section of Britain, and through the adoption of Highland customs as a way to express that culture, it would remain so.

One cannot help but wonder how Scotland might look today if the Jacobite Risings had never occurred. Would there still be such a strongly-felt line between what it means to be English and what it means to be Scottish? Would Highland customs be so prevalent, or would Scotland have simply merged into Britain and kept the Highlands locked away in the north as their “barbaric” cousins? Would the population of the Highlands be as sparse as it is today? These questions, of course, can never be answered. Every event and result that we link to Jacobitism may have occurred anyway. Understanding how Jacobitism affected the view that we have of Scotland can, however, help us uncover how we form our notions about identity. The traditions that express Scottishness today were, for the most part, actual Highland traditions that the romanticization of Jacobitism helped bring into the public eye in a positive light and at times adapted for popular use. A few, however, were created in order to feed the national obsession
with Highland life. Highland societies, the traditional “clan tartan,” and the modern kilt all came into being after the Risings.258

What does this sort of invention mean for Scotland? While not every “ancient” custom actually has its roots in antiquity, their role in today’s society remains the same. Modern kilts may not have been worn by the Jacobites, but their use at formal occasions by Scots today is no way lessened by that fact. It still represents a pride in Scotland and an unwillingness to conform to the customs of other regions. Likewise, a tourist who searches for the tartan of the clan he or she is affiliated with may not be connecting to an ancient tradition, but they are still acknowledging a link between themselves and Scotland’s history that they want to express. As an expression of national pride, the customs that developed directly because of Jacobitism, and later indirectly as a result of the popularity of Highlandism, remain effective, unique, and undeniably popular.

Understanding the impact that the development of a social memory, which relies only in part on actual historical fact, has had on present day concepts of national identity can also help us understand changes that are taking place. John Tosh suggests that “effective political mobilization depends on a consciousness of common experience in the past.”259 If this is true, then the creation of that consciousness would be extremely important to any segment of the population who wanted to accomplish widespread change. In some ways, this is a use of the past as a form of propaganda. The Jacobites themselves practiced this when they drew on the “history” of Scottish myth to legitimize their goal; today we can see the same sorts of influences in the desire to form a Scottish parliament. Without the distinct identity with which Scotland has endowed itself, it seems possible, and even likely, that Scotland and England would have

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258 See Hugh Trevor-Roper for a detailed discussion of the invention of “Highland” traditions in Scotland. While much of his argument is flawed, the specifics on the development of clan tartans and the modern kilt are useful.
259 Tosh, 6.
continued to function politically with one central parliament in London rather than pushing for a political separation in the form of a Scottish parliament. It was the use of historical myth and legend rather than actual historical fact that helped to create this national consciousness of Scottish identity.

The myths and legends of most countries serve the same purpose. Every region may not have experienced the drastic and swift change in perception that the Highlands did, but they have regardless experienced some change over the centuries, and part of that change has likely been in order to express national ideals or identity. Understanding how we use and adapt our myths and customs is instrumental in understanding how and why we see ourselves as we do. National identity is closely linked to how we understand our history, from tales of Bonnie Prince Charlie to stories of George Washington and his cherry tree. Delving into that history, both real and perceived, can uncover truths about our past, our present, and our future.
## APPENDIX 1
### IMPORTANT EVENTS AND LEGISLATION RELATING TO JACOBITISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Important Events</th>
<th>Legislation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>James II is removed from the throne and is replaced by William and Mary.</td>
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<td>1702</td>
<td>William dies, leaving the throne to Anne Stuart.</td>
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<td>1707</td>
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<td>The English and Scottish Parliaments unite in the Treaty of Union.</td>
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<td>1714</td>
<td>Anne dies and George I of Hanover succeeds her to the throne.</td>
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<td>1715</td>
<td>The first major Jacobite Rising begins with the raising of the Stuart standard on 2 August and is over by the time of James (II)’s arrival in December.</td>
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<td>1716</td>
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<td>An Act of Parliament is passed with the intent of disarming Jacobites.</td>
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<td>1745</td>
<td>The second major Rising begins in July when Charles Edward lands in Scotland.</td>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>16 April - The Jacobites are defeated at Culloden and wounded soldiers are killed after the battle. July – Lords Balmerino, Cromartie and Kilmarnock are tried by the Upper House and found guilty. Balmerino and Kilmarnock are later executed, while Cromartie escaped the block thanks to his wife’s intercession. July – The Duke of Cumberland returns to England, leaving behind the largest occupying military force Scotland had seen. The soldiers pillage and ravage the Highlands. Tobias Smollet’s “The Tears of Scotland” appears</td>
<td>25 July – The Act of Indemnity excuses all acts committed by government soldiers before this date if they were intended to suppress the Rising. 12 August – The Disarming Act strengthens previous laws by making it illegal for anyone in the Highlands to own a weapon of war. 12 August – Legislation to suppress non-juring meeting houses is passed, and ministers must take an oath to King George II by 1 September and pray for him publicly.</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>1747</td>
<td>March - Lord Lovat is impeached by the Commons and is later executed.</td>
<td>1822</td>
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<td>1 August - The Act of Proscription forbids the wearing of any Highland dress outside the British army.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>June - Private Scottish courts are abolished and hereditary jurisdictions are drastically reduced.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>By 25 March the judicial systems of Scotland and England are the same.</td>
<td>1762</td>
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<td>1748</td>
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<td>1778</td>
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<td>1782</td>
<td>The Highland games and Highland dancing develop during the 1780s</td>
<td>1787</td>
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<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>The Act of Proscription is repealed and the wearing of Highland dress is legalized.</td>
<td>1792</td>
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<td>1787</td>
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<td>1848</td>
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</table>
The Stuart and Hanoverian Dynasties

APPENDIX 3

THE SKYE BOAT SONG

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

Loud the wind howls, loud the waves roar,
Thunderclaps rend the air
Baffled our foes, stand by the shore
Follow they will not dare

Chorus

Many's the lad fought on that day
Well the claymore did wield
When the night came, silently lain
Dead on Culloden field

Chorus

Though the waves heave, soft will ye sleep
Ocean's a royal bed
Rocked in the deep, Flora will keep
Watch by your weary head

Chorus

Burned are our homes, exile and death
Scatter the loyal men
Yet e'er the sword cool in the sheath
Charlie will come again.

Chorus

APPENDIX 4
CHARLES EDWARD STUART IN TARTAN

CHARLES EDWARD IN TARTAN, CIRCA 1745

PRINCE CHARLES’S FAREWELL TO FLORA MACDONALD, 1746,
GEORGE W. JOY (1844-1925)

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART, JOHN PETTIE (1839-1893)
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National Library of Scotland Manuscript Archives.


