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The White Rose and the Red Dragon: An Analysis of the Jacobite Support in Wales 1688-1746

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**This dissertation is in partial fulfilment of B.A. (Honours) History A329
The Making of Welsh History, The Open University**

by

Siobhan Beatson

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This Dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather Joseph, who without his enthusiasm for history, I would never have had the drive to pursue this career.

and

My mother Fiona, who I watched struggle with the task of studying whilst raising three children. You have given me the courage to know that I can also raise and care for my children without losing myself in the process.

Chapter 1

Introduction

*In Cefyn Mably's halls, I ween, True Loyalty is shown
Devising plans e'en now to seat, Royal James upon the throne.
And messages from Bar-le-Duc, In secret guise arrayed,
Convey the Monarch's hope that Wales, Will don the White Cockade*
(N.D,c1870) (Vaughan, 1921)

Great hopes had been put on Wales in the late 17th and early 18th Centuries for their participation in the various Jacobite Rebellions. As the above poem demonstrates, written by an anonymous poet from the *Tales of Cefyn Mably* shows there was at least a small following loyal to the Stuarts within Wales. The Jacobite hierarchy seemed to be assured that Wales would remain loyal to the Stuarts as they had in the Civil War, they had been considered the most stubborn supporters of the Stuart dynasty (Jenkins, 1978). Correspondence from James VIII's¹ private secretary, the Earl of Mar clearly shows Wales as one of the counties that was assumed would rise up in support (Vaughan, 1921, p. 21). Yet many historians suggest that the Jacobite cause in Wales was unnoteworthy at best or non-existent at worst. Arthur Price notes that he was once asked if "whether it would be not as sensible to write about the snakes in Iceland than the Jacobites of Wales". (Price, 1900). Yet each of them goes on to detail many tales and exploits of the native and foreign Jacobites within Wales.

¹ King James III of England or The Pretender.

The events between 1688 and 1746 have been studied religiously by many historians; however, their focus for their research and publications has mainly been of the struggles in Scotland, England and even Ireland. In this respect Wales has had very limited research or publications pertaining to Welsh Jacobitism.

One of the main questions I will answer is how much Jacobite support was there in Wales from 1688 until 1745. I will look at the input of the Welsh in the various Jacobite uprisings, specifically the 1715 and 1745 rebellions in Chapter 2 and 3. Using the testimony of Mr Kenrick, the Minister for the Meeting House in Wrexham who detailed the events of the riots that took place in 1715 we can assess the impact of the Jacobite riots in Wrexham and their prevalence. By also looking at personal correspondence from both Robert Walpole and Charles Edward Stuart we can ascertain how popular the Jacobite cause was assumed to be in Wales.

Chapter 4 will discuss the leading Jacobite figure heads in Wales and examine their actions during the early 18th Century to ascertain how active the Jacobite societies and followers were in Wales. By looking at senior Welsh Jacobites such as Sir Watkin William Wynn, The Duke of Beaufort, Lewis Pryse of Gogerddan, Sir John Philips, Sir Charles Kemys and David Morgan we will be able to assess how deep their Jacobite sympathies ran.

In Chapter 5 I will look at the involvement of the Jacobite Societies, predominately the Cycle of the White Rose Club and the Society of Sea Serjeants and their links to the exiled Stuarts and their activities. By looking at their members and their formations we can find out how influential the societies were in the rebellions.

In order to determine the fundamental question ‘How Jacobite was Wales?’ We must first decide what constitutes ‘a Jacobite’. Eveline Cruickshanks raises this argument and she defines a Jacobite as “someone who wishes for a restoration of the Stuarts” (Cruickshanks, 2002) as opposed to the popular adaptation that Jacobites were only who took part in the risings. For the

purposes of this dissertation I shall also use this definition as I believe that this is a more accurate portrayal of the personal ideologies of the Welsh people.

The lack of evidence, which has been noted by many historians including Donald Nicholas in *The Welsh Jacobites* (Nicholas, 1948) can be explained by many different arguments. Nicholas's argument is that the scantiness of evidence is attributed to the fact that the Welsh Jacobites never took to the field. Most of the research done has been early 20th Century and little has been published after 1960. Most academic sources have a small section regarding the Welsh input, yet little modern sources go in depth to the full story, which is why I think a fresh look is required.

I will look at a number of academic articles, mainly from *The Welsh History Review* and *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* from various historians such as Herbert Vaughan (1870-1948) who gives a detailed overview of the full scope of the Jacobites and events in Wales, however Vaughan's rendition of events feel slightly biased especially on the religious front. He bases his argument around the rejection of Catholicism, which has been proved by many including Murray Pittock to be an outdated argument (Pittock & Whatley, 2018). Arthur Price is another renowned Victorian historian, who takes a more sympathetic and passionate view towards the Jacobite supporters, however again his passion could present as overly bias. I will also look at JP Jenkins, who makes some interesting notations regarding the Jacobite Societies, Philip Jenkins, who gives a more political narrative, to tie the Jacobites to the Tory party and Craig D Wood, who gives us an in depth review of the implications of the 'Glorious Revolution in Wales.

I will highlight several different primary sources to put this work together which will include, testimony of witnesses at the Trial of David Morgan, The Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole,

Correspondence from Charles Edward Stuart, Parliamentary Archives and Customs House Records to ensure that a full picture of the Jacobite Rebellion is achieved.

Chapter 2

Jacobite Wales (1688-1715)

“Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Welsh had been noted for their firm loyalty (or ignorant prejudice) which had made them among the most stubborn supporters of the Stuart Dynasty”

(Jenkins, 1978, p. 392)

It is easy to misinterpret the years leading up to the rebellions as unnoteworthy regarding Jacobite sympathies. Unlike the Tudors, Wales had no familial connection to the Stuarts, although cartographer Humphrey Llwyd did claim James VI to be “a monarch of their own blood” however, this was believed to be an attempt to connect Wales to the ‘Celtic Origins’ and cement a relationship between Wales and the new king. (Pittock, 1994, p. 202). While Wales was loyal to the Stuarts during the Civil War it would be amiss to assume it was the Stuarts themselves that their loyalty lay, it is more likely to be loyalty to the ‘monarchy’. Many believe that the Stuarts were not universally popular with the Welsh people due to their failure to ever visit the principality (Wood, 2001, p. 23).

There has been much speculation over the ambitions of the Welsh gentry and its preconceived notions over their political ideologies. It is a subject that has conflicting theories over the assumptions of the Welsh loyalty to the Stuarts and the monarchy. Herbert Vaughan is explicit in his opinion in that “the names of one or two prominent Welshmen in the ‘fifteen and the ‘forty-five do not themselves prove that Jacobitism flourished strongly in the hearts and ideals of the Welsh people” (Vaughan, 1921, p. 11), Vaughan admitted that there was some support for the Stuarts, although in his eyes it was not significant enough to establish a true Jacobite threat to the new protestant monarchy. However, Vaughan seems to be alone in his opinion,

more recent scholars have suggested that Wales was a hotbed of Jacobite sentiment and there was much positivity and optimism that Wales would rise along with the other home nations. Craig D Wood states that Sir Reginald Coupland commented that, “nowhere in Britain was there more enthusiasm for the restoration, nowhere less enthusiasm for the Glorious Revolution” (Wood, 2001, p. 22). J Arthur Price noted that “nowhere had the ‘Glorious Revolution’ produced more general discontent than in Wales”, this is in keeping with the general contemporary opinion. The support for the Stuarts during the Civil War is well documented with Robin Evans saying that Wales was on the whole loyal to the monarchy, although under valued and often forgotten in the wider context (Evans, 2005, p. 24).

What is notable is context of correspondence of Robert Walpole, who in 1716 to Steven Pontyz wrote, “in the western and inland parts, and in all of Wales the disaffection is as violent as ever and ripe for rebellion” (Walpole, 1716 [1798]). Written shortly after the 1715 rebellion it shows that the British Government had a certain amount of apprehension of the events that were transpiring around the country. This goes against what Vaughan had stated, that there was no appetite for rebellion or the Jacobite cause. Although it seems there was sufficient support for it to be a note of concern for Walpole who at the time of writing was the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Welsh involvement in 17th Century plots also suggest a certain amount of Jacobite support. William Herbert 2nd Marquis of Powys (Duke of Powys) and Viscount Montgomery were implicated in various Jacobite plots including the ‘Fenwick Plot’ of 1695 and the ‘Jacobite assassination plot’ of 1696, and spent much of the 1690’s in prison or an outlaw in exile and was arrested again during the ’15 rebellion (Hopkins, 2004).

While the Marquis of Powys was one of a small minority named in the various plots and schemes, by 1715 many areas of Wales had strong links with the Jacobites through a network

of squires, lawyers, non-journing clergy and prominent Tory MPs. North East Wales was held by Sir Watkins Williams Wynn of Wynnstay, The Middle Marches by the Earl of Oxford, the South East by Duke of Beaufort and Viscount Windsor, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen were held by Sir John Philips, and Cardiganshire was held by the Pryse's of Gogerddan and the Powells of Nantes (Jenkins, 1978, p. 393). So, while Vaughan correctly states that "one swallow does not a summer make" (Vaughan, 1921, p. 11) there is evidence of a significant amount of sympathetic Jacobites it is reasonable to say that we may be looking at a few swallows.

Chapter 3

Jacobite Wales (1715-1746)

While the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688 sparked the birth of the Jacobites through the deposition of King James VII² the main body of the risings did not occur until the prospect of the Stuart’s replacement with the foreign entity of the Electress of Hanover and her heirs. The summer and autumn of 1715 saw the first of the more violent riots in the name of the Jacobite cause. Wrexham was one of the focus points for the riots and violence ensued from June until December with focus directed on the dissenting communities (Palmer, 1888, p. 62). The Wrexham riots have been narrated by the minister of the New Meeting House in Wrexham, a Mr Kenrick. He describes each night of the riots and the damage that was caused, including the meeting houses at Llanfyllin, Shrewsbury and Manchester, the New Meeting House in Wrexham being destroyed and the Old Meeting House suffering major damage.

August 1 *Being the Kings ascension to the throne was not at all observed at Wrexham except by the Dissenters, who had a sermon preached that day and their shops shut. But there was no Bell ringing, no Bonfire, nor illumination.*

October 20 *The Kings Coronation Day. The Bells rung out but at night great riots and disorders committed. The Dissenters bonfires put out, their windows broken, the Meeting Houses Threatened, and the mob beat at the door. Treasonable songs were sung about the town, and great disorders allowed.*

November 14 *No ringing of bells, no illumination, no bonfire except at a dissenter’s House, tho’ there was an abundant demonstration of Joy on account of the successes of the rebels at Preston.*

November 22 *The Great news of the victory over the rebels in Scotland, but no public demonstration of joy at Wrexham. (Palmer, 1888, pp. 63-64)³*

Given this account of the riots by Mr Kenrick, it is reasonable to assume that Wrexham had a significant Jacobite following in 1715. However, this is disputed by Martin McCaw, who suggests that the riots in Wrexham were made up by two differing factions, the ones who were

² King James II of England/ The Old Pretender

³ Alfred Palmer transcribed these notes from the original manuscript which was unable to be located at present. Located within John Jones Almanac 1715, located in Somerset House in 1888.

in support of the Stuart restoration and a group who had a disaffection for the 'squirearchy', cause by a surge in Whig dominance in the area. He argues that while many of the rioters may have been Jacobite sympathisers, there was a significant number of Anglicans who used the unrest to restore the county to "the good old days" prior to the Act of Toleration in 1689 (McCaw, 2010, pp. 65-66). Given Mr Kenrick's details of significant dates relating to the Jacobite cause, we can see that despite McCaw's suggestion of Anglican involvement most of the disturbances were suggestively Jacobite in nature. There is little further evidence of any significant Jacobite rebellion in Wales during the 'fifteen'. There has been some suggestion that Wales was believed to be one of the possible landing points for James III in late 1715 and in subsequent years, however these plans never amounted to anything (Jones, 1967, p. 58).

In 1721 a network of Jacobite spies compiled a list of names of potential and known supporters of the Stuarts in England and Wales, which consisted of almost every Tory leader in Wales. (Jenkins, 2014, p. 173). The list includes the names of 49 prominent Welsh gentry, MPs and Lords (appendix 1). Out of the 49 names there are two names from the House of Lords, Lord Hereford and Lord Bulkeley and 16 current or past Members of Parliament. It is a decisive piece of evidence in many ways to back up the claim that the Jacobite support in Wales was significantly higher than believed, although this list does show that some counties were lacking in Jacobite sympathies. Carmarthenshire and Radnorshire both have no names of any Jacobite sympathisers attached to them, which is explained in the list. Carmarthenshire being under the influence of the Marquis of Winchester and having no significant Tory influence, Radnorshire is deemed of little value due to the sparse population however, most of it was under Lord Oxford. (Fritz, 1975, p. appendix 3). This backs up accounts of several magistrates and landowners who were prosecuted in the late 17th Century for not having sworn the oath of allegiance to the new monarchs. Wood states that this shows the extent of the opposition to the new Hanoverian monarchy, and to William of Orange in particular. (Wood, 2001, p. 24). Over

the next 25 years there are various isolated examples of Jacobite resistance throughout Wales, although the physical evidence of these pockets of rebellion are difficult to pinpoint and many have been lost entirely, only existing through word of mouth and local stories. In 1727 a meeting of the Jacobite society “The 27” ensured several of the attendees were called in front of the Magistrate to account for their actions (Reid, 2016).

The rebellion of 1745 was again full of hope for the Welsh Jacobites. All support, finances and man-power were there to join Charles Edward Stuart’s army, yet many believe that only three Welsh men joined the ‘young pretenders’ army. We can safely assume that there was no official Welsh army that joined the Jacobite forces in Derby, or at any other time, however the matter of just how many people joined the army at Derby is contested. The general standing is that three Welsh squires joined them, David Morgan, William Vaughan and Richard Vaughan. David Morgan was captured and later executed for treason, William and Richard Vaughan both veterans of Culloden fled to Spain with the remaining Stuart followers and set up new lives in exile. A witness in David Morgan’s trial may have eluded to more Welsh squires joining the army than has previously been stated. John Barry/Berry was brought as a witness for the prosecution to attest to the guilt of David Morgan, who had gained infamy since joining Prince Charles’ forces and had been dubbed ‘*The Pretenders Councillor*’, and stated that he and his master had accompanied David Morgan from Monmouthshire to Preston to join the ‘Rebel Army’(appendix 3) (B.Cole, 1746, p. 64). It is unclear as to whom Barry’s master was, there is a suggestion that it could have been William Vaughan, however I have found no definitive proof that it was, but it is a clear indication that there were more than three Welshmen who joined the Rebel Army. David Morgan has been the lone Jacobite hero of Wales, to the extent that after his execution many people tried to defame his character. A pamphlet was published claiming to be the reincarnated David Morgan and gives a scathing report of his character and

actions (Anon, 1746). Price gives an abhorrent report of the pamphlet detailing it as ‘Cowardly and Libellous’ and an insult to the memory of the late barrister (Price, 1895, p. 18).

The general opinion at the time was that Charles Edward’s forces would march into Wales to recruit more men for the cause. The government strived to ensure that this did not happen and ensured that a union between Scotland and Wales did not occur (Price, 1895, p. 20). This contradicts a few historians, especially Vaughan who paints the Welsh as completely uninterested in any sort of rebellion. A summarised account of the Customs House Records for Cardiff state that:

“The Jacobite rising of 1745 occasioned the sending out of circular instructions from Trinity House, calling upon the Customs Officers to be zealous in discovering and reporting any designs of disaffected persons. This the officers promise with apparent enthusiasm, and further send a cheerful report to the effect that there are no papists or non-jurors in Glamorgan except a few ‘of the meaner sort’. They call attention however to the defenceless state of the South West coast of Wales.” (Anon., 1900)

There is some scepticism on how accurate this account is, given the significant amount of support for the Jacobites from Glamorgan in 1721 from the emissaries list (appendix 1). It is probably unlikely that all support had vanished overnight, however from having one of highest instances of supporters in 1721 to the claim that Glamorgan had no Jacobites in 1745 seems to be even a little suggestive that support had waned in the interim, even if this is a slightly biased or exaggerated account.

There have been two theories to explain the lack of Welsh involvement in the 1745 revolt. The first detailed by Vaughan is that the Welsh forces deliberately withheld their support in the final days as they were not convinced of the Jacobite’s chances of victory, as the French troops that had been promised were not delivered, despite Charles Edward promising his Officers that there would be. Price quotes Andrew Lang, the Scottish historian as saying that the Welsh and

majority of the English deliberately never took part until 'the day after' (Price, 1900, p. 139). The second which Price advocates is that according to a letter from Charles Edward Stuart to his father James VIII, Wynn and Lord Barrymore had sent an envoy to combine the Welsh forces with the main army, yet they arrived two days after the retreat from Derby and missed the opportunity. (Price, 1900, p. 139). Unless more information comes to light, I think it would be impractical to speculate on which reasoning is accurate. What we can take from this is that no Welsh Army joined Charles Edward at any point during the 'forty-five'. This makes us question what part did the individual Welsh Jacobites play during the first half of the 18th Century?

Chapter 4

Jacobite Supporters in Wales

As the 1721 list shows there was a significant number of Jacobite supporters in Wales, although it would be amiss to suggest that simply because their name featured on a list compiled by spies that they were dedicated supporters. Many of the names may simply have been sympathetic to the Stuart's plight however, many of the men had significant ties to the Jacobite cause and some were even bold enough to have their loyalties as public knowledge.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn is thought to have been one of the most notorious Jacobites in Wales. Wynn was a member of Parliament for Denbighshire from 1716-1741 and the founder of the Jacobite society *The Cycle of the White Rose* in 1726, commonly referred to as the Cycle Club. Wynn was a well-known loyal Jacobite supporter, yet very little physical evidence of this survives (Jones, 1959). This is possibly due to his wife burning all his personal papers in the days after his death in 1749 to protect his reputation and the lives of many of his acquaintances, many of whom were potentially involved in treasonous correspondence and sedition (Vaughan, 1921, p. 32). Wynn has been selected as one of the most dangerous men south of the Tweed (according to English Whigs), and is self-styled as the Brutus to Charles Edward Stuart's Caesar (Price, 1900, p. 137).

A letter that was received by the Jacobite forces in 1745 on their march through the north of England name Wynn as their source, "The Elector of Hanover and his ministry's interests decline so fast that Sir Watkin say's nobody now will accept of their places and employments, which throws them into the greatest distraction" (Ewald, 1875, p. 181). This is not the only occurrence of Wynn being in London and reporting back to the Jacobite hierarchy. A Jacobite emissary wrote that "Sir Watkin Wynn has been with the citizens of

London, whom he has found as well disposed as to treat with the prince. The citizens of London declared that they are ready to receive him and to make such a provision for him as they do not doubt will make him completely happy” (Price, 1895, p. 19). The circumstantial evidence mounts up when Wynn’s brother Robert, also a member of the Cycle Club and another brother Richard became an MP for various Flint boroughs “at his brothers’ insistence” and followed his lead on voting against the deployment of Hanoverian troops. This is further compounded by the items of Jacobite paraphernalia that were located in Wynn’s family home which include portraits of several prominent Stuarts, a portrait of Charles Edward Stuart inside a cabinet with lockable doors, and *The Jewel of the Cycle* which was presented to Wynn’s wife in 1781 (Nicholas, 1948, p. 470). Several Jacobite toasting glasses have also been linked to the Wynn family, including one engraved with the name of Wynn’s son (Image 4.1), another presented to his wife, who became the patroness of the Cycle Club (Image 4.2). While none of this evidence is conclusive, it is highly suggestive. What is interesting though is that the majority of historians place Wynn as the centre of Jacobite Wales, however Vaughan specifically places very little emphasis on Wynn and barely mentions him at all in his work, this is unusual given the amount of weight other historians give Wynn. Several of them name Wynn as the most influential Jacobite outside of Scotland, including Nicholas, Wood and Jenkins.

While Wynn was described as one of the “two most dangerous men south of the Tweed”, the other was Henry Somerset/Scudamore the 3rd Duke of Beaufort (Price, 1900, p. 137). The Dukes of Beaufort were adamant supporters of the Jacobite cause and the 3rd Duke was named as a potential ally on a list compiled by someone named Butler in 1740, sent from France to gauge the support for Charles Edward Stuarts uprising in 1745 (Nicholas, 1948, p. 473), he was also implicated in the planning of a Jacobite landing in 1722. His father the 2nd Duke and his grandfather the 1st Duke were similarly implicated in various Jacobite plots.

The 1st Duke of Beaufort was suspected of having a hand in the Fenwick plot of 1689 (Thomas, 1960, p. 282). His brother Charles Somerset the 4th Duke of Beaufort was also an ardent supporter of King James VIII and is described as a “most determined and unwavering Jacobite” by Sir Horace Walpole in 1745 (Walpole, 1745 [1833], p. 331). It was reported that Lord Lovat, an infamous Scottish Jacobite only agreed to join the cause because the 4th Duke of Beaufort had pledged 12,000 men. If this had not happened then he “would not have concerned himself” (Murray, 1743 [1889]). This shows that although little action was taken from the Welsh Jacobites in the ‘forty-five’, their influence was wide reaching and significant enough to persuade Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat to support the cause, who was eventually executed for treason due to his participation in the rising.

Several letters written in 1715 thought to have been between written by Hon. Henry Bertie, the MP for Beaumaris and his brother in law Richard, the 4th Viscount Bulkeley detail the events of several prominent Scottish nobles and their capture including the escape of the Earl of Nithsdale, during the 1715 rebellion. The prominent point of the letters is the terminology used to describe James III. It was customary for Hanoverian supporters to use the term ‘Pretender’, however, Bulkeley and Bertie are seen to be using the more sympathetic term ‘The Chevalier’, which in many ways is declaring him as James VIII albeit in a less treasonous vernacular (Nicholas, 1948, p. 468). In Nicholas’s study he gives note of decedents of Viscount Bulkeley stating adamantly that they “took no active part active part in the cause”, which may technically be true, yet there is significant evidence that the Bulkeleys were at least sympathetic to the Stuart’s plight. It was noted by William Morris to his brother Richard that when a seat in Baron Hill went up for auction after the death of John Owen of Preadded that the Bulkeleys, “would accept £2000 from a Jacobite but not £5000 from a Hanoverian” (Thomas, 1960, p. 294). This combined with busts of Charles Edward Stuart

and Cardinal Henry Stuart that were included in the inventory of Lord Bulkeley's estate after his death (Nicholas, 1948, p. 468), gives a certain impression to where their loyalties lay.

Sir Charles Kemys, who led a small group of Jacobites in Glamorgan was described by Thomas as "an avowed adherent of the pretender" (Thomas, 1960, p. 282). Kemys had befriended George I on his travels around Europe prior to his investiture as King and was said to have said "I would be happy to smoke a pipe with him as the Elector of Hanover, but I cannot think of it as King of England" (Thomas, 1960, p. 282). Kemys' name was also mentioned on the prepared list for sympathetic Jacobites (appendix 1).

Lewis Pryse, a Tory MP for Cardiganshire has also had several accusations of Jacobitism against him, including the assumption that he would sail to France in 1714 to join the exiled Stuart court. An absence due to sickness was presumed to have been a refusal to take the oath and he was 'expelled' from parliament (Hayton, 2002). He made little secret of his Jacobite loyalties and was named as part of a group who were accused of toasting King James VIII in 1710, however escaped prosecution from the Secretary of State, Lord Sunderland, due to a change in administration (Thomas, 1960, p. 284).

Another notable Welsh Jacobite is Sir John Phillips, who was the president for the Society of Sea Serjeants, a Welsh Jacobite Society for South Wales. Phillips was also in favour of several motions in the house of commons that would have reduced the numbers of troops that would have been available for any potential uprisings or invasions (Christie, 1987, p. 926).

An interesting side note on Phillips shows his loyalty may have been hidden in plain sight the whole time. If we look at his portrait of 1748 from the National Galleries, Image 4.3 shows Phillips' Coat of Arms clearly at the bottom of the sheet. The heraldry shows a lion rampant chained around the middle which strikes a remarkable similarity to the Scottish lion rampant along with the motto *ducit amor patriae* which translates as Patriotism Leads Me. Suggesting

that the Scottish Stuarts were chained up, this may be coincidence and unrelated however it does give us something to consider. (Faber, 1748)

There are many other prominent Welsh names that have been connected to the Jacobite cause such as, the Powells of Nanteos, Viscount Windsor, Marquis of Powis and Richard and William Vaughan. The common thread between them all is that they are all members of the Welsh gentry, and for the most part land owning Tories. Pittock describes Welsh Jacobitism having two main dimensions, the rural aristocratic Jacobitism and the Jacobitism of the poor both of which were similar to their counterparts in Scotland and England, however there is significantly less evidence, there is even a suggestion that this is due to the language divide between the two classes. English speaking gentry would have little or no need to be able to speak Welsh, as the monoglot lower classes did, which makes collaboration between the two more difficult (Pittock, 1994, p. 203). All the Jacobite sympathisers and supporters so far are gentry and we have no evidence of lower class Jacobites, while we can probably say with some certainty that some do exist, we have very little information on how many of the lower classes had any loyalty to the Stuarts.

Chapter 5

Welsh Jacobite Societies

One aspect that seems to be quite unique to Welsh Jacobitism is the formation of Jacobite Societies, such as *The Cycle of the White Rose*, *The Society of Sea Serjeants* and *The '27'*.

The Scottish and English counterparts mainly arose after the 'forty-five', such as *A Circle of Gentlemen* which was formed in Edinburgh in 1748 (McKenzie, 2011). These semi-secret Societies have been written about for centuries, and generally with a significant amount of conjecture, this is due to the limited information that is available directly from the societies themselves. Almost all correspondence was kept to a minimum, even when the activities were mundane and totally innocent of any crime (Jones, 1967, p. 57).

The Cycle of the White Rose is the most well known of all the societies. Founded by Sir Williams Wynn in 1723, it was the life blood of the Jacobites of North Wales. Their meetings usually coincided with special social occasions. While commonly known as a loyal Jacobite club, there is few evidences at the time to suggest anything other than an ordinary social club. Its symbol, a flying wheel, displays no immediate indication of their treason however, their main festival was held on the 10th of June⁴, where they would celebrate and toast the King, Queen, Prince of Wales and the Duke of York over bowls of water to signify the exiled Stuarts (Vaughan, 1921, p. 25). The Cycle Club were well known for their songs, ballads and poems defending the Jacobite regime. A popular ballad was 'Robin John Clark',

⁴ 10th of June, James VIII's birthday.

Ye true Bacchanals, come to John of the dale,
And there we'll carous o'er a butt of good liquor
Bring with you no sharpers nor friends to usurpers,
But such as will drink till their pulses beat quicker.
Let the courtier who snarls at the friends of Prince Charles,
And else who our houses and windows make dark,
Ne'er taste of such pleasure, nor rifle our treasure,
For this is the chorus of Robin John Clark.

This ballad was sung at the 3 weekly meetings of the Cycle Club however, it is suggested to be more of a drinking song than a ballad of any real political substance. Pittock implies that its passive nature is suggestive of the long-term attitude of the Welsh Jacobites who, were happy to drink and cheer on an absent king but were not willing to take part in the cause. (Pittock, 1994, p. 203).

The Society of Sea Serjeants on the other hand were more discreet and cautious, they limited their meetings to once a year (Vaughan, 1921, p. 27). The Sea Serjeant's members generally originated from South Wales such as Pembroke and Carmarthen however other regions in South Wales and West England were also included (see appendix 2).

Although discretion was important some members were less discreet, as its former president shows in Image 5.1, where Richard Gwynne has his portrait painted with the emblem of the Society of Sea Serjeants on his coat (Faber, 1747), as did Admiral Mansel Langdon seen in Image 5.2 (Taylor, Unknown). The fact that both men were able to openly wear the badge of the Sea Serjeants, possibly says more about the establishment. They were either so discreet, as no one knew of their existence, or they were believed to pose little threat in themselves. Some individual members may have been more harden in their beliefs, yet the organisation did not seem to be a viable enough threat to warrant any action by Hanoverian government.

A transcript of a list of questions asked to potential member of the Sea Serjeants show an affinity with honesty and trustworthiness:

Do you bear a true allegiance to his majesty?

Are you a member of the Church of England as by the law established?

Will you be faithful to your friends in prosperity, and cherish them in adversity?

Do you desire to be admitted a member of this society?

Will you faithfully observe the rules and orders that have been read to you?

Will you upon the honour of a gentleman keep the secrets of the society and the form of your admission to it?

(Jones, 1967, p. 63)

There is little in these questions that would condemn any man in the eyes of the law, and it shows us that adherence to the Anglican faith was just as important to them along with a sense of integrity and brotherhood. These are aspect that we can easily detect in a more contemporary society, The Masonic Lodge. This is a vein which has been demonstrated by JP Jenkins in his article *Jacobites and Freemasons in Eighteenth Century Wales*, which shows that the installation of the Jacobite societies progressed to past the point of any Jacobite sentiment or loyalty and into the realm of masonic lodges. (Jenkins, 1978)

There is an interesting illogicality that is represented within these Jacobite societies. As highlighted before Scotland and England did not have this type of Jacobite society at this time which is potentially suggestive of Wales' prior reluctance to ever actively join the cause. The Jacobites in the other home nations who rose up potentially used that momentum to be more proactive in their action rather than founding secret societies,

The Cycle Club comes to an end in 1869, The Society of Sea Serjeants disbands in 1862⁵, roughly 80 years after the death of Charles Edward Stuart, and 60 years after the death of his

⁵ There seems to be a discrepancy over this date. Maj Francis Jones states the disbandment is 1762 in his article *The Society of Sea Serjeants*, Where all other sources suggest 1862.

brother Cardinal Henry Stuart, the last Jacobite heir⁶. The fact that support for the Stuart's, through the Welsh societies outlived any Stuart heirs, shows the passive and docile qualities of the societies which had become more about social interactions, traditional toasts and cultural ballads rather than any sort of proactive political organisation. This suggests that although the societies may have started off with political ideologies, they soon became a distant memory and the societies lost their Jacobite incentives and the Welsh Jacobites although loyal to the Stuarts, were more satisfied with drinking their toasts to the king across the water, than helping the king actually cross the water

⁶ Although the descendants from Charles Edward Stuart's illegitimate daughter Charlotte Duchess of Albany have been regarded as true heirs to the throne by some.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The support from the Welsh Jacobites was significant, as we can see in the 1721 list (appendix 1), their loyalty to the Stuarts is along the same lines as those in Scotland and England (Pittock & Whatley, 2018). However, the personal support does not translate into physical action. Only a few Welsh names are present the various plots and assassination attempts of the latter 17th century. There is little rebel activity during the 1715 revolt, except from a few isolated towns such as Wrexham and the ‘forty-five’ deemed little better as there was minimal Welsh presence within the Jacobite army, potentially in single figures.

The list of influential Lords, MP’s, gentry and squires that had Jacobite ties are clear evidence that there was Jacobite sympathies and loyal Stuart followers within Wales. There are numerous evidences linking them to the Jacobite Societies such as The Cycle of the White Rose Club and the Society of Sea Serjeants. There is evidence of correspondence between the exiled court of the Stuarts in France and several prominent Welsh MP’s and landowners. There is an enormous amount of circumstantial evidence through art and portraiture, political ballads, poetry and personal keepsakes. This should be enough to say for certain that Jacobite support in Wales was sufficient to label Wales a Jacobite stronghold.

We looked at Cruickshanks’ definition of ‘a Jacobite’ at the beginning of this dissertation to ascertain what constitutes a Jacobite, and how it should be considered against the popular opinions of previous historians. I agree that actual participation in the activities is not the only measure of Jacobitism (Cruickshanks, 2002, p. 247). Although we must ask ourselves is passive support alone enough to label Wales a Jacobite country?

The lack of any real fundamental physical involvement seems to be the deal breaker for many historians such as Vaughan, Pittock, Wood, Thomas and Jenkins. Arthur Price and Eveline Cruickshanks are the only ones who believe that despite the lack of action, Wales should be considered a Jacobite stronghold, solely on the grounds of support levels.

I believe that Wales had every intention to rise and join the rebellions, especially the 'forty-five'. While the support for the Jacobites was higher in numbers in the late 17th Century and petered off throughout the years, the cumulation of evidence surrounding the 'forty-five' suggests that their actions were building up to definitive action and that they had every intention to join Charles Edwards Stuart and the Jacobite army. However due to their ineffective recruitment and futile efforts to combine their forces and strength, they fell short at this final hurdle. This failure to interject at the appropriate moment, signalled the death of the Jacobites cause in Wales, and ultimately condemned the army at Culloden.

APPENDIX 1

A STATE OF ENGLAND

What follows is the list that was prepared by a number of prominent Jacobites in 1721 and submitted to King James VIII, it is entitled 'A State of England' and it is found among the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle (RA, Stuart 65/16). For the purposes of this I have only included the list pertaining to Wales and have omitted the list of English Supporters. This list was taken from *The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745* by Paul S Fritz and has been transcribed from the original Document.

Monmouthshire

Lord Windsor	Mr Ray
Sir Charles Kemys	Mr Gregory
Captain Bourgh	Mr Hughes
Mr Coghnan	Mr Price
Mr Jones	

Glamorganshire

Lord Mansel's Son	Sir Edward Stradling
Sir Charles Kemys	Mr Lewis
Mr Powell	Mr Jones

Breconshire

Mr Vaughan	Mr Percy Williams
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Pembrokeshire

Sir George Barlow	Mr Campbell
Mr Philips	Mr Lloyd
Mr Wogan	Mr Skirm
Dr Powell	Mr Knolles
Mr Longhorne	Mr Parry

Cardiganshire

Mr Parry	Mr Williams
Mr Lloyd	Mr Powell
Mr Hedman	

Montgomeryshire

Lord Hereford	Mr Pugh
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Anglesey, Caernarvonshire & Merioneth

Lord Bulkeley	Mr Holland
Mr BrynKyr	Mr Thomas
Mr Coitmore	Mr Davies

Flintshire & Denbighshire

Sir Richard Grosvenor	Mr Egerton
Sir George Warburton	Mr Eyton
Mr Mostyn	Mr Lloyd
Mr Robinson	Mr Roberts
Mr Shackerly	Mr Watkin Williams

Carmarthenshire

Is mostly under the influence of the Marquis of Winchester, the tory party having no significant leader.

Radnorshire

Of no great importance and mostly under the influence of the Lord Oxford.

Appendix 2

List of recruitment areas and their members of the Society of Sea Serjeants from 1726-1760 (Jones, 1967, p. 61). This is on the assumption that the Sea Sergeants disbanded in 1762.

Cardigan	4
Carmarthenshire	30
Glamorgan	7
Pembroke	33
Bath	1
Hertfordshire	1
Unknown (West Wales)	15
Unknown (England)	1

Appendix 3

John Barry call'd and sworn.

K. Coun. John Barry, I desire you would inform the Court and Jury, What you know relating to Mr Morgan, the prisoner at the bar.

Barry. I came out of Monmouthshire with my Master and the Prisoner at the Bar, in the Month of November last, and at the Town of Preston we join'd the Rebel Army. About a mile on this Side of Preston my Master and the Prisoner left their Horses, and walk'd to Preston on Foot to avoid and suspicion of what their Design was.

K. Coun. And what Part did the Prisoner at the Bar act; and how did he behave during the Time you was with the Rebel Army?

Barry. I saw him ride with the Rebel Army, from Preston to Manchester, and he was very active in encouraging the Rebel Officers and Soldiers. After that I saw the Prisoner at Ashborn, and he said there that he would not leave the Army as long as he liv'd. I cannot say that he bore any Commission as an Officer: If he did it's more than I know.

Image 4.1

Image Removed for Copyright Reasons

Reporter, A., 2008. *Sale toasts the Welsh Jacobites by netting £136,000*. London: Antique Trade Gazette: The Art Market Weekly.

One of the 13 wine glasses c1770 engraved with the names of members of The Cycle of the White Rose. This example for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn (1725-1789), son of the founder of the society, took £2500. (Reporter, 2008)

Image 4.2

Image Removed for Copyright Reasons

Crane, A., 2017. *Seven bestsellers from significant Scottish and Welsh house contents sales*. London: Antiques Trade Gazette: The Art Market Weekly.

“This ‘Wynnstay Cup’ is regarded as an important Jacobite goblet, c. 1759-60. The ceremonial goblet is inscribed around the rim ‘The Confederate Hunt Lady Win Wynne, Lady Paramount’. It was repaired with a tin-plate stem and foot. Bonhams said the use of tin-plate “suggests these repairs were carried out locally, the glasses rescued following what must have been a particularly riotous club meeting”. It sold online for a hammer price of £17,000, against a £8000-12,000 estimate.” (Crane, 2017)

Image 4.3

Image Removed for Copyright Reasons

Faber, J., 1748. *Sir John Phillips, 6th Baronet, 1701 - 1764, of Picton Castle. Member of Parliament.* [Art] (National Galleries).

Image 5.1

Image Removed for Copyright Reasons

Faber, J., 1747. *Richard Gwynne*. [Art] (National Portrait Gallery).

Image 5.2

Image Removed for Copyright Reasons

Taylor, R., Unknown. *Mansel Langdon (d.1759) Sea Serjeant*. [Art] (National Museum of Wales).

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