

“Rebels Without a Cause”: The External Jacobite Diasporas, 1688–1788

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In early 1788, a noteworthy convergence occurred involving the dying Prince Charles Edward Stuart and the first penal colony established in Australia. The first Governor of New South Wales, Arthur Phillip, famously disembarked the First Fleet on 18 January at the settlement of Botany Bay with its first group of transported convicts. Whilst reciting his oaths of office, in a gesture that demonstrates the Jacobite movement’s longevity, one of the first included Phillip having to publicly renounce any allegiance to or further the cause of the man called Charles Edward Stuart – otherwise King Charles III or The Young Pretender – in case the new colony became a place of succour for displaced Jacobite sentiment. Although it was the new governor, rather than the convicts, who swore the oath, this anecdote nonetheless provides an example of how the British penal system still accounted for the threat of Jacobitism almost half a century after its suppression at the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Despite that, British ministers continued to be wary of the peril that loyalty to the Stuart prince represented and, ultimately, continued Jacobite sedition from that century-old adherence. Though Arthur Phillip’s colonial administration could not have known it at the time of his oath-taking, Charles Edward died in the final days of January – providing him with a ‘symbolic victory’ even in death (McLynn, 1988, p. 550; Seward, 2019, p. 326).¹ Yet the legacy of Jacobitism continued to live on, including through its widespread external diasporas.

Following the Revolution of 1688, many supporters of King James VII and II were forced to flee the British Isles for more welcoming realms overseas. The predominant area of refuge for émigrés was in and around Continental Europe where Jacobites found that they had much to offer their host communities in all walks of life. Though this is often referred to as the singular Jacobite diaspora, this article aims to demonstrate a range of numerous and diverse external diasporas that encompassed migrations and other movements connected with Jacobitism. In doing so, it provides an up-to-date consideration and succinct survey of their global reach and impact, thereby establishing these diasporas’ relevance to both Scottish and wider diaspora studies.² Consequently, this would also exhibit the presence

¹ The chosen bookended dates represent the so-called ‘Jacobite century’ between the Revolution of 1688 and Charles Edward Stuart’s death at the end of January in 1788.

² Outwith the confines of this article and its focus upon multinational exemplars, there was also the notable existence of an internal diaspora, which was comprised of Jacobites involved in the uprisings and their aftermaths who remained within the borders of the British Isles. For brief surveys on this parallel component, see Szechi, 2019, pp. 225-8; Pittock, 1998, pp. 128-31.

and prevalence of anti-Jacobitism, which is an equally important aspect of these associated movements.³ However, emphasis will be placed here upon both the wide geographical spread of the external Jacobite diasporas and the diverse contributions of their members. Ultimately, the article will provide this important sub-topic greater prominence within the current Scottish History curriculum and aid the teaching practice of Jacobitism more generally.

The dispersal of many Jacobite adherents had a significant effect upon seventeenth- and eighteenth-century societies, and some noteworthy examples of the elite and eminent but also not so well-known Jacobites or Jacobite-connected individuals associated with these diasporas during this period will follow.⁴ Countless suffered the negative consequences of exile whilst others went on to achieve fame and fortune. This article employs an organisational structure demarcated by their respective places of exile across four main geographical areas: Continental Europe, Scandinavia, Russia, and the American colonies. Within this, the types of contributions that these particular characters made to their respective communities will be highlighted. The contribution groupings include those provided to the military; commerce, finance and global enterprising; and science and socio-political culture. Daniel Szechi (2019, p. 223) states ‘there can be no doubt that [a great] deal of talent left the British Isles as a result of the failure of the Jacobite cause, and it served its new European masters well.’ Yet this can also be said of those who fled further afield too.

As Murray Pittock (1998, p. 123) emphasises, it was the expelled royal family themselves who were the most prominent Jacobite exiles. Indeed, James VII and II has been referred to as ‘The First Jacobite’ (Mann, 2014, pp. 11-26). His son, James Francis Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales – otherwise King James VIII and III or The Old Pretender – was born in England but soon after was taken across the Channel to France by his mother under the instructions and ahead of his father. He was thus, arguably, the first official member of the external diasporas. Following the king’s departure, the exiled Catholic Stuarts were known as the ‘Kings over the Water’ and many thousands of their Jacobite followers who upheld their regnal claims joined them in exile (Gregg, 2012, para. 1; Corp, 2007, p. 313). Edward Corp (2007, p. 314) notes that the external diasporas, comprising exiles from various Christian denominations, largely encompassed France, Spain, Russia, Sweden, Portugal, Prussia, and the Italian – mainly Papal – states and ‘in recent years have been accorded increased attention from historians.’ The extensive displacement of these émigrés is, as Bruce Lenman (1980, p. 8) argues, an

³ For recent studies that deal with the theme of anti-Jacobitism, see D. Parrish (2017) *Jacobitism and Anti-Jacobitism in the British Atlantic World, 1688–1727*, London, The Boydell Press; C. Martin (2014) ‘Female Rebels’: The Female Figure in Anti-Jacobite Propaganda’, in A. I. MacInnes, K. German and L. Graham (eds.) *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond*, London, Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Ltd, pp. 85-98.

⁴ Due to the scope of this article, which aims to highlight some notable diasporic Jacobite connections, relationships and reversals of fortune for illuminating case study purposes, the patterns of emigration and migration of the elites were vastly outnumbered by the Jacobite plebeian (or lower class) constituent. Naturally, accounts of their travails are not so well-established and more research in this field is required in the future. For a recent study on popular plebeian Jacobitism during the ‘45, see D. S. Layne, (2015) ‘Spines of the Thistle: The Popular Constituency of the Jacobite Rising in 1745–6’, PhD thesis (The University of St Andrews) <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/886> (Accessed 11 September 2020).

intriguing yet neglected aspect of the Jacobite story and these often ‘forgotten and despised communities.’

Being defined as a Jacobite, whether that was self-determined or a smear by their enemies, was but one component of a multifaceted identity. Within Jacobite studies, scholars have tended to paint pictures of individuals’ lives in broad strokes. Yet Jacobitism was compatible with an array of other feelings, ideals, occupations, and morals (Szechi, 2006, p. 57). These assorted factors tell us much about each Jacobite émigré’s philosophical agenda when factored against the immediate practical concerns of their newfound circumstances. Furthermore, as Darren Layne (2015, p. 2) asserts, practical welfare was almost always more vital than an overriding ideological cause, the latter of which often ‘took a backseat to issues of necessity.’⁵

Contributions to the Military

Szechi (2019, p. 222) notes that ‘taken in the round, the Jacobite contribution to their host societies was out of all proportion to their numbers’ and ‘primarily military because that was the only marketable skill most Jacobites possessed, but nonetheless important for that.’ As a result, a key area of both success and failure, and occasionally a combination of the two, was in the martial domain. A notable figure was the Scot, George Keith, tenth Earl Marischal, who took part in the northern component of the Jacobite Uprising of 1715 and followed James Stuart to France in its aftermath. Edward Furgol (2006, para. 3) explains that ‘in 1716, the Hanoverian government attainted Keith for treason and forfeited his estates to the crown; he was one of the few Scots to suffer such a heavy penalty for resisting the new dynasty.’ Keith’s diasporic journey was varied. He returned to Scotland only twice during the rest of his life. He was given joint-command of the Spanish forces in the Uprising of 1719, or the ‘19, which ended in total failure. Badly wounded, he found his way back to Spain (Furgol, 2006, para. 3).⁶

Keith did remain involved in various, yet futile, efforts to restore the exiled Stuarts. Whilst still active at the time of the ‘45, he took no part in its planning or unravelling (Furgol, 2006, para. 4). He enjoyed a successful diplomatic career between the intermittent uprisings and then served the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, as both Ambassador Extraordinary to France and, subsequently, Spain. He was also made Governor of the Prussian Enclave of Neuchâtel (Furgol, 2006, para. 5; Lenman, 1980, p. 9). When Keith returned to Scotland in 1761, ‘diehard Jacobite opinion in the North-east could still regard him as a traitor’ despite his exile of forty-five years. Moreover, it is reported that within a few months he was ‘despised and neglected’ and whether this was due to his ‘chilly welcome’ or to Scotland’s chilly climate, to which he was long unaccustomed, he returned to the Continent to live out his days in Prussian service (Pittock, 1998, pp. 125-6).

⁵ D. Szechi, (2006) *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion*, New Haven, CT, and London, Yale University Press, p. 57; Layne, 2015, ‘Spines of the Thistle: The Popular Constituency of the Jacobite Rising in 1745–6’, p. 2. For further works on motivational and wider social components of Jacobitism, see F. J. McLynn, (1982) ‘Issues and Motives in the Jacobite Rising of 1745’, *The Eighteenth Century*, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 97-133; F. J. McLynn, (1985) ‘The Ideology of Jacobitism on the Eve of the Rising of 1745’, *History of European Ideas*, vol. 6, pp. 1-18; 173-88; M. Pittock, (2006) *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (2nd Ed.), Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

⁶ Keith’s co-commander was William Murray, Marquess of Tullibardine, or *titular* second Duke of Atholl, in the Jacobite peerage and elder brother of Lord George Murray, a lieutenant-general of the Jacobite Army during the ‘45 – both were also prominent elite Jacobite exiles. See Lenman, 1980, p. 9.

According to Rebecca Wills (2002, p. 1), Russia is 'arguably one of the most exciting Jacobite destinations' of the external diasporas. Keith's younger brother, James Francis Edward Keith – James Stuart's namesake – was the most well-known Jacobite who entered Russian military service. He served in the Russian Imperial Army and was made Governor of Ukraine. He later joined his brother in the service of Frederick the Great and became a field marshal. However, his illustrious military career came to end when he died in combat at the Battle of Hochkirch in 1758 (Pittock, 1998, p. 125).

Another prominent exemplar was the Anglo-Irishman, James Butler, second Duke of Ormonde. Like George Keith, he was impeached for high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours and was subsequently attainted and forfeited. Having escaped to France, Ormonde spent much time traversing Europe and beyond on behalf of James Stuart, accumulating high offices and commissions (Szechi, 2019, p. 108). Stuart Handley (2006, para. 16) explains that these included being made captain-general of the exiled Jacobites and subsequently a general in the Spanish Army, where he was to lead an Irish contingent. His accumulated honours serve to stress what could be achieved in exile, though his efforts and career ultimately declined into disappointment. Although he met Charles Edward Stuart just before the prince departed France en route to Scotland, Ormonde's Jacobite prestige and popularity were fading, and he died shortly before the Jacobite Army's victory at the Battle of Prestonpans in 1745. Following the '45, the elderly exiled Jacobite was permitted, in death, a return to British soil for burial close to his grandfather in Westminster Abbey (Ó Ciardha, 2000, p. 193).

A further illustration of elite Jacobite diasporic careerism was that of the Irishman and French-naturalised exile, Colonel Nathaniel Hooke, Jacobite *titular* first Baron Hooke. Hooke became a convert to Catholicism, having initially served James Scott, first Duke of Monmouth, but was pardoned by James VII and II. As a trusted French agent, he secretly visited Scotland twice between 1705 and 1707, 'consulted with various cliques of Jacobites and other potential supporters and took Scottish emissaries with him back to France' (Szechi, 2019, p. 102). This was all done in an attempt to land James Stuart in Scotland, which ultimately failed in the planned invasion of 1708. In that year, he was promoted to brigadier-general in the French Army. Though he took no part in the '15, he was still in favour and in 1718 James Stuart appointed him as his envoy to Prussia. Only a few months before he had also been installed as a Marshal of France – thus accumulating high offices within these external realms (Archbold, 2011, para. 3).⁷

Though elites like Keith and Ormonde attained exalted positions, many fellow Protestant Jacobites, however, continued to face more acute religious predicaments throughout mainland Europe.⁸ Szechi highlights instances in several

⁷ Another French-naturalised, Jacobite-connected exile was Jacques MacDonald, first Duke of Taranto and Marshal of the (French) Empire. Born in France, he was a close relative of Flora MacDonald, as his Jacobite family hailed from Howbeg on South Uist. He ascended so loftily within the French military that he became 'one of Napoleon's most senior commanders and a folk hero in his native Highlands'. Whilst on a visit to Scotland in 1825, MacDonald 'was amazed by the [Jacobite] tactical incompetence implicit in what he saw of Culloden Battlefield.' See Pittock, 1998, p. 127.

⁸ It is still assumed by many that Roman Catholics comprised the largest support base for the Jacobite movement. This was the case in Ireland and, to a lesser extent, in England with Paul Monod, for example, noting that in that kingdom, Catholics 'had a natural attachment to a king of their own faith.' In Scotland, however, the Jacobite composition was dissimilar to the two other traditional Stuart dominions. Lenman explains that whilst the staunchly Catholic Jacobite clans would, naturally, be favourably inclined towards a Catholic monarch and their adherence was all but taken for granted, it was the

Catholic realms of natural or anticipated friction. For example, he points to King Louis XIV's obstinate refusal to allow the first exiled Stuart court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye to entertain Protestant Jacobite church services and the king's forbiddance of the Parisian church authorities to 'allow the[m] a graveyard in which to bury their dead' (Szechi, 2019, p. 221). Conversely, the Papacy was hesitant to instigate the practice of persecution against exiled Protestant Jacobites, particularly after James Stuart sought refuge in the Papal States from 1716, subsequently settling (permanently) in Rome in 1718 and numerous Protestant Jacobites followed their king to Italy (Stanley-Price, 2014, p. 22).

Nicholas Stanley-Price explains that the then Pope, Clement XI, following a request from James's ambassador to the Papal court, 'agreed that any Protestants who died in Rome might be buried on land adjacent to the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, on the side that lay *inside* the city walls' (Stanley-Price, 2014, p. 22). Stanley-Price adds that a Dr Arthur from Edinburgh was the first to receive a proper and sanctified Protestant Christian burial as a result of Clement's tolerance.⁹ Though Dr Arthur died in 1716, before the exiled court arrived and settled in Rome, 'by 1750 more than a dozen Protestants who were members of the court – and others who were not, such as the Grand Tourists – had died in Rome and had been buried adjacent to the Pyramid' (Stanley-Price, 2014, p. 22).¹⁰ However, this was an uncommon and privileged set of circumstances.

Consequently, Protestant-governed dominions such as the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway became other communal destinations for Protestant Jacobites, particularly Scottish Episcopalians, as alternatives to the Catholic powers of mainland Continental Europe. One notable martial example in this 'region' of the external diasporas was John Mackenzie, Lord Macleod, a Jacobite soldier and heir to the forfeited Cromartie estates, who was taken prisoner the day before Culloden. Mackenzie, who served with distinction in the Swedish Army, returned to Scotland to recover his estates with a Swedish title to boot, which King George III recognised in 1778 – potentially restoring some aspects of legitimacy and respect for the Jacobite Mackenzies of Cromartie. An example amongst many of later military success, he ascended to the rank of lieutenant-general and was awarded the Swedish Royal Order of the Sword (McLeod, 1996, pp. 20-1). Mackenzie's restitution was likely more straightforward, owing to his shared Protestantism with the king and the length of time since the real threat of another uprising had physically diminished.

Episcopalian clergy who provided the vast majority of Jacobite support and conveyed most of the movement's ideologies to their followers. So, when deliberating upon Protestant Jacobitism we are almost always describing Episcopalians in Scotland and High Church Anglicans in England and Wales. See P. K. Monod, (1989) *Jacobitism and the English people, 1688–1788*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 126; B. Lenman, (1982) 'The Scottish Episcopal Clergy and the Ideology of Jacobitism' in E. Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689–1759*, Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd, p. 36.

⁹ Due to the timing of his death, it remains unclear as to whether this Dr Arthur was a Jacobite, or even associated with the exiled court.

¹⁰ A similar contrast, though direct in the same Aurelian Walls surrounding Rome, lies in the Roman, and Pagan, insistence that Christians had to be buried *outside* the ancient city walls in the catacombs prior to the Constantinian era. Moreover, the Cimitero Acattolico ('Non-Catholic Cemetery') or Cimitero dei Protestanti ('Protestant Cemetery') is the final resting place of the English poets, John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley.

Beyond Europe, in the New World of the American colonies and the Caribbean, there mainly exist records of noteworthy Jacobite-connected individuals and some others who occasionally register in the surviving sources, rather than established diasporic Jacobite communities (Szechi, 2019, p. 223).¹¹ Two prominent military examples were the Scots, Allan Maclean and Hugh Mercer – allies at Culloden and ensuing fugitives from the field of battle – both of whom soared to extraordinary martial heights as brigadier-generals during the American Revolutionary War (1775–83). They latterly found themselves on opposing sides of the Revolution, with Maclean commanding British Army Loyalists and Mercer leading Continental Army (Patriot) forces. Mercer was one of a group of Scots, including some former Jacobite soldiers, who became closely associated with George Washington, first President of the United States, at different stages of Washington's life (Beacock Fryer, 1987, pp. 1; 217; Goolrick, 1906, pp. 1; 59-60).

Contributions to Commerce, Finance and Global Enterprising

It is important to note that the majority of the exiled Jacobites were expelled by force through punishments inflicted upon them by their victorious enemies. This was particularly the case for the lower classes, who often desperately found themselves in need of refuge, prospective new homes and careers (Monod et al., 2010, p. 3). Siobhan Talbot (2014, pp. 110-1) explains that many of the Scottish merchants in France who were sympathetic to Jacobitism were not included in the exodus triggered by the various political upheavals associated specifically with the Jacobite movement, and were already established on the Continent before the Revolution of 1688. Middle- and lower-class exiles would, therefore, have found sympathetic businesses in and around Paris and along the western seaboard of France who traded frequently with the British Isles (Lenman, 1980, p. 10). These exiles would likely have settled at ports such as Dunkirk, Saint-Omer, Boulogne, Dieppe, Le Havre, Rouen, Saint-Malo, Morlaix, Brest, Nantes, Lorient, La Rochelle, and Bordeaux. There were also Jacobite business communities as far as Bilbao, Cádiz, Seville, and Málaga (Pittock, 1998, p. 127).

These communities provided new opportunities for Jacobite exiles who wanted to seize a chance at continuing their previous career or to start afresh. The Franco-Irishman, Antoine Walsh, is one such individual from a family of exiled Jacobites (Lenman, 1980, p. 10). His family, as Szechi (2019, p. 223) highlights, 'made a fortune as privateers-cum-merchants' and typified 'the vigour and aggression which the scattering of Jacobite mercantile dynasties added to the commercial life of France's burgeoning western seaboard towns.' Walsh operated

¹¹ For studies with an emphasis on Jacobitism in a transatlantic context, see F. J. McLynn, (1988) 'Unpopular Front: Jews, Radicals and Americans in the Jacobite World-View', *Royal Stuart Paper*, 31; J. Hawkins, (1996) 'Imperial '45: the Jacobite Rebellion in Transatlantic Context', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24, pp. 24-47; G. Plank, (2006) *Rebellion and Savagery: The Jacobite Rising of 1745 and the British Empire*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press; A. I. Macinnes and D. J. Hamilton (eds.) (2014) *Jacobitism, Enlightenment and Empire, 1680–1820*, London, Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Ltd; A. Murdoch, (2016) 'Two Scottish documents concerning emigration to North Carolina in 1754', *North Carolina Historical Review*, pp. 361-85; N. Martin, (2018) 'The Cultural Paradigms of British Imperialism in the Militarisation of Scotland and North America, c.1745–1775' (unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Stirling), [Online]. Available at <https://dspace.stir.ac.uk/handle/1893/28516#.XKShJC-ZOqA> (Accessed 7 September 2020); K. B. Sherman (2019) 'Thistle Among the Pines: Flora MacDonald and the Highland Scots of the Cape Fear', *Salt Magazine*; K. B. Sherman (2019) 'Emigration as Epidemic: Perspectives on the Eighteenth-century Scottish Highlands', *Nursing Clio*, February, [Online]. Available at <https://nursingclio.org/2019/02/21/emigration-as-epidemic-perspectives-on-the-eighteenth-century-scottish-highlands/> (Accessed 7 September 2020); and Parrish's *Jacobitism and Anti-Jacobitism*.

out of Nantes and gained wider renown and notoriety, as he was the man who 'conveyed [Charles Edward Stuart] to Scotland in 1745 and organised his rescue in 1746' (Lenman, 1980, p. 10).

Other notable and successful Jacobite exiles in these regions included the bankers, William Gordon and Sons, the brothers George and John Waters, and Aeneas MacDonald, who actively helped modernise the French financial sector. The English former Jacobite soldier and industrialist John Holker 'almost single-handedly created a modern textile industry in France, and was ennobled for his efforts' (Szechi, 2019, p. 223). Aeneas MacDonald, who, as Lenman (1980, p. 10) asserts, was on his way to Scotland anyway nonetheless aided Charles Edward, allegedly reluctantly, as one of the Seven Men of Moidart. Escaping execution following Culloden, he was permitted to return to France and resumed his successful financial career; here he perished during the French Revolution (1789–99).

The Scottish quasi-Jacobite financier and economist, John Law, whose fall from grace is a spectacular example of a Jacobite-connected success story that became a French national scandal (Pittock, 1998, p. 127). Law was compelled to flee Great Britain for France after killing an adversary in a duel in 1694. However, his monetarist brilliance gradually gained the attention of the French royal court. After having spent some time at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, he was commissioned to set up the first major private bank in France in 1716 – *Le Banque Générale Privée*. He was later appointed as the French Controller-General of Finances in 1720. Yet Law's maladroit introduction of new banking methods, such as paper money, futures and margin trading in a country 'unused to and suspicious of them' led to a market collapse and Law was forced to abscond from France and his career effectively nosedived (Bonney, 2009, para. 4; Pittock, 1998, p. 127). Having received a pardon from the British government in 1719, he was permitted to return to British shores and settled in London but was later used by them as a foreign agent to spy on their enemies. He died, impoverished, in Venice. Nevertheless, Law's legacy endured in the form of his first land bank creation, which became the principal prototype for the Banque de France in 1800 (Bonney, 2009, para. 1; Pittock, 1998, p. 127).

Jacobite merchants and traders also thrived in the 'flourishing [Protestant] economy' of wider Scandinavia (McLeod, 1996, p. 20). There were business houses of Scots Jacobite origin in Sweden, primarily at Gothenburg and Malmö, and in the joint Kingdom of Denmark-Norway at both Copenhagen and Bergen. Additionally, other sympathetic communities could be found in the Baltic regions in places such as Danzig and Riga, and a mainly exiled Scots community founded the Swedish East India Company in Gothenburg (Lenman, 1980, p. 9; Szechi, 2019, p. 223). Tax-paying discharged soldiers were encouraged to settle in Swedish towns, and they were joined by political refugees – especially following the '45. Forty-four Scottish Jacobites arrived in Gothenburg between July 1746 and September 1747 and a particularly sizeable number of Britons, mainly Scots, provided sanctuary for many fleeing Jacobites (McLeod, 1996, pp. 20-1; Behre, 1991, p. 58).

A pertinent success story was Thomas Erskine, a member of a Jacobite-supporting family from Fife and later a very successful businessman. Erskine was

born in 1746 – the same year of the final Jacobite defeat at Culloden. Furthermore, his Jacobite family's estate in Cambo, Fife was forfeited shortly afterwards. Disinherited and seeking his fortune elsewhere, he willingly emigrated at the age of thirteen and began his career in the shipping firm of George Carnegie, also a Scottish Jacobite exile, in Gothenburg. This continued to be a common thread amongst émigrés of the external diasporas after the '45, as with the previous uprisings. Carnegie had fought against his elder brother, James, a British soldier during the '45 – this exemplifies that a significant facet of the Jacobite conflicts was rooted in a British civil war.¹² Within a few years, Erskine was the partner in another firm and 'by 1794 had his own company trading in iron, timber, tea, and [East Asian] luxuries with Scotland, Canton, India, and the USA' (McLeod, 1996, pp. 20-1; Berg and Lagercrantz, no date, paras. 15-7; 23). Like other diasporic Jacobites or their descendants, Erskine had a strong desire to reclaim what was taken from his family. He eventually inherited the title, the ninth earl of Kellie and bought back Cambo House, but was unable to retrieve the accompanying estates. Around 1800, he returned to his native homeland of Scotland to live out his remaining days (McLeod, 1996, pp. 20-1; Berg and Lagercrantz, no date, para. 23).

Two further commercial success stories emanating from the New World were Sir John Wedderburn of Ballindean, sixth Baronet of Blackness, and James Stirling. The former became an extremely successful sugar merchant, plantation owner, slave trader, and substantial landowner in Jamaica who reclaimed his father's Scottish title. The latter paid off the debts of his forfeited estates through his offspring, who became widely spread across successful global business ventures. The seventeen-year-old Wedderburn joined his father, who was a Perthshire laird and colonel in the Jacobite Army during the '45, and both were present at Culloden serving in Lord Ogilvy's regiment. John's father, also John, fifth Baronet of Blackness, was captured after the battle but his son escaped. Finding his way to London aboard a Leith trading vessel and under the protection of a relative once there, the younger Wedderburn is said to have possibly met his father one final time at Southwark gaol before his brutal execution by hanging, drawing, and quartering on 28 November 1746 (Wedge et al., no date, para. 1; Wedderburn, 1898, p. 288; Macinnes, 2014, pp. 123-9).

Following the execution, Wedderburn then fled the British Isles onboard a ship bound for the American colonies, labouring for his passage. Following the *Indemnity Act* of 1747 in June of that year, he proceeded to the Caribbean and settled in Jamaica. After initially working as a doctor, despite having no qualifications, he turned to the sugar trade and made his fortune as a plantation and slave owner – raising a fortune for his family and acquiring considerable property on the island. Later in life, long after the martial Jacobite threat was over and following a hard-fought campaign, he won back his attained father's title. In 1763, he returned to Scotland in an attempt to also restore the forfeited

¹² Like numerous other Jacobite exiles, Carnegie returned to Scotland. Before his return in 1769, he had repurchased his ancestral family seat of Pittarrow and Charleton, another estate, both in Southesk, near Montrose. Indeed, it was from Montrose, in flight from Culloden, that he and two fellow Jacobites escaped on an open boat before being picked up by a Swedish vessel, which took them to safety in Gothenburg. See J. Berg and B. Lagercrantz, (no date) 'Scots in Sweden – Eighteenth Century', *Electric Scotland*, [Online]. Available at <https://electricScotland.com/history/sweden/18.htm> (Accessed 26 September 2020).

Wedderburn estates. Returning to Jamaica in 1766 to oversee his commercial ventures, he again departed for Scotland in 1768 and remained there for the rest of his life. He soon after completed the repurchase of Ballindean, Perthshire. Reversing his family's attainder and forfeiture was, again, likely an attempt to restore his family's former status and respectability. To further demonstrate such a reversal of fortune that the external diasporas could provide, during his lifetime Wedderburn became one of the wealthiest men in the Caribbean and the largest landowner in Jamaica – his amassed wealth allowing him the privileges of his reclamations (Wedge et al., no date, para. 1; Wedderburn, 1898, p. 288).

Similarly, James Stirling, a committed Jacobite in 1708, 1715 and 1745, was attainted and his estates were forfeited following the '15 but were able to be reclaimed, in part, by the mercantile achievements of four of his sons, John, Archibald, James, and Robert – all of whom went on to multinational commercial and financial success (Macinnes, 2014, p. 138). Capital generated from the American colonies and plantations in Jamaica producing sugar and rum, 'stamp trading, silks and other textiles, minerals, sugar candy, spirits, Chinaware and opium' made the Stirlings very wealthy. Moreover, their business endeavours involved further proto-imperial realms, such as Calcutta, Patna, Madras and Bengal. However, not all Jacobite exiles or émigrés were so successful. Allan Macinnes (2014, p. 138) provides examples of some Jacobite families, such as the Threiplands of Gask in West Africa and India, the Balfours of Burleigh in the African slave trade, and the Mackintoshes of Borlum in the Caribbean – all of whom failed to remunerate their estates with the wealth of imperial empire.¹³

Contributions to Science and Socio-political Culture

A significant member of the external diasporas was the prominent mathematician, James Stirling (no immediate relation to the former). He hailed from a staunchly Jacobite Stirlingshire family. His father had been charged with high treason around 1709 but was later acquitted (O'Connor and Robertson, 1998, para. 2). Stirling was admitted to study at Balliol College as a Nonjuring Episcopalian student, but he was forced to withdraw upon refusing to swear the oaths of allegiance to both Queen Anne and King George I (Tweddle, 2004, para. 1). Without graduating, in the aftermath of the '15 Stirling travelled to Venice to continue his mathematical research and thereafter became known as 'The Venetian'. He returned to Great Britain around 1725 and spent time in Glasgow before settling in London for the next ten years (Tweddle, 2004, para. 1; O'Connor and Robertson, 1998, paras. 3-5). There he regularly corresponded with many of the leading scientists and mathematicians of the day and struck up a longstanding friendship with Sir Isaac Newton. It was Newton who sponsored Stirling for a fellowship in the Royal Society of London and on 3 November 1726 Stirling was elected. In 1730, Stirling published his most important work, *Methodus Differentialis*, which was 'a treatise on infinite series, summation, interpolation and quadrature' (O'Connor and Robertson, 1998, para. 13; summary). However, in

¹³ For an illustration of further relevant examples dealing with Jacobite-connected commercial activity on a global scale, see A. I. Macinnes, K. German and L. Graham (eds.) (2014) *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond*, London, Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Ltd; S. Murdoch, (2006) *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Association in Northern Europe, 1603–1746*, Leiden, Brill.

1745, due to his lingering Jacobite sympathies, he was refused a chair at the University of Edinburgh (O'Connor and Robertson, 1998, para. 23; Tweddle, 2004, para. 8). Stirling proves to be an interesting case of acceptance and rejection due in part to his Jacobite connections.

Many prominent scholars have rightly stressed that women were Jacobites too and that the integration of a more appropriate female perspective into Jacobite historiography is essential without simply seeing the 'heroine' (Martin, 2014, p. 41).¹⁴ Within an external Jacobite diasporic context, the assimilation and experiences of numerous Scottish noblewomen provide an important facet of the broader integration of Jacobite exiles in Europe. Notable examples include Lady Margaret Maule (*née* Hamilton), Countess of Panmure, and Lady Marjory Hay (*née* Murray), Jacobite *titular* Duchess of Inverness. Lady Winifred Maxwell courageously participated in Jacobite-related affairs through the rescue of her imprisoned husband, Lord William Maxwell, fifth Earl of Nithsdale, from the Tower of London in 1716. Attainted and forfeited they escaped to the Continent, but their lives saw a reversal of fortune as they eventually found themselves at the exiled Stuart court in Rome. Succeeding the Jacobite *titular* Duke and Duchess of Inverness, the Hays, Lord and Lady Nithsdale were respectively appointed governor and governess to the young Prince Henry Benedict Stuart – otherwise King Henry I and IX or The Cardinal Duke of York – by his father, James Stuart. This provided the young Stuart prince with a strong Scottish – and Catholic – cultural presence from an early age (Maxwell Stuart, 1995, p. 149; Bogle, 2006, pp. 1-4).¹⁵

Another notable Jacobite exile who contributed in some small part to American socio-political culture was the Scot, George Home (or Hume), second son of the forfeited laird, Sir George Home, tenth Baronet of Wedderburn. He was captured after the Battle of Preston in 1715 and was incarcerated in the Marshalsea prison. He was not transported as punishment but rather voluntarily travelled to Virginia in 1721, where he settled amongst a small community of fellow Jacobite exiles. His four younger brothers all became officers in the Royal Navy, but this was not an option for him as a convicted Jacobite.¹⁶ Through family connections, he was appointed Surveyor of Spotsylvania County in 1728 and his surveys are referenced in every county of the colony during this period. He became associated with Peter Jefferson, also a county surveyor, and who would become the father of Thomas, third President of the United States (Erskine Hume, 1931,

¹⁴ For other important studies focussing upon female Jacobitism, see M. Craig, (1997) *Damn' Rebel Bitches: The Women of the '45*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing Company (Edinburgh) Ltd; M. Craig, (2002) 'The Fair Sex Turns Ugly: Female Involvement in the Jacobite Rising of 1745', in Y. G. Brown and R. Ferguson (eds.) *Twisted Sisters: Women, Crime and Deviance in Scotland since 1400*, East Linton, Tuckwell Press Ltd, pp. 84-100.

¹⁵ Arguably, the most famous of these women of renown, Flora MacDonald, was also a member of a Scottish Highland diasporic community in North Carolina for a time before returning to her native Scotland. See H. Douglas, (1993) *Flora MacDonald: The Most Loyal Rebel*, Stroud, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, p. 138.

¹⁶ We know that by the '45, more than a few Jacobites of note eventually became officers in the British Army, providing a juxtaposition of the aftermaths of the major Uprisings of 1715 and 1745. Alongside Allan Maclean, another prominent example was Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat. The eldest son of the executed Jacobite, Simon Fraser, eleventh Lord Lovat, and a serving Jacobite, he became a major-general for the British during the Seven Years' War (1756–63) and led many of his clansmen to war for the Hanoverian dynasty. See Szechi, 2019, p. 227; Pittock, 1998, p. 127; Plank, *Rebellion and Savagery*, pp. 75-6; 179-80.

pp. 9-127; 1939, pp. 13-90). Yet perhaps his most illustrious acquaintanceship was with a young George Washington. Whilst Home was surveyor of Spotsylvania, Washington was appointed to a junior surveyorship of the newly made county of Culpeper and learned his craft from the elder George before he commenced his military and political careers. There exists from the county of Frederick and others several surveys that they made together, with the records signed 'George Hume, Surveyor; George Washington, Assistant Surveyor' (Erskine Hume, 1931, pp. 76-7; 1939, pp. 87-90).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article has stressed the extensive dispersal of numerous Jacobites across the globe. It has provided germane exemplars that demonstrate the diversity of diasporic livelihoods awaiting them after varying failures during the Jacobite uprisings, but also the variety of contributions that they made to their new homes and the communities in which they participated. Across the Jacobite century and beyond, the most common international termini for many Jacobites have been surveyed, whether that be a Catholic destined for France or a Protestant bound for Sweden. However, it is important to re-emphasise that Jacobite adherence was not primarily dictated by religious affiliation and a range of factors determined respective destinations and outcomes for countless Jacobites.

Yet within these customary confines, the intention has been to reveal the complex individual journeys and the array of aspects that shaped each Jacobite émigré or exile's circumstances in the years following their dispersion. Though each individual had his or her reasons and agendas for being connected with the Jacobite movement and its ideologies, for many their association was distinctly personal with specific aims but was also governed by a multitude of novel issues often including matters of survival. These issues could frequently be exacerbated by their scattering to different climes and what conditions they found themselves in upon arrival and over time.

Consequently, with their common cause lost, the external Jacobite diasporas offered a chance for ostracised participants to reinvent themselves. The lives of these characters display wide mobility of status, from criminality to military honour to destitution and back again – sometimes all in the life of a single person. Whether formal accolades, a new career path or an innovative way to subsist, possibly leaving their Jacobite loyalties or sympathies behind – or kept hidden – to reclaim their family's former possessions, the assortment of successes and failures provides a view into various diasporic case studies to supplement pertinent senior phase History topics – particularly the Advanced Higher course. Ultimately, these external Jacobite diasporas are a significant topic within Scottish, British and wider international history. Over and above the traditional places of refuge, mainly in and around Continental Europe, Jacobite-connected activity, often with a heavy Scottish influence, can be emphasised from America to Australia and Norway to Africa, thus accentuating its truly global reach and impact.

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