

# **The House of Stuart and Jacobitism, 1603-1746**

Written by Lee Offen |

## **The Stuart Monarchy 1603-1691**

James I and VI ruled England, Scotland and Ireland from 1603 to 1624. He was the cousin of Elizabeth I and son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the first Stuart monarch of England. While on the Throne of England, he sought the union of Scotland and England but was rebuffed by the English Parliament. Once he accepted the English throne, he never returned to Scotland and ruled it through a Scottish Privy Council. He was instrumental in the establishment of English and Scottish settlements in Ireland, called Plantations, displacing Irish Catholic natives.

James was followed by his son, Charles I, who ruled from 1624 to 1649. He was a Protestant but irritated English Protestant Puritans with his tolerance of Catholics and failure to include any, but a few favorites, in his policy and decision making. His wife was a Catholic, cousin to the King of France and made every effort to convert her children to Catholicism. Charles fought with an English army against Scotland in 1638 and 1640 over the imposition of an English prayer book in Scottish churches and was defeated. His Irish Catholic subjects revolted in 1641 in hopes of religious toleration after seeing the concessions granted the victorious Scots in 1640. The Irish revolt forced Charles to turn to his English Parliament for money to raise an army. Parliament and the King could not agree on any of the issues before them and went to war against each other. Scotland plunged into civil war as well, the government supporting first Parliament, then Charles I, when he was imprisoned by the English Parliament. The Marquis of Montrose conducted a brilliant campaign against the Scottish Covenanter government with Irish mercenaries and highlanders in 1644-45 until he was defeated at Phillipaugh. After the murder of Charles in 1649, the Scots crowned Charles II as their King and invaded England in 1650, suffering defeat and invasion by Cromwell and his English Army after Charles fled and left then to their fate. After subduing Scotland, Cromwell went on to end the bewilderingly complicated multi-faction civil war in Ireland and slaughtered or relocated the Catholic Irish inhabitants. Cromwell ruled England, Scotland and Ireland until his death in 1659, and was replaced by his incompetent son.

Charles II, already King of the Scots, was invited in 1660 to take the Throne of England and Ireland and ruled all three until 1685. Disdainful of Scotland, he never saw it after 1651, but ruled it through a Scottish Privy Council that brutally suppresses the dissenting Lowland Protestants. Charles successfully resisted his mother's influence and remained a Protestant until his deathbed conversion to Catholicism. His younger sister, Minette, became a Catholic and married the brother of Louis XIV. James, Duke of York, the heir to the Throne, made a very public declaration of his conversion to

Catholicism causing a crisis in which Charles' support of James as his successor never wavered.

After the death of Charles II, James II and VII, ruled uncontested from 1685-1688. The Protestant English were disturbed by his Catholicism, as well as his inclination to place fellow Catholics in positions of authority in the army and government, but tolerated him as long as they knew he would be followed by one of his Protestant daughters. James was more familiar with Scotland, having ruled it for his brother for a time, but still ruled it in absentia with a Scottish Privy Council. There was a crisis in England when James' wife, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son, creating the possibility of a second Catholic Monarch to follow James. A cabal of Protestants in the government approached William of Orange, son in law to James and staunch Protestant, to invade England to assure the "Protestant Rights of Englishmen." He landed in November of 1688. The English army went over to William of Orange and James, his family, and many of his adherents, fled England for France. The English Parliament declared him to have abdicated the Throne after he left.

The English Parliament offered William of Orange and his wife Mary, James's eldest daughter the Throne on 31 January 1689, which they accepted jointly. In April 1689 the Scottish Convention of the Estates decided that James had forfeited the Scottish crown and recognized William and Mary as monarchs II of Scotland. There was some resentment in Scotland and all was quiet until Viscount Dundee raised a 2000 man army loyal to James in the Western Highlands in June 1689. Dundee's army won at the pass of Killiecrankie in 1689 with a single highland charge sustaining losses of as much as 30% of the force due to the firepower of General MacKay's army. With Dundee's death on the battlefield, the supporters of James had no real leadership and after defeats at the battles of Dunkeld and Cromdale, the army disbanded. In 1689 James landed in Ireland and began a military campaign to subdue the island and invade England. He was opposed by Scots and English Protestants who held him at bay until the English and Dutch Armies arrived and defeated him at the Boyne River, after which James returned to France. The Army of James was defeated and forced to surrender and depart for France in 1691.

Like this and all subsequent Stuart attempts to regain the Throne of England, Ireland and Scotland, support from France was minimal and demonstrated a willingness to support the Stuarts as long as France was at war with England while involving as few troops and spending at little as possible.

In 1691 the government in Scotland established a deadline of 1 January 1692 for all the clan chiefs to take a loyalty oath to William. In the view of the clan chiefs, permission to take this oath had to be granted by James, which was forthcoming on 29 December 1691. There was a failure to meet a series of unexplained, inflexible administrative requirements in the case of the loyalty oath of Alasdair MacIain, chief of the MacDonald's of Glencoe and he was not on the list of "loyal" clan chiefs. Robert Campbell of Glenlyon arrived in Glencoe on 12 February with 120 men, enjoyed the hospitality of the MacDonalds for 12 days. Before dawn on the 12th day Campbell and his men massacred or turned the occupants of three villages out into the snow. The only punishment for the massacre was the dismissal of the Scottish Secretary of State. The

Campbells were not rewarded with MacDonald land, as they had hoped, and the highland nobility trusted the government less than they had before.

### **Kings in Exile 1692-1744**

In 1694 Mary died, leaving the unpopular William to rule alone. At the 1697 Peace of Ryswick between France and England the French recognized William as King of England, and agreed to permanently stop all military support to James. James left France for Rome.

In 1698 many in Scotland realized that the accumulation of wealth required colonial possessions and being hindered from access to English colonies, a subscription was raised from all of Scotland to establish a colony in Central America called Darien. The climate proved deadly and English support was denied to the point of refusing to send a relief expedition to the starving colony in 1699. The Darien settlement was abandoned in 1700 and with it went a considerable amount of Scottish capital.

In 1701, James died and war broke out between England and France. On the death of James II and VII, his son, James Francis Stuart was proclaimed the King of England, Scotland and Ireland, James III and VIII in exile. In 1702 William died as a result of a riding accident in which his horse stumbled in a mole's hole. This is the origin of the Jacobite toast to "that brown coated gentleman." With the accession of childless Queen Anne, the youngest daughter of James II and VII, the English Parliament, with no Scottish consultation, passed an Act of Settlement which barred Catholics from English Throne. The Succession was conveyed to Sophia the Electress of Hannover and her heirs. This act ensured that King James could not take the English throne.

In 1703 the Scottish the Parliament passed the Act of Security giving Scotland the right to decide who would be the monarch of Scotland and the Act of Peace and War giving Scotland the right to decide when it would go to war. Queen Anne reluctantly gave her assent, and the stage was set for the struggle over Scottish independence. The English Parliament passed the Alien Acts in 1705 effectively disrupting trade between Scotland and England and putting Scottish property rights in England at risk.

### **The Act of Union and "The 08"**

Queen Anne directed a treaty of Union be negotiated between England and Scotland in 1705. There were a number of Scottish nobles who supported Union, due primarily to economic interests. Enough of those that were not initially supportive of union were convinced, usually by bribery, that it was in their best interests. The burghs represented in Parliament were, for the most part, consistently against the union but were overruled and out numbered by the nobles who supported union. Supporters of the Union were reimbursed for their losses from the Darien colony and were rewarded with

representing Scotland in the English Parliament. Scotland did retain control of its separate legal system, church and educational system. The last Scottish Parliament met on 25 March, 1707. The act of Union ended Scottish independence as a separate kingdom and caused considerable hostility in Scotland, to the benefit of the Jacobite cause.

In 1708 James attempted a landing in Scotland with French troops. The French naval commander refused to land troops as highlanders were rowing out to greet the fleet in the Firth of Forth. With the appearance of an English fleet, the French ships fled back to France.

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In 1713 the Terms of the Treaty of Utrecht between France and England forced James to leave France for Rome where he remained for the rest of his life. In the latter years of Anne's reign there was considerable hope that she would approach James asking him to take the throne upon her death. James' unwillingness to give up his Catholic faith in the end made such an option unacceptable to the English. Anne died on 31 July 1714 and George, Elector of Hanover ascended to the Throne on 20 October of that same year. George I was never popular with his English, Scottish and Irish subjects and was seen by many as a usurping foreigner. In England he displaced the Tory party, associated with a strong monarchy and the "High Church" Episcopalians with the Whigs who were interested in maintaining a constitutional monarchy. In Scotland the government fell under the control of the Presbyterian faction and the Episcopalians and small Catholic minority found themselves excluded from government because of their religious beliefs. Hostility to existing government, however, did not necessarily translate into supporting armed revolt, as the Jacobites were to learn repeatedly. The English reinstated a tax on malt in 1714 that had been lifted at the Act of Union to curb the Scottish practice of making their own whiskey, the resulting riots and military suppression of those riots was another cause of widespread disaffection. In 1715 Louis XIV died but his successor Louis XV continued the policy of limited support to the Jacobites, ignoring them when at peace, and using them as an annoyance to the English when they were at war.

### **"The 15"**

Taking advantage of widespread anti-Hanoverian and Anti-Union sentiment, the Earl of Mar raised the Jacobite standard on 6 September 1715 in the north-east Highlands without the Jacobite Court in exile's knowledge. Individual motivation mattered little in Scottish highland, and to some extent, lowland societies where the landed aristocracy expected tenants to turn out in support of the landowners cause. Both the lowlands and highlands turned out equally for Mar in relatively large numbers.

Inverness was occupied by the Jacobites on the 12 of September, but was back in government hands by November. Dundee was taken without a shot by Jacobite forces on 16 September and Perth fell to 40 Jacobites on the 17th after a truce and surrender of arms by 150 plus government supporters. The seizure of these and other key towns made it possible to mass Jacobite contingents who were wandering directionless across Scotland. On 6 October, English Jacobites mustered and, upon being turned away by local government forces at Newcastle, took Hexam with a force of 300 augmented by Scots from north of the Border. Victory by intimidation as opposed to actual combat was the rule during the early stages of the uprising.

In September government forces began moving into Scotland from England and Ireland but not in sufficient numbers to satisfy the government military commander in Scotland, the Duke of Argyll. The government remained, throughout the uprising, more concerned about keeping the peace in England, Ireland and Wales than operations in Scotland, and their subsequent troop deployments reflected that concern. Argyll, outnumbered by the Jacobites, established a blocking position along the river Tay and continued to recruit and train government supporters to augment his army of approximately 3,500 regulars.

Throughout October, small scale raiding by both sides ensued in Scotland while the Jacobites trained, recruited and armed their unprepared soldiers. A southern Scottish and northern English army began to coalesce in early October and made its way into England on 1 November with approximately 1,400 men. It proceeded south unopposed, and was reinforced with only perhaps as many as 200 men, until it got to Preston. At Preston, government forces surrounded the Jacobite army in the town on the 12 of November and accepted the Jacobite surrender on the 14th.

By the first of November the Earl of Mar had assembled a force of approximately 9,000 soldiers at Perth from the west and east of Scotland. The Jacobite force under the command of General George Hamilton moved south towards the Forth west of Stirling on the 11th in an effort to outflank Argyll's forces. Argyll's moved towards Mar's force, resulting in a meeting engagement at Sherrifmuir in 13 November. Both armies' left flank's were routed by cavalry almost simultaneously, creating a chaotic situation for both armies. Argyll's exhausted forces retreated in the face of the equally exhausted Jacobite force. Government forces lost approximately 1,000 men it could ill afford and the Jacobites lost approximately 1,500. Jacobite losses were exacerbated by the departure of as many as half of the remaining army of 7,500 after the battle.

After Sherrifmuir, some of the Scottish nobles attempted to negotiate a peace with the Duke of Argyll. Argyll was in favor of offering an honorable peace but the English government insisted on total capitulation. The unwillingness of the government to negotiate gave the Jacobites nothing to lose and increased the will to resist and hope of French support.

In early December, General Cadogan arrived in Scotland to take command of government forces, replacing the Earl of Argyll and setting the stage for a more aggressive approach to dealing with the Scottish Jacobites. James arrived in Scotland on 22 December with 2 attendants, no money, no arms and no soldiers while many

Scottish nobles had returned to their estates to begin gathering their forces for the coming spring campaign.

On the 27th of January government forces launched a winter offensive from Stirling and Dunblane to Perth unopposed. The Jacobites retreated from Perth to Dundee. The government army had no artillery and was, low on rations and marching in near arctic winter conditions as the Jacobites retreated from defenses in Perth and then in Dundee. The Jacobite army arrived at Montrose on 1 February, demoralized by desertion and down to approximately 4,000 men. The Jacobite army remained in Montrose until 5 February, the day after James returned to France, and disbanded into small units that eventually went home.

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Many of those English participants in the 15 that did not flee to France were executed or transported. Government soldiers were garrisoned throughout northern England and Catholics were fined regardless of their involvement in the uprising. In Scotland there were few leaders imprisoned or fined. Some did flee for France with the majority of participants permitted to return to their pre-uprising lives. The harshest penalty suffered by the Scots was a Disarming Act of 1716 forbidding all Scots in the highlands, regardless of loyalty, from carrying weapons.

In 1719, an Anglo-French alliance declared war on Spain. In an effort to open a second front, the Spanish and Jacobites planned an invasion of England with a small diversionary force in Scotland. The main force was destroyed in bad weather but the diversionary force landed at Loch Duich with 300 soldiers led by Lord Tullibardine and Earl Marischal. This force was joined by a group of Jacobite exiles from France. There was little support from the Scots. Government forces from Inverness met the dug in Jacobite force, both with about 1,000 troops, at Glenshiel and defeated them with the Spanish surrendering and Scots disappearing into the highlands. That same year James married Climentia Sobieski the following year his son and heir Charles Edward born, followed by another son Henry in 1725.

General George Wade was appointed the military commander of North Britain in 1724. His first act was to put down malt tax riots in Glasgow. In 1725 General Wade began construction of a road network in the highlands to facilitate the movement of men and materiel. By 1738 the network consisted of approximately 242 miles. Under his command, a total of six independent companies were reformed, as they had been off and on since 1603, to police the highlands. Wade constructed Fort George at Inverness, transformed Fort Augustus from barracks to a fort and reinforced 17th century Fort William, the southernmost of the forts in the Great Glen. Other lesser garrisons were established at Ruthven and Bernera. In 1727 George I died, and the equally unpopular George II ascended to the Throne.

Scottish efforts to avoid payment of the hated malt tax resulted in aggressive smuggling of malt from Germany. In 1736, the arrest of three smugglers and execution of one of them resulted in riots in the death of six rioters at the hands of the Edinburgh City Guard. The commander of the City Guard, John Porteous, was charged with murder, sentenced to death and lynched by a mob before the sentence could be appealed or carried out.

In 1740 the War of Austrian Succession between France and Britain created renewed interest on the part of the French in opening a second front to distract the English on the continent. Seeing the opportunity for a Jacobite uprising in Scotland, a group of nobles sent a petition to the French in March of 1741 promising an army of 20,000 soldiers if the French sent the Irish Brigade to Scotland. There was no response to the petition.

A French force was assembled for an invasion of England and Scotland in early 1744. The invasion force consisted of 20,000 French regulars. The 3,000 man Irish Brigade under the Earl Marischal was to be a diversionary force landing in Scotland. Prince Charles was summoned from Rome to France to represent his father as Prince Regent in England. As the invasion fleet was about to sail in February 1744 a gale blew up which dispersed and decimated the warships which were to protect the ships transporting the troops. The troop transports were destroyed or damaged in Dunkirk harbor by two successive storms in February and March and the invasion was called off. This was the last planned large scale French effort on behalf of the Jacobites.

In late 1744 Charles was introduced to a group of Irish privateers and slaver traders who operated out of northern French ports. They had Jacobite sympathies, a desire to distract the Royal Navy from their privateering activities and supported Prince Charles in his effort to take troops, arms, ammunition, himself and his companions to Scotland. Charles embarked on a planned invasion without the knowledge or support of Louis XV, relying on limited support from one of his ministers. Charles did not his father, James, of his plans.

### **Charlie's Year 1745-46 "Bliadhna Thearlaich"**

Charles was convinced of Scottish lingering disaffection over the Union of 1707 and the imposition of English taxes, particularly the malt tax. There was considerable talk and some correspondence between the Jacobite and several Scots nobles indicating their unhappiness with the current state of affairs. The correspondence from the Scots Jacobites always emphasized the need for French forces to serve as the core of any army raised in Scotland and that Charles need not come to Scotland without them. Adherents of the large Scottish Episcopal Church were a major source of support for the Jacobite cause, and made it clear they were willing to overlook James' Catholicism, unlike many of the lowland Presbyterians. The small Scottish Catholic minority was willing to

support James if granted toleration, but in the case of Keppoch's regiment and others, when they were denied their own Priest they deserted.

Charles was equally convinced that English disaffection over the imposition of excise and property taxes and a legal code that favored the propertied classes would result in armed support. This view was more informed by his Irish councilors in France than any intelligence gathered in England. His English supporters promised little, and in the final analysis, delivered less.

After writing letters to his father and Louis XV asking for support, delivered after his departure, Charles put together an expedition of two ships, one a light frigate, the "Du Teillay", the other a much larger French naval vessel of 64 guns, the "Elisabeth" which set sail from the Loire on 5 July 1745. On 9 July they encountered the British 54 gun HMS "Lion," which damaged Charles' larger ship so badly it had to return to France. It was carrying all of the Prince's troops and most of his arms and ammunition. Charles landed on the island of Eriskay on 23 July 1745 with "The Seven Men of Moidart," comprised of only two expatriate Scotsmen, the rest being three Irishmen, one Frenchman and an Englishman. He also brought 1,500 firelocks, 1,800 swords and 4,000 Pounds Sterling in gold. Thomas Sheridan and John O'Sullivan, two of the Irishmen in his company, would be the faction in Charles' Council of War that was continuously at odds with the Scots field commanders, who tended to follow Lord George Murray's lead. Charles arrived on the mainland at Loch nan Uamh on 25 July. On 7 August, the Duke of Argyle was made aware of the landing and the government in London was informed.

Initially the clan chiefs who meet with him were unenthusiastic about an uprising, given the absence of French forces and the government retribution after 1715. Once Charles secured the reluctant support of Cameron of Lochiel, other clans began to turn out in support of the uprising. The first engagement took place on 16 August when two newly recruited companies of the government's Royal Regiment of Foot were defeated between Fort Augustus and Fort William. On 19 August the Jacobite standard was raised at Glenfinnan in the presence of approximately 1200 men. On 20 August, the government in London requested troops on the continent be sent back to England, not so much in response to Charles army, but more to defend England from a French invasion which was perceived as the greater threat at the time.

General Cope set out with a government army of 3,000 to march from Edinburgh to Fort Augustus in the Great Glen. He diverted the army north to Inverness to avoid the Jacobite controlled Corrieairack Pass, arriving at Inverness on 29 August. In an effort to secure food for the Jacobite army, Colonel O'Sullivan, with no artillery, engineers and only Highland troops failed in an attempted siege of the government Ruthven Barracks on 30 August. Charles took Perth on 3 September with approximately 3000 soldiers. At Perth, Charles was joined by the Duke of Perth and his brother, Lord George Murray, the most experienced officer in the Jacobite army. The Jacobite army now numbered approximately 4,000 men. The Jacobite army left Perth on 11 September and was at Stirling on 13 September.



The Jacobite Army moved on to Edinburgh. Edinburgh at the time was one of the four largest population centers in Britain with a population of approximately 50,000. A detachment under Lochiel entered the city early on the morning of 17 September through a gate mysteriously left open. All but the castle capitulated and the local populace proved to be unsupportive.

## **Prestonpans**

General Cope moved south from Inverness and arrived near Aberdeen on the 19th. He took up a position at Prestonpans with stone walls on his right, a bog on his left, a ditch to the front and the sea to his rear on 20 September. It was a defensive position with no means of escape or withdrawal. The Jacobite army repositioned twice on the 20th and suffered from confusion as a result of its effort to find suitable terrain from which to attack Cope's stationary force. Before dawn the Jacobites seized the much needed government baggage train, moved into a position 200 paces from Cope's army and, at dawn, attacked from an unexpected direction. The Jacobite Brigade under Murray charged the government forces leaving the other Brigades under the Duke of Perth and the reserve, under the command of Charles to follow and support. The Government artillery fire was ineffective and brief as the crews fled, followed soon by the dragoons on both flanks of the infantry in the center. The infantry held briefly then fled or surrendered. The engagement lasted approximately 15 minutes. Both sides consisted of approximately 2,500 men. Jacobite losses were approximately 25 killed. Government losses were approximately 150 killed with over 1,000 captured. English dragoon horses were slaughtered by Highland soldiers denying mounts for Jacobite cavalry. There was some desertion of Scots fighting for the government to the Jacobite army, but the numbers are not clear. Allegations of Jacobite soldiers killing wounded government soldiers after the battle were made but cannot be substantiated in the literature. What is important is that government soldiers believed the allegations and this influenced their behavior following the battle of Culloden.

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Following Prestonpans, land owners in the Lowlands under Jacobite control were required to contribute towards the equipping and raising of regiments. This levy changed the character of the Jacobite army. Of those forces raised in Scotland, approximately half were Lowland and half were Highland in origin. All soldiers were expected to adopt Highland dress, including the English Manchester Regiment which wore bonnets and plaids over their shoulders. Highland dress was used in 1689, 1715 and 1745 to indicate support for the Jacobite cause. Highland attire, it was hoped, would also intimidate English opponents on the field of battle. It is not possible to establish the proportion of men forced into Jacobite military service with any degree of certainty. What is beyond doubt is that it occurred.

The emissary Charles sent to France described the victory of Prestonpans in such glowing terms and reported that the Jacobite army was so large that many French

Ministers believed that their support was unnecessary. Cope's defeat energized the English Government and expressions of support and money were forthcoming from all strata of society. On 23 September, General Ligonier arrived in England with 10 regiments from the continent. The generally combat ineffective English militia was mustered, not so much to engage in combat, but to keep the peace locally and forestall local insurrection. Catholics were disarmed and ordered to leave the large population centers of England. General Wade moved to Newcastle with an English army of approximately 8,000 to cover the eastern approaches to the English border and was in place by the end of October. General Ligonier established a blocking position in Lancashire with approximately 10,000 soldiers.

The Jacobite Council of War agreed to take the army south into England based on Charles' claim of English support and a French invasion of England. The Scottish commanders on the council had not anticipated an invasion of England, but in the face of Charles' insistence, relented. There was an economic aspect to the invasion as well, because the army needed whatever financial support could be gained from English towns in order to support itself. Lord Strathallan was left in Scotland as commander in chief. Smugglers delivered 2,500 firelocks to the Jacobite army at Montrose just in time to equip the Jacobite forces invading England. The Jacobite army departed Edinburgh on 31 October with approximately 6,000 men.

The Jacobite army moved south in two columns with the western column moving through Peebles and Moffat. The eastern most column, under Charles, went through Kelso and Jedburg. The two columns linked up at Longtown and arrived at Carlisle on 9 November. Carlisle surrendered on the 14th after a 4 day siege and the castle surrendered the following day. The Duke of Perth, a Catholic, was given the privilege of accepting the surrender of Carlisle despite warnings from Lord Murray. The Government, as expected, made much of the first city taken by the Jacobites in England being surrendered to a Catholic. On the 20th the Jacobite army continued south.

On 26 November Lord John Drummond and 800 soldiers in French service comprised of the Royal Ecossois as well as a company of 50 men from four of the six regiments in the Irish Brigade, referred to as the Irish Picquets, arrived in Scotland and garrisoned Perth. By 27 November the Jacobite army was resting in Preston with none of the English Jacobites flocking to join them as Charles had predicted. The following day an English deserter in the Jacobite army, Sergeant Dickson, pushed ahead of the main body and with his girlfriend and a drummer captured Manchester for Charles. Manchester provided the only support to Charles contributing the Manchester Regiment, consisting of 200 men commanded by Colonel Francis Townley.

On 28 November, the Duke of Cumberland replaced an ailing Ligonier and took command of the government forces in Lancashire. He was shortly out maneuvered by the Jacobite army which slipped by him south into Derby. The Jacobite army entered Derby on 4 December, 125 miles from London. Charles and his Irish advisors called for a march on London and his Scottish field commanders called for a withdrawal to Scotland in the face of two armies in the field, either of which outnumbered the Jacobite army. Cumberland was at Coventry with approximately 9,000 men and Wade was at

Wetherby with approximately 6,500 men. The council was also told of a nearby fictional third field army from a double agent. There was an army gathering north of London with the Guards Regiments as its core formations. There was no indication London, a city of over 50,000 people, would be supportive of the Jacobite cause. Beginning on 2 December France began assembling a force of perhaps as many as 15,000 at Dunkirk for an invasion of England. A shortage of transport, lack of artillery, internal discord over the invasion was more important than the war in Flanders, and, finally, English naval interdiction prevented the invasion. The march back to Scotland began on 6 December 1745 after violent disagreement in the War Council.

The march south into England had been for the most part unopposed with the exception of militia units destroying bridges and roadways in the Jacobite Army's path. Towns and cities along the army's route of march had grudgingly supplied and housed the army and local Jacobites had shown some hospitality to Charles and his officers. The march north was entirely different. The army received a violent reception in many communities and was forced to defend itself on more than one occasion. Stragglers were killed and the Jacobite Army resorted to looting in the absence of voluntary support. Manchester, the only English town that had provided soldiers to the Jacobite army, closed its gates to the army as it made its way north. Charles deliberately slowed his pace, and, therefore, that of his army, in order to avoid giving the appearance of fleeing England, putting his soldiers at risk from the hostile local population.

In the absence of Charles and his army, much of Scotland either reverted to government control or experienced a marked loss of Jacobite enthusiasm. Government Independent Companies, recruited from Clans Munro, Grant, MacKay, MacLeod and MacKenzie gathered at Inverness and by early December numbered 10 companies of approximately 1,000 men. On 10 December, a force of 700 men from the Independent Companies moving to Aberdeen was defeated at Inverurie by Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiment and the Royal Ecosse, forcing them to retreat to Elgin and leaving the Jacobites in control of Aberdeen and its environs. Campbell of Mamore raised a militia in Argyllshire of 1,000 men in December as well. On 12 December, the garrison of Edinburgh Castle was reinforced and the government regained control of the city. Lord Loudon and a force of 600 men from the Independent Companies took Fort Augustus from Lord Lovat's Regiment in December.

On 13 December, government volunteer cavalry under General Oglethorpe attacked the Jacobite rear guard as the army was departing Preston. Elcho's Horse and Cluny MacPherson's Regiment forced them to withdraw. On 18 December the Jacobites rear guard near Clifton, under the command of Murray, was under pressure from Cumberland's dragoons. Murray established a defensive position with the Atholl Brigade, the Stuarts of Appin Regiment, Cluny MacPherson's Regiment and MacDonald of Glengarry's Regiment, exchanging fire with the dragoons. After dark, Cumberland's dragoons advanced while firing until Murray led the Appins and MacPherson's men in a charge, closing with the dragoon's, forcing them to flee. Murray ordered a retreat and Cumberland occupied Clifton but was unable to pursue the retreating Jacobite army.

The Manchester Regiment, with attached companies, stayed at Carlisle as the main body of the Jacobite army crossed into Scotland on 20 December. Charles insisted that the city and castle be garrisoned, perhaps as a gesture that he would return to England shortly. The garrison surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland on 30 December after a nine day siege. The English Jacobite troops were sent to London where the officers were condemned to a traitor's death and the men either joined the government army or were transported to the West Indies.

On Christmas Day the Jacobite army entered Glasgow and stayed for 10 days while the strongly pro-government city was reluctantly forced to refit it. There was talk of burning this hostile city, which was saved as a result of Lochiel's efforts. On 4 January, Drummond and his forces linked up with Charles and the rest of the Jacobite army. On departing Glasgow the Jacobite army went to Stirling and began a siege of Stirling Castle on 7 January. General Hawley came out of Edinburgh with a force of 8,500 and Charles moved to meet him with a force of 8,000 men leaving approximately 1,000 to maintain the siege of Stirling.

## **Falkirk**

Charles, having little remaining faith in his subordinate commanders, took personal command of the Jacobite Army. He waited 2 days for Hawley at Bannockburn and then moved on to Falkirk Muir, occupying the high ground 2 miles away from the government forces on 16 January. The government forces were caught off guard and moved to engage the Jacobite army, getting their artillery mired in the process. The Jacobite right was anchored on soft ground. The government forces deployed down hill from the Jacobites and their line was behind a ravine on their right. The Jacobite right flank overlapped the government left and the government right overlapped the Jacobite left.

The action began with Lord Murray on the right flank firing on and charging the government dragoon regiments on the government left. The dragoons fled the field carrying the infantry they retreated through and trampled with them. The Jacobite formations continued their pursuit and were unavailable to support the rest of the army as it faced those regiments that had not broken and fled. The right flank government forces withdrew in an orderly fashion and the Jacobite army was only able to pursue them as far as Falkirk due to onset of darkness, exhaustion, disorganization and bad weather. The engagement lasted 20 minutes. Hawley's force had 420 killed and numerous wounded. Charles' army had approximately 50 killed and 60 to 80 wounded. After the government forces fled, the Jacobite commanders were unable to reorganize their forces and follow up with a move to Edinburgh the following day. The government baggage train in the town of Falkirk was looted and large numbers of highland soldiers left for home with their loot, as was their tradition.

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The siege of Stirling castle resumed and Murray remained at Falkirk with the rapidly shrinking highland regiments. Charles remained at Bannockburn House with the lowland regiments, which were also subject to desertion. In late January, Cumberland took command of the government forces in and around Edinburgh and was reinforced. The Highland commanders needed time to regroup their forces depleted by desertion and made a strong case for the army to move north to Inverness. Charles was against this retreat but was grudgingly forced to accept the logic behind the decision.

Charles split the Jacobite army with half accompanying him and half with Murray up the coast road. Cumberland followed the coast road from Stirling to Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen plundering, killing and detaining any suspected persons of Jacobite sympathies. On 10 February Gordon of Glenbucket besieged Ruthven Barracks, captured it and burned it to the ground. Loudon with a government force of 1500 attacked the Jacobite army headquarters at Moy on the night of 16 February. Loudon's force was spooked by five shouting servants and fled to Inverness. Loudon withdrew from Inverness on the 17th and the Jacobite army occupied the city shortly thereafter. Loudon's forces retreated to Dornoch where they were surprised on 20 February and forced to retreat to the Isle of Skye.

Cumberland believed the rebellion was over until the Jacobite capture of Inverness. Realizing that it was not over he established his headquarters at Aberdeen and began massing his forces remaining in the city from 27 February until 8 April. Charles was in the process of massing forces as well in Inverness.

The Jacobite army also began operations in the Great Glen against the government forts there. Fort George, the northernmost fort, fell shortly after the occupation of Inverness. Fort Augustus, in the Great Glen, fell to the Jacobites on 7 March after a two day siege. Lochiel besieged Fort William from 20 March to 3 April, giving up the siege after failing to cut off re-supply of the garrison by water and losing their guns to a sally from the fort on 31 March. Lochiel and his men remained in Lochaber until being recalled by Charles to Inverness in April.

Murray conducted several raids in Atholl as well as a siege of Blair Castle from 12 March to 2 April. He lacked the artillery to end the siege successfully, and Charles refused to provide additional forces to support large scale offensive operations, forcing Murray to withdraw to Inverness.

The Royal Navy was making its presence felt by successfully preventing re-supply, reinforcement and money from reaching the increasingly desperate Jacobite army. Cumberland's army was by contrast well supplied, paid and increasing in size. Cumberland was training his infantry formations to respond to a highland charge by stabbing with bayonet to the right into the exposed abdomen of attacking swordsmen. This technique presupposed a well trained formation of relatively calm soldiers who trust those to their left and right.

Cumberland moved north across the Spey unopposed on 12 April as Perth and Drummon's Jacobite force retreated to Elgin and beyond. By the 14th Cumberland's army of approximately 9,000 men was at Nairn, well rested and re-supplied by sea on a regular basis. Charles brought his army out of Inverness and moved it to Culloden Park. There were only 12 miles between the two armies. Murray recommended establishing a position on a piece of thoroughly examined boggy, hilly terrain, making deployment of horse and cannon problematic for Cumberland but was overruled by Charles who chose an open moor south east of Culloden House recommended by O'Sullivan. Charles' army was unpaid, hungry and sleeping on open ground with stockpiles of food sitting in Inverness.

At 8 PM on 15 April, 3,500 men of the Jacobite army attempted a cross country move in total darkness in order to conduct a surprise attack on Cumberland's army in hopes it would be unprepared, having celebrated Cumberland's birthday that evening. The army moved in two columns, Murray leading, and Charles following. Murray's column consisted of highlanders, who were clearly in their element conducting such operations. Charles column consisted in part of the French provided regulars who proved to be unused to night cross country movement and lagged behind. By 2 AM, Murray's column was approximately 3 miles for Cumberland's alert pickets and Charles column was as much as half a mile behind. As the pre dawn light became brighter, Murray gave the order to turn around. By 5 AM the Jacobite army had returned to Culloden and was scattering to find food, sleep and shelter. Cumberland's army advanced and Charles, despite the advice given him by all his subordinate commanders, decided to stay and fight, mustering approximately 4,500 exhausted, hungry men to face Cumberland's army of twice its size.

## **Culloden**

Cumberland's early deployment on the move forced Charles to occupy terrain that had not been examined west of the position occupied on the 14th, a mile and a half south of Culloden House. The Jacobite army deployed in two ranks. There was a sleet and rain mixture blowing in their faces. In the first rank, the right wing was commanded by Murray and the left by Perth. The second line was commanded by General Stapleton, in three separate formations as opposed to a single line due to a shortage of men. There were three four gun artillery batteries in the center and wings of the front line. The government forces deployed in two solid ranks with artillery interspersed in 2 gun batteries between the five front line regiments. Government cavalry was positioned on both flanks with Argyll Militia and the Independent Companies positioned on the left flank.

After the Jacobite opening rounds at 1 o'clock, the government artillery opened fire disabling the Jacobite artillery and causing a few casualties in the increasingly anxious stationary infantry. Charles repositioned to place of safety, but from which he could not observe his forces. After withstanding 10 to 15 minutes of sustained artillery fire the Jacobite right charged without orders. There was a ripple effect across the Jacobite front as each regiment in turn joined the charge. As the Jacobite forces came within

300 meters of the government forces they were hit with as many as 5 to 6 volleys of grapeshot. Once they came within 50 meters they were hit with at least two volleys of musket fire before closing with the government forces on their right. As the Jacobite front line closed with the government forces, the center veered right in the face of heavy fire. The Jacobite left was unable to close with the government forces due to heavy fire and swampy intervening terrain.

The heavily depleted right flank, however, did close with Barrel's and Munro's regiments. Barrels regiment was depleted and retreated. Monro's held formation with the first rank at "charged bayonets" and the second and third rank firing as many as nine volleys point blank into Cameron of Lochiel's Regiment, Stuart's of Appin Regiment, the Atholl Brigade, Lady MacIntosh's Regiment, Lord Lovat's Regiment that had closed with the government forces. Four second rank regiments reinforced Barrels and Monro's regiments surrounding the Jacobites on three sides subjecting them to as many as 1,200 muskets firing in ranks.

The Argyll Militia and Independent Companies broke down the wall of the enclosure on the Jacobite right, allowing for flanking fire on the attacking Jacobite first line and the repositioning of the Government horse to outflank the Jacobite army. Part of the right most second rank of the Jacobite army responded and held off the Government horse. In doing so, they were unable to reinforce the attack of the Jacobite front line against the government main body. Within 40 minutes it was over. Charles fled the field, his army retreated, for the most part disintegrating and pursued by the government horse and foot. The French forces held off the government forces long enough for more of the Jacobite army to disperse than otherwise might have been possible. Cumberland's army killed anything they saw for two days after the battle. The Estimates vary from 1,500 to 3,000 men of the Jacobite army killed during and in the pursuit after battle. Approximately 310 men of Cumberland's army were killed.

\* \* \*

Charles fled the field and spent five months on the run in Scotland before sailing to France. On the 20th of April the remainder of the Jacobite army, approximately 1,500 men rallied at Ruthven barracks and from there dispersed. English government forces ravaged Scotland, making little or no distinction between those who had remained loyal and those who had been in the uprising. Scots who had supported the government in many cases did their best to defend those who had participated in the uprising from the worst of the English army's atrocities. Many of the Jacobite nobles fled for France and only four were executed. A total of approximately 3,500 prisoners, men women and children were taken into custody and send to England for trial. Of the officers, fifty two were executed and all twenty four officers in the Manchester Regiment were executed at traitors. Of the other prisoners, those that did not die in captivity were transported to the colonies or released by 1747.

Parliament passed laws against the carrying of arms, suppressed the Episcopal Church and transformed the traditional clan nobility into land lords. Charles Edward Stuart

died on 30 Jan 1788. His brother, Henry, became a Catholic priest not long after the uprising ending any slim hope of a Stuart return to the Throne of England, Scotland and Ireland. Henry died in 1807.

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## **Jacobite Regiments 1745-46**

### Atholl Brigade (Nov 1745- Apr 1746)

Lord Niarn's Regiment  
MacLean's Company  
Lord Murray's Regiment  
MacLachlan's Battalion.  
Archibald Menzies of Shian's Regiment  
Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745  
Clifton 17 Dec 1745  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

### Scots (Bagot's) Troop of Hussars (Sep 1745-Apr 1746)

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

### Cameron of Lochiel's Regiment (Aug 1745-May 1746)

Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Siege of Ft William, 20 Mar-3 Apr, 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

### Cluny MacPherson's Regiment (?- May 1746)

Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Preston 13 Dec 1745  
Clifton 17 Dec 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746

### Earl of Cromartie's Regiment

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746

### Lifeguard of Horse (Sep-1745-Apr 1746)

Lord Elcho's Troop and Lord Balmerino's Troop  
Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745  
Preston 13 December 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746



Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Fitzjames Horse

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

John Gordon of Glenbuchat's Regiment (?- Apr 1746)

Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745

Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745

Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745

Carlisle Garrison, 1 Company, 22-30 Dec 1745

Siege of Ruthven Barracks, 10-14 Feb 1746

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Irish Picquets

Dillon's Regiment, 1 Company

Ruth's Regiment, 1 Company

Lally's Regiment, 1 Company

Berwick's Regiment, 1 Company

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746

Carlisle Garrison, 1 Company, 22-30 Dec 1745

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Lord Kilmarnock's Footguard Regiment (Mar 1746- Apr 1746)

Crichton of Auchingould's Battalion

Bannerman of Elsick's Battalion

Chisolm of Strathglass' Battalion

Lord Kilmarnock's Troop of Horse (dismounted Mar 1746) (Oct 1745- Apr 1746)

Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745

Lord Pitsligo's Troop of Horse (dismounted Mar 1746) (Oct 1745- Apr 1746)

Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745

Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiment

John Gordon of Avochie's Battalion

Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie's Battalion

John Moir of Stonywood's Battalion

Inverurie, 10 Dec 1745

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Lord Lovat's Regiment (Oct 1745- Apr 1746)

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746

Culloden 16 Apr 1746

MacDonald of Clanranald's Regiment (Aug 1745- Apr 1746)

Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

MacDonald of Glengarry's Regiment (Aug- 1745- May 1746)

Grant of Glenmorrison's Battalion  
MacDonald of Barisdale's Battalion  
Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Clifton 17 Dec 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

MacDonald's of Keppoch (Aug 1745- Apr 1746)

MacDonald of Glencoe's Battalion  
Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Siege of Ft William, 20 Mar-3 Apr, 1746

MacGregor's Regiment

Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745

Lady MacIntosh's Regiment

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Manchester Regiment (Dec 1745)

Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Carlisle Garrison, 22-30 Dec 1745

Lord Ogilvy's Regiment

Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Carlisle Garrison, 1 Company, 22-30 Dec 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Duke of Perth's Regiment (Sep 1745- Apr 1746)

Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Carlisle Garrison, 2 Companies, 22-30 Dec 1745  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Royal Ecossois Regiment

Inverurie, 10 Dec 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Lord Strathallan's/Drommond's Troop of Horse (Aug 1745- Apr 1746)

Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

Stuart's of Appin Regiment (Aug 1745- Apr 1746)

Prestonpans 21 Sep 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Clifton 17 Dec 1745  
Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746  
Siege of Ft William, 20 Mar-3 Apr, 1746  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

John Roy Stuart's Regiment

Siege of Carlisle 9-14 Nov 1745  
Invasion of England, 31 Oct-20 Dec 1745  
Clifton 17 Dec 1745  
Carlisle Garrison, 1 Company, 22-30 Dec 1745  
Culloden 16 Apr 1746

**Government Regiments 1745-46**

Prestonpans, 21 Sep 1745

Gardiner's Dragoons  
Guise's  
Hamilton's Dragoons  
Lascelles's  
Lee's  
Murray's (Scottish)  
Loudoun's (Scottish)

Falkirk, 17 Jan 1746

Argyll Militia (Scottish)  
Barrell's  
Battereau's  
Blakeney's  
Murray's (Scottish)  
Chomondley's  
Cobham's Dragoons  
Fleming's  
Glasgow Militia (Scottish)  
Hamilton's Dragoons  
Howard's  
Ligonier's  
Ligonier's Dragoons  
Monro's  
Price's  
Pulteney's

Royals (Scottish)  
Wolfe's

Culloden, 16 Apr 1746

Argyll Militia (Scottish)

Barrell's

Battereau's

Blakeney's

Bligh's

Campbell's (Scottish)

Chomondley's

Cobham's Dragoons

Conway's

Fleming's

Howard's

Independent Companies (Scottish)

Keer's Dragoons

Kingston's Horse

Ligonier's Dragoons

Loudoun's (Scottish)

Monro's

Price's

Pulteney's

Royal's (Scottish)

Sempill's (Scottish)

Wolfe's

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