

Assignment Two - The Celts Origins to Modern Era (HPCS7003) – Heidi Wyldewood (2110492)

Compare and contrast two modern social or political movements originating in Celtic regions, with reference to their historical context, ideological foundations, methods, and outcomes.

The Jacobite Risings and the Easter Rising

The Glorious Revolution, which occurred after the death of Charles II in 1685, profoundly affected the political course of both Scotland and Ireland.¹ Charles II's brother James II and VII succeeded as king of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and was determined to reestablish a tolerance for Catholicism. Charles II's illegitimate son James, Duke of Monmouth, failed to gain the throne, after which James II increased the English army, with sights on bypassing parliamentary control of the armies of Scotland and Ireland too.² James II's push for Catholic officers, including Irish officers, and for absolute loyalty from the army, led to collusion between Protestant officers and the Dutch ruler William of Orange in the autumn of 1688.³ By the end of the year, William had invaded, and James had fled the country. Ireland would be where James would attempt his comeback. The Battle of the Boyne occurred in 1690, but again James would be forced to flee to France.⁴ This second half of the revolution was far more brutal than glorious, moreover it was 'not marked as in Scotland and England by constitutional debate'.⁵ The Jacobite War ended in the Treaty of Limerick, a document 'ill-suited as the basis for a settlement', deeming Ireland a 'subordinate possession of the English Crown'.⁶

The stage was set for the Jacobite movement. The seed of conflict was also well watered in Irish soil. The revolution was 'disastrous in the extreme' for Ireland, resulting in the 'annihilation of her woollen manufacture - the extinction of her commerce, the total loss of her legislative independence'.⁷ After years of antagonism, marked by the Irish Rebellion of 1798, the Acts of Union in 1800, and the Great Famine of 1845 to 1852, it emerged as an attempt to gain Home Rule by the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1916, ultimately leading to the formation of the Irish Republican Army.⁸ Both the

¹ National Army Museum, 'The Glorious Revolution', *National Army Museum* (2026) <<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/army-and-glorious-revolution>> [accessed 27th April 2026].

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. William of Orange married Mary, daughter of James II in 1677. Mary was at the time second in line to the English throne. Charles II was in favour of the marriage. W. A. Speck, 'Mary II', *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography* (2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18246>> [accessed 27th April 2026].

⁴ W. A. Speck, 'James II And VII', *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography* (2012) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14593>> [accessed 27th April 2026].

⁵ Patrick Kelly, 'Ireland And The Glorious Revolution: From Kingdom To Colony', *The Revolutions Of 1688: The Andrew Browning Lectures 1988*, ed. by Robert Beddard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 162-190 (p. 163).

⁶ 'In Ireland the Revolution was not marked as in England and Scotland by constitutional debate, nor did it produce any central revolutionary document such as the Declaration of Rights or Claim of Right. By default, therefore, the central document of the Revolution in Ireland was the treaty which ended the Jacobite War, and for many reasons the Treaty of Limerick was ill-suited as the basis for a settlement, not least because the Irish Protestant colonists who emerged as dominant after the war had no voice in making the Treaty. ... In the Glorious Revolution the settlement of the throne was imposed in London by an Act establishing that whoever should be recognized as sovereign by the English parliament was *ipso facto* ruler of Ireland, and the subsequent Act declaring the new oath of allegiance classed Ireland as a subordinate possession of the English Crown.' Ibid., pp. 163-164).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Brendan Simms, 'The Irish Rebellion '1798', *The Month*, 31.9/10 (1998), 376-380, (p. 376). For the Act of Union 1800 which in 'legislative terms' effectively 'abolished the Irish Parliament' and the Great Famine, in which 'more than a million people died of starvation and its related diseases, another million and a half emigrated, and in its wake, the Irish landscape, economy and peasant society were dramatically changed', see Michele Aileen O'Neill, *The Myth Surrounding The Passing Of The Irish Act Of Union And The Creation Of Irish Nationalism, 1775-1851* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 2013), p. 1 and 429.

Jacobite uprisings in Scotland and the Easter Rising in Ireland were violent, armed political movements against the rule centred in London; however, there were contrasting aspects to their ideological foundations, methods, and outcomes. Each of the timelines of these two separate struggles are laid out here along with the reasonings and tactics taken by the insurgents. What then follows is a comparison of the various attempts by the militant campaigners to 'put matters right'.

The Jacobite movement sought to restore the Catholic monarch to the throne of Britain. Just as James himself was deeply devotional and believed, as his father did, in God's backing and protection, so too did many of his supporters believe in his divine right to rule, although the cause was more complex than that.⁹ The Jacobite movement was not a single event, but a series of risings that spanned three generations of the Stuarts. The First Rising between 1689 and 1691 was initiated after the Glorious Revolution by the deposed James II and VI and his supporters, during the reign of his Protestant daughter Mary II and her husband, William III (of Orange).¹⁰ The Jacobites held the Glorious Revolution and its new monarchy to be unlawful.¹¹ Despite a victory at Killiecrankie (1689), momentum waned after the death of the leader, Viscount Dundee, and was further quashed by the Glencoe Massacre in February 1692.¹² After the deposed James II and VI died in 1701, the Act of Settlement deemed all Catholic heirs excluded from the English Crown going forward, and was 'reinforced by that of Abjuration (1702)', demanding a 'formal renunciation' of any Jacobite allegiance.¹³ In 1707 the Treaty of Union reignited Jacobite support, with 'three-quarters' of the Scottish population against it, the 'abortive Rising of 1708', and several incidents of unrest between 1712 and 1714.¹⁴ By 1915 most of the Scottish elite were Jacobite.¹⁵

⁹ James VI and I had written *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* in 1598, spelling out the Stuart belief in the divine right to rule and 'that a king at his coronation, or at the entry to his kingdom, willingly promises to his people to discharge honourably and truly the office given by God over them'. He also gave *A Speech to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament at White-Hall* in 1610 wherein he stated that 'The state of the monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth. For kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods'. James VI and I, 'The Trew Law Of Free Monarchies (1598)' and 'A Speech To The Lords And Commons Of The Parliament At White-Hall (1610)', *Divine Right And Democracy: An Anthology Of Political Writing In Stuart England*, ed. by David Wooton (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hacket Publishing Company, Inc, 2003), pp. 99-109 (pp. 103 and 107).

¹⁰ National Army Museum, 'Glorious Revolution', 2026.

¹¹ Jeffrey Stephen, 'Scottish Nationalism And Stuart Unionism: The Edinburgh Council, 1745', *Journal Of British Studies*, 49.1 (2010), 47-72 (p. 49) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27752690>> [accessed 3rd May 2026].

¹² Murray Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army In 1745*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 45-47. Two highland clans, the Campbells and the MacDonalds, had a historical feud, which was exacerbated by deposition of James II and VII. The MacDonalds supported the old king, whereas the Campbells did not. An offer of pardon, for Jacobite activity, had been made to the clans if they signed an oath in support of William III by 1st January 1692. The MacDonald's received the news of the pardon late, but they did sign on 6th January and believed themselves to be safe. However, thirty-eight men, women and children were killed on 13th February, and many more died of exposure after surviving the initial attack and fleeing to the freezing mountains. The attack was carried out by one hundred and twenty government troops, led by Captain Robert Campbell, after they had spent the two weeks prior in the company of the MacDonald clan. The Scottish Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry found the killings to be 'murder under trust', the ultimate betrayal of Highland hospitality, with the Campbell clan taking the brunt of the blame, although they represented only a tenth of the men involved in the massacre. The National Trust For Scotland, 'Glencoe National Nature Reserve: The Glencoe Massacre', *National Trust For Scotland* (2026) <<https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/glencoe/the-glencoe-massacre>> [accessed 3rd May 2026].

¹³ Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, p. 51.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51 and 53.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

The Fifteen (1715) and The Nineteen (1719) risings, during the reign of George I, were in support of the son, James Francis Edward Stuart, often called the 'Old Pretender'.¹⁶ The Fifteen was a 'national rising', not only with the intent of restoring a Stuart to the throne but also:

to 'restore the Kingdom [of Scotland] to its ancient free and independent state' in the words of King James; to gain the 'independency' of the 'ancient kingdom' in Mar's manifesto ('the present Quarrel turns upon these Two Points, the Restoring our Lawful Natural King, And the Dissolving the Union'); in the words of Captain John Nairn, it was a Rising to 'assist in dissolving the union and making Scotland a free nation'.¹⁷

Failure to capitalise on an early advantage before British reinforcements arrived meant that the 1715 rebellion was 'all but lost' by the time James Stuart arrived in Scotland in January 1716.¹⁸ The 'Jacobite troops slowly disappeared and went back to their homes', and the would-be king sailed back to France, and 'eventually moved to Rome'.¹⁹ After the bitter defeat many Jacobites faced captivity or execution, some escaped to the Continent.²⁰

The Nineteen had a similar aim to The Fifteen.²¹ With the emphasis now on 'national independence and anti-Unionism', an ambitious plan was created with support from Sweden and Spain.²² Both James Stuart and Phillip V wished to 'retake what they both believed belonged to them': Scotland was to be secured in exchange for help in neutralising the British threat to Spain's goal of a European empire.²³ After all the stealthy scheming, the rising was thwarted in the month leading up to and of

¹⁶ National Army Museum, 'Jacobite Risings', *National Army Museum* (2026) <<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/jacobites>> [accessed 2nd May 2026].

¹⁷ Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, p. 54.

¹⁸ Mar's men outnumbered the Duke of Argyll, but 'failed to push forward and let Argyll escape'. PJ Klinger, *The Jacobite Rebellion Of 1719: Revenge And Regrets*, (Unpublished MA thesis, East Carolina University, 2013), p. 29. John Erskine, Earl of Mar, was a Tory politician; double agent; and ardent Jacobite supporter. Sadly, he had 'no military experience whatsoever'. The 1715 Jacobite forces amounted to almost 20,000 men, but the 'quick capture of Perth and the crossing of the Firth of Forth' were probably the result of Mar's subordinates, because Mar's conduct was 'marked with a disastrous combination of chronic indecision and strategic incompetence'. Christoph V. Ehrenstein, 'Erskine, John, Styled Twenty-Second Or Sixth Earl Of Mar And Jacobite Duke Of Mar', *Oxford Dictionary Of National Biography* (2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8868>> [accessed 6th May 2026].

¹⁹ Klinger, *The Jacobite Rebellion Of 1719*, pp. 29-30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²¹ A letter from George Lockhart to the Earl Marischal in April 1719 reads: 'it is the King's intention to restore his Scots subjects to their ancient rights and independent state ... to redeem the nation as restore the King'. Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, p. 140. For George Lockhart as former MP of Edinburgh at the time, and 'one of the most famous Scottish Jacobites of his day', see Crown Copyright and The History of Parliament Trust 1964-2020 'Lockhart, George (1681-1731), of Carnwath, Lanark., and Dryden, Edinburgh', *The History Of Parliament: British Political, Social & Local History* (2026) <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/lockhart-george-1681-1731>> [accessed 6th May 2026].

²² Klinger, *The Jacobite Rebellion Of 1719*, pp. 30-31, 43 and 51.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

the invasion by a number of factors.²⁴ Without soldiers and arms the rising failed, and was abandoned entirely after the French and British invasion of Spain.²⁵

The Forty-five rebellion, during the reign of the recently enthroned George II, was spearheaded by Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Young Pretender' and 'Bonnie Prince Charlie', on behalf of his father who remained in Rome.²⁶ This time external help was promised from France.²⁷ It has been argued that Jacobite support in Scotland had seriously ebbed by 1745 and that the cause only belonged to the Gaidhealtachd, no longer a national or international issue.²⁸ However, the 'Highland line' did not exist at the time, the biggest divide was the Forth-Clyde line, and the notion of Highlander versus Lowlander was not a romanticised conflict until after 1745.²⁹ The system of Clans still 'operated within the framework of the Scots' and the Gaelic language had allies amongst Catholics and Episcopalians alike.³⁰ The 'propaganda' by the government presented the Jacobite cause as a Catholic against Protestant issue, but the main bone of contention which connected those that might be rallied to the cause was still the house of 'Hanover and the Union'.³¹ The 'Highland Army' of the Jacobites was an 'ideological term', based on the roots of identity and patriotism not geography.³² The Stuarts had become a means to an end, and the Jacobite desire was to 'undermine the British state in its early modern form', restore a 'multikingdom monarchy', and do away with the 'centralist state'.³³ Behind the scenes lay the work of an 'Association' of 'Scottish noblemen and gentry' co-ordinating the 'Highland and Lowland elements' along with the English and Irish supporters.³⁴ When Charles Edward

²⁴ Charles XII, king of Sweden, died in battle on 25th January 1719. The Spanish ships were originally due to sail at the end of January, which was adjusted to mid-February, but the month ended in fog. By 15th March an English fleet sailed near Lisbon, Portugal, whilst the Spanish fleet was in Cadiz having also suspiciously captured an additional forty French ships. The British deduced that Jacobite support was due to invade, but not exactly where they were to land. Communication back and forth about updated plans proved consistently difficult for Ormonde, the Irish Tory and leader of the Jacobite cause. This led to miscommunication and further delay. The Spanish Armada eventually left Cadiz on 7th March. Other French support sailed from France on March 19th and made their way to the designated rendezvous, the Isle of Lewis, narrowly missing an encounter with a British transport fleet. The British had by this point engaged privateers to sink Spanish ships. The Spanish Armada took a wide route around Lisbon to avoid this problem, but on 27th March a storm hit for two days. The fleet was separated and damaged, each ship having to make its individual way to the nearest port. They were unable to regroup and resail. Then the French attacked Spain in April and the Jacobite invasion was well and truly postponed. Ibid., pp. 59-72 and 82.

²⁵ The Jacobites lost Elian Donan Castle in April and were subsequently defeated at Glenshiel in June. Christopher Duffy, *The '45: Bonnie Prince Charlie And The Untold Story Of The Jacobite Rising* (London: Cassell, 2003), pp. 40-41.

²⁶ National Army Museum, 'Jacobite Risings', *National Army Museum* (2026)

<<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/jacobites>> [accessed 2nd May 2026].

²⁷ Bob Carruthers, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands | Line Of Fire | Absolute History* [video]. 2023 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_40onBDbPH0> [accessed 8th May 2026].

²⁸ Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, p. 6.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 37.

³¹ For government propaganda working against the reality of Episcopalian Scots making up seventy percent of the Jacobite army, see Murray Pittock, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands | Line Of Fire | Absolute History* [video]. 2023 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_40onBDbPH0> [accessed 8th May 2026]. For 'Hanover and the Union', see Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, pp. 37-38.

³² Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, pp. 37-39.

³³ Ibid., pp. 42-43.

³⁴ Duffy, *The '45.*, pp. 44-45.

raised his father's banner on 19th August 1745 at Glenfinnan, the cry was 'Long live King James VIII and Charles Prince of Wales, Prosperity to Scotland and No Union!'.³⁵

The Jacobites first victory was the capture of Edinburgh, followed by a win at Prestonpans in the September.³⁶ Not content with having secured Scotland, Charles Edward set his sights on London, against the advice of his council.³⁷ The march into England took place between the November and December, and they captured Carlisle. It is estimated that the army Charles Edward led into England was between five and six thousand men, with an entourage of around two thousand.³⁸ However, many deserted the southern army for its northern counterpart because they did not wish to fight in England, and by the late autumn the two arms had lost contact with each other.³⁹ By the time they reached Derby, the money had also run out, so they had to retreat. The Jacobites remained victorious at Falkirk in January 1746, but retreated further, and the Battle of Culloden in April would be their undoing.⁴⁰ The Jacobite army gathered on Culloden moor, but when the government army failed to show they decided on a night march to surprise them at Nairn.⁴¹ Unfortunately, some of the Lowlanders and all the French regulars moved slower through the marshy terrain than the quicker moving Highlanders, who swiftly became detached.⁴² Their overall arrival was delayed till sunrise. Without the element of surprise, they made their way back to Culloden moor exhausted.⁴³ When the battle finally started the Jacobites were down in number and still waiting on many to arrive back again, besides the government troops were far more proficient with their greater number of artillery.⁴⁴ The government won the day, terminating the possibility of future Jacobite risings.⁴⁵

Unlike the Jacobite movement, which was a series of risings over decades, there was a longer brewing process, multiple causations and reactions, that led to the short-lived Easter Rising. In 1795 the Orange Order was founded; the Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland occurred in 1801, the Ancient Order of Hibernians was founded in New York in 1836; the Irish Republican Brotherhood began in 1858; the Gaelic League in 1893; and Sinn Féin in 1907.⁴⁶ The Parliament Act in 1911; the

³⁵ The National Trust For Scotland, 'Glenfinnan Monument: Bonnie Prince Charlie And The 1745 Rising', *National Trust For Scotland* (2026) <<https://www.nts.org.uk/visit/places/glenfinnan-monument/1745-rising>> [accessed 3rd May 2026].

³⁶ Duffy, *The '45*, pp. 193-197.

³⁷ The victory at Prestonpans led to an 'overconfidence' and although James VIII had now been proclaimed in Scotland, Charles Edward changed the aim of his mission to gaining the throne of England as well. Additionally, the Highlanders had only 'agreed to march into England' on the understanding they would be 'backed by a large body of French troops', which did not happen. Bob Carruthers, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023. For Charles Edward acting against the advice of his council, and those who later argued for the retreat from Derby had not 'voted for an invasion in the first place, and all of them had declared against it', see Stephen, 'Scottish Nationalism And Stuart Unionism', pp. 62-63.

³⁸ Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, p. 71.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Absolute History, 'Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands', 2023.

⁴¹ On the 14th April 1746 they arrived at Culloden moor. The government army did not appear as expected due to the Duke of Cumberland's birthday celebrations on the 15th April. The Jacobites marched through the night of the 15th into the 16th April. Niall Barr, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁴² Murray Pittock, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁴³ Many had sought shelter or food and were not yet present on the battlefield. Absolute History, 'Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands', 2023.

⁴⁴ Pittock, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁴⁵ Absolute History, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁴⁶ Denis Donoghue, 'Easter 1916', *Yeats Annual: Yeats's Legacies*, 21 (2018), 39-61 (p. 41) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/90020738>> [accessed 3rd May 2026].

industrial dispute of 1913; Pearse's speech in 1915; and the threat of conscription during World War I could be perceived as more immediate precursors.⁴⁷ The Easter Rising itself proved a catalyst for another phase in Ireland's struggle against British rule, marked by IRA activity and peace talks. The prospect of the exclusion of four Ulster counties from the Home Rule bill, directly led to the formation of a Provisional Government by the Ulster Unionist Council and a sixty thousand strong, Protestant and loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in 1913.⁴⁸ It was the delay in passing that Home Rule bill; talks of a separate Ulster; and the presence of the UVF which prompted the formation of the predominantly Catholic Irish Volunteer Force (IVF) in November in Dublin as a counterpoint paramilitary body to the UVF.⁴⁹ MacNeil's founding intention was not to battle the UVF, but rather to ensure fair play by the British government.⁵⁰ The Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) were involved, or had infiltrated the group, from the very beginning.⁵¹ Meanwhile, the Dublin workers, headed by James Connolly, James Larkin and Jack White, also established the Irish Citizen Army in the same month.⁵² The ICA initially gained about a thousand members, but that dwindled after the end of the Dublin Lockout in January the following year, but the IVF had one hundred and eighty thousand members by September 1914.⁵³

In May 1915, those 'IRB members of the Volunteers' with contacts in New York, like John Devoy, 'appointed a military committee' with their sights set on a 'Rising'.⁵⁴ This committee comprised Pearse, Plunkett and MacDonagh who were 'literary men', with ideas of a forced republicanism born of 'blood sacrifice'.⁵⁵ Their plan was made without the knowledge of MacNeill, chief of staff. The Rising, a 'national resurrection', was set for Easter Sunday under the guise of a nationwide training march unbeknownst to the majority of the IVF members.⁵⁶ The Rising nearly did not take place. The much needed shipment of arms did not arrive, then MacNeil discovered the plan and issued a countermand via orders and newspapers.⁵⁷ Those still in favour of going ahead, like Connolly, Pearse, Plunkett and MacDonagh, met at Liberty Hall on Easter Sunday and decided they would 'begin the rebellion tomorrow' despite now expecting diminished numbers caused by the countermand confusion.⁵⁸ On Easter Monday 1916 they met again as a merged Irish Republican Army and elected

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ The Home Rule Bill of April 1912 proposed the establishment of a special Irish parliament in Dublin. In June 1912 an amendment was introduced in which 'the four Ulster counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down and Derry which had major Protestant and Unionist majorities' would be excluded. Maureen Buckley, 'Irish Easter Rising Of 1916', *Social Science*, 31.1 (1956), 49-55 (p. 49) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41884424>> [accessed 29th April 2026].

⁴⁹ Stephen Collins, '1916 And What It Means Today', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 105. 417 (2016), 41-46 (p. 43) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24871383>> [accessed 30th April 2026].

⁵⁰ For Eoin MacNeill's role in the creation of the Irish Volunteer Force and his intentions, see Donoghue, 'Easter 1916', p. 43.

⁵¹ Buckley, 'Irish Easter Rising Of 1916', p. 52.

⁵² Ibid., p. 50

⁵³ Donoghue, 'Easter 1916', p. 43.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

⁵⁵ James Heaney, 'Chesterton, Pearse, And The Blood Sacrifice Theory Of The 1916 Rising', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 103.411 (2014) 307-317 (p. 307) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24347780>> [accessed 13th May 2026].

⁵⁶ 'There is much to suggest that Pearse did indeed view the Rising as a kind of 'redemptive Easter gesture', which he hoped would inspire 'a national resurrection'. Ibid., p. 308.

⁵⁷ The countermand read: 'Volunteers completely deceived. All orders for special action are hereby cancelled, and on no account will action be taken'. Jefferson B Kloepper, *Erin Go Bragh: How Irish Independence Shaped The Modern World And The Legacy Of The 1916 Easter Uprising*, (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Idaho, 2016) p. 38.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 38-39.

Pearse as president of their new republic. Their march took them to the General Post Office, and after taking it over they raised two flags and Pearse read their 'Proclamation' in front of a crowd:

... We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible...⁵⁹

The rebellion saw them take over several main buildings and areas around Dublin centre, with messages relayed between them by 'boys and women riding bicycles'.⁶⁰ In the bloody battle that followed rebels, civilians and government troops were killed; looting was rife; Sackville Street was on fire; and the city in ruin.⁶¹ On Sunday 29th April, Pearse and Connolly decided to give the order to surrender in the hopes that only the leaders would be executed.⁶²

When the IVF marched from Liberty Hall in the direction of the General Post Office on Sackville Street, it was a very short route that takes under ten minutes to walk.⁶³ They were a visible 'column of men and women clad in green', but few thought anything of it, having normalised the activities of the IVF, and certainly did not think a 'rebellion was underway'.⁶⁴ Conversely, the Jacobite armies had to march extremely long distances in difficult terrain, for instance the 1745 advance on Edinburgh from Perth took nearly two weeks alone, and was a trek in which the Ochil Hills and the Gargunnock Hills had to be circumnavigated, the Forth had to be crossed, and the narrow gap between the Touch Hills and the rock of Stirling Castle had to be passed through.⁶⁵ Apart from when they were deliberately attempting a stealth mission, they were also highly visible and audible with the colours flying and the pipes playing.⁶⁶ The IVF had sure footing on urban streets, but the Jacobite army was liable to breaking apart when trudging in their usual formation, a three-file wide snake-like column, through marsh land.⁶⁷ At Prestonpans, where they used an overnight change of position out of the marsh to their advantage, it did not prove critical, but at Culloden the boggy night march prior to the battle left parts of the army incommunicado and extremely vulnerable.⁶⁸

The Jacobite way of fighting was suited to the open field and their tactics were impressive. Their 'Highland Charge' involved the holding of fire until at close range, then the discarding of the musket

⁵⁹ The two flags were the Irish tricolor and a green flag with 'Irish Republic' upon it. The Proclamation began: 'Irishmen and Irish women: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.' Ibid., p. 41-42.

⁶⁰ The leaders of the Provisional Government seized the General Post Office; Connolly and the ICA attacked Dublin Castle then took over Dublin City Hall; Edward Daly's First Battalion occupied the Four Courts of Justice; MacDonagh's Second Battalion seized Jacob's Biscuit Factory; De Valera's Third Battalion seized Boland's Bakery and buildings close to the Beggar's Barracks; Eamonn Ceant's Fourth Battalion took the South Dublin Union; and Michael Mallin, Countess Constance Markievicz and other ICA members took St. Stephens Green. They all fortified their positions and awaited the British counterattack. Ibid., pp. 43-44 and 48.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 50-51.

⁶³ Sackville Street is now O'Connell Street. Google Maps, 'Liberty Hall To An Post, General Post Office Via R105 And O'Connell Street Lower', *Google Maps* (2026) <<https://maps.app.goo.gl/tYWJmgCpQeeWTEGq5>> [accessed 15th May 2026].

⁶⁴ Kloepper, *Erin Go Bragh*, p. 40

⁶⁵ Stirling Castle contained a 'Hanoverian garrison' complete with cannon and artillery. Shots were fired four times at Charles Edward next to the royal standard but failed to hit their target. Duffy, *The '45*, pp. 187-191.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 116-117.

⁶⁸ For the Jacobite change of position to surprise the Redcoats at Prestonpans, see Absolute History, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023. For the marshy conditions at Prestonpans and Culloden, see Duffy, *The '45*, pp. 116-117.

or firelock after a single shot in favour of the broadsword and targe (shield).⁶⁹ Upon reaching the range of the enemy bayonet the Jacobite would then drop the left knee whilst covering the body with the shield and simultaneously slashing upward with the edge of his blade. The Jacobites were also observed bringing down two men at a time with a sword and a dirk, one in each hand.⁷⁰ By the time they got to Culloden they had some French firepower and bayonets, but lacked the amount to engage in protracted warfare with the government troops, so they still relied on the Highland Charge in a wedge to 'punch through' the line.⁷¹ Unfortunately the charge needed at least one of 'three things to maximise its effectiveness': a downward slope; confined space; or a short distance, and Culloden provide them with none of these.⁷² In fact the ground between the Jacobites and the British army was boggy and only the righthand side of the charge line made engagement.⁷³ The Redcoats had also learned from previous defeats and used their bayonets angled to the right so dropping the left knee in combination with the targe was less effective on contact anyway.⁷⁴

Unlike the Jacobites, the IVF did not meet their enemy in the manner of one army intercepting another. Although there was some close-quarter engagement, there was no one-to-one combat or charge at the enemy frontline either. They read their proclamation, took over buildings and areas, and mounted a conventional static defence. They built barricades and fought from behind cover, using rifle and sniper fire from windows and rooves. Additionally, those marching in the Jacobite columns knew they were headed for a battle, even if they had been 'forced', but not all the participants in the Easter Monday march had any idea about the Rising until it took place. The 'structure of the Jacobite force was that of a conventional army', with routines, orders of the day, duty rosters, passwords, and court martials and all the companies, battalions and regiments on full pay.⁷⁵ The regiments were linked to clans for coherence and morale purposes which worked well, but in comparison to the British army was a little 'old-fashioned and ramshackle'.⁷⁶ The Jacobite army and its supporters, no matter the clan or nationality, wore some kind of tartan, which acted as their uniform and a symbolic 'patriotic badge'.⁷⁷ The official uniform of the IVF was a 'grey-green tunic, trousers and puttees', along with a distinctive cloth hat and badge.⁷⁸ Both the IVF and the ICA also maintained regular training exercises under a fairly conventional military organisational structure.⁷⁹ People were used to seeing

⁶⁹ Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, pp. 97-98. See also Pittock, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷⁰ Pittock, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷¹ Absolute History, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷² Pittock, *'Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷³ Absolute History, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷⁴ Barr, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷⁵ Duffy, *The '45*, p. 100.

⁷⁶ Matthew Bennet, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁷⁷ English Jacobites also wore tartan. 'Not only did Beppy Byrom in Manchester wear plaid garters and Sir John Hynde Cotton order a full tartan suit ... Girls wearing 'Plaid Breast-knots, Ribbands, and Garters' were known as the 'Lancashire Witches', while the Manchester Regiment itself appeared on parade with 'each officer ... in a plaid waistcoat and a white cockade ... Colonel Townley, as commanding officer, was distinguished by the addition of a Highland plaid sash lined with white silk'. In other words, the Jacobite ethos was pictorially Highland rather than actually Gaelic. Tartan made a statement of a wider political allegiance, in which the 'honest man' code of English Jacobitism could readily represent itself in the garb of the patriot Highlander'. Pittock, *The Myth Of The Jacobite Clans*, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁸ 'Volunteers who could not afford a uniform simply wore their normal civilian clothes and a brown belt with 'Irish Volunteers' inscribed on the buckle.' History Ireland, 'The Irish Volunteer Uniform', *History Ireland* (2026) <<https://historyireland.com/irish-volunteer-uniform/>> [accessed 13th May 2026].

⁷⁹ In the Irish Volunteer Force, Patrick Pearse served as the director of military organization, Thomas MacDonagh as the director of military training, and Joseph Plunkett as the director of military operations. In the Irish Citizen Army, James Connolly ordered its members to 'drill and train' to protect striking workers from

them out in their 'green'. It was under the guise of one of the IVF nationwide session that the original plan for Easter Sunday 1916 was to take place.⁸⁰ After the fallout of the Easter Rising, the combined rebel force from the IVF and the ICA became known more commonly as the Army of the Irish Republic or the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Still committed to their goal, during their subsequent campaigns they fully engaged in guerilla warfare, especially during the Irish War of Independence 1919-1921; Irish Civil War 1922-1923; the Border Campaign 1955-1962; and The Troubles 1969-1998, leading to their classification as a terrorist organisation in the 1970s.⁸¹ Guerilla warfare was not sanctioned under Charles Edward and the Jacobites did not engage in anything that could be described as that.⁸² The likes of Charles Edward also sought to make it clear that the Jacobite cause was perceived as that of a 'sovereign power as it would have been understood by jurists' rather than a rebellion, and that *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* were the conditions under which he acted as a 'lawful belligerent'.⁸³ The protagonists of Easter Rising and the IRA had no monarch or sovereign in mind, only self-governance by means of a republic.

One report about the Easter Rising stated that a total of four hundred and fifty people had been killed including sixty four of the combatant insurgents, and more than two and a half thousand wounded in the days of the Easter Rising.⁸⁴ All of the leaders were executed by firing squad, bar Constance Markievicz who was the only woman to be court-martialled.⁸⁵ Thousands more were arrested and martial law was put into effect, after which public opinion began to change, even amongst previously loyal subjects.⁸⁶ Catholic churches held requiem masses for the executed, demonstrations were held on both sides of the Liffey, many began to wear Sinn Féin badges, and people openly 'hissed and booed' British soldiers.⁸⁷ The Volunteer Dependents Fund (VDF) was set up by wives of the executed, which was then merged with the existing Irish National Aid Association (INAA) fund for the affected non-combatant families.⁸⁸ The Catholic Bulletin actively promoted the giving of donations to the

the police, see Kloefer, *Erin Go Bragh*, pp. 29 and 35. For Constance Markievicz assisting with the organisation and training of the Irish Citizen Army, see BBC, 'Wars & Conflicts: 1916 Easter Rising: Profiles: Countess Constance Markievicz 1868-1927', BBC (2014) <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/easterrising/profiles/po10.shtml>> [accessed 2nd May 2026]. For the secret IRB members who hoped to now 'drill openly in the Dublin mountains' as volunteers of the IVF, see Donoghue, 'Easter 1916', p.43.

⁸⁰ Pearse, MacDonagh and Plunkett planned the rising behind back of Eoin MacNeill, the commander of the Irish Volunteer Force. Kloefer, *Erin Go Bragh*, p. 35.

⁸¹ National Army Museum, 'Irish War Of Independence', *National Army Museum* (2026) <<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/irish-war-independence>> [accessed 2nd May 2026].

⁸² Duffy, *The '45*, p. 101.

⁸³ The branch of law regarding the legitimate reasons to engage in war is titled *jus ad bellum* and the set of laws in effect once war has begun is called *jus in bello*. Ibid., pp. 99-100.

⁸⁴ 'When it was all over, 450 people in total had been killed, 2,614 wounded, 9 missing; of these, 116 soldiers had been killed, 368 wounded and 9 missing, along with 16 policemen dead and 29 wounded. Out of 1,558 combatant insurgents, 64 had died'. Donoghue, 'Easter 1916', p.48.

⁸⁵ It was determined that five-hundred and eight rebels had been in the General Post Office. The leaders were arrested, court-martialled for high treason, and executed between 3rd to 12th May, less than a month after the rising, Ibid. For Markievicz, see BBC, 'Wars & Conflicts: 1916 Easter Rising: Profiles: Countess Constance Markievicz 1868-1927', 2014.

⁸⁶ Kloefer, *Erin Go Bragh*, p. 60.

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 60-61.

⁸⁸ Caoimhe Nic Dháibhéid, 'The Irish National Aid Association And The Radicalization Of Public Opinion In Ireland, 1916-1918', *The Historical Journal*, 55.3 (2012) 705-729 (pp. 709-710) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23263270>> [accessed 3rd May 2026].

combined INAAVDF.⁸⁹ A 'rapid sacralization of the Easter rebellion' occurred and the 'myth of martyrs' constructed.⁹⁰ That radical shift in popular attitude forced the British Government to abandon the proposed Home Rule parameters in favour of greater independence. Whilst the insurrection did not achieve their goal of a full republic, the Government of Ireland Act received Royal Assent in December 1920 for a partitioned Ireland.⁹¹ Two self-governing bodies were formed, one for Northern Ireland (six counties) and one for Southern Ireland (twenty-six counties).⁹² In a further push, the south became the Irish Free-State in 1922 after the Irish War of Independence, and twenty-seven years later it severed its ties with the British Commonwealth completely and the Republic of Ireland came into being.⁹³ Northern Ireland's path remained complicated having opted to remain part of the United Kingdom and the 'partition has endured'.⁹⁴

The outcome of the final Jacobite Rising was very different. Once the Royal Ecossais had surrendered at the battle of Culloden the government dragoons rode down the remaining Jacobites, and slaughtered the fugitive men, women and children all the way to Inverness.⁹⁵ Further reprisals included the Attainder Act, which 'allowed captured Jacobites to be declared guilty of treason without recourse to trial'; the Vesting Act, which saw the forfeiture of the major Jacobite estates; the Act of Proscription, which banned men and boys from wearing Highland dress or bearing arms; and the Heritable Jurisdictions Act intended to dismantle the clan system.⁹⁶ The British Army then sustained a heavy presence in Scotland for over a decade by way of ten to twelve thousand soldiers at more than four hundred garrison points and outposts, right across the country, not just the Highlands.⁹⁷ The Highland way of life was completely altered in the attempt to stomp out ideas of independence and identity. The Jacobite court 'endured' in exile until the 1770s. The romanticised image of Scotland and the Jacobite cause, promoted by the writings of Macpherson in the eighteenth century and Scott in the nineteenth, 'became a vision of that era transformed by visions of nostalgia, loss and transfiguration'.⁹⁸ The Jacobite version of 'Highland' patriotism became the source material for Scotland's global brand' and changed how the world viewed Scotland, perhaps even how it viewed

⁸⁹ The July issue of the Catholic Bulletin sold out in a week due to the popularity of the Easter Rising. The Bulletin continued to call for donations and in 'December 1916, printed a series of evocative photographs of and children of the men executed or killed in action in an attempt to sympathy further and prompt a resurgence in donations from within. Alongside the Bulletin ran the proliferation of flags, mourning mortuary cards. These provided an initial focus for this surge sentiment which remained an abiding feature of the post-Rising echoing the similar explosion of commemorative material'. Ibid., pp. 722-723.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 722).

⁹¹ Fergal Keane, *Centenary Conversation - Department Of Foreign Affairs And Trade, Ireland* [video]. 2020 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJtrPCimczU>> [accessed 10th May 2026].

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ The Royal Ecossais were a French army regiment of Scottish exiles. Absolute History, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

⁹⁶ The Act of Proscription was dubbed the 'Diskilting Act'. Victoria Hinderks, 'The Politicization Of Scottish Dress: A Study Of Highland Garb', *Constellations*, 5.2 (2014) 1-13 (pp. 5-7) <<https://doi.org/10.29173/cons22033>> [accessed 13th May 2026].

⁹⁷ Murray Pittock 'Bonnie Prince Charlie: Charles Edward Stuart And The Jacobite Movement, 1720-2020', *Gresham College* (2020) p. 5. <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2020-11-03-1300_Pittock_Jacobites-T.pdf> [accessed 11th May 2026].

⁹⁸ Ibid.

itself.⁹⁹ Rather than achieving its aim, the Jacobite movement ultimately galvanised the status of Great Britain as the 'world's leading power'.¹⁰⁰

Both the Scottish and the Irish movements gained support from those outside their respective countries. The Jacobites always required 'major foreign intervention' to support a successful rising against what was essentially a 'superpower' at the time.¹⁰¹ Whilst the twentieth century Irish cause had external players, the need or scale was nowhere that of the eighteenth century Scottish one. The Jacobites raised funds and support from enemies of the British, or from those whose agendas aligned with their own. The discreet financial support from French and Spanish allies for the Fifteen floundered after the death of Louis XIV and the Spanish ships sunk.¹⁰² There were four essential parts to the planned invasion of the Nineteen: speed, secrecy, Swedish help, and support of the Jacobites in Britain, and all of these were at the mercy of the whether the Spanish troops, arms, finances, and transport showed up or not.¹⁰³ Some '15,000 arms', 'ten pieces of field artillery', and '1,000 barrels of gunpowder' were meant for the 'potential "Jacobite" soldiers,' without which their rebellion was doomed.¹⁰⁴ In 1745 the Irish played a huge role in initiating the plan and were responsible for Charles Edward arriving in Scotland, with 'arms, ammunition, cash and volunteers'.¹⁰⁵ The protagonists of the IVF were also reliant on external forces which again deemed the plan vulnerable to discovery. Funds from Irish American organisations, like Clan na Gael, enabled the supply of arms from Germany along with other expenses. When a miscommunication between Clan na Gael, the contacts in Berlin and their major shipment of arms occurred, it led to the interception and subsequent scuttling of the ship, the *Aud*.¹⁰⁶ Although the plan for the Easter Rising was not discovered in detail by the government, the loss of the arms altered it considerably. Both movements discovered that plans made in secret were hard to keep secret and even more difficult to carry out in terms of logistics. Both lost shipments of arms at sea. The IVF used codewords in their telegrams and passwords in their physical communications, but even that could not prevent a botched rising.¹⁰⁷ Incidentally, they also used morse code to broadcast their 'Irish Republic to the world on Easter Tuesday'.¹⁰⁸ The Jacobites were paranoid about spies and double agents, and used elaborate code in their letters back and forth over land and sea, but even when plans were not exposed, they were vulnerable to other factors, such as the weather, which wrecked the Spanish fleet in 1715 and the French fleet in 1744, or the terrain, which forced them to alter routes or slowed down their troops.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Pittock, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

¹⁰² Klinger, 'The Jacobite Rebellion Of 1719', p. 28

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 54

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 54 and 59.

¹⁰⁵ Duffy, *The '45*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ The German ship was disguised as a Norwegian freighter called the *Aud* and the captain was informed to land on April 20th. The rebels sent word to change it to the night of the 23rd instead, but with no radio aboard the ship the captain remained unaware of the change of plan. He waited for twelve hours on the 20th for IVF personnel to show. The *Aud* was then intercepted by the British, and during the process of being taken to port the captain had the ship scuttled to prevent the discovery of its cargo. Kloepper, *Erin Go Bragh*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁷ Daniel Larsen, 'British Signals Intelligence And The 1916 Easter Rising', *Ireland, Intelligence And National Security*, 33:1 (2018) 48-66 (pp. 51-54) <<https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2017.1323475>> [accessed 13th May 2026].

¹⁰⁸ Connect Centre, 'Radio Rising', *Connect Centre* (2016) <<https://connectcentre.ie/news/radio-rising/>> [accessed 13th May 2026].

¹⁰⁹ Klinger, 'The Jacobite Rebellion Of 1719', pp. 55-56. For the wrecking of the Spanish and French fleets, see Carruthers and Absolute History, *Culloden: The Brutal 18th-Century Battle In The Scottish Highlands*, 2023.

If the Jacobite Risings and the Easter Rising are examined in isolation it appears that the Scottish movement was sustained over a far longer period and the Irish rising rather short in contrast. However, each notable insurrection is part of a wider picture, a stage in a continued struggle for change pushing back against the implementation of British rule. A high percentage of the population in both these Celtic countries would have named the Protestant 'revolution' of 1688 something other than glorious, but it would be wrong to assume the main cause of the risings a religious one. Both movements contained elements of a Catholic Protestant divide, but despite propaganda which focused on the religious aspects, each were essentially political and national movements. The Jacobite rebellion has its place in the current chapter of Scotland's identity by providing a heroic 'Highland' past from which many still feel the call to strive for autonomy, and tartan is still a matter of pride and identity. The modern Scottish Parliament was established in 1998.¹¹⁰ In the May 2026 election, the Scottish National Party (SNP) remains the largest party, winning the most seats but falling short of a majority win.¹¹¹ The party still seeks further devolution, advocating for an independent government. There is no talk of a replacement monarch, those days have long gone. Likewise, the 'martyrs' of the Easter Rising have a place within Irish history, and the Irish Defence Forces still uses the Irish Volunteer cap badge and buttons on their uniforms.¹¹² The 'blood sacrifice' did lead to the terrorist actions of the IRA, eventually necessitating the peace talks and the Good Friday Agreement, but it also instigated the process which resulted in the Republic of Ireland.¹¹³ The participants of both Scottish and Irish movements fought to rid themselves of a crown and parliament based in London and framed their fight as a legitimate one. The style of manoeuvres and the tactics employed by the individual rebel movements differ due to the communication and armament technologies available and the rural versus urban environments in which their respective conflicts occurred. Both struggled with long-distance planning and secrecy, and both suffered the loss of vital shipments of arms and expected manpower at key moments. One of the most striking points of contrast, however, is that outcome of the final Jacobite attempt ultimately strengthened the image of the British Empire's accelerating global machine and its dominance of its Celtic periphery whereas the Easter Rising was a catalyst for its decline.

¹¹⁰ Scottish Parliament / Pàrlamaid na h-Alba, 'History Of The Scottish Parliament', *Scottish Parliament* (2026) <<https://www.parliament.scot/about/history-of-the-scottish-parliament>> [accessed 15th May 2026].

¹¹¹ Scottish Parliament / Pàrlamaid na h-Alba, 'Election 2026', *Scottish Parliament* (2026) <<https://www.parliament.scot/msps/elections/election-2026>> [accessed 15th May 2026].

¹¹² History Ireland, 'The Irish Volunteer Uniform', 2026. 'The Badge design (common to all Corps and Services and all orders of dress) is derived from the badge of the Irish Volunteers and was designed by Professor Eoin MacNeill, Chairman of the National Executive of the Irish Volunteers'. For a full description of the badge, see Óglaigh na hÉireann / Irish Defence Forces, 'Defence Forces Cap And Badge', *Óglaigh na hÉireann / Irish Defence Forces* (2026) <<https://www.military.ie/en/public-information/defence-forces-museums/defence-forces-history/defence-forces-cap-badge/>> [accessed 13th May 2026].

¹¹³ National Army Museum, 'The Troubles', *National Army Museum* (2026) <<https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/troubles-1969-2007>> [accessed 2nd May 2026]

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