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**The Welsh Role in the Jacobites Uprising
in the Anglo-Scottish Civil War 1714-1746**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to: My parents the dearest persons to my hearts Source of my happiness and success in life, Who have raised me to be the person I am today, To my brothers Hichem and Oussama and also to my unique sisters Ikram and Kaowthar For their unconditional support and encouragement to pursue my interests, To my special one Maroua For her love and encouragement, and her patience for the past five years. To my uncles and my friends : Hocine, Abdelmalek, Redha who stood up with me during the best and worst times, To my extended family who have been So supportive And encouraged the fulfilment of this work, To all those who believed in me and proud my Success. and lastly to those who were infected by The COVID19 and all the people who suffered the consequences of the Corona pandemic, To all the Algerian Doctors We say THANK YOU .

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As always, and as I am your student so I am responsible for errors and omissions, and I will welcome correction.

Abstract

Great Britain has always been known for its rich and eventful history, and one of these historical events is without any doubt the Jacobean movement that sparked civil war all over the island. Such rebellious movement is widely known to have revolted with the aim of bringing back the rightful Scottish rulers to the throne of England. Despite its direct link to Scotland, the Jacobite movement witnessed support from other regions and more precisely from Wales. The latter role in the Jacobean movement and the parliament's reaction to it has been overlooked. In light of this, The present study will examine the role and part of Wales in the region during the Jacobean Revolution and how effective the Welsh were to restore the throne for the Stuarts. The researcher will be able to highlight several different primary sources to place this work together which can include, the testimony of several witnesses, and some historians memoirs that will be analyzed. The dissertation reveals that Wales had indeed supported the Jacobites cause and the Stuarts but had no actual active involvement in this matter. What triggered me to investigate the role of Wales in the Jacobites rebellion is the lack of research on Welsh history. a larger sample is needed for future research.

Key Words :

- Great Britain
- Civil war
- The Stuarts
- The Jacobites
- Jacobean Movement
- Wales,
- The parliament

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General Introduction

For many, Scotland was the only stronghold and fierce supporter of the Stuarts royal family, but the fact is that there is a second side of the island that one can also consider supportive of the Stuarts and the Jacobites. Wales which was always considered as the underdog took a stand with the Jacobean king and supported him. For this reason, Wales was considered the bastion of hope for the King's return to the throne, while it was a source of concern to others such as the British Parliament, especially after their participation in the Jacobean revolutions, and the Jacobite movement seemed reassured that the Welsh would remain loyal to the Stuarts, and they were considered the most stubborn supporters of the banned dynasty. Although, many historians note that the Jacobean cause in Wales was not noteworthy at best or was not present at worst. And this is mainly because the events between 1688 and 1746 were studied religiously by many historians. And this made them all focused on researching and publishing exclusively about the struggles in Scotland, England, and Ireland. In this regard, Wales has had very few research or publications related to Jacobitism, or the place of Wales in the United Kingdom and the extent of its importance among other kingdoms, or its effectiveness in important historical events and dates such as the Jacobite movement.

In order to highlight the role of Wales in the Jacobite movement, the following questions are put forward :

- 1- In case the Stuarts politics were the reason behind the instability in the kingdom, so under what circumstances exactly did the Jacobite movement start?
- 2- In case Wales was indeed supportive of the Jacobite cause then how effective was Wales on the ground to support the king at the expense of Parliament and return him to take over the reins of power?
- 3- What was the position of the Welsh community on the armed Jacobite revolution, and what were their methods of supporting the Jacobite cause?
- 4- For every action there is a reaction and therefore, What was the parliament reaction of the Welsh stand, and how did Parliament deal with the Welsh society?

According to these questions, One might suggest the following hypotheses :

- 1- The Stuarts dynasty and politics created a hostile environment between the king and the parliament which led to the birth of the Jacobites movement.
- 2- Wales had no active involvement in the Jacobean revolution, and it may have led the Jacobean king to lose his chance to regain the throne.
- 3- The Welsh community refused the armed revolution and chose the peaceful methods to express their support to the banned king.
- 4- The parliament was worried about the Welsh support to the Jacobites movement, but it chose the satirical approach as a reaction to the Welsh stand.

For that, and in order to investigate the rightfulness of the above hypotheses, this work has been divided into three chapters. The first one titled “Britain under The Stuarts Dynasty (1603-1714)”, Sheds the light on the Stuarts politics since the accession, and the events during their time. Then in the second chapter entitled “The Jacobean Cause in Wales”, focuses on the role of Wales in the Jacobite movement. Finally, the last chapter highlights The Jacobean Welsh society and its feud with the parliament.

However, the central goal of all the three chapters remains the same, to determine the Welsh role in the Jacobites uprising in the Anglo-Scottish civil war.

This work is a qualitative research study, that intends to describe the relationship between the Welsh and the Jacobite movement relying on the descriptive and the analytical methods.

Chapter One

Britain under the Stuart Dynasty (1603-1714)

Introduction

This chapter is an introduction to the Stuart dynasty; it first deals with the Stuarts accession to the Tudors, then their politics in ruling England and Great Britain, which is followed by the role of religion at the time. Next, the chapter will discuss the uprising of the Glorious Revolution and the Jacobites movement in the seventeenth century in England, Scotland and Ireland.

1. The Stuart's Accession to the Tudors (1603)

The 17th century witnessed many ups and downs in the history of England, but the most outstanding event that shook the whole kingdom and caused the end of the Tudors as a ruling dynasty was the death of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth I and the accession of the Scottish Stuarts royal family to the throne of England in 1603.

It could be argued that the great achievement of the Tudors was not the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588¹, rather, the great triumph of the Tudors and the final proof that the Wars of the Roses² were really over, is the peaceful accession of the Stuarts in 1603 (Bucholz.p131). Queen Elizabeth I, who before her death had signified that King James VI of Scotland would be her rightful heir and must succeed her. Then, the privy council³ at once issued a proclamation of the

¹ The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 – a fleet of Spanish ships led by Spanish commander Medina Sidonia with the purpose of overthrowing Queen Elizabeth I – is considered one of England's greatest military achievements, and one that served to boost the monarch's popularity.(HistoryExtra.com)

² The Wars of the Roses were a series of English civil wars for control of the throne of England fought between supporters of two rival cadet branches of the royal House of Plantagenet: the House of Lancaster, represented by a red rose, and the House of York, represented by a white. (Wikipedia)

³ The Privy Council of the United Kingdom is a formal body of advisers to the Sovereign of the United Kingdom. Its membership mainly comprises senior politicians who are current or former members of either the House of Commons or the House of Lords.

Scottish king accession, (Godfrey Davies.p 01). That is despite the regional problems and the internal dispute. This was indeed a major event, being the first-ever peaceful joining of a new breed in English history. With the final conquest and approval of Ireland in 1603, James was the first king to fully control all four British kingdoms .

“The seven monarchs who make up the Stuart Dynasty ruled over a turbulent realm, one which was deeply fractured by political partisanship and divided by religious dissension. In this age of civil war, succession crises, and rebellion, the Stuart monarchs themselves, alongside their spouses, offspring, and favourites added fuel to the fire of socio-political tension with in-fighting, factionalism, betrayal, and treachery”. (martinrandall.com)

1. The Royal Family Policies and its backgrounds.

Prior to the events that formed the Jacobean Revolution, England experienced a series of major political changes that all resulted from the joining of the Stuart dynasty. Indeed, it was known that Stewart's kings, from James I and his successors, had problems with the English Parliament which ultimately led to a civil war. First of all, when King James I came, he came up with the idea that the English Parliament was subjected to the will of the king and had no way of pressuring him, as was the case when he was in Scotland. However, the new king soon proved wrong when he found himself constantly arguing with members of the English Parliament on various issues, but more importantly about money. Indeed, when Elizabeth I died in 1603, she left King James I with huge debts, greater than the total annual income of the crown. The king then had to ask Parliament to raise taxes to pay the debt in anticipation of approval. Parliament approved this, but to the dismay of James, his members insisted on the right to discuss his home and foreign policy in return. However, James insisted that he alone had the right to make these decisions, which ultimately amounts to a dispute with Parliament using the law to place more restrictions to his authority.

This resulted in the king losing confidence in Parliament and trying to rule without the lords of the two houses as maximum amount as possible due to his fear of seeing the parliament members always interfering in his authority as the ruler instead he preferred to govern with a small assembly. Like many ancient English kings, King James I believed in the principle of "the divine right of

kings" which states that the king's authority was absolute and would not be interrogated or questioned because he was chosen by God and thus he was the representative of the Almighty on earth. Therefore, nobody could dispute the king's decisions, and only God could judge him. James's ideas were no different from those of earlier kings, or other kings in Europe. These views were expressed publicly, but this has led to more problems with Parliament.

Until his death in 1625, King James was always quarrelling with Parliament over money and over its desire to play a part in his foreign policy (britannica.com). This made parliament try a new method with the new crowned king Charles I, but in vain for he revealed to be worse than his father, so steps needed to be taken and the systematic reduction of the king's power by Parliament in the 1640s began when the Long Parliament⁴ opened in November 1640, inaugurated a constitutional revolution mainly by issuing the Triennial Act⁵ of 1641 that ended the king's power to summon the parliament at will, Another act prevented the dissolution of parliament except by its own consent (Fritze.P 371). These kinds of acts paved the way for a long term plan to diminish the role of a king from being a leader with true power, to a mere king representing the state. Charles I, despite being the rightful holder of the English crown, had literally no power over Parliament which declined to give him money without meeting their terms and also joined forces with Scotland against him when he declared war on Parliament during the civil war. The king's supporters were few and, even in spite of the fact that many of the people who supported Parliament flocked to the king's side after the parliament 'went too far' with its reforms, Charles I was executed by the authority of Parliament in 1649. (Britannica.com)

Charles the first was succeeded by his son Charles II who managed to regain his father's power as a king and he was also able to omit the role of Parliament as a part of the governing body of the kingdom. Although, he was banned before, for most it was the only right alternative to restore a crowned Anglican king, thus Parliament was forced to make an unconditional settlement that crystallized between 1660 and 1662 a settlement that exceeded the perceptions and expectations of

⁴ The Long Parliament was an English Parliament which lasted from 1640 until 1660. It followed the fiasco of the Short Parliament, which had convened for only three weeks during the spring of 1640 after an 11-year parliamentary absence

⁵ The Triennial Act 1641 (16 Cha. I c. 1), also known as the Dissolution Act, was an Act passed on 15 February 1641, by the English Long Parliament, during the reign of King Charles I. The act required that Parliament meet for at least a fifty-day session once every three years.

Charles II himself. Although he was bound by the concessions his father made in 1640 and 1641, the Parliament elected in 1661 set its eye on establishing an Anglican and uncompromising monarchy. The Militia Act of 1661 gave Charles exceptional authority to maintain a permanent army, and the Companies Act of 1661 allowed the purification of dissident officials' parties. Other legislation placed severe restrictions on the press and public assembly, and a law in 1662 created educational regulations. The main beneficiaries of Charles II's restoration were an exclusive body of Anglican clergy and a well-armed noble. Precisely during the Exclusion crisis⁶ (Encyclopædia Britannica).

Afterward, the interregnum period led to Charles II ascension during the midst of chaos, radicalism, and military rule (Miller, p. 01), Charles II received a warm welcome from Parliament. But later on, he turned the tables on and became a source of distress and anxiety for Parliament and thus the gentry⁷. This was thanks to his close relations with France led by his mentor and friend Louis the Great, who was not only an absolute monarch but also a devoted Catholic. Moreover, King Louis led a military operation inside the Netherlands, which, in line with the English nobility, posed an immediate threat to England thanks to the close proximity of the French forces (Miller, page 02). Charles II was replaced by his younger brother James II of England and seventh of Scotland, a Catholic king who was amid the entire Jacobite movement. Charles II had an illegitimate son, named James Scott, the Duke of Monmouth, who was the primary choice for the King's Whigs if the exclusion bill succeeded. After the death of Charles and after the coronation of the new king James, the Duke of Monmouth failed to rush and hurried to England to seek the throne by force. Unfortunately for him, James II managed to achieve the support of Parliament, which at that time had provided him with money and soldiers. There have been some confrontations with local militias such as the regular royal army. The overall result was not good for the Duke of Monmouth. He did not invade a strong point within the region, which is the town of Bristol and his forces could not hope to bypass the well-trained and disciplined Royal Army. The rebellion was

⁶ The Exclusion Crisis ran from 1679 through 1681 in the reign of King Charles II of England, Scotland and Ireland. Three Exclusion bills sought to exclude the King's brother and heir presumptive, James, Duke of York, from the thrones of England, Scotland and Ireland because he was Roman Catholic

⁷ The gentry are "well-born, genteel and well-bred people" of high social class, especially in the past. In the United Kingdom, the term gentry refers to the landed gentry, the majority of the land-owning social class who were typically armigerous

crushed and thus the Duke of Monmouth was executed for treason, which means the ending of any open rebellion against the new king (Miller. P05)

The second half of the seventeenth century was marked by the struggle of succession. The two most famous political parties, the Tories⁸ and Whigs⁹, emerged at that time. The Whigs, who were against the absolute rule of the king and wanted a constitutional monarchy, came up with the Bill of Exclusion. This Bill prevented James II of England and VII of Scotland, brother of king Charles II, from inheriting the throne after the king's death. This action was opposed by the Tories. Who on the contrary of the Whigs were a conservative royalist party that defended the monarchy as a strong power opposing parliament and bringing balance into politics. Even the names used for both parties can signify the hatred between their supporters and its importance, as they both mean an insult of some kind.

The events connected to the Bill of Exclusion led to the Glorious Revolution in 1688, when James II and VII was officially deprived of power and forced to leave the British Isles for the French soil. Louis XIV supported James, and later also his son, in their endeavors to get back the English throne, mainly because Louis' strong belief in hereditary rights of kings' descendants and also because his firm Catholic faith. However, as a monarch, Louis had to put the interest of France above everything else and was thus not prepared to fully support the deposed king and his son, unless it would correlate with something that would benefit France. (Cruickshanks, p.10-11).

2. Religion

All of the four regions, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales were places of religious turmoil during the seventeenth century, mainly during the English Civil War, after Charles I was defeated and later executed. Oliver Cromwell, the lord protector who led Parliamentary forces which were the so-called New Model Army, and governed England with an iron hand as any other

⁸ The Tories were members of two political parties which existed sequentially in the Kingdom of England, the Kingdom of Great Britain and later the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from the 17th to the early 19th centuries. The first Tories emerged in 1678 in England, when they opposed the Whig-supported Exclusion Bill which set out to disinherit the heir presumptive James, Duke of York, who eventually became James II of England and VII of Scotland

⁹ The Whigs emerged prior to the Glorious Revolution and were the ones to introduce the Bill of Exclusion. The name comes from Scottish Gaelic and means a "horse thief."

monarch aimed to “cleanse the English Isles of religious dissidents once and for all” (Britannica.com). He was especially cruel and tough when it comes to the Catholics in Scotland and Ireland, he ordered that any Catholics had to be butchered, and it was a religious massacre by thousands and he also ordered his troops to confiscate their property and estates giving them to church or any other Protestants from England (Cruickshanks, P 28-29), After the interregnum, Charles II took the throne and, despite being in exile in Catholic France for some time and being married to Portuguese Catholic Catherine of Braganza, he ruled as a Protestant king. At this time, Parliament played a more important role in ruling the country and its members feared Charles Catholic background and his relations to the Catholic church in France. They feared it so much, in fact, that they introduced the Clarendon Codes¹⁰ which privileged the Protestant clergymen, brought an obligation to attend Sunday masses and prevented large gatherings of people revering any other until the succession of James II, Parliament, the king, and the clergy had maintained a ‘status quo’ by upholding Protestantism in the country. James promised he would not attempt to re-establish Catholicism in the beginning but later, in 1688, he applied the Declaration of Indulgence , which prevented any kinds of repressions against religions other than Protestantism. This greatly angered and frightened Parliament and the clergy and was one of the main reasons for the Glorious Revolution. (Miller p04.) Parliament asked Mary II and her husband William, both Protestants, to invade the country and to usurp the throne, which they did.

After the English Civil War, and the Glorious Revolution, the fires of religious conflict disappeared. The only noteworthy event was the need to find a new Protestant king after the death of Queen Anne in 1714 because she outlived all of her offspring. Therefore, the remaining and maybe the only person who can hold the power of the four kingdoms was George I, the elector in Hanover.

There were three major conflicts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One was in the same faith between Catholic and Protestantism, and the latter was the dominant faith on English soil but had a smaller foothold in Ireland where the majority believed in Catholic principles

¹⁰ Clarendon Codes were four acts passed by the Cavalier Parliament between 1661 and 1665 to deal with the religious problems of the Restoration

and Scotland where the Calvinist¹¹ majority revered. The second conflict arose out of a conflict over church, Episcopal¹² and Presbyterian¹³ systems of government. Last but not least, the third problem between the state and the church was the division of power. (Croschanks,P. 17).

3. The Glorious Revolution (1688-1689)

The Glorious Revolution is a term used to highlight a two-year period at the end of the seventeenth century, precisely the years 1688 and 1689. In these rough times, the licitly and formally appointed king of England was dethroned and forced to leave the island and was replaced by a parliamentary favorite. The whole revolution was mostly bloodless, perhaps due to the unsettling past that reminded the British of the civil war between King Charles I and Parliament, which was still very much alive in people's recollection. (Miller. 01)

There were several reasons for preventing James from ruling the British Isles. James was a Catholic, which was unpopular. Because of the Protestant nature of religious institutions and the overall faith of the people, there was a general resentment towards Catholicism or any display of active Catholic worship of the king. This was very unfortunate as James II Stuart was a devout Catholic, not willing to alter his beliefs for the good of his realm. First, before his coronation in 1685, the brother of James Charles II, the contemporary king, attempted to present an act that gave people of the Catholic faith modest tolerance, mainly because of James. Second, there was a close relationship between Charles and France, which was an example of absolute monarchy and strict Catholicism. (Miller, 03).

James II and VII himself did not ease the situation. He began to lean towards the absolute form of government and aimed to re-establish the Catholic faith in England by issuing the edicts of tolerance. One was the Declaration of Tolerance, which repealed any repression against non-conformists and opponents. (Encyclopædia Britannica) Due to this, he managed to anger the whole country, even the previously mentioned Tories, who were otherwise natural supporters of the

¹¹ Calvinism is a Protestant theological doctrine and an approach to Christian life based on the principle of the sovereignty of God in all things

¹² An episcopal polity is a hierarchical form of church governance ("ecclesiastical polity") in which the chief local authorities are called bishops. (dictionary.cambridge.org)

¹³ Presbyterian (or presbyteral) polity is a method of church governance ("ecclesiastical polity") typified by the rule of assemblies of presbyters, or elders. Each local church is governed by a body of elected elders usually called the session or consistory, though other terms, such as church board, may apply. (Wikipedia)

monarch. Perhaps even more distressing to the gentry and the clergy was the birth of James's son James. Under different circumstances, everyone would be happy that a new heir to the throne has been born, but in this case, he emphasized the king's Catholic policy and set the path of development and changing towards the return of Catholicism. (Encyclopædia Britannica). This could not have been allowed in the eyes of the gentry, clergy and the common folk.

Six members of the Tory and Whig parties and one bishop wrote a concerned letter to William of Orange, the husband of James' daughter Mary. In it they invited them to invade the country and take over the throne. If it were not for James' son James, Mary would be an apparent heir to the throne and, because she was Protestant, there would be no need to even depose James. (Cruikshanks, 61)

William had been in exile in the Netherlands and for a long time, he was preparing for that day to come. He also maintained connections in England. He immediately accepted the invitation and off to England he went. He landed at Brixham, which is in the south-western part of England, and marched towards London. The unfortunate James could only watch most of his subjects change their coats and merge with William's side. The last drop for James was the departure of his own daughter Anne and his best general John Churchill to join William's numbers. Perhaps as the only possible solution, James decided to leave for France, hoping to gain support from Louis XIV of France. (Roberts, 02)

After his great and bloodless victory, William summoned Parliament, who then interpreted James's departure as an official abdication, and William was recommended as the first man in the kingdom and for the first time in history, Britain was no longer a monarchy ruled by kings, and Cromwell was in control and some considered him to be the first prime minister in history and one of his first decisions was that he made a declaration of rights that should have guaranteed the succession of James Anne's daughter after Mary's death, and forbade any Catholic king to the throne, abolished the king's right to suspend laws and established a permanent army in peacetime which was illegal. This declaration is also known as the Bill of Rights (Glorious Revolution, Encyclopædia Britannica)

After the Glorious Revolution, the male line of Stuart monarchs was effectively stripped of the right to rule. There was still Mary II, wife of William of Orange and later Queen Anne, both James' daughters, but Anne's death in 1714 meant a complete end of the Stuart line on the English throne. Also Catholics were generally banned from contending for the throne and Catholicism itself was strictly forbidden.

Parliament became firmly and completely in control of the country's governance process. The revolution meant a great victory for the example for the Whigs since they proved their point about the importance of the parliament and that it is irreplaceable and has an important role in government, and also in giving advice to the king and evaluating it when he fails, and if his stubbornness persists, then the parliament asserted through its revolution that any king can be overthrown if his majesty keeps pushing them towards the unknown. and Not only from a political view but a religious perspective as well. However, one can say that the revolution failed to limit the authority of Parliament, which extended its control over taxes or, for example, the right to a royal caliphate (BBC History), and that this revolution itself backfired against the Parliament and was the reason behind the birth of a very persistent and continuous movement still exists today, the Jacobite Movement.

4. The Jacobite Movement

The term itself originates from a Latin word '**Jacobus**' which means '**James**' in English and came into existence in the end of the seventeenth century. It mainly labelled people supporting the deposed king, James II, and his descendants. However a University of St. Andrews professor Bruce P. Lenman in his article '**The Jacobite Diaspora 1688-1746: From Despair to Integration,**' suggests a certain connection to a biblical story of Jacob who tricked his father into giving him a blessing previously meant for Jacob's brother, attaching the term 'imposter' to the meaning. (History Today.com) Generally a Jacobite is someone who believes in the right of succession of the Stuart line of monarchs to the English throne. This movement continues even today long after the death of the last of the direct descendants of the Stuart line .

Jacobites disclaim the political changes implemented during and after the Glorious Revolution such as the Act of Settlement¹⁴ (1701) the Act of Succession and also the Act of Union with Scotland as well as Ireland. Thus, the Jacobites consider the present form of the United Kingdom invalid. Moreover, what is known about this movement is that they accept diversity in all its forms. They themselves come from different religious and ethnic backgrounds and generally recognize religious tolerance, although most of them are bishops and Catholics. But according to their understanding, if one is a Jacobite and embraces 'Jacobitism,' that means he/she is one of them

- England, Scotland and Ireland

Generally speaking, the density of Jacobites coincides with the density of Catholics and perhaps even Episcopalian Protestants in various parts of Britain, especially at the beginning of the revolution. Later the movement consisted of many different religious branches and did not put large emphasis on Catholicism anymore. Catholics sought redemption of their beliefs in Britain which was personified by Catholic Stuart family.

Most of the support for the cause of the Jacobites came from ancient Scotland, which had to stand with its king whose origins are considered to be Scottish, as there were several supporters from all sides and most of them were from the clans of the highlands. And the proof is that they joined the first ascent with Viscount Dundee and also with Prince Charles Stuart. In fact their participation was mainly due to the full support to their king and secondly to get rid of the harm that Parliament caused them, these reasons made them natural allies of James and his cause. Of course, the Catholic highlands were the first to join the rebellion in 1689, which made the other regions join the Scots and the Jacobite King, as there was some hidden contribution from the episcopal regions, but their support subsequently increased greatly and publicly as well.

The Irish support of the Stuart family practically ended with the treaty of Limerick in 1691, and the defeat of Jacobite rebellion in Ireland and with the flight of James back to France after

¹⁴ The Act of Settlement is an Act of the Parliament of England that was passed in 1701 to settle the succession to the English and Irish crowns on Protestants only. The next Protestant in line to the throne was the Electress Sophia of Hanover, a granddaughter of James I. After her the crowns would descend only to her non-Roman Catholic heirs.

losing the battle. James got a nickname in Irish folklore and the only support for his cause from the Irish came from the Irish Brigade in the French army.

Conclusion

Last but not least, the Jacobites caused major divisions and distress among the people of Ireland and Scotland, where the revolution was fought but there was Wales which joined the king's quest and the majority of the Welsh sought to return the English throne into the hands of the Stuart dynasty. Therefore, the second chapter will tackle the Welsh Jacobites, and the most recognized and famous figures that had direct involvement in several plots which made the parliament worried about the Jacobean cause in Wales.

Chapter Two

The Jacobean Cause in Wales (1689-1746)

Introduction

This chapter will mainly tackle the Welsh jacobites by presenting evidences that there was true support from Wales to the royal family at that time, which means the Stuarts, and also the chapter will discuss some theories that contradict this approach by trying to prove that the Welsh had neither the support nor the effectiveness in the jacobites rebellion, Moreover the chapter will focus on the history of the Welsh jacobites existence and participation to regain the ultimate monarchy from 1715 -1746 by investigating who were the active Welsh leaders that led the jacobites against the Parliament.

1. Views over the Role of Wales of Wales in the Civil War (1689-1715)

According to cartographer Humphrey Lloyd, James VI is "the king of their blood". Unlike the Tudors, Wales had no family affiliation with the Stuarts, however, it is absolute that this was a set out to connect Wales to "Celtic origins" and to cement the link between Wales and thus the new king. (Pettock, 202). While Wales was loyal to the Stuarts during the war, it was misunderstood that the Welsh were completely loyal to the Stuarts themselves, but it was likely that loyalty was to the monarchy and the throne itself and not the royal family at that time. Many believe that the Stuarts were not widely popular due to their neglection of the region, and the lack of travels to it (Wood, 23). In addition to that, there was much speculation about the loyalty of the gentry and readings of the crisis situation on the island, and all had their own vision and perception according to their political ideologies. It is a problem with conflicting theories about the assumptions of Welsh loyalty to the Stuarts and thus the crown.

Herbert Vaughan has expressed in his viewpoint that “the names of one or two known Welshmen among the “fifteen and the forty-five”¹⁵ do not prove themselves that Jacobitism spread and thrived strongly within the hearts and ideals of the people of Wales” (Vaughan, 11). Vaughan acknowledged that there was some support for the Stuarts, although in his view it was by no means an infinite deal to create a true Jacobite threat to the new Protestant Hanoverian monarchy. However, Vaughan seems to be the only one carrying this opinion and view, more moderate researchers suggested that Wales was a hotbed of Jacobite sentiment and there was a lot of positivity and optimism that Wales would rise with other nations and back up the Stuarts in their claim to power. Craig D. Wood says that Sir Reginald Copeland commented: "There was no place in Britain more addicted to the restoration, and there was no less enthusiasm for the Bloodless Revolution" (Wood, 22).

J. Arthur Price identified that "wherever the “English Revolution” resulted in, there is no more general dissatisfaction than in Wales", Stuart's support during the war was well documented with Robin Evans saying that the Welsh people were fully loyal to the monarchy and determined to involve for the sake of Britain after they knew that the Hanoverians are not worthy of the crown, and they cannot fight for the people and the monarchy as the Stuarts did, For Wales, the true royal family was one of their own not from another different region from the island itself, Although they were always like a burden and had no meaningful value or audible word because they were always considered an integral part of England, for the rest they were less valuable and often forgotten within the broader context (Evans, 24).

What is noticeable and mind trigger is that the context of the letter written by Robert Walpole in 1716 to Stephen Pontez refers and give explicit details about the riots where he referred that they are mainly In the western and interior parts, which they altogether represented all of Wales, and that discontent was violent and linked to the illegal coup and rebellion against the Jacobite King (Walpole, 27). Soon after the rebellion of 1715, he wrote that it shows that the English government had a specific degree of fear of events that were occurring across the country. This contradicts what Vaughan mentioned, that there was no appetite for the rebellion or the Jacobean cause. Although there appears to be sufficient support to be a worrying note to Walpole

¹⁵ 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).

who was at the time of writing this report the Treasury Secretary. The Welsh participation in 17th-century plots also indicates a specific degree of Jacobite support and efficacy within the rebellion. William Herbert Marquis II of Powys (Duke of Bowes) and Viscount Montgomery were involved in various Jacobean conspiracies including the "Fenwick conspiracy"¹⁶ of 1695 and thus the "Jacobite Assassination Plot"¹⁷ was captured in 1696, and he spent most of the 1690 period in prison or abroad. On the law in exile, he has been arrested again during the '1715 Rebellion' (Hopkins, 10). While Marquise Bowes was among a tiny low minority who were named among various conspiracies and plans, by 1715, many areas of Wales had strong ties to the Jacobites through a network of warriors, attorneys, non-jurist clerics, and prominent Tory MPs. Northeast Wales was held by Sir Watkins Williams Wayne from Winstay, Earl Oxford Center Marches, southeast by the Duke of Beaufort and Viscount Windsor, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen by Sir John Phillips, and Cardiganshire was held by Price from Gogerddan and thus Powell Nantes (Jenkins, 393).

While Vaughan correctly states that "one swallow doesn't make summer" (Vaughan, 11) there is evidence of an oversized amount of sympathetic Jacobites, it's reasonable to recall that we also are seeing some swallow. This means the situation may not stay the same, and the British parliament cannot rely on these notions to continue because eventually and no matter how they deny it Wales is a direct threat that England faced in the Jacobites period.

2. Jacobite Wales (1715-1746)

Whereas the "Glorious revolution" of 1688 sparked the birth of the Jacobites by deposing King James VII, the first body of the rises did not occur until the possibility of the Stuarts being replaced by the foreign entity of the elector of Hanover and her heirs. The summer and fall of 1715 saw the first violent riots in the name of the Jacobean cause. Wrexham¹⁸ was one of the most concentrated areas of riots and violence that ensued from June to December with a focus on opposition societies (Palmer, 62). The Minister of home affairs, who was assigned to deal with the

¹⁶ One of a series of plots by Jacobites to reverse the Glorious Revolution of 1688–9, the plot of 1696 had been preceded by the "Ailesbury plot" of 1691–2. Strictly the "Fenwick plot" of 1695 is distinct from the assassination plot of 1696. The successor was the proposed French invasion of Scotland of 1708.

¹⁷ The Jacobite assassination plot 1696 was an unsuccessful attempt led by George Barclay to ambush and kill William III of England in early 1696.

¹⁸ Wrexham the largest city in the north of Wales

riots in Riotham New Wrexham, Mr. Kenrick, recounted the rioting in Wrexham, Describing every night of riots, and therefore the damage that occurred, including the meeting houses in Llanfyllin¹⁹, Shrewsbury, and Manchester, the new meeting house in Wrexham is destroyed and thus the old meeting house suffers major damage This may be how the viewer described it :

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)²⁰

Given this account of the riots in Mr. Kenrick 's statement, it is reasonable to assume that Wrexham had a large Jacobean group in 1715. However, Martin McCaw could oppose this much, who suggests that the riots in Wrexham were made of two different factions, People were. To support the restoration of Stuart dynasty and the gaggle who had resented the cause behind "squirearchy"²¹ by a devastating increase in Whig's dominance within the region. He argues that while many rioters may sympathize with the Jacobites, many Anglicans used trouble to revive the boycott within the "old days" before the act of tolerance²² in 1689 (Mccaw, 65-66).

¹⁹ Llanfyllin is a market town, community and electoral ward in a sparsely populated area in Montgomeryshire, Powys, Wales.

²⁰ 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

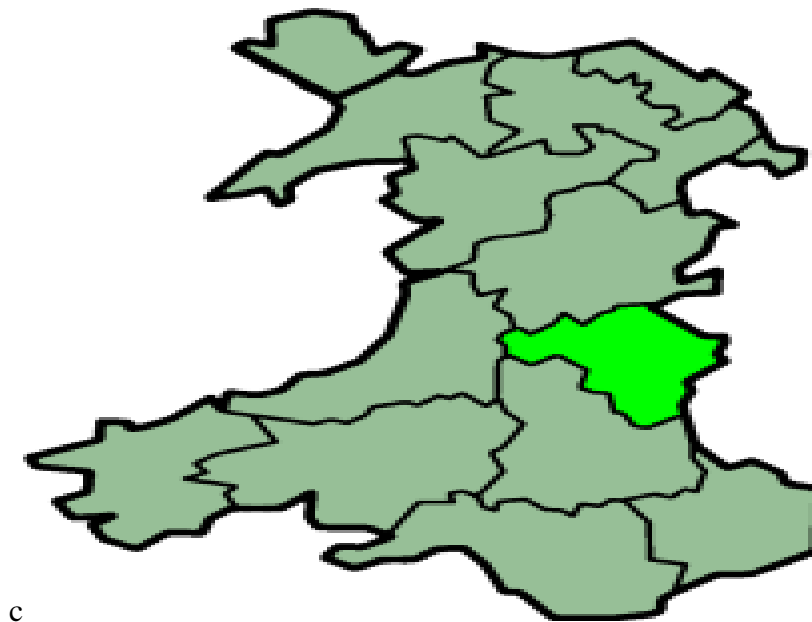
²¹ Squire is the title of a gentleman next in rank to a knight. A Squire was originally an attendant on a knight; the knight's shield or armor bearer. It was the title given to a country gentleman, and a title of magistrates and lawyers

²² Toleration Act , (May 24, 1689), act of Parliament granting freedom of worship to Nonconformists (ie, dissenting Protestants such as Baptists and Congregationalists). It was one of a series of measures that firmly established the Glorious Revolution (1688–89) in England.

Chapter Two: The Jacobean Cause in Wales

Looking at Mr. Kenrick 's details of the extensive dates referring to the Jacobean issue, we will see that despite Mccaw's suggestion of Anglican involvement, most of the problems were of suggestive Jacobean nature. There is little further evidence of a Jacobean rebellion in Wales during the 1715s. Wales was proposed in tandem with the potential landing points of James III in late 1715 and beyond, but these plans never paid off (Jones, 58). In 1721, a network of Jacobite spies compiled a list of potential and known supporters of Stuarts in England and Wales, including almost all conservative leaders in Wales. (Jenkins, 173). The list includes 49 names of Welsh representatives, deputies, and lords (See Appendix 01). Among the 49 names, there are two from the House of Lords, Lord Hereford, and Lord Bolkly and 16 current or former members. This could be a shred of conclusive evidence in some respects for the survival of a duplicate of the claim that Jacobite support in Wales was far above belief, although this list shows that some provinces lack Jacobian sympathy. Carmarthenshire²³ and Radnorshire²⁴ have no Jacobean name . (See Map 01 and 02)

Map 01: Rednorshire Anti-Jacobitism Region



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Source: (Britannica.com) (accessed 03/01/2020)

²³ Carmarthenshire is a county in south Wales, the capital of which is Carmarthen

²⁴ Radnorshire is one of thirteen historic counties in Wales, and one of its former administrative counties

Map 02 : Carmarthenshire Anti-Jacobitism Region



Source: (Britannica.com) (accessed 03/01/2020)

Carmarthenshire and Radnorshire have no Jacobean name supporters attached to them, which is explained in the list. Carmarthenshire being under the influence of the Marquis of Winchester and having no significant conservative influence, Radnorshire is said to be of little value due to the sparse population, however, most of them were under Lord Oxford. (Fritz, 29). (See appendix 01). This confirms the accounts of several magistrates and landowners who were prosecuted at the end of the 17th century for not having sworn allegiance to the new monarchs. Wood says this shows the extent of opposition to the new Hanoverian monarchy, and to William of Orange in particular. (Wood, 24). Over the next 25 years, there have been various isolated samples of Jacobite resistance across Wales, although the physical evidence for these pockets of rebellion is difficult to identify and many of them have been lost entirely, existing only through word of mouth and indigenous stories. In 1727, a meeting of the Jacobite society "The 27" allowed several participants to be called before the magistrate to account for their acts (Reid, 16). The rebellion of 1745 was indeed a light of hope for the Welsh who embraced Jacobitism. All the aide finances, and manpower were there to harness and support Charles Edward Stuart's army, but many believe that only three Welshmen joined the army of "young contender". The researcher

assumed that there was no official Welsh army that joined the Jacobite forces in Derby, since we could not find any valid evidence of such thing that proves the Welsh recruitment in the battles, but the question of the number of people who joined the army in Derby is disputed. The final position is that three Welsh Squires joined them, David Morgan, William Vaughan, and Richard Vaughan. David Morgan was captured and then executed for treason, William and Richard Vaughan, both veterans of Culloden fled to Spain with the other disciples of Stuart and founded new lives in exile. A witness in the David Morgan trial may have escaped more Welsh squires who joined the military than previously reported. John Barry. Berry himself was brought as a witness to testify for the guilt of David Morgan, who had gained in infamy since he joined the forces of Prince Charles and had been nicknamed "the adviser of the suitors", and stated that he and his master had accompanied David Morgan from Monmouthshire to Preston to harness the "Rebel Army" (B. Cole, 64). It is not known who Barry's master was, there is a suggestion that it could be William Vaughan, but during this study we did not find any definitive or conclusive evidence that it was, but it is a clear indication that there were quite a few three Welshmen who joined the rebel army. And the most famous one is David Morgan who was the only Jacobite hero in Wales, to the point that after his execution many people attempted to defame his character. A pamphlet has been published claiming to be the reincarnated David Morgan and provides a scathing account of his character and actions (Anon, 46). Price gives a heinous report from the pamphlet detailing it as: "cowardly and defamatory" and an insult to the memory of the late lawyer (Price, 18).

It was widely believed at the time that Charles Edward's forces would march to Wales to recruit more men for the cause. The government has tried to confirm that this has not happened and has ensured that there is no union between Scotland and Wales (Price, 20). This contradicts some historians, particularly Vaughan, who describes the Welshman as completely indifferent to any form of rebellion. A summarized 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, 19) (See map 03)

Chapter Two: The Jacobean Cause in Wales

There is some skepticism about the accuracy of this account, given the large number of supporters granted to the Jacobites of Glamorgan in 1721 in the list of emissaries. It is unlikely that each of these supporters would have disappeared overnight, however, since there was one case in each of the highest cases of supporters in 1721 until the claim that Glamorgan²⁵ had no actual Jacobites revolutionaries in 1745 seems to be even a little suggestive that the support had declined in the meantime, if this may be a rather biased or exaggerated account.

Map 03 : The South West Coast of Wales



Source: (Britannica.com) (accessed 09/01/2020)

There are two theories to clarify the shortage of Welsh involvement in the 1745 revolt. The main detail by Vaughan is that Welsh forces deliberately refused their support in the last days because they knew for certainty that the Jacobite's chances of victory are almost none. After all, the French troops that had been promised were not delivered, despite Charles Edward promising his officers that there would be some. Price quotes Andrew Lang, the Scottish scholar, as saying that the Welsh and the majority of the English did not deliberately participate until the next day (Price, 139). The second that Price advocates are that, according to a letter from Charles Edward

²⁵ Glamorgan, or sometimes Glamorganshire, is one of the thirteen historic counties of Wales and a former administrative county of Wales.

Stuart to his father James VIII, “Wynn and Lord Barrymore had sent an envoy to mix Welsh forces with the most army, but they arrived two days after pulling back from Derby and missed the opportunity.” (Price, 139). Unless more information implies light, the researcher thinks it would be impractical to invest on what reasoning is correct. What one can infer from this may be that no Welsh army joined Charles Edward at any time during the "forty five".

3. The Welsh Jacobites Leaders

As already mentioned before, there was a list written by spies, this list was written and delivered in 1721, and it lists all the devoted supporters to the Jacobite cause and what is interesting is that the list had a large number, although many names were just sympathetic to Stuart's plight, however, many of the gentry class had major ties to the Jacobite claim, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn is believed to have been one of the most notorious Jacobites in Wales.

Wynn was a member of Parliament for Denbighshire from 1716 to 1741 and a member of the Jacobite Society The Cycle of the White Rose²⁶ in 1726, commonly known as the Cycle Club. Wynn was a loyal, devoted Jacobite supporter, but little physical evidence of this survives (Jones, 59). this may be since his wife burned all of his papers in the days following his death in 1749 to safeguard his reputation as well as the lives of many of his acquaintances, many of whom were potentially involved in correspondence and sedition treason (Vaughan, 32). Wynn was selected as the most dangerous men in south of the Tweed (according to the English Whigs) and he is supposedly nicknamed “Brutus de César” by Charles Edward Stuart (Price,137).

A letter received by the Jacobite forces in 1745 during their march through the north of England, names Wynn because of the source: "The voter of Hanover and also the interests of his ministry are declining so quickly that Sir Watkin says that nobody now will accept their place and their job, which throws them into the simplest distraction” (Ewald, 181). It is not the sole occurrence of Wynn in London and reporting to the Jacobite hierarchy. A Jacobite envoy wrote that "Sir Watkin Wynn was with the citizens of London, whom he found still willing to cope with

²⁶ The Order of the White Rose was a Jacobite society founded in 1886 by Bertram Ashburnham as a successor to the Cycle Club. The Order attracted many writers and artists and began the Neo-Jacobite Revival that flourished in the 1890s. The Order closed during the First World War, but in 1926 the Royal Stuart Society was formed to carry on its ideal and mission.

the prince. The citizens of London declared that they were ready to welcome him and to create such a provision for him because they would know without any doubt that will make him completely happy” (Price, 19).

Moreover, Evidence multiplies when Wynn's brother Robert, also a member of the Cycle Club, and another brother Richard became a member of varied Flint boroughs "at the insistence of his brothers" and followed his example by voting against the deployment Hanoverian troops. This is often further compounded by the Jacobite implements that were in Wynn's family home, which includes portraits of several prominent Stuarts, a portrait of Charles Edward Stuart inside a cabinet with doors lockable, and so the jewel of the cycle club that was presented to Wynn. in 1781 (Nicholas, 470).

Several Jacobite toasting glasses have also been linked to the Wynn family, including one engraved with the name of Wynn's son, another presented to his wife, who became the patron of the Cycle Club. While none of this evidence is conclusive, it is very suggestive. What is interesting is that the bulk of historians place Wynn because the middle of Wales Jacobite, however, Vaughan puts specifically little or no emphasis on Wynn and hardly mentions it within the least degree in his work. This is often unusual given the quantity of weight other historians give Wynn. Several of them name Wynn due to the foremost influential Jacobite outside of Scotland, including Nicholas, Wood, and Jenkins. While Wynn was described together of "the two most dangerous men south of the Tweed", the opposite was Henry Somerset / Scudamore the 3rd Duke of Beaufort (Price, 137).

The Dukes of Beaufort were adamant supporters of the Jacobite cause and so the 3rd Duke was named as a possible ally on an inventory compiled by someone named Butler in 1740, sent from France to see support for the uprising of Charles Edward Stuarts in 1745 (Nicolas, 473), he was also involved in planning a Jacobite landing in 1722. His father the 2nd duke and his grandfather the primary duke were also involved in various Jacobite plots. The first Duke of Beaufort was suspected of getting got hold of the Fenwick plot of 1689 (Thomas, 282). His brother Charles Somerset, the 4th Duke of Beaufort, was also a dedicated supporter of King James VIII and is described as a "most determined and unshakable Jacobite" by Sir author in 1745 (Walpole, 331). Lord Lovat, an infamous Scottish Jacobite, was reported to possess only agreed to affix the

cause because the 4th Duke of Beaufort had promised 12,000 men. If this had not happened, he "would not have worried" (Murray, 43).

Nevertheless, This shows that although little action was taken by the Welsh Jacobites within the 'forty-five', their influence was broad and huge enough to influence Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat to support the cause, who was ultimately executed for treason due to his participation. within the climb. There are many other prominent Welsh names associated with the Jacobite cause like the Powells of Nanteos, Viscount Windsor, and also the Marquis of Powis. The common thread between all of this is often that they are all members of the Welsh nobility and most landowners.

Pettock describes Welsh Jacobitism having two main dimensions, rural aristocratic Jacobitism and so the Jacobitism of the poor, who were almost both like their counterparts in Scotland and England, but they left much less evidence, there is even a suggestion that it is often due to the linguistic gap between the two classes. The English-speaking gentry would have little knowledge or no ability to speak Welsh because the lower monoglott classes did, which makes collaboration between the two much tougher (Pettock, 203). All the Jacobite sympathizers and supporters who really made an enormous change and affected the Jacobites cause were abroad and away are the gentry, and that one has not gained any actual evidence of the lower class Jacobites military support, while one will probably say with some certainty that some do exist but in a very different peaceful way, without forgetting that one has little information on the exact support the Stuarts had from the lower class in Wales

Conclusion

All of these noble Welsh involvements during the civil war and supporting the Stuarts makes one wonder about the working class real position and the Welsh society's effectiveness in the civil war. Moreover why Wales was considered as the weak region and as the "OTHER" in the civil war . All these questions will be answered in the next and last chapter.

Chapter Three

The Jacobean Welsh Societies VS English Parliament

Introduction

This last chapter will focus on the the Welsh society stand from the Jacobites movement that is considered a crossroad in the history of the monarchy and had a direct effect on the crown that is looked at the most sacred power in Great Britain. Wales was thought of as England's pet and it will follow parliament and it even was and maybe still is undergrounded by the other regions and also by the historians themselves especially during the civil war , and that is why the second point this chapter will discuss is why Wales was treated as the lost son and neglected by all.

1. The Welsh Society and Jacobitism

Welsh Jacobitism was unique with so many different aspects and perhaps the most remarkable , unique portion is definitely the formation of the Welsh society . This unique outstanding society that chose to support the rightful king according to them , and show loyalty only to the crown , mainly managed to prove their loyalty via certain gatherings held by certain social formations . Such as The Cycle of the White Rose, and the '27'. While in other regions these kinds of societies arose after the 1745s such as the Circle of Gentlemen which was formed in Edinburgh in 1748 (McKenzie, BBC News). Such kind of societies arose in secret and they were peaceful , and some say it was fear that made the Welsh society keep the secrecy of the Welsh support to the Stuarts ; fear from parliament in the first class , Although these secret societies were mentioned centuries ago , and with a great amount of uncertainty, because of the lack of the information , and the cloud of mystery surrounding this topic for the Welsh themselves are a little talked about the Stuarts, and for this reason the evidence has become almost non-existent about such presence in the Welsh community in its support for the Jacobite dynasty, especially after knowing that there is no hope for the Stuarts to regain the throne . That surely kept the letters and the correspondence as minimum as possible even when the activities were innocent of any crime

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they had to hide and protect themselves from the Hanoverians and the Prime Minister at that time. (Jones, 57). Perhaps the most famous and known society was “The Cycle of the White Rose” that was founded by sir William Wynne in 1723 and took a flying wheel as a symbol. In the up north of Wales, this club represented Jacobitism and the stand of both the middle class as well as the gentry. Their meetings were mainly held in social and national occasions in simple places such as inns and even basements to celebrate their loyalty to the Jacobitism cause. Although there are few clues that indicate that the club was more than a social ordinary club and nothing was referring to the act of treason, such as participating in plots or military aide because unlike the upper class the Welsh people were very careful in hiding their tracks, and this is due to their secrecy and union. Even their main festival was celebrated in silence and no one know where it is going to be, the festival was held on the 10th of June, and it represents the birth of James VIII where they celebrate and toast the Stuart King/Queen, Prince of Wales and the Duke of York and toast them to signify the exiled Stuarts (Vaughan, p. 25). The Welsh society especially the Cycle Club had different ways mainly peaceful ones to express their support through songs, ballads and poems where they defend Jacobitism and the Stuarts regime. One of the most famous songs sung at the three-weekly meeting of The cycle club show the Stuart patriotism was “Robin John Clack” (See appendix 03) the latter is considered to some as an anthom, but in fact was a Scottich and Welsh ballad that was sung during drinking and it goes like this :

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

(Wikipedia)

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However, Pettock claims that this ballad portrays the right method of the Welsh society approach to support the Stuarts in a peaceful way and that makes it somehow a passive form to show loyalty when it comes to great deals and great support such as war itself because simply for Pettock the Welsh society and the middle class were ready to drink and express their joy through singing to celebrate and cheer on an absent king but were for sure not willing to participate militarily in the cause (Pettock, 203). On the other hand the south of Wales society was entirely different than the north due to their lack of meetings, and they were more protective and discreet. The representative society formation was the Society of Sea Serjeants that mainly limited the gatherings and the meetings to once a year (Vaughan, 27) and most of the meetings were held in two main cities, which are Pembroke and Carmarthen at first, then it moved to other regions in south of Wales and even West England . Although discretion was important, some members were less discreet, as its former president Richard Gwynne has his portrait painted with the emblem of the Society of Sea Serjeants²⁷ on his coat (Faber, 47), as did Admiral Mansel Langdon. The fact that both men were able to openly wear the badge of the Sea Serjeants (See appendix 02), possibly says more about the establishment. They were either 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 organization did not seem to be a viable enough threat to warrant any action by Hanoverian government. Since this particular club was very careful, its membership and to be part of the Sea Serjeants society was with conditions that need to be fulfilled . One of these conditions was the answer to the six questions that defines the beliefs the club hold. Jones transcript those questions and they are as follow :

- 1) Do you bear a true allegiance to his majesty?
- 2) Are you a member of the Church of England as by the law established?
- 3) Will you be faithful to your friends in prosperity, and cherish them in adversity?
- 4) Do you desire to be admitted a member of this society?
- 5) Will you faithfully observe the rules and orders that have been read to you?
- 6) Will you upon the honour of a gentleman keep the secrets of the society and the form of your admission to it?

(Jones, 63)

²⁷ A known Welsh formation that was created by squires in 1726 in order to support the Stuarts

Chapter Three : The Jacobean Welsh Societies VS the English Parliament

These six questions could not charge a member of the club of treason especially when it involved the deep Anglican faith that was just important to both the Jacobites all over the island and to the Parliament. In addition to that one cannot neglect the fact that these questions also portray the depth of loyalty, and the sense of integrity and brotherhood which only can be detected in a contemporary society. Even JP Jenkins expressed his opinion about the Welsh society in his article "Jacobites and Freemasons in Eighteenth Century Wales" demonstrating that the installation of the Jacobite societies progressed to past the point of any Jacobite sentiment or loyalty in the whole realm (Jenkins, 27). There is an interesting lack of logic in these Jacobean societies. As was highlighted before, Scotland and England did not have this type of Jacobean community at this time which indicates the previous reluctance of Wales to actively join the cause. It is possible that the Jacobites in other countries of the homeland who rose up used this momentum to be more active in their work rather than establishing secret societies such as the Cycle of the White Rose that came to an end in 1869, while the Society of Sea Serjeants disbanded in 1862 after the death of Charles Edward Stuart, and 60 years after the death of his brother Cardinal Henry Stuart, the last Jacobite heir. The fact that backing up the Stuart's through the Welsh societies outlived any other royal family in the time of war 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 organization or military intervention.. 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. (Jones,93)

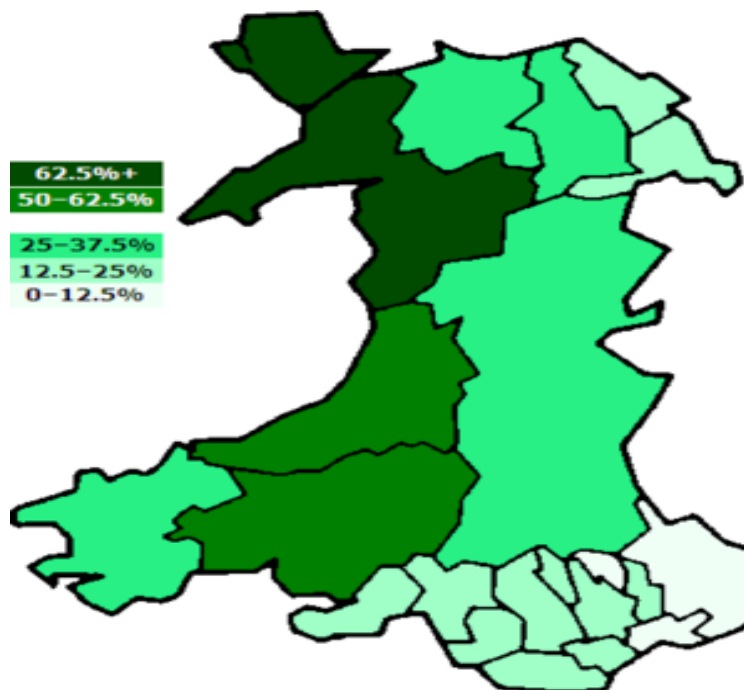
2. Wales Place in the Realm during the Anglo-Scottish Civil War

Wales was seen as unimportant and "other" during the war, and that is why so many publications were created to ridicule them. Some historians considered the parliamentarians goal of creating brochures and analyze the literature regarding the battles of the Civil War, purposeful Welsh English and Welsh stereotypes that have emerged throughout the satirical propaganda. The parliament started a campaign by publishing booklets to undermine the Welsh and everyone who

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helped the Stuarts , and these booklets according to Bowen were designed for a truly wide audience. And the evidence of that as Bowen claims there were a huge amount of publications and he continues by stating that “the Parliamentary pamphlets sold well and appealed to the English” (Bowen, 363), This lead one to actually sense an Anti-Welsh sentiment that appeared widespread in England. Perhaps it was the Welsh support for the king that prompted the leaflets to create much material, or difficult feelings toward the parliament , and it was so obvious that England was taking revenge after the defeat of the Jacobites , and maybe the Welsh did not even get what was written about them due to their unique Celtic language which was made fun of in the booklets. Their language was under attack by the Parliamentarians who considered them as an “other”, this attack was considered by Stoye as a threat as he remarks “ it was the survival of the Welsh language [...] which served to set Wales apart’ (Stoye, 14). And by that he meant that the Welsh society was failing to stay united after some maybe if not most started to yield to the fact that they had to make compromises such as their language to survive among the other regions on the island, and the map shows how many areas stopped speaking Welsh and joined England in every aspect because they knew that they were derogatory

Map 04: Percentage of Welsh Speakers by Main Region



Source:(britannica.com) (Accessed 10/02/2020)

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During the Civil War and after, a clear Welsh position with supporters as a legitimate royal family, Parliament did its best by creating pamphlets that would have created the Welsh identity as stupid and useless, to try to attract support away from potential recruits who joined the royal army. They feared the fact that Wales was going to support the Stuarts in every aspect. So, they chose to attack it so they had to spread the idea of Wales as a separate nation. Plus, with Wales's national identity and political position as a potential threat to the king's rival army, they targeted them to keep the Jacobites hold their thoughts of asking Wales for military support by presenting the Welsh as foolish and dim. With the return of national stereotypes, driven by unprecedented enthusiasm from the English and Irish sides, the Welsh were often seen as real "British" by both sides, tracing from a legend enshrined in Geoffrey of Monmouth - and they were usually seen as the indigenous inhabitants of the island (Bowen, 361). As Bowen comments, this "picture placed Welsh on a higher plane" (Bowen, 361) than their depiction of some theatrical productions during the sixteenth century, such as Foyle in Shakespeare Henry V (Brownlees, 211). Parliamentary pamphlets used Welsh expressions spelling of "British" for the latter, undermining Welsh claims that they were real British and inquiring how they could claim a state for themselves if they could not even pronounce or spell its name correctly (Brownlees, 217). This was part of the post's intention to show them a lack of English with a lack of education. A brochure entitled News from Wales (1642) found in Brownlis (2009) article highlights this, saying that the Parliament of Wales would provide additional funds to educate their children, so that future generations could learn to speak and spell correctly, and this passage is a proof of the insults the Welsh had to endure :

‘And because her Parishes are consisting of a few pig houses [...] and that her Schoolmasters have put poor and peggery pensions, for her Instructions of her shildren, he was therefore in intention to desire her welch parliament to give her childs Tutors and Schoolmasters [...] so her children may learn to make petter Orthographies, than her Fore-fathers...’ (News from Wales,1642)

This Publication says that using the right language is essential for these children, to prevent them from being ridiculed and mocked like their predecessors, a smart trick to convince the English-language reader that Welsh is not only stupid, but they also catch up with their children. Meaningful spelling mistakes are very prominent - all tactics to portray Welsh as useless in

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everything they do and to show that Wales was unimportant and insignificant . National stereotypes that also returned stimulated this sentiment, with the aim of making mockery of Wales and its history. One of the main Welsh stereotypes exploited during the English Civil War revolves around the diet of Welshmen. It has been found to be highly dependent on staple foods, such as leeks and cheese. As Brown leigh's article (2009) shows how a Welsh diet consists of an infinite amount of cheese, ‘her shall have [...] new sheeze [...] old sheeze [...] raw sheeze [...] roasted sheeze [...] stewed cheeze” (Brown,43). Not only does this portrays the Welshmen again as simple, but it also shows them as modest, and they have to deal with the same old food over and over again. The English wrote fliers comically to sell brochures and provide their readers with entertainment from their "disenfranchised" and “deprived’ Celtic neighbours. Another tactic deployed by parliamentarians was their use of the "Taffy" sign. Brochures were often written by a “ Taffy” or included in the text, being `` the name that the English gave to all Welsh” (Brownlees, 228). The English labeled the Welshmen although the expression Taffy is not necessarily an insult to the Welsh according to some historians agreed On common theory is that Taffy comes from a mispronunciation of “Dafydd”, a popular name in Wales for centuries, Dafydd is sometimes shortened to "Dafi". And Another possibility is that it originally described someone who lived near the river Taff. (See Map 05) (www.walesonline.co.uk)

Map 05: River Taff in Wales



Source: (www.walesonline.co.uk) (Accessed 10/02/2020)

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However, for the English it was the perfect insult that rhymes in every publication, they had to mention it to label the Welsh as thieves especially after they wrote "Taffy was a Welshman" the popular song that undermines the Welsh and attacks them directly and this is the first part of it :

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief;
Taffy came to my house and stole a leg of beef;
I went to Taffy's house and Taffy was in bed;
I upped with the jerry pot and hit him on the head.

(Britannica.com)

Lord also mentions the Taffy sign in his book, saying that it would have been clear on the streets of London in the seventeenth century, that Taffy was not only referring to the individual Welshman, but to the entire nation, which appeared on St. David's Day as a sign of abuse (Lord, 34) The English did not stop at this point, but they also humiliated the Welsh for their ways and methods of support which they relied on to help the Jacobites and the Stuarts by accusing them that they fled the battle field like rats to save what they could save, especially that desertion and fleeing the battle-field seemed to be a recurring theme for the Welsh during the English Civil War. (Lord, 44) according to the print published at the time. The Welsh has been portrayed as humorous and useless throughout the prints, with intelligently used satirical images to grab reader's attention. Especially the Stuart family and the Jacobites in order to establish in their minds that these Welsh were not completely dependent on them and may have succeeded in doing so because they simply won the war and made Hanover the rightful king, but it remains clear that the support and effectiveness of the Welsh in the war is what made it last long and for many generations. (Stoyle, 155)

Conclusion

If Wales had not been a direct threat to Parliament, the British would not have made all their attack on Wales because they knew that their part and their involvement would define who would win the war and who would be named victorious, and they also knew where their absolute loyalty, which is a direct threat to England, was for this England made sure that no one would depend on them and perhaps this was the error, which commissioned the Stuarts the throne (Stoyle, 158).

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The General Conclusion

It is agreed that there was a Welsh support and it was even a significant one as the 1721 list proved so. Wales was indeed loyal to the Stuarts and to the monarchy and one may assume that the Welshmen were equal in their loyalty to the royal family as the Scottish people and the English people themselves were (Pettock & Whatley, 18). Nevertheless, this support does not mean that Wales interfered by the means of action and militarily support or had any efficacy on the events and the results of the Civil War 1715-1746, and that is proven by the lack of the Welsh names in several plots and assassinations that happened during the Jacobites Revolution, In addition to that, there was a few and little rebels activity in Wales in 1715 Revolt, with the exception of a few isolated cities such as Wrexham and the "Forty-Five" which were considered slightly better as there was a minimum Welsh presence within the Jacobean army, perhaps in one character. The list of influential lords, deputies, class, and nobles with Jacobite relations is clear evidence of Jacobite sympathy and loyal Stuart followers within Wales. There is much evidence linking them to the Jacobean societies, such as the Cycle of the White Rose Club and the Society of Sea Serjeants.

There is an enormous amount of circumstantial evidence through art and portraits, political stories, poetry, and personal memorabilia. This should be enough to say without a shred of a doubt that Jacobite support in Wales was sufficient to classify Wales as a Jacobite stronghold. One looked at the definition of a "Jacobite" at the beginning of this dissertation to ascertain what constituted Jacobitism in the British island, and how it should be viewed against the popular opinions of previous historians. It is concurrent that active participation in activities is not the only measure of Jacobitism, but Wales should be considered as a Jacobite bastion based on support levels only.

This dissertation proved that Wales had all the will, determination, and intention to rise and join the rebellions, especially the "Forty-Five" group, while support for the Jacobites was higher in numbers in the late seventeenth century and faded over the years, the accumulation of evidence surrounding the "Forty-Five" indicates that their actions were evolving into a final work and that

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they had every intention of joining Charles Edwards Stuart and the Jacobean army. However, due to their ineffective recruitment and their futile efforts to merge their forces and strength, they failed in this final obstacle. This failure to intervene at the right moment indicates the death of Jacobitism in Wales and had eventually condemned the army at the last battle in Culloden. Without forgetting that the Welsh society refused to have any actual involvement in the wars and the pressure that was held on them by the English parliament who tried to manipulate their spirit of doing anything to actually help the Stuarts by all means, The English parliament succeeded to win the war when they drew the picture for Charles Edward Stuart that the Welsh are expendable when they used the satirical approach to present the Welsh as humorous and useless throughout the print, with mocking images being used cleverly and apparently they convinced the enemy to abandon Wales and they even convinced the Welsh themselves that they were useless in this war. And although the Welsh supported the Jacobites and embraced their concept, there is no doubt when one come to the conclusion that Wales had no efficacy what so ever in changing the outcome of the Anglo-Scottish Civil War.

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Apendixes

- Apendixe 01

Below is the list prepared by a number of eminent Jacobins in 1721 and submitted to King James VIII, entitled "The State of England" and is found among the papers of Stuart at Windsor Castle (RA, Stuart 65/16). And its available in JSTOR

Regions	Names
Monmouthshire	Lord Windsor Mr Ray Sir Charles Kemys Mr Gregory Captain Bourgh Mr Hughes Mr Coghran 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
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	Under the influence of Marquis of Winchester
Radnorshire	under the influence of the Lord Oxford.

- Appendix 02

These photos shows the emblem of the Society of Sea Serjeants through years , and both Richard Gwynne and Admiral Mansel Langdon wearing it :



the emblem of the Society of Sea Serjeants

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Richard Gwynne



Admiral Mansel Langdon