

THE HIGHLAND QUORUM

Hey for Sandy Don?
Hey for Cockorum?
Hey for Bobbing John,
And his Highland Quorum?

Many a sword and lance,
Swings at Highland hurdie,
Now they'll skip and dance
O'er the bum o'Geordie

The Earl of Mar's Rebellion
Autumn 1715-Spring 1716
Rules, Scenarios, Commentary

PART ONE – Rules	2
1.0 <i>General Background</i>	2
2.0 <i>Orientation</i>	3
2.1 <i>Components</i>	3
2.11 General	3
2.12 The Maps	3
2.13 Charts	4
2.14 Counter Mix	4
2.15 Rules	4
2.2 <i>Victory</i>	4
2.21 General	4
2.22 Spending Prestige	4
3.0 <i>Miscellaneous Rules</i>	4
3.1 <i>Personages</i>	4
3.11 General	4
3.12 General William Cadogan, 1st Earl of Cadogan	5
3.13 Le Chevalier de Saint George, James Francis Edward Stuart	5
3.14 John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar	5
3.2 <i>Command & Control</i>	5
3.21 Initiative	5
3.22 Hubs	5
3.23 Generals & Brigadiers	6
3.25 Other Command & Control Rules	6
3.3 <i>Optional: Alternate Jacobite C-in-C</i>	6
3.31 General	6
3.32 Alexander Gordon, 5th Marquis of Huntly	6
3.33 John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl	6
3.34 James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick and Maréchal de France	6
3.35 Seniority	7
3.4 <i>Mustering & Replacements</i>	7
3.41 General	7
3.42 Neutral Clans	7
3.43 British Reinforcements (Campaign Game)	7
3.5 <i>Limited Naval Rules</i>	7
3.51 General	7
3.52 Interception	7
4.0 <i>Armies</i>	8
4.1 <i>General Notes</i>	8
4.11 Contingents	8
4.12 Artillery	8
4.2 <i>Government Forces</i>	8
4.21 General	8
4.22 English & Scottish Garrison Commands	8
4.23 Irish Garrison Command	8
4.24 Loyal Scots & English Militia	8
4.25 The Dutch	8
4.26 Optional: The Guards	8
4.3 <i>Jacobite Forces</i>	9
4.31 General	9
4.32 The Border Jacobites	9
5.0 <i>Unused</i>	9
6.1 <i>Instructions</i>	9
6.11 General	9
6.12 Exceptions	9
6.13 The Explanations	9
6.2 <i>Explanations</i>	9
6.21 The Highlanders Demand Action	9
6.22 French Aid	9
6.23 James Stuart	10

PART TWO – Scenarios	10
7.0 <i>Scenario Instructions</i>	10
7.01 General	10
7.02 Unit Listings	10
7.03 Leaders	10
7.04 Scenario Bounds	10
7.1 <i>Battle Scenarios</i>	10
7.11 By the Banks of Allan Water	10
The Scenario	12
7.12 Cromwell's Shade	17
The Scenario	17
7.2 <i>Operational Scenarios</i>	20
7.21 The Heather and the Gale	20
The Scenario	21
7.22 Blue Bonnets Over the Border	22
The Scenario	23
7.23 Under the Northern Lights	24
The Scenario	25
7.3 <i>THE EARL OF MAR'S REBELLION</i>	26
7.4 <i>Variants</i>	28
7.41 French Aid Variant	28
7.42 Unbridled Ambition	28
Part Three – History	29
<i>Orders Of Battle</i>	29
<i>The Leadership</i>	34
<i>Political Overview</i>	38
<i>The Rising</i>	47
<i>Appendix A</i>	60
BIBLIOGRAPHY	60
Counter Manifest	61

PART ONE – RULES

*But when our standard was set up,
So fierce a wind did blow,
The golden knop down from the top
Unto the ground did fa',
The second-sighted Sandy said
We'll do nae gude at a',
While pipers played from right to left,
Fy, furich Whigs awa.*

*Up and waur them a', Willie,
Up and waur them a',
Up and sell your sour milk,
And dance, and ding them a'.*

Up and Waur Them a', Willie.

1.0 GENERAL BACKGROUND

Braemar, 9th September 1715

"Now is the time for all good men to show their zeal for his Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our Native Country from oppression and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native King, but also our country to its ancient free and independent Constitution under him whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations".

Letter from Mar to "the Baillie and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Lordship of Kildrummie"

The Jacobite Rising of 1715 compares poorly to its more famous sequel in many respects. For one thing, it is not as well documented. The romance of Bonnie Prince Charlie is lacking; in its place are sleazy politicians; a boorish king set against a melancholic prince; a tussle between power-hungry nobles. And yet, the '15 could have restored the British Monarchy to its former status or broken the Union of England and Scotland before it was a decade old.

On August 1st (Old Style) 1714, Good Queen Anne died. For most of her reign England had been fighting against both Spain and France in the War of the Spanish Succession. Assisted by her Captain-General, the unparalleled John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, England had transformed itself from a mere adjunct of William of Orange's Protestant League to one of the Great Powers; the Royal Army from a laughable rabble to a formidable war machine. At home, the long debated Union with Scotland had come to fruition. Overseas trade was growing and a new class of gentry arising whose power stemmed from money rather than land. Anne's reign had seen a struggle for dominance between Land and Money, represented by the two political groups of Tories and Whigs, reach a level of bitterness not seen since the days of the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

In 1714, the Tories, including the faction who called themselves the "Jacobites", were nominally led by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. Most of the rank and file of his party, however, were looking for a new champion in the brilliant but morally retarded Secretary of State, Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. Now that there was peace after a decade of war, the Tories desired the creation of – or in their view, the return to – a one-party state. But Harley, who was Queen's Treasurer (a post equivalent to the modern P.M.), resisted any efforts to purge the Administration of its wartime "Whiggish taint", since his own hold on power depended on having an Opposition strong enough to keep his disaffected backbenchers united under him.

On the demise of the Queen, the Whig Peers, for long a minority in Parliament yet dominant in the House of Lords, swiftly took charge of the office of Treasurer and other key postings. They were assisted by a badly timed power play within the Tory Party that ousted Harley in favour of St. John's proxy, Lord Shrewsbury – himself a moderate Whig!

A brief flurry of activity around the Queen's deathbed sponsored several rumours. Anne had secretly desired the succession of her exile brother James Edward Stuart, but the Royal Will had been suppressed... A triumvirate of powerful men in favour of a Jacobite succession – Oxford, the new Army C-in-C the Duke of Ormonde, and that master plotter St John – had engineered a coup to retain power among themselves... James Stuart was on his way to England to contest the succession and the Jacobites were preparing to take up arms...

The rumours were false, but served to cement the Whig takeover. The Dukes of Argyle and of Somerset were said to have foiled the coup by taking the White Staff of the Treasurer from the nearly comatose Anne and handing it to their ally (and Bolingbroke's nominee) Shrewsbury, as a suitable "caretaker". England was to be administered by a Council of Regents, mostly Whigs, until Anne's heir, the Elector of Hanover, arrived in London on the 18th of September 1714. After that, the Tories would be purged.

By the Act of Settlement of 1701, the debate of which had been a catalyst for the permanent division of Parliament into multiple parties, no Catholic prince could expect to rule the British people. The act was specifically intended to exclude Queen Anne's exiled brother, James Francis Edward Stuart, known to history as the Old Pretender. His legal replacement (although 57th on the list of hopefuls) was George Augustus Welf – or Guelf – Elector of Hanover. Here was a man who could be expected to drag Britain back into Continental politics at the first opportunity. For the Francophobic Whigs, that meant little, as they favoured Continental involvement. Plus, as the Opposition they had deliberately courted a royal choice that the more radical Tory elements deemed unacceptable. The Tories were dubious. The Jacobites, who supported a Stuart Restoration, were horrified.

The 18th of September 1714 was not a happy occasion. To his new subjects George appeared dull. He could not speak English. Lacking charm and good looks, even his two mistresses could not redeem him – the Jacobites snidely remarked that they were both uglier than he. On his part, George was suspicious of his new realm. His responsibilities seemed onerous – he was not in Louis XIV's class, merely a rubber stamp for his chief ministers – and he pined for his beloved Hanover and the gardens of his estates. Although kept abreast of English domestic affairs, and especially the struggle of Whig and Tory, his knowledge was superficial. Unable to grasp the need for an Opposition to counterbalance the political strength of his new Whig "friends", he was firm on one thing: there would be no Tories in his administration. In George's eyes that party had betrayed Germany by leading England to sign a separate peace with France in 1713.

George's succession had not been certain, and neither was his rule secure. In 1714, the Tories had ridden a wave of popularity fostered by their isolationist platform and their successful conclusion of peace with the French after ten years of war. The English people, conservative at the best of times, were thought to prefer a king from the old Stuart stock – so long as he kept his Papist friends off the streets and behind the Palace gates. In any case, they were believed unwilling to engage in yet another revolution to prevent his return, should that event occur.

Because of this, there was some concern among the Whigs that their opponents, in desperation, would use the first few months of George's reign to engineer an insurrection, playing upon popular disappointment in the new king. The Jacobite fringe would come into its own, offering the only viable alternative. However, despite sporadic riots and Jacobite-sponsored demonstrations in several major cities, including London, the Government managed to preserve at least an illusion of stability. Most Tories, even now, could not believe that the Whigs had the power to permanently defeat them at the polls. They would wait for the triennial elections of 1716 and put their rivals back in their place.

Meanwhile, George did nothing to endear himself to his new subjects. English money and English ships were used to further the designs of the Elector of Hanover against his Scandinavian rivals in the Great Northern War. Unemployment and inflation had not disappeared with the new régime, and George got the blame for the military extravagances of the last administration. Discontent grew. Conservative hooliganism in the provinces, directed against Whigs and religious Dissenters, provoked strong reprisals. To their great shock, the Tories were purged from office wholesale. Deprived of their sources of patronage, they were unable to buy votes during an “emergency” election suddenly called by George in January 1715 (a full year earlier than the expected triennials).

In that part of George’s new realm somewhat hopefully named “North Britain”, there was much discontent among the gentry. But, despite the usual rumours of Jacobite plotting, there appeared to be no concrete designs to violently oppose a constitutionally chosen monarch. Despite all the romantic legends, a great many of the Scots distrusted the Stuarts, a dynasty that had harshly persecuted its opponents while in power, and when trying to restore its fortunes had caused the deaths of so many of its own supporters to no purpose.

But this was an unsettled time, and in such a time the Scots, disillusioned after only seven years of Union, might break away from the English yoke. As well, there were many among the Catholic Highlanders who had happily served as the “iron rod” of the Duke of York during the Killing Times and still held his son to be their lawful king. In the hot summer of 1715, the heather was drying to tinder. By an ironic twist, the spark to set the blaze would be provided by one who had done much to bring about the hated Union – the Earl of Mar.

John Erskine, 6th (or 11th) Earl of Mar, was a typical Scots noble. By religion an Episcopalian; reputed to be a Jacobite in his principles – officially he belonged to the non-political Court Party, a remnant of the time when Parliament was a united body coming into being at the King’s call. Where Mar’s true sympathies lay was anybody’s guess. He was so close that it was said he would not even confide his views to himself. His contemporaries were only sure of one thing: Mar was a Trimmer and a lover of Office. Whatever higher principles Bobbing John may have held were subject to this. And after all, £5000 a year at 18th Century rates (roughly \$300,000 USD today – and far more than that in terms of real power) might bend the principles of more honourable men than Mar. In any case, the age was one in which trimming and outright pork-barrel patronage bore little stigma – except when the political outs chose to make an issue of it.

Under Queen Anne, Mar had been Secretary of State for Scotland. A persuasive orator, his voice had swayed the balance in the vote for Union, couching the necessary threats of economic blackmail and personal violence in gentlemanly tones that the other Scottish Peers could swallow. But under the House of Brunswick (as George of Hanover’s line is confusingly known), Mar was dismissed along with his Tory allies. His protestations of loyalty were ignored. When on August 1st, 1715, Mar attended a Royal Levee in London, the King turned his back and refused to acknowledge his presence, notwithstanding a discrete Tug of the Royal Sleeve.

Mar took ship that night for Scotland. He was a man who kept his quiver full, and in the Duchy of Lorraine lived another who had a fair claim to wear the crown of England: Roving Jamie. For the last few years, Mar had been the Scottish Jacobites’ official patron in Parliament. Now he intended to call in a few favours.

The Pretender had in fact authorised Mar to encourage the faithful – but not to start a rebellion! Ignoring the latter part of his instructions, Mar contacted the Jacobite “underground” and proceeded to convene a series of secret meetings that included most of the Scottish aristocracy (at least those who were not

confirmed Whigs like the Presbyterian Duke of Argyle). All through that hot August, Mar hustled and organised. Although the Establishment knew full well what he was about, the régime’s position was still extremely weak: the army scattered in an internal security role, stripped to the bone by the defunct Tory administration that had sought peace at any price; the leadership of the nation still tied up with the business of Parliament and a vicious scramble for “place” under the new sovereign.

Under cover of a great *timchoill*, or hunt, a device often used for clandestine armed gatherings, Mar met with the Scottish notables who might be prepared to fulfil his designs. Of all those present, two men were most qualified to lead a rebellion. The Duke of Atholl refused; he said because James Stuart had not asked for his services in person, but in truth because he was satisfied under the current Administration. The ailing Duke of Gordon, represented by his son the Earl of Huntly, expected that the mighty Gordon tribe would lead the Rising. But young Huntly wavered, torn between a fanatical Jacobite mother and an intensely Whiggish wife.

Annoyed with his new allies but determined to get the job done, Mar forged a commission from James “the Third” appointing himself Generalissimo of a National Rising in favour of the Pretender. While the beaters drove the game into a tightening circle, Mongol-fashion, the chiefs and nobles stood drinking brandy from a hollow in the rocks called the Devil’s Punchbowl. The Toast? – *Success to the Rising and Perdition to King George!*

On September 6th, 1715, the Standard of King James III & VIII was raised on the Braes of Mar in front of a crowd of 600. Its device: a Thistle, and the motto “No Union”. The Earl made yet another stirring speech. But as the flag went up, the gilt ball on top of the pole fell off...

2.0 ORIENTATION

SIR, I am extremely surprised that notwithstanding the advices you have had from hence, we have heard nothing from either Lord Townshend or you. And pardon me to say I am yet more surprised to find... that his Majesty's Ministers still persist to think this matter a jest... give me leave to say, Sir, that if all of us who have the honour to serve his Majesty here are not either knaves or cowards, we ought to be believed when we tell you this country is in the extreemest danger...

The Duke of Argyll to Secretary Stanhope

2.1 COMPONENTS

“It’s ill taking the breeks off a Heilandman”

Old Scottish Proverb

2.11 General

The Highland Quorum is not a complete game. It is a module for *Charlie’s Year*. The maps and charts, and some counters from the latter are required to play this game. As in *Charlie’s Year*, one player takes the side of the Jacobites in their belated attempt to place James Edward Stuart on the throne of Britain as James III. The other player takes the side of the Government, representing the forces of the upstart King George I and his Mammon-worshipping republican Whig lacqueys.

2.12 The Maps

The Highland Quorum uses the NW, NE, W, and E maps from *Charlie’s Year*. In addition, an overlay is used to adjust the terrain to that of 1715, altering several roads and fortifications.

2.121 Historical Note: the difficulty of moving around the Highlands during the ‘15 prompted the Government to send General Wade on a surveying tour during the 1720’s. Many of the roads built on his recommendation are still at least partially in use today or can be walked for recreation. They were laid out in pseudo-Roman fashion, with mileposts and regularly spaced hostels. Barracks were also

constructed after the Rising at key points (like Ruthven, which was a natural gathering point for the clans of the central Highlands). Other forts were improved – like Fort George, which in 1715 was no more than the old citadel of Inverness.

2.13 Charts

The charts and tables from *Charlie's Year* are used where applicable. This module includes a few additional and replacement tables on a separate reference card.

2.14 Counter Mix

See the Counter Manifest in the back pages of this rule book. This lists all the counters (apart from markers) used in the module. All Units, HQs, Auxiliaries, and Leaders that come with *The Highland Quorum* module bear the date “1715”.

2.141 **Important.** The Counter Manifest is used when setting up the scenarios; it functions as an “OOB Booklet”.

2.141 *The Highland Quorum* has its own set of counters:

- One (1) Government counter sheet (front and back).
- One (1) Jacobite counter sheet (front and back).
- One (1) partial counter sheet for Leaders (single sided).
- (The version found in *Charlie's Year Deluxe* places the THQ Leaders on the same sheet as the *Charlie's Year* Leaders).

2.142 As in *Charlie's Year*, Units are battalions (Infantry) and regiments (Cavalry), worth one (1) SP each.

2.143 Apart from the new counters, *The Highland Quorum* uses a number of counters from *Charlie's Year*. These are listed in the Counter Manifest on the back cover. Not listed but also in use are all markers.

2.144 Be sure to use the “1715” *Army of the Stuarts* Grand Army HQ counter.

2.15 Rules

The Highland Quorum scenarios are played using the standard KR&Os plus the *Charlie's Year* Exclusive Rules, plus the rules in this volume. The following rules from *Charlie's Year* are not used:

- 3.1 Personages & Special Leaders. *The Highland Quorum* has its own set. See 3.1 in this volume.
- 3.25 Initiative. The rule is similar to that in *Charlie's Year*, but modified. See 3.21 in this volume. Note that CY 2.15 still applies.
- 3.26 Hubs. The Hubs for this game are deployed in new locations. See 3.22 in this volume.
- 3.14 & 3.15 The Regent's Lieutenant-Generals & Engineering Officers. These two rules are not used, but there are rules for other special Leaders in this game. See 3.3 in this volume.
- 3.38 Neutral Clans. This rule remains in force, but this module has a different set of eligible Clans. See 3.422 in this volume. Note that the Neutral Clans have duplicate counters in each Side's mix.
- 3.3.10 Dismounted Cavalry. This rule is not used. Optional: if the players agree, they may use this rule, but they will have to use their own method of recording Dismounted Units.
- 3.6 Off Map Forces. This rule is applied differently, as discussed under section 4.0 in this volume. In brief, there are no “playable” off-map areas in this module, but Ireland and England are sources of Units for the Government player.

- 4.0 The Armies. This section is replaced in *The Highland Quorum* by a similar section dealing with the forces involved in The '15. However, many of the forces operate under similar restrictions, and there are numerous references to *Charlie's Year*. Especially, 4.1 (Highlanders) remains in force.
- 5.0 Naval Rules. This section is not used, except for 5.4 Naval Interception, vs. Jacobite Amphibious Movement. Minor naval effects are covered in 3.5 in this volume.
- 6.0 Random Events. *The Highland Quorum* has its own set of Random Events. The explanations for Events duplicated in *Charlie's Year* are found in that volume.
- 7.0 Scenarios. *The Highland Quorum* has its own scenarios. In general, the rules for set up follow the series standards, but check each scenario for special rules.

2.151 In any case where the KR&Os conflict with *The Highland Quorum* rules, the latter rules take precedence. In any case where the *Charlie's Year* rules conflict with *The Highland Quorum* rules, the latter rules take precedence.

2.152 References given in this volume are for this volume, unless tagged as KR&Os or CY (*Charlie's Year*).

2.2 VICTORY

“If we have not yet gained a victory we ought to fight Argyll once a week till we make it one.”

General Hamilton

2.21 General

Victory in *The Highland Quorum* uses the same formulae as *Charlie's Year*. That is, the Minor Scenarios are based on a set schedule of Victory Points, and the Campaign Game uses the standard Prestige rules. Prestige is awarded per *The Highland Quorum* Prestige Chart.

2.211 AVCs (CY 2.16) also apply to the Campaign Game, but this module has its own set (see the Prestige Chart).

2.212 Prestige affects Initiative in exactly the same manner as in *Charlie's Year* (CY 2.15).

2.213 The Mob Rules of CY 2.3 still apply. Note that the Jacobite player can only enter Newcastle, as London is off the map.

2.22 Spending Prestige

Prestige can be spent as directed by the KR&Os and CY 2.0. Additional expenditures for this module are given on *The Highland Quorum* Prestige Chart. Certain items or effects may not be purchased because they do not appear in this module (e.g. the arrival of the Hessians, since there are no Hessians in this module) – use common sense.

3.0 MISCELLANEOUS RULES

“It looks as if Mar said to the Government, ‘Willie-Willie-Wastle, I’m in my Castle!’”

Lord Justice Clerk Cockburn

3.1 PERSONAGES

*Argyle, the State's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the Field.*

Alexander Pope

3.11 General

The Government has one (1) Personage: *General William Cadogan, 1st Earl of Cadogan*. The Jacobites have two (2) *Le Chevalier de Saint George*, James Francis Edward Stuart (Royal), and the *Earl of Mar* (CG).

3.12 General William Cadogan, 1st Earl of Cadogan

One of the Duke of Marlborough's most able and loyal subordinates (as Quarter-Master-General he acted as chief of staff, scoutmaster, and "camp prefect"), the arrogant and short-tempered Cadogan was sent north to light a fire under the Duke of Argyle, who was seen as "soft" on the rebels. He disliked Argyle, who was also arrogant and short-tempered, and who moreover, had been appointed to his current command over Marlborough's head. Cadogan also disliked being forced to campaign through a Scottish winter away from the fleshpots of London (and in Argyle's presence to boot), and disliked all Highlanders (especially Argyle) as a matter of principle.

3.121 *Cadogan* enters play automatically in the Administrative Phase of the Turn in which Government Prestige first drops to "3" or less, or in which the Government player expends two (2) Prestige to "buy" his services. *Cadogan* is placed directly in the *Duke of Argyle's* current location. If *Argyle* is in the Officers' Mess, then *Cadogan* is placed there also. If *Argyle* is not in play, then *Cadogan* may be placed in any otherwise eligible Friendly-Controlled location.

3.122 *Cadogan* has the following special abilities:

- He is a Captain-General and automatically Relieves *Argyle* of any Posting, taking the same Posting himself. *Argyle* is available for any other Posting, including *Cadogan's* "assistant".
- *Cadogan's* arrival automatically awards the Initiative to the Government player, beginning with the Turn after he enters play. The Government player is now the default holder of the Initiative for the rest of the game. The actual holder of the Initiative may still vary on a Turn-by-Turn basis, as explained in 3.21.

3.13 Le Chevalier de Saint George, James Francis Edward Stuart

James F. E. Stuart was the son of the deposed James II. He was recognised by the French and the Jacobites as James III of England and VIII of Scotland. History portrays him as a good man, but of a monkish disposition, and inclined to take a gloomy view of things. Certainly the many failed attempts by the Jacks to restore him did little to lighten his mood. His succumbing to seasickness while crossing the North Sea to join the current Rising, coupled with an attack of ague, did not help his public appearances either.

3.131 *James* is received through the Random Event Table (see 6.23). If/when he arrives, he is placed in any Friendly-Controlled or Non-Controlled Port location within the play area. If no such location exists, *James* does not enter play at this time and cannot do so unless the same Random Event occurs again (if *James* has entered play, though, this event is treated as a No Event, as per 6.23).

3.132 If optional rule 3.34 is in force, *James* may be accompanied by the *Duke of Berwick*.

3.133 *James* is a Royal without Leadership powers. He may become a casualty in the normal manner. *James* has the following special abilities:

- When *James* is present at a Battle that the Jacobites win, an additional two (2) Prestige is awarded to the Jacobite player. When present at a Battle that the Jacobites lose, an additional point (1) of Prestige is awarded to the Government player.
- If *James* is Killed or Captured, the Government player is awarded an AVC (see the Prestige Chart). If *James* is Wounded, he is permanently removed from play (returns to France) but the Government player is not awarded an AVC.

3.134 *James* remains on the map once he arrives. He must be assigned an Escort and moves with it at all times. Personage and Escort must be stacked together using normal movement mechanics, as expediently as possible. *James* has no MA of his own. *James* Escort must consist of a single Unit, in the following order of precedence: a Horse Unit, a Highlander Unit, or any other Foot Unit.

3.135 The Jacobite player may have *James* voluntarily return to France at any time, by moving him to a Friendly-Controlled Port and making a die roll. On a "5" or less a ship has been found to take him. Only one (1) check for a ship may be made per Turn, and only while *James* is stacked at a Port.

3.136 *Historical Note: James was not informed of the Rising when it broke out. Earlier, he had made pronouncements against his "usurpation" by George, but was not prepared to become physically involved. Whig propaganda, later picked up and used as documentary evidence by Whig historians, claims that James was deeply committed from the start, but this is not borne out by the evidence of his own correspondence. He had asked Mar to see to the needs of the faithful and keep their spirits up, but not to start a rebellion – at least this was the impression he hoped he had given Mar.*

Upon learning the news of the Rising, and feeling that he should support his followers whatever the cost, James set out from the Duchy of Lorraine for the Channel coast. The journey proved longer than expected, as he was required to dodge spies, would-be jailers, and assassins. Then there was the question of finding a ship, waiting for the right weather conditions and so on, while still on the watch for another attempt by Lord Stair, the English Ambassador, to have him murdered. By the time he arrived in Scotland, Sherrifmuir had been fought and the Jacobite army was disintegrating. Mar swiftly bundled him back to France, along with most of the Jacobite leadership.

3.14 John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar

The *Earl of Mar* functions as Captain-General for the Jacobite Side, commanding the *Army of the Stuarts* Grand Army HQ if at all possible. He acts as Captain-General even when *James Stuart* is present (*James Stuart* has no Leadership role). No special rules apply to the *Earl of Mar* unless rule 3.3 is used.

3.2 COMMAND & CONTROL

*It's some gat swords and some gat nane
And some were dancing mad their lane
And mony a vow o' weir
Was ta'en that night at Amulrie
There was Tillibardine, and Burleigh
And Struan, Keith, and Ogilvie
And brave Carnegie, wha' but he,
The piper o' Dundee.*

The Piper o' Dundee

3.21 Initiative

In no scenario does either player begin with Initiative. Instead, each player makes a (1) die roll during the Initiative segment. High roll wins, and re-roll ties. Furthermore, before entering an Enemy-occupied hex (*exception*: not if it is only a Garrison), the Active Formation's commander must pass a LC (remember, Notional Leaders have a Leadership Rating of "0").

3.211 By Point #3 of rule 3.122 (*General Cadogan's* arrival) the Government side will receive the default Initiative for the rest of the game. However, CY 2.15 still applies, and the Prestige trigger is still \leq or \geq "6", as given in CY 3.25. *Exception*: in the turn rule 3.122 first applies the Government player receives the Initiative regardless of his Prestige.

3.22 Hubs

The Government Hub is located at Newcastle (9/SE/Edinburgh). Note that Newcastle may not be within the play area, but a LoC may be traced to and form it normally.

3.221 As in *Charlie's Year*, the Jacobite Side begins with no Hub, and the Jacobite player may place the Hub per CY 3.262,

but only at Perth, Aberdeen, or Inverness. Selection is based upon whichever location becomes Friendly-Controlled first.

3.222 The Jacobite Hub may be Relocated per CY 3.26, but only to another eligible site.

3.23 Generals & Brigadiers

Due to the shortage of Leaders on both Sides, any General may freely act as a Brigadier. Postings and Reliefs are conducted normally. A Marshal may only act as a General in those instances specified by rules 3.12 above and 3.3 below.

3.24 Grand Army HQs

There is only one (1) Grand Army HQ in *THQ*.

3.241 The Jacobite Side uses the *Army of the Stuarts* Grand Army HQ marked “1715”. If at all possible, it must be commanded by the Jacobite Captain-General, in the usual manner, and is also the Escort HQ for King James, if he arrives (3.131).

3.242 The Government Side has no Grand Army HQ. This is a deliberate omission. *Cadogan*, the Government Captain-General, functions as described in 3.12. Once 3.12 has been fulfilled, *Cadogan* must, if possible command the Army HQ with the greatest number of Units.

3.25 Other Command & Control Rules

The remaining C&C rules of CY 3.2 are in force without alteration.

3.3 OPTIONAL: ALTERNATE JACOBITE C-IN-C

“Let those who forget their duty and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen. For me, it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has shown a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if it so please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours”.

James Stuart addressing his council at Perth

3.31 General

This rule may be used with the consent of both players prior to the start of play. By default, the Jacobite Captain-General is the *Earl of Mar*. He is not really suitable for the post. You may experiment with the other candidates listed below.

3.311 Any special abilities awarded by the following rules are only in force if that particular Leader is acting as Captain-General. Otherwise, their normal ratings are used, as printed on their counters.

3.32 Alexander Gordon, 5th Marquis of Huntly

Huntly represented the influential Gordon clan on behalf of his invalid father. As the Rising got underway, many expected that he would receive James’ commission as Generalissimo. Of course, Mar had no commission to forward, this being his own pet project, but having forged his own commission, he might have forged one for Huntly instead. Huntly’s own mind was clouded by the conflicting demands of his wife and his mother – the first from a powerful English Whig family (she was the daughter of Henry Mordaunt, the Earl of Peterborough, who had been C-in-C Spain during the late war) and the second a fanatical Roman Catholic. Huntly’s prominence ensured that he would take part in the Rising, and blood ties virtually guaranteed an appearance in the Jacobite camp, but he was not happy about it. Had he been more decided the Rising might have been led by a popular and reasonably energetic figure.

3.321 With this option, *Huntly* replaces *Mar* as Captain-General of the Jacobite forces. *Huntly* provides a Mustering bonus (shown on *The Highland Quorum* Reference Card), but only when Mustering the following Units:

- Highlander Class Units
- Gordon Clan Units (those with “Gordon” or “Huntly” in their name) whether Highland Class or not – the bonus is not compounded for Gordon Highlanders.
- Atholl Militia Units (those with “Atholl” in their name – there are four (4) of these).

The bonus applies regardless of *Huntly*’s location.

3.222 See also 3.351.

3.323 Historical Note: Huntly came from a Catholic background, and the Jacobites almost never appointed Catholics to the top command slots for fear of alienating the Anglican/Episcopalian majority. However, he was apparently quite popular with his Episcopalian neighbours in the Northeast.

3.33 John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl

The Dukes of Atholl (the Murray family) held sway over a large tract of land centred on the Tay valley, north of Perth. The land was legally treated as a semi-independent fiefdom, and the Dukes were entitled to raise and maintain their own private army, estimated at a potential 6,000 men (*it appears they are still so entitled*). Fortunately for the Government, the current duke was a staunch Episcopalian and an opponent of the Stuarts’ Catholic supporters, many of whom were personal rivals. Earlier he had asserted his willingness to join Mar, but upon learning that the latter was playing his own game, the Duke declared that without the Pretender’s request in person, he could not think of committing rebellion. Against his will, four of his sons – Lord Charles, Lord George, Lord Tullibardine, and Lord Nairne – under the influence of their Catholic mother, raised battalions of Athollmen in Mar’s service. The Duke held his peace, but after losing nearly a thousand of his subjects at Preston, he peremptorily ordered his remaining clansmen home. His sons went into exile, but the Duke retained his lands and remained a Government man for the rest of his life. The dukedom later went to another son who had remained at home.

3.331 In this option, the *Duke of Atholl* has been given a firm assurance by *James Stuart* that he is to be the Jacobite Generalissimo in Scotland and is the sole Jacobite Captain-General. *Atholl* provides a Mustering bonus for ALL Jacobite Units (shown on *The Highland Quorum* Reference Card).

3.332 See also 3.351.

3.34 James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick and Maréchal de France

James FitzJames was James Edward Stuart’s half-brother by Arabella Churchill, the sister of the Duke of Marlborough. The hope of the Jacobites was that this great soldier, one of Louis XIV’s best marshals, would lead the rebellion. He refused to throw away a career in the French Army for the doubtful resolution of placing his relation on the throne of England, even though he had worked strenuously to advance James’ cause at the French Court. In fact, his refusal was one reason why James never took proper advantage of the change in the English régime (beyond a few plaintive pronouncements). Berwick has received censure from pro-Jacobite historians for obeying the command of the “pro-English” Duc d’Orleans, who took over as Regent when King Louis XIV died in 1714. However, it was Louis himself who had originally forbidden him to go to England; thus he was loyally obeying one of the last wishes of his deceased King.

3.341 In this option, *Berwick* is persuaded to join the fight. There are two (2) separate options when using the *Berwick* counter:

- *Berwick* accompanies *James Stuart* and is placed with the latter when he arrives on map.
- Or, *Berwick* begins the game on map in *Mar*’s stead.

In either case, *Berwick* will be the Jacobite Captain-General.

3.342 The Jacobite player rolls one (1) die prior to the start of the game. On a "3" or less, *Berwick* begins the game on map. Otherwise he enters the game with *James Stuart* (6.23). If *Berwick* enters late, the Jacobite player begins with *Mar* as his Captain-General (see 3.35).

3.35 Seniority

If any of the alternate Captains-General is used, *Mar* remains in play as a Marshal for the entire game. In the case of *Berwick's* late arrival, *Mar* begins as Captain-General, but automatically becomes a Marshal as soon as *Berwick* arrives.

3.351 *Huntly* will act as a Marshal under all possible Captain-Generals except the *Duke of Atholl*. If *Atholl* is the Captain-General, *Huntly* does not appear in the game.

3.352 The *Duke of Atholl* Leader is never used unless he is the Jacobite Captain-General.

3.353 *Design Note*: all the Captains-General have been given Marshal's ratings so that their counters may be used in other modules.

3.4 MUSTERING & REPLACEMENTS

This was a period of great party strife, similar in intensity to the time of the Civil Wars; men's opinions were hardened in one direction or another. In mitigation, old attitudes could be tempered by fears that a neighbour might take advantage of the times to settle old scores, or by economic discontent or indebtedness.

Many of the Jacobite leaders hesitated before committing themselves, since the least that would befall them would be exile and forfeiture of all their wealth. Those that were in debt (and there were many) still held nominal title to their lands; to forfeit them would mean loss of surety for their debts. One act that threw many of the waverers into Mar's camp was a blanket summons for 80 Scottish peers and notables to appear in Edinburgh, on pain of arrest. Only two men on the list actually obeyed the summons; they were arrested.

3.41 General

In general, the *Charlie's Year* rules apply fully to this module. Some modifications and special rules are required. These are explained below.

3.42 Neutral Clans

As in *Charlie's Year*, some of the Highlander Units can serve on either Side, or remain Neutral. The mechanics of determining Loyalty are the same as in CY 3.38, but a different set of Clans is used. These are noted on *The Highland Quorum* Reference Card.

3.421 The **Gordon Clan** (1st & 2nd Battalions *Huntly's Gordon Regiment*, plus 1st & 2nd Troop of *Huntly's Gordon Horse*) is assumed to start the game loyal to the Jacobite player, not Neutral, except in the Campaign Game. In the latter case, even though some elements begin the game deployed with the Jacobites, the entire Clan is subject to a Loyalty Check before play begins. If the Jacobite Side does not receive the Clan, it immediately becomes Neutral and any existing elements of it are removed from play. The Government Side cannot receive the Clan at the start of the game, only during the course of play, if it began the game Neutral.

3.43 British Reinforcements (Campaign Game)

All Government-British Line and Guard units not set up on the map at the start of the Campaign Game are available to be Formed (and introduced to the map this way) by using the Government Reinforcement Table (GovRT). This process occurs during the Reorganisation segment of the Administrative Phase (i.e. at the usual time).

3.431 During the Administrative Phase the Government player may roll once (1) on the GovRT for each column on the table: Ireland and England. The results generated by these die rolls indicate the number of Units in the respective Garrison

Command pools (as listed in the scenario section – 7.0) that may be Formed in the current Turn. Unused portions are lost.

3.432 Units Formed out of the Irish pool are placed in Glasgow or Dumbarton (2 hexes NW of Glasgow), or they may enter the play area along the southern edge.

3.433 Units Formed out of the English pool are placed at Newcastle (9 hexes SE of Edinburgh), or they may enter the play area along the southern edge.

3.434 If a Unit is placed directly at a Dumbarton, Glasgow, or Newcastle it may not move in the same phase.

3.435 **Important**. When Formed, these Units have a CE of two less (–2) than that printed on their counters (e.g. "D" instead of "B").

3.436 There is a political cost for using these forces. Once a certain number of Units have entered play from either of these pools, the Government player will begin to lose Prestige. See *The Highland Quorum* Prestige Chart.

3.437 *Historical Note*: The rebellion caused a massive reshuffling of troops and an intensive effort at recruitment. The Government had recently disbanded much of the formidable army it had created under the Duke of Marlborough. Many of the regiments were in fact only recommissioned in July of 1715. As fast as they could be drilled and equipped they were sent to swell Argyle's forces, but the process took several months. In Ireland, a large proportion of the garrison was sent to Scotland, and the authorities were forced to hastily recruit new units to replace them, with mixed success. In England, the Government disposed of large forces in the south and west, and around the Capitol, as a deterrent to any French moves, but more importantly, in order to suppress a series of local uprisings by Jacobites, the unemployed, and the inevitable rowdy college students.

3.5 LIMITED NAVAL RULES

3.51 General

Section 5.0 of *Charlie's Year* (The Naval Game) is not used in this module. Riverine and Amphibious Movement (CY 3.5) is still permitted. However, the Government player is assumed to have a dominant naval presence everywhere.

3.52 Interception

As an exception to the general statement above, CY 5.5 Naval Interception takes place whenever the Jacobite Side use Amphibious Movement. The Royal Navy is assumed to use On Station Patrol for all Amphibious Movement between Ports affiliated with Sea Zones "M" and "F". Elsewhere, the Sally From Port column must be used. The Jacobite player cannot Intercept.

3.53 *Historical Note*: the most famous naval action of the Rising was the patrolling of the Firth of Forth by the Royal Navy. The Jacks held the Fifehire shore but successfully crossed to the south bank only once, with a band under "Old Borlum" Macintosh. Even then, a portion of the force was turned back. In the north, the small craft of the Moray Firth were always important for movement in that region, and in the west, the Campbells still had their own personal navy.

4.0 ARMIES

*Will ye go tae Sherifmuir,
Bauld John o'Innisture,
There tae see the noble Mar
And his Hieland laddies.
A' the true men o' the north,
Angus, Huntly, and Seaforth
Scouring on tae cross the Forth
Wi' their white cockadies.*

Will ye go tae Sherifmuir,

4.1 GENERAL NOTES

*They gloom, they glour, they look sae big,
At ilka stroke they'll fell a Whig:
They'll fright the fuds of the Pockpuds,
For many a buttock bare's coming.
Little wat ye wha's coming,
Jock and Tam and a's coming.*

4.11 Contingents

Each Side's Units are divided into Contingents in the same manner as those in *Charlie's Year*, with the following alterations:

- There is no Flanders Command.
- There are no French, Hessians (or Prussians, or Hanoverians), only Dutch.
- The Jacobite player has a Contingent known as the Border Jacks, denoted by the image of a horseman on the reverse. These forces are also part of either the Jacobite English (JE) or Lowland Jacobite (JL) Contingents. See 4.32.

4.12 Artillery

Artillery was in short supply during the Rebellion. Only the Government Side has Artillery Units, and they are not available until the January Turn at the earliest. On that and each subsequent Turn the Government player rolls one (1) die during the Administrative Phase (one roll per Turn) until his Artillery is received. A "2" or less is required; the die roll is modified by "-2" per Turn after the first (1st) Turn.

4.121 The Government player has three (3) Artillery Units: two (2) Mixed Field, and one (1) Siege. The Units may be placed in Newcastle, Glasgow, or on any hex on the South map edge – the hex(es) must be Friendly-Controlled.

4.122 This is the only Artillery permitted in *The Highland Quorum*, except for Scrounged items; the Jacobite Side may also Capture Artillery. If necessary, use the Jacobite Mixed Artillery counters provided with *Charlie's Year*.

4.2 GOVERNMENT FORCES

*He has drapp'd frae his hand the tassel o' gowd,
Which knots his gude weir-glove,
And he has drapp'd a spark frae his een,
Which gars our ladie love.
'Come down, come down,' our gude lord says,
'Come down, my fair ladie;
'O dinna young Lord Derwent stop,
'The morning sun is hie.'*

Derwentwater's Ride

4.21 General

The bulk of the Government forces consists of those regiments on the Home Establishment, which had just undergone "demobilisation" at the end of England's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713. There were about 8,000 men still under arms, but this number includes the forces in Ireland and Scotland. What troops there were, were mostly engaged in garrisoning various southern towns against insurrection.

4.211 The Government forces are divided into the following:

- The English Garrison Command
- The Scottish Garrison Command
- The Irish Garrison Command
- The Dutch
- The Loyal Scots
- The English Militia

4.212 As in *Charlie's Year*, the three Garrison Commands incorporate the Regular Army Contingent. The other elements are their own Contingents. See the Counter Guide for a list of identification codes.

4.22 English & Scottish Garrison Commands

Regular Army Units are relegated to the Command responsible for the Territory in which they are initially set up. For game purposes this is unimportant once the game begins. These Units are under no restrictions.

4.221 Depending on the scenario, a variable number of the English Units will be set up on map at start. The remainder of the English Units start assigned to the English Reinforcement Pool and enter play as described in 3.43.

4.23 Irish Garrison Command

This Command equates to the Irish Reinforcement Pool and may enter play as explained in 3.43.

4.24 Loyal Scots & English Militia

These Units are treated in the same manner as those in *Charlie's Year*. See CY 4.4 for the Loyal Scots and CY 4.3 for the Militia. Note, however, that the various special Units covered in *Charlie's Year* are not available in this module (for example, *Kingston's Light Horse* and *Loudon's*). Only rules CY 4.31, 4.34, and 4.41 apply.

4.25 The Dutch

This rule replaces the one in *Charlie's Year* (4.4), as these Units were under no political constraints. In order to receive the Dutch, the Government player must expend one (1) point of Prestige during any Administrative Phase. He then rolls one (1) die and halves the result, rounding UP. The Dutch are received that many Turns later, in the applicable Administrative Phase. They may be placed at any Friendly-Controlled Port with access to Sea Zones "M", "N", or "O".

4.251 If the Government player rolls a natural "2" or less, the Dutch are permanently removed from the game instead. The point of Prestige is forfeit.

4.252 Once in play, the Dutch are under no restrictions.

4.253 Historical Note: per the requirements of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Dutch contributed 6,000 men (some sources say 8,000) to quelling the rebellion. Their use in this instance was ratified on October 18th, 1715, but they did not arrive until December (this was actually quick work on the part of the Dutch). The first units arrived at Leith (the port of Edinburgh) and though not in time for Sherrifmuir, participated in the pursuit of the Jacobites by the Government. They earned a reputation for rapacity amongst the peasantry of Fife and Angus.

4.26 Optional: The Guards

The Household troops did not visit Scotland, being more concerned with preventing Jacobite riots in London. These Units are included as an option, available upon the agreement of both players.

4.261 The Guards are added to the English Reinforcement Pool. No Guard Class Units may be Formed until every other English and Irish Garrison Command Unit has been Formed.

4.262 Additionally, each Turn that one or more (1+) Guards Units are Formed, the Government player must expend one (1) point of Prestige. The cost in SPs taken from the GovRT

remains the same as for Line Units (i.e. Guard Units do not count "double").

4.3 JACOBITE FORCES

It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and Country'... and the Gentlemen of the neighbouring Lowlands expecting us... that my Men should only be Refractory. Is this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty six years? And now, when it is come... will they for ever sit still and see all perish?

The Earl of Mar to his Factor (i.e. property manager).

4.31 General

As with the Government forces, the *Charlie's Year* rules remain in force, where applicable. Jacobite Contingents include the following:

- The Highland Bands
- The Lowland Scots
- The English

4.311 In addition, there is a special Contingent called the Border Jacobites, which is composed of forces a number of English and Lowland Units. See 4.32.

4.312 CY 4.61, CY 4.62, and CY 4.64 provides the rules for the three primary Contingents. The Border Jacobites are covered below. Note that there are no special Units (CY 4.63) in this module.

4.32 The Border Jacobites

The Jacobite player may not employ the Border Jacobite Units and Leaders until the Border Rising occurs. Once the Border Rising occurs, the Jacobite player receives the Border Jacobite Units, in an Unformed state. Some of these Units are English, and some are Lowland Scottish. Border Jacobite Units function as Units of their own "national" Contingent(s), except for the following.

4.321 In the Special (Political) Events segment of the Administrative Phase of the Turn that the Jacobite Captain-General, or *James Stuart*, first enters the City of Perth, and in any subsequent Administrative Phases, the Jacobite player may make a die roll to see if the Border Rising occurs. A "3" or less is required, modified by current Jacobite Prestige and the Season.

4.322 When the Border Rising occurs, the Jacobite player places all the Border Jacobite Horse Units (English and Scottish) on the map and all the Border Jacobite Leaders in the Officers' Mess. This is done at the end of the current Administrative Phase. The units may be stacked in up to two (2) Friendly-Controlled or non-Controlled Urban or Fortification hexes, within three (3) hexes of the English Border – on either side of it, regardless of unit "nationality". Once placed, these Units behave normally. As usual, starting CEs are "E".

4.323 If no eligible placement hex exists, the Jacobite player may choose any one (1) hex that is within three (3) hexes of the English Border that is also within five (5) hexes of Edinburgh and five (5) hexes of Newcastle.

4.324 In the Administrative Phase after the Border Jacobite Horse are placed on the map, the Jacobite player receives the remaining Border Jacobite Units in an Unformed state, deployed as above, except that:

- The distance from the Border can be up to five (5) hexes.
- A Jacobite Border Leader must be Posted to command each stack of newly Formed Units (the Units may be stacked with other Jacobite forces, but the Border Leader is still required).

4.325 Border Jacobite Units have the following special abilities:

- They are not subject to Attrition Checks for crossing the Border in either direction. They *may* be used to fulfil Attrition losses if the Jacobite player desires.
- Border Jacobite Units are irreplaceable.
- Border Jacobite Units cannot voluntarily enter the Highlands Territory. If forced to do so, such a Unit is eliminated.

5.0 UNUSED

THE OPTIONAL NAVAL GAME IS NOT USED. SEE 3.5.6.0 RANDOM EVENTS

*Unloose the bands frae off ma hands,
And bring to me noo ma sword;
And there's nae a man in a' Scotland,
But I'll brave him at his word.*

MacPherson's Lament

IMPORTANT: THIS RULES SECTION IS PRIMARILY FOR REFERENCE. IT CAN BE READ AS NEEDED.

6.1 INSTRUCTIONS

6.11 General

Random Event Checks are made at the start of each Operations Phase using the Random Event Table. A generated event takes place immediately.

6.111 Either player may make the check. In cases where the event applies to one side only, the players must randomly determine the Side affected.

6.12 Exceptions

If the terms and conditions of the event cannot be met, the result is treated as No Event.

6.13 The Explanations

Where an event duplicates one found in *Charlie's Year*, the results are exactly the same. Therefore, such events are not explained below. Refer to the *Charlie's Year* Exclusive Rules.

6.2 EXPLANATIONS

6.21 The Highlanders Demand Action

Unless the Jacobite player "takes action" this Turn, some of his Highlanders will desert out of boredom. The Jacobite player must engage in at least one (1) Battle, Ambuscade Task, or Plundering Task, in this Turn's Operations Phase. If none of these actions occur, at the end of the phase roll one (1) die. The Jacobite player immediately reduces the CE of that many Highlander Units by one (1) grade (e.g. "C" to "D"). Units may be eliminated, but, as usual, may be Formed again. Note that a Government-initiated Battle also meets the qualification.

6.22 French Aid

The Duke of Berwick manages to finagle some supplies and ships them off to Scotland. The Jacobite player may immediately do one of the following:

a) immediately upgrade the CEs of Friendly Formed HB Unit (s) by a total of five (5) "points". *Example:* 5 HB Units of printed CE "B" each have a current CE of "D"; all 5 could have their CE upgraded to "C", or 2 could have their CEs upgraded to "B" and 1 have its CE upgraded to "C", etc.

b) Receive two (2) Unassigned OPs.

c) Take a number of die roll modifications equal to "-5" in total that may be applied to any Leadership Check or Checks made this Turn – the modifiers are used up as applied (e.g. the "-5" could be applied to one LC, or one LC could be modified by "-2" and another by "-3"; just so long as the total modifiers do not exceed "-5").

6.23 James Stuart

As explained in 3.131, *James Stuart's* arrival is entirely random. If this event occurs, place the *James Stuart* Personage on the map as directed in 3.13. Subsequent triggering of this Event is treated as "No Event". *Exception:* if *James Stuart* cannot be received when this Event occurs, a subsequent triggering of this Event permits his arrival at that time.

PART TWO – SCENARIOS

*Pray came you here the fight to shun,
Or keep the sheep wi' me man?
Or was you at the Sherramuir
And did the battle see, man?
For weel I wat I saw them run
Both south and north, when they begun
To pell, and mell, and kill, and fell,
With muskets snell and pistols' knell,
And some to hell did flee, man.*

Ha' Ye Been Tae Sherrifmuir?

7.0 SCENARIO INSTRUCTIONS

*When we went to the field of war
and tae the weapon shaw,
Wi' true design to tae serve our king
and chase our faes awa'
Lords and lairds came there bedeen
and wow gin they were sma'
While pipers played fae right to left,
fy, furich whigs awa'.*

7.01 General

The scenarios are laid out in a similar manner to those in *Charlie's Year* (CY 7.0), except that they have been embedded in the historical commentary (put another way, the commentary on each scenario is quite extensive).

7.02 Unit Listings

In some cases historical strengths are also given in brackets; these are based primarily on muster parades and strength returns of the time and are for informational purposes only.

7.021 Note that where Units are listed for a specific location or locations, their initial CE is given to the right of each Unit, and may be lower than that printed on the counter. If a Unit is not listed in the scenario set up and the players are simply directed to read from the Counter Manifest, the Unit will initially appear in the game with its printed CE.

7.022 **Important.** Remember that newly Mustered Units have a CE of one less (-1) than their printed CE. This is not shown in the scenario OOBs.

7.023 Remember, **Garrison HQs** are chosen randomly from the counter mix.

7.03 Leaders

These have been listed with particular sets of forces, mainly for historical interest. If the forces they are assigned to are subordinated to an HQ, any one (1) eligible Leader under the same listing may be Posted to command the HQ.

7.031 In the Battle and Minor Scenarios, the listed Leaders are the only ones received. In the Campaign Game, all unlisted Leaders are placed in the Officers' Mess.

7.04 Scenario Bounds

The geographical bounds of the scenarios are given in terms of "latitude" and "longitude". In this system, Latitude means a horizontal line running through the reference point given and extending to the map edges. Longitude is a similar vertical line. Coasts may also be given as boundaries.

7.041 Islands are always in play, even if their coast is assigned as a boundary. If a boundary line bisects an island or peninsula the entire island/peninsula is in play.

7.042 The play area always includes the hexes comprising the boundaries.

7.1 BATTLE SCENARIOS

AS IN CHARLIE'S YEAR, THE BATTLE SCENARIOS REMAIN FOR GENERAL INTEREST. THE HISTORICAL COMMENTARY REMAINS AS WELL.

*For the Marquis he beshat himsel',
The Enzie was na clean, man;
And wow as the Marquis rade,
A-coming frae Dunblane, man!*

The Marquis' Raide

The Marquis of Huntly was accused of cowardice based on his poor handling of the cavalry at Sherrifmuir. (The Enzie was a particular district in the Gordon lands, staunchly Roman Catholic).

7.11 By the Banks of Allan Water (Sherrifmuir – November 13, 1715)

"Oh! For one hour of Dundee!

Gordon of Glenbucket dancing on his bonnet in a fit of pique at Mar's inability to seize the moment. The Dundee referred to is James Graham of Claverhouse – Bonnie Dundee.

Early on the Sunday morning of November 13th, 1715, an estimated 7000 Jacobites (800 horse and 6200 foot), led by the Earl of Mar, assembled after a frosty, damp night quartered under the open sky at the hamlet of Kinbuck, hard by the right bank of the Allan Water. They formed in battle array for the morning muster – two lines of foot with bodies of horse on each flank. From here they intended to march on Dunblane, the last town before their planned crossing of the Forth at Stirling Brig. Although warned by local sympathisers that his enemy, the Duke of Argyle, had come north to meet him, Mar was sceptical. Argyle had only 3000 men at best (960 Dragoons and 2200 foot); he would be foolish to risk them in open battle.

Argyle wasn't foolish, but he was taking a risk. If the Jacobites could be checked now he would soon have enough troops to crush the rebellion. If not, their momentum in victory could carry them to the gates of Newcastle and beyond.

About eight o'clock that morning, the Jacks noticed a party of horsemen on a ridge adjoining the Sherrifmuir, which was a large patch of elevated wasteland northeast of Dunblane, used by the Stirlingshire militia on its annual "manoeuvres". This reconnaissance party, although the observers did not know it, was led by Argyle himself. The Government army lay encamped on the southern edge of the moor, also overlooking the river, which curves southward before joining the Forth. They too, were forming up for the morning ritual. Mar debated openly whether to continue on or retire on his line of communications; the Highlanders surrounded his command group, crying out "fight! fight!"



Looking west into Dunblane from the slope up to the Sherrifmuir

After three hours wasted in debate, Mar ordered the enemy *recede* party dispersed. Shortly after this, he gave an inspiring speech (the earl was good at speeches) and an advance was ordered in the suspected direction of the enemy, toward their last reported position at Dunblane. Mar's deputy, General Hamilton, ordered the parade lines formed into column with the front line leading off. They would reform in front of the town and challenge Argyle to a fight. Unknown to the Jacobites, that gentleman had already started his army north onto the moor proper, following the course of the Wharry Burn to the east. The Jacobite army had been perfectly arrayed to deal with Argyle that morning, but of course they had conducted no reconnaissance of their own (remarkably, the pursuit of Argyle did not reveal the Government army), and so, unaware of the redcoats' location, the Jacks were in "column of route".

On the other hand, Argyle could not be sure that the enemy was on the move. His last sight of them had been a distant mass apparently formed for battle, and a closer, more threatening body of mounted men riding straight at him with drawn swords and pistols cocked. Believing he still had time to deploy against what he thought was an advancing foe, Argyle rushed back to his men. Concealed by the rise in ground between the Wharry and the glen of the Allan Water, the plan had been to move into a position flanking the main road to Dunblane, from which they could force Mar to either withdraw or attack at a disadvantage. With the enemy apparently set for battle, the plan was still a good one. Unfortunately, Argyle's troops had been spotted.

Lady Kippendavie, of the House of Stirling, had been watching the Whigs' progress from the safety of her castle window. It was she who had yesterday dispatched a runner to warn the Jacks of Argyle's arrival at Dunblane. Now she sent word that the redcoats were moving up on their flank. Surprised but ready for a fight, the Jacobite army faced left, just as they were, and began climbing the moor to meet their enemies.

The Highlanders rushed ahead, outpacing their supporting cavalry over the rough ground. With their regiments strung out over the length of the slope the leading Highlanders under General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul came over the western crest and saw the Government army spread out beneath them in march order, parallel to their own forces, but still facing north. Argyle was attempting to rush his army into the most favourable position to meet an attack from his front, and in their haste, the rear echelon became scattered, stumbling to catch up with the head of the column.

Overjoyed at seeing their enemies outflanked and unprepared, a Captain Livingston, formerly "of Dumbarton's Regiment" (the Royal Scots) called upon General Gordon "with great oaths" to order an assault. Swiftly the Highlanders rushed forward to the skirl of the pipes, screaming and brandishing their arms. One of the first to fall was the popular Allan MacDonald of Clanranald (he was the only mounted officer to be seen), but any hesitation in the ranks was overcome by the Laird of Glengarry, who

charged forward crying "Revenge! Revenge! Today for revenge, and tomorrow for mourning!" Crashing into the disorganised Government left, the Highlanders "put rout upon them", chasing their foes clean off the moor and slaughtering anyone they could catch; the Jacobite Horse on that flank joining in and helping to drive off the Dragoon rearguard.

Elsewhere on the field, things had not gone as well. In the centre, the only Jacobite troops left were a party of horsemen under the Master of Sinclair. With a grandstand view from a nearby knoll, these did nothing but watch the course of the battle for the next four hours. The Jacobite left engaged roughly at the same time as the rest of the army, but met fierce opposition from troops under the direct command of "Red John of the Battles" – the Duke himself. Argyle led a mix of about three battalions of foot and two-and-a-half regiments of Dragoons, including Portmore's Scots Greys. After the initial scrimmage proved indecisive, the Duke ordered a flanking attack by the Dragoons across a frozen bog. They roughly handled the Highlanders, but did not rout them. Twelve times the Dragoons charged, and twelve times they were driven off; but each time the Highlanders were forced further and further back toward the Allan Water. After three hours of fighting, the remainder of the Jacobite left retreated beyond the river, many of the men plunging through the thin crust of ice to drown. The Jacks' own Horse on that flank proved ineffective, and indeed its commander, the Marquess of Huntly, was later accused of cowardice.



Dunblane and the Allan Water, looking north. Sherrifmuir lies a couple of miles beyond the buildings on the right.

About a mile away from all this carnage, Rob Roy and his band of MacGregors stood watching events. Legend has it that Rob refused a request to advance with the words "if they cannot do it without me, they shall not do it with me". Some said his men were merely waiting to loot the bodies of the fallen – on both sides.

By mid afternoon, the remains of the two armies lay facing each other's own line of communications. Despite his losses, Mar held a strong position. Many of his Highlanders had returned from their pursuit, while Argyle's force had dwindled to a mere rearguard, thinly spread along the stone walls of an enclosure, his remaining Dragoons on the flanks covered by a single light cannon each. The two forces had closed until they were only 500 yards apart, and stood watching each other as the dusk came on. Mar had a chance here to destroy the remaining opposition in Scotland, but he hesitated, noting the mass of regimental colours displayed along the Government line, not realising that the commander of the centre, General Wightman, had ordered the display as a deception. The Highlanders, exhausted after their afternoon's exertions, sat down and stated flatly that it was the Horse's turn to prove its mettle. Nothing happened. Gordon of Glenbucket threw a fit, crying out for the spirit of "Bonnie Dundee", but Mar just sat there on his horse, watching the enemy.

[James Graham of Claverhouse – “Bloody Clavers” to the Whigs and “Bonnie Dundee” to the Jacks – was a descendant of that Marquis of Montrose who set Scotland by its ears during the First Civil War. At Killiecrankie, in 1689, Claverhouse had overwhelmed a superior Government force with a mad downhill rush in which quite a few of the current players had participated. His death in that charge took the steam out of the Highlanders’ efforts to save Scotland for King James.]

As night fell, around five o’clock, the Government forces made as if to advance, but it was merely a feint, and Argyle made a circuitous retirement on Dunblane. Mar claimed a victory and retired to Ardoch. In fact, he had thrown the rebellion away. It was the Government army that returned to the field to collect its equipment and bury its dead, watched but unmolested by a party of Jacobites. The Highlanders, some laden with booty, others without clothes for the cold weather – since it was their custom to cast off their plaids when charging and they had been unable to recover them – set off home. By the time James Stuart arrived a few weeks later, the Jacobite army had dwindled to no more than 2-3000 effective soldiers and all the talk was of a retreat to Aberdeen.

The Scenario

(For game purposes the Battle takes place 1 hex N of Stirling. To be strictly accurate, the Battle should be placed 1 hex NE of Stirling, in the Ochil Hills. You may choose to fight in the latter location, in which case the terrain will be Hill, not Fen).

Government

Leaders

Duke of Argyle (Generalissimo)(M)
Whetham (G)(commanded the left wing/rear of column),
Wightman (G)(commanded the center)
Evans (G)(commanded the right wing/head of column)
Grant, Laird of Grant (B)(served under Whetham)
Clayton (B)(served under Wightman)
Lord Forfar (B)(served under Evans)

Units	CE
Carpenters’ Regiment of Dragoons (180 men)	D
Colonel Kerr’s Regiment of Dragoons (180 men)	D
Earl of Stair’s Regiment of Dragoons (180 men)	D
<i>(Historical Note: one troop of Stair’s was actually deployed on each flank – that is as advance and rear guards in line of march)</i>	
Portmore’s Regiment of Dragoons (180 men)	D
Brig. Evans’ Regiment of Dragoons (180 men)	D
Forfar’s Gentlemen Volunteer Horse (60 men)	D
<i>(Historical Note: these were under the direction of Lord Forfar. Many were probably friends and neighbours of his)</i>	
Egerton’s Regiment of Foot (250 men)	D
Lord Orrery’s Regiment of Foot (320 men)	C
Brigadier Clayton’s Regiment of Foot (240 men)	D
Lord Montague’s Regiment of Foot (240 men)	D
Morrison’s Regiment of Foot (240 men)	D
Lord Shannon’s Regiment of Foot (340 men)	C
General Wightman’s Regt of Foot (250 men)	D
Lord Forfar’s Regiment of Foot (320 men)	C

Jacobites

Leaders

John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar, C-in-C (CG)(Generalissimo)
General Hamilton (G)(Deputy Commander & Commander of the Left Wing)
Marquis of Drummond (G)(Acting Master of the Horse)
General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (G)(General of the Foot & Commander of the Right Wing)
Allan MacDonald of Clanranald (B)
Alexander MacDonell the Black, of Glengarry (B)
James Drummond, Marquis of that Ilk (B)
Campbell of Glendaruel (B)
Donald MacDonald of Sleat (B)

Units	CE
1 st & 2 nd Huntly’s Horse (250 men)	C
<i>(3 companies between the two units)</i>	
The Earl Marischal’s Horse (180 men)	C
Stirlingshire Horse (77 men)	B
Perthshire Horse (70 men)	B
Southesk’s Angusshire Horse (100 men)	C
Fifeshire Horse (90 men)	B
Seaforth’s Scrubbies (40 men)	C
1 st & 2 nd Bn Huntly’s Regt (800 men)	B each
<i>(8 companies between the two battalions)</i>	
1 st & 2 nd Bn Breadalbane Regiment (400 men)	C each
<i>(4 companies between the two battalions)</i>	
Lord George Murray’s Athollmen Bn (300 men)	C
<i>(NB: this unit may have been Tullibardine’s – one of the two battalions was in Fife levying the “cess”, but Lord George himself fought at Sherrifmuir).</i>	
1 st Bn Earl of Perth’s Regt (200men)	E
Strathmore’s Bn of Drummonds (250 men)	D
Panmure’s Regiment (420 men)	C
1 st Bn Robertson of Struan’s Regiment (200 men)	C
1 st & 2 nd Bns Seaforth’s Regiment (700 men)	D each
<i>(7 companies between the two battalions)</i>	
Stewart of Appin’s Regiment (260 men)	B
1 st & 2 nd Bn Sleat’s Regiment (700 men)	B each
<i>(7 companies between the two battalions)</i>	
Clanranald MacDonald’s Regiment (565 men)	A
MacDonald of Glencoe’s men (300 men)	A
1 st Bn Cameron of Lochiel’s Rgt (300 men)	C
1 st Bn Glengarry’s Regiment (460 men)	A
MacDougall of Lorn’s men (35 men)	B
Sir John MacLean’s Regt (350 men)	B

Special Rules

1) The weather is Frost. The terrain is Fen. Victory goes to the side that remains on the battlefield (despite any historical anomalies this may produce).

2) *Pre-version 3.5 mechanics.* Played historically, the Jacobites should not use Reserve Wings. The Government player should put Stair’s Dragoons and the troop of Gentlemen Volunteers into one Reserve Wing, and Orrery’s and Egerton’s Foot into another.

Excursus: Sherrifmuir, 13th November, 1715

*And when our army was drawn up,
The bravest eer I saw
We dinna doubt to rax the rout
And win the day and a'
Oot ower the brae it was nae play
Tae get a better fa'.
While pipers played fae right to left,
Fy furich Whigs awa'.*

Up and Waur Them A' Willie

The Approach March

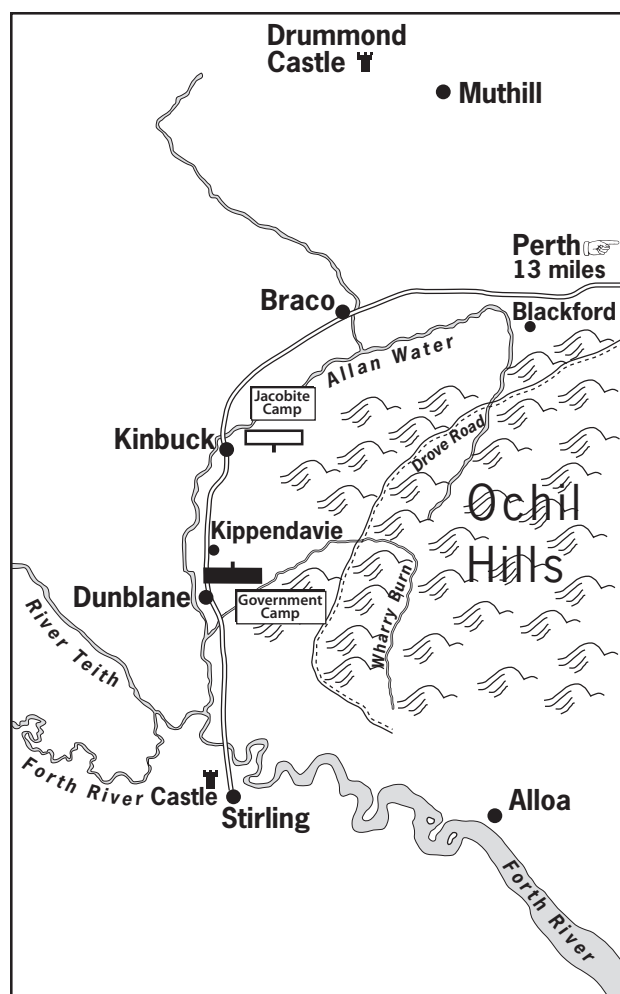
The high point of Mar’s fortunes was mid-October. After that, each day’s delay strengthened Argyle’s hand. Eventually, the latter would receive 6,000 Dutch and several battalions of English foot, including some of the victorious units from Preston. Although his regiments were under strength and in some cases composed of recruits, Argyle still had the cadre of Marlborough’s officer corps to work with; the remains of an army with ten years hard fighting behind it.

Mar, for his part, had received enough reinforcements in the first week of November alone to match the whole of Argyle’s army. In council therefore, it was decided to march on Stirling and hopefully catch Argyle in his winter camp before the castle. The 20-mile route followed the main road between Perth and Stirling, via Auchterarder, Ardoch, Kinbuck, and Dunblane, a

route studded with Roman camps and Roman watchtowers left over from Agricola's attempts to subjugate the Picts.

Once the Forth River had been reached, it was planned to make three demonstrations against the various fords and the bridge into Stirling. The real crossing would be somewhat above the town. According to legend, a wider outflanking move, crossing the Teith River and then the Fords of Frew, was deemed too risky as only "the MacGregor" knew the way and he was not trusted. There is a problem here. Given the large numbers of men from that region present with the army, and the fact that the route was traversed successfully in 1745, there must have been another reason why the Fords of Frew were not used.

It is possible that the unusually heavy autumn rains had swollen the Forth and the Teith so much that the fords were inaccessible. Although habitable in parts, the area as a whole was uncultivated and boggy. Conventional wisdom of the period held that the passage of a single brigade along an ordinary country road would be sufficient to destroy the surface, so an army of 7,000 men passing over cattle tracks would have had a very hard time of it. Charlie's army was only 2,000 strong when he marched that way.



It took the Jacobites three days to reach the battlefield, including two nights spent at Auchterarder, where the Frasers and Glenbucket's Gordons (but not Glenbucket himself) took themselves off home. Simon Fraser had just returned from France (where he had been incarcerated in the Bastille as a double agent!) to find his tenants in arms on the wrong side, and looking to ruin his chances of ever becoming Lord Lovat.

The reasons for the Gordon departure are not immediately evident, but in a motley army such as this, and especially when dealing with Highlanders, any trifle might serve as an excuse.

Regarding routes, there was a second, shorter route to Stirling, via a drove road direct from Auchterarder over the Sherrifmuir to the Forth valley, east of Dunblane. However, there was less forage away from the river. To take the drove road would also mean a counter-march up the Forth past Stirling to the desired crossing point. This would be a waste of time and an invitation for an attack; it only makes sense in hindsight, from the fact that Argyle had already crossed the Forth, a fact unknown to the Jacobites at the time. Besides, Mar wanted to confer with Lord Breadalbane at Drummond Castle (to the west, near Crieff), and needed his army near him. The Jacobites probably remained north of the Allan Water for most of their march and crossed via a ford at Kinbuck (the modern road bridges the Allan at this point) when they received the initial reports of Argyle's approach.

Around 3pm on the 12th, a lame boy, sent by Lady Kippendavie, whose husband was with the rebels, had run as fast as he could to tell the Mar that Argyle's army was at that moment marching through Dunblane. With the Allan still in front of them, the Jacks halted and sent out patrols before pushing on. Dusk came on around 4pm, so at that time the Jacobite advance guard halted in the hamlet of Kinbuck, two miles from Dunblane. The position was atrocious, in a patch of hollow ground without defences, but in the dark it was the best they could do. Mar and the main body arrived around 9pm. With little shelter beyond a couple of barns, most of the army encamped in the open. The weather was damp and raw; the ground frozen in places, still soggy in others.

Argyle for his part had been aware of the Jacobite plan through his spies in Perth, almost as soon as it was conceived. He was concerned that heavy frost would soon make the Forth indefensible and turn the surrounding marshland into ground firm enough for horses. He chose to occupy the Sherrifmuir, scene of the yearly militia muster, thus covering the main road from a point above it and to the left of an approaching army. He would also be positioned to cover the drove road in case the Jacks went that way.

The Battle

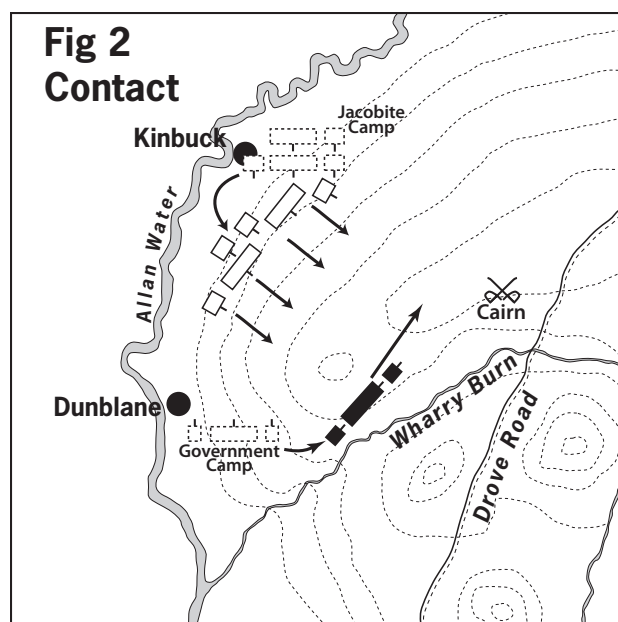
"I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable" – General Wightman

[Fig. 1 – Dispositions. The diagram shows how the armies would have deployed in a perfect world. The Jacobite dispositions are based on their morning parade, and the Government's on Argyle's planned defence. More accurately, at the time of the clash, place the Jacobite second line on the left wing beside the first line and face the Government units toward the top of the page.]

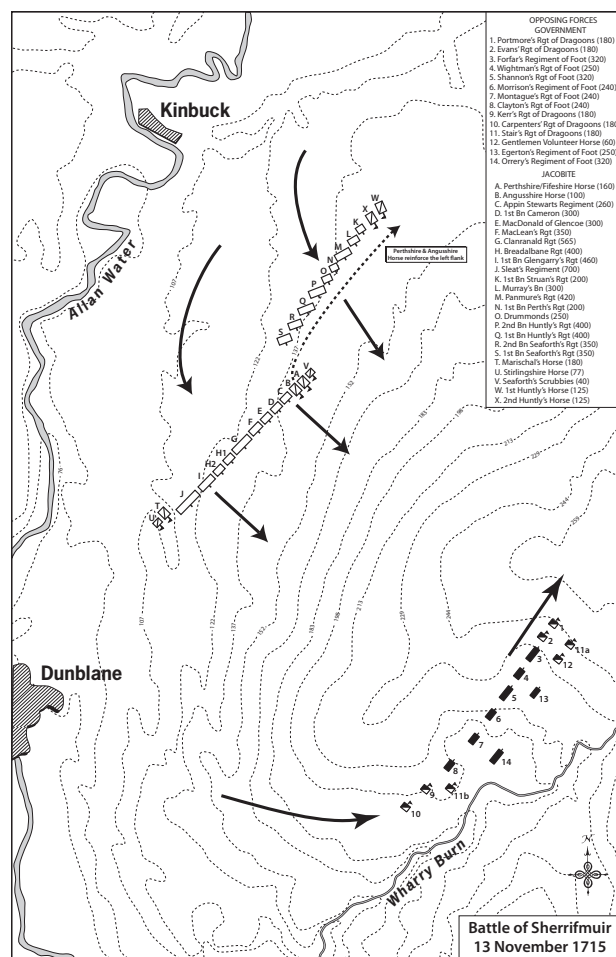
Without recapitulating the battle in its entirety, there are some points that can be examined. As usual, the various sources do not agree as to why the battle developed the way it did. Much is made of the "foolish" Jacobite deployment into column prior to attacking. General Hamilton, as Mar's "field marshal", has been criticised. However, from an examination of local history as well as the standard texts, it would seem that the Jacobites were not in fact aware that their opponents were up on the moor. This seems likely as their army were already perfectly arrayed to move straight up the slope from their camp and engage the enemy – why waste time forming into column and back into line? Yet many historians leave the impression that the Jacobites did just that. They formed up for battle, then for no reason changed into column of march and charged up the hill any old how. The story of Lady Kippendavie observing the redcoats moving up the reentrant of the Wharry Burn provides the clue. When she sent the runner to warn the Jacobites of the enemy's actions, the former were caught on the march, not heading up the hill, but toward the town. They were then forced to turn to their left and rush up the slope before it was too late.

On the morning of the 13th Mar was no longer sure that the Government troops had in fact left their camp. Neither side utilised their intelligence resources to the full, but Mar, although having Jacobite sympathisers throughout Scotland, was singularly unable to piece together his opponent's intentions. The Jacobites, despite chasing away the Government recon party, made no reconnaissance of their own. Instead, the army marched off in column as if Argyle was still in Dunblane. Argyle, on the other hand, was aware of the original Jacobite dispositions, and from his observations it must have seemed as if they were deployed to fight, not to march off south. Thus both sides were somewhat surprised to find each threatening the other's left flank. The Jacobites were fortunate in having over three times the strength of the redcoats, which lessened the real chance of a flanking assault by the Government.

On marching off from their camp, the Jacobite front line had become the head of the column, and the second line the rear, with parties of horse in front, behind, and in the middle. With no time to reform in battle order, the regiments merely fanned out, turning the rear line into the left wing and the front line into the right wing. Thus the "second line"/left wing entered battle a little after the "first line"/right flank was already engaged, tired from double-timing to catch up; furthermore, there were no reserves to speak of. (In the initial parade formation the second line would have constituted the reserve). The only good point was that Argyle could not outflank such a long line.

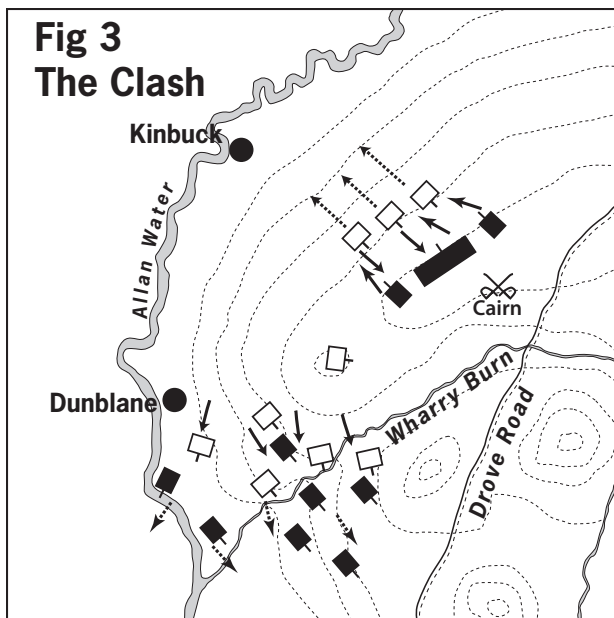


On Argyle's side of the hill, the Government regiments were still on the march, heading for the highest point of the moor overlooking the road and the Jacobite camp. From his reconnaissance, Argyle may have expected that the Jacks were aware of his presence (given their pursuit of his recon party) and were still drawn up waiting for him, in which case he would hold the high ground. Or, they might be on the move, but if he suspected they were heading for Dunblane, he would have been mainly concerned with getting his men in position before the enemy moved too far south. By suddenly appearing behind them Argyle could have thrown the Jacobites into a panic. In the event, the Duke himself was surprised as the Highlanders suddenly crested the concealing ridge and swept down on his rear. The lead elements of his army were able to form up and face the enemy, but the left disintegrated.



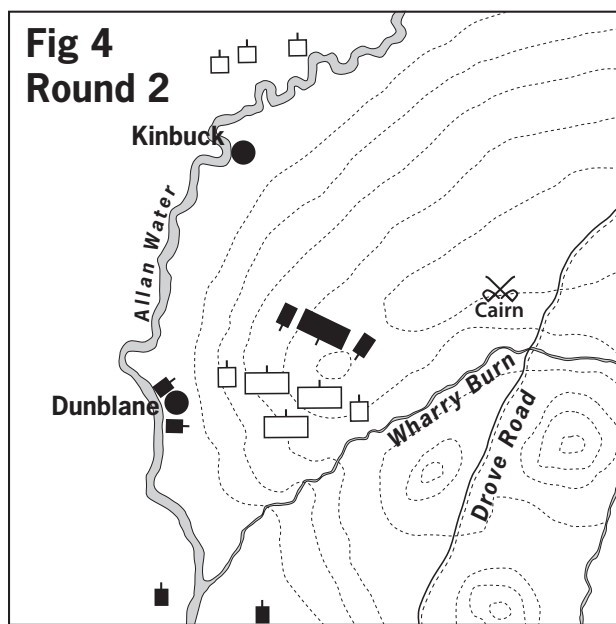
The confusion in the placement of the Jacobite Horse is often cited as a critical issue. Because the deployment from march order left bodies of horse in the centre, there was not enough strength on the flanks to oppose the Government Dragoons, even though the latter were outnumbered in overall terms. Some of the horse (notably Sinclair's troop) did not move over to the flanks, but headed for the center after the call for them to "cover the flank" was misinterpreted as a call for help against nearby enemy cavalry. Some witnesses claim the horse did nothing at all, others that they were involved to a degree, but overwhelmed. The cavalry units on the Jacobite right were effective in assisting the Highlanders, but naturally disappeared in the wild "ride to hounds" typical of the British Horse in all periods. Prince Rupert would have been proud of them. Sinclair's men were certainly inactive, but he was holding up what remained of the right flank – in any case, he was not the kind of man to romp about the battlefield putting out fires. There is evidence that Huntly was a participant in the fighting on the left; alternatively that he ran away, taking many of the horsemen with him. Perhaps the reverse was true and they carried him off.

The semi-frozen marshy ground is often cited as the real obstacle to the Jacobite Horse's employment, but the Government Dragoons were willing to risk it. A weakness of the Jacobite Horse may have been the widely disparate skills of its members, some of whom had fought with the Royal Army and others who had been in foreign service and learnt different methods. Part of the problem may also have been that they fought more as individuals than as formed troops; as independent bodies rather than a solid wedge.



More critical was the lack of a reserve, either Horse or Foot. Thus when the left gave way, there was no assistance, and when the time came for Mar's *coup de grâce*, the exhausted troops from the right wing refused to execute it. Given the staunch fighting withdrawal by the Jacobite left and the huge difference in numbers, the absence of the right was not something that Argyle could take advantage of. There was time for the Jacobites to return and reform.

For his own part the Duke has been faulted for becoming too involved in the local struggle on his flank. It may have been that he had witnessed the destruction of his own left and written it off. Those who suggest he was merely inattentive also claim that Mar's lack of a reserve was the only thing preventing a complete Jacobite victory. There is probably some truth in both statements.



After four hours of confused fighting, the armies had reassembled, facing each other's line of communications, the Jacobites holding the high ground and the Government troops hastily forming behind a stone wall. This was the decisive point of the battle. If Mar had attacked, the Government army in Scotland would have been destroyed, and although reinforcements would have been sent, the Lowlands as well as the Highlands would have soon been under Jacobite control.



[Parts of the battlefield, looking east. Above: the Wharry Burn runs through the low ground behind the copse. The secondary road visible on the right follows the old drove route. This patch probably did not see much fighting as it would have been behind the Government's right flank. If you were to turn around, you would be looking up a gentle slope to the crest of the moor. Below: more of the same. The site of the farm may have been where Argyle made his final stand, though some accounts place it on higher ground. Again the Wharry lies in the low ground behind the wooded crest in the middle distance].



Three things prevented Mar from going down in history as the restorer of the Stuarts. First, General Wightman's clever display of battle standards in the gathering gloom persuaded the Jacobites that the enemy was still present in force. Second, the Highlanders, true to form, decided to express their independence of will and refused to attack – with no reserves, there was nothing for it but to retire. Both these stumbling blocks could have been overcome, however, if not for the third problem: Mar himself.

The earl was simply not a fighting man; nor did he have that quality of leadership that would have rallied the Highlanders in a final charge. He was just old "Bobbing John" the courtier. Did he really believe Argyle was that strong? Or was his own cavalry really in that poor a shape? Maybe so. Then too, there is such a thing as fear of success, as well as fear of failure. What would he do if he did win? Could he control the Highlanders? As a more likely alternative, given his

inexperience and pride, he may have believed the day was obviously won and that Argyle would do a deal.

It is generally felt that with a better commander, the Jacobites would have won the day. "Bonnie Dundee" was twenty-six years in his grave, but what of Hamilton, Huntly, and the rest? For all the complaints and self-justifications set down after the event, there was no-one willing to usurp Mar's command. Huntly had fled with the left wing – but he was not the man to lead a rebellion. General Hamilton, though he had experience under Marlborough in Flanders, seems to have been a mere cipher. Plus he had been dispirited by the failure of the left flank. He is blamed for the faulty deployment of the army, but his orders were correct based upon where the Jacobites perceived their enemies to be. After the battle he is said to have called upon Mar to renew the offensive, but a Highland army was simply too fragile to be employed in a war of attrition such as might be possible with the stolid Dutch troops Hamilton was used to commanding.

General Alexander Gordon, commander of the foot, had the reputation of being aggressive, but his heart may not have been in the Rising. In the camp before Inverary, earlier in the campaign, he had demonstrated a striking lack of initiative, and under his direction the western clans had not even thought to take Fort William and free their own rear.

The Government performance was mixed, but on the whole well up to the Royal Army's usual standard. General Whetham took most of the blame for the collapse of the Government left. There may have been some justification; another commander might have been swifter in responding, but he faced an overwhelming force in any case. As noted above, Argyle is blamed for becoming too involved with the left. Cadogan's correspondence is full of complaints that Argyle was a poor soldier and too concerned with the welfare of his enemies, but Cadogan was on a mission of his own.

Argyle himself was plagued with self-doubt about his abilities. However, when one compares his joyful involvement in the chaos of battle with his earlier chronic anxiety over strategic issues, he appears in a different light. Certainly he was not a great strategist. In combat he was Red John of the Battles, the only important issues being the ones within reach of his sword arm. As Duke of Argyle he is remembered as one of the great statesmen of the age, yet he was not someone who could sit back and from some distant headquarters calmly spin webs to ensnare his opponent. Of a melancholic disposition, inaction led him to fret over details; once the die was cast he was transformed. The battle must have come as a release.

The Outcome

*"If they had thrown down stones they might have disordered
Argyll's troops"*

Sir Walter Scott

*"And the beast that was and is not, even he that is the eighth,
and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition"*

Rev. xvii. 11; text of Argyle's victory sermon – referring to James
"VIII", son of the "VII".

Sherrifmuir is pegged as an indecisive, unsatisfactory battle. On the one hand, both sides defeated each other's left, spinning round each other like a couple of wrestlers trying to find a purchase. Mar held the field but his lack of initiative lost the rebellion. Argyle quit the field but his army still held the vital Forth crossings and would soon reconquer Fifeshire and begin an advance on Perth. Yet it could have been one of the decisive battles of the age.

For the Jacobites, failure meant the inevitable lowering of morale; more importantly, with the Highlanders' clothing littering the battlefield they were forced to disperse and return to their homes in droves. Few bothered to come back. This commonplace fact, rather than spoils of war or psychological

depression, was probably the primary reason for the huge desertions the Jacks suffered in the coming days.

Earls Huntly and Seaforth, the two most powerful Jacobite leaders in the north, and both double-minded, began treating with Argyle, though the latter was forbidden to accept personal surrenders as yet. Mar, and indeed most of the leadership, were of like mind with the northern earls, but the fear that their followers would rise up and murder them did much to prevent their quitting immediately. (Huntly and Seaforth claimed – accurately – that their lands were being threatened by Lord Reay's forces; this was their excuse to break away).

For Argyle and the Government, all that mattered was that the rebellion had been checked. Slowly but steadily the Royal Army was strengthened until after only a few weeks it was in a position to dislodge the Jacobites from Perth and pursue them right round to Inverness. Unfortunately for the Duke, the arrival of General Cadogan, Marlborough's "commissar", meant that the laurels of victory would not be his. He would be disgraced for some years through the machinations of the General and taints of Jacobitism, but would live to be reinstated and serve as Commander-in-chief of the Army.

It is hard to say what might have been had the Jacks won. It is likely that the Whigs of the Lowlands, faced with the choice of submission or the quartering of another Highland Host upon them, would have sided with Mar. Holding Scotland would have brought a natural balance into play. An invasion of England risked armed opposition to the Scots, but the reverse would also be true. There was still much anti-Union sentiment in Scotland, and success in arms could well have bought King James his ancestral throne, if not his House's former glory. James, given his temperament, might have been content with that.

Author's Note



I try not to intrude into my own essays, but in this case I'll make an exception. In the summer of '79 my family rented a cottage on the Kippendavie estate outside Dunblane and spent a happy two months exploring Menteith, Atholl, Fifeshire, and Angus. One part of the estate was the site of Argyle's HQ on the night before the battle.

The battlefield itself was only a kilometre or so up the road from our cottage – we walked up to see the cairn (pictured) erected in memory of the MacRaes who fought there. The large central rock is supposed to be a "gathering stone" where the Highlanders sharpened their swords in preparation for the battle, but I don't see them walking a couple of 'K from camp in the dark to find a whetstone. Perhaps it was used by the men who turned out for the annual "sherrifmoot". Or, it may have been moved here when the cairn was built.

For anyone using an ordnance map – Landranger #57 1:50000 – follow the secondary route out of Dunblane to where it bends sharply to the right. GRID 8001. The cairn's on the left, a little back from the road. Our cottage, marked on the map, was called Pisgah; that's our rental car in the picture below. I don't believe Argyle had his HQ in those buildings. I think it was across the road. But you can't be sure in the Old Country: calling a building "new" means it was built after the Flood. His HQ was nearby at any rate.

I wish now that I'd paid more attention, but at 13 one has other interests. As I remember, the road to the cairn crosses the battlefield on the reverse slope, pretty much on the

Government's line of advance, and joins up with the old drove road further on (an unmetalled secondary route today). Although the area is on the edge of the Ochil Hills, the visible slopes are quite gentle (about a 60 meter rise from our cottage to the cairn – the former also on high ground overlooking a golf course – and less than that from the Wharry Burn to the crest).



Walking the road and looking to the right (as in the colour pictures a couple of pages ago), one can see where the invisible Wharry must be from the long dip in the ground, but on the left the field is (or was, in 1979) covered with a forest preserve and does not appear to rise greatly. The far downslope is concealed. Finding tree plantations on old battlefields always annoys me – it's hard to form a mental picture of a body of redcoat Dragoons charging knee-to-knee through what would appear to be a miniature Teutoburger Wald. Still, it might be worse; it could have been a '60's housing project. The open areas in the photos are sheep pasturage, probably drained in the 19th century, as the whole region was pretty boggy a couple of hundred years ago. In those days the area was simply waste land.

7.12 Cromwell's Shade (Preston – November 12-13, 1715)

*Thou brought us from our own country;
We left our homes, and came with thee;
But thou art a rogue and a traitor both,
And has broke thy honour and thy oath.*

A comment on "General" Forster.

The town of Preston, in Lancashire, has an ill name among the Scots, being twice the scene of a disastrous defeat, once during the Second Civil War, and again in 1715. In 1745, the Jacobites deliberately carried their march beyond the town before halting for the night, so as to ward off the evil.

Despite having discovered that only English Papists were willing to join their ranks as they marched south toward the supposedly rich recruiting grounds of Lancashire, the Border rebels were still sanguine. They were commanded by the self-styled General Forster, accompanied by the reluctant but dutiful (and outlawed) lords, Derwentwater and Kenmuir. Their Scots allies, led by William "Old Borlum" MacIntosh, were only held to the march by their faith in their leader and the promise of plunder. There were ugly rumours of General Carpenter's column of redcoats only a day's march or two behind them, but the road ahead seemed wide open. The Jacks planned to march on Manchester, whip up support and then seize Liverpool, from whence they could get aid from France, or perhaps even upstage the Earl of Mar and welcome the Pretender themselves.

On the 9th of November, 1715, the Jacobite column straggled down the muddy track that passed for a high road in Lancashire, their Horse arriving at Preston late that night. Some Government Dragoons (Stanhope's) had prudently moved off south in front of them. The Foot arrived the next day and the

army spent the next forty-eight hours relaxing in the region's leading market town (it boasted a playhouse and four oil-fuelled streetlights, as well as London fashions only a single season late). On the 11th, as the Jacks were preparing to leave, they were shocked to learn that General Wills, with a large number of Dragoons and General Preston's Cameronians, was rapidly marching up toward them from Wigan, 15 miles away to the south. To make matters worse, General Carpenter was somewhere out to the east of the town. Forster's spirits instantly plummeted. After a day of collecting the reports of spies and well-wishers the "General" decided the best thing to do was get drunk. Fortunately he remembered to summon Lord Kenmuir to tell him the bad news, but with their commander incapacitated, it was up to the latter and the other leaders to make a plan.

On the morning of the 12th, the Jacobites put the town into a state of defence, building barricades and posting their men in key locations. Their southern front was covered by the Ribble River, still tidal at that point, with the major crossing being the Ribble Bridge. To the east was high ground, cultivated and enclosed, where other Scotsmen had once fought Cromwell's Ironsides to good advantage. Forster, now recovered, crossed the bridge on reconnaissance and travelled south, down the road until he encountered Wills' advance guard. Sending word to the defenders, he then met with Old Borlum, who, contrary to majority opinion, was against holding the river line and favoured a defence of the town proper with all their strength. Forster was convinced, for which he and Old Borlum have been condemned as fools, somewhat unjustly in this instance.

In the town, Lord Derwentwater energised the defence, passing out money and even working along side the men, stripped to the waist – a most unusual act for a nobleman of the time. At 1pm, Wills' men crossed the Ribble, and an hour later were assembled on the eastern high ground with orders to gain a lodgement and do everything necessary to prevent the rebels from escaping...

The Scenario

(Takes place at Preston: 13 hexes S of Glasgow)

Government Setup

Leaders

Wills (G), Officer Commanding (Generalissimo)
Dormer (B)(northern assault commander)
Honeywood (B)(eastern assault commander)
Munden (B)(mounted reserve, with Dormer)

Units

CE

Wynn's Regt of Dragoons (200 men)	D
Dormer's Regt of Dragoons (200 men)	D
Stanhope's Regiment of Dragoons (200 men)	D
Pitt's Regiment of Dragoons (200 men)	D
Munden's Regt of Dragoons (200 men)	D
Honeywood's Regiment of Dragoons (200 men)	D
Preston's Regiment of Foot (400 men)	B

Historical Notes: the Dragoons were actually divided into mounted and dismounted squadrons with the mounted portions in reserve. Preston's – 26th Cameronians – had 12 real companies and was at its full peacetime complement.

Auxiliaries

Converged Grenadier Battalions 1-2

Government Reserves

Leaders

Carpenter (G)(reinforcement commander)

Units

CE

2 x English County Militia Units E
 Churchill's Regiment of Dragoons (200 men) D
 Molesworth's Regiment of Dragoons (200 men) D
 Cobham's Regt of Dragoons (200 men) D
(Historical Note: these are General Carpenter's men, who arrived on the second day)

Optional: Not included are a variety of militia and local volunteers used to defend the south bank of the Ribble. If both players agree, add to the Reserve 1x English County Militia Unit with CE "E"

Jacobite Setup

Leaders

"General" Forster (G)(Generalissimo)
"Old Borlum" MacIntosh (B)(Highlander element)
Lord Kenmuir (B)(Border Scots element)
Lord Derwentwater (B)(English element)

Units

CE

1st English Troop of Horse, Lord Derwentwater's C
 2nd English Troop of Horse, Lord Widderington's C
 3rd English Trp of Horse, Captain John Hunter's C
 4th English Trp of Horse, Robert Douglas' C
 5th English Trp of Horse, Capt. Nicholas Wogan's C
 1st Scottish Troop of Horse, Lord Kenmuir's C
 2nd Merse Troop of Scottish Horse C
 3rd Scottish Troop of Horse, Lord Wintoun's C
 4th Scottish Troop of Horse, Lord Carnwath's C
 5th Scottish Troop of Horse, Captain Lockhart's C
 1st Battalion Mar's Regiment of Foot E
 Lord Nairn's Battalion of Athollmen D
 Lord Charles Murray's Bn of Athollmen D
 Lord Strathallen's Bn of Drummonds E
 The MacIntosh Battalion B
 The Farquarson men E
 1x Jacobite County Militia E
 1x Mixed Artillery Unit (1 Battery)
(Captured item)

Auxiliaries

Highland Band Companies 1-2

Historical Notes: the Farquarsons were attached to the MacIntoshes and the whole was under Farquarson of Invercauld's command. Jacobite strengths are estimated based on initial strength at the start of the campaign less known losses and desertions. The Jacobites began with about 1400 foot and 600 horse; 500 deserted before reaching Preston; 42 were casualties; 1485 were made prisoner. Some previous losses were probably made good with a small number of local levies, plus there were numbers of gentlemen not on the rolls.

Special Rules

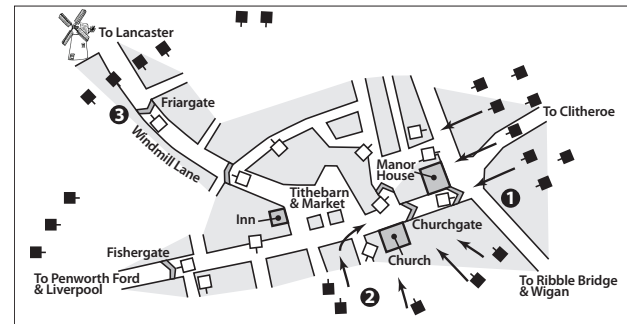
- 1) The weather is Wet; the terrain is Clear.
- 2) Government Reserves: the units allotted to the Reserve actually belong to General Carpenter, who arrived on the second day of the battle. To simulate the uncertain timing of their arrival, the Government player must roll one die and halve the result, rounding down. This value equals the earliest round in which the Government Reserves can be Committed.
- 3) Victory as usual goes to the player whose units remain on the battlefield. If the Government player can win without using any of his Reserve, he gets a cookie.

4) *Pre-version 3.5 mechanics.* Played historically, none of the initial Government Units should may be placed in Reserve Wings (though some of these Units historically constituted a reserve for the initial assaults). The Government Reserve forces should be placed in the Reserve Wings.

Excursus: Preston, November 12th-13th, 1715

*March! March! Ettrick and Tevot-dale,
 Why my lads dinna ye march forward in order?
 March! March! Eskdale and Liddesdale!
 All the blue bonnets are over the border*

The Defences



[The map above shows the various blocking positions and the government thrusts that came on the first day (see text below). On the second day, the fighting was concentrated on the east and northwest (1 & 3). 1) attack of Preston's Regt; 2) subsequent infiltration by Preston's; 3) Dormer's main attack later in the day. The attack on the second day featured a brief dawn assault from the east that stalled. Nevertheless, the defenders capitulated.]

The town of Preston had been well fortified, considering the lack of time and resources available to the Jacobites, in accordance with Old Borlum's designs. The four main roads, with the market in the centre, were heavily barricaded and covered by fire. All the remaining routes into the town were likewise blocked, and secondary positions were constructed in front of the main defences. The church became the Jacobite HQ, from the spire of which they could observe the entire battle. Here too was placed a reserve of mounted gentlemen under Lord Derwentwater. The lane leading to the Ribble Bridge was commanded by a reinforced stone mansion stuffed with Highlanders. This was Old Borlum's position, and the main barricade here was defended by two ship's cannon. Facing north was Lord Charles Murray's barricade, enfiladed by loopholes piercing the walls of the huge Tithe-barn beside it. To the northwest were two barriers some 400 yards apart, down a road leading past a windmill on the edge of town, and known as the Windmill Barricade. The remaining abatis faced west and was situated at the Fishergate, covering the Pentwortham Ford and the road to Liverpool.

Much has been made of the decision not to defend the Ribble. Some historians have taken the comments made by a number of the participants (when attempting to demonstrate their newfound loyalty to the Whig régime by telling everyone what losers the Jacobites were), plus a superficial knowledge of military affairs, and suggested that the place to beat Wills was at the Ribble Bridge itself. However, the Jacobites, as Old Borlum pointed out, did not have the strength to hold both the town and the bridge, and holding the bridge by itself was pointless, as the Ribble, although tidal, had several known fords, including one to the west on the road to Liverpool. All Wills had to do was fix the Jacobites at the bridge with his Foot, and swing his Dragoons in a wide arc to take the town and the Jacobites from the rear.

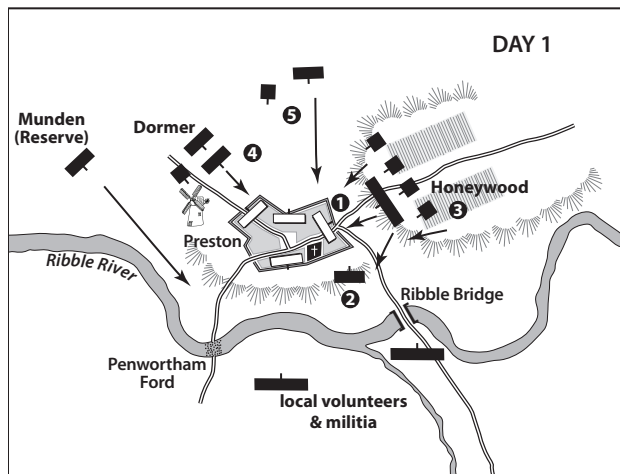
A secondary consideration is that Old Borlum (probably rightly) suspected the Jacobite Horse would bolt for home,

leaving his foot soldiers in the lurch, unless they could be tied down in street fighting. Finally, although some reports indicate that the Jacobites were actually twice as strong as Wills and Carpenter combined, psychologically their leadership was not prepared to withstand even an inferior force in open combat.

The Battle

*There's a rose in Kenmuir's cap, Willie,
There's a rose in Kenmuir's cap;
He'll steep it red in ruddie heart's blude,
Afore the battle drap.*

Kenmuir's on and awa, Willie.



At 2pm on the 12th, Preston's Regiment of Foot assaulted the outer works to the east of the town (#1). They were repulsed under a storm of fire (out of 200 men in the assault, 120 fell – about a quarter of the regiment). Simultaneously, Dormer's and Munden's columns (#3 initial location) moved north of the town in preparation for a concentric attack which took place after Preston's assault petered out. The Jacobites under Old Borlum withdrew back to the main defences before they could be cut off by further probes.

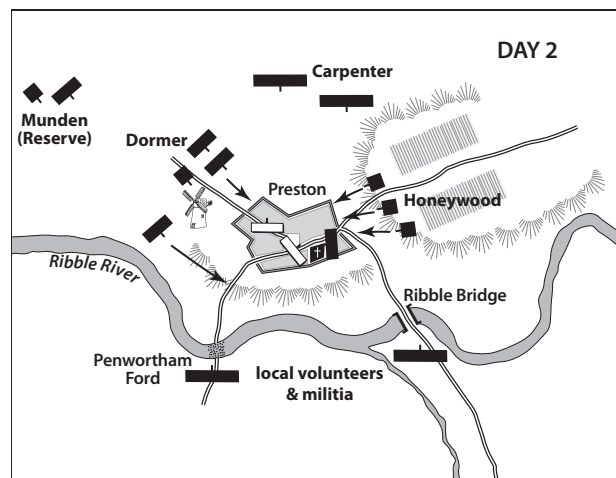
Meanwhile, some of the officers of Preston's recce'd the alleys south of the church and found one that was unblocked (#2). From here they were able to move the regiment up under cover and swiftly occupy the newly vacated buildings in front of them, although they suffered some casualties from fire while crossing the High Street. After this success there was stalemate in this quarter. The Jacobite naval guns, served by a drunken sailor, managed to bring down a chimney pot but little else. General Forster appeared at some point and demanded a sally, but Old Borlum refused, despite impotent threats of courts-martial; he had no desire for his Highlanders to be cut down by the Dragoons while their own supporting Horse barrelled past on its way to freedom.

[The fact that the attack on the town of Preston was made by Preston's regiment is a bit confusing, but the regiment was called after General Preston – Deputy Governor of Edinburgh Castle – and was in fact the Scottish Regiment of Cameronians. More confusion: not "Cameron's", but originally comprised of the followers of a fire-breathing holy-roller of the 1660's & 70's called Dr. Richard Cameron, who were given the options of execution, exile, or Government service. They took the worst option...]

At Charles Murray's barricade, two attacks were beaten off by a skilful use of flanking fire and the intervention of reserves directed by observers in the church tower. To the west, around 4pm, Brigadier Dormer launched an assault on the Windmill Barricade (#4). This was pressed home with great determination, the troopers setting fire to all the barns and houses in their path, but an equally staunch defence by the

Macintosh Battalion under Farquarson of Invercauld forced them to retire. Dormer next tried a flanking move down a garden lane called the Back Ween (#5), but this too came under severe fire and had to withdraw.

By 5pm it was too dark to launch any more attacks. So far, the Jacobites had come out ahead, inflicting many casualties while suffering few themselves. The night was punctuated by sniper fire, the crackle of flames, and the roar of collapsing buildings. General Wills ordered his men to place lights in their windows to avoid casualties from their own snipers, but this only served the Jacobite marksmen, so they were told "lights out". Somehow the townsfolk heard of this and thought they were being told to display lights – Preston lit up like a Christmas tree! Whether by accident or design, General Wills had not blocked the Liverpool road, and down it fled numerous parties of Jacobites, particularly the newly recruited local levies and those who still had mounts.



Early Sunday morning, a short, unsuccessful assault was made against the eastern barricades. This was nearly the last action, for between 9am and 10am, General Carpenter arrived on the scene, accompanied by a host of local levies as well as his own footsore column. Some reports indicate he had 2500 men. Carpenter and Wills were personal enemies, but Carpenter graciously permitted Wills to finish the job – except for making various adjustments to his dispositions, like blocking off the Liverpool road. Ultimately, and to Wills' intense irritation, he was to claim the victory, since as the senior general he was the one who accepted the Jacobites' surrender.

Aftermath

"...luckily for the royal forces, there was wanting a head in the rebel commander. With all the advantages on his side, he secretly sent colonel Oxburgh to propose a capitulation. Wills at first refused to listen to it, declaring that he could not treat with rebels who had murdered many of the king's subjects; but at length he said, if they would lay down their arms, he would defend them from being cut to pieces by the soldiers until he received further orders from government."

"On learning this proposal, the rebel troops were in a fury of rage. The Highlanders demanded to be led by their own officers against the enemy, in order to cut their way through them; but their officers were not so unanimous, and, after a scene of confusion, during which, had Forster appeared, he would have been killed with a hundred wounds, the unfortunate men surrendered."

[From Cassell's History of England, Vol. 4, p. 341]

By lunchtime, surrender negotiations were well in hand. The terms were unconditional (in the language of the day they would be "prisoners of discretion", with no rights at all); even so, only the Highlanders wanted to fight on, and after this

proved impossible, they attempted to secure terms independently of the English.

Things were not made easier by the killing of a parley drummer as he was returning to the Government lines. General Forster himself was nearly slain in his chambers by an angry Highland officer and did not dare show himself in the street. By the end of the day, Derwentwater and Colonel Oxburgh (some sources say Old Borlum instead) had given themselves up as hostages and a deadline had been set for the next morning. Whatever conditions may have been set were ignored. The Government troops fell to plundering the town even as the Jacobites laid down their arms. The Highlanders and other commoners were locked in the church and the officers placed under guard for eventual transfer to London. In all the Jacobites suffered 42 casualties and had 1,485 taken prisoner, while the Government lost perhaps 276 men wounded and killed. The Border Rising was over.

A lot is left unsaid in the accounts of Mar's Rebellion, unlike the dissection that the '45 has received. Little things like the question of whether Wills really intended to storm the town regardless of cost – maybe to get one up on Carpenter – or whether he was putting on an act with the negotiators. And big things like the question of defending the town or the river, or why offer surrender at all.

As to the question of the river, as noted above, the Jacobites probably did not have the resources to hold a longer front, and again, foot soldiers have always distrusted horsemen; it's just too easy to run away on a horse – such nervous creatures. Ultimately the siting of the defence was a judgement call. And the same is probably true for the capitulation. Of the Jacobite leadership, only The Macintosh had any combat experience. Forster and Kenmuir went into a funk any time someone mentioned mixing it with redcoats, and Derwentwater was too diffident. They may have been low on ammunition, but in this era men still fought with edged weapons a good deal of the time, and could have easily made do with them in the confines of the town. However, they may have been short of food or other necessities; also by some accounts they had had nearer 3,000 men the day before than the 1,500 that actually surrendered, and the flight of nearly half their force would have been quite dispiriting. Which brings us back to the fact that the leadership was simply unfit for the role they had chosen for themselves.

7.2 OPERATIONAL SCENARIOS

They came down upon us like Devils and not like Men, with their Ramping Horses, Broad belts, and broad Swords, Trampling down our Men like Mice, and every slash they gave with their broad Swords clave our Men to the shoulder blades, her nain Sell looked this way and that way... the Deuce if that be the way to get plunder... and she made a Flight till she was over the water o' Allan and then the big Grey Dragoons can kiss her Arse.

"An Account of the battle of Sherrifmuire by a Highland-man who made his escape" – Whig Propaganda, attributed to the pen of Daniel Defoe.

7.21 The Heather and the Gale

*The Great Argyll he goes before,
He makes the cannons and guns to roar;
With sound o' trumpet, pipe and drum,*

*The Campbells are coming Ho-Ro, Ho-Ro!
The Campbells are coming Ho-Ro, Ho-Ro!
The Campbells are coming to bonnie Loch Leven
The Campbells are coming Ho-Ro, Ho-Ro!*

The Campbells are Coming

(Heather is the token of the MacDonalds; gale, or bog myrtle, that of the Campbells. Of the Battle of Inverlochy, in 1645, after the great slaughter of the Campbell regiments, it was said that "the heather was above the gale at last". In the '15, the reverse was to come).

This scenario simulates the actions taken in the West by Major General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul. Gordon was a *Russian* general, by the by.

On August 26th, 1715, the Earl of Mar had held a "tinchal" (*the alternate spelling*), or hunting party attended by a great many of the Highland gentry. These parties were often used as a cover for intrigue, and this one was no exception. The Highland chiefs were asked to set about raising their clans to fight for the Pretender. To aid them, Major General Gordon was dispatched soon after with vague orders to march an army of the western clans down to Glasgow, or perhaps bring them over to join Mar – whatever seemed right at the time.

Only the MacDonells of Glengarry under their leader "the Black Glengarry" (yet another Alexander), appeared at General Gordon's first summons. With Fort William in Government hands, there were fears for the safety of families and herds should the fighting men of the glens move south. An attempt was made by the Glengarries and their allies, the Grants of Glenmorriston, on the nearby outpost of Inverlochy, but they only succeeded in chasing the Government detachment into the main fort. The Highlanders did not stay (these were Cameron lands) but pressed on to the trysting place at the Braes of Glenorchy, territory nominally claimed by the outlawed MacGregors.

By October 6th General Gordon had 460 Glengarries, 565 MacDonalds of Clanranald, led by the popular Jacobite, Allan MacDonald, and 300 MacGregors. These latter had already been making trouble, raiding the lands to the south as far as the district of Menteith. They had stolen a number of boats on Loch Lomond, set up camp on an island at the southern end, and proceeded to raid the rich farmland round that part of the loch. Laden with booty, they returned to their base at Inversnaid and then made their way to the muster at Glenorchy. Most of them, anyway.

One party under Rob Roy decided to return to Loch Lomond. The worthy burgers of the Clydeside towns then decided to rid themselves of this plague of locusts and mounted an amphibious operation against them. From Glasgow, Paisley, and the Ayrshire countryside, over 400 volunteer soldiers and sailors set out up the River Leven with boats and guns borrowed from warships on the Clyde, and sailed out onto Loch Lomond. One party advanced up the eastern shore on foot while the rest rowed beside them, pausing to discharge their small cannon and fowling pieces at random bits of terrain. Reinforced at the hamlet of Luss, the group eventually arrived at Inversnaid without incident. They set out a challenge and fired a fusillade, but apart from frightening an "auld wife or two" nothing happened, so after locating their stolen boats and removing them, the party returned in triumph, claiming a great victory over the Jacobites.

Meanwhile, General Gordon was slowly assembling his army. By the 17th of October he reputedly had about 2,400 men and decided to march on Inverary, seat of the Campbell clan (the large number of MacDonalds in his column may well have forced this diversion against their hated rivals rather than a more sensible move against Glasgow). Inverary was defended by Argyll's brother, Archibald Campbell, 1st Earl of Islay (*pronounced I-la*). By the time his enemies arrived on October 19th, he had managed to scrape up 1,000 men and place them in defensive works around the town.

General Gordon, feeling he was outgunned, declined to attack but set up camp about a mile away on the northeastern perimeter. The two sides then proceeded to sit watching each other for several days. There were various silly occurrences, such as the time some horses in Islay's camp stampeded and panicked the Jacobites into thinking they were being attacked. Rob Roy tried to take an outpost but decided it was too tough a nut when they started shooting back. Letters from Mar and Gordon passed at cross-purposes: giving Mar the impression

that the west was sown up, and Gordon the impression that Mar was sorely pressed (despite outnumbering Argyle by five to one).

The crisis came on the 24th of October. That night, a Campbell duty sergeant in Inverary forgot the password and was fired on while making his rounds. The Earl in alarm ordered the garrison turned out on the castle green and began a series of platoon volleys into the night, the officers giving their orders from the safety of the castle windows. Two sentries were wounded. But the event had a fortunate outcome. Believing that the Campbells were giving a *feu de joi* over some reinforcements, General Gordon decided to pull up stakes and march east to join Mar at Perth.

[Visitors to Inverary Castle should be aware that the current building is not the one that stood in 1715. If this author understood the guide correctly, the old building stood roughly in the car park, or a little beyond. Apparently all that is left is the foundation of the front porch.]

Postscript: Campbell of Glenlyon, a Jacobite leader under Argyle's rival, Lord Breadalbane Campbell, had left camp to collect recruits for General Gordon. Islay sent a party of 700 men after him once the main Jacobite column had departed. The two sets of Campbells met and arrayed for battle, but their leaders decided to negotiate instead – it would be “unseemly” for Campbell to fight Campbell. Islay flew into a rage when he found out, but his men were tired of his putting on airs (they accused him of behaving more like a cabinet minister than a war leader) and ignored him.

The Scenario

Government Setup

Leaders

At Inverary (5/NW/Glasgow)

Archibald Campbell, 1st Earl of Islay (B)

Units

CE

At Inverary (5/NW/Glasgow)

1st & 2nd Bns Islay's Regiment

C each

At Dumbarton (1/NW/Glasgow)

Ayrshire & Paisley Volunteers (single Unit)

D

Garrison HQ (representing a party of sailors)

At Fort William (7/N/Glasgow) – Besieged

Irvine's (Godfray's) Regt of Foot

D

Available HQs

All Garrison HQs

1st Brigade, No Dummies

Jacobite Setup

Leaders

Anywhere within 2 hexes of Kilchurn Castle (5/N/Glasgow) but east of or on the castle's location. (Historically at the town of Strathfillan slightly NW of Inversnaid). Must stack together

Major-General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (G)

Allan MacDonald of Clanranald (B)

Units

CE

At Kilcummin (9/N/Glasgow)

Grant of Glenmorriston

B

At Fort William (7 hexes N of Glasgow) – Besieging

2nd Bn Lochiel's Cameron Regiment

C

Anywhere within 2 hexes of Kilchurn Castle (5/N/Glasgow) but east of or on the castle's location. (Historically at the town of Strathfillan slightly NW of Inversnaid). Must stack together

1st Bn MacDonald of Clanranald Regiment
1st & 2nd Bns Glengarry's Regiment

A
C each

At Inversnaid (3/N/Glasgow)

MacGregor Battalion

D

Auxiliaries

Highland Band Companies 1-2

Available HQs

All Garrison HQs

1st Highland Brigade, 1 Dummy

Jacobite Reinforcements (special rule #3)

Glenlyon's Breadalbane Campbells

C

Sir John MacLean's Bn of MacLeans

A

Stuart of Appin's Battalion

B

1st Bn Lochiel's Cameron Regiment

B

Special Rules

1) Game Length & Initial Weather. The scenario begins on the September-October (#13) Turn of 1715, and ends on the October-November (#15) Turn of 1715. It is three (3) Turns long. The initial weather is Dry.

2) Play Area:

North = latitude of Kilcummin (8/N/Glasgow)
South = latitude of Dumbarton (2/NW/Glasgow)
East = longitude of Kilcummin (8/N/Glasgow)
West = coastline

3) Jacobite Reinforcements. The Jacobite player rolls one (1) die during the Reinforcement segment of the Administrative Phase of Turn Two. The result is the number of Reinforcement Units received (i.e. a “0” or “5+” = no Units, 1, 2, 3, 4 = that many Units from the list. Units may be Formed at any Friendly or unoccupied Recruiting Centre within the play area.

4) The Loch Lomond Expedition Special Rule:

An interesting feature of this mini-campaign was the use of Loch Lomond as a highway for raiders. These events were not unique to the '15, as the Vikings had done something similar in ancient times.

A) The Jacobite player may Raid his enemy's lands to score extra VPs. A "MacGregor Raid" is conducted as a normal Raid Task, except that its point of origin must be the Inversnaid hex (3 hexes N of Glasgow). Furthermore, the Unit of origin must be the *MacGregor* Unit. The target must be Dumbarton, Clydebank, or the Fen hex directly north of Glasgow (all are on the southern shore of Loch Lomond). Each successful Raid on an eligible location scores the Jacobite player one (1) VP. A maximum of one (1) MacGregor Raid may be conducted per Turn.

B) The Government player can put an end to the MacGregor Raids by occupying Inversnaid at the end of any Operation. Once this has been done, the Jacobite player receives no more VPs for Raids conducted during the game. Furthermore, he immediately loses one (-1) VP.

Victory Conditions

The Jacobite player wins by accumulating VPs. He needs five (5) VPs to win.

Solely occupying Inverary hex at game end	5 VPs
Solely occupying Fort William hex at game end	2 VPs
Each Raid by the MacGregors	1 VP
Battle Victory	1 VP
Battle Loss	-1 VP
Inversnaid Occupied by the Government	-1VP

7.22 Blue Bonnets Over The Border

*Trumpets are sounding,
War steeds are bounding.
Stand to your arms and march on good order
England shall many a day,
Tell of the bloody fray,
When the blue bonnets came over the border*

On the 20th of September, 1715, warrants were issued for the arrest of two prominent Jacobites in the Northumberland community: Thomas Forster, MP for Northumberland, and James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater. Forster was a High Anglican Tory; Derwentwater a Catholic and a cousin of the Pretender on his mother's side. The warrants were a tactical mistake on the part of the Government. Neither man would have joined the Rising except that the Government gave them little choice. Their declaration for the Pretender ignited a train of powder along the Borders that had been carefully laid by other, much more dedicated Jacobites, such as the Irish Wogan brothers, who had spent months setting up a secret network across northern England.

A meeting of the faithful and desperate took place on October 6th, somewhere along the Roman road known as Dere Street, north of Hexham. From here, the small band of sixty or so horsemen moved from place to place within the district, slowly gathering reinforcements. They had two initial goals, first to seize Newcastle, and second to await expected supplies from France. Then, with an army of Northumbrians at their back, the Jacobites would march into Lancashire, the heartland of English Catholicism.

The Earl of Mar was written to with a request for 2500 men. Meanwhile Forster, appointed leader over Derwentwater by virtue of his Protestant religion, was forced to turn large numbers of foot soldiers away for lack of arms to equip them.

[Derwentwater very graciously acceded to the dictum that Catholic Jacobites should not be seen in a position of supreme authority, and served under Forster without complaint.]

On October 7th, the Jacobites arrived at Warkworth, near Newcastle – also conveniently near a number of ports suitable for receiving French ships. Newcastle was expected to fall into their hands without a fight, as the local Tories were preparing a coup and the Tyne keelmen who worked the ferries and coal barges should have been sympathetic, being Non-Jurors.

[Non-Jurors were those who had not sworn an oath accepting William of Orange as King and Head of the Anglican Church; they remained politically suspect under the Georges.]

Unfortunately, the Whigs were on top of things and Newcastle was swiftly reinforced with the trained bands – although the lord lieutenant for Northumberland had difficulty in meeting his militia quotas. The keelmen, bereft of leadership, kept a low profile. Around this time, Forster began to style himself “General”, although his only possible claim to the title lay in his equestrian skills.

One ray of hope for the Jacobites came on October 10th, when a local skipper who regularly supplied the fort on Holy Isle (Lindesfarne, midway between Newcastle and Berwick) seized the place with his nephew after getting the garrison drunk. They hoped to signal to passing French ships, but again, the Whigs were too quick for them and they were chased out across the sands, which at low tide provide access to the island. (The men were captured, but later escaped by tunnelling out of Berwick Gaol). A couple of French ships did show up some days later, but seeing nothing, passed on to lend their support to Mar instead.

By mid-October, the Jacobites had some 300 men, all mounted. Now Forster made his move on Newcastle, but it was too late. Arriving back at Hexham, they were given the news that General Carpenter, with a battalion of Foot and a regiment of

Dragoons (Hotham's and Cobham's respectively, both newly raised) had arrived to bolster the city's garrison of 1,200 militia. More Dragoons were on the way. On the bright side, the Jacobites on the Scots' side of the Border had risen under William Gordon, Viscount Kenmuir, so Forster set out to meet them.

Kenmuir and several of his colleagues had likewise been forced into open rebellion by warrants issued against them; their hearts were not really in the business. Fortunately, there was a strong Jacobite element in the district. Raising a force of similar size to Forster's, Kenmuir had hoped to take Dumfries, a key administrative centre in southwest Scotland, but the local Whigs, while not overly powerful, were too aggressive for his taste. (The southwest of Scotland was the original home of Whiggery – the origin of the name came from the Whiggamore Raid on Edinburgh in 1648).

The initial failures of initiative by Forster and Kenmuir coincided, and the two parties, English and Scottish, met at Rothbury on October 19th. By the 21st they were at Wooler, and the next day they set out to meet Mar's promised reinforcements – Old Borlum MacIntosh and his band of grubby Highlanders. The English were not impressed, but Old Borlum took one look at the English, ill-armed and mounted on hunters and racing nags, and muttered “this will never do”.

A grand muster and reorganisation now took place. The English had already been organised into five troops, and the Scots were now similarly arrayed. The party under MacIntosh consisted of his deputy, Farquarson of Invercauld, and their combined following in a single battalion, Lord Nairn's and Lord Charles Murray's battalions of Athollmen, and some Drummonds (originally three battalions but now much depleted). It was agreed that Forster would command while in England, and Kenmuir while in Scotland, an arrangement which meant that each faction would argue its own choice of action just to keep their own man at the head – fortunately, or perhaps not, Kenmuir as a rule did not push his claim and allowed Forster to lead most of the time. King James was proclaimed, as was usual when the Jacobites made a halt of any length, and to round off the day, the Highlanders, as was *their* custom, proceeded to levy taxes on the locals.

The Jacobites now had three choices, given that Mar had left them to their own devices. They could march on Dumfries. This was the Scots' choice. They could march into Lancashire. The English supported this move. Or, they could stay where they were and beat up General Carpenter, who, with only 900 men, mostly recruits, was moving up from Newcastle to engage them. Old Borlum and some of the tougher spirits were eager to test their mettle. There were three reasons why none of these courses, and certainly not a mix of the most advantageous elements, could be agreed upon. First, the English and Scots distrusted each other. Second, as touched on earlier, the command structure encouraged factionalism. Last, both Forster and Kenmuir were mortally afraid of exchanging blows with the enemy, no matter how weak or inexperienced – after all, Carpenter was a famous general who had served under Lord Peterborough in Spain and, outnumbered, had fought to the bitter end at Almanza and Almenara.

On the 27th of October, the Jacks, in a compromise that pleased none, marched to Jedburgh. They planned to follow the Border west until they could think of something else. On the march to Jedburgh an unfounded rumour of Carpenter's approach caused many of horsemen to panic, some tearing off their Jacobite tokens and others even bursting into tears. But it was only their own Foot, who had been left behind on the march.

On the 29th the Scots mutinied. Near Hawick, it became apparent that the route they were taking was drifting south (well, the Border does tend that way). The English Horse surrounded the Highland Foot and the latter went so far as to cock their firelocks and take aim. After two hours of wrangling,

it was agreed to remain moving west, north of the Border; should the English turn south, the Scots would be free to do as they pleased. Dumfries was now the target.

On the 30th, the Jacks, still arguing quietly, had their minds made up for them. Dumfries was too heavily defended to take. Delighted, the English advocated a march into the rich recruiting ground of Lancashire. When the Scots pointed out that Dumfries was still only held by militia, was well stocked, and was a key link in their communications with Mar, the English claimed to have received word of 20,000 volunteers awaiting them, as well as supplies of arms and money. Only Old Borlum and Lord Wintoun, the most popular of the Border Scots' leaders, held out for Dumfries. Lord Kenmuir, though nominally in command, remained silent. But The Macintosh and Wintoun were not at the council of war, Wintoun being disgusted and Old Borlum too busy trying to prevent his men from deserting. South it was.

During the first week of November, the Jacobites marched through Cumberland. About 500 Scots deserted, resolved to win their way back to Mar, but nearly all were rounded up by the Whigs. The so-called high road in this part of England was little more than a muddy track over hill and through bogs, and after covering 100 miles in five days, the efforts of marching began to take a toll. It rained heavily every day. At each halt, they proclaimed King James and collected taxes, plus recruits if any able-bodied or merely half-crippled men were foolish enough to remain in the neighbourhood. As they advanced, various bodies of militia and *posse-comitatus* (sheriffs' posses on the Wild West model) were thrown up against them, but none actually stood long enough to come into view. To the northeast, out of sight and for the moment out of mind, General Carpenter was following on a course of interception.

By November 7th, the Jacobites were in possession of Lancaster, and their scouts brought in the exciting news that the people living just to the south were ready to rise. But, by the time they reached Preston, on November 10th, only a few Papists had come in. The bulk of the Anglican population refused to participate. Marching swiftly up from Chester, General Wills was moving to block their path, even as their spies made the Jacks uncomfortably aware of General Carpenter's presence close by in the east. The stage was set for the battle of Preston and the end of the Border Rising.

The Scenario

Government Setup	CE
Leaders	
<i>At Dumfries (6/S/Glasgow)</i>	
<i>The Marquis of Annandale (B)</i>	
<i>At Chester (17 hexes S of Glasgow) – see special rule #4</i>	
<i>General Wills (G)</i>	
<i>Brigadier Dormer (B)</i>	
<i>Brigadier Munden (B)</i>	
<i>Brigadier Honeywood (B)</i>	
Units	CE
<i>At each of Newcastle (9/SE/Edinburgh), Carlisle (9/S/Glasgow), York (13/S/Edinburgh)</i>	
1 battalion of English County Militia	E
1x Garrison HQ	
<i>At Berwick (4/SE/Edinburgh)</i>	
Hotham's Regiment of Foot	D
<i>At Dumfries (6/S/Glasgow)</i>	
Dumfries Regiment	E
<i>At Chester (17 hexes S of Glasgow) – see special rule #4</i>	

Pitt's Regiment of Horse	C
Stanhope's Regiment of Dragoons	C
Dormer's Regiment of Dragoons	C
Honeywood's Regiment of Dragoons	C
Wynn's Regiment of Dragoons	C
Munden's Regiment of Dragoons	C
Preston's Regiment of Foot	B

Available HQs

Observation Corps, 1st & 2nd Brigades, 2 Dummies

Government Reinforcements

Unformed Units

2x English County Militia

Whig Levies (see special rule #3):

1st & 2nd Bns Duke of Hamilton's Regiment
 1st & 2nd Bns Duke of Buccleugh's Rgt
 Earl of Cassilis' Battalion
 Duke of Roxburgh's Battalion
 Earl of Martoun's Battalion
 Earl of Lauderdale's men
 Earl of Glencairn's men
 Marquess of Annandale's Battalion
 Earl of Eglington's men
 Duke of Douglas' Battalion

Southern Reinforcements: enter S edge on Nottingham-Newcastle road (the main North-South route on the east coast) – see Special Rule #5)

Leaders

General Carpenter (G)

Units

CE

Gore's Regiment of Dragoons
 Molesworth's Regiment of Dragoons
 Churchill's Regiment of Dragoons

C
 C
 C

Auxiliaries

Converged Grenadier Battalions 1-2

Jacobite Setup

Leaders

At Hexham (9/S/Edinburgh)

General Thomas Forster (G)
James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl Derwentwater (B)

At Peebles (2/SW/Edinburgh)
William Gordon, Viscount Kenmuir (G)

Units

CE

At Hexham (9/S/Edinburgh)

1st through 5th Troops of English Border Horse
 2nd Merse Troop of Scottish Horse

C
 C

At Peebles (2/SW/Edinburgh)

1st, and 3rd – 5th Trps of Scottish Border Horse

C

Jacobite Auxiliaries

1x Highland Band Company

Available HQs

Cavalry Brigade, 1st English Brigade, 1st Highland Brigade, 1st Lowland Brigade, English Corps, 2 Dummies

The Highland Host (see special rule #6)

Leaders

William “Old Borlum” MacIntosh (B)
James Drummond of that Ilk (B)*

Units

1st Bn Mar’s Regiment (*Farquarson’s*)
Lord Nairn’s Bn of Athollmen
Lord Charles Murray’s Bn of Athollmen
Lord Strathallen’s Bn of Drummonds
Lord Drummond’s Bn of Drummonds
The Earl of Strathmore’s Bn of Drummonds
The MacIntosh Battalion
The Farquarson Battalion

CE

E
D*
D*
E*
E*
E*
B
D

Jacobite Reinforcements

Unformed Units

Lord Carnwath’s Battalion
Lord Nithsdale’s men
The Earl of Wigtoun’s Battalion
Lord Kenmuir’s men
Lord Wintoun’s Battalion
The Earl of Errol’s men
6x English Jacobite Band

Special Rules

1) **Game Length & Initial Weather.** The scenario begins on September-October (#13) Turn of 1715 and ends on the November-December (#16) Turn of 1715. It is four (4) Turns long. Initial Weather is Dry.

2) Play Area:

West = coastline
East = coastline
North = latitude of Edinburgh *exclusive*
South = southern map edge

3) **The Whig Levies.** These Units may be brought into play during the Reinforcement segment of any Administrative Phase in which the *Marquess of Annandale* Leader occupies an Urban hex in Scotland. During the Reinforcement segment of the Administrative Phase of Turn Two, the Government player rolls two (2) dice. The sum of the dice is halved (/2). This final result is the number of Reinforcement Units received, up to the maximum listed. Units may be Formed at any Friendly or unoccupied Recruiting Centre within the play area.

4) **Chester Forces.** These Leaders and Units may not be Activated for any purpose until a Jacobite Unit moves within 2 hexes of Manchester (*14 hexes S of Glasgow*). At this point they may operate normally. These Units may start the game organised under an HQ if desired; any of the listed Leaders may command the HQ.

5) **Southern Reinforcements.** These Units and Leaders will enter the map on a random Turn, based upon a (1) die roll, made by the Government player during the Reinforcement segment of each Administrative Phase. If the die roll is successful the Units may enter the game where directed in the same or in any later Administrative Phase. The Units may be organised under an HQ; *Carpenter* will command the HQ.

Turn	Entry
One	0-2
Two	0-4
Three	0-6
Four	0-8

6) **The Highland Host:** *Old Borlum’s* “Highland Host” must enter the game as a single (1) Activated HQ in one of the Jacobite player’s Operations during the October-November Turn. *Old Borlum* is activated as a commander for free and the HQ may be organised as desired prior to its entry. These Units had to cross the Forth estuary in order to join the Border

Jacobites; while this was a successful operation, historically about 500 men and some of the leadership were forced to turn back during the crossing. Prior to the entry of this force, the Jacobite player rolls one (1) die. On a 0-3, he is allowed to increase the CE of each of the asterix’d (*) Units by one (e.g. from “E” to “D”), listed, plus he receives the Leader *Drummond*. If *Drummond* is available, either he or *Old Borlum* may be Posted to command the HQ.

Victory Conditions

The Jacobite player automatically wins if he holds Newcastle at game end. Otherwise, the Jacobites are awarded the following VPs:

For every 10 Jacobite Units in play at game end +1VP
(round fractions DOWN)
For each Regional Centre hex held at game end +3 VPs
(any Fortification in the hex may be under Siege)
For each Regional Centre hex entered during the game but not held (maximum award one (1) time per hex) +1 VP
Jacobite Battle Win +2 VPs
Jacobite Battle Loss -3 VPs

The Jacobite player needs 6 VPs to win.

7.23 Under The Northern Lights

*Soldiers will come from Carn a Chlarsair...
Spilling blood with many knives...
And the Raven shall drink his three fells
Of the blood of the Gael from the Stone of Fionn.*

Prophecies of the Brahan Seer

(A note about the title: the aurora was especially strong in the late summer of '15, being seen much further south than usual. This was taken for an omen of war).

The Whigs were dominant in the far north, their ranks including such notables as the wealthy Earl of Sutherland; Lord Reay, chief of the MacKay clan; the Monros and Rosses; and, south of Inverness the powerful Grants (who had provided an entire regiment for the Government during the late war with Spain), as well as the politically active Forbes and their Rose allies. To the west of Inverness were the Frasers, often thought of as a Jacobite clan – their leader however, was a Whig whose main ambition in life was to become known as Lord Lovat. Sutherland and Grant of Grant were made lord lieutenants in their respective areas in the late summer of 1715. They were ordered to begin raising battalions of “fencibles” for local defence, but warned the King that there would be trouble with the Jacobites over their actions.

Sutherland left London by sea as the rebellion began and arrived in his own territory after the fall of Inverness (with local acquiescence) to the Jacobite MacIntoshes. After their success the latter, led by Old Borlum, headed south to join Mar, hosted enroute by their nominal enemies, the Grants, who promised not to molest their lands in exchange for not being plundered themselves. (A similar instance of chivalry occurred when Lady Forbes, defending her manor house from the MacIntoshes, asked for help from the Monros; the Jacobite Earl of Seaforth warned the Whigs not to cross the Canon Bridge west of Inverness, but promised to call off the MacIntoshes all the same).

The Earl of Seaforth, chief of the MacKenzies, headed the most powerful clan in the north, with around 1,500 men. In late September he brought his men out for the Pretender and encamped at Brahan Castle, the family seat (located a few miles west of Inverness, near Canon Bridge). A couple of days later, Sutherland arrived at his own castle of Dunrobin and began organising a defence. His army assembled at Alness, some five miles east of Brahan Castle. In all, he had 1,580 men, of whom 1,200 were combatants.

Seaforth was soon reinforced with 700 MacDonalds of Sleat and a mixed group of 500 MacKinnons, MacRaes, and Chisholms, giving him a total of 2,700 men. It was now early October. Sutherland wrote to Forbes of Culloden for assistance, and the Grants were called out (as noted above their clan had been enrolled into Government service as a regiment, but the commission registers indicate the unit had been disbanded in 1714 – still, the men retained their old discipline).

[Some sources indicate the Grant Regiment lasted until 1718.]

By mid-October, 500 Grants, joined by 120 of Forbes' and Rose's men, marched north, enroute for the Rosshire ferries. However, events had overtaken them – they received a second message from Sutherland asking them to disband. It seems that in the interval, Seaforth had marched on Alness and scattered the Whigs without a battle. Retreating to the borders of Sutherland, the clansmen from the more remote north took the opportunity to desert, while the more southerly clans, such as the Monros, were forced to defend their lands on their own. Fortunately for the Monros, after their MacKenzie neighbours had enjoyed a few days plundering, they were called south to join Mar (and given safe passage by the Grants after a personal meeting between the chiefs to agree on terms).

By the 24th of October, the bulk of the Jacobite clans, less 400 men left to garrison Inverness, were marching rapidly south through Atholl. As Seaforth left the region, Simon Fraser arrived from England and recalled his clan, the bulk of which had joined the rebellion. Fraser also took energetic action to stamp out what remained of the rebellion in the north, fending off MacDonald of Keppoch, and planning the recapture of Inverness in conjunction with the Grants.

[MacDonald was a well known character, described as a highwayman whose policy was simply to defy the Government of the day, regardless of its policies.]

Sutherland, too, planned to retake the Highland capital, and although the southern operation took the city without a fight on the 13th of November – the same day as Sherrifmuir – it was Colonel Munro who seized the Governorship to prevent the wily Fraser from obtaining too much political leverage.

With the fall of Inverness, the Whigs were able to establish peace and order throughout the north – at least where the Government's writ had managed to run before the rebellion – but they immediately began arguing over who deserved the most credit: the memoirs were being published long before the end of the Rising.

At the beginning of December, Seaforth left Mar and returned home, ostensibly to defend his estates, and Huntly followed suit. The two made various plans to retake Inverness yet again, but denied arms and ammunition (by this point even the main army only had enough supplies for one day's action), they were unable to act.

In January of 1716, Sutherland marched with 1,800 men into the MacKenzie lands and forced Seaforth's submission (as he could only raise 1,200 himself); on his advice, Huntly also submitted. When the Pretender landed, Seaforth rashly rose again, but apart from plundering his neighbours he accomplished nothing and wound up forfeiting his estates, while Huntly played the safer game and retained his father's property.

The Scenario

Government Setup

Leaders

At Dunrobin (16/NE/Edinburgh)

Sutherland (G)

Units

CE

At Dunrobin (16/NE/Edinburgh)

1st Bn Sutherland Regiment

C

Government Reinforcements

Units must be placed where indicated when Formed

2 nd Bn Sutherland Regiment	place at Dunrobin
MacKay Battalion	place at Dunrobin
Monro Battalion	place at Dunrobin
Ross Battalion	place at Dunrobin
1 st & 2 nd Bns Grant of Grant's Regt	place at Kilcummin
Forbes' Battalion	place at Forbes
Rose's Battalion	place at Forbes

The town of Forbes is 12/NE/Edinburgh; the other locations are already referenced.

Units

CE

At Kilcummin (9N/Glasgow) when received (special rule #4)

1st & 2nd Bn Fraser Regiment

B each

Government Auxiliaries

Black Watch Companies 1-2

Available HQs

1st Brigade, No Dummies

Jacobite Setup

Leaders

At Inverness (11/N/Edinburgh)

William "Old Borlum" MacIntosh (B)

Units

CE

At Inverness (11/N/Edinburgh)

MacIntosh Clan

B

At Eilean Donan (14/NW/Edinburgh)

MacRae Clan

A

Available HQs

1st & 2nd Highland Brigades, 1 Dummy

Jacobite Reinforcements

Unformed Units

1st & 2nd Bns MacDonald of Sleat's Regiment
 The MacKinnons
 Chisholm of Strathglass
 1st through 5th Bns MacKenzie Regiment
 1st Bn Fraser Regiment**
 Gordon of Glenbucket's Men
 1st & 2nd Bns Huntly's Regiment
 1st & 2nd Trps Huntly's Horse
 MacDonald of Keppoch Regiment
 **see Special Rule #4

Leaders

At Strathbogie (11/NE/Edinburgh) on or after the January Turn (special rule #3)

Major General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (G)
Donald MacDonald of Sleat (B)

Units

CE

At Strathbogie (11/NE/Edinburgh) on or after the January Turn (special rule #3)

Glengarry Regiment	D
1 st Bn Cameron of Lochiel's Regiment	D
1 st Bn Stewart of Appin's Regiment	D
1 st Bn MacDonald of Clanranald's Rgt	C
1 st Bn MacDonald of Sleat's Regiment	C
Grant of Glenmorriston's men	B
MacLeod of Assynt's men	C
MacLeod of Raasay's men	D
MacEwan of Skye's men	C
Seaforth's Scrubbies	E

1st & 2nd Bns Fraser Regiment** D

**See Special Rule #4

Jacobite Auxiliaries

Highland Band Companies 1-2

Additional Jacobite Leaders

Officers' Mess

William MacKenzie Earl of Seaforth (G)

When any Gordon Unit is formed, add:

Alexander Gordon Marquis of Huntly (G)

Special Rules

1) **Game Length & Initial Weather.** The scenario begins on September-October (#13) Turn of 1715 and ends on the January-February (#3) Turn of 1716. It is seven (7) Turns long. Initial Weather is Dry.

2) Play Area:

North = coastline

South = latitude of Strathbogie/Kilcummin (11 hexes NE of Edinburgh & 8 hexes N of Glasgow, respectively)

East = longitude of Strathbogie & northeastern coastline

West = coastline

3) **Jacobite Special Reinforcements.** These represent the remains of Mar's army. If Strathbogie is Enemy-Controlled, place the Units in any hex on the East edge of the play area, South of the Moray Firth.

4) **The Frasers.** The Fraser clan technically begins the game on the Jacobite Side, but is not in play (it is with Mar's army in the south). On or after the November-December Turn the *Government* player may add these two (2) battalions to his pool of Units available for Mustering. Optionally, apply the Neutral Clan rule (CY 3.38) rule to these Units – both constitute a single Clan. In this case, if the Frasers become Jacobite, they are placed with Mar's army at Strathbogie (see above).

Victory Conditions

The Jacobite player automatically wins if he controls Inverness at the end of the scenario. Otherwise, he wins if he can amass 5 VPs:

Jacobite Battle Win	+1 VP
Jacobite Battle Loss	-1 VP
For each Regional Centre Controlled by the Jacks at game end	+1 VP

7.3 THE EARL OF MAR'S REBELLION

There's some say that we wan,
Some say that they wan,
Some say that none wan at a' man;
But one thing I'm sure
That at Sherrifmuir
A battle there was which I saw, man.
And we ran, and they ran, and they ran and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa, man.

Sherrifmuir

From the raising of the Standard at Braemar to the dispersal of the clans at Ruthven, Mar's Rebellion lasted from September 6th 1715 to February 14th 1716. The pivot of the rebellion can be pinpointed at November 13th, when the Jacobites were turned back at Sherrifmuir, and simultaneously the northern clans and Border forces were defeated. A full chronicle of the events of the rising and information pertaining to the roots of the rebellion may be found in Part Four.

Special Rules

This is the Campaign Game. The Earl of Mar has just raised the Standard of the Stuarts at Braemar and begun his march south, gathering reinforcements; the Government is scrambling to pull a defence together.

1) The game starts on the August-September (#12) Turn of 1715 and lasts until the January-February (#3) Turn of 1716. It is eight (8) Turns long. All maps except for the SW and SE panels are in play. Initial weather is Dry.

2) Section 2.0 victory condition rules are in force for this scenario. Both Sides begin with eight (8) Prestige.

Jacobite Setup

Leaders

2 hexes directly SW of Inverness

William "Old Borlum" MacIntosh (B)

At Eilean Donan (14/NW/Edinburgh)

William MacKenzie Earl of Seaforth (B)

At Braemar (8/NE/Edinburgh, on the road 3 hexes E of Blair Atholl)

John Erskine 6th Earl of Mar (CG), Commander in Chief of His Majesty James III & VIII's Loyal Forces in Scotland

Alexander Gordon Earl of Huntly (M)

General George Hamilton (G) (Deputy Commander)

General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (G) (General of the Foot)

George Keith the Earl Marischal (G)

John Hay of Cromlix (G) (Master of Horse)

Units

CE

2 hexes directly SW of Inverness

MacIntosh Clan B

At Eilean Donan (14/NW/Edinburgh)

MacRae Clan A

At Braemar (8/NE/Edinburgh, on the road 3 hexes E of Blair Atholl)

1st Bn Mar's Regiment of Foot E

1st Bn Huntly's Gordons B

Kilcummin (9/N/Glasgow)

Grant of Glenmorriston B

Remaining Jacobite Units

Become Formed through Mustering (CY 3.3).

All **Artillery** received per *KR&Os* 8.55 and 4.12 in this volume

Border Jacobites per rule 4.32.

Jacobite Auxiliaries

Highland Band Companies 1-4

Additional Jacobite Leaders

Placed in the Officers' Mess upon receipt.

Received With any MacDonald Unit

Donald Macdonald of Sleat (B)

Alexander MacDonell the Black of Glengarry (B)

Allan MacDonald of Clanranald (B)

Received With any Breadalbane Campbell Unit

Campbell of Glendaruel (B)

(if the Breadalbane Campbells are Neutral or on the Government Side he may enter with the Forming of any other Highlander Unit)

Received with any Cavalry Unit or any Jacobite City Militia

James Drummond of that Ilk (B)

James Keith (B)

Received With the Border Jacobites

General Thomas Forster (G), ex-MP for Northumberland

James Radcliffe 3rd Earl Derwentwater (B)

William Gordon 6th Viscount Kenmuir (B)

Alternative Captain General (3.3)

James FitzJames Duke of Berwick (M), Maréchal de France

John Murray 1st Duke of Atholl (M)

Alexander Gordon Marquis of Huntly (M)(if not acting as Captain-General, acts as a Marshal and is placed in Officers' Mess at game start – see 3.35).

Jacobite Royal Personage: enters per rule 6.23

Le Chevalier de Saint George, *James Francis Edward Stuart*, His Most Catholic Pretender to the Throne of Great Britain and Ireland

Government Setup

Leaders

At Dunrobin (16/NE/Edinburgh)

George MacKay, 3rd Baron Reay (B)

Edinburgh

Red John of the Battles, *3rd Duke of Argyle (M)*, C-in-C His Majesty's Garrison of Scotland

Alexander Grant Laird of Grant (B)(Governor of Edinburgh Castle)

Stirling (1/NE/Glasgow)

Joseph Whiteman (G)(2ic Scottish Garrison Command)

Jasper Clayton (B)

Earl of Forfar (B)

Inverary (5NW/Glasgow)

Archibald Campbell Earl of Islay (B)

Units

CE

At Dunrobin (16/NE/Edinburgh)

1st Bn Sutherland Regiment

D

Edinburgh

1x Garrison HQ

Stirling (1/NE/Glasgow)

Portmore's Rgt of Dragoons

C

Hill's Regiment of Dragoons

C

Orrery's Regiment of Foot

C

Montague's Regiment of Foot

C

1x Garrison HQ

Glasgow

1st Bn Glasgow Regiment

E

Fort William (7/N/Glasgow)

Irvine's Regiment of Foot

D

York (13 hexes S of Edinburgh)

Honeywood's Rgt of Dragoons

C

Carpenter's Rgt of Dragoons

C

Inverary (5NW/Glasgow)

1st Bn Argyll Militia

E

Chester (17/S/Glasgow)

1x Garrison HQ

Dumbarton (/NW/Glasgow)

1x Garrison HQ

Carlisle (9/S/Glasgow)

1x Garrison HQ

Berwick (4/SE/Edinburgh)

1x Garrison HQ

Tynemouth Castle (10/SE/Edinburgh)

1x Garrison HQ

Remaining Government Units

All Regular Class **English and Irish Garrison** Units per rule 3.43. Guard available if option 4.26 is used.

All **BW and Militia** (English and Scottish) Units are available for Mustering.

Artillery per rule 4.12, potentially:

Mixed Artillery Units x2 (2 Batteries each)

Siege Artillery Unit (2 SPs)

Dutch forces available per rule 4.25:

van der Beck (B)

1. & 2. Bataljons Regiment van Maye

C

Regiment van Stürler

C

Regiment van Schmidt

C

Regiment van Chambrier

C

Regiment van Slippenbeck

C

Regiment van Rantyan

C

Regiment van Zoutland

C

Regiment van Welderen

C

Regiment van Cromström

C

Regiment van Pallandt

C

1. & 2. Geconvergeerde Grenadier Komp. Auxiliaries (from *Charlie's Year*)

Government Auxiliaries

At Start

Converged Grenadier Battalions 1-4
Black Watch Companies 1-4 Released with Loyal Scots
(from *Charlie's Year*)

Government Leaders in Officers' Mess or Posted at Start

William Johnstone 1st Marquis of Annandale (B)

Additional Government Leaders

Placed in the Officers' Mess upon receipt.

John Sutherland 15th Earl of Sutherland (G)
received September-October Turn

With any Line Class Unit or Units Formed during play

George Carpenter (G)
Charles Wills (G)
Thomas Whetham (B)
Brigadier Evans (B)
Brigadier Honeywood (B)
Brigadier Dormer (B)
Brigadier Munden (B)

Government Personage:

General Cadogan enters per rule 3.12.

Neutral Clan Units

Available per Rule CY3.38

Grant Clan: 1st & 2nd Battalions Grant of Grant's Regiment
(default Government Units).

MacKenzie Clan: 1st through 5th Battalions Seaforth's
MacKenzies, plus Seaforth's Scrubbies (default Jacobite Units).

Campbell Clan: 1st through 3rd Battalions Breadalbane's
Campbell Regiment (default Jacobite Units).

Fraser Clan: 1st & 2nd Battalions Fraser Regiment (default
Jacobite Units).

Murray Clan: All five (5) Atholl Foot Battalions: i.e. Lord
George Murray, Lord Charles Murray, Lord Nairn,
Tullibardine, Viscount Stormont (default Jacobite Units).

The Gordon Clan (1st & 2nd Battalions Huntly's Gordon
Regiment, plus 1st & 2nd Troop of Huntly's Gordon Horse) is
assumed to start the game loyal to the Jacobite player, not
Neutral, but is still subject to Loyalty Checks (3.42).

7.4 VARIANTS

*An' his banner was made o' pie crust,
O' pie crust, o' pie crust,
An his bannet was made o' pie crust
Built baith thick an' roun.
An' he play'd upon a razor;
A razor, a razor;
An' he play'd upon a razor,
An' whiles upon the kame.*

Aiken Drum

7.41 French Aid Variant

Some contingency planning was carried out by the Duke of Berwick in case a favourable opportunity for intervention ever occurred. With the death of Louis XIV, the chance of obtaining the necessary resources became remote. This variant assumes that the Sun King lives, and has given his blessing to an invasion by Berwick and a token French force.

7.411 The *Duke of Berwick* must be the Jacobite Captain-General.

7.412 During initial set up, place the following at Aberdeen (9/NE/Edinburgh):

- **Personage:** His Most Catholic Majesty King James VIII of Scotland, III of England and Ireland, Le Chevalier, *James Francis Edward Stuart*.
- **Captain-General:** *James FitzJames Duke of Berwick & Maréchal de France*, C-in-C French Expeditionary Force for the Liberation of Scotland (Posted as commander of the following forces).
- From the *Charlie's Year* counter mix: *Roth's*, *Clare's*, *Dillon's*, *Berwick's*, and *Bulkeley's* Irish Regiments. The *d'Irlandais* Brigade HQ.
- The Jacobite Hub

Historical Note: between the '15 and the '45 a number of changes in command and unit shuffling occurred, but the five regiments above more or less composed the Irish Brigade from AD 1700 on. In 1744, Lally's Regiment was added.

7.413 The Jacobite set up may be altered slightly at the discretion of the Jacobite player, by stacking some or all of the Units initially belonging to Mar's command at Aberdeen instead of Braemar.

7.414 Prior to game start, but after the Jacobite set up, the Government player receives one (1) free die roll on the Irish and English columns of the Government Reinforcement Table. Any Units generated may be Formed immediately, and placed on map anywhere in England, or at any Scottish location that already contains one or more (1+) Government Units.

7.42 Unbridled Ambition

This variant assumes that Mar and the Jacobites have long plotted an island-wide insurrection.

7.421 Use all six maps. The Jacobite initial set up is the same. The Government player deploys his listed units normally, and then places the remainder of his Regular and Guard class units as follows.

- All Irish Garrison Command Units are placed in the Ireland Box. They must transfer to the map according to CY3.6.
- All English Garrison Command Units may be placed in any English Urban and Fortification hexes South of York (including locations *at* that Latitude).
- All Guard Units must all be placed in London. They may not voluntarily move more than eight (8) MPs away from London unless released by paying points of Prestige, per 4.26. If forced to move outside their operational radius then must return to it as quickly as possible, but there is no other penalty.

- Owners of the *Perdition to King George!* supplement may add the Government Leaders dated “1719” to the Officers’ Mess.

7.422 Rule 3.44 is not used. Prior to the start of the game, the Government player rolls one (1) die on the following table for each Regular and Guard Unit to determine its initial CE. CE ratings cannot exceed those printed on the counters. Subtract three (-3) from all die rolls that apply to Guard Units. Subtract two (-2) for die rolls applied to Cavalry Units.

Die Roll	CE
5-9	E
2-4	D
1	C
0	B

7.423 The Government player also places Garrison HQs at:

Portsmouth	Tower of London
Chatham	Tynemouth Castle
Richmond	Blackness Fort
Shrewsbury	

7.424 Add all the County Militia, and Jacobite English/Welsh Band counters from *Charlie’s Year* to the counter mix. These are available in addition to the Units provided in this module.

7.425 Variant 7.41 may be used with this scenario (and is recommended).

7.426 The *Highland Quorum* Prestige Chart is not used. Use the one from *Charlie’s Year* instead, ignoring all references to the French (even if 7.41 is used), Flanders Army, Irish Garrison, Dutch, or Hessians.

PART THREE – HISTORY

*My love was born in Aberdeen,
The boniest lad that e’er was seen,
But now he makes our hearts fu’ sad,
He takes the Field wi’ his White Cockade.*

*O he’s a ranting, roving lad,
He is a brisk an a bonny lad,
Betide what may, I will be wed,
And follow the boy wi’ the White Cockade.*

The White Cockade

Orders Of Battle

*An’ he wad be a soger,
A soger, a soger,
An’ he wad be a soger,
An’ his name was Aiken Drum.*

Aiken Drum

The quality of many of the units employed on both sides was considered very poor. A high proportion of the Government regiments were only commissioned that July, or were fresh from debilitating garrison duty in Ireland. Fortunately there was a cadre that had grown up under Marlborough’s tutelage. On the Jacobite side, there were many leaders with experience in the late war – in fact some also served under the Duke – and many also who had participated in the first Jacobite wars of the 1690’s. However, while the men were certainly eager for battle, they were subjected to very little discipline (far less than in the ’45), while the prowess of the regiments varied wildly, depending on the experience of their leaders.

The British Army

Most of the historical notes for the units listed below can be found in the British Army OB for *Charlie’s Year*. Many veteran units were disbanded after the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 – since only the Guard, the Old Corps (Foot Regiments 1-6), the Young Corps (Foot Regiments 7-12), and the senior horse and Dragoons were guaranteed an existence. Before the Rising, Army strength may have been up to 8000 men in all – but England alone was supposed to have a peacetime strength of 8000 men. When it became apparent that there would be an uprising in Scotland, orders went out to recruit 7000 more (the Flanders Army had been 7000 strong in 1713, but had been disbanded *enmasse*), and to engage the services of between 6000 and 8000 Dutch troops. Many of the famous Dragoon regiments of Napoleonic times were raised specifically to deal with this rebellion. The “youngest” units were again disbanded in 1718 (ironically just before the threat of the Rising of ’19). Most regiments available prior to and during the ’15 remained at peacetime strength. Thus the largest foot unit involved in combat was Preston’s (26th Cameronians), which had 400 men (down from a paper strength of 780). Most foot units had 200-250 men each. The horse tended to be around 180 men per regiment. The newest regiments were raised as late as the summer of 1715 (not the best time of year for finding recruits). The bulk of the men sent to Scotland are generally described as “raw” although there must have been large numbers of unemployed veterans as well. Fortunately, the officer corps at the regimental level and higher was highly skilled; in all ages it has been the regimental officers (and to a lesser extent the senior NCOs) who keep up a regiment’s traditions and sense of unity.

Government Horse & Dragoons for the Year 1715

Some units have alternate designations. The primary name given to a unit is the one most prevalent in the sources. Regimental numbers are for reference to later eras only – the units were not officially numbered until 1751, although the senior regiments could be nicknamed by their ranking on the Army List. “Est” shows the Establishment the unit belonged to (English or Irish, – the Scottish Establishment disappeared at the Union). Those units known to be on overseas postings are not included in the counter mix. A unit’s establishment may not correspond with the contingent it is assigned to in the game, as units were routinely shifted around. For example, as a quick fix for a manpower crisis in Flanders, several battalions might be transferred from Ireland (going onto the English Establishment) and be physically replaced by newly raised units from England; these might remain officially on the English list. As another example, the 13th and 14th Dragoons either came from Ireland, or recruited large numbers of Irish out of western ports such as Chester, but were on the English Establishment at this time. After the battle of Sherrifmuir, the Government forces camped at Stirling included 7 regiments of

horse and Dragoons, and 20 battalions of foot. Additionally there were 11 Dutch battalions scattered around both shores of the Firth of Forth, and 2 regiments of Dragoons at Glasgow.

Name	# for ref	Est	Notes
Ashburnham/Northumberland	1&2 HGG	E	Based in London
Cholmondeley/Earl Marischal	1&2 HG	E	Based in London
(or Earl of Arran/Argyll)	3&4 HG	E	Based in London
Peterborough's (RRHG)	1H	E	Based in London
Lumley's (Queen's)	2H	E	
Pitt's	3H	E	At Wigan in November. At Preston.
Windsor's (Wood's)	4H	E	
Joyceln's (Langston's)	1Irish H	I	
Davenport's (Cadogan's)	2Irish H	E	
Blackwell's (1 st Carabiniers)	3Irish H	E	
De Sibourg's	4Irish H	E	Schomberg's Black Horse
Killigrew's Drgns	1d	E	(Raby's? or St Pierre's)
Portmore's Drgns (Scots Greys)	2d	E	Based in Glasgow. Fought at Sherrifmuir.
Carpenter's Drgns	3d	E	Based in York. Fought at Sherrifmuir.
Evan's Drgns	4d	E or I	Brought from Ireland. Fought at Sherrifmuir.
Ross' Drgns (Langston's)	5d	E	Brought from Ireland?
Stair's Drgns (Inniskillings)	6d	I	Based at Newcastle. Ordered to Stirling early on. At Sherrifmuir.
Honeywood's Drgns (Lothian)	7d	E	Scottish garrison unit but based at York during '15. At Preston.
Pepper's Black Dragoons (Killigrew's)	8d	E	Suppressed riots at Oxford.
Wynne's Drgns	9d	E	At Manchester in November. Fought at Preston.
Gore's Drgns (Cobham's)	10d	E	At Newcastle in October. Fought at Preston.
Kerr's Drgns	11d	E	At Manchester in November. Fought at Sherrifmuir.
Bowle's Drgns	12d	E	
Munden's Drgns	13d	E	At Manchester in November. Fought at Preston.
Dormer's Drgns	14d	E	At Manchester in November. Fought at Preston.

The following regiments were also raised in 1715, but were disbanded in 1717. Thus there are few recorded facts about them.

Hill's Drgns	I	Sent to Glasgow early on
Newton's Drgns	E	At Worcester
Molesworth's Drgns	E	At Newcastle in October. Fought at Preston.
Churchill's Drgns	E	At Newcastle in October. Fought at Preston.
Stanhope's Drgns	E	At Manchester in November (probably). Fought at Preston.

Government Foot for the Year 1715

Name	# for ref	Est	Notes
Tatton's Foot Guards	G Gds	E	3 battalions of 1980 men (on paper)
Churchill's Foot Guards	C Gds	E	2 battalions of 1080 men (on paper)
Dunmore's Foot Guards	S Gds	E	Ditto. All guards in London.
Hamilton's (Royal Scots)	1	I/E	2 battalions (line regiments had 780 men on paper)
Kirke's Lambs (Tangier Regiment)	2	E	
Earl of Forfar's (Old Buffs)	3	I	Sent from Ireland. 320 strong at Sherrifmuir.
Seymour's (King's Regiment)	4	E	
Pearce's	5	I	At Gibraltar
T Harrison's	6	E	
O'Hara's?	7	E	At Minorca
Morrison's	8	I	Sent from Ireland. 240 strong at Sherrifmuir.
Hussey's	9	E	At Minorca
Lord North & Grey's	10	E	
Montague's	11	E	Based at Kilsyth. 240 at Sherrifmuir.
Livesay's	12	E	At Minorca
Barrymore's	13	E	At Gibraltar
Clayton's	14	I	Sent from Ireland to Stirling. 240 at Sherrifmuir.
Harrison's	15	E	
Godfray's (Irvine)	16	E	Remained semi-besieged at Ft William throughout.
Wightman	17	I	From Ireland to Stirling. 250 at Sherrifmuir
Sterne's	18	E	
Grove's	19	E	
Kerr's (Egerton's?)	20	I	At Gibraltar
Orrery's (Boyle's?)	21	E	Sent to Stirling from north of England. 320 at Sherrifmuir.
R Handasyde's	22	E	
Sabine's	23	E	
Primrose's	24	E	
Newson's	25	E	At Gibraltar/some accounts list at Ft William!
Preston's	26	E	At Manchester in November. 400 at Preston.
Whetham's	27	I	
Windsor's	28	E	
Charlemont's	29	E	Sent from Ireland (to Edinburgh?) 250 at Sherrifmuir.
Wills' Marines	30	E	Wound up at Aberdeen after the Rising
Goring's Marines	31	I	

Name	# for ref	Est	Notes
Borr's Marines	32	I	
Wade's	33	I	
Shannon's	34	I	Ireland to Glasgow. 340 at Sherrifmuir.
Gorge's	35	E	
Egerton's	36	E	250 men at Sherrifmuir
Meredith's	37	E	
Alexander's	38	E	In Jamaica (still there in 1745)
Sankey	39	I	
Hotham		E	Raised July 1715. Newcastle in October. disb. 1717.
Grant		E	Clan Rgt disbanded 1714 or 1718: depends on source

Further Notes: Egerton's is sometimes listed as the 20th; in those sources the 20th Newton's was disbanded 1714 and the 20th Egerton's replaced it. Egerton's is also sometimes listed as Alnut's, thus the latter is another candidate for either the 36th Egerton's or the 20th Egerton's. Shannon's is sometimes switched with Newson's (not to be confused with Newton's). Kerr's Regiment is listed either the 20th or the 29th. Remember that regimental numbers were not in general use and that regiments of a more modern period might claim ancestry from two or more earlier units. As for the unlisted location of some of the above units, there were 3 battalions of foot and a detachment of horse holding Bristol, and apart from a raid by Pepper's and another regiment of Dragoons, a battalion of foot was quartered in Oxford. A battalion of foot was also left garrisoning Berwick, though this may have been Hotham's (the game OB assumes the latter). There were also forces at Bath. London is a prime candidate for quartering the bulk of the Army.

Companies of Invalids

4 at Portsmouth	1? at Tower
6 at Chelsea	1 at Tynemouth Castle
1? at Hampton Court	1 at Dumbarton
1 at Upnor Castle	1 at Stirling
1 at Chester	1 at Blackness Fort
1 at Edinburgh	1-2 "in the Highlands"
1 in Bermuda	4 at Annapolis
1 in Newfoundland	1 at Placentia
2 in Jamaica	1+? at New York

Militia (all are historical units)

Name	Notes
1 st Glasgow	Offered to the Government as a patriotic gesture
2 nd Glasgow	During the battle of Sherrifmuir these units were
3 rd Glasgow	Guarding Stirling and the passages over the Forth.
Stirling County Militia	In total they numbered some 1000 men (there were lots of desertions)
Edinburgh Associate Volunteers	Trained bands 600 plus 200 local garrison volunteers
Ayrshire/Paisley Vol	4 coys from Ayr. Brought some artillery with them.
Gentlemen Vol Horse	60 men. Fought at Sherrifmuir

As for the Border region, the Whigs in the southwest marshalled several thousand men (reputedly), as did the lord lieutenants of Cumberland and Lancashire. By the second week of October, Newcastle had 1200 militia. These forces were completely untrained and unreliable except as a deterrent to a timid enemy leadership. In the south no doubt the lords lieutenants summoned the militia to do police work.

Whig Clans (all historical)

Name	Potential	Recorded	Notes
Argyle (Campbell)	4000 men		Trained as Militia; includes the Breadalbane Campbells & Clunes
Campbell of Clunes		200 men	
Sutherland & Strathnaver	1000 men	900 men	In the far north.
Frasers	800 men	800 men	Lord Lovat recalled those serving with Mar prior to Sherrifmuir
Grant	800 men	500 men	In the far north
Ross & Munro	700 men	300 Munro	
		180 Ross	In the far north
McKay		200 men?	Could be added into Ross & Munro
Forbes & Rose of Kilavrock	500 men	120 men	Strathspey region (potential sizes 300/200 respectively).

Potential Units: from a Government strength estimate made prior to the Rising; this list also included the clans and some Jacobite families as well, but the latter are listed under their own sections. Rather than having a number of generic "Scottish County Militia" units in the game, it was decided to utilise this list and give the Whig Militia some character. Although called out by the Lord Lieutenants in a similar manner to English militia units, the available manpower was likely distributed as shown, and it is possible that a more "feudal" arrangement was still used with the men serving under their own lord or his representative.

Name	Potential Muster	Name	Potential Muster
Earl of Lauderdale	300	Earl of Cassilis	300
Countess of Dumfries	200	Earl of Eglington	300
Earl of Weems	300	Earl Glencairn	300
Earl Kilmarnock	300	Earl of Martoun	300
Duke of Douglas	500	Earl of Rothes	500
Duke of Hamilton	1000	Duke of Roxburgh	500
Duke of Buccleugh	1000	Marquis of Annandale	500

Dutch Treaty Troops

The following units, totalling 6000 men (some reports say 8000) arrived at Leith docks beginning around the end of December (their receipt was authorised on October 18th). Of the four Swiss battalions in Dutch pay, Smith's (Shmidt's) and Sturler's are known to be such; Maye's regiment is placed as one by educated guesswork. There is a slight chance that Smith's is actually an English regiment, of which the Dutch had a small number. On paper, Dutch units of the period had a strength of 12 companies of 50 men. In practice 700 men was the norm when starting a campaign.

Dragonder Regiment van de Duyn (dismounted)	Welderens Regiment of Foot	Regiment van Zoutland
Switzer Regiment van Chambrier	Regiment van Rantzouw	Regiment van Palandt
Switzer Regiment van Schmidt de Grüneck	Regiment van Cromström	
1 st & 2 nd Bn Switzer Regiment May van Huningen		
1 st & 2 nd Bn Switzer Regiment Vincent Stürler		

Artillery

Very little is recorded about the artillery. At this time there was no permanent train – the Royal Artillery was instituted by a warrant issued in November of 1715, in direct response to the Rising, but was not embodied until 1716 and not fully organised until the 1720s. The odd gun was used at Preston, and there is mention of battalion guns at Sherrifmuir, but substantial firepower was not assembled until after Mar's army had been broken and left Perth. For the record the Government assembled the following:

12 large siege and 6 field guns at Edinburgh
 10 cannon and 2 howitzers at Berwick
 A third train in transit from England by sea.

The Jacobites

As in the '45, the Jacobite army was made up of the clansmen and tenantry of the Jacobite lords. No foreign troops served with them in the '15, as the Duc d'Orleans had agreed with the English Ambassador, Lord Stair, not to interfere – and indeed attempted to prevent the Pretender from leaving the Continent. Potential strengths are based on the Government estimate used for the Whig Scots, mentioned above, plus a list of well-affected and disaffected clans made in 1716. Sources are not as full for the '15 as for the '45, so some minor clans, like the MacKinnons, who may have teamed up with their neighbours, are not always mentioned in the texts. A few units have been added to the game's mix to account for a greater turn out than was actually achieved; these ones are listed as "disaffected". The Jacobites had almost no artillery beyond a couple of naval guns used at Preston and a few small pieces (again probably naval in origin) that were abandoned in the north (they were buried by Huntly's men to forestall any hotheads from launching a second attack on Inverness). The failure to take Edinburgh is the primary reason for the lack of artillery, as it was the main magazine for the Scottish Garrison.

Jacobite Clans (potential strengths are either taken from the estimate quoted above or from the list of clans made in 1716)

Name	Potential	Recorded	Notes
Atholl men	2000	1200 in 5 bns	Most did not see Sherrifmuir, but 2 Bns were captured at Preston (Nairn & C. Murray). The Duke Of Atholl, nominally neutral, then recalled the rest, but a battalion of 300 (Lord George Murray's) Fought at Sherrifmuir, with 200 (by elimination Viscount Stormont's) guarded Perth
Breadalbane men	1000	400 in 2 bns	Fought at Sherrifmuir; Lord Breadalbane was at odds with his clan chief – Argyle
MacPherson	220	200	
MacGregor	300	300	The MacPhersons and MacGregors had 500 at Sherrifmuir but the latter stood aside
Seaforth	3000	1500	Fought in the north
MacD of Sleat	1000	700	At Sherrifmuir
MacCrimmon			Potential strength added under MacLeod totals
MacKinnon			Disaffected but not separately recorded
MacRae			Potential strength added under MacKenzie totals
Chisholm		150	Total of 500 for these three clans combined Fought in the north.
Grant		?	Of Glenmorriston. Grouped with the Glengarries – would have only been a few men
MacD of Glengarry	800	460	At Sherrifmuir
MacD of Moidart	800		Disaffected but did not participate
MacD of Keppoch	220	220	"Came out" but did not participate in any events – fended off by the Frasers.
MacD of Clanranald		565	At Sherrifmuir. Clanranald might be under Moidart's resources, as he is not separately on the "disaffected list"
MacD of Glencoe		300	At Sherrifmuir
Cameron	800	300	Of Lochiel. At Sherrifmuir
MacLean	350	350	At Sherrifmuir
MacLeod (all)	1000		Disaffected but did not participate
Gordon	1000	1000	Huntly had 800 in 2 Bns (horse attached); Glenbucket had 200. Huntly's at Sherrifmuir.
Stewarts of Appin	400	260	At Sherrifmuir
Robertson	800	200	Of Struan. At Sherrifmuir
Farquarson & MacIntosh	800	700	Combined totals under Old Borlum. Fought at Preston – some deserted en route.
McEwan from Skye		150	Disaffected but did not participate
Stuart of Invernitye		250	Away collecting taxes during battle of Sherrifmuir
MacDougall of Lorn		35	At Sherrifmuir
McNeil of Barra			Listed as disaffected, no strengths
Lachlan MacLachan			This unit is not listed but is included to augment Jacobite strength
Menzies of Shian			This unit is not listed but is included to augment Jacobite strength
Fraser	800	800	Also listed under Whig Clans. Joined Mar while chief (later Lord Lovat) was away and recalled upon his return. 400 deserted on march to Sherrifmuir. None fought.

Lowland Jacobite Horse & Foot

(mainly from Perthshire, Fife, Angus, and the Northeast)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Recorded</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Huntly Horse	250 in 2 sqn	May have been organised in 2 squadrons of 200
Marischal Horse	180 in 2 sqn	The game adds a foot Bn as estimated 500 men at arms available.
Linlithgow's Stirlingshire Horse	77 in 1 sqn	The game adds a foot Bn as estimated 300 men at arms available.
Lord Rollo's Perthshire Horse	70 in 1 sqn	
Southesk's Angus Horse	100 in 1 sqn	
Sinclair's Fifeshire Horse	90 in 1 sqn	
Seaforth's Scrubbies	40 in 1 sqn	Mounted on Highland ponies
1 st Bn Perth's Drummonds	250	Inverei's Drummonds. At Sherrifmuir
2 nd Bn Perth's Drummonds	250	Logie of Glen Almond. 200 with Old Borlum turned back. At Sherrifmuir.
Strathallen's Drummonds	200	With Old Borlum
Strathmore's Drummonds	250	With Old Borlum but turned back. Off collecting taxes during Sherrifmuir.
Earl of Panmure's Battalion	420	At Sherrifmuir. Estimated potential: 500.
Ogilvie	350	At Perth during battle of Sherrifmuir
1 st Bn Earl of Mar's	500	With Old Borlum
2 nd Bn Earl of Mar's		Added to counter mix increase Jacobite potential. Estimated 1000-1200.

The Border Jacobites

<u>Scottish Units</u>	<u>English Units</u>
Kenmuir's 1 st Scottish Troop of Horse	Lord Derwentwater's 1 st English Troop of Horse
Colonel Hay's 2 nd Merse Troop of Horse	Widderington's 2 nd English Troop of Horse
Wintoun's 3 rd Scottish Troop of Horse	Hunter's 3 rd English Troop of Horse
Carnwath's 4 th Scottish Troop of Horse	Douglas' 4 th English Troop of Horse
Lockhart's 5 th Scottish Troop of Horse	Wogan's 5 th English Troop of Horse

Plus several hundred foot militia, most of whom were turned away for lack of arms and mounts. As with the Whig Scots Militia, the game has assigned this manpower to units bearing the names of the lords listed in the Government's strength estimate mentioned above (this estimate is assumed to include the horse troops actually formed).

<u>Name</u>	<u>Potential Muster</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Potential Muster</u>
Earl of Wigtown	300	Earl of Home	500
Earl of Carnwath	300	Earl of Wintoun	300
Viscount Kenmuir	300	Earl of Nithsdale	300
Earl of Errol	500		

Artillery

Very little mention is made of the Jacobite artillery, except in passing. What they had was very limited and appears in most cases to have been scrounged locally as needed and then abandoned. Most prevalent were probably a few captured battalion guns and the sort of old cannon that might have been lying around local armouries since James V's day. Some may have been taken off captured or friendly shipping. Its most effective use may have been when Old Borlum fortified his positions east of Edinburgh and scared the Government into behaving far too cautiously, thus allowing him to escape south.

Tactics

As in the '45, the Highlanders' method of fighting was to advance, fire a volley, throw themselves on the ground to avoid the return fire, then charge. Fighting was hand-to-hand with "sword and targe", or musket butt and club. Those with pistols would discharge them, then throw them at their opponent. Ordinarily they cast off their plaids and fought in their shirts – this meant that if they lost the battle they also lost most of their clothing. The Lowland regiments varied their methods depending on their state of training, equipment, and leadership. Some fought in line while others fought more in the Highland manner. Much of the Jacobite Left at Sherrifmuir was comprised of Lowlanders (although the sources often label them Highlanders) and although discomfited by the Government Dragoons, it fought hard, conducting a tenacious fighting withdrawal until exhausted.

On the Government side, the Foot fought in three rank line, with the recent innovation of a ring bayonet that permitted firing with bayonets fixed (plug bayonets at Killiecrankie in 1689 had proved worse than useless). Drills did not change in any marked degree throughout this period. While reasonably flexible in their manoeuvres, the battalions were slow to react when faced with a sudden onset. At Preston, the foot proved skilful at assaulting built-up areas (the failure of the initial assault was due to overconfidence on the part of the commanders), and this battle provides a glimpse of 18th Century FIBUA – it would appear that not much has changed since then beyond the weaponry (*in place of a robotic scouting device, use a Welshman*).

In contrast to the '45, the cavalry, at least on the loyalist side, proved very effective against unsupported infantry. The Government Horse under Marlborough had been trained to charge in line with the sword and not to use pistol or musket, and this included the Dragoon arm, though they could deploy dismounted if needed. Despite the predominance of recruits in the ranks, they performed well at Preston and on the Right at Sherrifmuir. The success here, in which General Hawley participated, led to overconfidence when engaging the Highlanders during the '45: the rout of the Government Left was blamed on its commander rather than on the failure of the Horse to withstand the Highland Charge.

The quality of the Jacobite Horse was generally considered to be poor to average, although they had a fair quantity, and some good units made up of the gentlemen of Fifeshire and Angus. A weakness of the Jacobite Horse may have been the varying skill of its members, some of whom had fought under with the Royal Army and others who had been in foreign service and learnt different methods. Another weakness may have been that they fought more as individuals than as formed troops, charging in "clumps" rather than in line – but this is not clear.

The Leadership

The Jacobites

*Were our glasses but turn'd to swords,
Or our actions half as great as our words;
Were our enemies turn'd into quarts,
How nobly we should play our parts!*

John Erskine, 6th (or 11th) Earl of Mar (1675-1732). Joined Parliament in 1696 and was of the “King’s Party” – that is, a supporter of William III – and in general remained a member of the apolitical Court Party despite accusations of Jacobitism. Thus he served the Administration and was often allied with the Tory “PM” Robert Harley; even on occasion with the nominally Whig Duke of Argyle.

Made Privy Councillor in 1698, Joint Secretary of State in 1705, and Third Secretary of State for Scotland in 1713 (Argyle had asked for the post only to be told it was frozen – it was then handed to Mar). Made a Knight of the Thistle in 1706 and appointed as one of the Commissioners for negotiating the Union, a goal that he supported. Was noted for his persuasive manner of speaking (in the company of women, as well as in council) and is credited with the eventual passing of the act in the face of heavy opposition. Did not inspire loyalty in those close to him – many of his own tenants refused to join the Rising!

He is described as a scholarly man who loved to have his affairs well ordered, but he was no soldier, and had a strong tendency to procrastinate when faced with making an important decision. He was also seen as arrogant, wilful, and overbearing to those of a lower station.

Dismissed by George I in 1714, though he had sent in a letter offering his services and pledging the signatures of a number of prominent Highlanders. George was a stubborn and vindictive man; he had one fixed goal for his new administration: No Tories. From this point Mar threw in his lot with the Jacobites, although he was not a “true believer”. They had been a useful group of backbench votes to have under his wing – he had accumulated them when their own leader the Duke of Hamilton lost his seat in the House of Lords and was then killed in a duel.

Skilled at dissimulation, Mar’s true views were so cloudy it was said he did not know them himself, hence his nickname: Bobbing John.

[He was reputedly hunchbacked, with a nervous affliction that may have been the original reason for his nickname.]

Mar’s actions during the Rising determined its outcome. Stung by George’s boorish snub, he realised his career was finished. Despite widespread discontent in the land, he raised the Standard at an inopportune time, without consulting the Pretender, who had merely asked him, as patron of the Scottish Jacobites, to keep the faithful in readiness. He forged a commission from James to ensure that he would remain in command of the Rising (although James had little choice in leaders, given his refusal to employ Catholics in the top slots, and eventually sent a real commission).

Mar dithered about in Perth, bogged down in the administrative detail that he loved, even after achieving overwhelming odds against Argyle. His orders were so vague that neither General Gordon nor Old Borlum knew quite what was expected of them and in consequence, their independent activities had little impact. Only a near unanimous vote of his council of war forced him to attack the Government Army at Sherrifmuir, and there, when the day had been won, he refused to order a second assault to wipe out the remaining Government troops.

After Sherrifmuir, he was already planning to give up and tried to prevent James from landing, but was forced to see the farce through to its conclusion. He left with James for France, after giving out that they were merely moving by sea to Aberdeen –

Mar and some of the other leaders were going in fear of their lives, for the Highlanders would have murdered them if they had known they planned to flee. He remained with James in exile, but fell out of favour in 1724.

Mar’s strength lay in organisation, administration, and the play of high politics. There are some who suggest that he really had no clue what he was doing and made it up as he went along, allowing his subordinates to manage their own people. He certainly had difficulty collecting taxes. Even so, to have put and kept up to 12,000 men into the field for several months – especially a group of ill-disciplined Highlanders led by boastful and refractory chieftains – was a major achievement. He just needed a more dynamic leader, such as *Maréchal* Berwick, to take control of what he had created.

[It is also highly likely that he hoped to do a deal with the opposition, in which case it would have been folly to begin spilling blood too soon.]

Lieutenant-General George Hamilton (no dates). Mar’s deputy and personal military advisor. With Mar from the beginning, when they left London after Mar’s snubbing by George I. Commanded the left wing of the Jacobite Army at Sherrifmuir. Reputedly misinformed that the Jacobite right had given way (well, it did disappear from view) and for this reason was supposed to have not pressed home the assault on the left. In any case, his performance put him in disgrace with the army and Mar soon sent him to France to “speed up the negotiations for reinforcements and supplies”, but actually to be out of harm’s way. It is possible that his calls to renew the contest were proving embarrassing to those who were hoping to surrender. According to Keith’s memoirs, Hamilton was unused to leading Highlanders; his command experience in the Low Countries had been with the rather stodgy, unemotional Dutch troops.

Alexander Gordon, 5th Marquis of Huntly (1678?-1728). Only son of the Duke of Gordon. His parents, and especially his mother, were Roman Catholics and ardent Jacobites. His wife, Henrietta Mordaunt, was the daughter of the powerful Earl of Peterborough and a strong Whig. This situation inclined him to waver. From a philosophical standpoint he had no interest in the struggle between Whig and Jacobite. If he did not join the Rising, all his friends and blood relations would gang up on him. If he did participate, his wife’s family would do the same, plus he might lose his life and forfeit his estates. To top it off, he was the natural leader for most of the clans and prominent families in the northeast, but was forced to play second fiddle to Mar (on the strength of the forged commission), and because it was a Jacobite mantra that only Protestants could command Jacobite armies. He protested his loyalty to the current régime, but was reported to be raising men and training horses all summer prior to the Rising. Even so, he managed to give the impression that the Jacobites had pretty much kidnapped him into the affair.

Was the only one to dissent on giving battle at the council of war before Sherrifmuir. Reputedly influenced the withdrawal of the Jacobite left, for which he was personally blamed. After the battle began treating secretly with Argyle, but the latter did not have permission to accept surrenders at that time. Later retired to his estates as the Jacobites retreated. Made half-hearted plans to retake Inverness, but at a meeting with General Gordon early in 1716 persuaded the remaining Jacobites that he had quit. Submitted to the Government and was imprisoned for a short time. Sought and obtained a pardon. Succeeded as 2nd Duke of Gordon, 1716 and remained loyal to the Government.

Major-General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (1669-1751). Was in his fifties at this time. Had seen service in the French Army in the late 1600’s, including the siege of Namur in 1690. Later rose to high rank in the Russian Army. A large, powerful man, it was said that Peter the Great promoted him after he thrashed six Russians at a wedding banquet after they had mocked Scotland! Fought in the Great Northern War.

Captured by the Swedes in 1700 and held prisoner until 1706. In 1711 his father died, so he returned to Scotland. Present at the early meetings with Mar, he was appointed to raise an army from the Western Clans and make trouble for the Whigs, either by taking Inverness or perhaps Glasgow. Ultimately, did neither but marched east to join Mar at Perth at the latter's request. Commanded the Foot at Sherrifmuir (technically speaking he commanded the right wing under Mar's eye). When James Stuart and Mar left for France, was appointed C-in-C. Kept the disillusioned army under control until their final dispersal at Ruthven. Afterward, while the Government forces attempted to scour the glens for rebels, joined with a number of clan chiefs in preparing to resist, although nothing came of it.

William MacKenzie, 5th Earl of Seaforth (d.1740). Was deep into the Jacobite plotting and raised 4,000 men in the north for James. Fought successfully against the Earl of Sutherland before moving south to join Mar with the last expected reinforcements for the army. His march south led through Grant lands, but Grant of Grant allowed him to pass and even provided sustenance as part of a gentlemen's agreement that neither clan would plunder the other's lands. When the Rising collapsed, withdrew north to own lands and sent in his submission, persuading Huntly to do the same. However, made the foolish move of rearming as Government forces approached to pacify the area. Forfeited his estates and fled the country.

James Drummond, 5th Marquis of Drummond (1673?-1720). Imprisoned as a Jacobite in 1707. Planned the capture of Edinburgh Castle and led the "outer party" in that affair. Sent his own men with Old Borlum MacIntosh across the Forth, but remained himself with Mar and commanded the Jacobite Horse at Sherrifmuir. Fled the country with James Stuart and was attainted. Died in Paris.

Brigadier William "Old Borlum" MacIntosh (1662-1743). Described as "a tall raw boned man, about 60 Years of age, fair Complexioned, Beetle-browed, Grey Eyed, speaks broad Scotch" and "a brute beast who was as obstinate as a mule and as savage as a tiger". He was also cultured and well educated for his time (even writing a treatise on farming). Brought out a large proportion of Clan Chattan. Involved in the capture of Inverness. Led an independent column across the Firth of Forth, threatened Edinburgh, and then joined up with the English Jacobite forces. Persuaded most of his men to march into England. Fought at Preston and surrendered. Later managed a daring mass breakout from Newgate Prison, fled to the Highlands with the price of £1,000 on his head and remained there in hiding. Became a public hero in England as well as Scotland. Came out again in the '19 and fought with the Spanish at Glenshiel. Known for his cunning and daring, he became a bogeyman to the Whig forces. Eventually captured in Ross-shire in 1727 and confined to Edinburgh Castle for the rest of his life.

George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal (1687 or 1693? -1778). Awarded the Order of the Garter by the Pretender, and the Order of the Black Eagle by Frederick the Great. Served under Marlborough. Made Captain of the Guards by Queen Anne. On Anne's death, offered to proclaim James as King at the head of his men but the London Jacobites were not ready to act. Resigned his commission and retired to Scotland. Brought in the last large body of local troops to the Jacobite Army. Fought at Sherrifmuir, where his horse got stuck in the center of the infantry line instead of on the right flank. High in the Jacobite councils, his castle, Fetteresso, was used as lodging by James Stuart. Refused to accompany the Chevalier to France, which would have meant deserting his men, and commanded the rearguard on the retreat north. Fled to France after some months of wandering about with a price on his head. Led the Spanish expedition to the Highlands in the '19 and spent much time in Spain. Did not participate in the '45 and in fact argued against the French expedition of 1744 which was wrecked in port. Invited to Berlin by his brother and took service under Frederick the Great. Named Prussian Ambassador to Paris,

1751, and later to Madrid. Governor of Neufchatel. Pardoned by George II in 1759. Recalled to Prussia 1764. Died of a fever, 1778.

James Francis Edward Keith (1696-1758). Representative "brigadier". Brother of the Earl Marischal. 17 years old at the time of Queen Anne's death. Escaped to France after the Rising. Took part in the '19. Later entered Russian service. Joined the Prussian Army. Made a Field Marshal by Frederick the Great in 1746. Killed at Hochkirch, 1758. See the bibliography for his memoirs.

Colonel John Hay of Cromlix (no dates). Mar's Master of Horse. Tasked with various operations in Fifeshire and with the defence of the Jacobite camp at Perth during the battle of Sherrifmuir.

Allan MacDonald of Clanranald (d.1715). Representative clan chief. One of the most admired and beloved of the Highland chieftains. Exceedingly loyal to the Jacobite cause. Previously fought at Killiecrankie (1689) and spent some years in France as an exile. Killed at Sherrifmuir during the initial advance (was the only chief to ride into battle on a horse). His death shook the clans, but the chief of Glengarry rallied them with the cry of "revenge!" and their charge shattered the entire left wing of the Government army.

Alexander MacDonell the Black (no dates). Bonnie Dundee's standard bearer at Killiecrankie in 1689. Representative clan chief. Universally respected warrior. Brought the Glengarries to General Gordon's rendezvous at the Braes of Glenorchy. At the siege of Inverary. Fought at Sherrifmuir.

Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat (d.1718). Representative clan chief. Fought beside Seaforth in the north and joined Mar with the rest of the northern Jacobite army prior to Sherrifmuir.

Campbell of Glendaruel (no dates). Representative clan chief. Was representative for the Earl of Breadalbane at some of the councils of war, and led the Breadalbane Campbells as their nominal colonel. Breadalbane himself (now 80 years old), was with Mar. Under King William, Glendaruel had been the man responsible for planning the Glencoe massacre, and had pocketed a large sum of money given him for the pacification of the Highlands. He had the reputation of being "as cunning as a Fox, wise as a Serpent, and slippery as an Eel!"

"General" Thomas Forster (1675?-1738). MP for Northumberland 1708-14. Only "came out" because the Government was trying to arrest him as a precautionary measure (he was a noted Tory and known to be in financial difficulties). Chosen as leader because of his Anglican faith (just as Mar was an Episcopalian). Styled himself "general" from the start and began to put on airs when Mar confirmed his rank. Had no military experience and no standing in his community, despite being an MP. Described as "thirty-six, of middle stature, inclining to be fat, with stooping shoulders, a fair complexion, a wide mouth, long nose, grey eyes and speaking 'the northern dialect'". Was supposed to share the command with Kenmuir, alternating depending on whether they were in England or Scotland, but never did. Notorious for dithering and avoiding decisive action, yet unwilling to let others have their head. Fearful of engaging the enemy even when holding the advantage in numbers and position. At Preston, left the disposition of his army to his subordinates, especially Kenmuir and Borlum, while he retired to his bed. Surrendered rather than trying to cut his way out, and without consulting his council of war – in fact, he did not surrender the army, but merely his own person. Shot at by a Highland officer who was fed up with his deceptions and cowardice. Imprisoned, but escaped from Newgate with outside aid and fled to France.

James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater (1689-1716). Brought up at the Jacobite Court as James' companion (he was the son of a bastard daughter of James II), returned to England 1710. Reluctant to join the rebellion, but given little choice by

the Government. Was twenty-six, extremely rich, and happily married with a new home and a second child in the offing. A diffident man, he chose to serve under Forster without complaint, but was not forceful enough to direct the course of events. At Preston, was vigorous in the defence, even working alongside the men to erect barricades. Surrendered and was imprisoned. Suffered impeachment and was the first to be executed, though he expected a pardon. (He stated on the scaffold that if he had known his fate, he would have bought a new suit of clothes). His death turned public opinion in favour of the Jacobites.

William Gordon, 6th Viscount Kenmuir (d.1716). A powerful Jacobite laird from Kirkcubrightshire. As with the other Border Jacobites, was forced “out” by the Government’s warrant for his arrest, and by his wife, who was an ardent Jacobite. Appointed by Mar to the command of the South of Scotland, which after meeting up with Forster meant a shared command with the latter. Reported to be “a total stranger to all military matters and singularly ill-fitted to command troops”, though level-headed and well-liked in general. Agreed with Borlume that an effort should be made to take Dumfries and establish a base, but was reluctant to make the commitment and shied from any hint of battle. After surrendering, was imprisoned, impeached, and beheaded along with Derwentwater. He carried it off well, saying coolly that he “had come to the block to die and not to make speeches”.

James FitzJames Duke of Berwick (1670-1734). Natural son of James II and Arabella Churchill and thus a brother of the Old Pretender and a nephew of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. During his James II’s reign, was created Duke of Berwick, Earl of Tinmouth, Baron of Bosworth, Knight of the Garter, Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, Ranger of the New Forest, Governor of Portsmouth, successively Colonel of the Infantry and Cavalry Regiments, and Captain of the 3rd Troop of Life-Guards. Commissioned by Leopold I of Austria. Major-General in his service, Colonel Commandant “ad interim” of the Imperial Regiment of Cuirassiers. Captain of a Troop of Irish Horse-Guards, Colonel of the Irish Infantry Regiment of Berwick, *Maréchal de France*, Duke of FitzJames, Member of the Council of Regency, Governor of the Limousin and Strasbourg, Chevalier of the Order of the Holy Ghost (France) and the Order of the King (France). Captain-General of Spain, Duke of Liria and Xerica, Grandee of the First Class (Spain), and Knight of the Golden Fleece (Spain).

An eminent soldier, he fought against and defeated the English at Almanza, defended France against Prince Eugene in 1709-10, and supported an alliance between France and England after 1713. In every way possible, he tried to advance the cause of the Stuarts at Louis XIV’s Court. Sought for by the Jacobites but forbidden to serve them by Louis XIV (and then by the Regent Orléans after Louis’ death). Also, since the recent peace was partly his doing and had required a great deal of effort to bring about, he would have been adverse to a military venture that might wreck it. Thus he chose not to aid his half brother in Mar’s ill-timed Rising, a choice which James took many years to forgive (their estrangement was further increased when James dismissed Viscount Bolingbroke – Berwick was unaware that he was a traitor and continued to champion him).

John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl (1660-1724). John, Duke of Atholl, Marquess of Tullibardine, Earl of Strathgairn & Strathardle, Viscount Balquidder, Glenalmond & Glenlyon, Lord Murray Balvenie & Gask, Knight of the Thistle and 23rd Lord of the Privy Seal of Scotland, was one of the most powerful men in Scotland, not only for the number of tenants and acreage under his sway, but also in the complexity of his family connections. His lands in Atholl were held as a semi-independent kingdom, with its own private army, estimated at 6,000 men in an emergency. He was an old Tory/Court Party man who had supported William of Orange against James II (even though most of his clan went with Bonnie Dundee), but through a plot by the Marquess of Queensberry and Simon

Fraser had been falsely accused of plotting with the Jacobites. Although acquitted, the taint led to his dismissal by George. Nevertheless he remained loyal to the Government, even though its Whig character meant he could hope for no reward. When offered the command of the Rising he used James’ absence as an excuse to remain neutral, saying that without an offer in person he was not interested.

Four of his six sons – Lord Charles, Lord George, Tullibardine, and Lord William (Nairne) – under the influence of their Catholic mother, joined the rebellion against his wishes. After losing two battalions of his people at Preston he ordered the remainder home. His sons went into exile, but the Duke retained his lands. One of the sons who remained with him (James) became the 2nd Duke and remained loyal to the Government in 1745, though again most of the clan joined the Rising. Lord Nairne was created a Jacobite Duke in the ’45. Lord George of course participated in the ’45 as Charles’ lieutenant and was present in the Glenshiel campaign of 1719. Tullibardine commanded in the ’19 and accompanied Charlie in an advisory role.

James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766). Also known as the “Old Pretender” and “*le Chevalier de St George*”. Only son of James II and Mary of Modena (James II was almost 55 when his son was born). Raised at the court of Saint Germain outside Paris, amongst a group of impecunious exiles who passed the time fomenting plots and intriguing against one another. His father died when he was 13; thus he became the focus of fanatical devotion at an early age. Like his parents, James was solidly Catholic, but unlike them, he was tolerant of the religions of others. The one thing he would not do, however, was compromise his own beliefs; this meant that the throne of Britain was forever barred to him – unless his “subjects” awarded it to him in an extralegal manner (either by revolution or by choosing to ignore their own laws).

Louis XIV and James II were close friends, and on James’ deathbed in 1701, Louis promised to recognise his son as King of England. This was done, but the gesture was performed at a bad time and led to much outrage in England, whereas a little patience might have seen James Stuart receiving a welcome from his nominal subjects. Instead, France became involved in the disastrous War of the Spanish Succession and James’ aunt, Queen Anne, took the throne of England and Scotland.

James participated in the attempted invasion of Scotland in 1708, but as a passenger – he was never allowed to set foot in Scotland. Received the title of “*le Chevalier*” after charging twelve times with the *Maison du Roi* at Malplaquet; he added the “*de St. George*” during the aborted 1708 Rising. After the peace of 1713 he was expelled from Paris against Louis XIV’s will, as a specific condition of the Treaty of Utrecht (a caveat imposed by the Whigs as their price for supporting what was essentially a Tory enterprise), and retired to Lorraine.

Upon learning of the Rising of 1715, which he and his Court had been trying to coordinate but did not expect so soon, he was forced to rush across France in peril of his life and some how get a passage across to Scotland. After many adventures, including dodging assassins sent by Lord Stair (the British Ambassador to France), he was successful, but promptly came down with an ague on arrival in Scotland. The events of the Rising dispirited him as much as his gloomy demeanour dispirited his followers. Was persuaded by Mar to return to France, along with several of the more prominent leaders. After the Rising, was not welcome in Lorraine, so moved to Avignon (owned by the Papacy) and eventually Rome. Visited Spain in 1719 in time to witness the wreck of the Spanish expedition to England. Married Clementina Sobieska (Prince Charles’ mother) the same year. Became a pensioner of the Pope in 1727 and was buried at St Peter’s in Rome.

The Government

*Argyle is my name, and you may think it strange,
To live at a Court, yet never to change:
To faction, or tyranny, equally foe;
The good of the land's the sole motive I know.
The foes of my country and King I have faced;
In city or battle I ne'er was disgraced:
I've done what I could for my country's weal;
Now I'll feast upon bannocks o' barley-meal.*

Argyle is My Name, to the tune "Bannocks of Barley-meal"

John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722). Some recognition needs to be made of Britain's most famous general, even though he did not participate in the Rising directly. Still alive and in possession of his faculties at this time, Marlborough had been forced into exile when he became too powerful at home. More than of the Court Party, he was the keystone of the "Cockpit" – that select group that had included Treasurer Godolphin and Queen Anne herself. The Tories, to whom he naturally inclined, had fixed him in their minds as the great Whig Ogre and the main obstacle to a lasting peace with France – like them, he realised that Whig support was necessary to the prosecution of the war. By a mixture of palace intrigue and public accusations in Parliament they succeeded in alienating him from Queen Anne and in threatening the complete ruin of his career.

[All the same, the personal relations between the Queen, Marlborough's wife, Sarah, and one of his wife's proteges, who supplanted her, played a key role in creating this tumult.]

His only remaining allies, the Whigs (whom he detested but had assisted due to their pro-war stance), were not strong enough to save him. He had retired to Hanover and made himself of service to the future King George, whom he then accompanied to England. Worn out with campaigning and the stresses of high politics, he nevertheless accepted his old offices of Commander in Chief and Secretary of the Board of Ordnance; but his power was only a shadow. He was treated with respect, but not with confidence. In a Whig administration, his Tory background was dangerous; but the remaining Tories rejected him as a Whig. To make matters worse, he had had dealings with the Jacobites, although it appears that the latter were a fairly successful attempt to sow discord between the Jacobite Court and their followers in Britain. According to the Stuart Papers, Marlborough provided a loan to James Stuart in 1714 which in the event would enable him to send material support to his followers in Scotland the next year! "In the event" – that is the point. In 1714 Anne was still alive and the Pretender as far away as ever from restoration.

Marlborough took no direct part in the '15, being passed over for command of the northern expedition by the Duke of Argyle. Apparently the reason for this was mere jealousy of Marlborough's status. Nevertheless it was his hand that guided the overall strategy against the Jacobites, overseeing the movement of men and supplies, giving advice, and sending his trusted subordinate Cadogan to invigorate Argyle.

General John Campbell 2nd Duke of Argyle (1678-1743). Known as Red John of the Battles. Active in promoting and forming the Union, served under Marlborough in Flanders 1706-9, C-in-C Scotland 1712. Leader of one of two Whig factions in Scottish politics – the Argathelians. These favoured the Highlanders while their opponents, the Squadrone, were mostly Lowlanders. Argyle and Islay were known as "the Campbell brothers", as if they were a couple of Gorbals toughs turned ward boss and "legitimate businessman" (with Rob Roy MacGregor-Campbell as their "deniable" torpedo).

A Presbyterian, by nature Argyle favoured the Whig cause, but he was also a champion of Scottish national interests, which gave him entry into many circles, including on occasion Jacobite ones. In fact, he was quick to enlist support the latter in Parliament on questions pertaining to the Union (nearly all

the Scottish Peers and MPs, most of whom were Jacobites or "Court" administrators, united against the English Peers and MPs at the slightest provocation). Despite a strong and not atypical strain of self-interest, by 18th Century standards Argyle was considered a Statesman, as opposed to the usual political hack.

He was sitting in Parliament in London when the rebellion broke out, and was selected by King George to take command in Scotland, passing over the Duke of Marlborough. Despite his distinguished service record, he was not seen as an exceptional soldier and did not feel up to the task of defeating the rebellion; he asked to be relieved several times and bombarded his superiors with letters and notes requesting additional troops.

Seen as "soft" on the rebels by the Administration (albeit on nationalistic grounds), who sent General Cadogan to advise – or supervise – him. He was, however, the most powerful noble in Scotland, in terms of his clan's strength, the territory he controlled, and his political influence in both Edinburgh and among the Highlanders. His own clan was divided, with Breadalbane's men joining the Jacks as part of an internal power struggle for control of Clan Campbell.

In fact, Argyle performed better than even he expected to, bluffing Mar into a stalemate until he had sufficient strength to deal with him, and responding swiftly to emergencies such as Borlum's move on Edinburgh. Although he can be criticised for micromanaging his own sector on the battlefield of Sherrifmuir (and thus failing to counterattack the rampant Jacobite right wing), he prevailed against a much stronger force. His "softness" in dealing with the rebels was very much a perception of an angry and frightened Administration that had been rudely shaken. His foot-dragging has been assessed as a fit of pique in reaction to the Administration's refusal to allow him negotiating rights with the rebels. (Almost everyone involved in this drama – with the exception of Derwentwater and Kenmuir – was apparently perceived as haughty, proud, and overbearingly arrogant, and Argyle was no exception).

In 1717, he was superseded in his offices and lost his pension, partly due to Cadogan's influence at Court (though he was suspected of making further contact with the Jacobites; and this may have become evident through the seizure of the Swedish Ambassador's correspondence in that year – the Swedish Plot). More likely, his prior contacts with them were enough evidence; during the Whig show trials a man could be marked as a rabid King James-worshipping Papist merely for having used the same public toilet as a known Jacobite. His rivals in the Squadrone took a hard line against their own countrymen and were rewarded accordingly. Later, he was restored to favour and promoted to Field Marshal. In 1735 he was made C-in-C of the Army for a year before retiring from active service. Ultimately the Argathelians prevailed when Robert Walpole came to power, as they had a larger measure of popular support and were thus more useful to him.

Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay (1682-1761). Brother of the Duke of Argyle and his right-hand man in all their political battles. Raised Argyllshire for the Government, defended Inverary against an investment by General Gordon, fought at Sherrifmuir, succeeded as 3rd Duke of Argyle in 1743 and was just as successful in dealing with the Jacobites under Bonnie Prince Charlie in 1745. An irritatingly haughty man (his soldiers during the defence of Inverary complained he behaved more like a cabinet minister than a military chief), before the '45 he nonetheless worked successfully with Forbes of Culloden to bring much of Highland society into the political and economic mainstream, thus ensuring only limited support for the Young Pretender.

George MacKay, 3rd Baron Reay (d.1748). Strong supporter of the Government in both the '15 and the '45. In the '15, helped the Earl of Sutherland to defend the far north against the Jacobite Earl of Seaforth, not very successfully at first.

General William Cadogan 1st Earl of Cadogan (1675-1726). Colonel of Cadogan's Horse 1703-12, Major-General 1706, Lieutenant-General (actually Marlborough's Quarter-Master-General) 1709-12, C-in-C Scotland 1714. Of a choleric disposition, contemptuous of those in inferior positions (just like Mar and the rest). Was sent north after Sherrifmuir to spur Argyle into pursuit and to ensure the proper degree of severity. As Argyle preferred negotiation to fighting, they clashed immediately. Had his own private "line" to Whitehall and spent much time and energy blackening Argyle's character. Despite his hard-line stance, his attempts at punishing the rebels after he replaced Argyle did not come to much. Those high-ranking prisoners sent to England were mostly released, while the submission of the Clans was accepted without questioning their loyalty too closely. Disgusted with his posting as C-in-C, he soon left for the south, leaving his deputy, General Sabine, in command.

Major-General Joseph Wightman (no dates). C-in-C Scotland 1712. Initial commander of Government forces arrayed against Mar, until superseded by Argyle. Sent with a flying column to ward off Old Borlum's move on Edinburgh. Commanded the center at Sherrifmuir, where his clever display of regimental colours dissuaded Mar from pressing the attack. Active in attempting to pacify the Highlands after the Rising. In 1719, defeated a combined Jacobite-Spanish force at Glenshiel, near Eilean Donan.

Lieutenant-General Evans (no dates). Commanded the right wing at Sherrifmuir.

Lieutenant-General Thomas Whetham (d.1741). C-in-C Scotland in 1712 and still in office at time of Rising. Commanded the left wing at Sherrifmuir. Suffered personal blame for the poor performance of that wing. Made Colonel-General 1739.

Brigadier-General Archibald Douglas, 2nd Earl of Forfar (1692-1715). A staunch Whig. Mortally wounded at Sherrifmuir.

Brigadier-General Jasper Clayton (d.1743). Fought at Sherrifmuir, served in West Highlands 1716-19, killed at Dettingen, 1743.

Brigadier-General Alexander Grant, Laird of Grant (1679-1720). Lord Lieutenant of Banffshire and Inverness. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Edinburgh Castle in the temporary absence of General Preston (who was still Governor in 1745!). His clan had been enrolled in the Regular Army and made a good showing, but the regiment was disbanded in 1714 (or 1718). Fought at Sherrifmuir.

John Sutherland, 15th Earl of Sutherland (1660-1733). Recently appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ross and Cromarty, Moray, Nairn, Caithness, and Sutherland. Had been a Privy Councillor to both William III and Queen Anne. One of the Commissioners for the Union. Unusually for a Highlander, supported the Squadrone Whigs against Argyle and his Argathelians. The Squadrone were generally hardliners against the Jacks. Commanded the Whig forces in the far north. "A very honest man, a great asserter of the liberties of the people, hath a good rough sense, is open and free, a great lover of his bottle and his friend; brave in his person, which he hath shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it. He is a fat, fair complexioned man".

Although overwhelmed by Seaforth's numbers at first, he was able to regain the initiative once the Jacobites' main strength had departed south. Thwarted by the Grants who retook Inverness for the Government and stole his glory. Promoted to Lieutenant-General as a sop to his pride. Even before the Rising petered out, he, Colonel William Grant, and Lord Lovat Fraser began a competition in memoirs. Was instrumental in persuading Seaforth and Huntly to surrender, partly by a show of force and partly by negotiation.

Lieutenant-General George (Baron) Carpenter (1657-1732). Well known for his part in the Spanish battles of Almanza and Almenara, his arrival at Newcastle troubled the Border Jacobites. He pursued them across the length of the Border and finished them off at Preston. Made C-in-C Scotland in 1719.

Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Wills (1666-1741). Commanded the Government forces in Cheshire. Marched north to contain Forster's army and besieged it at Preston. Served with Carpenter under the Earl of Peterborough in Spain. The two were personal enemies but despite some friction succeeded in defeating the Rebels. Will's was put out that Carpenter, having given him the honour of finishing the job began by rearranging his dispositions and ended by claiming credit for the victory. The two nearly fought a duel over the matter.

William Johnstone, 2nd Earl, 1st Marquis of Annandale (d. 1721). Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, 1702. Opposed to the Union, but supported the Government in 1715. Commanded the defence of Dumfries.

Brigadier-General Philip Honeywood (d.1752). Commanded a cavalry brigade at Preston. Commanded a division at Dettingen, 1743.

Brigadier-General James Dormer (d.1741). Commanded a cavalry brigade at Preston; wounded in the battle.

Brigadier-General Richard Munden (1680-1725). From a notable naval family. Fought in Spain & famous for leading a forlorn hope at the battle of Schellenborg (1704) of which only he & twenty others survived. Commanded a cavalry brigade at Preston.

General van der Beck (no dates). Commander of the Dutch contingent.

Political Overview

*What makes heroic strife
famed afar, famed afar?
What makes heroic strife famed afar?
What makes heroic strife,
To whet the assassin's knife
Or hunt a parent's life
With bloody war.*

Ye Jacobites by Name

The '15 is a very confusing affair once you go below the surface statement of "yet another Jacobite attempt against the Hanoverian régime". Latching onto early Whig propaganda material, as well as the dream plans contained in the correspondence of the Jacobite Court, most of the early historians of the rebellion were content to see a vast Jacobite conspiracy. Most of the historians were Whigs, and most were writing not only to justify the societal changes brought about by the Whig Hegemony, but also to counteract a 19th Century Tory revival. And, the Jacobite-Tories themselves preferred to paint the attempt in the most threatening colours possible in order to inflate their prestige.

The standard text reads as follows. Queen Anne was dying without issue, and was secretly considering restoring her brother the Pretender, in preference to George of Hanover, whom she despised. She had surrounded herself with Tories sympathetic to James' cause; in fact, they were secretly Jacobites. With the Queen's death, the time was ripe for a new revolution. So, after years of planning by James' minions in France, and cunning preparation on the ground by the late Queen's favourites, the word was given and the faithful rose in favour of that despotic, prelatist "man of blood", James Francis Edward Stuart. Fortunately, despite the treason of some of the most highly placed men in the realm, and equally treasonous "lingering" during the campaign by fellow travellers like the

Duke of Argyle (foolishly set in authority over His Majesty's Scottish Army instead of the more able and loyal Duke of Marlborough), Right prevailed – as usual – and the Jacks were soundly defeated. Long Live King George! – I, II, III, or whomever it is now.

Good enough for the tabloids, anyway. The picture is not entirely false, nor completely exaggerated. But there is more to it, and there are more holes than pegs in the board. First, the Rising really consists of three elements: various disturbances in England proper, the Earl of Mar's Rebellion in Scotland, and the spontaneous rising of the Border Jacobites. Second, there is the question of how much planning went into these efforts, both locally and at James' Court in exile, and then how much control was exercised by James or his representatives during the rebellion. There is also the question of which Ministers were Jacobites and which were not; if any of the "plotters" were not Jacobites, then what was their role? Also, was the Queen secretly in favour of her brother's restoration? – if so, then the Jacobite cause has some claim to legitimacy and James' charges of usurpation by German interlopers may be valid.

Fertile Ground

*What is right and what is wrong
By the law, by the law
What is right and what is wrong by the law
What is right and what is wrong,
A short sword and a long
A weak arm and a strong
For to draw.*

Ye Jacobites by Name

The setting for the coming troubles was a more or less peaceful Western Europe. The Great Northern War was still raging, but England, France, and Spain had in 1713 concluded the Peace of Utrecht, ending the War of the Spanish Succession and leaving Britain's German allies to fight on for another year, unaided. The French King, Louis XIV, was now very old, and in fact, he was to die of the complications of gangrene at the beginning of September, 1715, leaving his realm in the hands of the debauched (though capable) Duc d'Orleans, acting as Regent for Louis' five-year-old great-grandson Louis XV. All the intervening heirs, gifted and worthless alike, had perished, most of them during a recent smallpox epidemic, leaving only this sickly child, who was not expected to live long. (This multiple tragedy almost crushed the old King, who took it for a judgement against his wars of aggrandisement and the suffering they caused his subjects).

[The Duc de Saint-Simon, whose memoirs are well worth reading, was convinced that Louis' bastard, the Duc du Maine, had poisoned many of the heirs. He might be right.]

In Britain, Queen Anne, too, the last of the Stuart monarchs, was now old and ill; she would die in the Spring of 1714, leaving George of Hanover as her heir. Her country had been safely in the hands of conservative Tory ministers since 1710, when their peace platform had ensured a landslide victory at the polls. This was to the Queen's liking; she had no time for the republican Whig moneybags. However, with the accession of George, who blamed the Tory elements of Parliament for the signing of a separate peace with their common enemy, the Ministry was dissolved and replaced by one that was solidly Whig.

The country as a whole was suffering the effects of the late war, though not as badly as France or Spain. There was widespread economic hardship. Hardest hit were Bristol and the Southwest (trade, mining, and textiles), Newcastle and the Northeast Border region (coal), and Lancashire (textiles and trade). Newcastle, in particular, was going under (pardon the pun) as the surface coal seams played out and mine owners fought over the leavings with gangs of hired ruffians. To top it off, many of the Tory gentry, especially in the northern counties, had been impoverished through war taxes on their lands (while the

mercantile Whig gentry became rich from military contracts and trading monopolies).

[The mining industry was eventually saved by the invention of the steam engine, not so much as a traction engine, but as a sump pump, which allowed mines to be sunk below the water table.]

In Scotland too, times were tougher than usual. In 1707 the Act of Union had been rammed through the Scots Parliament by a narrow margin. There had been promises of recognition for the Episcopalian Church, acceptance of the Presbyterian Kirk as the national church, and of economic aid and reform. There had been threats of confiscation south of the Border – many Scottish nobles held lands in the south – and a suspension of payments of relief to the losers in the Darien Scheme.

[The Darien Scheme had been a futile attempt to set up a Scottish trading post astride the Spanish gold routes; the financial end was taken over by English stockbrokers who made huge profits while the Scots colonists died in the jungles of Panama.]

The signatories of the Act (including the Earl of Mar and the Duke of Argyle) were denounced as traitors, riots broke out, and James Francis Stuart, backed by a force of six French regiments and a strong naval flotilla, arrived off the Aberdeenshire coast in 1708 to reclaim his own. However, the riots were put down, and a timid French admiral fled with his royal charge after being overawed by an aggressive English fleet. In fact, there was less support for James than expected. The Scottish Peers, many of whom were Whig Presbyterians, were not anxious to restore a Catholic king.

Ultimately, the Union would bring its benefits. For now, having secured the Border with promises and guarantees of equal participation, the Government proceeded to break or manipulate every part of the Act to suit its own desires. Alien customs were systematically grafted onto the Scottish body politic. Particularly offensive was the imposition of the "barbaric" English legal system.

But the English did not have it all their way. A token representation of sixteen Scottish Peers was needed at Whitehall to secure the new Scottish Vote in the coming elections. They and their hangers-on descended on London, sucking up government office after government office. When outraged English place-seekers complained, they were asked, "how do you like your Union now?"

In addition to resentment over the Union, Scotland was suffering economically. As in England, many of the petty nobility were becoming impoverished. The Highlands were still a medieval pastoral society, but the chiefs were finding that wealth in cattle counted for nothing in the wider world. A Catholic revival was also underway, as well as the spread of a French mystic cult known as Quietism; both these developments threatened to widen the social gulf between Highlands and Lowlands.

As to British popular opinion (not that anyone asked for it), it was assumed that the bulk of the people were conservative-minded, distrusting the Whigs and their republican approach to government and society: so-called "social contracts", a multiplicity of religious sects, materialist economics. There were, of course, Whig commoners as well, Quakers and Non-Jurors of many persuasions, for example (the latter were those who refused to swear loyalty to William III at the time of the Revolution in 1688), but these were a mildly persecuted minority. The new king was a foreigner, and in fact did not even speak English, which put him squarely in the hands of the newly dominant Whig Administration, who in turn owed their rise to his own succession.

Much of the uncoordinated unrest in 1714 and early 1715 was in fact mere protest at the overall state of the country, even if its instigators claimed "Jacobite" status. The army was not immune. One of the first tasks of the Duke of Marlborough, restored to power with the new Administration, was to talk the

Guards out of a mutiny; apparently their uniforms hadn't been replaced for some time and were falling to pieces. When the Duke of Ormonde, Marlborough's predecessor, declared for James in the summer of 1715, many Whigs feared the army would go over to him en masse (which is why a politically suspect Marlborough was restored to his office of commander-in-chief). The failure of the Jacobite Court to take advantage of this seemingly perfect situation needs some examination.

A Shadow Court

*Full forty years this royal crown
Hath been his father's and his own
And is there anyone but he
That in the same should sharer be?
For better may
The scepter sway
Than he that hath such right to reign?
Then let's hope for a peace,
For the wars will not cease
Till the king enjoys his own again*

When the King Enjoys His Own Again

Prior to 1715, the Jacobite Court lay at St Germain, a cold, semi-furnished, dismal palace situated in the western suburb of Paris to which it gave its name. Guests of Louis XIV by virtue of the standing of the Jacobite Queen Mother, Mary of Modena (she was the daughter of a cousin of the late Cardinal Mazarin), and of the personal friendship between James II and Louis, they were accorded a further distinction: official recognition by the French Government as the British Royal Court. James II had died in 1701, and Louis had promised him that much on his deathbed. James Francis Edward Stuart was thus no importunate refugee, he was France's ally.

[Louis' support of James II was not, as may be supposed, an attempt to strike at England, but arose from his own convictions as to the nature of kingship. James II was Britain's Divinely-anointed Sovereign; this fact could not be altered. The British peoples' rejection of him was wrong and would eventually be punished. Someway, somehow, James would be restored. As a mere political ploy, Louis could not have chosen a worse time to champion James' cause – his declaration in 1701 lined up England against France in the War of the Spanish Succession].

Young James (or "Eduarde", as the French called him) and Louis were also friends, but Louis would always put his own interests first. The other top members of the Jacobite Court – Mary of Modena and the Pretender's half-brother James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick (and *Maréchal de France*) – had much influence with their French counterparts, but at bottom, the Jacobites were welcome only so long as they served French interests. The French are a very rational people. During the War of the Spanish Succession, the interests of both parties were more or less the same, and France was more than willing to help James' Restoration. The Duke of Berwick served both King Louis on the battlefield and his brother at Court. Somehow though, the circumstances were never ripe for decisive action in the homeland.

There were a number of obstacles to a military option. First, despite all the glitter and glory, France was suffering. Marlborough and Eugene were running rings around the French Army, and although the fears and jealousies of the coalition partners gave King Louis the stalemate he sought, their enemy was exhausted. Then too, there were elements within the French Administration who were inimical to the Stuarts, whether from an overdose of English gold (d'Orléans, for one) or national self-interest.

Reliance on the French was the premier weakness of the Jacobites. James was so grateful to Louis that his court displayed a truly disgusting servility. They deferred to their hosts in council, allowed them to vet all their schemes prior to execution, and even allowed de Torcy, the French Foreign Minister, the privilege of examining their correspondence –

because they were dependent on the French diplomatic bag for their secret posts to Britain.

Worse still, James was dependent on the French for the larger of the two pensions that constituted his sole means of support. He received a small pension directly from the Pope, but the larger was due his mother as one of Louis' dependants. Nearly all of these funds went to support the multitude of James' own dependants – family, servants, loyal and now destitute friends (and secret enemies) – who made up the bulk of his Court. The leavings were usually sent to Britain to alleviate the sufferings of the faithful and to pay the Jacobite espionage networks. Nothing remained for military designs like the hiring of Saxon or Swedish mercenaries. This while the French regularly recruited soldiers in Ireland, Scotland, and even England, by assuring the men that they were destined for Jacobite regiments – and as you know, recruiting sergeants never lie.

Part of the price of peace was the much-regretted expulsion of the Jacobites from St Germain and their exile to the Duchy of Lorraine. (Incidentally, James refused to move until the arrears on his mother's pension were paid). Louis and James remained friends because the latter recognised there was nothing to be done. France was simply too weak to defy Britain. Once the Sun King died, the Regent, Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, turned away completely from the impotent Jacks and sought British guarantees for his rule in his struggles against Louis' morganatic wife, Madame Maintenon (and he needed all the help he could get, too).

The Jacobite World View

The Jacobites believed that James II had been their lawful King, unlawfully usurped. Common among the generation spanning the 17th and 18th centuries was a cyclical view of the natural order. What had been would be again, though in different guise – the Medieval Wheel of Fate. In the light of this belief, the Jacobites felt that the natural order had been upset. Now the forces of chaos, represented by the Whigs, were running rampant. In order for balance to be regained, the Stuarts would have to be restored. This required action, rather than reaction or passive resistance.

Due to this cyclical nature of history, restoration was not only seen as possible, but actually inevitable. As the Whig rabble had emerged from Pandora's Box and run riot at the "martyring" of James II, so the Roundheads had done at the martyring of Charles I. Just as Charles II had been restored in 1660 by General Monk, so James II, or his son, or his son's son, would be restored by...whom? The Jacobites for a long time – for too long a time – believed it would be through the efforts of the Tory Treasurer, Robert Harley. This was the primary reason (other than their lack of funds) that they made no resort to arms in the later years of Queen Anne's reign. Harley, naturally desirous of retaining the support of the significant Jacobite element within his party and of achieving peace with France in the shortest possible time, made promises to James, offering the hoped for Restoration through political means.

With their fatalistic attitude, the Jacobites were incurable optimists, accepting without question that their Cause would prevail by its very rightness. On the plus side, this gave them a fanatic's vision and will to succeed. On the other hand, they were easily duped.

For instance, assume a plot fomented by a Whig Ministry to expose a Jacobite network – not an unlikely supposition. Assume further that a "fellow traveller" in the Ministry warns the Jacks that it is a trap. As long as the plan seems to have some merit in its design, the latter will blithely proceed with the plan, confident the evil Whigs will somehow be hoisted with their own petard. Of course, in the end their disillusionment would be total, but that would not occur until after the '45.

It should be noted that the cyclical worldview was not restricted to the Jacobites. It was a basic tenet of life that most elements in society either believed in or understood. Different people just had different interpretations. The mainstream Tories, for example put George as Protestant heir in James' place, on the analogy of Saul's replacement by David; ironically they too believed Harley was the man to ensure a safe Succession. Naturally the Treasurer did not attempt to deny the fact.

The Jacobite Networks

*Then leave your schemes alone
In the state, in the state
Then leave your schemes alone in the state
Then leave your schemes alone,
Adore the rising sun
And leave a man alone
To his fate.*

Ye Jacobites by Name

The Jacobites at home and abroad were very much a secret society, along Masonic lines – in fact, many were Masons, as that Society had been heavily promoted by the Scottish Stuarts. When they were exiled, the Order spread like wildfire through the Continent, and when the Whigs set up their own lodges in imitation, this appears to have caused a division into two rival “houses”. The Masonic element of Jacobitism should not be understated, as it provided a means for people who moved in different social worlds to interact – very necessary for the smooth working of a “terror network”. The fact that the majority of the Jacobites were also Catholics under a régime that officially persecuted Catholics also contributed to the secretive nature of the Movement.

The most prominent and the most obscure could afford to be outspoken, but they still risked arrest, abuse, or dismissal as cranks. However, although the Government's stance was severe, in reality most known Jacobites were accepted by their neighbours or social peers who had to live or do business with them on a daily basis. What the clandestine nature of their movement led to, of course, was a great deal of plotting and secret correspondence (a lot of it, one suspects, merely for the pleasures of involvement).

Taken as a whole, the Jacobite espionage system was fairly efficient by the standards of the day. However, as mentioned earlier, the primary means of communication between the court and their followers was the French diplomatic bag (a ten day round trip). Everything sent via this route was examined by the French as a matter of routine; when their Administration later soured on the Jacobites it was an easy matter to inform the British of any important undertakings. Amazingly, the Jacobites refused to use ciphers, relying instead on code words for individuals, locations, or events, set within plain text; for example, “Mr. Jones [James Stuart] hopes Herbert's [Harley's] speech at Plumtree [Parliament] will assist his intended visit”.

One reason that ciphers may have been discarded was that the network of agents in Britain was extremely loose and widespread. A lot of codebooks would have been in circulation, with little control over who had access to them. While the upper echelons of this covert world were rigidly hierarchical, the field networks were very fluid. At the top, James, his brother Berwick, and the Queen Mother, provided direction. A Secretary of State was responsible for the network as a whole, but his personal focus lay at a higher, diplomatic level. For much of this period, the Secretary was Lord Middleton, a man of sense and good judgement, but unfortunately still living in the world of 1687.

As the domestic Jacobites, allied to the Tory Ministry, became impatient with the latter's dithering on a proposed restoration of James (of which, more later), Middleton was replaced by the Duke of Berwick, who naturally favoured the military option.

Unfortunately he lacked the resources and the time (as an active French Marshal) to carry them out. In 1715, the newly exiled Lord Bolingbroke was given the post, but betrayed his trust.

A limited number of under-secretaries were entrusted with running agents in Britain. Their networks were ad hoc. Normally, a local Jacobite (perhaps a Catholic priest) would offer his connections (for information gathering, say) sometimes by letter, sometimes on a personal visit to France, or sometimes while hosting an emissary. He would then take his instructions from one of the under-secretaries. The agent would then get his friends and relations together and compile the needed material (a list of well-disposed persons, perhaps, or a sum of money to buy arms). Sporadically he would contact his “control”. The controller had to take it on faith that his agent would be not only punctual and detailed in his reports, but loyal.

The Government could plant double agents, but sometimes they emerged spontaneously as the products of greed, the conspiratorial environment, or even not-so-friendly competition amongst local “cells”. Shared resources and overlapping control were major problems, to say nothing of differences of political opinion or religion. James wrote constantly, to first the English and then the Scots, commanding them to stick together, trying to minimise the damage caused by recurring jibes from either side against the other. Beyond the national issue, the Jacobites were further divided into Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Episcopalians. The similarity between the two latter sects was offset by Scottish nationalism. The Irish were even more rent with divisions, but were so dependent on James' favour that they were easy to discipline. The Jacobite movement within Ireland itself had been permanently crippled in the 1690's.

As to double agents, two cases are notorious: that of Robert Ferguson “The Plotter” (the same man who in 1685 had promoted Monmouth's Rebellion in the Whig cause) and Simon Fraser, the future Lord Lovat. Ferguson offered to set up a network of spies for the Jacobites, then turned it into a mercenary “Third Force” providing information to both sides. Simon Fraser's desire was to become Lord Lovat; to this end in the early 1700's he instigated the Scotch Plot, contacting the Jacobite Court with promises of a Rising. After alerting the British Government to his endeavours he then had the audacity to visit James at St Germain and to present information that was patently false. He was thrown into the Bastille and not released until the '15 was underway. (The man was too clever for his own good: in 1745 he sided with the Jacobites when it was too late and received the distinction of being the last Scottish Peer in history to be hanged).

Compounding the situation further still was the Jacobite Court's penchant for special envoys and communal intrigue. All organisations are liable to empire building, and secret organisations especially so, but with the Jacobites, it was elevated to a fetish. This was the heyday of court intrigue. Not only did James, Berwick, Middleton, and the Queen Mother interfere in their subordinates' work, but their dependants did so as well – often as part of a power play by one noble against another. The “Duke” of Perth, for example, a dependant of the Queen Mother, made a bid to oust Middleton, who was James' man. His attempt failed but sowed confusion on the other side of the Channel with all the conflicting instructions. Even worse was the attempt by the astonishingly corrupt Lord Melfort, who, banished from James' presence, attempted to set up a rival network in Britain and then spread rumours that Middleton was an incompetent, perhaps even a “mole”.

The Political Parties

"We are the only true whigs. Carnal men have assumed that triumphant appellation, following him whose kingdom is of this world. Which of them would sit six hours on a wet hill-side to hear a godly sermon? I trow an hour o't wad staw them. They are ne'er a hair better than them that shamena to take upon themselves the persecuting name of bludethirsty tories. Self-seekers all of them, strivers after wealth, power, and worldly ambition, and forgetters alike of what has been dree'd and done by the mighty men who stood in the gap in the great day of wrath."

Old Mortality – Sir Walter Scott

Parliament was the mechanism by which the Monarch conducted business with those chosen to represent the various interest groups in his realm (the Aristocracy, the Guilds or Towns, and the Church; to name the three traditional divisions). Although it was initially conceived as a legislative organ of government, the primary reason that the King called a parliament was to raise taxes, usually to finance a war. This made Parliament especially valuable as a weapon for enforcing the will of the men it represented.

By the time of the Revolution of 1688, Parliament had divided into two hostile camps, the Whigs and the Tories, though until lately the fiction had remained that Parliament was indivisible – allowing each party to label the other as a mere faction bent on treason. Superficially these were the parties of Moneyed Interests and Landed Interests, respectively. In addition, there was the Court Party, an apolitical group of aristocrats holding high office in the Royal Ministry. Members of the other groups could also attain high office, but under Queen Anne those who did so were mainly Tories.

[The Duke of Marlborough was a typical Tory/Court man who turned to the Whigs for support in the war against France. Although Anne detested the Whigs, he survived, first as her favourite, and later because he proved indispensable as C-in-C of the Army. Ultimately the Tories got to him; as mentioned elsewhere, he was disgraced and went into exile.]

For those who went into politics, the object was to win a seat in the Commons as an MP, or in the Lords as a Peer, depending on one's age and station in life. Once in a secure position, one would receive certain favours for one's loyalty or influence, which could then be disbursed amongst one's cronies – cash payments, a post in the Ministry of Supply for that impecunious nephew, and so forth. This distribution of Patronage was the primary means of securing voting blocs. Thus when the Tories were denied "places" by King George in the latter half of 1714, they lost the means of buying influence in Parliament, and eventually of retaining their seats there.

[In earlier times, the place-men were despised by those who had earned the right to sit in Parliament by birth, but by now, almost everyone had caught the craze].

Without Universal Suffrage, seats were won through the cooperation of small groups of friends, neighbours, and family members, who would put forward one of their own and combine their influence to gain his election. As an example, the Campbell brothers (Argyle and Islay) were two Scottish Peers with tremendous political clout. They could rely not only on the votes of the district of Argyll, but its allied territories, plus the votes of other Scottish families too weak to enter the fray themselves, plus the votes of extended family members – in-laws, cousins, and those people's eligible dependants. Scotland tended to have strong power blocs like this, often divided on party lines (though party differences could also cut through the heart of families), whereas in England, influence was more diffuse and therefore subject to much more wheeling and dealing. (An English example of this prevailing nepotism would be the famous Pitt brothers, "Hanoverian-Tory" backbenchers at the time of the '15).

[But one of this author's ancestors, a tacksman – farm manager – under the Lord of Lorne, in Campbell country, boasted that he voted

against his lord's party and that the man allowed him to. So, things were not always cut and dried.]

This may sound very much like the modern day workings of an African "democratic republic", and in fact the option of a military coup still lurked in the background. Most of the Peers and many of the MPs had military backgrounds or were serving soldiers, like Argyle, and like General Stanhope, Secretary of State during the '15.

Against the motive of self-interest could be set the altruistic desire to have a say in the direction of the country and to guarantee the survival of the legacy of both the Reformation and the Enlightenment. France, for all its culture, was set up as an Awful Example of what Parliament could be reduced to.

The party divisions had arisen through differences of philosophical and religious opinion, and through disagreement over the results of the Glorious Revolution, when James II had been deposed in favour of William III. Questions of religion and the nature of kingship were also used as focal points for a growing nationalism. (And, naturally, personal animosities and ambitions enhanced any esoteric divisions).

The Whigs represented the new-moneyed Protestant "Dissenter" sects like the Presbyterians and Quakers (though their leadership was as aristocratic as the Tories), and believed in the revolutionary teachings of John Locke and Adam Smith. Much like the Jews, the Dissenters had found "Trade" to be one of the few economic options open to them. They were as eager to put their social theories to the test as they had been to apply Smith's ideas to commerce, and the Revolution had been their victory, despite a temporary alliance with the old-money Tories. By the latter they were perceived as *nouveau-riche* place-seekers and war-profiteers, raping the landed gentry with excessive taxes and prolonging the war in order to generate a continual stream of government contracts.

The Whigs had for a time run the Queen's Ministry under the Duke of Marlborough and Treasurer Godolphin, but they were ousted in a landslide Tory electoral victory in 1710 and relegated to the wilderness. One advantage this gave them was unity. In theory they also had value as a mercenary voting bloc, but the Tories were always united against them, and they lacked the power to do much more than obstruct.

The Tories held to "Church and King" – a veneration of the traditional forms of society and state established by the Tudors and cemented by the Stuarts. In their view of the world the Monarch held his position by Divine Right, and though his actions could be questioned or guided by others, at the last his word was final. (The fact that the notion of Divine Right was only a century old was immaterial). For most of the Tories, the deposition of James in favour of William had been a painful necessity similar to Saul's replacement by David, once the former had forfeited Divine favour. But within the Tory conglomerate also nested the Jacobites: those who from religious conviction, or political principle, or a sense of honour, still supported the claims of the Stuart kings.

There were other Tory interest groups as well. In fact, during the last half of Queen Anne's reign, the situation had become quite complicated. First, the Court Party deserves a second mention. These were not strictly Tories – some in fact held Whiggish views – they may be seen as a Centrist group with a tendency to lean toward the Right, since the Queen held conservative views.

To the Right of the Court were the Moderate Tories, headed in the latter years of Anne's reign by Robert Harley, recently created Earl of Oxford. As Treasurer, he was the lynchpin of Anne's Ministry, and until the very last months of her life, he retained her support as an efficient manager of Parliament. In fact, he was more often in alliance with the Ministry officials than with his own backbenchers, who soon realised he was not about to fulfil their political desires. Apart from the Queen,

Harley's support derived mainly from the Court, and the "Harleykins" – his close friends and family who had supported his bid for power.

A fairly large group, before events drove them into one or the other of the more extreme factions, the Moderates had the typical moderate platform – "everything will work out as long as no-one rocks the boat". They had a vague feeling that landed interests must be upheld to secure the balance of things and to protect their own sources of income. These were the men who would seek an excuse for leaving Parliament early so as to not miss the salmon run, or were rounded up from the local ale houses by Harley's "whips" whenever a vote was to be cast.

To the Left of these were the "Whimsicals" (as Daniel Defoe called them), eventually to be known as the Hanoverian Tories. These men believed that deposing James had been an unfortunate but necessary act in order to guarantee the Protestant Religion; they declared that the Protestant Succession must be upheld regardless of whom it threw up as King. On this issue they agreed with the Whigs, though at first it was their only point of agreement. George would be welcomed with open arms, but he must promise not to institute any radical changes in the governance of the kingdom, either toward Republicanism or Absolutism, nor engage in expensive foreign adventures.

To the Right again of the Moderates were the High Tories – specifically High Church Anglicans. These men were only a degree off Jacobitism in some respects. Church and State, Divine Right, the Old Order; these were their mantra. As may be expected, the High Tories were comprised of the old aristocratic families and they particularly despised the Whigs, blaming them for the Revolution and viewing them in the same light that an old Virginian Patrician might view a Yankee carpetbagger. However, although they technically saw William of Orange as a usurper, they still recognised that the need for guarantees to the Protestant Religion had made his removal necessary. But an Hanoverian Succession – dreadful, simply dreadful! If James had changed his religion they would have had no problem with his restoration.

The great majority of the Tory backbenchers were termed Country. The term covers the full spectrum of conservatives, including most of the Jacobites. In a joking sense they were "country" as having been dragged down to London from the provinces, but the real meaning of the phrase lay in their concern that the Church and the existing State remain inviolate – a view known as Country Principles. This view of things predated the Civil Wars. They were especially against such items as land taxes and enclosing the land (which made monetary taxation easier and broke up the old societal relationships). In this sense they can be labelled a non-reform agrarian party. Country Principles were anathema to the republican Whigs with their newfangled democratic notions and obscene money-grubbing, and so Robert Harley could rely on the Country Tories to remain united as long as the Whigs were a threat. He could also trust them to support the peace process with France, which was to be the jewel in the crown of his Ministry. Not only was peace desirable as a means of reducing Whig influence, but the taxes necessary for the war's prosecution were crippling the gentry.

To the North, Scotland had its own divisions: the Episcopal Party (a Tory/Jacobite group), the Court Party, and two Whig factions: the Argathelians, led by the Duke of Argyle, and the Squadrone Peers, led by Lord Roxburgh. The latter were a "Junto" (that is, a self-appointed action group striving to control the Government's policies).

Union sentiment was divided. The Court Party were generally pro-Union. The Episcopalians called themselves "moderately pro-Union", but had a secret agenda to dissolve the thing at the first opportunity. The Squadrone were openly anti-Union, but also anti-Jacobite and anti-Highlander. The Argathelians,

although pro-Union, supported Scottish national interests and were pro-Highland (their leader, the Duke of Argyle, felt that it would be better to integrate the Highlanders into mainstream society, in order to deny their strategic value to outsiders from the Continent; his enemy the Duke of Roxburgh believed they should be subjugated). To combat the Whigs and as a reward for their support for the Union, London accepted large numbers of the Court and Episcopalian factions into Parliament. Argyle and his brother also joined the Lords as "moderates". The long-term effect of this policy, however, would be to make the Scottish Vote virtually synonymous with a Jacobite Vote.

[During and after the Rising, the Squadrone, as the only "untainted" Scottish Whig group, and one that took a tough line with the Jacobites, worked hard to discredit the Argathelians. With General Cadogan's help, they were successful in the short term, and Argyle went into the political wilderness. With Robert Walpole's assumption of the Treasurership in the late 1720's however, the Squadrone were sidelined and Argyle was reinstated; his policy of gentle pacification bore fruit in the '30's and '40s when many of the clans chose not to join Bonnie Prince Charlie. Unfortunately, that prince's endeavours condemned the Highlands to suffer after all the harsh penalties that Argyle had tried to avoid.]

On the Far Right of the political spectrum were the Jacobites. The Jacobite Movement as a whole was composed of individuals from all stations in life who had lost by the Revolution, but the bulk of them were Catholic gentry and aristocrats or High Tories who could not reconcile their beliefs with the need to remove James II. Those who went into politics joined the Tory or Court Parties.

The Jacobites never achieved the status of a real political party, but by 1715 they were well on the road to forming a permanent radical wing of the Tory Party. Perhaps if Anne had survived for a few more years there might today be a Jacobite Vote in many English speaking countries (although who they would have for a figurehead is a mystery). The Scottish Jacobites, under the Duke of Hamilton, almost were a separate party, competing on an anti-Union platform against the Whigs, and also against the Court Party with its conscienceless "trimmers" like the Earl of Mar. The English Jacobites' power base was much more diffuse, and for safety they always remained strictly within the Tory orbit.

Treasurer Harley welcomed the support of the Jacks, and put up with their outspoken lapses of good form for the simple reason that they would always vote against the Whigs, particularly at election time. In addition, they were perfectly willing to accept the nomination of a "politically correct" moderate Tory for a vacant riding, if no Jacobite candidate was at hand (whereas the reverse was not true in most cases).

The Scottish Jacobites could be counted on to side with anyone promoting anti-Union legislation – they even fought under Argyle's banner once or twice on nationalist issues. Ultimately their leader, the Duke of Hamilton, lost his place in the House of Lords and was soon after killed in a duel. Leaderless, they drifted into alliance with Mar's Court Party, despite his pro-Union activities, as the alternative would have been an alliance with the Whigs. This is how Mar came to be associated with them.

Harley's Ministry

"He promises the same thing to five different persons, which, at least, will procure him four enemies for one friend."

Quoted in Szechi, p. 121 (see bibliography)

As recounted, by the early 1700's the Jacobites had formed a loose liaison with the current Tory Ministry, led by a man of moderate viewpoint – Robert Harley. Robert Harley, created Earl of Oxford shortly before his political demise, has been described as a man of "bland affability". In King William's day, Harley had been, like the Earl of Mar, of the Court Party. However, he decided his career could best be advanced by becoming a partisan of the Tories.

The Queen appointed him to the lucrative – and therefore powerful – position of Treasurer, which was the closest thing to a Prime Minister that the English had at the time. She valued him chiefly as a parliamentary manager who could handle the daily hurly-burly of government without involving her directly. His method was to promise all things to all people; petitioners found him to be of the same persuasion as themselves, whatever that might be, but on reflection, no-one could say for sure whose side he was on.

The Tories swept into power in 1710 on the strength of two promises: a purge of the Whigs from all offices, and peace with France. The Whigs were opposed to a peace with France short of an occupation of Paris and total humiliation of the Enemy (in this, their Court patron, the otherwise conservative Duke of Marlborough agreed), but the Tories felt that France was already humbled. She could not be totally defeated, and might use a prolongation of the war to rebound. Secretly then, they had begun working for a separate peace.

[The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 – it was actually a collection of agreements – was the Tories' fruit, but it was to prove very bitter. The deal was favourable England, according overseas benefits like the Assiento (permission to ship slaves to the Spanish plantations once a year for thirty years). France was also as pleased as she could be – at least the deal had been signed after the victory of Denain in 1712, allowing her to keep her honour intact. The treaty was anything but favourable to the rest of the Allies, particularly the smaller German states like Hanover, who were left in the fight and humbled by France the following year].

Harley's desire was to lead a mixed Ministry, and so he tried to accommodate all factions, but with little success. As early as the end of his first parliamentary session, his backbenchers, mostly Country Tories and Jacobites, were already fed up. For Harley, the next few years were devoted to putting out fires. His survival depended mainly on Queen Anne's trust, and the fact that, however slowly, progress was being made toward a peace settlement.

By 1712-13 the Tory party was cracking. With one of their two goals in the process of attainment, the pressure was on Harley to push to phase two, the removal of the Whigs. Hard-line backbenchers formed the October Club, dedicated to forcing Harley's hand. This group was split evenly among Jacobites, Country Tories, and the Whimsicals (the nascent Hanoverian Tories). The latter then broke away and formed the March Club; their goal was to solidify George's succession and of course purge the Whigs; the rump of the October Club became a haven for Jacobites as the more moderate members drifted into obscurity. Meanwhile the Scottish Jacobites engaged in boycotts and unholy alliances with their Whig opposites over Union issues (in 1713 a bill to dissolve the Union was narrowly quashed). It took all Harley's skill to paper over the cracks.

By the election of 1713, the Treasurer's eel-like manoeuvring appeared to have paid off. The Tories continued to enjoy a clear majority and were triumphantly celebrating the conclusion of "their" peace. But success made them dangerous. Now all the excuses were in vain. The Whigs must go. But Harley refused to act. Without the Whigs as enemies, his own people would have no need of him. Desperate, he offered short-term gains to buy time, at the expense of his remaining political favour – including the favour of the Queen.

Jacobites and Tories

*There ye'll see the noble Whigs,
A' the heroes o' the brigs,
Raw hides and withered wigs,
Ridin' in array, man.
Riv'n hose and raggit hools,
Sour milk and ginnan' gools,
Psalm-beuks and cutty-stools,
We'll see never mair, man.*

Will Ye Go Tae Sherrifmuir?

Harley's support of the Jacobites over the term of his ministry led to a tremendous increase in their unity and influence, but not to the extent of their attaining a dominant position. Harley went to great lengths to conciliate them by negotiating directly with the Pretender. Deceiving the Jacobite Court, the wily Treasurer was able to discipline these unruly party elements of his by proxy, from St Germain. With the established Ministry in Britain apparently favouring James' cause, the Jacobite exiles were only too ready to leash in their domestic followers at Harley's request; there would be time enough to deal with Protestant "deviationist tendencies" after James' triumphant return. The French, equally desirous of peace with honour, likewise pressured St Germain to hold their people in check.

But again, when the Peace of Utrecht had removed the last obstacle to a one-party state, the Jacobites saw no reason why Harley, markedly sympathetic to their cause, should not now invite James to London, there to take his place in the House of Lords until Anne's death. The Parliamentary Jacobite elements, by now completely disillusioned by the Treasurer's constant prevarication, could not make the exiles understand that he was merely using them to buy peace abroad and to buy time against the Whigs at home. To every letter urging military action or at least a break with the new Earl of Oxford came the reply that negotiations were being carried out at the highest levels and must not be jeopardised by rash acts.

Power Struggle

"Confusion to all Harleykites"

A Country Tory Toast

In early 1714, with his remaining influence spent, with his own party baying for his blood, Harley, now Lord Oxford, was on his way out. One of his backbench opponents, Henry St. John, lately created Viscount Bolingbroke, struck hard in a bid to replace him. A complex character, Bolingbroke was undoubtedly brilliant, but he had the character of a rogue. His ambition was a purge of the Whigs, not just from high office, but at every level. Then, with himself as the brightest light in the constellation around the Throne, he would outshine even his former mentor, the Duke of Marlborough, whom he had turned against and helped dismiss. (Incidentally, this action by St John was the first time anyone had ever bid for leadership on lines of internal party agendas, rather than a national question).

From the start, St John had voiced the desires of the County Tories to do away with Whiggery, but only in Oxford's last years, as his influence waned, had Bolingbroke begun stealthily to accumulate the support of disillusioned Tories. For a man planning to oust a great minister like Harley, there were two necessary steps: court intrigue to remove the Queen's support, and parliamentary intrigue to ensure the victory at court remained permanent. Promoting himself in Parliament as "new blood" untainted by compromise, Bolingbroke by now had the support of the High and Moderate Tories.

The Hanoverian Tories of the March Club also began to be persuaded that St John might just be the man they were looking for to guarantee the Succession; the Jacobites ironically felt the same. Only the Whigs, always opposed to Tory interests, remained against him. Indeed, they now feared him more than Oxford, but their demands to the latter in return for their support were excessive, far more than Oxford could afford.

Nevertheless the Treasurer stayed in the fight. Both he and Bolingbroke tried to further co-opt the Jacobite Court as a means of securing Jacobite support at home; simultaneously they tried to ingratiate themselves with the Elector George Augustus to win the support of the Hanoverian Tories. Bolingbroke now advanced his saps at Court, repeatedly calling Harley's competence into question, verbally attacking him in front of the Queen, much to her distress, and demonstrating by his control of Parliament that he was a better manager. He failed at Court, but he succeeded in demolishing Oxford's already weakened position in Parliament. Harley, forced to play the Royal card one time too many, then irretrievably antagonised Anne. He resigned as Treasurer. And at this juncture, Anne died, sweeping the board clean.

The Succession

*Wha the de'il ha'e we gotten for a king,
But a wee wee German lairdie
And when we gaed to bring him hame
He was delving in his kail yairdie.
He was sheughin' kail and laying locks
Without the hose and but the breeks,
And up his beggard duds he cleeks,
This wee wee German lairdie.*

King George very much loved gardening as a means of relaxation.

On the Queen's death, a Council of Regents was appointed – mostly Whigs; none who were sympathetic to James Stuart – and the country settled back to wait for their new King (it might be added that ten battalions were recalled from Flanders, and the Fleet secured under a Whig admiral). George came and was crowned without a fuss, though James Stuart issued a couple of plaintive bulletins against this “unlawful usurpation”.

The Jacobites did nothing. At an international level, they believed that King George would not only be opposed in his succession by the Catholic powers of Europe, but also by many of the Protestant ones as well, out of jealousy. After all, he was merely a jumped-up Elector. They reckoned that only Holland, exhausted by war, and diminutive Prussia, would lend recognition to his claim. Though disappointed in Lord Oxford, the Jacks had great hopes of Bolingbroke, who had been treating separately with James in an effort to win over the Jacobite Vote – though it appeared to James that he was truly interested in a Restoration. The Pretender still appeared to have a good chance at achieving the Succession legitimately.

But, having just emerged as an influential and recognisable pressure group within the Tory Party, the Jacobites were now to be uprooted like weeds. As a radical, notionally Catholic movement, they were unable to rally support from the rest of the Tory party. The Moderates still hoped to form some sort of legitimate opposition that could vie with the Whigs in Parliament. The Hanoverian Tories joined the Whigs in passing motions that they hoped would please their new sovereign – to the point of condemning the very peace they and the rest of the Tories had just achieved. Almost a whole year was to pass before all realised that George, who disliked Englishmen, disliked the Tories most of all.

Anne and Roving Jamie

“There are some also arrived to that pitch of malice, as to insinuate that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in danger under my government. Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischief upon us. After all I have done to ensure our religion and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth; and I must hope that you all agree with me, that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the possession of my crown uneasy to me, can never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession”.

The Queen's Address on the opening of Parliament, February 16th, 1714, regarding some speculations of the Press. Quoted in Cassel, Vol 4, point of Prestige. 309-310.

There is some question as to the late Queen's desires regarding her brother James. According to the Act of Settlement (1701), should Anne not leave a surviving male heir the English throne was to pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, Protestant cousin to the Stuarts. Sophia having died of a fit when England made peace with France in 1713, her son George Louis, of the ancient Guelph family, was next in line. By all accounts this petty aristocrat was uncouth, narrow minded, and provincial, more interested in his kitchen garden than dispensing justice or leading armies. Queen Anne loathed him and refused him access into the Britain while she was alive – although he was entitled to sit in the House of Lords as the Heir Apparent.

If her brother James – technically, step-brother – changed his religion as Henry of Navarre once did for the French throne, there would then be nothing to prevent him from succeeding Anne. This was most unlikely, although many of his supporters in Britain, particularly the Episcopalian and High Tory elements, deceived themselves by thinking otherwise. James, though more tolerant than his father, placed his personal Faith before all other considerations. His Court indulged in a most austere, Jesuitical form of Catholicism. James II was venerated as a martyred saint. The late king's will was sacred, and he had once advised his son never to accept any worldly honours, wealth, or position, if it meant renouncing his beliefs. Living in nearly monastic seclusion with people who had all been exiled for their faith in James II, his son could never have chosen abjuration.

Anne, for her part, was as fiercely Protestant as her brother was unshakeably Catholic. Nevertheless, the Jacobites again persuaded themselves to the contrary. This time it was mainly the exiles, out of touch with England, who were deceived. They believed she only refrained from proclaiming James as her heir for fear of the Whigs. While there was no foundation to this belief beyond the sisterly affection of her letters, Harley used it to further encourage Jacobite support for his ministry; as the Queen's favourite he was seen as crucial to a restoration.

While Anne may have felt some guilt at reigning in her brother's place, she was determined on a Protestant Succession. In the last days of her reign this was demonstrated conclusively by her public rejection of James at Harley's instigation. The Jacks were furious with Harley, and from that point rejected him as their “chosen man”, but they still believed Anne would not desert her brother's cause – they now said she had been forced to make the proclamation against her will (remember, they were incurable optimists).

At the time of the Queen's death, it was widely believed the Whigs had suppressed a secret will in James' favour. This is unlikely, as shortly before, George had been invited to Britain at her request. The rumours were probably no more than wishful thinking by the Jacobites, fanned by their Whig enemies, who sought to build themselves up as saviours of the nation.

Ye Jacobites By Name

"There were three of them, and Alleline"

Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy – J. Lecarré

To misquote John Lecarré's spy-hero George Smiley, "there were three of them, and Bobbing John":

Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford. Attainted for Conspiracy to commit High Treason, Found Guilty as Charged, sent to the Tower;

Henry St. John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke. Attainted for Conspiracy to commit High Treason, fled to France, Impeached *in absentia*;

James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, late of Her Majesty's Service. Attainted for High Treason and Rebellion against his Lawful Sovereign, fled to France, Impeached *in absentia*;

John Erskine, 6th Earl of Mar. Attainted for High Treason and Rebellion against his Lawful Sovereign, fled to France, Impeached *in absentia*.

[A technical note: the standard procedure for removing a man from high office on criminal charges was and is impeachment. This procedure demands that witnesses be produced and proof of guilt established beyond question. Attainting, on the other hand, was a Medieval practice re-instituted as an emergency measure during the Civil Wars; there was no requirement for absolute proof, so long as it could be demonstrated that the man had the desire and the ability to commit the crime, and was therefore an Enemy of the State. Because Bolingbroke, Ormonde, and Mar fled, their guilt was considered proved, and thus their attainting could be moved to an impeachment. But if they had stayed, their attainting would most likely have led to the block anyway].

Of these four "ultra-Jacobites", none were true believers. One was a traitor, but not to the British: only to James Stuart. Of the three Englishmen, Ormonde was the most sympathetic to the Jacks and had the strongest connections to them. He had been appointed as C-in-C of the Army after Marlborough's dismissal, even though the Spanish campaign that he had participated in came in for a great deal of criticism. When the Whigs came to power, Ormonde was replaced by Marlborough in turn; he became concerned that his political enemies would seize the opportunity to disgrace him. At the same time, prominent Jacobites were urging him to call upon the Army to revolt under his banner.

Affable, and popular with the rank and file for his actions in Spain, Ormonde had the ability to do this. The Whigs were not at all sure of the Army's loyalty, despite the even more popular Marlborough's presence, but they had reason to believe Ormonde could be won over without a fight (and thus the man's fears may have been exaggerated). However, Ormonde made the mistake of daring the Government to do their worst.

Quitting the Capital for Richmond, he attempted to organise a general rising of the South and West. But, learning that a column of troops was marching on Richmond, he panicked and fled to the Duchy of Lorraine, leaving his followers to bear the brunt of the Government reprisals now taken against their disorganised and futile efforts. Exiled through his own actions, Ormonde became a loyal follower of James, serving against the British in 1718-19.

Oxford, as has been explained at length, was a moderate Tory, not a Jacobite. But he had shamelessly exploited the Jacobite Vote for his own ends, entered into correspondence with James, and even promised a politically-engineered Restoration (while simultaneously hinting that this would be easier the further James moved away from England) in exchange for James changing his religion. Since apostasy was beyond James, Oxford risked nothing but James' good will, which he did in fact forfeit. It was Oxford who arranged for George to come to England, with Queen Anne's blessing (however much she disliked her cousin as a person).

By 1714 the truth of his dealings with the Jacobite Court was known by all, and the charges of Jacobitism could have been dismissed by the Whigs if they had felt like it. But by 1714, Oxford had no friends. As a former Treasurer, he had with great difficulty gained permission to kiss the new king's hand, but he was welcomed coldly. Too late, he realised that his moderation and offers of a shared Ministry merely strengthened the Whigs while demonstrating his own weakness. He was impeached; his toying with the Jacobites for political advantages at home now a mark of treason. Well defended legally, he nonetheless bowed to the will of the majority and went to the Tower. Though later released, his spirit was crushed.

Historians have perpetuated the legend that Bolingbroke was a hard-core Jacobite from the start, who planned to usurp the office of Treasurer and invite James Stuart to claim the throne. The Dukes of Argyle and Somerset then, entering Anne's chamber in the nick of time, took the White Staff of that office and handed it to their colleague the Duke of Shrewsbury, thus saving England. The terminally ill Queen lapsed into a coma and died. The reality is somewhat different.

In actual fact, Shrewsbury was Bolingbroke's own choice to replace Oxford. The latter was not of his party, yet malleable enough for St. John's purposes; in this way the Whigs would be disarmed with some token power-sharing while the real strength remained with the Tories. Once disarmed, they would then be insensibly purged one by one. (This incremental refinement to Bolingbroke's strategy came about because the Tory Moderates had been won over to his side by the argument that by sharing power with the Whigs they would prevent a general breakdown of the Government). Although King George's anti-Tory views were known, St John still believed that the Tories were indispensable to the Ministry – after all, they held the majority in both Houses.

Bolingbroke also played the Jacobite card for domestic support, but being a relative newcomer to the negotiations with the Pretender, promised little and demanded less. However, the mere fact that he was talking to the exiled Court encouraged the Jacks to support him. Oxford and Bolingbroke were nothing more than a couple of Conservatives struggling for their own survival under the new régime that was coming. Neither wanted a Stuart Restoration. Their dealings with the Jacobites were merely a card to play for Jacobite support. Unfortunately for them, their tactics played into the hands of their Whig opponents.

Bolingbroke had been dismissed even before King George's arrival, forced to wait at the door of his own council-chamber while his replacement read over his paperwork. Fearing for his safety, the viscount spoke to his old mentor Marlborough and asked what he could expect from the new régime. The latter, without apparent malice, suggested that impeachment followed by execution was the most likely event. St. John fled to Lorraine, where he became James' Secretary of State, thus proving to the Whigs that he had been a Jacobite from the start.

[Although Bolingbroke had contributed to the Duke of Marlborough's exile, and had twitted him to his face, it was Oxford whom the latter saw as his chief political foe, probably because Harley was the only one who had the real power to ensure the Duke's dismissal. As for St. John, he ended as he had begun. He betrayed James by boasting of the Jacobites' plots to his mistress, despite that fact that he knew she was also supplying her favours to one of the Duc d'Orleans' ministers (an abbé no less!). From the abbé the information went directly to the English Ambassador, Lord Stair, who tried several times to have the Pretender assassinated. Ultimately, James discovered the leak and dismissed Bolingbroke. The price for this act was the estrangement of the Duke of Berwick, who mistakenly believed St. John innocent and argued on his behalf. This man was a real albatross.]

The Rising

*First when they saw our Hiellan mob,
They swore they'd slay us a'
Yet yin gin fyled his breeks for fear
And so did run awa'
We drove them back tae Bonnybrigs,
Dragoons and foot and a'
While pipers played fae right to left,
Fy furich Whigs awa'.*

Up and Waur Them A' Willie

The English Jacobites, seen as the key to any successful restoration of James Stuart, did not succeed in their rebellion. In England, the Jacks had a well developed organisation with many talented members. Plans had been laid in more than one quarter for an armed uprising against the coming Whig tyranny. But these plans were not coordinated with James' entourage in Lorraine. The Jacobite Court, belatedly recognising the struggle between Harley and Bolingbroke for what it was, remained aloof, hoping to deal with the victor, and hoping that victor would be Bolingbroke, but unwilling to influence events in case they jeopardised their chances of a peaceful Restoration. Their inaction at the critical time in 1714, with Anne dying and George still in Hanover, ensured that the men on the ground would likewise remain immobile. A year later, the Tory Party was in a shambles and the Whig backlash was in full spate, while France's potential support was traumatically curtailed by the death of King Louis.

On the other hand, the Highlands – believed to be an area of marginal significance – and many areas of the Scottish Lowlands as well, exploded in violence. The '15 in Scotland occurred almost spontaneously as a result of the destruction of one man's career. Cold-shouldered by King George and divested of his lucrative post as Secretary of State for Scotland, the Earl of Mar had nothing to lose by attempting a coup. He also had an understanding of just how shaky George's position really was, especially "north of the Forth". As a shrewd politician, Mar was able to tap into Scottish discontent over the Union and utilise the existing Jacobite "underground" for his own ends. He was assisted by the postwar economic hardships and the overreaction of a frightened Government.

The Rebellion in England

In January of 1715, King George called for a new Parliament, citing widespread disaffection and the need for establishing a stable Ministry to deal with it. With this opportunity, the Whigs were able to swamp the Commons and the Lords, as Tories were denied the sources of patronage necessary to purchase seats and influence. During the early months of 1715 some Tories, including known Jacobites, were still participating in the Government. However, it was becoming increasingly dangerous to do so. The Whigs instituted a series of show trials, bringing forth the peace negotiation correspondence as evidence that the Tories had committed a form of treason. Thus the purge began.

Various uncoordinated risings by local magnates or bands of apprentices and students were then nipped in the bud or swiftly crushed throughout the summer of 1715 – Bristol, and particularly Oxford (rowdy students, naturally), gave the most trouble, but even the Capital was not immune. King George was denounced from many a pulpit, and crowds followed Harley enroute to the Tower, chanting "High Church, Oxford, and Ormonde forever!" Tory mobs demolished Dissenter chapels and assaulted Whigs in the street.

The inevitable result was the imposition of Martial Law; a Riot Act made the assembly of twelve or more persons meeting for an hour or more without prior permission a felony. A frightened Whig Ministry unleashed the Army upon Oxford, Bristol, Norwich, Birmingham, and many other towns. A relatively unknown general, Wade by name, skilled in covert action,

provoked the Jacobites of the Southwest into revealing their intentions, then seized their secret arsenal at Bath. The English heartland was secured, but the defence of Scotland was hampered by the need to maintain strong garrisons in the South.

The View From France

Louis XIV's rash promise to publicly recognise James II's son as King of England had contributed to the involvement of England in the War of the Spanish Succession – if the Sun King had waited a few months there might have been less indignation at Whitehall and perhaps a chance of restoring the Pretender legitimately. Now, after ten years of war, Louis' grandiose plans had come to nought, and as part of the price for peace, the Pretender had been sent packing from the palace of St Germain to a reluctant welcome in the Duchy of Lorraine. Nevertheless, the Jacobite Court still had the friendship of the great monarch and many of his ministers.

Upon George's succession, James Francis had issued a couple of proclamations advertising his legitimate right to the throne and attacking George's antecedents. While these documents polarised opinion, they had little practical use. The military option had been fully explored by Berwick, but as usual, was waiting on non-existent funds. It was out of the question to ask for French military aid; in fact, an invasion would probably have to be launched from a non-French port. Still, the British people themselves might rise; in which case only James and a cadre of experienced officers need present themselves. Out of touch with reality, James' Court became more and more sanguine as the months passed and George's unpopularity became evident. With the expulsion of the Tory Party, the time seemed favourable for an armed descent on England.

But even as they formed their plans – for a landing by James in the Southwest, aided by a diversion in Scotland – the plot began to unravel. Berwick was absent in Spain on the King's service at the most critical time. Ormonde had sent dispatches stating his determination to stand until the Pretender and his expedition arrived; but he could have delivered them by his own hand. Bolingbroke had already arrived in Lorraine, in a state of panic belying his claims of overwhelming domestic approval for the Pretender.

The old Sun King was rapidly sinking. He had no desire to rouse the English against him at this point, and in fact forbade *Maréchal* Berwick to leave his post. Worse still, shortly after the arrival of the Tory renegades at the Jacobite Court, the King died. In his place ruled Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, Regent for the sickly child Louis XV. To consolidate his hold on power the Regent made a clean sweep of the Palace, turning to the English as guarantors of the Regency. Under no circumstances would he add foreign enemies to the long list of domestic ones.

Orléans did enter into intrigue with the Jacobites to a degree. He permitted the outfitting of a flotilla to transport arms and money to the Jacobites in Britain (apparently donated by *Marlborough* the year before!), but under pressure from Lord Stair also allowed the Royal Navy to impound the ships and unload their cargo. One ship escaped the search and did reach Scotland; Mar found the cargo of muskets and powder very useful.

By now it was late September, and news of the Scottish rising had reached the Jacobite Court. James, having pretty much given up on England, and having sent word to Mar not to raise the Scots after all – with their marginal strategic position he did not feel it would be of much use – was caught off guard. Dispatching warnings to Mar not to get too involved, he began looking for ways to reach his supporters. This was not an easy task. Stair's agents were vigorously searching for him, the Regent could not provide any overt support in the way of shipping or troops, the English were blockading the French ports, and Bolingbroke had already begun involuntarily passing details of his plans to the English.

Ormonde was able to find passage more easily, arriving off the coast of Devon with a platoon of volunteers from Nugent's Irish Regiment, but he was too late: the supporters that he had earlier abandoned had all been rounded up and disarmed. Sadly, he rejoined the Pretender. It would be December before James was able to elude his watchers and cross the North Sea to Scotland.

Hey For Bobbing John!

If one sins against the laws of proportion and gives something too big to something too small to carry it – too big sails to too small a ship, too big meals to too small a body, too big powers to too small a soul – the result is bound to be a complete upset. In an outburst of [outrageous behaviour] the over-fed body will rush into sickness, while the jack-in-office will rush into the unrighteousness which [outrageous behaviour] always breeds.

Plato, Laws: 691 c.

Mar's Rebellion can be divided into three stages. Initially, the Earl began with a whirlwind tour of central and northeastern Scotland, meeting with family, political contacts, and the Jacobite infrastructure. From his Jacobite connections, he knew that preparations for a rising were underway, but there was some doubt as to who would lead it, or even if it would come off at all. The response to his bid for leadership was mixed, and most of the support was qualified, but even so, Mar was eventually able to muster over 8,000 men (perhaps 12,000 over the whole of Scotland), with many of the high nobility to lead them.

In the second phase of the Rising, the Jacobites exerted their control over almost all of Scotland north of the Forth River. All that stood between them and the Capital was a regular army one fourth the size tucked under the protective guns of Stirling Castle. The Jacobite lairds in the far north also rose and after an early conquest of Inverness soon swept their Whig opponents aside and marched south to join Mar. In the Western Highlands a column under General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul ineffectually threatened Inverary and Glasgow. It too eventually joined with Mar.

This period shows the Earl's true character. Imperious and authoritarian, he was unable to command a real following. Beyond accumulating men he seemed to have no plan. Eventually his staff, concerned at their high desertion rates and dwindling supplies (at the time of their march on Stirling the Jacobites had only twelve days rations) demanded action and the Jacobite Army lumbered out to cross the Forth and crush their Government opponents under the Duke of Argyle. Intercepted by the latter's tiny command the Jacks were indecisively beaten at Sherrifmuir.

The battle itself may have been indecisive, but the rebellion had been given a mortal blow. Although they still outnumbered their enemies, the Jacobites were demoralised, out of supplies, and out of options. Every day, Argyle's forces grew in strength while theirs lessened. This third phase saw the arrival of the Pretender and his subsequent flight, along with Mar and several others of the high command. General Gordon refused to abandon his men and was left to conduct a retreat march around the northeast and into the snow-laden Grampian Massif while Argyle's political watchdog, General Cadogan, mopped up. By February 1716 it was all over.

On the Borders

"An army of fox hunters armed with light dress-swords"

John, Master of Sinclair

The Border rising can be easily explained. Once hostilities had broken out, the Government, in an excess of zeal and fear, ordered the arrest of a large number of prominent men who were influential Jacobites, had contact with Jacobites, or were known to be in financial difficulties, and therefore open to recruitment by the Jacobites. Lord Derwentwater, for example,

was cousin to James Stuart, and had often visited him in exile. Thomas Forster, on the other hand, was broke and in debt, and as an ex-MP, was in a position of authority. These men had recourse to arms out of desperation. Perhaps under James their fortunes could be restored. They were aided by the fact that a number of Jacobite agents had been travelling up and down the Border for some time, trying to mobilise support for military action. Most prominent of these were the Irish Wogan brothers.

The Northeast of England was ripe for rebellion, with Newcastle in particular suffering a deep economic depression. However, the efforts of Charles and Nicholas Wogan were most likely not part of a larger scheme, but of a local plot which could then have been offered to James for integration into a larger plan. If that were not possible, their efforts would at least be rewarded with a donation from the Court's coffers. The fact that many prominent families along the Border were enduring hard times, and that many were also Catholics and at least nominal supporters of James, made their job easier.

In the event, of course, the men leading this particular disturbance were completely unfit to command any number of troops. They allowed the few Whigs in the region to consolidate control, while meandering about the countryside looking for recruits – whom they then turned away for lack of mounts and arms. The infusion of Scots gave some direction to their endeavours, but added an element of national jealousy that proved fatal. (The religious question did not factor significantly for the commanders, as Derwentwater allowed Forster free reign, but was important with regard to recruits, few of whom were Anglicans like "the General").

Typically, Mar saw value in having an armed force behind his enemy's lines, but had little idea how to employ it. Communications were actually fairly regular between the two groups, but Old Borlum, besides being a junior officer, carried no clear instructions when he was sent south to the Border. The best plan, once the taking of Newcastle was no longer a viable option, would have been to take Dumfries and then turn on Argyle's line of communications with Glasgow and Berwick, but of course, the High Command were unwilling to engage in battle until there were no other options.

The idea of marching into Lancashire was not a bad one, even discounting the "20,000" promised recruits. The region was predominantly Catholic and had a history of support for the Stuarts. It was also handy both for a descent on central England, or for the receipt of foreign support through Liverpool. It must also be noted that the Civil Wars of the last century had a major impact on people's perceptions and their choices of action, as much as did the demands of terrain or the availability of supplies. Actually, all the Jacobites had done was isolate themselves from the main effort, and with no aid from France, they were doomed. The battle of Preston serves as a microcosm of their efforts.

Summary

"What did you call us to arms for? – was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? – was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not to strike one stroke for their lives? Let us die like men, and not like dogs!"

Angry Highlanders polled by their officers after Sherrifmuir

The Earl of Mar's rebellion lasted from mid-August 1715 until mid-February 1716, if one includes the preparatory work and sorry aftermath. The Rising was actually finished after the triple failures of Sherrifmuir, Preston, and Inverness, which ironically all occurred on the same date – November 13th, 1715 (Preston began on the 12th, but the battle lasted two days). In the popular mind of the times, such a "triple-header" was undoubtably an Omen.

Given the widespread support for the Jacobite Cause at this particular time in history, blame for the Rising's failure can to a great degree be laid at Mar's door. He simply was not

competent either to lead in battle, or choose effective subordinates. The “Curse of the Stuarts” also played a part. Neither James, nor his father, ever had much luck with military adventures. In this case the timing of the rebellion, though good from a domestic angle, was useless from the exiles’ point of view, with the French at their most obstructionist. But if James had initiated a French landing in 1714 (assuming this was logistically possible), the local people would not only have been unprepared, the majority of them would have sided with the established Government.

Events tended to rule the participants, rather than the reverse. The timing of the Rising had much to do with Mar’s rebuff by the King. However, there was an additional reason why this would be a winter campaign. Ordinarily the campaigning season for armies ended in the autumn; the winter was used for mustering, when a scarce harvest or idle farm hands garnered many recruits. For the Regular Army, this meant that the soldiers accumulated during the winter would be ready for use in the spring, but for the Jacobite irregulars the reverse was true. Their militia army had to be used immediately, despite the harsh conditions, as its members would be needed to work the farm or tend the cattle come the spring. This may in fact have been the reason that Mar waited until late summer before testing the waters at the King’s Levee, as he could then begin immediately to tap the manpower available in the Highlands.

Another factor in Mar’s timetable was the Triennial Act. Parliament could only sit for three years at a stretch, and was due for elections in the spring of 1716 (the elections in ’15 were called in an Extraordinary Parliament). Historically, the Tories had pulled in huge majorities since 1710, and Mar probably had some hopes that by remaining in arms he would give courage to his party to stand up against the Whigs at the polls. There was no way they could win in the traditional manner of distributing patronage, but a military threat might do the trick. Unfortunately, his rebellion had the opposite effect and a Septennial Act was passed after Whig propaganda generated Francophobic invasion hysteria. The net effect of Mar’s Rebellion was to ensure fifty years of one-party rule – the Whig Hegemony.

Timeline

Whitehall, 31 Aug 1714

MY LORD,

I am directed by the Lords Justices to acquaint your Lordship and others in the Highlands that it is their Lordships’ pleasure that you do not assemble together any numbers of people upon the account of hunting or under any other pretence whatsoever; which I make no doubt but your Lordship will punctually observe. I am, with very great respect, my Lord, your Lordship’s most obedient and most humble servant,

MAR

Letter from the 3rd Secretary of State (North Britain) the Earl of Mar to the Earl of Seaforth.

SPECIAL NOTE: THESE EVENTS ARE DATED BY THE ENGLISH “OLD STYLE” CALENDAR. THE DATES IN THE PRECEDING TEXT ARE THOSE PROVIDED IN THE SOURCES, SOME OF WHICH ARE THE CONTINENTAL “NEW STYLE”, WHICH WAS AT THIS TIME 11 DAYS AHEAD OF THE ENGLISH CALENDAR (AT THE TIME OF THE ’45 IT WAS 10 DAYS AHEAD). THUS LOUIS XIV HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY RECORDED AS DYING ON SEPTEMBER 1st, 1715, WHILE IN THIS TIMELINE HIS DEATH IS GIVEN AS AUGUST 21st, IN ORDER TO PLACE IT IN CONTEXT.

Early Events

1701: The Duke of Berwick writes up plans for a French invasion of England in the West Country. The Act of Settlement is passed in England.

September 6, 1701: James II dies and Louis XIV proclaims his son as James III. This is a direct challenge by a proponent of the Divine Right of Kings against the Revolution of 1687. Its unintended result is to provide the final spark for the War of the Spanish Succession. Queen Anne ascends the throne of England.

1703: Simon Fraser (Lord Lovat) proposes to raise the Scots for James and is sent from France by Louis XIV to determine extent of support for a Jacobite landing in Scotland – the Scotch Plot. Fraser plays a double game and is sent to the Bastille on his return to France.

1707: The Act of Union between England and Scotland is formalised. Many are opposed to it. Colonel Nathaniel Hooke is sent from France on a fact finding mission. He reports that Scotland is prepared to welcome the coronation of James Edward Stuart as James VIII of Scotland. His report ignores the fact that the Highland chiefs with their private armies are the only effective source of manpower. He also assumes the fact that the Rising cannot succeed without the support of the powerful Duke of Atholl.

1708: A French Expedition of six battalions is sent, accompanied by the Old Pretender, to re-establish his rule over Scotland. It reaches the Firth of Forth but is chased away by a Government squadron and is carried off by a gale. The flotilla next arrives off Aberdeen, but as there are no facilities for them here they put to sea and return home.

1710: The Tories come to power. The Government includes Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford; Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke; and James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, who will all deal with the Stuarts. The Duke of Marlborough, now tied to the discredited Whig party, is retained in his posts as an unfortunate necessity – the Powers of Europe will not make war without him.

April 1713: The Tories finalise peace negotiations with the French, resulting in the Treaty of Utrecht, which many German states, such as Hanover, consider a betrayal. An important

stipulation imposed by the Whigs is that James Stuart be expelled from France. He goes to live in Lorraine.

August 1, 1714: Queen Anne dies after an illness. George Augustus, Elector of Hanover, is invited to England. There are offers from various officials to proclaim King James, or to raise troops on his behalf. It is rumoured that Anne has left instructions for James to succeed her, and her Will suppressed by the council appointed to oversee the transition of power. James rushes to the French coast, but the French give him no aid and order him to return to Lorraine. The Whigs' fears prove groundless – for now.

August 29, 1714: James issues a protest, pointing out George's low ranking in the scale of succession (57th on the list of potential candidates, not including James himself). Also in August he approaches the Pope for help in forming a Catholic League of some sort. The Pope fobs him off with the promise of 30000 crowns.

August 30: the Earl of Mar, who is Secretary of State for Scotland, writes to King George offering his services and assuring his loyalty. Furthermore, he persuades several Highland chiefs to join with him in writing a second letter. George does not bother to answer. Instead, he orders Mar to return his Seals of Office. The Duke of Montrose is appointed in his stead. His career ruined, Mar turns to the Jacobites but does not break with the King as yet.

September 15: the Government offers a reward of £100,000 to anyone arresting James on British soil.

September 18: George I lands at Greenwich to a mixed welcome. He deliberately snubs every Tory he comes across and also a number of Scottish nobles, including the earl of Mar. The Tories begin to oppose his rule.

October 15: James issues a declaration condemning the Hanoverians and saying they are usurpers, of alien blood and language. He alerts the Scots that he hopes to cross over soon.

November: Lord Stair is appointed Ambassador to Paris with the missions of enforcing the Treaty of Utrecht and of acquiring the friendship of the Duc d'Orleans (soon to be Regent during the minority of Louis XV).

December 1: James III is proclaimed in Devonshire and other places, but the unrest is suppressed by the Government.

December 12: Spain pays the Jacobites a subsidy but is noncommittal about further support. (Charles XII of Sweden, a personal enemy of George, is approached for aid, but since he is besieged in Stralsund, can do nothing).

Spring 1715: a general election returns a Whig majority. Bolingbroke is forced to flee or stand impeachment – he joins James in Lorraine. the Jacobites hastily make plans for a general rising in Britain this summer. They are unable to obtain the services of the Duke of Berwick, who has been forbidden, as a French officer, to take part. The main effort is to be in the Southwest, where the Pretender will land, marching from there to London. Simultaneously, the Highlands are to rise, under one of the major nobles – though who is not clear – and the Jacobites of Galloway and Northumbria will then join with them. Little emphasis is placed on this northern affair, however.

May 1715: Jacobites in the Southwest of Scotland meet and form an Association. The three most prominent are William Gordon, Viscount Kenmuir; William Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale; and Robert Dalziel, Earl of Carnwath.

May 28,29: George I's birthday and the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles II, respectively. Whigs and Tories engage in riots at Oxford, a town of strong Jacobite sympathies.

June: agents provocateurs are active in Scotland, Northumberland, and the Southwest.

June 10: James' birthday. There is unrest in Somerset and the Midlands.

June 17: the Duke of Ormonde is impeached and leaves London for Richmond where he begins to organise the western rising. Ormonde is the great hope of the English Jacobites, having served under William III as Lieutenant-General and as C-in-C Spain. He has the reputation of being a brave soldier, but not an able one.

July 1715: Bolingbroke is made James' Secretary of State. He shares his mistress with the Abbé Dubois, a French minister sympathetic to the Whig régime in London. Bolingbroke boasts to her of his work, and London is thus made aware of the Jacobite plans in all their intricacy. Lord John Drummond is sent to Scotland to prepare the way for the Pretender's arrival and plans a rendezvous for August 10, 1715. This proves impossible, and James sends Allan Cameron with counter-orders, but he is captured and deported to France before he can deliver the message.

July 16: Robert Harley is arrested and begins a two-year imprisonment.

July 21: as Jacobite plans get under way in the west of England, Ormonde hears that Government troops have been sent to arrest him and he flees to France, leaving his followers in the lurch. The Marquess of Landsdowne takes over and establishes a magazine at Bath. In an emergency cabinet meeting, the Whigs decide that George should flee to Holland if the rising proves successful. The Government does not believe the Army will stand by the King.

July 25: the City of Edinburgh increases its Town Guard by 200 men and begins mustering its trained bands.

Sunday, August 1: Mar appears at Court in London for the Royal Levee. King George turns his back and refuses to speak with him. Whether this was the final straw or whether Mar was playing for time is unclear. He has been approached by the English Jacobites, who hope to raise the Scots and give him £7000 for the purpose. The Earl of Portmore, an experienced soldier, offers to help him, but is turned down. Instead, Mar takes the much less able General Hamilton, who has no experience of commanding Highlanders. That night they take ship with a few companions for Scotland and upon arrival begin making contact with known Jacobites. The speed with which word spreads argues for a well-established courier system.

Thursday, August 4: the Whig régime receives information of the activities of plotters in Scotland. Some of the information is erroneous, but it gives the general impression of a coup being planned.

Saturday, August 6: the Jacobite Association in Galloway receives a message from Mar urging them to rise.

Friday, August 19: the Earl of Sutherland is made Lord Lieutenant of Ross and Cromarty, Moray, Nairn, Caithness, and Sutherland; i.e. most of the far north of Scotland. Grant of Grant is made Lord Lieutenant of Banffshire and Inverness (the Northeast). Grant's clan has been on the regular army roll and is still well equipped and well trained.

Saturday, August 20: Mar arrives at Braemar, in the heart of his own lands.

Sunday, August 21: Louis XIV dies. The Duc d'Orleans becomes Regent and gradually establishes a pro-Hanoverian policy. The Earl of Stair approaches him to request the impounding of a dozen Jacobite ships and their cargoes of weapons (including 12 artillery pieces) and powder, and to order the disembarkation of 2000 French troops. His request is complied with, although with bad grace.

Wednesday, August 24: one Government Dragoon regiment and two foot regiments arrive in Edinburgh from Ireland. Many more regiments have been remustered and are nearly ready for service. Habeas Corpus has been suspended for a year, and an Act for the suppression of riots passed. The Dutch have been asked for the loan of 6000 men, in accordance the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. One horse regiment and two foot regiments transfer from Ireland to Glasgow. The Government receives word that Mar has set up a camp at Braemar.

Thursday, August 25: Grant and Sutherland are ordered to raise troops – “fencibles” – to defend their regions.

Friday, August 26: Edinburgh expands its defences by a further 400 men in the trained bands and fits out a number of armed sloops to patrol the Firth of Forth. The City of Glasgow offers the King a regiment of 500 men for service wherever required (i.e. not the traditional 40 days local service). The offer is accepted. Around this time, Lieutenant General Thomas Whetham, C-in-C Scotland, orders all the regulars under his command to Stirling, under command of Major-General Joseph Wightman. Stirling Castle and the bridge and fords over the Forth River are vital to the defence of the Lowlands. Mar is preparing for a gathering of the Jacobite leadership. Already, some want to back out, such as the Laird of Invercauld, who has hidden his own stocks of arms and ammunition – Mar threatens to hang him.

Saturday, August 27: Mar holds a *tinchal*, or hunting party, on his estates at Braemar. Hunting parties have often been used in the past to cover political meetings and to prepare for armed insurrections. Between 60 and 800 men attend (but the larger figure probably reflects all the signatories to the scheme, whether present or not – many of those listed in attendance are still in the South). The most important man present, after Mar, is the Marquess of Huntly, the only son of the 1st Duke of Gordon. Huntly's mother is a rabid Jacobite, but his wife is an ardent Whig. Furthermore he feels that his father (or himself as representing the Gordons) should have command and is reluctant to serve even jointly with Mar unless James is present as their superior. The clans at the gathering have all expected to serve under him – but he is a Catholic, and it is a Jacobite mantra that only Protestants may command Jacobite armies. Mar able produces a commission appointing himself James' representative. Atholl is actually offered the post first, but he declines haughtily, as James himself did not make the offer. The lack of a written commission has proved a stumbling block to many of his peers. In fact, Mar has drafted it himself – however, it is based on his intermittent communication with James, and merely anticipates the real one (he hopes). General Wightman arrives in Stirling this day to mark out his camp. The troops under Wightman's command will include:

The Earl of Portmore's Royal Regiment of Dragoons (2nd RSG)
Lieutenant General John Hill's Regiment of Dragoons (disbanded 1718)

The Earl of Forfar's Regiment of Foot (3rd Buffs)
Lord Shannon's Regiment of Foot (KOSB 25/34? Confirm)
The Earl of Orrery's Regiment of Foot (21st RSF)

Plus from England:

General Carpenter's Dragoons (3rd Dragoons)
The Earl of Stair's Dragoons (6th Inniskillings)
Colonel Kerr's Regiment of Dragoons (7th Hussars)

Plus from Ireland:

Lieutenant General Evans' Regiment of Dragoons (4th Hussars)
Brigadier Jasper Clayton's Regiment of Foot (14th West Yorks)
Major General Wightman's Regiment of Foot (17th Leicesters)

Given their reduced establishment (257 men per foot battalion and 180 per cavalry regiment) Wightman has about 1000 men now and will have 1840 when all the units are assembled.

Monday, August 29: Mar and six others travel to Strathdon.

Tuesday, August 30: Mar and his associates travel to Glenbucket where they are met by 200 men in arms, including Huntly (who had returned home to collect his men) and several other leading Gordons. The Act for Encouraging Loyalty is passed by the House of Lords, commanding all persons of suspected loyalty to report to Edinburgh and apply for bail. Only two of the 80 show up, and they are imprisoned.

September 1715: the plotters in the southwest are arrested and their arms caches seized. An important player is General George Wade, who is instrumental in capturing the Bath “arsenal”. The main rebellion has gone off like a damp squib.

Thursday, September 1: despite the outlay of twelve French ships, loaded with thousands of muskets, swords, barrels of powder, and even 12 brass cannon and 2000 soldiers, there will be no aid from the French. The Earl of Stair makes a formal request to Orleans to have the ships unloaded (this is done, but the Royal Navy is not allowed to investigate their contents).

Friday, September 2: James Stuart learns of Mar's actions and is horrified.

Saturday, September 3: Mar holds another gathering of the 11 most active participants, at Aboyne. They include Huntly, Tullibardine, the Earl Marischal, Southesk, Glengarry, Glendaruel, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the Laird of Auldbar, General Hamilton, General Gordon, and Mar himself. Huntly reportedly has to be brought back en route to Edinburgh in order to keep the meeting.

The Standard is Raised

*The standard on the braes o' Mar
Is up and streaming rarely,
The gath'ring pipe on Lochnagar
Is sounding loud and sairly,
The Hieland men, frae hill and glen,
Wi' belted plaids and glitterin blades,
Wi' bonnets blue, and hearts sae true,
Are comin' late and early*

Tuesday, September 6: Mar raises the Standard at Braemar with an audience of some 600 men. The gilt top falls off the flagpole. Mar makes a speech apologising for his role in promoting the Union in 1707 and explains that James III has chosen him to raise an army. He produces the spurious commission. Although some still distrust him, the mood is a confident one, and the men disperse to continue recruiting. As the preparations continue, word comes of Louis' death, which dampens their spirits.

Wednesday, September 7: Mar issues a letter to the gentlemen of Perth announcing his appointment as “King” James' C-in-C of Scotland.

Thursday, September 8: local Jacobites, organised by Lord Drummond, attempt to seize Edinburgh Castle. The plot is dependent on too many variables. The attempt is betrayed through idle gossip and a blatant lack of security amongst the participants. However, the castle's commander is too complacent (or has Jacobite sympathies) and the attempt nearly succeeds after all, but degenerates into a farce when the scaling ladders prove too short. Still, it is a near-run thing. This failure, while not critical to the Jacobites' eventual success, and not coordinated with Mar's advance, alters the complexion of the Rising.

Friday, September 9: Mar, at Invercauld, writes to his factor upbraiding him for the poor turnout of his own tenants and threatening reprisals against them. It seems not everyone is keen to take up arms for James. Mar also writes a general letter to the men of his own county, stating his aims and ordering them to muster. Meanwhile, the Duke of Argyle, after an interview with the King, begins his journey north to take command of the Government army. He is arguably the most powerful man in Scotland and the most able commander after

the politically suspect Marlborough. Both his father and grandfather were executed by the Stuarts. He is accompanied by many of the Scottish Whigs who have been sitting in Parliament.

Monday, September 12: Mar leaves his estates for Perth accompanied by his own men and some Gordons. The proclaim King James at Kirkmichael, where they are joined by 500 Athollmen under the Marquis of Tullibardine and 300 horse under the Earl of Linlithgow and Lord Drummond. The Duke of Atholl, since his is not permitted to lead the Rising, decides to stay at home, but some of his sons (Nairn, Tullibardine, Charles, and George) disobey his commands and begin raising more men for the rebellion.

Tuesday, September 13: in the north, the MacIntoshes rise for James at Farr, and quickly take Inverness. Argyle has about 1400 men at Stirling. He believes Mar has 10000, when the latter will only have half that number by the end of the month.

Wednesday, September 14: Perth is seized by the Jacobite Party in the town, the garrison already being dismayed by the approach of Mar's forces. Some Athollmen, requested to bolster the garrison, are suspected of aiding the rebels. Argyle arrives in Edinburgh. He inspects the fortifications and sends to Glasgow to ask for their offered regiment. It is sent to Stirling. Grant of Grant is made Governor of Edinburgh Castle. Sutherland, having visited the King, sails for Scotland.

Thursday, September 15: around this time, Major General Gordon of Auchintoul leaves for the Western Highlands with instructions to raise as many of the clans as possible and march south on Glasgow or perhaps Inverary – his instructions are left vague. Only MacDonell of Glengarry has been successful so far in mustering his clan.

Saturday, September 17: Argyle writes to Glasgow instructing the city magistrates to raise the West for the Government and assemble all forces in the city.

Sunday, September 18: Colonel Hay, instrumental in Perth's capture, is appointed the town's Governor and begins to establish it as the Jacobites' primary base. From the 17th to the 19th the Glasgow Regiment of three battalions arrives at Stirling. The Government army is over 2000 strong, but Mar has more than double that amount and is growing stronger by the day. Moreover, Argyle's own clan, one of the largest, is divided, with Breadalbane's men already in the Jacobite camp. The more loyal elements are mustering at Inverary.

Tuesday, September 20: James is proclaimed at Aberdeen and at many other places around the Northeast. General Gordon catches up with Glengarry at the Braes of Glenorchy. Glengarry has Grant of Glenmorriston with him, but no other clans. They are waiting for the rest of the chiefs to bring in their men, but Glengarry's failed attempt at taking Fort William some days before has resulted in the reluctance of many to abandon their families – the primary purpose of the fort is fulfilled. In England, warrants are issued for the precautionary arrest of James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, and Thomas Forster, MP for Northumberland. It is a foolish move, as both Jacobites were reluctant to engage in rebellion at the time. Derwentwater in particular, although a Catholic and a supporter of the Stuarts, has just settled down in a new mansion and is starting a family. After avoiding arrest, the two meet with other Northumbrian Jacks and agree on an armed uprising. The machinery has been in place since June, when three Irishmen, the brothers Wogan and Colonel Henry Oxburgh, travelled back and forth along the Borders trying to recruit supporters.

Thursday, September 22: Robertson of Struan and his men reinforce Hay at Perth.

Saturday, September 24: Argyle writes to the Secretary of State, Lord Townshend, imploring him to send more reinforcements. He is safe under the guns of Stirling Castle, but cannot move

across the Forth for fear of being overwhelmed.

Monday, September 26: the Earl of Seaforth brings his huge MacKenzie clan "out" for James. 1500 of his men camp near Brahan Castle.

Wednesday, September 28: Mar enters Perth, accompanied by hundreds of clansmen: Gordons and others from the Northeast, Drummonds from the East, men from Atholl and from Perthshire, including a group of Campbells under Glendaruel and Glenlyon. Francis Murray, one of the chief Jacobite couriers, arrives from France with good news. James promises both outside support and his own presence, and the word is that the Duke of Berwick, an outstanding soldier, will also be coming. He asks that all his supporters rise at once. In fact, none of this is true (James will come later, but only because he feels obligated to support his people in arms). The Whig Earl of Sutherland arrives at Dunrobin, his seat of power.

Thursday, September 29: after raiding the lands to their south, the MacGregors, in arms to restore their proscribed name and forfeited estates, set about stealing most of the boats on Loch Lomond, which they then treat as their private lake.

Sunday, October 2: A raiding party from Mar's army seizes the port of Burntisland (on the south coast of Fife) and captures a supply vessel bound for the far north (where Sutherland is organising the Whig Clans). There is trouble with the Highlanders brought along as security for the raid. Many were not told to come at all. The lot of them spend their time getting drunk and stealing from the locals. They are brought to heel by a false threat of Government Dragoons. After complaining of their conduct, the raid's commanders, Sinclair and Balfour, go in fear of their lives. This success raises Mar's stock with the Scots even higher and dismays the Government forces.

Monday, October 3: James' real commission to Mar arrives, dated September 7th, appointing him Major-General of the forces in Scotland. There are in fact two commissions. The first empowers him to act with the advice of others; the second allows him to make his own decisions but is not signed until October 22nd. By this time, Mar has some 5000 foot and 1200 horse, while Argyle has only 1000 foot and 800 horse.

Tuesday, October 4: short of cash, Mar issues a proclamation ordering all landlords under his command to tax their estates 20 shillings per £100 of valued rent. It is a futile order.

Wednesday, October 5: 500 MacIntoshes, under Old Borlum MacIntosh, arrive in Perth, bringing with them some 200 Farquarsons, who refuse to serve in Mar's Farquarson battalion, since that unit's chief is inferior in rank. Investigations are made by the Jacobites for a crossing of the Firth of Forth. For his part, Argyle orders all boats on the Forth to be withdrawn to the south bank, but this is not done. In the north, Sutherland travels to Alness in Ross-shire, five miles from Brahan Castle, with his own army of about 1500 clansmen. Unfortunately, Seaforth has been reinforced by a further 1200 men, mostly MacDonalds and subsidiaries of Clan MacKenzie. 1500 Government clansmen face 2700 Jacobite clansmen, as follows:

Seaforth

1500 MacKenzies
700 MacDonalds of Sleat
500 Chisholms, MacKinnons, and MacRaes

Sutherland

900 Sutherlands
200 MacKays under Lord Reay
300 Munros
180 Rosses

Thursday, October 6: 12 leading Jacobites are arrested in Oxford. In Northumberland, the local Jacobites begin their own rising, possibly coordinated with Mar's efforts. Clanranald

comes to the muster at Glenorchy. The MacGregors have recently arrived as well, putting the strength of General Gordon's column at 1300 men. At Perth, Huntly arrives with the bulk of his clan, some 1400 to 2000 Gordons: 3 battalions of foot, a squadron of Lowland cavalry, and a squadron of Highlanders on ponies. In Northumbria, the Jacobites rally near Rothbury, north of Hexham. Forster, as an Anglican, is chosen as leader, to which Derwentwater graciously accedes. At this point there are about 160 men, all mounted. Forster writes to Mar with the news (this letter is speedily received, indicating good communications despite Argyle's blocking position at Stirling).

Friday, October 7: the last important Jacobite contingent joins Mar at Perth. This is the Earl Marischal with 300 horse and 500 foot. His brother, and Lieutenant Colonel, is James Keith, later to be a Prussian Field Marshal. The English Jacobites move from Rothbury to Warkworth, on the coast. They expect capture Newcastle easily, but the Jacobites in the town are forestalled by the Whig party. Fortunately the lord lieutenant for Northumberland is having difficulty mustering the county militia.

Saturday, October 8: the English Jacobites are reinforced by 30 horsemen. Forster styles himself "General". In Southwest Scotland, the Whigs receive word that the Association, forced to the wall like Derwentwater by warrants for their arrest, are plotting to seize Dumfries, an important Border center. They treat the warning as a joke, although the trained bands are doubled – in fact the Jacobites are secretly assembling in great strength. Mar sends a party of horse to watch the Angus coast, and instructs Huntly to do the same for Banffshire. At this point, the Jacobites have a good command of the entire east coast north of the Forth. They are watching and waiting for James, who, an ironic rumour has it, will most likely land at Dumbarton, in Whig territory!

Sunday, October 9: King James is proclaimed at Warkworth. In the far north, Sutherland is retreating from Alness toward his own domains, trying to avoid a battle with the Earl of Seaforth and his army. As he does so, his men desert in larger and larger quantities. His allies the Munros are particularly incensed, as their own lands around Alness are now plundered by the Jacobites. The Jacobites march a portion of their army into Fife, taking control of all the ports on the north side of the Forth, in preparation for a crossing which will put them behind the Government army. This column numbers 2500 men – 500 of whom are a diversionary force. While Mar intends to reinforce the Northumbrians and then threaten the Government rear, he fails to states these aims clearly to the detachment's commander, Old Borlum. Borlum is not lacking initiative, but he has his own ideas. His column consists of the following:

Mar's Battalion of Farquarsons (150)
 Nairn's Battalion (250)
 Lord Charles Murray's Battalion (250)
 Lord Strathallen's Battalion of Drummonds (200)
 Strathmore's Battalion of Drummonds (200)
 MacIntosh's Battalion of Macintoshes & Farquarsons (700)

Monday, October 10: Rob Roy MacGregor and some of his clan return to Loch Lomond, putting a scare into the locals. An expedition is mounted against them. 120 men from Paisley and 400 more from Ayrshire take a number of small boats up the River Leven from Dumbarton to Loch Lomond and begin to clear the shores of the loch. 40 Scots Border reivers join the English at Warkworth, who are still undecided as to whether they can take Newcastle – they are also expecting French aid will arrive. At Holy Isle, two Jacobites capture Lindesfame Castle. They own a vessel that victuals the castle regularly. This time they invite some of the garrison on board and get them drunk, then go ashore and overpower the rest. In Dumfries, another warning of a Jacobite rising is received.

Tuesday, October 11: the rising starts in Galloway and Dumfries. The main body of Borlum's column arrives on the Fife coast and prepares for the crossing of the Forth. After hoisting a Jacobite flag, the men on Holy Isle are forced to flee when a Government patrol from Berwick arrives. Captured, they are locked in Berwick Gaol, from which they later tunnel out. The French ships they were trying to signal do not show up for several more days. The magistrates of Dumfries receive a third warning, this time from the Lord Justice Clerk in Edinburgh. Finally acting, they summon all loyalists who can bear arms, from all over the Southwest, to assemble in the town. Their enemies, Kenmuir and Carnwath meet with the Earl of Wintoun and capture 17 stands of arms from a Whig landholder. These are sorely needed.

Wednesday, October 12: Mar repeats his orders that landlords collect taxes from their tenants. Borlum's men begin their crossing of the Forth. As most of the ships must be rowed some 17 miles, the actual night crossing takes about five hours. There is no interference due to the success of a diversionary move against the port of Burntisland to the west. Cobham's Dragoons and Hotham's Regiment of Foot arrive in Newcastle. Additional Government forces in the area number 1200 men, against the 230 odd Jacobite Horse at Warkworth. The Tyne keelmen, essential allies for crossing the Tyne to take Newcastle, throw in their lot with the Government, although they are for the most part Non-jurors (those who did not swear an oath to serve William and Mary and their successors). Kenmuir, Wintoun, and Carnwath march from Moffat to take Dumfries, but are daunted by the force opposing them, having only 150-300 men. They retire on Lochmaben.

Thursday, October 13: the "Great Expedition" up Loch Lomond reaches Inversnaid and bombards the MacGregor hideout. The boats that the MacGregors had stolen are then burnt or taken as the expedition returns home. Borlum finishes his crossing of the Forth, hampered by the efforts of the Government flotilla. Although the crossing is made at night, at least one boat is captured and several small parties, including Lord Strathmore and some of his men, are driven to hide out on the Isle of May. Roughly 400 men fail to cross, leaving Borlum with 1400 men on the south side of the Forth. Those on the Isle of May eventually make their way back to Perth. The English Jacobites march to Alnwick, further away from Newcastle. In the north, Sutherland has written to Forbes of Culloden, an influential Whig landowner asking for reinforcements. The letter arrives this day.

Friday, October 14: James and Bolingbroke are still planning for Ormonde to land at Plymouth! In Scotland, he and Berwick are expected hourly. Mar fuels these hopes even though he himself is dubious. Old Borlum musters his column at Haddington and marches on Edinburgh. This is not part of Mar's plan, but Borlum feels that it will be worth the risk. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh sends to Argyle for reinforcements. The Jacobites capture Leith (the Port of Edinburgh), including the tollbooth, customs house, and "old citadel" and systematically loot the harbour. Finally they occupy the citadel and strengthen it with the armaments they have captured. Meanwhile, Argyle has sent 300 Dragoons and 200 mounted foot soldiers to Edinburgh from Stirling. He arrives himself in the late evening. The English Jacobites march south again to Morpeth, and are joined by 70 more horsemen. In all they number about 300 horse – in fact, many unmounted recruits are turned away. Only now does Forster hear of the coup at Holy Isle. Kenmuir's party at Lochmaben heads east to Ecclefechan, where they are spooked by the approach of another party of Border Jacks. In the north, Clan Grant is called out for the Government.

Saturday, October 15: In the far north, Seaforth receives a summons to join Mar at Perth, stopping first at Inverness. At Stirling, Argyle marches down to Leith with his men and a party of reluctant volunteers. After calling upon the Jacobites to surrender and being laughed off, he withdraws to the city. It is

obvious to him that Borlum will not take Edinburgh now, while the army at Stirling is in a very weak position. Afterward, Borlum himself leaves and leads his column east to Seaton House, which he orders fortified. The English Jacks move to Hexham, and camp near Derwentwater's house. Here they learn that Newcastle has become impregnable. Forster now organises his "army" into five troops:

- 1st Troop, Lord Derwentwater's
- 2nd Troop, Lord Widdrington's
- 3rd Troop, Captain John Hunter's
- 4th Troop, Robert Douglas's
- 5th Troop, Captain Nicholas Wogan's

There are so many officers that the troop commands are doubled up. The Jacks remain at Hexham for several days, accumulating arms and horses. The young ladies of the neighbourhood are employed as messengers. Kenmuir's party moves to Langholm. He now has two troops of horse, Wintoun's and Carnwath's, numbering 180.

Sunday, October 16: in the far north, 500 Grants and 100 others under Forbes and Rose of Kilravock are on their way to help Seaforth when they receive a message from him to disperse home. On the Borders, Kenmuir's force marches to Hawick. They hope to take Kelso, but that place has been put into a state of defence, and Kenmuir balks at attacking. Anxious for reinforcements (especially after some of his men are recalled to defend the Borders), Mar writes to General Gordon asking him to march east. He himself marches on Stirling, but he is too late to capitalise on Borlum's actions. The Jacobite army gets as far as Aucherarder. Overall however, the Jacobite position is excellent. All Scotland north of the Forth is under Jacobite control, save in the far north, where the Government forces of the Earl of Sutherland are on the run. The entire east coast of Scotland is open for supplies and messages to pass. Total Jacobite forces in arms number nearly 13000 men (an average estimate based on the muster returns of October 9th), including 1600 horse and 11000 foot:

- a) In Perth; 900 horse and 2600 foot
- b) Also in Perth, but leaving for Fife on the 9th of October; 100 horse and 2500 foot
- c) The Western Clans; 1500 men
- d) Seaforth's army; 600 horse and 3000 foot
- e) Still expected; 1000 clansmen

Monday, October 17: the muster of the Western Clans yields 2500 men – but the list includes those wished for. The clans leave for Inverary anyway. This is an expedition to pay back the Campbells. Mar's army marches toward Dunblane, only five miles from Stirling, but on the north side of the Forth River. Argyle arrives back in Stirling with most of his Edinburgh column. Kenmuir's column, after beginning to retire on Langholm, is summoned to join Forster's column at Rothbury. They get as far as Jedburgh, despite rumours that the "Grey Horse" – Portmore's 2nd Dragoons – are in the neighbourhood.

Tuesday, October 18: foiled, Mar marches back to Perth. Wightman sends 200 horse and 300 volunteer foot to dislodge the Jacobites from Seaton House. They do not feel up to the task, and after an exchange of fire, return to Edinburgh. In England, Forster hears that Holy Isle has been lost, and that General John Carpenter, a veteran of the war in Spain, has arrived in Newcastle to take command and has ordered up two more Dragoon regiments, Churchill's and Molesworth's. In Jedburgh, Kenmuir proclaims King James, then marches his column to Rothbury, an amazing march of some 40 miles (most marches rarely being more than 20 miles a day) across very rough, trackless ground. Forster is of course at Hexham, 30 miles further on, but he receives a message from Kenmuir that night. The Dutch States General authorises the dispatch of 6000 men to assist the "Hanoverians".

Wednesday, October 19: the Jacobite clans arrive at Inverary to find 1000 of Argyle's men, under the Earl of Islay (Argyle's brother), occupying reasonably strong fieldworks. General Gordon makes no attempt on them but establishes a camp about a mile away, where he remains inactive for some days, despite the occasional raid on the town by individuals in search of plunder. Meanwhile, Borlum abandons Seaton House and heads for the Border, at last complying with his orders. If only he knew it, Edinburgh is wide open again – but neither side is making good use of spies or scouts. Forster meets up with Kenmuir at Rothbury.

Thursday, October 20: Old Borlum reaches Duns. The Border Jacks march north to Wooler. Upon entering the town, they are commanded that those with swords should draw them. Some wag asks what the rest of them should do. Mar is beginning to feel the pinch as his supplies dwindle.

Friday, October 21: General Gordon writes to Mar that the siege of Inverary has been resolved and he is on his way to join him. Actually he is still in place. Mar issues his taxation order a third time, this time with threats of military executions. He has had more success with dispersing his army to tax the locals. This focus on finances, while necessary, absorbs too much of Mar's attention. He is much more of an administrator than a fighting general. A few Tyne keelmen join the Border Jacobites at Wooler, along with the Reverend Patten, one of the Rising's chief early historians.

Saturday, October 22: Mar is made a Jacobite Duke. Borlum reaches Kelso, where he meets up with the Border Jacks. The Borderers do not think much of the bedraggled Highlanders, and after inspecting Kenmuir's and Forster's party, Old Borlum mutters "this will never do". It is agreed that Forster will command in England, Kenmuir in Scotland. The combined army numbers 600 horse (including 200 menials) and 1400 foot.

Sunday, October 23: Mar sends a party to Dunfermline to collect taxes. As the town is staunchly Whig, the party consists of 80 horse and 300 Highlanders. They are instructed to detour close to some enemy outposts to show their contempt. In Dunfermline, the gentlemen disperse to various alehouses and later take lodgings. The soldiers are billeted at the local Abbey. Only two sentries are posted, one at the Abbey, and the other at a bridge on the road to Stirling. Unknown to the Jacobites, 200 of Portmore's Dragoons are waiting outside the town, having followed them there.

Monday, October 24: The Jacks in Dunfermline are surprised in their beds by Portmore's Dragoons. While the Highlanders lock themselves in the Abbey, the Jacobite Horse are routed. Many are taken prisoner, while the rest scatter, some fleeing the town and others hiding where they can. The Dragoons do not challenge the Highlanders, but withdraw. At Inverary, one of Islay's sentries forgets the password and is fired upon by his own side. The entire garrison "stands to" and remains under arms all night, periodically blazing away in the direction of Gordon's camp. Gordon assumes they are firing a "feu de joi" as reinforcements arrive. Discouraged, he decides to retreat the next day. The Border Jacobite army holds a muster at Hexham. Kenmuir's contingent is reorganised into 5 troops, including the Border reivers:

- 1st Troop, Lord Kenmuir's
 - 2nd Merse Troop, Lord Hume's
 - 3rd Troop, Lord Wintoun's
 - 4th Troop, Lord Carnwath's
 - 5th Troop, Captain Lockhart's
- plus a number of gentlemen volunteers

The remainder of the army consists of Forster's 5 troops of horse, and Old Borlum's contingent, less Strathmore's battalion which was turned back at the Forth, and a few small artillery pieces picked up in Kelso. Mar writes to the Border Jacks instructing them to harass Argyle's rear, but of course it will be

several days before they receive the message. In the north, Seaforth leaves Inverness after having been reinforced by the Frasers. Although their chief, Lord Lovat is against joining the Rising, he is still in the Lowlands at this time. 300-400 men are left to garrison Inverness.

Tuesday, October 25: General Gordon actually leaves Inverary. A party of 200 Breadalbane Campbells (Jacobites) enters Glenlyon on a recruiting drive and encounters 700 Campbells from Inverary. They draw up for battle, but the commanders decide to hold a parley rather than shed the blood of kinsmen. The Breadalbane men are allowed to leave after surrendering their arms. Islay has a fit when he finds out. General Carpenter marches north from Newcastle with Hotham's, Cobham's, Molesworth's, and Churchill's regiments. His army is not actually that impressive. He only has about 900 men, and Molesworth's and Churchill's are composed of raw recruits. Argyle's situation is daily improving. He now has three more regiments of foot – Egerton's, Clayton's, and Morrison's, plus some of Evans' Dragoons, and the news that the Dutch are coming. Passing through the Grant lands, Seaforth comes to an agreement with the Grants that neither side will ravage the other's lands, and the Grants kindly provide Seaforth with sacks of meal and baggage horses. Lord Lovat arrives on his home ground and begins to coordinate with the Whigs, to ensure he can retain his estates. He recalls the Frasers from Mar's army (but the message will be several days in transit). With his remaining Frasers, the Grants, and Forbes and Rose's men, Lovat also plans to retake Inverness.

Thursday, October 27: with Oxford still in a disturbed state, it is raided a second time and occupied by a regiment of foot. Carpenter arrives at Wooler. The Border Jacks are now forced to act without instructions from Mar. Lord Wintoun wants to march west and capture Dumfries, Ayr, and Glasgow. Forster and many of the English gentry want to march on Carlisle and into Lancashire to raise the Catholics and Anglican Tories. Borlum, supported by a number of voices from the other factions, wants to stand and fight. This is the best course, but the English and Scots distrust one another – the English are afraid of marching into a savage country, while the Scots do not feel bound to fight outside their own preserves. As well, the divided command means that the factions will choose a course that keeps their own man in command. Furthermore, neither Kenmuir nor Forster has the stomach for a fight. In the end they compromise and march to Jedburgh. As they reach the town, the horse in the van hear that the foot are being attacked. Some tear off their white cockades, while others burst into tears. But it is only a rumour.

Friday, October 28: Ormonde arrives off the English coast and learns the truth – the critical part of the rising has failed. James leaves for France and begins several weeks of dodging French agents and assassins as he attempts to find passage to Scotland. From Lorraine he passes to Bar-le-Duc (s'Hertogenbusch in the UP) and then head to Paris. From here he proceeds to the Channel coast. He has slipped away from the English monitors by pretending to go out hunting; a false James returns.

Saturday, October 29: the Border Jacks are still arguing. The locals agree to move into Lancashire, at which point the Highlanders mutiny and declare they will resist being compelled to go. Again the factions compromise and the army marches west to Hawick, after handing out £500 to the Highlanders to keep them quiet. Near Hawick the Highlanders again refuse to continue, Lord Wintoun having counselled them not to enter England. The English surround them in hopes of forcing them to comply and the Highlanders cock their muskets. After a two hour standoff, the army reforms, but the Highlanders reserve the right to leave when it suits them – they plan to head west and then north, to link up with General Gordon or perhaps to attack Argyle.

Sunday, October 30: The Border Jacks move to Langholm. Carpenter arrives in Jedburgh. Carnwath takes 400 horse

toward Dumfries, but returns when he hears it is heavily defended. The English Jacobites are now content – they will be marching into Lancashire. The Highlanders continue to urge an attack, as they will only be facing militia forces. Dumfries is a critical center, with a large magazine, but the English claim that 20,000 Lancastrians are ready to rise or at least assist with money and supplies. Wintoun and Borlum are not present at the council. When informed of the decision to head south, they initially refuse, but are eventually talked round with arguments of keeping faith (Wintoun) and plunder (Borlum). 500 Highlanders desert. Most are captured by the Whigs within days.

Monday, October 31: The Border Jacks, having made a decision, dump their cannon and cross the Esk, marching to Longtown in Cumberland. Here they are joined by Carnwath's horse who have been on reconnaissance against Dumfries.

Tuesday, November 1: Forster and Kenmuir continue to Brampton. At each halt they proclaim King James and collect taxes. The Highlanders who have come with them now receive sixpence a day to reinforce their loyalty. Forster receives a letter of Mar's dated the 21st of October. He also receives his commission as General.

Wednesday, November 2: Forster's army marches to Penrith. The local militia is called out to oppose them, and is reputed to be 14000 strong, but it melts away on their approach. The Jacobites are becoming worried at the lack of local recruits, but most of their supporters are already locked up in Carlisle Castle.

Thursday, November 3: the Border Jacks march to Appleby. The poor welcome they have received begins to seem ominous. The journey, made through some of the harshest terrain in Britain, during one of the worst winters on record, further dampens their spirits. While resting in Penrith, they also miss the opportunity for a morale-raising victory over some "companies of invalids" on their way to reinforce Carlisle. This party passes within three miles of the Jacks without being noticed.

Friday, November 4: Mar is joined at Auchterarder by 2500 men from the Western Clans, as well as Seaforth's much vaunted northern army (which proves to be only 2000 clansmen and some Highlanders on ponies).

Saturday, November 5: Forster's column moves on to Kendal. It is raining heavily and has been for some days. At Kendal, Forster tries to visit his godmother, Madam Bellingham, but she meets him on the stairs to her room, boxes his ears a couple of times, and calls him a "popish tool". By this point, most of the leaders appear quite dejected, except for Old Borlum, who is uniformly grim-faced. The men march to the sound of the pipes, but in no sort of order.

Sunday, November 6: Forster's army reaches Kirby Lonsdale.

Monday, November 7: the Border Jacobites enter Lancaster. The town's garrison of 600 militiamen has already left for Preston, after its commander fails to persuade the townsfolk to put themselves in a state of defence. Wisely, they prefer to carry on their trades as usual, regardless of which army occupies the town. En route to Lancaster, the Jacks receive good news from agents sent ahead. It is reported that Lancashire is prepared to rise, and that the town of Manchester has already raised 50 horse. Having returned to Newcastle when he thinks the Jacks have gone north, Carpenter is alerted to their descent on Lancaster and marches out from Durham across the Pennines. Around Inverness, the Whigs scare off some Jacobite reinforcements under the notorious MacDonald of Keppoch, who marches south instead to join Mar.

Tuesday, November 8: Forster's army hears that Carpenter is 60 miles away at Barnard Castle, but that his troops are exhausted. Unknown to them, Stanhope's Dragoons have entered Preston,

but these feel they are too weak to probe against Lancaster and remain where they are. Rather than remain at Lancaster, which is a defensible location with access to the sea, the Jacobites decide to press on next day and meet the hundreds of reinforcements they are expecting. Meanwhile, Mar's army marches out of Perth with 14 battalions of foot and 8 squadrons of horse, leaving 3 battalions to guard the town.

Wednesday, November 9: Forster's army marches to Preston. The march is such a difficult one that the horse and foot become separated, and only the cavalry reaches the town, with the foot camping at Garstang for the night. Fortunately, Stanhope's Dragoons have retreated, and the militia is nowhere in evidence. Neither are the promised recruits. Preston at this time is the premier city of the region, with over 6000 inhabitants, a large number of inns and hostleries, a theatre, ornamental gardens, and even four "street lights". At Auchterarder, Mar calls a council of war. With about 6000 foot and 800 horse in their army and an estimated 12000 men in arms throughout the country, the Jacobites decide to cross the Forth and attack Argyle. The latter has an estimated 3000 foot and 1200 horse. There will be three diversionary crossings and the main one, but all are close to where Argyle has his army. There is another ford further upstream, but only Rob Roy MacGregor knows where it is, and he is not trusted, since Argyle is his "protector". In any case, within 24 hours, Argyle is aware of the Jacobite plans through Whig spies in Perth.

Thursday, November 10: the infantry of Forster's army reach Preston. Only a few Catholic gentry have joined the Cause, with the more numerous Tory High Anglicans abstaining. In Scotland, the Jacobite army marches out of Perth, leaving three battalions to defend it (Ogilvie's and the remnants of Strathmore's men), and joins with more units at Auchterarder, including General Gordon's Western Clans. Argyle is concerned that the winter frosts will make the crossing of the Forth too easy, so although he is much weaker, he has resolved to engage the Jacks. He recalls General Wightman from Edinburgh, three regiments of foot and one of Dragoons from Glasgow, plus a battalion and 40 Dragoons from Kilsyth and 200 Dragoons from Falkirk. In the far north, Inverness is invested by the Whigs. The plan was to have been for Lovat to attack from the south and Sutherland from the north, but Sutherland is too slow.

Friday, November 11: The Border Jacks prepare to leave Preston. However, General Wills is rapidly approaching from Manchester and has reached Wigan, some 15 miles south of Preston. He has the following forces in three brigades:

Wynn's Regiment of Dragoons (9th)
Honeywood's Regiment of Dragoons (11th)
Munden's Regiment of Dragoons (13th)
Dormer's Regiment of Dragoons (14th)
General Preston's Regiment of Foot (26th Cameronians)
Pitt's Horse (the Bays),
Stanhope's Regiment of Dragoons
plus 600 local militia

Newton's Dragoons are en route from Worcester. They will garrison Manchester, as it is a hotbed of Jacobite sympathies. Meanwhile, Carpenter is close by to the east of Preston. Upon the news of all these forces arrayed against him, Forster becomes even more dispirited. He summons a council of war but found drunk, so his commanders decide amongst themselves to defend Preston. In Scotland Mar loses about 600 men to desertion during the night: Glenbucket's Gordons decamp en masse, and likewise the Frasers, whom Lord Lovat has ordered to stand out of the Rising. His horse are also arguing about the post of honour. Meanwhile, Argyle's reinforcements have arrived, but too late to march out this day.

Saturday, November 12: Forster's army prepares to defend itself at Preston. General Carpenter is some 12 miles to the east, and General Wills is fast approaching from the south. Initially

the Jacobites defend the Ribble Bridge, some distance from the town, but as Wills gets closer it is abandoned – Borlum, realising there are too many fords to defend, suggests they should fight in the town itself. Already, barricades are being erected. Wills, arriving at the Ribble at midday decides to encircle Preston and orders that the suburbs be cleared and lodgements made to prevent the rebels' escape. This is successfully done during the early afternoon, despite fierce opposition. By 5 pm, however, with darkness coming on, the battle has become a stalemate. During the night there is constant sniping, but no assaults. Many of the locals on the Jacobite side chosen to desert while they still have the chance. In Scotland, the Jacobites plan for their main army to march to Ardoch (site of an ancient Roman camp), while the advance guard is to occupy Dunblane, just upstream from Stirling on the Allan Water. There is a drove road that runs on a more direct route across the hills, but presumably Mar, who is visiting Lord Breadalbane at Drummond Castle, wants his army on the same side of the Allan Water as he is – also the hills are unpopulated and barren. At about 3 pm, the army quartermasters return from their hunt for billets to report that Argyle is marching through Dunblane with his entire army (he has left the Stirling County Militia and the Glasgow Regiment – 1000 men – to guard Stirling and various crossing places. The Jacks hesitate, but decide to continue. By 4 pm it is growing dark, and the army halts at the hamlet of Kinbuck, two miles from Dunblane. Mar rejoins them in the late evening, and at first does not believe the intelligence. Argyle's army, though unaware of their position, is only two miles away, to the east of Dunblane, and remains under arms and drawn up for battle all night. In the far north, the Jacobites are able to slip out of Inverness, since Sutherland has not yet shown up.

Disaster for the Jacks

"Here is this formidable rebellion vanish like Smoak"

Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Chief Justice of Scotland.

Sunday, November 13: by a strange coincidence, all three major actions of the Rising will be concluded at the same time. In Preston, after an inconclusive dawn assault, Carpenter arrives with three more Dragoon regiments: Churchill's, Molesworth's, and Cobham's, plus enough local militia to swell his column to 2500 men. He and Wills are old personal enemies, but despite some tactical interference by Carpenter, Wills is left to finish the job. By 11 am, a surrender is being negotiated, although the Highlanders want to attempt a breakout. The Scots and the English try to obtain terms on their own, but both are told the surrender must be unconditional. By 8 pm, hostages have been given. The surrender will take place the next day.

In Scotland, the battle of Sherrifmuir is fought. The Jacobites form up in battle order at Kinbuck, and intend to march out toward Dunblane. The sun rises around 8 am, and as it does so, some Jacobites notice a party of horsemen on the heights of Sherrifmuir. Unknown to them, this is Argyle himself on reconnaissance. The Jacobites remain in their formation and do nothing until midmorning, when a mixed party of horse and foot is sent out to clear the heights. At this the horsemen vanish. Mar is uncertain how to proceed, but he makes a stirring speech, and it is agreed that the army must move out aggressively and attack Argyle without further delay. Heading south in march order, they receive word that Argyle is on their flank, up on the moor, and swiftly turn to meet him. Unfortunately, the head of the Jacobite column is already forming for battle and attacking before the rear of the left column has begun to march off. Worse still, some of the horse finds itself in the center, between the two wings. And again, another party of horse deploys on the wrong side due to mistaken orders. On the other side, Argyle, after being chased off, waits to see what Mar does, and deploying his army to the right and marching uphill. Unfortunately, the raw Government troops begin to straggle, so that while Argyle's right wing has

time to form up before being attacked, his exposed left is stuck facing the initial Highland Charge. The net effect is that each side turns the other's left flank. The Jacobites actually have the best of it, for while Argyle's left is completely routed, Mar's left is merely forced back in a series of pushes by the Government. However, Mar cannot reinforce his left or attack the remaining Government troops, as his Highlanders are either busy plundering or, like Rob Roy, watching to see which way the battle goes. His horse in particular, having been disorganised before the battle, is not prepared to assist. The battle ends with both sides reforming and the Jacobites advancing a second time. But their foot will not close, demanding that the horse now do some work. Argyle, although still outnumbered four to one, has chosen the best ground and is able to survive until nightfall, when he withdraws to Dunblane. (Outnumbered four-to-one, Wightman orders his men drawn up in two ranks behind some stone walls and has displayed all the colours his men can produce, whether the regiments are still on the field or not). Mar retreats to Ardoch. As the Jacobites wait in vain for Mar to order a second attack, Gordon of Glenbucket cries out "Oh! For one hour of Dundee!" (referring to James Graham of Claverhouse, who smote the Williamite army at Killiecrankie in 1689).

In the far north, Inverness falls to the Whigs. The Government suffers one casualty. This enables the Whigs to consolidate their hold on the Highlands.

Monday, November 14: the Jacobites in Preston formally surrender. Carpenter sends his three regiments to Wigan for a rest, while Wills and the rest clean up the town, sort the prisoners, and begin military tribunals against those Jacobites still holding the King's Commission. In Scotland, Argyle returns to the battlefield to collect his wounded, under observation of the Jacobites. The Government forces have lost an estimated 663 men out of 3210, and 157 horses, plus 14 colours and 4 cannon. The Jacks have lost 232 men and 6 cannon, plus their entire supply train (6 bread wagons). Because of the Highlanders' habit of casting of their plaids before attacking, many of the men, especially those who retreated during the battle, are in want of proper winter clothing (and bedding, as their garments serve as blankets too) and return home. Mar does not expect to see them again before the Spring. The Jacobites are finished, but the rebellion drags on.

Sunday, November 20: around this time MacDonald of Keppoch joins Mar.

Monday, November 21: Argyle writes to Lord Townshend bragging of his victory at Sherrifmuir. Some Jacobites, in particular a party formed around Huntly, are already corresponding with him with regards to personal surrenders.

Thursday, November 24: Mar writes to James admitting the battle of Sherrifmuir was indecisive, but emphasising that the Jacobites retained the field. He is not sanguine about further efforts, however.

December 1715: Seaforth and Huntly leave Mar, explaining they have to return to the Highlands to defend their lands against Sutherland. They plan to retake Inverness, but it is just talk. Sutherland takes 1800 men against Seaforth's remaining 1200 and Seaforth submits to the Government without a fight. Huntly also surrenders at little later. Foolishly, Seaforth plunders some of his Whig neighbours after hearing of James' landing, and his estates and title become forfeit. Many more Highlanders return home, as is their custom, including the Athollmen and those clans under their influence (the Duke of Atholl having already lost two battalions of his men at Preston), the Drummonds, and Breadalbane's Campbells. Mar himself sends an emissary to Argyle, and later writes a letter to him, to see what the terms of a surrender might be, but Argyle does not yet have the power to treat with him. Many of the Highlanders now hoped to be bribed to lay down their arms, as happened in 1690. Midmonth, James manages to reach Dunkirk, after

avoiding assassination attempts. Argyle is reinforced by Stanhope's and Newton's Dragoons from Preston, and by the Dutch, and also by General Cadogan, a harsh officer sent from London to ensure that Argyle does not "go soft" on the rebels.

Wednesday, December 1: hearing that Inverness has fallen, Seaforth leaves Mar's camp with two battalions and 300 horse to retake it, but actually he is quitting the business.

Tuesday, December 6: Huntly leaves Mar, saying he will rejoin him later. He never does, surrendering soon after.

Monday, December 12: Stanhope's Dragoons arrive in Edinburgh.

Thursday, December 15: Mar holds a general rendezvous of his troops in Perth. Although he still has several thousand men, inaction, disillusionment, and boredom are taking their toll.

Saturday, December 17: the first Dutch troops arrive at Leith – 3000 men (some sources indicate 1400 men had already arrived before the 12th). Another 3000 follow shortly.

Monday, December 19: The Hanoverians bombard and then recapture the port of Burntisland. This allows them to go on and reclaim all of Fifeshire, with its important coalfields.

Thursday, December 22: James lands at Peterhead after a week of dodging enemy ships and enduring extremely rough weather in a small boat. Due to the massive desertions, Mar's army is only some 4000 strong, and only 2500 can be relied upon. He hopes that some of the clansmen will rejoin when James arrives, but few do.

Saturday, December 24: James and a few followers travel incognito to Fetteresso Castle, seat of the Earl Marischal.

Tuesday, December 27: Mar, the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton and 25 others, plus a troop of horse, arrive to meet with James. Hamilton is being sent to France to speed up the delivery of supplies, but he is actually in disgrace, since it was his wing that gave way at Sherrifmuir.

Wednesday, December 28: James has intended to go to Perth, but suffers an attack of the ague and is confined to bed for five days.

Monday, January 2, 1716: James moves to Brechin.

Tuesday, January 3: James arrives at Kinnaird. Argyle sends his chief engineer to Edinburgh to make up a train of artillery and to collect stores for an army of 9000 men. Eventually Argyle will have three either complete or partially complete artillery trains under his control. He already has seven regiments of cavalry and twenty battalions of foot.

Wednesday, January 4: James travels to Glamis.

Thursday, January 5: around this date, two small ships arrive from Calais. One, bearing 100,000 ducats in gold bars from the Duke of Berwick, and accompanied by his son, is wrecked off St. Andrews.

Friday, January 6: James arrives in Dundee and makes a public entry.

Saturday, January 7: James stays at Fingask.

Sunday January 8: James moves to Scone Palace, ancient site of the coronation of the Scottish kings.

Monday, January 9: James makes a public entry into Perth and reviews the army. Initially he is well received, but the men had expected reinforcements. When it becomes obvious that he has not, they are disappointed in both him and Mar, who has all along been promising great things. James himself, sick and depressed, is not an inspiring figure. His rampant Catholicism disgusts many.

Tuesday, January 10: James issues a proclamation for all loyal subjects to join his Standard.

Thursday, January 12: the Jacks want to recover the treasure ship at St. Andrews, but the Dutch have overrun Fifeshire, and Mar fears that a strong recovery party will merely draw attention to itself. Eventually the Dutch soldiers recover most of the gold.

Saturday, January 21: 200 Government Dragoons conduct a reconnaissance in force of the approaches to Perth. The Jacobites are troubled.

Monday, January 23: this day James is slated to receive his coronation. (There are some reports that a hurried ceremony did take place).

Tuesday, January 24: Argyle leads a strong advance party to Dunblane. This activity is inflated by rumour into the immanent descent of the entire Government army on Perth. The Jacobites panic and decide to apply a scorched earth policy to the lands between Dunblane and Perth. This is done at James' express order, but there are suggestions that some of the local lairds, including Mar, are looking for an excuse to punish those of their people that did not support them. Certainly James is distressed by the order, while Mar sees it as a necessity.

January 25-29: For the next few days, Highlanders roam at will burning and looting, and in some cases killing. In any case, many of the local people perish from exposure and hunger. Auchterarder, Crieff, Dunning, Muthil, and Dalreoch are burned to the ground – Auchterarder twice, as some buildings are still standing. Chief among those carrying out Mar's orders are Clanranald, Lord George Murray, and Lord Drummond's own factor (who wants to punish his tenantry for not taking up arms). Although the affair is not unusual both in rebellions on the Continent and amongst the Highlanders, it is a pointless gesture, as Mar does not even intend to defend Perth. Cadogan never ceases to urge Argyle to advance, and writes to London saying the time is ripe and the obstacles minor. Argyle also writes to London, blaming the snow and the Jacobites' scorched earth policy for the delay.

Sunday, January 29: as the last destruction is wreaked by the Jacobites, Argyle, having finally assembled all his strength (reported as 12000 men, half of which are Dutch) and provided for any contingency, sets out from Stirling. He is well informed of Jacobite affairs, but they are also knowledgeable about his. He has been trying to get the Government to agree to a policy of clemency, in order to end the rebellion as quickly as possible, but so far, the "hawks" are still out for blood. London pushes Cadogan to take a hard line with Argyle – as if he needed pushing. Meanwhile, the Jacobite camp has split into two factions. The first, consisting mainly of the rank and file, want to stand and fight. The leadership however, led by Mar, has already decided to give up and try to save their property and careers. They keep quiet for now, understanding that if their ideas became known, the clansmen would butcher them all. To appease the more warlike, Mar calls a council of war, but it decides nothing.

Monday, January 30: the Jacobite council drags on. After breaking for the evening, Mar calls a secret meeting in which it is decided to "put an end to the Design in general for a time". Mar states that he knows of a plot to seize James and hand him over to Argyle. This decides the waverers. James arrives from Scone, to be told they are retreating next day.

Tuesday, January 31: the first Jacobite troops leave Perth. They cross the Tay River over the ice.

Wednesday, February 1: about 2 am, the outriders of Argyle's army enter Perth. The "scorched earth" has made the journey uncomfortable, but the only delay has been through the need to clear the road of snow. The Jacobite army is at Dundee.

Thursday, February 2: the Jacks leave Dundee in two columns, one escorting James and bound for Montrose, the other marching directly on Brechin.

Friday, February 3: The Jacobites enter Montrose. Argyle is at Dundee (he remains consistently a day's march behind, and is accused of "lingering", but in fact the Highlanders are just that much faster than his army). At the best estimate, they are down to some 3000 well-armed infantry, another 1000 poorly armed foot, and some 7-800 horse. There is barely enough ammunition for a single day's action.

Saturday, February 4: at 9 pm, James embarks for France aboard the 90-ton *Marie-Therese*. With him are Mar, Lord Melfort, and Lord Drummond. James had intended to bring off most of the leadership, but the rest cannot be communicated with in time – Marischal refuses to desert his men, and in fact commands the rearguard (reputedly 1000 horse) for the rest of the retreat. The Government has expected this eventuality and a naval squadron is waiting for the rebel party, but the Jacks elude it. Mar pretends that shipping just happened to be available, but in fact the boats were sent from Dundee before the army left Perth. General Gordon takes command of the army and leaves Montrose that night. He has been given authority to negotiate a surrender, and also most of James' pocket money, in order to pay of the troops and recompense the people of Perthshire (the burnings still bother James' conscience).

Sunday, February 5: the Jacobites arrive at Stonehaven. Argyle's advance guard reaches Brechin and the rest are at Montrose. Gordon reveals his commission and James' intentions, at which many are upset. He also receives word from Huntly of a plan to retake Inverness and has some hope of a new, 7000-man army that may be raised in the north. At this time the Jacobites only have enough ammunition for a single day's action by 2000 men. James had written to Argyle, but the letter is suppressed, partly because its tone would only have annoyed the Duke, and partly because of the hope that Inverness can be taken and the Rising continued.

Monday, February 6: the Jacks arrive in Aberdeen at midday.

Tuesday, February 7: the Jacobites leave Aberdeen. The horse reaches Old Meldrum, and the foot makes it to Inverury. With Gordon in command, they are heading into the midst of his own country.

Wednesday, February 8: Gordon takes the Jacobites to Strathbogie. Argyle halts his pursuit in Aberdeen. By this time, Huntly has passed word that there will be no attempt on Inverness, and that he is planning to make his peace with the administration.

Thursday, February 9: the remaining Jacobites march to Keith. Huntly destroys the cannon he has accumulated (taken from Aberdeen), so that this new force will not be able to make an attempt on Inverness.

Friday, February 10: General Gordon takes his men to Glenriness. They meet some men who are trying to leave the country, but the ports are being blockaded. Huntly admits a garrison of Grants into his Castle. James arrives at Waldam, near Calais. He goes into hiding for a time.

February 11,12: the army begins to break up. Some head for Badenoch, while others go to Kincairn in Strathspey. The remaining Athollmen have already left.

Tuesday, February 14: immobilised by bad weather, General Gordon holds a conclave at Ruthven where it is decided to write to Argyle asking for a general indemnity. The clans then disperse to their homes.

Tuesday, February 21: the remaining Jacobite leadership passes into the west, some bound for Skye, others for the Hebrides or the Orkneys.

Friday, February 24: Derwentwater and Kenmuir are executed. Public opinion turns against the Government.

Afterwards

*Brave Derwentwater he is dead;
From his fair body they took the head;
But Mackintosh and his friends are fled,
And they'll set the hat on another head.
And whether they are gone beyond the sea,
Or if they abide in this country,
Though our king would give ten thousand pound,
Old Mackintosh will scorn to be found.*

Most of the ordinary clansmen were able to escape the wrath of General Cadogan, who, with General Wightman, took over command from Argyle in mid-February. The Government forces launched a two-pronged advance from Inverness and the south, meeting at Ruthven (3000 foot and 500 horse) and then fanning out west to scour the glens. General Clayton was sent with 400 men to Appin and Glencoe. 600 men and some small ships from Argyleshire were sent against the Western Isles. That was the plan, but in fact the weather was so atrocious that they soon gave up all pretence of doing anything but trying to survive.

Some of the wilder Jacobites spoke of continued resistance in the west, but eventually, most of the leaders fled, either to the Western Isles, like Clanranald, or to Orkney, and from thence to Sweden, where they took service in Charles XII's army or travelled to James' Court. Forty-nine noblemen and lairds were Attainted for High Treason – a penalty taking effect if they did not submit before June 1, 1716. Some did, but most forfeited their estates. However, many managed to recover their property by having relatives buy the land as it came up for auction. General Gordon was given his property back, and received a pardon, because he had been Attainted under the name Thomas, when his Christian name was Alexander!

Although the punishment meted out to the Jacobite prisoners was lighter than in 1745, it was still sufficiently harsh to generate a lot of sympathy for the rebels, to the point that many people openly applauded their acts, forcing the Government to relax its severity. The prisoners taken at Preston were either incarcerated locally (usually the rank and file) or marched to London. It would be hard to say which fate was worse. Those in Lancashire were made an example of for the edification of the local people; even those spared torture and execution suffered from the conditions in the local jails. Of the peers taken to London, Derwentwater, Kenmuir, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Nairn, and Widdrington were impeached on the charge of High Treason. Their trials were begun swiftly. Only Wintoun pleaded Not Guilty. All were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Wintoun pretended madness (this was easy, since many already believed he was mad). As "unfit to stand trial", he would have had his sentence commuted, but in fact he was able to escape by sawing through the bars on his cell window. Nithsdale also escaped, dressed as a woman, with his wife's assistance. She had earlier petitioned King George to no avail – clutching his robes she was dragged across the council chamber floor as he attempted to flee her presence.

Forster simply walked out of prison after entertaining the governor in his quarters – something fishy there. True to form, Old Borlum and thirteen others engineered a mass breakout, overpowering their jailers. Eight were recaptured, but Borlum himself, his son, and several others got safely away, to the delight of the general populace. Only Derwentwater and Kenmuir were actually executed. The deaths of such charismatic young men swung public feeling in favour of the prisoners. Most who received the death sentence were pardoned in 1716. For the majority of the rank and file, the one-year suspension of Habeas Corpus expired in the summer of 1716, automatically releasing suspects from prison. Freedom

could also be obtained by making an early submission. Some were deported, particularly those tried in Lancashire, via Liverpool, whose merchants specialised in the slave trade. Deportation was usually in the form of indentured servitude in the Americas, and people often petitioned to be banished before their trial, knowing that they would eventually be freed after a few years of service.

In Scotland, the people of the Northeast and Perthshire suffered the usual pains of an army of occupation. They found the Dutch troops to be marginally worse than the English. As for the Scottish prisoners, there was much sympathy for them, even among the juries set to try them, so quite a few were simply released. A few were taken to Carlisle for trial, but this was contrary to the principles of the Act of Union. Huntly was one of these, but he was recalled to Edinburgh to help the Government, since he now professed total loyalty to King George. The rest, including Gordon of Glenbucket, were either released after arrival in Carlisle, or tried and either found Not Guilty, or pardoned in 1716. There were also escapes. Nineteen men escaped from Edinburgh Castle (one was killed falling from the wall), and others escaped from the Tollbooth (the warden was a Jacobite sympathiser).

Still recovering from his travels, James Stuart dismissed the traitorous Bolingbroke from his service. He himself, after a period of hiding, went to Avignon and lived under the Pope's protection, until forced yet again to move, this time to Rome.

In general, the Jacobites were more annoyed than discouraged by their failure in 1715. The Highlanders especially, being virtually immune to Government control, merely handed over their most worn-out ironmongery and buried the rest for later use. (Apparently there was a brisk trade with Holland in obsolete arms, purchased by the Scots for just this reason). Not until General Wade made his inspection in 1724 did the Administration begin to open up the North with roads and impose control with garrison posts.

The effect of the '15 has been judged negligible, but in fact the attempt was the closest that the Stuarts ever came to regaining their throne, despite the ineptitude and lack of coordination. With more aggressive leadership and a clearer operational plan, the Jacobites could have decisively defeated Argyle and probably dissolved the Union. Whether England could or would have been taken, assuming no French intervention occurred, is difficult to say. However, with all Scotland and the Borders in arms it is unlikely that the central government could have reconquered the north, even with foreign aid; and certainly the French would have been readier to support an independent Scotland than an exiled monarchy.

APPENDIX A

Declaration of the Earl of Mar, September 9, 1715

Our rightful and natural King James the 8th, who, by the grace of God, is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to entrust us with the direction of his affairs and the command of his forces in this his Ancient Kingdom of Scotland. And some of his faithful subjects and servants met at Aboyne, viz. the Lord Kintley, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Mareschal, the Earl of Southesk, Glingary from the Clans, Glenderule from the Earl of Broadalbaine, and gentlemen of Argyleshire, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, the Laird of Auldair, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton, Major-general Gordon, and myself, having taken into our consideration His Majesty's last and late orders to us, find, that as this is now the time that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him; so it seems to us absolutely necessary for His Majesty's service and the relieving of our native country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects and lovers of their country should with all possible speed put themselves into arms.

These are therefore, in His Majesty's name and authority and by virtue of the power foresaid and by the King's special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you forthwith to raise your fencible men with their best arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me and some other of the King's forces at the Invor of Bracmar on Monday next in order to proceed in our march to attend the King's Standard with his other forces.

The King, intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering nor other disorders upon the highest penalties and his displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed.

Now is the time for all good men to show their zeal for His Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring not only of our rightful and native King, but also our country to its ancient free and independent Constitution under him whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations”.

The Highland Quorum: The Earl of Mar's Rebellion 1715-16. A Charlie's Year Module. © 2004, 2010 Red Sash Games

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*Come up amang our Highland hills
Thou wee wee German lairdie,
And see how the Stuart's lang kail thrive,
They dabbled in our yairdie:
And if a stock thou daur to pu'
Or hand the yokin' o' a plough,
We'll break your sceptre owre your mou'
Thou wee bit German lairdie.*

The Wee German Lairdie

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COUNTER MANIFEST

British Units	Gar Command	Dutch Units
Ashburnham's & Northumberland's Trps of Horse Guards	England	Dragonder Regiment van de Duyn (Mounted & Dismounted)
Cholmondeley's & the Earl Marishal's Trps of Horse Guards	England	1 Bataljon Switzer Regiment van Stürler
1-2 Troops of Horse Grenadier Guards	England	Regiment van Schmidt
1-3 Battalions Tatton's Regiment of Foot Guards	England	Switzer Regiment van Chambrier
1-2 Battalions Churchill's Regiment of Foot Guards	England	1-2 Bataljon Switzer Regiment May van Huningen
1-2 Battalions Dunmore's Regiment of Foot Guards	England	Regiment van Cromström
Peterborough's Regiment of Horse	England	Regiment van Welderen
Lumley's Regiment of Horse	England	Regiment van Zoutland
Pitt's Regiment of Horse	England	Regiment van Rantzouw
Windsor's Regiment of Horse	England	Regiment van Pallandt
Jocelyn's Regiment of Irish Horse	Ireland	
Davenport's Regiment of Irish Horse	England	Loyal Scots Units
Blackwell's Regiment of Irish Horse	England	Earl of Lauderdale's Troop of Horse
de Sibourg's Regiment of Irish Horse	England	Earl of Eglington's Troop of Horse
Molesworth's Regiment of Dragoons	England	Earl of Glencairn's Troop of Horse
Newton's Regiment of Dragoons	England	Earl of Martoun's Troop of Horse
Hill's Regiment of Dragoons	Scotland	Earl of Kilmarnock's Troop of Horse
Dormer's Regiment of Dragoons	England	Earl of Forfar's Gentlemen Volunteers
Munden's Regiment of Dragoons	England	1-4 Battalions Argyle Militia
Carpenter's Regiment of Dragoons	England	1-3 Battalions Glasgow Militia
Kerr's Regiment of Dragoons	England	Ayrshire & Paisley Volunteers
Evans' Regiment of Dragoons	England	Edinburgh Volunteers
Bowles' Regiment of Dragoons	England	Dumfries Regiment
Ross' Regiment of Dragoons	England	The Earl of Weems' Battalion
Killigrew's Regiment of Dragoons	England	The Earl of Rothes' Battalion
Stair's Regiment of Dragoons	England	1-2 Battalions the Duke of Buccleugh's Regiment
Portmore's Regiment of Dragoons	Scotland	The Duke of Roxburgh's Battalion
Honeywood's Regiment of Dragoons	England	The Marquis of Annandale's Battalion
Pepper's Regiment of Dragoons	England	The Duke of Douglas' Battalion
Wynne's Regiment of Dragoons	England	1-2 Battalions the Duke of Hamilton's Regiment
Gore's Regiment of Dragoons	England	The Earl of Cassillis' Battalion
Churchill's Regiment of Dragoons	England	
Stanhope's Regiment of Dragoons	England	Black Watch
Clayton's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	1-2 Battalions Islay's Campbells
Montague's Regiment of Foot	Scotland	1-2 Battalions Earl of Sutherland's Regiment
Lord North & Grey's Regiment of Foot	England	Lord Reay's MacKays
Morrison's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	Campbell of Clunes' Battalion
T. Harrison's Regiment of Foot	England	Clan Ross
Seymour's Regiment of Foot	England	Colonel Munro's Men
Earl of Forfar's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	Rose of Kilavrock's Men
Kirke's Regiment of Foot	England	Forbes of Culloden's men
Sabine's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	
Preston's Regiment of Foot	England	Other
Whetham's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	1-2 Mixed Artillery Train
1-2 Battalions Hamilton's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	(Batts 1-4)
R. Handasyde's Regiment of Foot	England	Siege Artillery Train
Lord Orrery's Regiment of Foot	Scotland	
Grove's Regiment of Foot	England	Auxiliaries
Sterne's Regiment of Foot	England	1-3 Converged Grenadier Companies
Wightman's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	1-2 Geconvergeerde Grenadier Comp. (Dutch)
Irvine's Regiment of Foot	Scotland	4x Company Black Watch (<i>from Charlie's Year</i>)
Harrison's Regiment of Foot	England	1x Pioneers
Meredith's Regiment of Foot	England	
Egerton's Regiment of Foot	England	From Charlie's Year
Gorge's Regiment of Foot	England	3x Army HQ
Shannon's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	14x Brigade HQ + Dutch Brigade HQ
Borr's Marines	Ireland	20x Garrison HQ,
Goring's Marines	England	2x Dummy HQ
Will's Marines	England	1x Hub
Charlemont's Regiment of Foot	England	5x Dépôt
Wade's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	
Corbett's Regiment of Foot	England	(Note that there is no Grand Army HQ – see Ex. Rule 3.24).
Dormer's Regiment of Foot	England	
Newton's Regiment of Foot	England	
Windsor's Regiment of Foot	Ireland	
Churchill's Marines	England	
Mordaunt's Marines	England	
Holt's Marines	England	
Mountjoy's Regiment of Foot	England	
Hotham's Regiment of Foot	England	

<p>Jacobite Highlander Units 1-2 Battalion Cameron Regiment 1-2 Battalion Robertson of Struan Regiment Rob Roy MacGregor's Regiment Clanranald MacDonald's Regiment Keppoch MacDonald's Regiment MacDonald of Glencoe's Men Chisholm of Strathglass' Men Clan Chattan MacPherson Battalion Clan Chattan Farquarson Battalion Clan Chattan MacIntosh Battalion 1-2 Bn MacLeod of MacLeod's Regiment MacLeod of Raasay's Men MacLeod of Assynt's Men MacNeil of Barra's Regiment Menzies of Shian's Men Grant of Glenmorriston's Men Lachlan MacLachlan's Men Stewart of Appin's Regiment Gordon of Glenbucket's Regiment 1-2 Battalion MacDonald of Sleat's Regiment 1-2 Battalion MacDonald of Glengarry's Regiment 1-2 Battalion MacDonald of Moidart's Regiment MacEwan of Skye's Men MacLean of MacLean's Regiment MacDougall of Lorne's Regiment Stuart of Invernitye's Men The Macrimmons of Skye</p> <p>Jacobite Lowland Units The Earl Marishal's Horse Sinclair's Fifeshire Horse Linlithgow's Stirlingshire Horse 1-2 Battalion Earl of Mar's Regiment 1-2 Bn Earl of Perth's Rgt of Drummonds <i>(Logie Almond's/Inverie's)</i> The Earl of Linlithgow's Regiment Lord Strathmore's Battalion of Drummonds Viscount Strathallen's Bn of Drummonds Lord Ogilvie's Battalion The Earl of Home's Battalion The Earl of Errol's Men The Earl of Panmure's Battalion</p> <p>Neutral Clan Units (counters for each Side) 1-2 Squadron The Marquis of Huntly's Horse Seaforth's Scrabbies 1-5 Battalion Seaforth's MacKenzies Lord Seaforth's "Wild" MacRaes 1-2 Battalion Grant of Grant's Regiment 1-2 Battalion Fraser Regiment Glendaruel's Breadalbane Campbells Glenlyon's Breadalbane Campbells John Campbell's Breadalbane Campbells 1-2 Bn Marquis of Huntly's Rgt of Gordons Lord G. Murray's Battalion of Athollmen Lord Nairne's Battalion of Athollmen Tullibardine's Battalion of Athollmen Murray's Battalion of Athollmen Viscount Stormont's Battalion</p>	<p>Border Jacobite Units Kenmuir's 1st Trp of Scottish Border Horse Hay's 2nd Trp of Scottish Border Horse (Merse Troop) Wintoun's 3rd Trp of Scottish Border Horse Carnwath's 4th Trp of Scottish Border Horse Lockhart's 5th Trp of Scottish Border Horse Derwentwater's 1st Trp of English Border Horse Widderington's 2nd Trp of English Border Horse Hunter's 3rd Trp of English Border Horse Douglas' 4th Trp of English Border Horse Wogan's 5th Trp of English Border Horse 10x English Jacobite Band</p> <p>Other 1-2 Jacobite Artillery Battalion (From <i>Charlie's Year</i>) (1-6 Mixed Art Batts)</p> <p>Auxiliaries 7x Company Black Watch (from <i>Charlie's Year</i>)</p> <p>From Charlie's Year 1x Grand Army HQ (Be sure to use the "1715" <i>Army of the Stuarts</i> counter) 3x Army HQ 8x Brigade HQ 10x Garrison HQ 2x Dummy HQ 1x Hub 5x Dépôt <i>Do not use any French HQs.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Leaders for Both Sides</p> <p>Government John Campbell, Duke of Argyle (M) General W. Cadogan, Earl Cadogan (M) William Johnstone, Marquess of Annandale (G) John Gordon, Earl of Sutherland (G) Algemeen van der Beck (G) (Dutch) Lieutenant General Thomas Whetham (G) Lieutenant General Charles Wills (G) Lieutenant General Evans (G) Lieutenant General John Carpenter (G) Lieutenant General Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (G) Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay (B) Archibald Douglas, Earl of Forfar (B) George MacKay, Baron Reay (B) Major General Joseph Whiteman (B) Brigadier General Alexander Grant, the Laird of Grant (B) Brigadier General Munden (B) Brigadier General Dormer (B) Brigadier General Honeywood (B) Brigadier General Jasper Clayton (B) Brigadier General Henry Hawley (B)</p> <p>Jacobite The Old Pretender, James Francis E. Stuart (R) John Erskine, Earl of Mar (M) Alexander Gordon, Marquis of Huntly (M) James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick (M) John Murray, Marquis of Atholl (M) William MacKenzie, Earl of Seaforth (G) "General" Thomas Forster (G) Major General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul (G) George Keith, Earl Marishal (G) General George Hamilton (G) William Gordon, Viscount Kenmuir (G) James Radcliffe, Earl Derwentwater (G) Campbell of Glendaruel (B) Alexander MacDonald Dhu (B) Allan MacDonald of Clanranald (B) Donald MacDonald of Sleat (B) Brigadier "Old Borlum" MacIntosh (B) James Drummond, Marquis of That Ilk (B) James F. E. Keith (B) John Hay of Cromlix (B)</p>
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*Cam ye ower frae France? Cam ye down by Lunnon?
 Saw ye Geordie Whelps an his bonnie wumman?
 W's ye at the place caad the Kittle Housie?
 Saw ye Geordie's grace a-ridin on a goosie?*

*Geordie he's a man, thair is little dout o't,
 He's dune aa he can - wha can dae wiout it?
 Down thair cam a blade linkin like malordy
 He wad drive a trade at the loom o Geordie*

*Tho the claith were bad, blythely may we niffer
 Gin we get a wab, it maks little differ
 We hae tint our plaid, bunnet, belt an swordie
 Haas an mailins braid - but we hae a Geordie!*

*Jockie's gane tae France an Montgomery's ladie
 Thair thae'll learn tae dance - Madam, are ye ready?
 Thae'll be back belyve, beltit, brisk an lordlie
 Brawly may thae thrive tae dance a jig wi Geordie!*

*Hie for Sandy Don, hie for Cockalorum
 Hie for Bobbing John an his Keilan quorum
 Mony's a sword an lance swings at heil an hurdie
 Hou thae'll skip an dance owre the bum o Geordie!*

Cam ye ower frae France?

James Hogg's "The Jacobite Relics of Scotland"

Verse 1: King "Geordie". "Whelps" is a play on the family name (Guelf); the "goosie" is one of the King's mistresses (they were shaped that way) lodged at the "kittle housie" – Scottish slang for a brothel.

Verses 2 & 3: these talk about the raw deal the country was getting under the Hanoverian régime in terms of the (Whig dominated) clothing industry. The "blade" looking to do a deal at "Geordie's loom" would be the Earl of Mar hoping to get a place under the new Administration. Verse 3 is obscure unless you know the dialect: "Niffer" means "barter" and "wab" is a section of cloth. "Tint" means "lost". Thus: it does not matter whether the "cloth" they have bartered for is good or bad, even if the English give them some sort of handout, the Scots have lost plaid, bonnets, belts and swords, hats and mechlin lace – but they have a *Geordie* – a guinea coin. The inference being that the Scots were sold out by their own government in 1707 in the all too familiar political scramble for table scraps and now have nothing to lose.

Verse 4 suggests the efforts to restore King James – various plotters visit the Continent; "Jockie" of course is slang for a Scotsman, but it can also mean a vagrant or beggar – one of the dispossessed; Sir James Montgomerie was a prominent opponent of the Union in the 1690s and a noted Jacobite agent – his "ladie" could mean his wife, but a homosexual was often described as so-and-so's "lady"; "learning to dance" means preparing for war; "dancing a jig" means the insurrection, leading to...

Verse 5: Sandy Don = General Alexander Gordon; Cockalorum = Marquis Huntly, the "Cock of the North"; Bobbing John = the Earl of Mar. They and their Highland Host hope to dance on the remains of King George.