

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1719: Revenge and Regrets

by

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The Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 was an ambitious failed attempt by Spain and the Jacobites to restore the exiled Stuart king James III to the British throne. Because of its failure, the 1719 rebellion has received little attention from scholars. This thesis examines the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 and the roles that Spain and the Jacobites had during this rebellion and creates a full narrative of the planning and execution of the rebellion. In examining these roles this thesis traces the origins of the rebellion, determines fault for the rebellion's failure, and for the first time reconstructs the weather that played a pivotal role in the failure of the rebellion. This thesis argues that the 1719 rebellion was in fact a significant Jacobite rebellion that could have potentially shifted the balance of power in Europe during the early eighteenth century had it not been for the intervention of the weather.

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1719: Revenge and Regrets

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The misery that so many are in is a most affecting thing, but where
we do all we can we must trust to providence to do the rest
-- James Francis Edward Stuart

Chapter One: An Introduction to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719

The early eighteenth century was rife with social change, conflict, and political turmoil. One movement in particular, the Jacobite movement, which sought to restore the exiled Stuarts to the thrones of England and Scotland, had a profound effect on European political affairs. The Jacobites or the followers of James (the Stuart heir to the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland) persistently sought to reclaim the throne of the three kingdoms after their loss to William of Orange in 1688. The Jacobites' attempts to invade England, Scotland, and Ireland, known as the Jacobite Rebellions, in 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745, plus several other attempts that never moved past the planning stage, all failed. Yet, scholars and historians have studied them as a series of important potential turning points in British, European, and even World history.

Since 1688, many works have been published describing the history and origins of the Jacobite movement. In the early and middle parts of the eighteenth century, the Jacobites and the Jacobite movement was viewed in one of two ways. The movement was seen either as a righteous quest to restore the "true" king of Britain to his throne, or as a treasonous cabal led by a group of ruffians who were bent on destroying the kingdom. It was not until the late eighteenth century, when the Jacobite movement was no longer a threat to the British government, that it became romanticized in common lore as the harmless bravado of young Scottish nobles (especially since one could then talk about it without the risk of punishment). The first major Jacobite "historian" Sir Walter Scott added to this romantic vision of the Jacobites. His 1817 work *Rob Roy*, which was set against the backdrop of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, helped turn a ruthless cattle thief (as many of his enemies called him) into a global

hero.¹ For much of the rest of the eighteenth and through the early part of the twentieth century, the Jacobites kept this luster, and were viewed as noble men who pursued their own cause, but never posed a serious threat to the well-established British government.

By the middle of the twentieth century, scholarly interest in the Jacobite movement revived. Many new histories shed a favorable light on the Jacobites and the Stuart cause. Charles Petrie was just one of the many authors writing with this perspective. His 1948 work *The Jacobite Movement the First Phase: 1688-1715*, brought about a new take on one of the Jacobites most important figures, James II. It was widely accepted to that time that James II was a tyrant, who was obsessed with power and a terrible ruler who was completely unaware of how to run a government. He was so awful that William and Mary overthrew him in the Glorious Revolution. Petrie's work began to challenge this perspective and argued, although almost to the point of supporting the Jacobites, that perhaps James was not nearly the tyrant everyone thought, but his work did little to change the established views. Petrie went on to write about the rest of the Jacobite movement and blamed the failures of *the fifteen* and *the forty-five* on poor leadership. By the 1970's and 80's interest in the Jacobite movement revived yet again thanks in large part to the anniversary of the Glorious Revolution that was fast approaching in 1988. Scholarship was divided between two assessments of James II and the Jacobite movement. The first held that the whole lot were utterly wretched, taking up the traditional view that James II was an evil ignorant tyrant and coupled it with Petrie's thesis that the rest of the Jacobite movement was doomed to fail because it was never an organized force. The second viewpoint from historians such as Jonathan Clark was that James was not as bad as people thought, but was not very effective at running a country, and the Jacobite movement failed as a whole because of unlucky circumstances. Clark and other scholars writing in the 1980's began to interpret the Jacobite movement different from the established

¹ Walter Scott, *Rob Roy* (London: Dent, 1966), introduction from 1828 edition.

view because of the new developments in social and economic history. As scholars focused more on the individual and less on established political hegemonies, Clark and others noticed that the Jacobite ideology was not just about overthrowing the government, but it had a different view of how to run a government. By the late twentieth century these were the two dominant arguments of Jacobite history and the three major areas of study in the history of the Jacobites were James II and the 1688 Glorious Revolution, the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, and the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.

Two of the more successful and largest of the rebellions, *the fifteen* and *the forty-five* have been most extensively studied. Much of this attention is because of the Jacobites' (partial) success in mobilizing segments of the British population behind the Jacobite cause during these campaigns and the availability of the sources. *The fifteen* was the best funded of all the Jacobite Rebellions, and *the forty-five* was the most successful, with the Jacobites making it to within one hundred miles of London before turning back thanks to poor intelligence about the political and military situation as well as good espionage work by loyalists to king George I. The work on *the fifteen* and *the forty-five* is extensive. For instance, there are seven books alone written on the 1746 battle of Culloden.² The abundant sources for these two rebellions have been accessible to scholars for decades. The publication of the Stuart Papers of Windsor Palace, the best source for the events of these rebellions, is in part responsible for the abundance of work done. In addition to Charles Petrie, Elizabeth Cruickshanks and even Winston Churchill have written on the Jacobite movement.

Other historians such as Jonathan Oates have branched out and filled in the gaps left behind by previous scholars, covering the entire movement from the 1660's until 1807 (the date when the last Stuart heir to the throne died). Oates focused on aspects such as troop

² Jonathan Oates, *The Jacobite Campaigns: The British State at War* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), 1.

organization and supplies in his 2011 work *The Jacobite Campaigns*. Recent revisionist work from Steve Pincus in *1688* (2009) and Scott Sowerby's *Making Toleration* (2013) is again changing the way historians view James II and even the early Jacobite movement. Pincus and Sowerby argue that James II was in fact a very smart man, and knew exactly what he was doing running the country. According to their arguments, James II had a vision of how he wanted England, Scotland, and Ireland to operate. The only problem was that the population of his subjects did not share his vision and he failed to win their support. Pincus and Sowerby both brought new archival evidence to their arguments. Pincus expanded the source material using more Dutch archives than previous historians had and reexamined the "Glorious" Revolution to classify it as the first modern revolution. Sowerby agrees with Pincus that it was a modern revolution, but disagrees that it was what the majority wanted citing newly found journals and voting records. Their new works are, in addition to the quality work and in-depth analysis on *the fifteen* and *the forty-five*, making further improvements to our understandings of these three areas (1688, 1715, 1745) of the Jacobite movement, but the same is not true of the other Jacobite Rebellions, especially the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719.

It is unsurprising that there have been few studies of the 1719 rebellion, given the lack of sources and a rebellion that was not nearly as successful as *the forty-five*, or as well funded as *the fifteen*. In studies of *the fifteen* and *the forty-five*, scholars mention the 1719 rebellion, but in little detail. The most significant works of the 1719 rebellion are William Dickson's 1895 book *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719* and Lawrence Smith's *Spain and Britain 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue* from 1987. The work done by these scholars of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 establish initial, but incomplete, narratives of the rebellion. They have reconstructed its broad contours: In late 1718, King Philip of Spain and his Prime Minister Giulio Alberoni joined with James Francis Edward Stuart and the Duke of Ormonde of the Jacobites to fight a common enemy. Together in early 1719, they launched a remarkably

ambitious naval invasion of Britain whose purpose was to raise a rebellion of Scots and disaffected Englishmen in order to overthrow Hanoverian monarch, George I. They contend that the rebellion was ultimately unsuccessful mainly because a significant weather event destroyed the Spanish Armada destined for Britain. Which are different from the reasons for the failures of *the fifteen* and *the forty-five* that failed because of poor leadership and a lack of supplies.

To date, Dickson's study had been *the* book on the 1719 rebellion. Scholars studying the rest of the Jacobite movement usually cited Dickson when they mention the 1719 rebellion. Dickson devoted fifty pages of narrative to the 1719 rebellion and edited and translated (from French) parts of over two hundred pages of letters mainly from the Duke of Ormonde taken out of the Stuart Papers. Dickson's narrative does well to map out the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. Half of his work covers the early planning of the rebellion from October 1718 until the expedition launches in March 1719. He then briefly covers the storm that damaged the Spanish fleet, mentioning it in just two paragraphs. The rest of his narrative describes the rebellion in Scotland. Although his narrative covers all of the major events of the 1719 rebellion, Dickson fails to explore the severity of the storm that damaged the Spanish fleet or assess how great a factor it was in the failure of the rebellion.

Smith took a slightly different approach and examined the economic connections between Spain and the Jacobites. Using sources from Spanish archives in Seville (the center of Spanish trade until 1717) Cadiz, and Madrid he argued that Spain had been discreetly financing the Jacobites since 1715.³ Thus, Smith improved upon Dickson by showing that Spain and the Jacobites had established a relationship well before they began planning an invasion 1718. Smith also did well in examining what the major players in the rebellion

³ Lawrence Bartlam Smith, *Spain and Britain, 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue* (New York: Garland Pub, 1987).

(Spain, Britain, Sweden, the Jacobites, Austria, and France) were doing between 1715 and 1719 and how they interacted with each other and the relationship that each country had with the other. He argues that the war of the Quadruple Alliance did not begin in 1718 when Spain and Britain declared war, but earlier. The first date he provided was 1717 when Austria and Spain began to fight, but he also argues that earlier ties between Spain and its enemies during the War of the Quadruple Alliance were the tensions that started the war. Smith traced the origins of the war back to the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion when Spain and France supported the Jacobites and argued that this relationship changed with the death of Louis XIV and this turned France and Britain against Spain. Their two works (and Dickson's work in particular) remain the best studies of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion.

This work will add to what Dickson and Smith have already covered. Although Smith did a better job at tracing the origins of the 1719 rebellion back to 1715, he did not go back far enough. To effectively understand the 1719 rebellion, one has to examine both the 1688 "Glorious" Revolution and the War of Spanish Succession. This work will show the origins of the 1719 rebellion beginning in 1688 (and arguably even further back). Both works also devoted far too little attention -parts of two paragraphs- to the storm that damaged the Spanish fleet. Yet, it was the most important factor in determining the success or failure of the rebellion. By reconstructing the nature of the weather event and its effect on military operations as well as on Spain's and the Jacobite's evolving strategy this work will contribute to the previous work done on the 1719 rebellion and give a more complete assessment of who or what was to blame for its failure.

I argue that the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 was not a singular event. It was an episode in the ongoing eighteenth century power struggle between Europe's major powers. Because Spain lost the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the 1719 rebellion saw the separate causes of Spain, and the Jacobites align, and together they formed one major power during

the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720). The potential of this alliance was never realized. Because of the rebellion's failure, Spain eventually agreed to give up its claims to the French, Sardinian, and Italian (Parma) thrones, Britain remained under the rule of the Hanoverian George I, and the Jacobites remained exiled from their native home. Nevertheless, if the 1719 rebellion had been successful, the balance of dominant powers in Europe would have changed in the eighteenth century for some time.

To understand how an alliance between Spain and the Jacobites evolved it is necessary to trace its origins. In doing so we will accomplish another aim of this thesis, which is to add to the history of the War of the Quadruple Alliance (which has been largely ignored). Most historians of the early eighteenth-century European relations include a few pages on the War of the Quadruple Alliance and describe its outcome, but they ignore the war's causes.⁴ Even less attention is devoted to the role of the Jacobite rebellion in this multi-party European struggle.

I wish to argue that the 1719 rebellion demonstrated the importance of the Jacobites in eighteenth century European politics. I believe that they were not just a problem for Britain as in *the fifteen* or *the forty-five*, but as they showed when coordinating with Spain, they were an important factor in the international relations of Europe. Fortune was not with the Jacobites, however; the weather and several other unforeseen problems curtailed their plans. Despite what scholars know about the rebellion, several vital questions remain unanswered. Who dreamed up the plans for the rebellion? What did each side expect to gain from helping the other? If they were successful, would Spain have handed Britain over to the Jacobites? How much of a factor was the weather in the failure of the rebellion? Did the weather just

⁴ It is hard to find many works that cover the War of the Quadruple Alliance. Most books that cover it like Wolfgang Michael's *England Under George I* only do so through the perspective of another event in history. In this case George I and so this work focuses largely on the war as it affected England and ignores the other countries like France, Spain, and Austria and fails to trace the War's origins between Spain and Austria.

serve as an excuse for the Spanish to cancel the expedition as political conditions changed and their interest flagged? In the end, was it truly a “Jacobite” rebellion? This thesis will investigate these questions—by, reconstructing the actual weather pattern of the storm, assessing its actual effects on the armada and its allies’ planning, provide the first full account of the major actors, deeds, and intentions, and assessing what each side hoped to gain from the rebellion.

After reconstructing the plan of attack, this thesis assesses the goals of each side in the 1719 rebellion. They both hoped for success and both failed to plan for major disaster. Yet, it seems, the lack of preparation was not entirely their fault. The weather, for example, was nearly impossible to predict in 1719. The accounts of the storm that damaged the Spanish fleet claim that it was an unusually powerful storm. We possess few sources to verify this, nor has anyone tried to do so. This thesis will also attempt to ascertain the size and strength of the storm from a variety of sources for March and April 1719: weather reports in newspapers from England, France, Spain, and Portugal, correspondence mentioning the weather during the time of the storm, barometric pressure readings taken during the storm, and logs from British ships sailing near the center and outer edges of the storm. All of this information and these sources are new to any history of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. From them this thesis shows that the storm that damaged the Spanish Fleet in March of 1719 was a cut-off low pressure system that affected the entire western part of Europe. This type of cut-off low was not a regular occurrence and would have been hard to predict at that time.

After reconstructing the weather, this thesis assesses how well the planners prepared for the weather. The weather can answer many questions about the possibility of success. Spain was prepared to risk the weather and destruction by any fleet in the English Channel because it wanted to attack Britain at all costs as long as it was a small cost. The Jacobites were just as guilty of this haste to attack. The aftermath of the 1719 rebellion showed the

significance of the rebellion for both sides. After the rebellion, Spain gave up its claims in the Mediterranean, and the Jacobites made no serious attempt to restore the Stuart line to the British throne until 1745. From all of this we will ask and answer the question: was the invasion in 1719 truly a Jacobite Rebellion or just a Spanish ploy to hurt Britain?

There is also one historiographical problem that I wish to address in this work. James Butler, the Duke of Ormonde, has a poor reputation from many historians because of his roles in the Jacobite movement (especially stemming from his role in *the fifteen*) and I believe that this is unwarranted. Charles Petrie blamed Ormonde for the failure of *the fifteen* in England, saying Ormonde's flight left all the plans in shambles, but at the same time called the plans in western England (the area Ormonde was responsible for) well organized.⁵ Other historians have also been quick to discredit Ormonde as a Jacobite leader because of his role in the War of Spanish Succession (see chapter three). This work will show that Ormonde was not incompetent and in fact was largely responsible for leading and creating the 1719 rebellion.

Limitations

There are some limitations to working on this project. First and most importantly, a portion of the sources that I would like to use are not available. Many of the ships logs that would have been helpful for chapter five are housed at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich and at the National Archives in London and can only be consulted in person. I am still missing sources from Cardinal Alberoni. I am able to access most of Alberoni's correspondence with the Jacobites through the archives of the Stuart Papers. Everything else that he wrote such as letters to Philip and British diplomats is preserved in correspondence in archives in Spain and in Britain. Because of these gaps in my source base, I am not able to assess fully Alberoni's plans. There are several instances where what I have to go off of is not Alberoni's letter to Philip and vice versa, but what Alberoni related to Ormonde about what

⁵ Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), 174.

Philip or one of the other British diplomats wrote to him. In addition to this gap, there exists another. Weather data for certain years is not extant. For instance, records of temperature and barometric pressure are absent for many years from 1710-1720 in Britain. If those records ever do become available, they should confirm what will be presented in chapter five, but until those records are found, we will never know for certain.

The inspiration for this inquiry came from studying the Spanish Armada of 1588. It is rather remarkable how the two events mirror each other, except of course in proportion. There will not be a major comparison between the two events, but a small section will be dedicated to the (comparative) structural questions raised by the precedent of the Great Armada of 1588 and later invasions disrupted by major storms. This part includes a brief examination of the odd coincidence of bad luck or planning plaguing Spain both times it tried to invade England.

Following the introduction in this first chapter, chapter two provides a summary of the Jacobite Rebellions from 1688 until shortly after the 1715 rebellion. It stops when the goals of Spain and the Jacobites begin to align and the formation of an alliance begins. In addition, chapter two presents a summary of the Jacobite movement and an introduction into the Duke of Ormonde where I argue that he is not the unorganized and unskilled planner that previous historians have claimed. Chapter three provides the wider political context of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion, a summary of the War of Spanish Succession, and how unresolved problems from the war led to the War of the Quadruple Alliance and a Spanish and Jacobite Rebellion. I argue that it was these unresolved problems that cause the War of the Quadruple Alliance and chapter four will show how the two separate causes of the Jacobites and Spain aligned. It also reconstructs the stages of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion, relating the roles of the many different people involved in the events. Chapter five reconstructs the cut-off low pressure system that devastated the Spanish flotilla. The reconstruction shows how the storm

prevented the Armada from making it to Britain. It will also relate how well Spain and the Jacobites prepared for the weather. Chapter six will draw on all these strands to answer the vexed question of the actors' intentions and the reason for their failures. It will analyze how Spain and the Jacobites believed they could get rid of George I. A closer look at the plans of the rebellion, what each side lost in the rebellion, and the position each side had in the War of the Quadruple Alliance can help explain why Spain and the Jacobites were willing to attempt such an ambitious undertaking. All of this, in turn, helps us determine that the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion truly was a "Jacobite" rebellion in both its goals and leadership, but only because of the precedent set by previous historians. As the Jacobites' plans slowly started to fall apart, Spain took more control of the expedition. At this point it became apparent what Spain's true goals were; control over the Mediterranean any way it could.

Chapter 2: The Jacobite Movement and Campaigns

The 1719 Jacobite Rebellion and the War of the Quadruple Alliance both originated near the beginning of the eighteenth century. The two events had their roots in decades-old disputes. The Jacobite period began after the 1688 “Glorious” Revolution; the War of the Quadruple Alliance was in many ways a continuation of the still unresolved disputes that had occasioned the War of Spanish Succession. With the benefit of hindsight, we see that both the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 and the War of the Quadruple Alliance were parts of an even larger, multiparty European power struggle. Spain and the Jacobites were just two pawns used by the rest of Europe to help preserve the “balance of power” in the early eighteenth century. The early Jacobite movement helps explain why the 1719 rebellion occurred and the War of Spanish Succession helps explain Spain’s involvement in the War of the Quadruple Alliance. Chapter three discusses how the political events of the eighteenth century enticed Spain to join the Jacobite side of the rebellion. This chapter examines the Jacobite issue (as it is called) and how Stuart royal succession led to an unstable European political atmosphere.

What is a Jacobite?

The two most challenging questions of any history of the Jacobites are: when does the Jacobite movement start and what is a Jacobite? There are several answers to each question in use and a multitude of books and essays are devoted to defining each question and answer. November 5, 1688 the day William of Orange arrived in England is a fitting date to begin the Jacobite movement, but starting here does not encompass all the necessary contextual material. Chronologically, one could start in fourteenth century Scotland with the first Stuart, Robert II, but for the purpose of this work it is more appropriate to begin later to help keep the muddled history of the Jacobites clear. It is, however, interesting to note that beginning with James I of Scotland, bad luck seems to have followed the Stuarts (luck being a terrible

word choice for a work of history, but there is really no better way to describe the Stuarts' time as kings of Scotland and later on England). James I was murdered as was James III, James II died in an accident, James IV died in battle, James V died young, and Mary Queen of Scots and Charles I were executed.⁶ Despite their early and often untimely deaths, the Stuarts still managed to become the kings and queens of England, Ireland, and Scotland; ruling all three kingdoms for much of the seventeenth century. In 1603, James I and VI (he was James VI of Scotland, but James I of England) became the first Stuart and monarch of any line to rule over both Scotland and England. After James's death his son Charles I became king. During his reign, Charles began to upset his English (and largely Protestant) subjects. First, he married a Catholic and his wife refused to be married in a Protestant church. Charles later began to seize more authority away from parliament with acts such as taxing without parliament's consent. This tension erupted into a Civil War in the 1640's. Eventually Charles and his followers lost on the battlefield and he was later beheaded, but his family fled Britain before they met the same fate once Parliament and Oliver Cromwell took over late in the 1640's.⁷ Shortly after Cromwell's death Charles I's son, Charles II, received an invitation to return to Britain and became the British Monarch in 1660. Charles II's brother James II and VII inherited the throne upon Charles II's death in 1685, and it was during James II's reign (or shortly thereafter) that the Jacobite movement began.⁸

With a rough timeline of the Jacobites created, one important question remains; what is a Jacobite? *Jacobus* is Latin for James; so Jacobites were the supporters or followers of James (in this case James II). Despite the many varied and technical terms of what a Jacobite

⁶ Ian Whyte and Kathleen A. Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites* (London: Routledge, 1990), 1; Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement, The First Phase 1688-1716* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), appendix.

⁷ Richard Cust, *Charles I: A Political Life* (Harlow, England: Pearson/Longman, 2005).

⁸ From now on (unless otherwise noted) James II and James III refers to James II and III of England; also known as James VII and VIII of Scotland. The earlier references to James II and III referred only to the kings of Scotland.

could be, we will use a simple term; a Jacobite was anyone who believed that James II, later his son James Francis Edward Stuart, and his son Charles, were the rightful heir(s) to the British throne. Whether someone fought for the Jacobites for merely mercenary reasons, only talked about these men deserving the throne, or vehemently supported and fought for them as the natural kings of Britain, each person in either deed or sentiment is a Jacobite for our purpose. The extent to which each individual supported the Jacobites was important and will be discussed later during the different rebellions (in addition see chapter 6), but for now, a Jacobite was anyone who believed that James II and his sons were the natural rulers of Britain. Therefore, for this chapter, with the goal of building the context of the 1719 rebellion, the Jacobite movement will begin in 1688 when James II lost the throne to William of Orange.⁹

Who supported the Jacobites?

In many cases from 1688-1745, the fortunes of a person determined who could be a Jacobite. If someone was an influential person in parliament, but then fell out of power, they became a potential Jacobite and often times were willing to help the Jacobites so long as they saw it to their advantage. Lord Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford were just two examples. Viscount St John (Bolingbroke) and Robert Harley (Oxford) were two high-ranking members of the British government during the War of Spanish Succession. Bolingbroke became Secretary of State under Queen Anne and helped arrange peace talks between France and Britain ending their respective roles in the War of Spanish Succession. Oxford became Lord High Treasurer and an influential member of Queen Anne's court. Both men fell out of favor once the Whigs and later George I ascended to power. In 1714, Oxford was sent to the Tower of London and in 1715 Bolingbroke was brought up on charges of treason for his contact and

⁹ For more information on the Stuarts before 1688, see Charles Petrie's *The Stuarts*, Scott Sowerby's *Making Toleration*, and Eveline Cruickshanks *The Glorious Revolution*.

correspondence with James and the Jacobites (although many members of parliament were in contact with the Jacobites once Anne died). Bolingbroke instead fled the country to France, where he joined the Jacobite court and became James's Secretary of State.

The same was true of people in large amounts of debt. If someone held large debts to the British Government or to London merchants loyal to the government, then they were likely to support the Jacobites. The prospect of opposing the current government and obtaining favor from a new one was an important reason why the rebellion was successful in Scotland among the lower classes (along with the clan relationship). During the 1690s, poor weather caused several years of famine and poor crops in Scotland.¹⁰ Many more people became impoverished and were desperate for help. After the Act(s) of Union in 1707, only a small portion of merchants received any benefit from the Union. In fact, the Act of Union hurt many smaller entrepreneurs. Previously Scottish merchants sold goods to France and other markets, but because Britain had been at war with France, Scottish merchants were no longer able to sell their products to their usual markets. The economy in Scotland during the early eighteenth century stagnated and soon declined.¹¹ Later in the century, the benefit of the Union was evident in places like Glasgow and Edinburgh, whose business boomed, but between 1700 and 1719 there was little benefit to the average Scotsman. Many people saw the Union as a way for Scotland to inherit the debt of the British government (which had grown substantially since William took the throne). The Union was so unpopular that in 1713 it fell four votes short of being disbanded.¹² By 1714, people in Scotland were ready to support something or someone who was willing to help them.

¹⁰ Christopher A. Whatley and Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 152-160.

¹¹ Whatley and Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, 158-164.

¹² Whatley and Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, 16.

The Glory Less Revolution

Much debate surrounds the 1688 revolution. For a long time the “Whig” perspective of British history presented it as a bloodless coup that overthrew a tyrant. This view still holds true in some circles, but more recently, there has been a successful attempt to reconstruct the turmoil and bloodshed that occurred during the “Glorious” revolution.¹³ Before we get to this point of rupture, however, we must examine Britain under James II’s rule. When James II inherited the British throne in 1685, it was a turbulent era with politics and religion at the forefront of most conflicts. During the reign of Charles II, the Tories and Whigs, the two main political parties of the time who were often on opposing sides of the political spectrum, were battling for a common goal; a parliament with tighter control of the government.¹⁴ Charles was well aware of parliament’s ambitions during his reign, but with the success of his taxation of English merchants, he needed little help from parliament and never conceded his power in exchange for money from parliament. He was also aware of the problems religion played in his realm and the conflicts that would emerge with a Catholic leading a Protestant kingdom. Charles possessed the political skill and savvy necessary to rule under those turbulent times. More specifically he knew how to keep all the vying powers equal and never let any drastic change go through Parliament too quickly; including an attempt to prevent his brother from taking the throne. James II, however, possessed few of the same qualities. Although he was a good leader of men, James was set in his ways, devoted to his beliefs, and supported (Christian) religious toleration so long as that religion’s followers supported him. After another unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne from him, Charles

¹³ For more information on the “Glorious” Revolution and in particular, the modern perspective see Steve Pincus’ 1688. A counter argument is Scott Sowerby’s *Making Toleration*. Both authors have the same argument in many respects but differ over the importance religion played in the revolution.

¹⁴ Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 17; Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 47, 54, 57, 61.

feared for the future of the kingdom, “I am weary of traveling, and am resolved to go abroad no more. But when I am dead and gone, I know not what my brother (James II) will do: I am much afraid that when he comes to wear the crown he will be obliged to travel again.”¹⁵

Charles was ultimately unsure of the fate of his brother’s future kingdom.

In 1685 shortly after inheriting the throne James II fought against the Monmouth Rebellion; an attempt by James Scott, the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II to take the British throne. Monmouth landed in England with a small force of loyal Dutch followers and attempted to start a rebellion in Western England (an area thought to be loyal to Protestantism and likely to rebel against a Catholic King). In response, James collected money to raise an army and successfully put down the rebellion. The money normally needed to be approved by parliament, but in this case James received the money without parliament’s approval. It was eventually approved after the rebellion was put down.¹⁶ Within three years, what appeared like a logical solution of raising funds to defend the country was turned against the king. Whig members of parliament along with a few Tories claimed that this was an example of James expressing absolute power and in doing so he disregarded parliament’s authority and the voice of the people.¹⁷ By 1688, this was not the only problem facing James from parliament.

Politically, James had problems with parliament, but he had even more problems with his religion. Both Whigs and Tories feared James II’s actions regarding religion. By 1687, after the challenges to its authority during the civil war the Church of England had come to

¹⁵ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 53.

¹⁶ John Fortescue and John Fortescue-Aland, *The Difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy; As It More Particularly Regards the English Constitution* (London: Printed by W. Bowyer, for E. Parker, and T. Ward, 1714). According to this treatise, written in the fifteenth century, parliament and its ability to provide the king with finances is what made England (Britain) different from France and an absolute monarchy. If a king side stepped parliament he became absolute.

¹⁷ George Hilton Jones, *The Main Stream of Jacobitism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), 3-4; Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution*, 15-20.

dominate religion in England and Protestantism (Anglicanism) in its various forms was preferred to Catholicism. Since James was a Catholic, there were always fears about his loyalty to England. During his short reign, James lessened the restrictions on Catholics, opening up access to government positions previously denied to them. In 1687, James began a “movement” to repeal the Test Acts (which limited religious freedom/toleration) and in turn offered what was close to freedom of religion in Britain.¹⁸ The toleration that James wanted in England (albeit for his advantage), was feared by those in parliament and the British government. James also started lessening the privileges of the Church of England thus alienating many of his conservative and Tory supporters.¹⁹ This alienation of his supporters and the attempts to repeal the Test Acts were what started the end to his reign, but religion was not the only problem.

What furthered parliament’s fears and led many historians to reflect negatively on James was his belief in his divine right, the idea that the monarch answers only to God. This idea had not begun with James II, but began with James I (of England) and VI and was carried on by his heirs. Many advisors during his reign and subsequent historians blamed James for losing the throne because of his refusal to convert to Protestantism. It was his devotion, however, that made James II, despite his many flaws, esteemed by his followers. Many times he was offered the return of the British throne, for himself and later for his son (James Francis Edward Stuart), if he just converted to Protestantism. James, however, stuck to what he believed and declined every time. What today might seem an easy choice to convert with the toleration we have for both faiths, in James II’s time was blasphemous. It is admirable that he stuck to his beliefs even if it meant costing him one thing he wanted

¹⁸ Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

¹⁹ Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution*, 16-18.

dearly.²⁰ Not all Britons, however, felt the same way. Steve Pincus has argued that many viewed James's religious policy and other bureaucratic policies as attempts to bring the British state closer to an absolutist monarchy much like in France under Louis XIV.²¹

By 1687, discontent with James had grown, but Parliament and the public tolerated him as long as policies remained the same (as long as the Test Acts were not repealed). James was aged and had no male successor, the differences between James and parliament appeared to be ending shortly because once James II died his Protestant daughters would inherit the throne, and this likely would have ended any attempt for more toleration of and privileges granted for Catholics. When his wife Mary of Modena unexpectedly gave birth to a son the future James III in 1688, and following his baptism as a Roman Catholic, the toleration ended and discontent among Whig and Tory supporters grew again.²² With the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart, rumors of a Popish plot against England reappeared. One in particular said that James Francis Edward Stuart was not actually the king and queen's child but was an orphan smuggled in to secure the king's line of succession. One logical place for this rumor to have started in was Holland.²³ William of Orange, who was married to Mary Stuart (James's daughter) the next in line to the British throne after the newly born James Francis Edward Stuart, began planning an invasion of Britain once word of Mary of Modena's pregnancy reached him in 1687. It was very likely that he or his followers created such a rumor to help support Mary's claim to the throne.²⁴ By 1688 parliament grew tired of James, and invited William of Orange into England to compete with James for the crown. What began as a challenge to James II intended to force him to back down and give into

²⁰ Not all monarchs of Europe thought in the same way as James. Henri of Navarre (Henry IV of France) converted to Catholicism in order to become King of France in 1594.

²¹ Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

²² Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration*, 237-240.

²³ Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution*, 19; Sowerby, *Making Toleration*, 238-239.

²⁴ Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution*, 18-21.

parliament's demands turned into the "Glorious" Revolution and the seizure of the throne by William of Orange.

William of Orange's arrival in England on November 5, 1688 marks the beginning of the Jacobite movement. For the next few weeks, James stuck around London waiting to see what resolutions there were, but neither he nor parliament was willing to capitulate (James did agree to change a few laws but these were seen as feigned attempts to please parliament). As William and his army marched towards London, James attempted to flee.²⁵ He was stopped at the coast by fishermen and returned back to London in December.²⁶ Upon his return, James received a warm welcome in London by the people. William, afraid of the public support for James, pushed on into the capital to quash the support. James soon fled to France with the memories of his father's execution in the back of his mind.²⁷ Within a few months, William, assisted by both the Whig and the Tory members of parliament who were eager to see his arrival in England, successfully took control of London.²⁸ In the end, William and parliament came together and during the next nine years, he opened up the British treasury to fight his nemesis Louis XIV.²⁹ Although William had a strong hold on the center of power in London by early 1689, the battle for the crown of the three kingdoms was by no means over. During the next three years, the battlefield determined the winner in the fight for the three kingdoms.

²⁵ Petrie suggests that William's army was a largely Catholic army, but Israel and Parker in *Of Providence and Protestant Winds*, found no evidence to support this. If Petrie was correct, the irony would be palpable; Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 63-66.

²⁶ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 63-66.

²⁷ Sowerby, *Making Toleration*, 246; Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites*, 2-3.

²⁸ Petrie (although lacking evidence to fully support this) gives a much more colored account of how this happened. He argued that William played both Whigs and Tories to secure the crown. In *The Jacobite Movement*, 66-68.

²⁹ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 66-68; Sowerby, *Making Toleration*, 238-239.

Scottish and Irish Campaigns

James returned to fight for his crown in Ireland in 1689 with troops from Louis XIV and support from Irish recruits. While James fought in Ireland, John Graham Viscount of Dundee led a rebellion in Scotland. The plan was to have James quickly end the war in Ireland and then send his army over to Scotland before William assembled his men and prevented James from taking Ireland. Initially this plan appeared successful. Dundee raised the Jacobite standard and several of the clans and wealthier estate men came out to support James II. The Jacobite forces under Dundee quickly seized Edinburgh castle but they only held it for a brief period. A series of light raids took place under the command of Dundee while the main Jacobite army assembled and awaited orders from James. On July 27, 1689, the Jacobite and the Williamite (English/British army) met at Killiecrankie. The Jacobite army squandered several opportunities to win the battle, but finally took the field once Dundee ordered the highlanders to charge.³⁰ The soldiers in the Williamite army consisted of many fresh recruits and became intimidated by the highlanders charging at them with their broadswords drawn. The victory was bittersweet, however, as Dundee died during the fighting, and with him died any effective Jacobite leadership. The last of the Jacobites laid down their arms in 1694, but the war in Scotland effectively ended after Dundee's death at Killiecrankie. Without him, the Jacobites struggled to find an effective leader.³¹

In Ireland, James and his army also had the upper hand in the beginning. The Jacobites held many of the major towns in Ireland, and by March 1689, only parts of northern Ireland remained out of Jacobite control. The only major port for William and his army to land at was Londonderry, so its possession was vital for both sides.³² If the Jacobites quickly conquered Ireland they could send troops into Scotland to help Dundee, but it was here in

³⁰ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 82-83; Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites*, 3-7.

³¹ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 84.

³² Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 87,89; Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites*, 17.

northern Ireland where things went downhill for the Jacobites. James II's army in Ireland had the support of many locals; however, this support consisted of a majority of Catholic followers. In most of the country, this was not a major problem, but in northern Ireland, which had a large Protestant population, this created tensions between the army and the local population. For much of the seventeenth century, each religious group persecuted the other in some way, creating a strong mistrust amongst the other. Trying to convince the northern Protestants that there would be no retribution proved challenging, and a large Protestant population feared for their lives.³³ The citizens of Londonderry believed that James and his Catholic supporters would kill all the Protestants in the city: a belief promoted by Williamite propaganda because James had lost the throne in part because he was too supportive of Catholics. The Jacobites besieged Londonderry despite inferior numbers, failed to break through, and consequently withdrew.³⁴ With a port in the north, William landed his troops in Ireland and both sides prepared for a major campaign in 1690.³⁵

In July 1690 at the battle of Boyne, James's army was defeated and soon the defeats poured on his army like a summer storm. Despite some limited success by Patrick Sarsfield at Limerick, the Jacobites went on the defensive and in 1692, the Jacobites and the Irish reached a peace agreement with William.³⁶ James left Ireland and returned to France before the peace was signed leaving many of his soldiers to fend for themselves. This angered several of his supporters who felt betrayed by James's quick departure. Some historians including Charles Petrie argued that Irish Catholic resentment at James II's early departure and their suffering at

³³ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 89; Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites*, 17-18.

³⁴ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 90-91.

³⁵ Interesting to note, the Duke of Ormonde actually came out in support of William during the Ireland campaigns of 1689-1692. It was not until after the war of Spanish Succession that Ormonde switched to the Jacobites; *Faithful Memoirs of the Life and Actions of James Butler, Late Duke of Ormonde* (London: W. Shropshire, 1732), 13.

³⁶ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 84; For more information on Sarsfield see page 98-103 of Petrie.

the hands of following the rebellion in the 1690s explains why the Irish remained relatively inactive for the rest of the Jacobite period.³⁷

After James left Ireland, the Stuarts would never again control their invasion attempts (or at least have a decisive say in their planning or execution). From 1692 on, they had to rely on foreign aid to assist them. As for James's supporters, many of them left for the continent. Irish soldiers, later known as the wild geese, served in the French army. Some Scottish soldiers also served in the French army and others served in Spain. Still others followed James II to France at St-Germain-en-Laye, where Louis XIV welcomed them. For the next few years, the Jacobite movement remained relatively quiet and sent no more armies to invade Britain. Jacobite plotters conceived a few other attempts during the rest of James II's life, including two assassination attempts of William III in 1695 and 1696. The 1696 assassination attempt of William was an elaborate plan that involved attacking William's carriage while he was awaiting a ferry to cross the River Thames during one of his usual hunting trips. After assassinating William, the plotters were supposed to have led a Jacobite rebellion in England and invite James to the throne. The plan, however, like many other Jacobite attempts was discovered beforehand by British intelligence and an admission by a Jacobite, Thomas Prendergrass.³⁸ Ultimately, William avoided danger because he did not go out for his hunting trips. The conspirators were later hanged, but not before they admitted to the plot and gave a detailed description of their plans. Their confessions were shocking not because of their objective, but because of how well it was planned out and how close it came to succeeding (at least in assassinating William). How much James was involved in the 1696 assassination plot is unclear, but this was the last major attempt to reclaim the throne by the Jacobites during James II's life. When James II died in 1701, the "British" throne passed on

³⁷ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 103,107; Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution*, 54-57.

³⁸ Pincus, *1688*, 438-440.

to his son, James Francis Edward Stuart (who would have been James III). Mary Stuart, James II's daughter died of smallpox in 1694 and William ruled until his death in a riding accident in 1702. Upon William's death, Anne Stuart, James II's youngest daughter became queen and ruled until her death in 1714.

James Francis Edward Stuart, the Act of Union, and the 1708 Rebellion

In 1708, the Jacobites prepared another attempt to invade Britain. After the passage of the Act(s) of Union in 1707, Scotland was perceived by the Jacobites to be ripe for rebellion. With Britain and France on opposing sides in the War of Spanish Succession (see chapter three), a Jacobite rebellion was advantageous to France's goals on the European continent. Plans developed to send 6,000 French troops to Scotland and join a Scottish Jacobite army upon their arrival.³⁹ By February 1708, the ships were ready to depart when James Francis Edward Stuart came down with measles, delaying the expedition until March. In March, strong winds pushed a British blockade away from the French fleet clearing the way to Scotland. While off the Scottish coast, the French admirals saw little support from the Scottish Jacobites and refused to land. Ian and Kathleen Whyte argued that the French refused to land because George Byng of the Royal Navy was not too far behind the French fleet, and had the French attempted to land troops, their ships would have been caught in a vulnerable position.⁴⁰ Other historians such as Charles Petrie argued that the British paid off the French admirals who deliberately delayed the expedition and refused to land in Scotland.⁴¹ Both scenarios were possible as corruption was a problem for any military in the eighteenth century, and the British fleet was just as likely to have made haste to catch the French fleet as soon as the storm passed. Regardless of why it happened, the French failed to land troops in Scotland and the rebellion never got off the ground. James was reluctant to see

³⁹ Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites*, 63.

⁴⁰ Whyte, *On the Trail of the Jacobites*, 63-64.

⁴¹ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 127-129.

the invasion fail and pleaded with the French admirals to let him sail by himself to Scotland and lead the rebellion. The French admirals refused, most likely because his direct involvement was not in the best interest of France: if the Pretender (James Francis Edward Stuart) were to die with no heir, France would have lost a huge bargaining chip in the War of Spanish Succession.

George I and *The Fifteen*

By 1714, the Whigs had again secured a majority in parliament and upon Anne's death, they sent an invitation to George the Elector of Hanover to become the next British monarch as George I. Before Anne died, she dismissed Robert Harley, Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Oxford and replaced him with Viscount St. John Bolingbroke (thanks in no large part to Bolingbroke's insistence that she do so). Oxford and Bolingbroke had a tense relationship by the end of Anne's reign with both men in contact with the Jacobites and both men trying to secure a high position in James's new government should he become king.⁴² Oxford went to the tower in 1715, once George I became king, where he remained for two years. After he fell out of favor with Anne and the new Whig government, Oxford is believed to have been an important figure in the Jacobite movement, but the extent to which he was involved is still uncertain. Several times during the planning of the 1719 rebellion Ormonde mentioned a Lord of Oxford as the informant and person responsible for telling the Jacobites the possible landing locations in England. Considering there is no Lord of Oxford, it makes sense to believe that Ormonde referred to Robert Harley the Earl of Oxford. With Oxford having such close ties to the British government, it is safe to assume that he knew of weak defensive areas in Britain, and if this is true he was a valuable ally to the Jacobites.

After Anne died, the Whigs moved quickly, placing George I on the British throne. Before Anne's death, the Tories were leaning more towards James and the Jacobites, but just

⁴² Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 150-154.

as in previous years, the Tories were disorganized and moved too slowly and the Whigs beat them to it.⁴³ George's accession to the throne was seemingly smooth. There were small localized protests took place in many towns and a larger organized protest occurred in Oxford.⁴⁴ These protests were a sign of future events.

George I was not well-received by the British public during the first years of his reign due in large part to actions of the British government during the past few years and in some places bad harvests. The Sacheverell riots of 1710 and the following riots of 1714 and 1715 attest to this. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral in London where he condemned the state of the current government and the state of the church.⁴⁵ Sacheverell was later put on trial for high treason and riots broke out during the trial. Although these riots were during the trial, the targets of many of rioters were religious dissenters. Later riots claiming to be associated in the name of Sacheverell in 1715 have also been attributed to food riots because of poor harvests the previous two years.⁴⁶ Other riots during 1714-1715 occurred on birthdays of George I, the Duke of Ormonde, James Francis Edward Stuart, and Charles I and on anniversaries of George I's accession, Charles I's execution, and the restoration of Charles II. These were all in response to the accession of George I.⁴⁷ Also working against George was his poor ability to speak English and spending half his time in Hanover which further distanced him from his subjects. Others in Scotland who were not merchants were still upset with the Act of Union seeing it as a way for Scotland to carry the burden of English debt. Early on, a portion of the population had already grown tired of George I (albeit a largely Jacobite portion). For much of 1714 after Anne died and 1715, riots

⁴³ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 145-154.

⁴⁴ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 154-159.

⁴⁵ Evelyn, Lord *The Stuarts' Secret Army: English Jacobites, 1689-1752* (Harlow, England: Pearson Longman, 2004), 42-44.

⁴⁶ Lord, *The Stuarts' Secret Army: English Jacobites*, 45-46.

⁴⁷ Lord, *The Stuarts' Secret Army: English Jacobites*, 42-48.

took place in western England. This was in response to the changing of the British government from Tory to Whig. The west had a large Tory following, many riots took place protesting this change in government, and consequently the accession of George I.⁴⁸ By 1715, the Jacobites began organizing another rebellion to put James back on the throne. James Butler, the Duke of Ormonde, led the major rebellion in western England, and a smaller diversion under the control of John Erskine the Earl of Mar took place in Scotland.⁴⁹ Mar is often ridiculed for his role in *the fifteen*, earning the nickname “Bobbing John” because of his slow movements and “weak” character.⁵⁰ He spent much of his life serving the British government in Scotland. Upon the accession of George I, Mar found his services no longer needed and offered his services to the Pretender. Before the rebellion fully developed, the British government learned of plans for the rebellion in England, in the fall of 1715 sent reinforcements to the west, and started searching for Ormonde. Ormonde, who had been in charge of British forces in Spain and the Spanish Netherlands during the War of Spanish Succession, left western England for France once he learned that the British government had charged him with treason by a vote of 234-187.⁵¹ Without any leader, the rebellion in the west soon died down, but the Scottish rebellion gained momentum. With the failure of the English rebellion (which was supposed to be the main rebellion), the attention of the Jacobites turned to Scotland.

⁴⁸ Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 35-36; Lord, *The Stuarts Secret Army*, 42-48.

⁴⁹ The rebellion in the west planned to use a weapons stockpile in Bath and from there take the ports in Bristol. This port would have made it possible for the Jacobites to obtain goods from their foreign allies.

⁵⁰ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 175.

⁵¹ *Faithful Memoirs of the Life and Actions of James Butler, Late Duke of Ormonde* (London: W. Shropshire, 1732), 39-41.

The 1715 rebellion was probably the best funded and supported rebellion of all the Jacobite Rebellions.⁵² The Jacobites had the aid of several European powers during the rebellion. France assembled a fleet to help the Jacobites, but it had to do so discreetly because of the treaty they signed after the War of Spanish Succession, which considered France aiding the Jacobites as an act of war against Britain. Louis XIV was still willing to put together a small group of forces once the opportunity presented itself, but he wanted to see that the Jacobites had a chance at winning before he openly joined the fight. Spain also became involved in the rebellion by sending money to the Jacobites, and Spain and France worked together hoping to send troops and supplies to the Jacobites. The problem with the Spanish help was that Philip V waited on France to join before Spain sent any troops and when Louis XIV died during the rebellion in 1715 and the Regent (the Duc d'Orleans) took control of the country France shifted strategy. Under the Regent, the French crown reneged on its commitments to the Jacobites and did not change its position until the Jacobites held a clear advantage over the British. The Jacobites' advantage, however, was short lived; the opportunity was lost and the French fleet never left the harbor. Spain tried to help by sending a transport ship with money to aid the rebellion, but the ship sank before it reached Scotland.⁵³

The Scottish Campaign

The Jacobite forces began assembling in early September 1715 and Mar possessed a large army of 5,000 supporters of clansmen that slowly grew in number. For much of 1715 Mar's army outnumbered his adversary's the Duke of Argyll.⁵⁴ Despite his advantages, Mar

⁵² Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 123-130, 147-150.

⁵³ Smith, *Spain and Britain, 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue*, 63-70.

⁵⁴ Deciding to support the Jacobite cause became a complex issue. Many factors such as politics, religion, social status, wealth, and even the risk of death were considered while making this decision. Because of this, Scotland (and England and Ireland) was often divided

failed to act on the opportunities presented to him. Mar waited at Perth for all his forces to arrive before he made any major moves, but in doing so the advantage he had was lost and the Hanoverian forces reinforced many of the major towns, including Edinburgh and Stirling, which then proved invulnerable to siege.⁵⁵ Mar and some of his smaller raiding parties took Inverness, Dundee, and Aberdeen along with a few other smaller cities and strongholds, but Mar failed to take full advantage of his early strength and this gave the British government time to strengthen their forces in Scotland. In November Mar and the Jacobite forces met up with the Duke of Argyll and the British forces at the battle of Sheriffmuir. Mar had an advantage in troops, outnumbering Argyll by two or three to one. During the battle, Mar trapped Argyll's forces, but failed to push forward the attack and let Argyll escape.⁵⁶ In the following months, British reinforcements arrived in Scotland and Argyll's forces came to outnumber Mar's. By the time James arrived in Scotland and met up with the Jacobite forces in January 1716, the rebellion was all but lost. Mar squandered any advantage he had in troop strength and draws on the battlefield were costly for the Jacobite army's morale, and proved the undoing of the army. The troops were largely volunteers and free to come and go as they pleased. As things went poorly on the battlefield, the Jacobite troops slowly disappeared and went back to their homes.⁵⁷ In February, James realized the cause was lost and sailed away from Scotland for France. Charles Petrie among other historians blames Mar for the failure of the rebellion because of his inaction during the early stages of the rebellion. Petrie, however, felt that the rebellion was doomed to fail from the start because Mar was the leader and

on the issue of supporting the Stuarts. This example in *the fifteen* pitted two Scottish Lords on both sides of the rebellion with each defending their idea of what was best for Scotland.

⁵⁵ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 172-174.

⁵⁶ Oates, *The Jacobite Campaigns*, 72-76; Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 173-174.

⁵⁷ Oates, *The Jacobite Campaigns*, 77; Frank McLynn, *The Jacobites* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 99-101.

because there was no effective general among the Jacobite hierarchy.⁵⁸ He stated, “never did the wrong man appear at the wrong time so completely as in the case of Mar in September 1715.”⁵⁹

Other historians have put blame on the duke of Ormonde for the failure of the 1715 rebellion. Winston Churchill found very few good qualities in Ormonde, but this dealt more with what happened in the War of Spanish Succession (see chapter three). This negative perspective of Ormonde has carried through to modern day. At the time, however, no blame fell on Ormonde. Even James did not blame Ormonde. He stated that Ormonde was not at fault for leaving England but had surrounded himself with poor advisors who gave him incorrect advice.⁶⁰ In fact, James blamed himself for the failure of the English rebellion stating that he was not there to guide Ormonde and give him the proper advice on what to do.⁶¹ So too, Bolingbroke who had become the secretary of state of for the Jacobites said Ormonde was not at all to blame for the failure of the rebellion.⁶²

The Failure of *The Fifteen* and the Aftermath

After the failure of *the fifteen* many Jacobites were held in captivity, executed (hanged, drawn, and quartered), or fled Britain for the continent to places such as France, Spain, and Russia. James, who was already unwelcome in France, searched for a new home. France allowed James’s advisors to stay in France in St Germain, but the old pretender had to leave and eventually moved to Rome, accepting an invitation from Pope Clement XI. Ormonde and Mar traveled with James and looked to find support from other countries for the next Jacobite Rebellion. Ormonde went to Sweden and secured the support of the

⁵⁸ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 175.

⁵⁹ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 175.

⁶⁰ Great Britain, and Francis Henry Blackburne Daniell, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers Belonging to His Majesty the King* (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Off. by Mackie & Co. ld, 1902), 463-464.

⁶¹ Great Britain, and Daniell, *Calendar of the Stuart Paper*, 463-464.

⁶² Bolingbroke to William Wyndham, 1715, found in Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 174.

Swedish government for a rebellion in 1717, but the British government caught wind of this before anything was ever launched. Nevertheless, ties between the two (Sweden and the Jacobites) had been created. The relationship between the two was important for the formation of the 1719 rebellion.

After failing in *the fifteen*, James dismissed Bolingbroke (who had been secretary of state for the Jacobites), in part because of his poor ability to keep secrets to himself.⁶³ Mar became his replacement. For the next few years it was up to Mar and Ormonde to string together any new attempt to bring James back to the British throne. Both men eagerly sought out a new ally and Spain proved willing. The two sides were in close contact during the 1715 rebellion and the connections made between each side in 1715 and during the War of Spanish Succession were vital to the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. One man in particular, Cardinal Giulio Alberoni proved to be a vital ally for the Jacobites. While the Jacobites were attempting to recover the throne, the rest of Europe, especially Spain, was busy with their own battles. Chapter three provides a summary of the War of Spanish Succession and presents the connection between Spain and the Jacobites. The connection between the two sides that developed during the War of Spanish Succession can help to explain why in 1719 Spain helped the Jacobites.

⁶³ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 215-216.

Chapter Three: Bon Cop de Falç

Clearly, the Jacobites and James Francis Edward Stuart had reasons to attempt an invasion in Britain, but why did Spain risk a war with Britain to help the Jacobites? Chapter three answers this question through an analysis of Spanish political history at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In many ways, the reasons Spain decided to join the Jacobites were based upon power, prestige, and European dominance. By the eighteenth century, Spain faced threats from Britain in all these areas.

For much of the early modern period, Spain was the leader of Europe. It controlled a vast empire and was the richest country in the world with gold and silver shipments running annually from its possessions in the Americas. During the seventeenth century, however, Spain's enemies gained a foothold in the European power struggle. The Dutch began dominating European trade, France under Louis XIV possessed a powerful army to rival Spain, and England began challenging Spain's position in the New World. Over the course of the century, Spain lost land, wealth, prestige, and power. By the start of the eighteenth century, Spain was no longer a major power of Europe and was in danger of being broken up into pieces of other empires. King Charles II was the last of the Spanish Habsburg rulers. He died heirless in 1700 igniting a major European conflict for control of the Spanish Empire. This conflict known as The War of Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War as it was known in America, pitted two sides against each other with one supporting Philip of Anjou (Philip V) and the other supporting Charles VI of Austria (Charles III of Spain). Ultimately, Philip V won out, and the War of Spanish Succession in turn created a stronger Spain.⁶⁴ The war renewed the spirit of Spaniards and strengthened the internal bureaucracy and industry of Spain. To contemporaries it appeared as though the low sun on the horizon was rising again

⁶⁴ Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain, 1700-15* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 386-387; David Francis, *The First Peninsular War, 1702-1713* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 403-405.

for the Spanish empire. For the Jacobites, a strong Spain meant a new ally in their battle to retake the British throne.

The King is Dead, Long Live the King?

Spain at the end of the seventeenth century was a shadow of its former self. The once strong and powerful empire was being bled dry by the economic strains of its vast empire. The government depended upon the gold and silver shipments from America and any delay of these shipments created panic in Spanish markets. Internally Spain was in bad shape too. A complete lack of domestic industry left the country relying upon imports for many products vital to running an empire such as gunpowder, cloth, and timber for ships. Maritime trade was vital to all of the European powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Spanish navy failed to support or protect merchant vessels adequately. The Spanish Navy spent most of its resources protecting the gold and silver trade from the Americas. During the War of Spanish Succession, however, Spain could not even protect this trade and relied upon French assistance.⁶⁵ Despite its weakened status, Spain still controlled large territories in Europe, had an input in European affairs, and was valued as a trading partner. The Habsburg dynasty had been ruling Spain since the start of the sixteenth century. Charles II of Spain, who was plagued by health problems his whole life, was unable to produce an heir. In the event that he died heirless, many promises and signed treaties were made to assign his throne. Charles produced a will in 1696 naming the prince of Bavaria as the future king of Spain, and by 1698, much of Europe agreed to this.⁶⁶ The unexpected death of the prince of Bavaria in 1699 threw a wrench in the plans yet again. On October 2, 1700, Charles agreed to another will naming Philip of Anjou (closest in the line of succession) the grandson of Louis XIV as

⁶⁵ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, see chapter 8, *The wealth of the Indies*.

⁶⁶ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 3.

the next king of Spain and its empire.⁶⁷ In November 1700, Charles II died and Philip of Anjou became Philip V of Spain.

For France and Spain, the death of Charles was welcomed news. Louis XIV could use his grandson to help support France, and Louis strengthened France's position in Europe by adding Spain's military resources (or at least their potential resources) to his own. Philip became king of Spain, but the possibility still existed for him to head a new empire. If all of the French heirs died (as one of the two remaining did), Philip was next in line to inherit the French throne as well. For Spain, the death of Charles meant the end of a poor administration. During the last years of his reign, Charles stayed away from public life and left the everyday tasks of running the country in the hands of regents. The result was a country spiraling into deeper economic turmoil.⁶⁸

Meanwhile Britain (or what soon became Britain) and the Dutch trembled at the prospect of a united Bourbon (France and Spanish) Dynasty. Despite this, the initial transition of the new Spanish king went smoothly, at least in the Spanish empire. Philip took the throne and entered Madrid in February 1701. For a little over the next year much effort was spent by France and Spain to secure Philip's position as king of Spain.⁶⁹ A treaty with Portugal was established and it appeared as though Philip's reign was set in place. In May 1702, the Grand Alliance of England (later Britain), the Dutch, German forces, Austria, and later Portugal (who switched from the Spanish side in 1703) declared war on France and Spain, igniting the War of Spanish Succession. Each side had their own reasons for war. England wanted more and better trade benefits with Spain. It also wanted to maintain a European balance of power; with no single country becoming more powerful than the rest (except for Britain). The

⁶⁷ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 4.

⁶⁸ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 2-5.

⁶⁹ Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Treasure of the San José: Death at Sea in the War of the Spanish Succession* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 86-89.

opportunity to trade in Spanish markets both in Europe and in the New World had intrigued many English merchants.⁷⁰ The Dutch wanted land from France and were concerned with trade rights in Spain. The German forces fought mainly against Louis XIV and for Charles VI and III. Portugal was eager to fight against their arch rival Spain, if they had the proper support, and they all supported Austria and (the future) Charles VI of Austria who was crowned Charles III of Spain in 1703 in Vienna.⁷¹ After declaring war, Charles III went to England to gain the support and approval of his new allies.⁷²

War Begins

In August 1702, the allies launched an expedition to take the Spanish port of Cadiz. The Duke of Ormonde commanded the infantry and Admiral George Rooke commanded the Royal Navy. During the attempted invasion, Ormonde and Rooke seldom agreed and constantly argued over how to support each other. Ormonde received little support from the navy, but still secured a beachhead. Ultimately, the expedition was a failure (despite small successes on the battlefield) because the support of the Spanish people in Cadiz and Andalucía was lost once the Anglo-Dutch army began looting, much to the chagrin of parliament.⁷³ Rooke attempted to make up for his shortcomings at Cadiz and with the help of Ormonde attacked the Spanish treasure fleet later that year. Unfortunately for Rooke, the fleet contained little treasure, however, Rooke finally came through when he took Gibraltar in 1704, but at the time, the allies thought Gibraltar to be useless because of its small port.⁷⁴ Ormonde did not fare as well. The Tories made him a hero but the Whigs blamed him for the

⁷⁰ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 18-20.

⁷¹ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 18-20.

⁷² For a more detailed explanation of the transition of Philip's government and the early causes of the War see Kamen's *The War of Succession in Spain 1700-1715*.

⁷³ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 52-54.

⁷⁴ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 13.

defeat at Cadiz.⁷⁵ He made enemies in parliament because of his men's looting and his support from the Tories and did not receive another major commission in the war until 1712 once the Whigs lost power. His time with the British army and government had essentially ended after this point in 1704, and once the Whigs returned to power and when George I became king, he lost any hope of advancement.⁷⁶

In 1705 and 1706, the allies (Anglo-Dutch, Portuguese, and Austrian armies) began making progress in Spain. Parts of Catalonia were under their control and the allies occupied many major towns including Valencia and even Madrid. Charles III occupied Madrid for part of the spring and summer of 1706 but Philip's army retook it later that summer. By 1707 the allies had lost their advantage, and much of Spain outside of the east coast was retaken and under the control of the Bourbon army. 1708 saw the war largely at a standstill, and at this point peace feelers were sent out by both sides. The allies were unwilling to yield and a slogan in Britain emerged stating "no peace without Spain."⁷⁷ The importance of trade with the Spanish empire fueled many British citizens' thirst for war. Despite this, the allies in the peace negotiations pushed to have Philip deposed and replaced with the Duc d'Orleans, Philip's uncle, who had no direct ties to the French throne.⁷⁸ France also started removing its troops from Spain, which had comprised the bulk of the "Spanish" army. Once Philip learned of the plan to remove him, he began to resent the Duc d'Orleans and the connection between France and Spain was not as close after this point (some believed Louis XIV even toyed with

⁷⁵ John Morphew, *The Clamour of the Whigs against The Conduct of the Duke of Ormonde, Consider'd and Expos'd* (London, 1715), 5.

⁷⁶ Morphew, *Clamour of the Whigs*, 5-7.

⁷⁷ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 323.

⁷⁸ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 276.

the idea of replacing Philip if it meant peace).⁷⁹ Despite the talks, peace remained elusive and the war dragged on.

In 1710, the allies went on the offensive and took several major Spanish cities including Madrid again. Just as in 1706, the allies failed to hold on to their advantage and Philip retook Madrid with the help of French troops. Louis XIV was upset with the proposed peace negotiations and put his men back into France. He sent Louis-Joseph duc de Vendôme to lead the French and Spanish troops. Shortly after Vendôme went into battle, the Spanish and French started winning again.⁸⁰ By 1711 under the command of Philip and Vendôme, the French and Spanish army retook most of Spain except parts of Catalonia. Vendôme became an important part of Philip's cabinet and Vendôme and Philip were in frequent contact with one another. In April 1711, Charles III's brother, Joseph I, died leaving the Austrian and Holy Roman Empire open to him. Charles was hesitant to leave Spain because if he were to have left, it would almost have guaranteed the defeat of his cause in Spain since the rest of the allies had little desire to fight.⁸¹ In September, Charles agreed to leave Spain (Catalonia) and became Charles VI of Austria. By now, the allies were tired of the war and they no longer had a viable king. If the allies still backed Charles, who was now king of Austria, the balance of power in Europe was greatly upset and it created a new dynasty with Charles sitting on the throne of both Austria and Spain. At the onset of the war, Charles was not expected to become king of Austria and his claim to the throne would have gone to his brother's heirs. Charles, however, did not give up his claim to the Spanish throne or to parts of the Spanish Empire in Italy until the 1720s. This unresolved problem led to Spain and Austria fighting in the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

⁷⁹ Smith, *Spain and Britain, 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue*, 30-39; Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 276.

⁸⁰ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 22.

⁸¹ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 23-25.

Meanwhile, Britain had undergone a change in political strategy. In 1710, the Tory regime had taken power and was eager to end the war. The Duke of Ormonde's career in the British army came to a less than stellar end. In 1712, Ormonde commanded the British troops in the Spanish Netherlands. The Tories already agreed to pull British troops out, but kept this secret from their allies.⁸² Ormonde pulled out the British army as his orders instructed. This left the Dutch in a vulnerable position and the French soon overwhelmed the Dutch positions. Many historians including Winston Churchill blamed Ormonde for the Dutch defeat in 1712, but Ormonde was only following orders. Ormonde took most of the blame for this and he soon found himself with few friends in the British government. He was left out of the new government that took over once George I and the Whig's came to power in 1715.⁸³ For high-ranking Tory members of the British government the new Whig regime was not too kind and some Tories like Ormonde, Bolingbroke, and Oxford switched over to the Jacobite cause.

The Peace

In 1713, the war ended for most of the major parties involved. Britain was anxious to get out of the war. The Tories gained control of the government from the Whigs in 1710 and were eager to see the war end. The formality of the treaties still needed to be agreed upon, but the fighting was over (except in Catalonia) by 1712. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 gave Philip V Spain and the empire in the Indies, on the condition he gave up his claim to the French throne. France ceded territory in America to Britain, agreed to stop supporting James Francis Edward Stuart, and supported the Hanoverian succession of the British throne. This was a huge blow to the Jacobite cause. France had been supporting the Jacobites and James up to this point. After the Treaty of Utrecht, James had to find a new "home."

⁸² Morphew, *The Clamour of the Whigs*, 7-8; Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 394-397.

⁸³ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 48-50, 69; Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 10-11.

The Dutch gained control of the Spanish Netherlands. This gave them a barrier against France and also helped Spain save money by not having to fund constant wars in the Netherlands. Britain was the most successful of all the countries. On top of the territory it gained from France in North America it obtained access to Spanish trade and gained limited access to Spanish ports in the Americas. Britain also thought it increased its stability since Louis XIV had agreed not to support James Francis Edward Stuart any longer, but the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 proved this calculation incorrect. Both sides had Spain and Portugal create its own peace agreements and eventually Spain and Portugal made peace. Charles III (VI) and Austria did not agree to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht and because of this the war between Spain and Austria remained ongoing even though there was no fighting.⁸⁴ In 1714, France and Austria signed the Treaty of Rastatt. This gave to Austria certain Italian provinces including Sardinia. Spain was not involved in these negotiations and did not sign the treaty.⁸⁵ This further angered Spain and Austria and the war lingered on between them. All sides were tired of war, however, and the results of the War of Spanish Succession at its conclusion in 1713 were no different from the peace terms offered in 1707. The original conflicts of trade and balance of power were never fully resolved. The war had ended because Britain and France had grown tired of fighting. Yet, the other participants still had unresolved problems and the door was open to any event starting a new conflict, especially between Austria and Spain.

After the war

Following the War of Spanish Succession in the years 1715-1719, Spain began to reemerge as an important power. The origins of this revitalization began during the war once French troops and supplies left Spain in 1707 and 1708.⁸⁶ France had supplied most of

⁸⁴ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 23-24.

⁸⁵ Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain*, 24.

⁸⁶ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 272-278.

Spain's military goods up to this point in the war, but after France withdrew its troops Spain began relying on its own products and retooled its industry to fit its needs.⁸⁷ By war's end, Spain had not yet recovered, but it emerged with the potential to become one of the next big powers in Europe (again). Internally the country was unified. Philip V had the loyalty of his people (Catalonia being the exception) and if the economy continued to improve like it had during the war, Spain could reacquire what it lost from the Treaty of Rastatt. In 1715, newly appointed Spanish Prime Minister Giulio Alberoni was just the man for the job and started planning the return of Spain to its former glory.

Alberoni was born in 1664 and grew up in Piacenza near Parma, Italy where he became a priest. A description from 1719 portrayed him with a very unflattering physical appearance. In fact, he had no physical beauty whatsoever, but what was important were his good deeds and undying support for the betterment of Spain. More importantly, however, was his ambition.⁸⁸ In 1702, Alberoni worked in the church with the Bishop of St. Donnin who oversaw the towns of Parma and Piacenza. During the War of Spanish Succession, the Bishop and Alberoni (because of his ability to speak French) worked with Louis-Joseph duc de Vendôme, commander of French troops in Italy. The relationship between Alberoni and Vendôme helped jumpstart Alberoni's political career. Later in the war, Vendôme was sent to Spain to lead the French troops there. Vendôme, who was the cousin of Philip V, was successful in his military exploits, and he and Philip often worked together. Alberoni slowly became involved in courtly affairs because of his close connection with Vendôme and later with Philip.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Basil Williams, *Stanhope, A Study in Eighteenth-Century War and Diplomacy* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932), 281-282.

⁸⁸ Jean Rousset de Missy, *The History of Cardinal Alberoni; Chief Favorite of their Catholic Majesties; and Universal Minister of the Spanish Monarchy; From his Birth to the Year 1719* (London: Serle's Gate, 1719), 2-4.

⁸⁹ De Missy, *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, 15-25.

Upon the death of Philip V's wife Maria Luisa of Savoy in 1714, Alberoni saw an opportunity. Growing up near Parma, Alberoni knew of the daughter of the Duke of Parma, Elisabeth Farnese. Because of his influential position in the court of Philip V, Alberoni suggested Farnese as a potential wife for Philip. The alliance of the two families would help strengthen Philip's position in Italy. After all, he had just lost territory there to Austria through the Treaty of Rastatt. In 1714, Philip and Farnese were married and Alberoni remained attached closely to both, becoming the confessor of Farnese. Shortly after the marriage, Alberoni became prime minister of Spain in 1715. This jump may appear surprising, but Spain went through many French Prime Ministers during the war and Philip was eager to work with someone who was not French. Shortly thereafter, the Pope made abbot Alberoni a Cardinal at the insistence of Elisabeth Farnese.⁹⁰ While in office, Cardinal Alberoni implemented new economic policies similar to those developed by Jean-Baptiste Colbert prime minister of France in the late seventeenth century. Alberoni realized the importance of maritime trade and saw how successfully the allies against Spain used it during the war. To help improve the maritime trade he eliminated several customhouses and trade restrictions imposed by previous governments.⁹¹ His most important policies, which kept him in the good graces of Philip V, were those that damaged the Austrian Empire and helped expand the Spanish Empire in the Mediterranean.⁹²

The Causes United

During the War of Spanish Succession, many Jacobites fought in the ranks of the Spanish or French armies including members of the Wild Geese. Some had even participated in the defense of Gibraltar.⁹³ Others were in Portugal keeping close tabs on Pedro II, whose

⁹⁰ De Missy, *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, 88-91.

⁹¹ Williams, *Stanhope*, 282.

⁹² De Missy, *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, 98-101.

⁹³ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 105-140.

wife became regent after his stroke.⁹⁴ The Jacobites entrenched themselves in Spain before the War of Spanish Succession, but the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion was the first time Spain became directly albeit discreetly involved in the Jacobite campaigns (see chapter 2). Philip V and Louis XIV were keen to weaken Britain and the 1715 rebellion offered a good opportunity they needed. The terms of the treaty of Utrecht, however, made it impossible for them to support the Jacobites directly. Louis XIV was willing to risk involvement but only if it would not come back to harm France. Therefore, both Spain and France waited until the Jacobites looked as though they could win before they joined the fight. By the time France assembled a fleet it was too late, the rebellion was over and George I retained the British throne.

In 1717, James began residing in Italy and stayed in contact with Cardinal Alberoni. The two men most likely became acquainted during Alberoni's time serving with Vendôme during the War of Spanish Succession. By the war's end Alberoni began traveling to France to interact with the French cabinet (with James being aware of what went on there) on behalf of Spain and Vendôme.⁹⁵ The two were also both Catholics, friends of Cardinal Aquaviva who, as we will later see, was with James in Rome while the 1719 rebellion was being planned, and friends of (and had the support of) Pope Clement XI. It is not exactly clear when Alberoni and James first met, but by 1715 the two had at least become aware of the others value to their own cause. Alberoni supported the Jacobites during *the fifteen* and James later returned the favor in 1717, when Abbott Alberoni was being considered to become Cardinal Alberoni, by putting in a good word to Pope Clement XI on Alberoni's behalf.⁹⁶

In the meantime, with James in Italy, the Jacobites had been searching for a partner to help fund an attempt to restore James Stuart to the British throne. Ormonde first went north to

⁹⁴ Francis, *The First Peninsular War*, 102.

⁹⁵ De Missy, *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, 73-74.

⁹⁶ Smith, *The Jacobite Issue*, 106-109.

Russia and then to Sweden after the failed rebellion in 1715. During the War of Spanish Succession Ormonde had spent time in Russia as a diplomat working for the allies, and therefore, it was a likely place for Ormonde to start. He next tried his luck in Sweden, who was fighting an ongoing war against Hanover among others, and almost succeeded in putting together an invasion of Britain in 1717. Finally, after Charles VI and Austria arrested the Grand Inquisitor of Spain and created a war between the two countries and after the Royal Navy engaged the Spanish Mediterranean fleet in August 1718, the two separate causes of the Jacobites and Spain aligned as one. With Britain standing in the way of a new European Spanish empire, Spain sought an ally to help it neutralize the new Hanoverian monarch and the Jacobites were the perfect fit. Together Spain and the Jacobites quickly created an ambitious plan to invade Britain and restore James to the British throne. Necessary to the plan's success was secrecy, speed, and a little luck.

*Chapter Four. James Francis Edward Stuart, Alberoni, and Ormonde: The Planning of the
1719 Jacobite Rebellion*

As James Francis Edward Stuart made his way back to Rome from Spain in July 1719, he may well have wondered how it all went wrong. A few months earlier in February 1719, he had traveled the same path in reverse in expectation of leading an invasion of the British Isles from Spain in order to retake the crowns of his “natural home.” For James and Philip V, the European-wide War of the Quadruple Alliance, which was being fought at that time, presented an opportunity for them to retake what they both believed belonged to them. Their plan to raise a Jacobite Rebellion in England and Scotland was the first step. By reconstructing here below for the first time the events and stages of the 1719 rebellion, we can learn what each side expected to gain from helping the other, and recover the information needed to determine if it was truly a “Jacobite” rebellion.⁹⁷

War Begins

Cardinal Giulio Alberoni’s appointment as prime minister of Spain in 1715 was an important step in a sequence of events leading to the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. Starting in 1715, with Alberoni leading the country, Spain initiated a new aggressive policy aimed at monopolizing the maritime trade in the Mediterranean, a market that Spain had previously controlled during much of the 16th and early part of the 17th centuries. The Mediterranean trade was an important part of the Spanish economy, but controlling the seas in the

⁹⁷ The documents in chapters 3-6 that come from the “Stuart Papers” refer to reels 22-24 (volumes 38-42) of the 1968 microfilm of the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle. The language that they were written in can be assumed to be English unless otherwise noted and then the language was French. The French translations are a combination of two sources, my work attempting to translate the original sources and the translations provided by William Dickson in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*. The translations provided by Dickson will be noted as well. The location of the authors of the letters is important and a few things should be assumed. First, that Alberoni was always writing out of Madrid unless otherwise noted. Second, that James was always writing out of Rome until March 1719 and then Madrid unless otherwise noted. Third, that Ormonde travelled extensively and his location will be given with each letter.

Mediterranean also meant the ability to reclaim lost territory from the Treaty of Rastat. The biggest threat to Spanish power in the Mediterranean was Britain, and Spain took measures to decrease British influence. During the 1715 Jacobite rebellion Spain offered to supply the Jacobites and their allies with a small number of troops, but this plan fell through with the death of Louis XIV of France. Even after these plans fell through because of the collapse of the rebellion, Spain continued to support James, providing him with a small yearly pension.⁹⁸ Closer to the Mediterranean and still an enemy of Spain from the War of Spanish Succession was the Austrian empire. The new aggressive policy of the Spanish Empire in the Mediterranean, directed especially towards the Austrian Empire, put both countries on edge. Because the relationship between them was so tense, it took only a minor dispute to precipitate war. In May 1717, the Austrians in Italy arrested Jose Molines, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, and refused to release him.⁹⁹ Spain responded later that year by invading Sardinia, an Austrian territory that they had lost in the Treaty of Rastat, quickly overtaking it. Following up this attack, in 1718, a Spanish army of 30,000 men went to Sicily, and it appeared to contemporaries as though Spanish glory was resurrecting itself.¹⁰⁰ While Spain invaded Austria's Italian possessions (which it had acquired from Spain during the War of Spanish Succession), the Austrian Empire was fighting the Turks and could ill-afford a war on two fronts. Therefore, Austria counted on its British allies to prevent Spain from invading Austrian possessions.

In the summer of 1718, Britain sent Admiral George Byng and his fleet to the Mediterranean to observe Spain and report to Britain the status of the Italian Peninsula.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Smith, *Spain and Britain, 1715-1719: The Jacobite Issue*, 33-36.

⁹⁹ Williams, *Stanhope*, 281-282.

¹⁰⁰ Missy, *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, 91-99.

¹⁰¹ Dates will appear as they did in their original source. The British date was eleven days behind Spain's date by 1718. Therefore, in parenthesis there will be either NS for the Gregorian calendar (Spain) and OS for the Julian (British) or the date that an event occurred

Unfortunately, for Philip and Alberoni, Byng also carried orders to interfere if Spain attacked Austrian possessions now protected by an alliance with Britain. Byng presented Alberoni with Britain's desire for peace in the Mediterranean. Britain wished Alberoni would withdraw his troops from Sicily so that the Mediterranean would return to peace. Spain refused these conditions and believed the British fleet was present merely to observe. Misjudging Byng's orders, Spain and Alberoni went ahead with the aforementioned invasion of Sicily. They soon regretted the attack as Admiral Byng engaged the Spanish fleet on August 11, off the Sicilian coast at the Battle of Cape Passaro, resulting in a significant British victory. The Spanish fleet floundered back to Spain and Britain maintained naval dominance in the Mediterranean. Despite the attack, Britain and Spain were not yet at war. Britain remained hopeful that a peaceful solution still existed. Britain's hopes were soon shattered in early October 1718, as Spain, in retaliation to Byng's attack, seized all British merchant ships, merchant goods, and all British possessions in Spain.¹⁰² Tensions rose and in the months that followed Austria, Holland, and Britain declared war on Spain and by December 1718, the War of the Quadruple Alliance officially began.

While the Spanish attacked the Austrians in Sardinia and Sicily and quickly gained strength, the Jacobites paid close attention to events in the Mediterranean. Spain's defeat at the Battle of Cape Passaro in August 1718 provided an opportunity for the Jacobites to gain a potential ally against the British. The Jacobites had been planning potential invasions of Britain after the failure of *the fifteen*. James Butler, the Duke of Ormonde, James's main foreign liaison, had been in Sweden in 1717 trying to convince Charles XII to join the Jacobites in an invasion of Britain. As we have seen above, Ormonde, an Irish lord, became a

in the other place. For instance, an event occurring in Spain on March 27 (NS) would appear as March 16 (OS) in Britain.

¹⁰² Ormonde, Paris to James, Bologna, October 3, 1718, Stuart Papers; Ormonde, Paris to Mar Paris, October, 3, 1718, Stuart Papers.

supporter of the exiled Jacobite king. In 1715, Ormonde was himself exiled because of his support of James in *the fifteen*.¹⁰³ After *the fifteen*, Ormonde was so notorious for scheming that wherever he ventured to, headlines soon followed in British newspapers claiming the country Ormonde resided in was preparing to help the Jacobites to invade Britain. Ormonde did not work alone, however, as John Erskine, the Earl of Mar was James's primary collaborator. In April of 1718, Mar, who was monitoring the news passing through France, suggested to Alberoni, the Spanish Prime Minister, the idea of invading Britain, but Alberoni never responded.¹⁰⁴ In December, Mar told Ormonde that Alberoni surely regretted turning down the Jacobites' offer that April, and he believed that after Passaro Alberoni was eager to help the Jacobites especially with so much to gain in a successful invasion.¹⁰⁵ If Spain could keep Britain out of the Mediterranean there was little to stop it from controlling the whole region.

Mar was right. Alberoni eagerly sought allies against Britain after the battle of Cape Passaro. He sent ministers to Russia and Sweden along with every country that had poor relations with England.¹⁰⁶ Alberoni sought a war and the Jacobites provided him with a seemingly ideal proposition. Ormonde wrote to both James and the Earl of Mar from Paris on October 3, 1718 informing them about the seizure of all British merchant possessions in Spain. He believed that the time was right for the Jacobites to approach Spain again. It is difficult to determine how many of the details of the plan were already drafted by Ormonde

¹⁰³ William Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1895), XIX-XXIII.

¹⁰⁴ Mar, Rome to Ormonde, Valladolid, (French) December 22, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁰⁵ Mar, Rome to Ormonde, Valladolid, (French) December 22, 1719, Stuart Papers

¹⁰⁶ Stair to Colonel Stanhope, Paris, October 18, 1718, in *Annals and Correspondence of the Viscount and the First and Second Earls of Stair*, ed. Graham John Murray, (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1875), 83. Stair was the British Ambassador to France and Stanhope was Stanhope was James Stanhope the future Earl of Stanhope was the Exchequer and future Lord of the Treasury. Stanhope had also served in the War of Spanish Succession. The information passed to these men through French sources including Abbè Dubois.

when he arrived in Spain on December 1. Several times he mentioned a “count” or “lord” of Oxford supplying him with information from England, about the ports to land in and which areas would be most likely to support a Jacobite rebellion. This information inevitably led to the creation of some type of plan for invasion of Britain. The count of Oxford was most likely Robert Harley the Earl of Oxford, former Lord High Treasurer of Britain, who has been suspected of supporting the Jacobites. If Harley had supplied the information to Ormonde then the Jacobites had someone knowledgeable of the British government to help them, possibly shedding insight into weak areas of defense.¹⁰⁷

Despite lack of clarity about who supplied Ormonde with information on English defenses, there is no doubt that, he had the outline of a plan in place, by mid-October 1718. It is not too difficult to believe that he and the Jacobites had a rough outline of the plan formulated since 1715 when Spain and France were supposed to send troops into England. In October 1718 he wrote to Mar and James informing them of the departure date (before the end of Hilary term, or before the end of March), and believed the Jacobites needed to make overtures to Spain immediately.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that Ormonde, James, and Mar already knew the basic elements of the invasion plan (where to land and how big of an army they needed); all Ormonde needed to do to initiate action, assemble an army, and set the departure date(s). He warned that if the Jacobites waited then the war might end and they would miss their chance. Haste was needed since they had not yet even “planned” the expedition into Britain. Ormonde wrote to James urging him to push Alberoni to start the planning. He feared that if Britain and Spain made peace then James would lose out.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Wolfgang Michael, *England Under George I* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 156, 162-165, 190-194.

¹⁰⁸ Hilary term or St. Hilary term after its namesake occurred after the feast of St. Hilary and fell between January and March.

¹⁰⁹ Ormonde, Paris to James, Bologna, October 17, 1718, Stuart Papers.

In November, Spain and the Jacobites became more organized. Alberoni wrote to Ormonde inviting him to Spain to help design an expedition of Scottish, Spanish, and Swedish forces to depose George I of England. While Mar and James waited to hear the results of Ormonde's visit with Alberoni, Ormonde was busy assembling his Jacobite forces and covering his tracks. By this time Spain had made it clear, they were not looking for a peaceful solution after seizing British possessions in Spain. Alberoni had been working hard to strengthen Spain's position in the War of the Quadruple Alliance and knock out one of its larger opponents. Before Ormonde arrived, Alberoni participated in another clandestine operation, the Cellamare Conspiracy. The connections and relations between the nobility of France and Spain in the early eighteenth century could become problematic when it came time for succession. The Cellamare Conspiracy was a prime example of those connections and the problems they created. Philip V of Spain was Louis XV's uncle. When Louis XIV died in 1715, Louis XV was too young to rule and Philip V was one of the closest relatives to the young dauphin king but Philip had surrendered his right to the French throne at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Therefore, Philippe d'Orléans ruled France as regent in Louis XV's place. Philip wished to get rid of Philippe and place himself as the regent of Louis XV, and by doing so strengthen his country with an alliance with France, and what better way to do so than by controlling both countries. Philip and Philippe did not have a good relationship after 1707 when the allies attempted to replace Philip V with Philippe d'Orléans as king of Spain. The Cellamare conspiracy was designed by Alberoni and the Spanish ambassador to France, Antonio del Giudice the Prince of Cellamare, to remove Philippe and place Philip V as regent of young Louis XV. In early December 1718, French police discovered the plan, traced it back to the Spanish ambassador, and because of this, France declared war on Spain in January 1719.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Ormonde to Alberoni, Valladolid, December 31, (French, Dickson translation) 1718,

The Plan is Set

Upon arriving in Spain on December 1, 1718, Ormonde wrote to Alberoni who was in Madrid. The two men exchanged a series of letters during the first two weeks of December. They wrote instead of meeting in person because they wanted to keep the invasion a secret and keep Ormonde away from Madrid (the most likely destination for Ormonde if he was scheming with Spain) to help keep up the ruse that Ormonde was only seeking asylum in Spain. If Britain were to become aware of the attack then it would have time to set up defenses, lessening the chance of success. Because Ormonde was so well known, he needed an inconspicuous reason to go to Spain. Therefore, he told everyone that he sought asylum in Spain because France no longer allowed James or his court to stay in France. This was believable because while the regent ruled France for the young dauphin king he took a less hospitable stance towards the Jacobites than Louis XIV had.¹¹¹ Ormonde's ruse appeared to deceive some in Europe, as even James was unaware that Ormonde was in Spain. James was baffled when he heard of it from Cardinal Aquaviva, but pretended he knew of it in order to seem in charge of his men. James was upset that Ormonde had traveled to Spain without letting him know. From James's point of view the last time he had communicated with Ormonde they were still planning the expedition and nothing had been finalized. James almost scolds Ormonde in his next letter because he was the last person to know that Ormonde had left France for Spain. Despite his shock, James was glad Ormonde was there and warned him that Cardinal Alberoni could be stubborn so he had to make it appear as though the idea to invade Britain was Alberoni's idea from the start.¹¹²

Alberoni probably needed little convincing to invade Britain after the battle of Cape Passaro, as both he and Ormonde seemed eager to work together when Ormonde arrived in

Stuart Papers.

¹¹¹ Ormonde to Alberoni, Alcala, Spain, (French) December 1, 1718, Stuart Papers.

¹¹² James to Ormonde, Rome, November 27, 1719, Stuart Papers.

Spain. The Jacobites most likely had a ‘generic’ version of the plan to invade Britain left over from their failed plans in 1715 and 1717. The new plan that involved Spain most likely followed this outline but needed to be modified to fit the current situation. The invasion plans evolved quickly, as circumstances changed daily during its creation. Ormonde believed that Sweden could be convinced to invade Britain if it was at peace with Norway.¹¹³ He was likely to have good knowledge of Swedish-Jacobite relations since he spent time the previous year there working on an alliance between the two. For the Jacobites, the planning of the expedition went better than expected. Alberoni agreed to do anything within reason to help the Jacobite cause. He was specifically interested in returning James to the British throne. Within one week, they had created the framework for the plan. Spain, the Jacobites, and possibly Sweden would send a force to Britain and together they would fight to restore James.¹¹⁴

Planning went so well, that Ormonde sent out orders to his officers within one week of meeting Alberoni. On December 8, Ormonde wrote to George Keith, the Earl of Marischal, one of Ormonde’s top generals, asking him to travel to Spain. Keith and his brother James Keith served with the Jacobites during *the fifteen*. They had spent the last year in France waiting for another invasion and orders to mobilize. In August, George Keith’s Jacobite friends urged him to travel to Spain and offer his services to Alberoni for the invasion of Sicily. Keith was, however, reluctant to leave having fallen in love with life in France. Despite their love for French life, George and James Keith left for Spain in December upon receiving word from Ormonde.¹¹⁵ Ormonde stressed to George Keith the importance of keeping their reason for being in Spain a secret. He told them to avoid using their real names

¹¹³ Ormonde to Alberoni, Madrid, (French) December 5, 1718, Stuart Papers.

¹¹⁴ Ormonde to James, Madrid, December 5, 1718, Stuart Papers.

¹¹⁵ James Francis Edward Keith, and Thomas Constable, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith* (Edinburgh: 1843), 35-36.

and tell no one that they were there to speak to Ormonde. The Keiths' discretion caused them significant delays upon their arrival in Spain.¹¹⁶

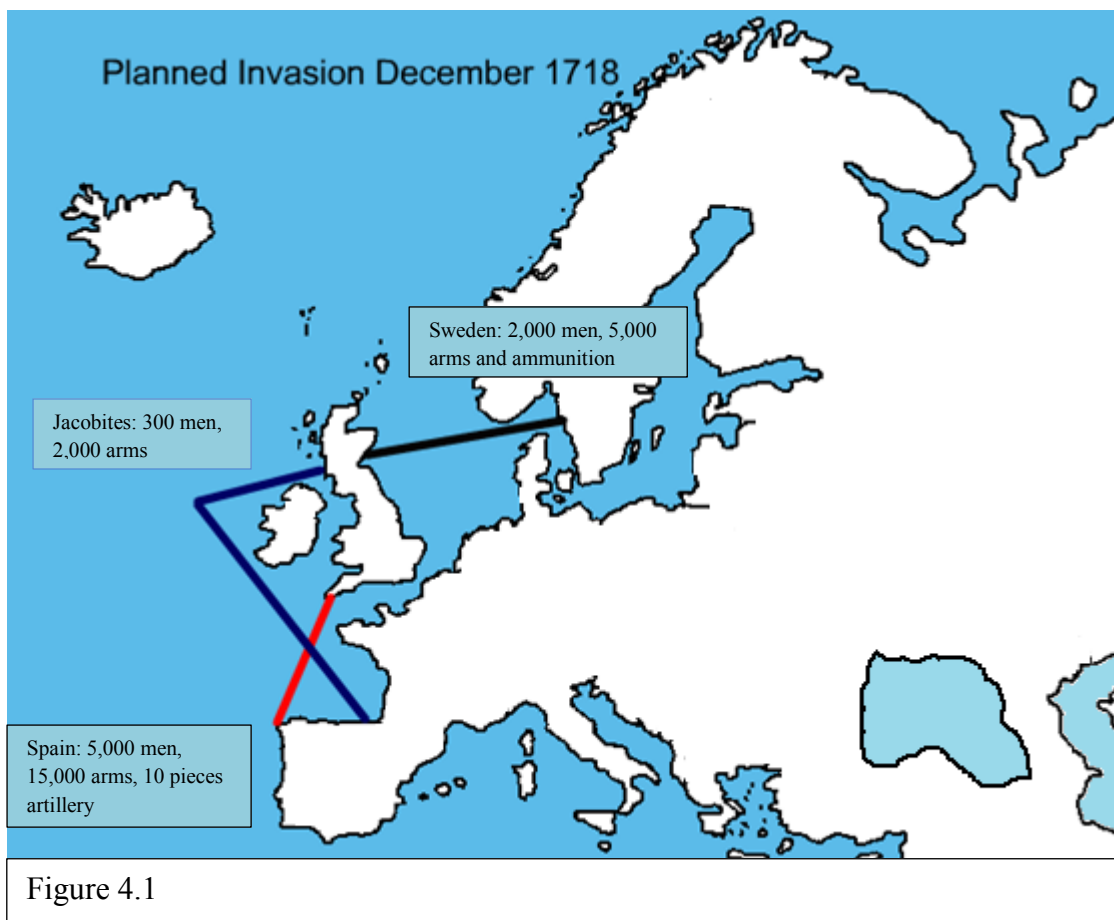
After George and James Keith crossed the border in December, they were stuck in Catalonia for over a week because they followed Ormonde's exact orders. A Spanish sentry asked them who they were and why they were in Spain. They provided fake names and told the sentry that Madrid was their destination. Because Spain and France were close to war, anyone who crossed the French-Spanish border was potentially a French spy. Without proper documentation, getting to Madrid was nearly impossible. Unsure of what to do with these two foreigners, the sentry took the Keiths deeper into Catalonia to see if the local governor knew what to do with them. At one of their stops, they received a warm welcome from a doctor to the Prince of Savoy. A rumor that James would soon arrive in Catalonia made the doctor mistake the Keiths for James and a member of his court. Despite the warm welcome, the Keiths still needed to speak to the local governor before they could travel to Madrid. After fifteen days of traveling, the Keiths eventually made it to Madrid, meeting up with Alberoni and Ormonde.¹¹⁷

By December 17, Ormonde's vision of the planned invasion was completed and Spain and the Jacobites were not to go it alone. Ormonde informed Alberoni that he sent one of his men, Sir Patrick Lawless, to Sweden to convince Charles XII, the Swedish king, to join them against their common enemy George I and the Hanoverians. Ormonde was convinced that Sweden would join because of their disdain for the Hanoverians and because Spain had agreed to finance part of Sweden's expenses for the invasion of Britain, but only if Sweden sent the invasion out by the coming spring. According to Ormond's plan, Sweden would send 2,000 troops as well as additional arms and ammunition for another 5,000 men into northern

¹¹⁶ Ormonde to George Keith, Earl of Marischal, Madrid, December 8, 1718, Stuart Papers.

¹¹⁷ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 37-39.

Britain, most likely Scotland. Spain would supply 8,000 men along with arms and ammunition for another 15,000 people to join the invasion in western England.¹¹⁸ The Jacobites would send a small expedition up to Scotland as a diversion drawing troops away from the main landing areas of Spain and Sweden before they arrived. This three-pronged attack was all supposed to be coordinated and put into action by the end of March (See figure 4.1).¹¹⁹



Alberoni agreed with the locations of Ormonde's plan, but had some objections on how much support Spain would supply. Alberoni believed Sweden was eager and willing to help Spain and the Jacobites, and therefore, he had no problems in supporting them financially. He also agreed that a Scottish diversion would be extremely advantageous.

¹¹⁸ Ormonde to James, Valladolid, December 17, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹¹⁹ Ormonde to the Duke of Gordon, Astorga, Spain, February 13, 1719, Stuart Papers.

Ormonde told the Keiths to ask for 4,000 arms and 10,000 pistoles (Spanish currency). Alberoni was already facing the economic strain of the main invasion force and agreed to give them 2,000 arms, 5,000 pistoles and 6 companies of infantry (about 300 men) to help with the landing.¹²⁰ For the main invasion force, he wanted to send the 8,000 troops to England that Ormonde requested, but given Spain's circumstances (the mass of their troops in Sicily and threat of invasion from France) he had to reduce the numbers to 5,000 men; 4,000 infantry and 1,000 being cavalry on two months' pay. Alberoni agreed, however, to supply the 15,000 arms Ormonde requested along with ten pieces of field artillery, a thousand barrels of powder, and all the necessary vehicles to transport and deploy these men. Alberoni's final concern was the timing of the expedition. He too believed they had to sail before the end of March and told Ormonde that if James was not in Spain they would sail without him.¹²¹ His exact reason for this is unclear. It could have been because he was trying to beat poor weather or it could have easily been because he wanted to strike back at Britain quickly. Nevertheless, planners of the expedition wanted it departed by March.

In addition to the major contribution of the Spanish in troops, arms, finances, and transport, there were four essential parts to the planned invasion: speed, secrecy, Swedish help, and support of Jacobites in Britain. To help make the Scottish clans more eager to join the Jacobites Ormonde had already sent for the Keiths to command the expedition in Scotland hoping their name would ignite support in Scotland. Given the recent failure of *the fifteen*, it was important for the Jacobite commander to be someone the Scottish people knew and trusted, and the Keiths seemed to be a logical choice. Ormonde also sent an additional Jacobite representative to Sweden to help speed up Sweden's decision. Speed was important, but assembling a force in such a short span would not be very taxing on Spain since it was

¹²⁰ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 41.

¹²¹ Ormonde to James, Valladolid, December 17, 1719, Stuart Papers.

already in a state of war and although Britain had declared war, it had not yet raised extra funds or troops to support a war (Britain would not do so until March).¹²² The Jacobites had scheduled the expedition to leave before the end of what Ormonde called the Hilary term (or by the end of March) and with Spain's help could have an expedition outfitted in time. The most important factor was also the one that most difficult to control, secrecy.

Ormonde became paranoid about spies and double agents. He had a few good reasons to be paranoid too. In 1715, the British government caught wind of the rebellion in western England before it got underway. Ormonde was also knowledgeable of the skill the British government possessed in espionage having spent time with parliament and seeing firsthand the information that spies had picked up put into action on the battlefield. To prevent information from slipping to the British government the first step the Jacobites used to combat this was writing in a secret code. To pass information to one another they had to send it through the mail. It was hard telling how many hands a letter passed through and whether or not those hands were loyal to the Jacobites or not. So a code was implemented to throw off any would-be spies. Take for instance Ormonde's letter to Arthur Dillon (a Jacobite living in France) from December 9, 1718.

“I have just received your obliging letter of the 29th [November] find you have seen or are to see one of Kemp's friends that to come lately from him. I hope and have great reasons to that Mrs. Ker and Mr. Gregory will be married but I there is no need of acquainting Mrs. Phillis of it yet if she knows it, it will not be a secret. Frank will certainly inform his friends of it which may make it publick and the match I do not acquaint her with some things relate to Mr. Ker and Evans they are for her Good my aunt Amorsley desires me not to be too hasty in informing my niece of it. I wrote to you last night and am still of same opinion as to Mrs. Digby. I am faithfully your's. I expect Mrs. Kemp's friend.”¹²³

¹²² Ormonde to Alberoni, Valladolid, (French) December 17, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹²³ Ormonde to Arthur Dillon, Guada Lama, Spain, December 9, 1718, Stuart Papers; Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 9.

At first glance, this letter although suspicious does not reveal any information about the invasion. This letter was just an account of two old friends catching up on gossip, discussing weddings, and writing about old friends. Fortunately for us today, the Jacobites wrote in the code in their letters and they are now located at Windsor Palace. After making the substitutions, the letter has an entirely new meaning. For instance, substitute Alberoni for Amorsley, England for Evans, the Earl of Mar for Frank, the King of Sweden for Kemp and Mr. Gregory, Spain for Mrs. Ker, James for Mrs. Phillis, and Arthur Dillon for Digby. Now the letter reveals that Spain and Sweden will form an alliance and not to tell James or Mar of the invasion because if they were to know, then the world would know.

Ormonde believed that Rome was a terrible place for James to reside while trying to plan a clandestine invasion of Britain. He told James that he was not safe there and had to leave without informing anyone of his true destination. He believed that spies surrounded James in Rome and he could not trust anyone, not even the clergy.¹²⁴ Ormonde's paranoia had merit. After all, James first learned about Ormonde's arrival in Spain from Cardinal Aquaviva. On December 28, Ormonde wrote to James informing him that Rome was unsafe and he had to leave for Spain immediately. Most importantly, he was not to tell anyone where he was going and to disguise himself so no one knew he left.¹²⁵ James followed Ormonde's request closely and before he left he wrote to Pope Clement XI to apologize for leaving so suddenly and unannounced. He regretted that he could not tell the pope where he was headed and wished the pope would keep in touch with his jailed fiancée Maria Clementia (Austria with the insistence of her ally Britain had Clementia put in jail to prevent her marriage to James).¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Ormonde to James, Valladolid, December 22, 1718, Stuart Papers.

¹²⁵ James to Ormonde Rome, December 17, 1718, Stuart Papers; Ormonde to Alberoni Valladolid, (French) December 25, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹²⁶ James to Pope Clement XI, Rome, February 2, 1719, Stuart Papers.

James, the earl of Mar, and the duke of Perth devised an elaborate plan to get James out of Rome. There was no good way to get James to Spain. If he traveled by land he had to go through Austrian and French territories, and he was an unwelcomed guest in both countries, but if they traveled by boat they risked running into the British fleet. The Jacobites chose to travel by both land and sea. On February 8 (NS), they prepared a carriage for James to travel north to Bologna in a ruse where he attempted to rescue his fiancée Princess Maria Clementia. Early in the morning of February 8, James snuck away to a Genoese boat and the earl of Mar and the duke of Perth traveled in the carriage to Bologna. Mar and Perth were soon followed by a courier who reported their movements to the authorities in Milan. The first night they stopped in Bologna and told several people that they were going after Princess Maria Clementia. They made their way north until February 17 (NS) when they were arrested outside Tortona, Italy. After their arrest, an Austrian general questioned them, but he was unable to ascertain their real identities, so he sent Mar and Perth to Milan. While in Milan, the duke of Perth was mistaken for James Francis Edward Stuart and because of this Mar and Perth were then kept in Milan bouncing from jail to jail until the Milan governor finally realized that James was not with them.¹²⁷ The plan succeeded, however, as papers throughout Europe believed the Austrians had James sitting in jail in Milan. Headlines in Britain applauded the Austrians for their good work.¹²⁸ The ruse worked and bought James time at sea. While Mar and Perth sat in jail, James sailed to Spain dodging the British fleet. After his initial success in escaping Rome unnoticed, his luck soon ran out. The weather started to work against him and he did not make it to Spain until March 9 (NS).¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Mar to Lord Panmure, Rome, March 12, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹²⁸ *London Gazette*, March 7, 1719; *Postman*, London, March 5, 1719.

¹²⁹ Alberoni, Madrid, March 20, 1719, in *Lettres intimes de J. M. Alberoni adressées au comte I. Rocca, ministre des finances du duc de Parme, et publiées d'après le manuscrit du college de S. Lazaro Alberoni par E. Bourgeois, etc.*, ed. Émile Bourgeois (1892).

Although Alberoni and Ormonde attempted to keep the invasion a secret, Britain still knew it was coming. Britain was suspicious from the very beginning. On October 18 (29), 1718, John Dalrymple, earl of Stair and British ambassador to France believed that Ormonde was going to Spain because Stair heard that Alberoni had requested Ormonde to visit him in Spain. Stair suspected that Alberoni was seeking an alliance with Spain because Ormonde had visited every other country that had poor relations with Britain.¹³⁰ In January, Britain knew Ormonde was planning something and put out an arrest warrant for him in Ireland. The Irish had close connections to the Jacobites. Many had supported James II in the “Glorious” Revolution and others fought against Britain in the War of Spanish Succession. The British wanted Ormonde for treason, dead or alive, and the reward was 10,000 pounds. The warrant showed the knowledge Britain had of the plan stating that he went to Madrid in an attempt to gain Spanish support to insight a rebellion.¹³¹ Although Britain had the wrong location they were right about Ormonde, but this was also the speculation that went through the newspapers every time Ormonde went to a new country, but Britain had more than just speculation, they had reliable sources informing them of the moves of the Jacobites.

One such source was French Statesman abbé Dubois who kept Britain well informed of Jacobite movements in Spain. On January 16, Dubois wrote to British Secretary of State James Craggs informing him of Ormonde’s intent in Spain. Dubois believed that Ormonde planned to use 6,000 men along with 15,000 rifles departing from Bilbao, Spain.¹³² For a clandestine operation, Dubois knew a great deal of information just four weeks after the

¹³⁰Stair to Colonel Stanhope, Paris, October 18, 1718, in *Annals and Correspondence of the Viscount and the First and Second Earls of Stair*, 83.

¹³¹ *The Historical Register Containing an Impartial Relation of All Transactions Foreign and Domestic. With a Chronological Diary of all The Remarkable Occurrences, vis. Births, Deaths, Removals, Promotions, &c. that happened in this Year. Volume IV. For the Year 1719* (London: H.M., 1719), 44.

¹³² Abbé Dubois to Secretary Craggs, Paris, January 16, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 223-224.

creation of the plan. Although Dubois had the wrong the location for the invasion landing, he was stunningly accurate on the amount of men, arms, and departure points for the invasion force. Even worse for the Jacobites was that they remained ignorant that the British knew much of their plans. Ormonde wrote to Alberoni on February 26 that it was a miracle no one knew of the invasion or where James had gone.¹³³ British intelligence played a major role in the discovery of the invasion, and although it lacked several important details, by March 1719, Britain was well aware of the Jacobite invasion plans.

January–February 1719

Important to the success of the operation was the arming and assembling of the English Jacobites. The 15,000 arms and 1,000 barrels of gunpowder were meant for these potential “Jacobite” soldiers, and arming these potential soldiers was key to the success of the rebellion. In January, Ormonde started to inform some of the Jacobites in Britain and France (Stamfort/Ezekiel Hamilton, Alexander Gordon, and Brigadier Campbell) that they were coming and to plan accordingly.¹³⁴ He believed that at the rate the men were being assembled the ships would be ready to sail by the end of January and no later than February. He informed Alberoni that support for the Jacobites in Britain was strong and they would not lack men upon landing in England.¹³⁵ The encouraging news from Ormonde sat well with Alberoni and their plans appeared to be coming together, but by the end of January, the invasion suffered serious setbacks.

On January 25 1719, Ormonde’s plans slowly began unraveling. First, they found out that Charles XII, King of Sweden, had died in battle. It was unclear who would take his place

¹³³ Ormonde to Alberoni, Sada, Spain, (French, Dickson translation) February 26, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹³⁴ Ormonde to Alberoni, Valladolid, (French), January 4, 1719, Stuart Papers. Gordon and Campbell were in France. Ormonde wrote to others, but he does not list their names.

¹³⁵ Ormonde to Alberoni, Valladolid, (French, Dickson translation) January 17, 1719, Stuart Papers.

and if the new king supported the invasion or not. Sweden's participation was a key part of the invasion plans as a support to the Jacobites in Scotland, whose rebellion, a diversion, would clear the way for the main force landing in western England with little opposition. Also in January, France had declared war on Spain and was planning to invade it. Spain began defense preparations, which worried Ormonde. As all the setbacks started to mount up Ormonde began to question whether Spain was still committed to the invasion. Feeding his doubts was the slow progress of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz. He thought the ships were going to be ready to sail by the end of January but by the 25 (NS), they had yet to sail. The expedition also lacked 5 pieces of field artillery, 3,000 arms, and part of the money to pay the troops while they were in England.¹³⁶ After the shock of losing Charles XII and the slow assembling of the Cadiz fleet set in, Ormonde regrouped and began modifying the invasion plans.

Despite the setbacks, Ormonde still believed the invasion could succeed. The loss of the king of Sweden was unfortunate, but they had to plan as though Sweden was not going to help. If Sweden's new ruler decided to support the invasion, the extra forces would help but Ormonde prepared to go on without them. Ormonde even believed that James Stanhope, the chief minister of Britain was willing to help the Jacobites consolidate power once they had gotten rid of George I. As far-fetched as this seems in retrospect there was some logic behind it. During the war of Spanish Succession, Stanhope was a prisoner and befriended Alberoni while Alberoni served under Vendôme. Ormonde believed that the friendship between Alberoni and Stanhope could be used to the Jacobites' advantage.¹³⁷ Although Ormonde believed that Stanhope would help, there is no independent evidence to support this. Ormonde reached out to anyone he could in France and Holland trying to regroup and obtain

¹³⁶ Ormonde to Alberoni Valladolid, (French) January 25, 1719, Stuart Papers; *Lettres intimes de J. M. Alberoni*, 41.

¹³⁷ Ormonde to Alberoni, Valladolid, (French) January 27, 1719, Stuart Papers.

the necessary supplies that were lost from Sweden's exit from the invasion plans.¹³⁸ By February, Ormonde and Alberoni had regrouped and the invasion was once again under way.

Ormonde set out for Coruña, Spain, on the north-west corner of the Iberian Peninsula believing that the fleet was to sail from Cadiz on February 10 and would later stop in Coruña to resupply and then depart for England. Ormonde traveled by land across Spain and was hopeful he would meet up with James and any other extra men or supplies they found along the way.¹³⁹ While traveling to Coruña, Ormonde provided some of the first details of the changed invasion plans. He sent letters to Jacobites in France and Holland (Arthur Dillon and Guillaume de Melun, Marquis de Risbourg along with other unnamed sources) asking them to purchase guns and supplies and ship them to Britain upon the arrival of the diversionary fleet in Scotland.¹⁴⁰ He believed that while the diversionary fleet attacked the British in Scotland these men from France and Holland could sneak across the channel. He counted on an additional 2-3,000 arms and ammunition from Jacobite followers in France and Holland, thus making up for the lost supplies from Sweden (see figure 4.2). By the time the diversionary force would have arrived in Scotland, Ormonde believed that estimated number of arms and ammunition had grown to 5-6,000.¹⁴¹ On February 13, Ormonde wrote to the Duke of Gordon (who had participated in *the fifteen*) and told him that the invasion attempt was headed for England.¹⁴² This is the first time he wrote to anyone, outside of Alberoni, to tell where the expedition was headed. He also sent out orders with James Keith for the diversionary expedition to Scotland. By the end of February, however, their situation turned

¹³⁸ Ormonde sent a Mr. Stamford (Ezekiel Hamilton) to Holland and then France, and Irishman, Arthur Dillon who had served with the Irish Jacobites and was a general in the Jacobite army.

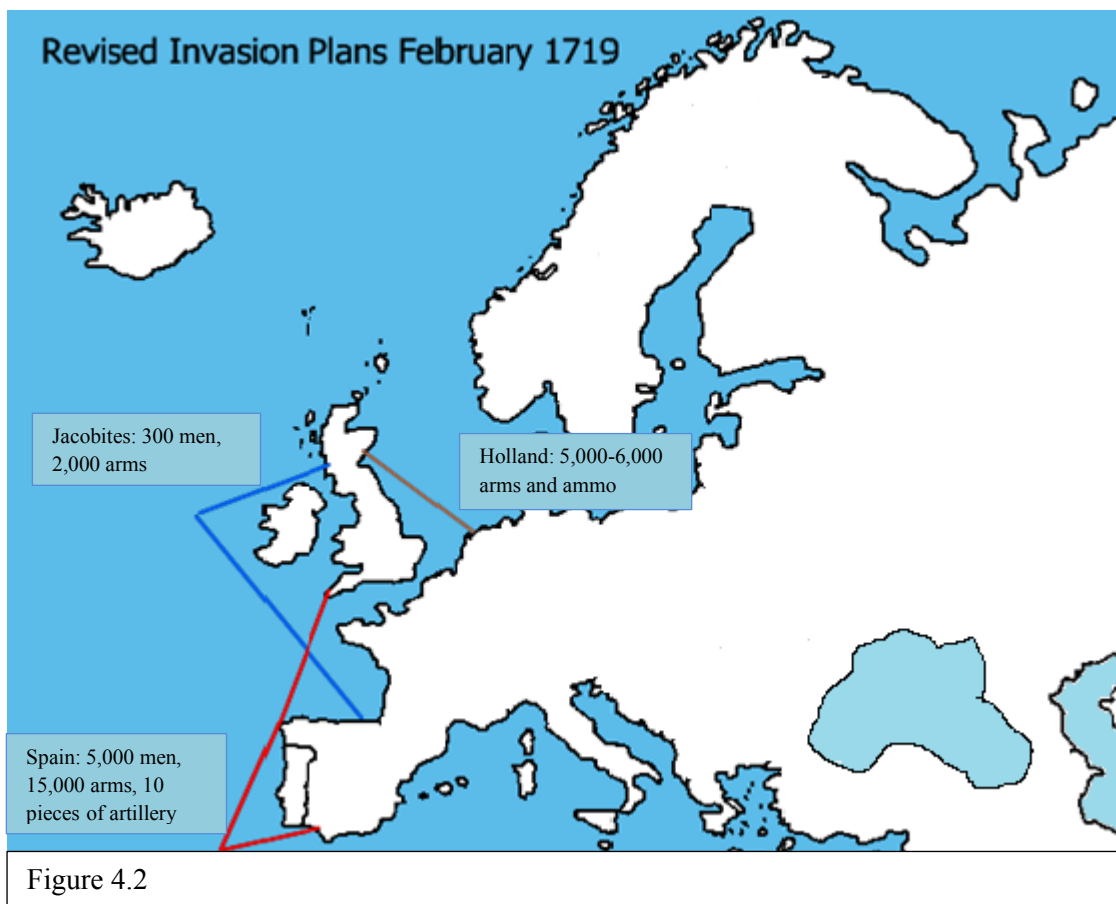
¹³⁹ Ormonde to the Major, Valladolid, (Dickson) February 7, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁴⁰ Ormonde to Alberoni, De Sada, Spain, (French) February 26, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁴¹ Ormonde to Alberoni, Astorga, Spain, (French) February 13, 1719, Stuart Papers; Ormonde to Alberoni, Corunna, March 17, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁴² Ormonde to the Duke of Gordon, Astorga, Spain, February 13, 1719, Stuart Papers;

bleak as the weather delayed the fleet because it was too foggy to sail and threw yet another wrench in the invasion plans.



March

March was a terrible month for the Jacobites. First, on March 15(4), a large English fleet consisting of four men of war and a host of merchant ships sailed near Portugal. Ormonde feared that if they docked in Lisbon, Britain would gain knowledge of the fleet in Cadiz and figure out its destination once they heard that the ships had left Cadiz.¹⁴³ Ormonde's concerns were justified because Britain was well aware that the invasion was near. British agents from Lisbon sent word that Ormonde was meeting up with the Cadiz fleet, containing 4,000 men and 900 horses.¹⁴⁴ On March 3 (11) 1719, British Secretary of State James Craggs knew something was imminent because Spain seized and captured about

¹⁴³ Ormonde to the Marquis de Risbourg, Sada, Spain, (French) March 15, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁴⁴ Henry Worsley, Lisbon, February 20, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 236-237.

40 French ships near Cadiz and told them that Spain was using them to transport Spanish supplies.¹⁴⁵ By March 8 (February 28), Britain obtained even more details. Abbé Dubois wrote Craggs an even more detailed account of the impending invasion stating that he had a source that told him the invasion would land in six weeks, with Spain landing near Bristol in south-western England. This is the first time that the exact landing spot for the invasion was mentioned. Ormonde had not mentioned it, nor does he in any of his letters. The source said the Jacobites had Irishmen with them and they would unite with the people of the region, claiming that the lesser nobility and as much as two-thirds of the population of the city of Bristol would support the Jacobites.¹⁴⁶ Dubois wrote that Spain had assembled a fleet in Cadiz and the Jacobites sent a man Ormonde trusted into Holland to buy supplies to send over to Britain. The source had also informed him about Sweden's potential involvement and even with the death of Charles XII, the invasion was still progressing. Dubois also believed that Sweden was no threat, and that Britain had a better chance of an alliance with Sweden after Charles XII's death than the Jacobites did.¹⁴⁷ Finally, this source told Dubois that there was going to be a diversionary attempt in Scotland. Dubois believed the source was reliable (which by this account as it compared to the expedition, it was) and offered him 2,000 pistoles if what he said was true. Dubois then upped the offer; if he captured Ormonde and brought him to France, he would get a pension from the kings of France and Britain.¹⁴⁸

This report in fact, seems very reliable. The only detail that the source got wrong was the Irishmen in the army. Spain sent no Irishmen (or at least not an Irish regiment, which they had) to England (besides Ormonde). This was an important detail because as long as Britain believed there were Irish regiments joining the invasion they felt they had to keep Ireland

¹⁴⁵ Marechal de Estrees to Craggs, St. Malo, France, March 3, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 228.

¹⁴⁶ Stanhope, *A Study in Eighteenth-Century War and Diplomacy*, 325.

¹⁴⁷ Abbé Dubois to Craggs, Paris, March 8, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 224-227.

¹⁴⁸ Abbé Dubois to Craggs, Paris, March 8, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 224-227.

defended as well. Despite this, the rest of the information the source had was very specific and at least partially correct, including Sweden's changing role in the invasion, Bristol as the invasion's location, they knew that Ormonde had sent for supplies in Holland, and that the invasion was landing in six weeks. Most of these details were relatively new to the invasion, and had occurred since the end of January. Having Bristol as the invasion spot makes sense because the Jacobites had wanted this port during *the fifteen*, and it was one of the biggest ports in western England. If the information about Lord Oxford is true then it would make sense that the plan for the 1719 invasion would be based upon the plans of the previous invasion. In addition, Bristol is located close to Bath, which was another city believed to be largely Jacobite, and had held a stockpile of Jacobite weapons during *the fifteen*. Despite how reliable this report seems it is also possible to have found most of this information by reading a British paper and being astute in politics. It was no secret that Ormonde was in Spain and that this led to speculation of an invasion of Britain by Spain. If one had paid attention during *the fifteen* then they could see the value in landing at Bristol. The death of the King of Sweden had been in British newspapers and a new regime most likely meant a change in tactics. Nevertheless, the information about Ormonde's dealings in Holland and the timing of the invasion seem to be well informed. It is because of these two facts that it appears that the Jacobites had severe internal breaches and that their plans had been compromised by that point. The only question remains is who told the British? Dubois's source appears to have been close to the plans of the invasion. It is likely that they were one of the people Ormonde wrote to in February to ask for more help once Sweden was out of the Jacobite plans.¹⁴⁹

As news of the impending invasion spread in Britain, Ormonde and Alberoni became aware that their secret was out. On March 17 (NS), Ormonde, James, and Alberoni learned from Spanish sources that France and England knew something was amiss and were

¹⁴⁹ See footnote 159 for a possible explanation.

assembling a fleet to meet the Spanish in the Channel.¹⁵⁰ On March 22 (NS), the news grew worse. After all the trouble they went through to keep it a secret, France and Britain figured out that James was in Spain. By now, it was nearly impossible to deny that Spain was up to something.¹⁵¹ This appeared to be the breaking point for Ormonde. He told Alberoni that when he first planned the invasion he only needed 5,000 men because it was a surprise. Now that England knew about the plan, Ormonde feared that they could no longer count on Britain weakening their forces in England by sending men to Ireland. If Britain did not move part of its army to Ireland, it would have more men to defend against the Jacobites in England and Scotland. He made it clear; he thought he could still land in England, but it would be difficult since the British would be hot on their trail and presumably in greater force. The original plan as Ormonde had drawn it up could no longer succeed. While Ormonde waited on the arrival of the Spanish fleet from Cadiz, he suggested a change of plans focusing on an invasion of Scotland alone.¹⁵² He believed that Scotland was less well defended, which would give them more time to organize upon landing. He warned Alberoni that if he did not hear from him before the Cadiz fleet arrived he would attempt a landing in England, but if it proved too difficult, he was going to Scotland.¹⁵³

A Failure to Communicate

While Ormonde and Alberoni were busy figuring out what to do, James and George Keith were carrying out their part of the expedition. Before George Keith left for San Sebastian, Spain, Ormonde went over with him the plans for the diversionary force. George Keith would sail out of Spain and meet up with his brother James in Scotland. From there

¹⁵⁰ Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, (French) March 17, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁵¹ Ormonde to Alberoni, Corogne, Spain, (French, Dickson translation) March 22, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁵² Ormonde to Alberoni, Corogne, Spain, (French, Dickson translation) March 22, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁵³ Ormonde to James, Corogne, Spain, March 22, 1719, Stuart Papers.

George Keith would lead an expedition and they would create as much of a diversion as they could until Ormonde arrived. Keith believed the 300 men that Spain supplied would turn into thousands once rumors spread about them.¹⁵⁴ The Spanish soldiers would help inspire the Jacobites in Scotland to raise in arms against George I. The number of men Britain would have to send up north would clear the way for the main force landing in western England.¹⁵⁵ While George Keith assembled the diversionary expedition in Spain, James Keith arranged Jacobite support in France.

Alberoni had sent James Keith to inform the Jacobites in France of the impending invasion. He carried with him a phrase from Ormonde, “pray have entire confidence in the bearer” along with 18,000 crowns.¹⁵⁶ He departed on February 19 (NS) stopping in San Sebastian, Spain where he delivered 12,000 crowns and the supplies for the Scottish invasion to Prince Campo Florido.¹⁵⁷ Once in France he gave the remaining 6,000 crows to the Jacobite forces in Bordeaux and met up with William Murray the Marquis de Tullibardine in Orleans on March 3 (NS). Tullibardine had served with the Jacobites during *the fifteen*. In Orleans, Keith tried to gain support from another Jacobite Campbell Glenderuel, but he told Keith that he would only take orders from the Earl of Mar.¹⁵⁸ This early conflict in the chain of command was a sign of the problems to come during the expedition in Scotland. After Glenderuel refused to support them, Keith and Tullibardine went to Richard Berry, an Irish merchant who fitted out the expedition.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 45-50.

¹⁵⁵ Earl of Mar to Alberoni (forwarded by Ormonde), Astorga, Spain, February 13, 1719, Stuart Papers; *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 45-50.

¹⁵⁶ *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 41.

¹⁵⁷ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 41.

¹⁵⁸ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 41; T. Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask* (London: Charles Griffin and Co., 1870), 450-451.

¹⁵⁹ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lards of Gask*, 450-451; Mar believed Berry was responsible for informing the British of the invasion. According to Mar, Berry slipped out of France right after supplying the Jacobite expedition.

After being fully equipped, James Keith, Tullibardine, and several other Jacobites departed from France on March 19 (NS) eleven days after George Keith had departed from Spain (March 8 NS). Their fleet consisting of three frigates and five transports sailed between Dover and Calais and then around the Orkneys to the Isle of Lewis, the rendezvous point with the troops arriving from Spain.¹⁶⁰ After departure, they experienced bad weather at sea, which pushed them off course. On the night of March 26, near the Isle of Lewis, they came across a fleet that had the same number of ships as George Keith and the Jacobite fleet, but they decided to sail past them and wait until morning to speak with them.¹⁶¹ As it turned out, they narrowly escaped disaster. What they saw was actually a British transport fleet carrying men and supplies to Ireland in anticipation of the Jacobite rebellion. On April 4 (NS), they arrived at the Isle of Lewis but saw no sign of the Jacobite fleet. James Keith set out to find his brother and walked across the island where he found his brother George and the rest of the Jacobites.¹⁶²

Before James Keith went back across the island to get Tullibardine and the Jacobites who traveled with him from France, he warned George about the dissension over who would lead the expedition. George believed that there was little to worry about because the papers he received from Ormonde stated that he was in charge, but if anyone outranked him, he would be glad to step aside as long as it helped complete the task.¹⁶³ George was not alone in his belief; Mar too believed that George Keith was in charge of the expedition because Ormonde's orders put him in charge. Tullibardine, however, believed he was leading the expedition. In 1717, James had selected Tullibardine to take charge of his troops in Scotland

¹⁶⁰ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 44; *The Historical Register*, 279.

¹⁶¹ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 45.

¹⁶² Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 45; *The Historical Register*, 279.

¹⁶³ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 45.

during a planned invasion by Sweden. Therefore, when James Keith arrived in France in February 1719 Tullibardine still thought that he was in charge of James's troops in Scotland. This conflict led to constant quarreling and indecisiveness during the Scottish expedition.¹⁶⁴

The next day Tullibardine met up with the Keith brothers and they decided that Tullibardine was in charge because he was the most experienced general among them, but despite choosing a "leader" tensions remained. Their first task as a unit was choosing where to attack. Tullibardine wanted to wait on the Isle of Lewis until word from Ormonde arrived, but no one else agreed, so Tullibardine begrudgingly agreed to follow the plan that Ormonde and Alberoni drew up to go to the mainland and take Inverness. The Jacobites assumed that the British only had 300 men defending Inverness, who were in no shape to fight. Once they took Inverness, they would wait there until they gathered enough support from local Jacobites to march south and attack.¹⁶⁵ This plan soon stalled as Tullibardine pulled out his old commission from James stating that he was in charge and told the Keiths he wished to stay on the Isle of Lewis. George Keith and the others reluctantly agreed to Tullibardine's plan to stay on the Isle of Lewis until Ormonde reached England.¹⁶⁶

Britain prepares for war: The King's Speech

While the Scottish invasion waited on Ormonde, he was in turn waiting on the fleet from Cadiz. Foggy conditions had delayed the Spanish Armada from sailing until March 7 (NS). Back in Britain, reports came in daily, which presented a clearer picture of the details of the planned invasion. Craggs's letters to Dubois and Stair show how opinion changed of the expedition as it came closer to invading. On February 28, (March 11 NS) Stair thought an invasion was ridiculous and had no chance of succeeding, but he took the necessary

¹⁶⁴ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 452-453; Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 46-47.

¹⁶⁶ *The Historical Register*, 279.

precautions just to be safe. He vented his frustration with the Jacobites to Craggs, “It is a ridiculous thing for us always to be in a precarious situation as to be at the mercy of a prince that will send 4,000 or 5,000 men into England.”¹⁶⁷ As Britons received more information about the invasion, they began to worry.

Between February 28 (March 11) and March 15 (26 NS), the situation in Britain changed drastically. On March 7 (18 NS) Britain assembled its infantry and called for privateers offering payment for sinking any Spanish ships.¹⁶⁸ Within days they received enough privateers to make a small fleet and on March 9 (20 NS). Britain sent four battalions and eighteen squadrons to the west coast of England as lookouts.¹⁶⁹ King George I addressed parliament on March 10 (21) warning Britain of the impending Jacobite attack, denounced James Francis Edward Stuart, and asked parliament to allot him money to pay for the defense of Britain.¹⁷⁰ To help raise the necessary funds to support the war, the Bank of England issued bonds, payable within four months’ time.¹⁷¹ George I called for more sailors, initiating press gangs, and as another precaution, he reissued the arrest warrant for Ormonde.¹⁷² By March 15 (26), Craggs was in a panic and told Stair to muster any able-bodied man he could find in addition to the infantry called up on the 7th to defend against Spain immediately.¹⁷³ Clearly, he felt this was a serious invasion and not an idle threat. By the end of March, Britain was ready for a war.

¹⁶⁷ Earl of Stair to Craggs, Paris, March 11 1719, in *Miscellaneous State Papers From 1501-1726 in Two Volumes* (London: W. Strahan, 1778), 193.

¹⁶⁸ *Post Boy*, London, March 7, 1719.

¹⁶⁹ Craggs to Stair, Whitehall, England, March 9, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 234-236; *The Historical Register*, 159.

¹⁷⁰ *His Majesties most Gracious Speech To Both Houses of Parliament*, London, March 10, 1719.

¹⁷¹ *Post Boy*, London, March 17, 1719.

¹⁷² *The Historical Register*, 158.

¹⁷³ Stair to Craggs, Paris, March 15, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 232.

Most of the precautions Britain took to prepare for war were never put to use, as the main Spanish Armada never arrived. After leaving Cadiz on March 7 (NS), the Spanish fleet sailed southwest and then turned north until they were located seventy leagues west of Cape Finisterre, in northwest Spain, just outside the rendezvous point with Ormonde. They took this rather unorthodox route to avoid the British fleet that was anchored in Lisbon, and to keep up the ruse that they were actually sailing to the West Indies and not Britain. Early in the morning of March 27 (NS), the crew of the Spanish fleet awoke to a large storm. For two days, they battled against the winds, waves, and rain. The storm left the fleet scattered across the Atlantic, too spread out to regroup. Many of the ships sustained damage; others ran low on supplies and threw their horses overboard because they had no water to give them. The situation for many was bleak and during the next few weeks, the ships of the fleet staggered back into the closest port they could find.¹⁷⁴

Around April 6 (NS), the first reports of possible damage to the fleet reached Lisbon, and over the next few weeks, the fleet slowly returned to ports scattered along the Iberian coast, including Lisbon and far to the south Cadiz among others.¹⁷⁵ For the next few weeks, news of the disaster reached Madrid, and by late April Alberoni and Ormonde finally gathered enough information to determine that the Spanish Armada had sustained too much damage to sail to Britain. There was little time to reflect on this, because the diversionary fleet was still awaiting Ormonde in Scotland. Ormonde was optimistic that they could regroup and sail out in a matter of weeks and he, Philip V, and Alberoni tried desperately to send two vessels to aid George Keith in Scotland. Ormonde managed to gather some men and supplies that were ready to depart but Alberoni called them back at the last minute because of changing circumstances. In fact, Alberoni had another problem to deal with; Spain

¹⁷⁴ For more information on the storm, see chapter 5.

¹⁷⁵ Chapter 5 will cover this in more detail

had been invaded by France and sustained heavy damage in many of its ports, further depleting Spain's already low naval resources and Alberoni put the expedition on hold until at least August.¹⁷⁶

The War comes to Spain

During the time that Spain waited to hear news of the Armada, the war developed into a European conflict. A French fleet attacked Spanish ports in late April and France sent an army under the command of the duke of Berwick to invade Spain. Berwick was the illegitimate son of James II. He had made a name for himself serving France as a general during the War of Spanish Succession. He was one of the best generals of his time and would have made a significant contribution to the Jacobites had he not be loyal to France first and the Stuarts second. His loyalty to France put Berwick in an awkward position. At the same time (April 1719) that he was communicating or at least receiving communications from the Jacobites about possible invasion attempts, he was also communicating with the British government including Stair and Craggs. Thus Berwick knew what both sides were doing, but was on the side of France. In April, Berwick and the French army took several towns along the border and then headed west to attack Spanish shipyards in the Basque Country. The destruction of these shipyards and the supplies in conjunction with the destruction of the Spanish Armada at sea, dealt a crippling blow to the Spanish Navy.¹⁷⁷ The attack of the Spanish shipyards had actually been planned back in January between Stair and the duc d'Orleans, but had been delayed.¹⁷⁸ The timing could not have been worse for Spain.

¹⁷⁶Ormonde to Alberoni, Corunna, (French) April 21, 1719; Ormonde to Sir Timon Connock, Corogne, April 29, 1719; Ormonde to Alberoni, Corogne, (French) April 30, 1719.

¹⁷⁷ Stair's reports from, January 13, 1719; found in Wolfgang Michael, *England Under George I*, 99-100.

¹⁷⁸ Berwick to Stair, April 26, 1719; Craggs to Stair, April 28, 1719 found in Wolfgang Michael, *England Under George I*, 99-100.

With the outbreak of hostilities on Spanish soil, Alberoni knew that Spain could not spare any ships, so the Jacobite invasion had to be postponed. For Spain, delaying the fleet was the smartest decision but to Ormonde it must have been painful news. On May 9 (April 30) Ormonde performed the difficult but inevitable duty of informing George Keith and the Jacobites in Scotland that they were alone. Ormonde, unhappy with the situation, wrote his frustrations to his friend and Jacobite supporter Prince Campo Florido. He blamed the weather saying “la facheuse accident arrivé a la flotte, ce qui est un terrible contre-temps mais il faut se soumettre avec patience a la volonté de Dieu et attendre une occasion favourable”, but he realized that was little comfort for those in Scotland.¹⁷⁹

While Tullibardine waited to hear from Ormonde, the rest of the expedition grew restless and took matters into their own hands. Forcing Tullibardine against his will to agree, they loaded up the ships and sailed away from the Isle of Lewis, towards the Scottish mainland on April 8 (April 19 NS). Once ashore George Keith wanted to take the Spanish troops and 500 local Jacobites and seize Inverness as planned. Tullibardine unsurprisingly disagreed and claimed that the locals would not help them until Ormonde landed.

Tullibardine believed that the highlanders were still too distraught from the failure of *the fifteen* and would not support the Jacobites until they believed the uprising would succeed.¹⁸⁰

By this point they had resolved the problem of command by dividing it: Keith controlled the Spanish because of his favor with Ormonde and Tullibardine controlled the Jacobites because of his higher standing among the Jacobites. On April 28 (May 9 NS), they set up defenses at

¹⁷⁹ Ormonde to Prince Campo Florido, Coruña, (French) April 28, 1719, Stuart Papers, found in Dickson *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 115; Ormonde to Mar, Lugo, May 9, 1719; Ormonde to Sir John Healy, Lugo, May 20, 1719; Alberoni, Madrid, April 26, in *Lettres intimes de J. M. Alberoni*.

¹⁸⁰ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 454.

Eilean Donan Castle and waited for news of Ormonde's landing.¹⁸¹ A few days after setting up defense at Eilean Donan Castle, Tullibardine suggested they sail back to Spain but George Keith effectively changed Tullibardine's mind by threatening to burn the Spanish ships rather than retreating and on May 2 (May 13 NS) sent their ships back to Spain empty instead.¹⁸²

Eilean Donan Castle was an old Scottish fortress belonging to the local clans. It sat on an island between three lochs: Loch Duich, Loch Alsh, and Loch Long (See figure 4.3). The castle's fortified walls and natural defensive setting made it a perfect spot to holdout against the British army, until they heard word from Ormonde (See figure 4.4). The Jacobites put a small garrison of forty five Spaniards and a few Scots in the castle and the rest of the men hid the surplus arms and ammunition in barns on the mainland within two miles of the castle. While awaiting Ormonde's arrival, on May 4 (15), they received word of the destruction of Ormonde's fleet. Mr. Wallace, a Jacobite agent from Edinburgh, told them that Ormonde's fleet was destroyed and to continue the rebellion with only 300 men was ill advised.¹⁸³ In addition to this bad news, by that time Britain began assembling an army to put down the rebellion in Scotland.¹⁸⁴ Tullibardine and George Keith agreed to continue searching for men and supplies to see if a rebellion without Ormonde could still succeed.¹⁸⁵ So they and the rest of their followers (except the 45 men garrison at the castle) went further inland recruiting volunteers and gathering supplies. They returned May 9 (20 NS) to find British ships out front of Eilean Donan Castle. The Royal Navy had sent five ships into Loach Ash: the Worcester, Assistance, Dartmouth, Enterprise, and Flamborough.¹⁸⁶ On the morning of the 10 (21 NS), while Tullibardine, George Keith, and the rest of the Jacobites

¹⁸¹ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 48; Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 455.

¹⁸² Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 49-50.

¹⁸³ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 457.

¹⁸⁴ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 456.

¹⁸⁵ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 458.

¹⁸⁶ *The Historical Register*, 281.

scrambled to move the rest of their supplies, Royal Navy Captain Boyle sent a flag of truce to the castle, (which, by this time, had only a small garrison of Spanish soldiers) hoping the Jacobites would surrender. He received a cold response, as Spanish riflemen fired upon the men carrying the truce. Finding his foe unwilling to surrender, Boyle, and three ships of the Royal Navy opened fire on the castle. A Spanish soldier snuck out of the castle and told Boyle that the garrison was willing to surrender. A British landing party came ashore that night with the tide, overtook the castle, and destroyed nearby Jacobite ammunition stores.¹⁸⁷

Battle of Glenshiel

After they lost Elian Donan Castle, the Jacobites knew they were in a losing situation but it was at this moment that hope arrived. On May 15 (26 NS) Jacobite recruits and more supplies began meeting up with Tullibardine, George Keith and the remainder of the initial Jacobite forces and this brought new life to the rebellion.¹⁸⁸ In addition to this the Jacobites still believed that Ormonde would soon arrive after they received a letter on May 23 (June 3 NS) from Jacobite agents in Edinburgh dated from May 11 (22) that Ormonde's fleet had been repaired and was on its way.¹⁸⁹ Outnumbered, the Jacobites dug in and prepared for a defensive fight until the main force could arrive. On June 10 (21), the British infantry slowed by their long march north finally caught up with the Jacobites at Glenshiel. The Jacobites were in an advantageous position at Glenshiel, whose steep hills, and rocky terrain provided as natural defenses on all sides including the Jacobite flanks.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, the British had to array their troops in the valley below and the battle would commence there (see figure 4.5). Adding to the Jacobite advantage were their numbers. Some of the local clans came out in

¹⁸⁷ *The Historical Register*, 280; Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 455; *Daily Courant*, London, May 28, 1719.

¹⁸⁸ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 459-460.

¹⁸⁹ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 460.

¹⁹⁰ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 76; *The Historical Register*, 283.

support including the famous (or infamous) Rob Roy McGregor. Altogether, the Jacobites outnumbered the British by about five hundred men. Tullibardine put two hundred men on both flanks and his strongest force (close to a thousand-strong including himself and the remaining Spanish soldiers) at the center of the Jacobite lines. He expected the British to attack the center because his flanks were well protected; much of his strategy focused on reinforcing his center during the attack.

The British army took a slightly different approach and deployed the bulk of their attacking forces against both Jacobite flanks.¹⁹¹ The British also used a few pieces of field artillery, which defended their position from attack despite their small numbers. Early on in the battle Lord George Murray and the Jacobite right flank came under heavy fire and quickly retreated, the left flank soon followed. The center of the Jacobite line consisting of Spaniards, fought bravely, but they too fell back, up to the top of a mountain, which stopped the enemy's pursuit. By then night had fallen but Don Nicolas Bolanco commander of the Spanish troops of Galicia offered to make a counter attack at first light.¹⁹² Tullibardine believed it was useless to attack anymore because if the world saw how few Jacobites there were they would think the Jacobites were weak. Their only options were to move to the highlands and skirmish until James arrived (in June the Jacobites in Scotland still believed that the Spanish fleet could regroup) or delay the British long enough to destroy the ammunition stores they had left and then vanish. The beleaguered Jacobite army, low on supplies and hope, decided to go home. On the morning on June 11 (22) the remaining Spanish soldiers surrendered, Rob Roy McGregor blew up the remaining ammunition, and the Jacobites disappeared into the highlands.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ *Daily Courant*, London, June 20, 1719.

¹⁹² Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 77.

¹⁹³ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 77; Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 463-464.



Figure 4.3 View of the three lochs from Eilean Donan Castle. To the right is Loch Long, straight ahead and veering to the left is Loch Alsh, and to the left out of picture is Loch Duich.



Figure 4.4 Eilean Donan Castle as it appears today, reconstructed.

After the battle, the Keiths waited, escaped Scotland, and headed for Spain traveling by land, but they were incarcerated along the way in France.¹⁹⁴ The Spanish troops who fought so bravely at Glenshiel sat in an Edinburgh prison and awaited a prisoner exchange (which did not occur until September). By July, the hope of reassembling the fleet was all but gone. Philip and Alberoni were busy dealing with the French and British invasion of Spain and their resources were stretched thin. James returned to Rome and with him left what little chance the expedition had of ever reassembling. He did not blame anyone for the failed invasion and believed certain things were out of their control.¹⁹⁵ As early as May, even before the defeat of the expeditionary force, the failure of the whole plan was clear. The Earl of Mar, who had grown tired of the climate in Italy and the failures of the Jacobites, asked George I and the French regent for a pardon.¹⁹⁶ He wrote to Stair in May 1719 telling him he was done with James and the Jacobite cause.¹⁹⁷ Ormonde too felt no desire to join James in Rome. He still hoped that that Spain could in future supply an expeditionary fleet, but even he recognized that for the present season the battle had been lost.¹⁹⁸ He wrote to a friend on Aug 23 (NS) that peace between Spain and Britain was inevitable before the upcoming spring and Alberoni must be abashed by the prospect.¹⁹⁹ Ormonde was quick to see that, once peace occurred, Spain would rid itself of Alberoni. In December 1719, Philip did just that, he kicked Alberoni out of the country and started peace talks with Britain and her allies.

The planning of the rebellion was clearly a joint venture. After considerable delays and despite having lost the edge of total surprise, both sides sent out their men and ships by early March. Because of the storm, only the Jacobites in fact made it to Britain, the Spanish

¹⁹⁴ Keith, *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, 78.

¹⁹⁵ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 470.

¹⁹⁶ Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, 103.

¹⁹⁷ Mar to Stair, Rome, May 22, 1719, in *Miscellaneous State Papers*, 465; the crown happily agreed to this, which took away James's number two man.

¹⁹⁸ Ormonde to Alberoni, Lugo, (French) Spain, July 26, 1719, Stuart Papers.

¹⁹⁹ Ormonde to Sir Timmon Connock, Valladolid, August 23, 1719, Stuart Papers.

fleet was scattered and suffered severe damage. Coupled with the near simultaneous invasion of Spain by the French, Alberoni decided to postpone the invasion, leaving Ormonde in hope for a brief time that Spain might reengage. The defeats suffered by Spain in the War of the Quadruple Alliance foreclosed such hopes, which died once the peace was signed and the Jacobites chief partner, Alberoni, fell from grace. Yet, was all of this caused by one storm? At the same time Spain received information about the damaged fleet it also came under attack. Had a storm in fact ruined the hopes and plans of Spain and the Jacobites or had Spanish support waned over the course of planning the rebellion?

Chapter 5: Weather: A cut-off low, the new Protestant Wind

While the rest of Europe waited on peace, Spain and the Jacobites prepared for war. The Spanish fleet left Cadiz on March 9, (NS) 1719.²⁰⁰ Its destination, Cape Finisterre, Spain to rendezvous with the Duke of Ormonde and any extra men and supplies he had gathered. After a few weeks delay, time was running out for the expedition to surprise the British, and if an element of the surprise had been lost, the British still did not know exactly where the expeditionary force would land and thus had dispersed their defensive forces out. Speed and secrecy were crucial to the success of the expedition. Upon reaching Cape Finisterre, the Spanish fleet was to sail north, towards western England.

March 27, 1719, 70 leagues west of Cape Finisterre, Spain

Seventy leagues off shore, the men of the small Spanish Armada fought against time, weather, and low supplies. In the twenty days since departing Cadiz on March 7 (NS), the men saw bad weather and stormy days, but what happened to them in the early morning of March 27 (NS) was unlike anything for which they had prepared. Starting in those early hours, the men of the Armada were exposed to a storm that did more damage to Spanish hopes and ambitions than any other since the great Armada of 1588. The Armada of 1719 became engulfed by a storm covering the whole western part of Europe. A massive cut-off low pressure system wreaked havoc throughout the Atlantic and Western Europe. For two days, the Spanish sailors fought against the storm. Once the storm ended, the fleet dealt with its precarious situation. Scattered across the Atlantic, running low on supplies, struggling to stay afloat, and losing men to disease and dehydration, the ships of the small Spanish Armada

²⁰⁰ Dates will appear as they did in their original source. In parenthesis, there will be either NS for the Gregorian calendar and OS for the Julian or the date that an event occurred in the other place. For instance on March 27 (NS) would appear as March 16 (OS).

sailed back to the closest ports (Lisbon and Cadiz among others) they could find along the Iberian Peninsula.

Once the ships of the Armada arrived in the various ports along the Iberian coast, the ambitious expedition to invade Britain appeared over, but a smaller, diversionary expedition that had sailed earlier landed in Scotland. In response, Alberoni quickly reassembled his men and supplies intending to reattempt the invasion of western England, but France's invasion of Catalonia in April forced him to hold back his troops and it was never reattempted.

Therefore, because the weather prevented the arrival of the main Spanish fleet from invading Britain, the importance of the weather cannot be overlooked in this situation. From reading weather data from before and after March 1719 (the time when the storm hit the Spanish fleet) and examining the general preceding weather patterns one can get an understanding of the risks Spain was willing to take. If the storm that wrecked the Spanish fleet was something unusual then Spain risked little in sailing, but if the weather was usually poor this time of year and storms were common, then Spain took a huge gamble, which would prompt the question why? By collecting weather data from the early eighteenth century and reconstructing the storm that wrecked the Spanish fleet, then can these questions be answered.

The Spanish captains caught in the storm tell us little about the storm responsible for delaying the major Spanish invasion of Britain. Upon returning to Iberia, they gave brief accounts of their journey. Their reports, located in the Stuart Papers today, give only a few clues. The captains related that their ships were damaged in a sizeable storm that lasted for two days, but there were only a few specific references to what was damaged on their ships.²⁰¹ The captains stated that men died, but focused more on the large numbers of horses that died in the storm or were later thrown overboard to preserve water. The captains put

²⁰¹ Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 242-246.

most emphasis on the harsh conditions after the storm in which there was little water or food. The only other important weather detail provided by the Spanish reports was the wind direction. One report stated that the storm came out of the northeast.²⁰² A second report stated that the ships were unable to sail into Cape Finisterre because the winds were against them signifying a northerly, easterly, or northeast wind.²⁰³ In fact, most of what we know about the severity of the storm comes from other European ships sailing in the Atlantic at the same time as the Spanish fleet.

Reports out of Lisbon printed in the British newspapers help provide a fuller account of the storm and the extent of the damage. These reports gave the Spanish fleet little chance of survival once the storm passed. Many in London cited providence as the reason for the Spanish Armada's destruction.²⁰⁴ One report from Lisbon printed in London on April 25, confirmed the reports made by the Spanish captains. At one in the morning on March 27 (16) a storm which lasted for two days damaged much of the Spanish Armada. The report stated that the *Commodore*, a Spanish ship carrying 64 guns lost all of its masts and threw overboard the guns of its quarter and upper deck to avoid sinking.²⁰⁵

This chapter will provide the first full account of the powerful storm, or Protestant Wind (as described in Britain²⁰⁶), that damaged the Spanish fleet and, secondly, will assess the likelihood that the Spanish or the Jacobites could have foreseen this event based upon their knowledge of weather patterns in 1719, an issue which bears on our interpretation of their skill in planning as well as their daring and commitment to their ambitious plan to

²⁰² Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 242-244.

²⁰³ Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 244-246.

²⁰⁴ *The Post Master*, London, April 4, 1719.

²⁰⁵ *London Gazette*, London, April 7-25, 1719; *Weekly Packet*, London, April 25, 1719.

²⁰⁶ *The Post Master*, London, March 26-28, 1719. The weather during the time of the invasion was called "Divine Justice" "The hand of Providence". The author goes on to point out the irony that the winds were again against the Jacobites just like the "Protestant Wind" in 1688.

invade Britain and overthrow the Hanoverian monarch.²⁰⁷ The previous paragraphs show that the records provided by the Spanish ships caught in the storm provide almost no data for reconstructing the size and strength of the storm. Alone, these reports do little except to verify a storm damaged some of the Armada. The strength of the storm; whether it was a small gale or something bigger remains unknown. A comparison of this storm with other weather records will show how often this type of storm or weather event occurred near Spain (also in the Atlantic or Mediterranean) and indicate how likely it was that the Spanish and the Jacobites could have prepared for it. After the weather is reconstructed then a significant question can be answered; to what extent was Spain willing to help the Jacobites and at what cost? By showing the size, severity, and oddity (or not) of this storm it can tell us a lot about Spain's intentions, since they are not clearly revealed in Alberoni's extant papers.²⁰⁸ Once answered, this information can help us to determine how importantly the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 factored into Spain's plans in the Mediterranean during the War of the Quadruple Alliance.

Much of the secondary work on the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion accepts that a storm caused significant damage to the Spanish Armada destined to sail for western England. William Dickson in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719* included the reports of two Spanish captains (mentioned earlier) giving their limited accounts of what happened on the night of March 27 (NS) until they made it back to port around April 9 (NS). From these reports, historians have accepted that the Spanish fleet sustained enough damage to postpone the expedition. Because this event was so significant to the early success or failure of the expedition, it is odd that there is no detailed report verifying the severity of the storm since

²⁰⁷ *The Post* Master, London, March 28-April 4, 1719.

²⁰⁸ Alberoni wrote to Ormonde telling him to sail only for England at all costs, but this was after the invasion attempt had been discovered by Britain. A few days later Alberoni changed his mind and told Ormonde to sail to Scotland if England was not possible.

the reports of the Spanish captains are so vague. Because the meteorological records kept in the early eighteenth century are few in number, as of yet there is no account, model, or reconstruction of the weather for March 27-29 (NS) 1719. There is no detailed weather map from 1719 so it is necessary to reconstruct it. By using newspaper accounts, diaries, and the limited weather records kept at the time, it is possible to reconstruct a detailed account of the weather for a small period.

March 30, 1719: 70 leagues west of Cape Finisterre, Spain

The Spanish fleet was not alone in the Atlantic seventy leagues west of Spain in late March 1719. Thomas Rose, master of the *Jenny Galley* of London was located near the Spanish fleet. In late March, caught in a strong storm with easterly winds, Rose and the crew of the *Jenny Galley* spotted a large ship of approximately fifty guns with its masts badly damaged. The flag of the unknown ship had a red cross and Rose mistook this as a sign of an English vessel. To their dismay, Rose and the crew of the *Jenny Galley* were shocked when the red cross turned out to have a Spanish pendant in the middle of it and immediately turned away from the Spanish ship.²⁰⁹ Rose's account is not just of a close encounter for the *Jenny Galley*, but also gives an account (uninfluenced by Spain or Spanish power) of the easterly winds that both the small Spanish Armada and the *Jenny Galley* encountered.²¹⁰

The *Speedwell* out of London was also in close proximity to the Spanish fleet. The reports from Captain George Shelvocke of the *Speedwell* lack the detail of Rose's, but he recorded the bad weather they encountered during their journey from London to the Canaries. They left London on February 24 (March 7) and arrived in the Canaries on March 17 (28). The route the *Speedwell* took to get to the Canaries put it in the same area as the Spanish Fleet. This means that during their voyage (February 24- March 17 (OS) or March 27 (NS))

²⁰⁹ *The Post Master*, London, April 4, 1719.

²¹⁰ *London Gazette*, London, April 4, 1719.

the winds were most likely blowing from a northerly direction if the *Speedwell* was able to sail to the Canaries.²¹¹ This also coincides with the Spanish captain's report of a wind that prevented them from sailing into Cape Finisterre. The previous two accounts, as simple as they may seem let us know that there was a storm system or weather event and Spain did not create an excuse to avoid helping the Jacobites. Because other countries confirmed that there was a storm that damaged Spanish ships, we can now move on to reconstructing the storm.

The northerly and easterly winds reported in the last few accounts help to visualize the direction that the storm was moving. For example, northerly and easterly winds signify a storm coming from the north and east and heading south and possibly west. The most important details needed to reconstruct the weather are wind direction, temperature, barometric pressure, precipitation, and even visibility. Each type of weather system has certain features and characteristics that distinguish it from other systems. The data collected, clearly indicates that the storm system that struck the Spanish Armada was a cut-off low pressure system: northerly and easterly winds in the Atlantic are hallmarks of a cut-off low.

Cut-off low pressure system

It can be very difficult to reconstruct past weather events. In 1719, there was no observation post that collected weather data and published it. There were, however, private individuals who recorded data. Unfortunately, finding them today is difficult. The records for Britain have a gap in the years 1717-1722 and in most European countries the records are nonexistent or yet to be rediscovered.²¹² Without these records, reconstructing the weather from this period is challenging. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct the weather of a

²¹¹ George Shelvocke, *A Voyage Round the World by Way of the Great South Sea, Perform'd in the Years 1719, 20, 21, 22, in the Speedwell of London, of 24 Guns and 100 Men* (London: J. Senex, 1726), 6-11. The (OS) dates were 11 days behind the (NS) dates. Therefore, the storm occurred March 16-18 in Britain and March 27-29 in the rest of Europe.

²¹² Richard Cornes, "Early Meteorological Data from London and Paris: Extending the North Atlantic Oscillation Series" (PhD., University of East Anglia, 2005), 5.

particular time and place(s) with the right data. Surveying the data of wind direction, temperature, precipitation, barometric pressure, and sky conditions allows us to reconstruct the weather for approximately a ten day period between March 23 and April 1 1719 (NS) (March 12-March 21 OS).

The characteristics of a cut-off low pressure system are distinct. A COL (cut-off low) has significant features distinguishing it from other European storms. First, the wind patterns of a COL are distinct, moving in a counter clockwise direction (in the northern hemisphere). Since most European storms move from west to east, it is likely that the wind patterns in the areas affected by a COL will be opposite from their typical directions. The second characteristic of a COL typically involves temperature and weather conditions. Once the initial cold front passes through the area affected by the COL, the days after this occurs have significantly colder temperatures, and clear weather conditions. Therefore, we must compare the typical characteristics of a COL with the weather of the storm from March 1719.

The development of a COL starts out like most European storms. Storms in Europe move from west to east. A COL (cut-off low) begins as a low pressure or storm system moving across Europe from west to east carried along by the jet stream. The jet stream carries low pressure systems across Western Europe normally within a matter of a few days. In the mid- latitudes, low pressure systems evolve in a life-cycle that, while aging, culminates in lower pressure and stronger winds as cold air wraps into the center of the system. From here, the “mature” low pressure system becomes stationary and is “cut-off” from the steering flow of the jet stream. The jet stream is responsible for carrying a weather system east and without it the low pressure system stalls or sits in one place.²¹³ When a COL sits over the

²¹³ See Raquel Nieto, Luis Gimeno, Laura de la Torre, Pedro Ribera, David Gallego, Ricardo García-Herrera, José Agustín García, Marcelino Nuñez, Angel Redaño, and Jerónimo Lorente "Climatological Features of Cutoff Low Systems in the Northern Hemisphere," *Journal of Climate* 18, (2005): 3088 for an image of this process.

Mediterranean, as was the case in March 1719, it pulls in moisture from the Mediterranean and increases in size and severity.²¹⁴ A COL can sit in one place for a few days or a few weeks causing lower than average temperatures and heavy precipitation in the areas surrounding the low pressure center. COLs are common in the Mediterranean today and usually occur in the summer, fall, and early winter with the heavy precipitation during these months.²¹⁵ A recent COL occurred during September 2011 and affected large portions of the United States bringing several days of cool temperatures and heavy precipitation.²¹⁶ A more detailed explanation of COLs and their occurrence in the Mediterranean today will be discussed later in the chapter (also see the articles in footnotes 212-15).

Because a COL has a particular set of significant characteristics, it is possible to match these characteristics with the data found in table 5.1 to explain why the 1719 system was a COL. First, because the winds of a COL spin in a counter clockwise direction (in the Northern Hemisphere), the normal wind patterns of the areas affected by this system will change. The newspaper reports published out of Britain used in table 5.1 all provided details of wind direction before, during, and after the storm. By looking at table 5.1, it is clear that there was a change in wind direction. The normal wind patterns before and after the storm in

²¹⁴ G. Delgado, A. Redaño, J. Lorente, R. Nieto, L. Gimeno, P. Ribera, D. Barriopedro, R. Garc a-Herrera, and A. Serrano, "Cloud Cover Analysis Associated to Cut-Off Low-Pressure Systems Over Europe Using Meteosat Imagery," *Meteorology and Atmospheric Physics* 96 (2007): 141-145; M.-C. Llasat, F. Mart in, and A. Barrera, "From the Concept of "Kaltlufttropfen" (Cold Air Pool) to the Cut-Off Low. The Case of September 1971 in Spain as an Example of Their Role in Heavy Rainfalls," *Meteorology and Atmospheric Physics* 96 (2007): 43-45.

²¹⁵ M.-C. Llasat, F. Mart in, and A. Barrera, "From the Concept of "Kaltlufttropfen" (Cold Air Pool) to the Cut-Off Low," *Meteorology and Atmospheric Physics*. 96, (2007): 43-60; Raquel Nieto, Luis Gimeno, Laura de la Torre, Pedro Ribera, David Gallego, Ricardo Garc a-Herrera, Jos e Agust n Garc a, Marcelino Nu ez, Angel Reda o, and Jer nimo Lorente, "Climatological Features of Cutoff Low Systems in the Northern Hemisphere," *Journal of Climate*, 18 (2005): 3088, 3092-95.

²¹⁶ Richard Grumm, "Heavy rainfall associated with a Lumbering Mid-tropospheric Low 24-29 September 2011," *National Weather Service, State College PA* (2011), <http://cms.met.psu.edu/sref/severe/2011/28Sep2011.pdf>.

Britain were westerly and southerly winds. During the time in question (March 10-20 (OS)), the winds changed to the north and east. This signifies a system that had an abnormal wind pattern. Persistent northeast wind directions, in combination with the evidence of strong winds, are consistent with a COL centered to the southeast of the location of the northeasterly wind observations (the observations were located in Britain and off the western coast of Spain). From the typical size of a COL circulation, the center of the COL was likely located in the western Mediterranean Sea.

The newspapers were not the only ones recording the weather in March 1719. An unlikely person, William Byrd II a planter from Virginia and member of the House of Burgesses kept a diary during his time in London. When he was not too busy reading, praying, gambling, practicing his Greek, or chasing women, Byrd monitored and recorded the weather. Byrd, a surprising source revealed a great amount of detail about weather conditions in March 1719. His records on the days after the initial storm show that effect of the cold front (March 19-21 (March 30-April 1)); writing about clear skies, violent winds, and cold temperatures.²¹⁷ Byrd also provided details of the weather during the initial storm. From March 14-18 (25-29), the weather was cold and windy with easterly winds (see table 5.1). March 20 is exceptionally important, as we will later see because he stated that the wind was violent from the northeast.²¹⁸ According to Byrd's records after March 26 (April 6), the weather returned to normal (warmer and westerly winds). Byrd's account makes it conclusive that the winds changed to a northeast direction opposite of what they had been prior to the storm.

²¹⁷ Byrd, *The London Diary 1717-1721*, 242-248.

²¹⁸ Byrd, *The London Diary*, 242-248.

Table 5.1 Weather data chart (Dates are in Old Style with New Style in Parenthesis)

| Britain | Wind Direction and observations | France, Paris observatory | Pressure and general observations | Spain/The Atlantic | Ships Logs located near Cape Finisterre, Spain |
|---------------------------|--|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|
| March 12 (23) | Deal: NE | March 12 (23) | 1026.5 (mb) | March 12 (23) | |
| March 13 (24) | Plymouth: E | March 13 (24) | 1020.4 (mb) | March 13 (24) | |
| March 14 (25) | Falmouth: E | March 14 (25) | 1011.3 (mb) | March 14 (25) | |
| March 15 (26) | London: NE | March 15 (26) | 1011.3 (mb) | March 15 (26) | Jenny Galley report: Strong Gale of Easterly Winds |
| March 16 (27) | London: NW Falmouth: S | March 16 (27) | 1008.2 (mb) | March 16 (27) | Spanish Ship logs Wind: NE |
| March 17 (28) | London: NE | March 17 (28) | 1011.2 (mb) | March 17 (28) | Spanish Ship Logs Wind: NE |
| March 18 (29) | London: NE | March 18 (29) | 1014.3 (mb) | March 18 (29) | Spanish Ship Logs Wind: NE |
| March 19 (30) | London: NE Aberdeen and Glasgow, Scotland, West Chester and Oxford, England: Lights of all colors observed in the sky | March 19 (30) | 1017.3 (mb) Meteor observed in sky, clear skies. | March 19 (30) | Jenny Galley: Wind: Strong E |
| March 20 (31) | London: Violently NE Deal: Wind Blows Hard | March 20 (31) | 1008.2 (mb) | March 20 (31) | |
| March 21 (April 1) | London: NE | March 21 (April 1) | 1017.2 (mb) Comet Observed, clear skies | March 21 (April 1)* | |

* *Post Boy*, London, March 14, 1719; *Post Boy*, London, March 17, 1719; *Post Boy*, March 19, 1719; *Post Boy*, London, March 21, 1719, *The Post Master*, London, April 4, 1719; Richard Cornes, email message to author, February 12, 2013; *Strange and Wonderful Apparitions*, 1719. *Whitehall Evening Post*, London, March 21 1719; William Byrd, *The London Diary, 1717-1721*, (242-248).

The Paris Observatory was one of the few institutions that recorded the weather in March 1719, whose records are extant.²¹⁹ Table 5.1 lists the barometric pressure for each day over a ten-day period. Around noon each day, the Paris Observatory recorded the barometric pressure. The barometric pressure is important because when a low pressure system approaches the barometric pressure drops. When a low pressure system leaves, the barometric pressure rises. From table 5.1, we can see that before the storm on March 27 (16) the pressure dropped. On March 29 and 30 (18, 19) the barometric pressure rose, but on March 31 (20), however, the pressure dropped again. The changes in pressure most likely occurred because a cold front moved through Britain in conjunction with the larger low pressure system (COL) that was stalled out and strengthened in the Mediterranean. The pressure readings from these ten days signify that there was a storm system that might have abated slightly on (March 31). The pressure dropping and the strong winds on that day suggest a strengthening of the cut off low.²²⁰

The second characteristic of a COL affects temperature and weather conditions. Once the initial wave of the cold front goes through it is usually replaced by clear weather, a drastic drop in temperature, and strong winds. William Byrd's journal entry already showed a change in wind direction, strong winds, clear skies, and cold temperatures in the first days of the COL in Britain. Other places in Europe confirm Byrd's account of the weather. British and Parisian newspapers reported that there were bright lights and objects in the sky on the nights of March 19-21 (March 30-April 1 in France).²²¹ Some reports attributed these sightings to comets, others said that there was an eclipse, and still others made it appear as though they described seeing the northern lights. Regardless of what actually caused the

²¹⁹ Richard Cornes, "Early Meteorological Data from London and Paris: Extending the North Atlantic Oscillation Series" (PhD., University of East Anglia, 2005), 41-47.

²²⁰ Richard Cornes, email message to author, February 12, 2013.

²²¹ *Strange and Wonderful Apparitions*, 1719; *Daily Courant*, London, March 26, 1719.

sightings there the skies needed to be clear. The confirmation these reports provided of clear skies in the days after the first wave of the COL, in correlation with the cold winds in Britain from William Byrd's diary strongly suggest that a massive cold air front came into Northern and Western Europe after the "stormy" days, commonly associated with a COL.²²²

France and Italy provided the final observations verifying the weather after the storm. Franz Arago's *Sämmtliche Werke* stated that the winter of 1719 was unusually warm. The trees and flowers in France and Italy were blossoming in February and March. These blossoms were short-lived, however, because there was a large cold spell at the end of March with frosts that killed the blossoms.²²³ The large cold spell in France and Italy occurred as the cut-off low was in Europe. Again, a cut-off low is associated with a large mass of cold air. This report of a cold spell and frosts show that a large cold air mass affected vast portions of Europe, typical of the COL. Since the weather conditions of March 1719 meet both the characteristics and associated features of a cut off low pressure system then a cut-off low pressure system centered in the western Mediterranean Sea, covering much of western Europe, was likely responsible for the storm that struck the small Spanish Armada. We know the COL was centered over the Mediterranean because the reports out of London and of the ships located within the COL reported an east or northeast wind, and cold and windy conditions stretching from London to Spain for several days. All of these signify weather conditions similar to those of a COL centered in the Western Mediterranean.

²²² R. Romero, A. Martín, V. Homar, S. Alonso, and C. Ramis, "Predictability of Prototype Flash Flood Events in the Western Mediterranean Under Uncertainties of the Precursor Upper-Level Disturbance: the HYDROPTIMET Case Studies," *Natural Hazards and Earth System Science*, 5, (2005): 508-510.

²²³ Franz Arago, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1860), 340-342.

Records of today to reconstruct the past

Since we now know what happened to the Spanish fleet the next step is to examine the oddity of the cut-off low pressure system in March 1719 and determine how well Alberoni and Ormonde prepared for or factored in the weather. Data of weather patterns in modern Spain can presumably help explain how common a COL was in 1719. This last step is the easiest to compare and will be examined first along with Spain's knowledge of weather patterns in 1719.

Assuming that seasonal weather patterns from 1719 and the early eighteenth century are similar to today, we can take the records from cut-off lows in Iberia today to assess how commonly COL's occur in March. Cut-off lows are common in Spain today (see the articles in footnotes 212-215). A 2005 report on a study of COLs from 1958-1998, *Climatological Features of Cutoff Low Systems in the Northern Hemisphere* examined the time of year that COLs occurred and found that most COLs occur in the summer, fall, and early winter months. The most active time of year are the summer months with 44.6 percent of European COLs occurring compared to 10.6 percent in winter. Based upon this study March was usually a calm month for COLs, but some still occurred then.²²⁴

It is important to remember although a minor COL can be a common occurrence lasting a couple of days in Spain; the COL that struck the Spanish fleet in 1719 was not a typical COL. M-C. Llasat, F. Martâin, and A. Barrera, wrote in their 2007 article *From the Concept of "Kaltlufttropfen" (Cold Air Pool) to the Cut-Off Low: The Case of September 1971 in Spain as an Example of Their Role in Heavy Rainfalls* that "if the cold pools [the center of a COL] were close to the Mediterranean (not often the case), the worst-affected

²²⁴ Raquel Nieto, Luis Gimeno, Laura de la Torre, Pedro Ribera, David Gallego, Ricardo García-Herrera, José Agustín García, Marcelino Nuñez, Angel Redaño, and Jerónimo Lorente, "Climatological Features of Cutoff Low Systems in the Northern Hemisphere," *Journal of Climate* 18 (2005): 3095-3097.

zone was usually to the west or northwest.”²²⁵ This type of COL should not be confused with a typical COL. The strength of the two storms is greatly different with the one centered over the Mediterranean being significantly stronger than others which are not centered over land or the Atlantic.

Because of the size, duration, and severity of the COL that struck the Spanish fleet it was irregular of a typical COL and the center of that COL stalled out over the Mediterranean (the location of stronger COLs). Because it stalled out over the Mediterranean, the COL pulled in more moisture and grew stronger. Therefore, the Spanish fleet had two things going against it. Not only was the COL that hit it less common (e.g., a COL that formed over the Mediterranean in March), but the area in the Atlantic where the Spanish ships were located (to the west and northwest of the low) would be the most likely region to be affected by the cold frontal zone, associated with the strongest wind and stormiest conditions!²²⁶ In comparing today’s data on COLs with the COL of March 1719, it appears that March was the best time to sail if an expedition was to go out.

Determining what Spain knew about weather patterns in 1719 becomes a little more difficult. Much of the work done by scholars has focused on Spain’s knowledge of weather and wind patterns for sailing to the East and West Indies. This does little to help our understanding of the best times to sail from Spain to Britain. To find this we must look to another famous Spanish Armada, the 1588 Spanish Armada, which bears an eerie resemblance to the 1719 Armada. The 1588 Armada also attempted an invasion of Britain and sustained serious damage to its fleet because of weather (for more information on the

²²⁵ M.-C. Llasat, F. Martâin, and A. Barrera, “From the Concept of “Kaltlufttropfen” (Cold Air Pool) to the Cut-Off Low,” *Meteorology and Atmospheric Physics* 96 (2007): 43-45.

²²⁶ G. Delgado, A. Redaño, J. Lorente, R. Nieto, L. Gimeno, P. Ribera, D. Barriopedro, R. Garcâia-Herrera, and A. Serrano, "Cloud Cover Analysis Associated to Cut-Off Low-Pressure Systems Over Europe Using Meteosat Imagery," *Meteorology and Atmospheric Physics* 96 (2007): 141-145.

1588 Armada see chapter 6). What is important to note out of this event, however, is that scholars have studied Spain's knowledge of weather patterns used when sailing to England. What they found was that Spanish mariners frequently sailed to England and back in the fall or winter.²²⁷ This suggests that from the knowledge of Spanish mariners the best time to sail to England and back was in the fall or winter. In addition, many Spanish sailors used almanacs to assist them.²²⁸ Almanacs such as *Lunario nuevo, perpetuo, y general, y pronostico de los tiempos*, provided information on the moons, the seasons, what to expect during each month of the year and during each sign of the Zodiac, and even provided basic knowledge of sailing. This almanac stated that the weather in February would be humid and moist and in March, it would be hot and dry.²²⁹ Therefore, based upon today's weather data, and the knowledge the Spanish naval commanders had of the sea at that time of year, Spain was not gambling much by sailing during the Hilary term and when they ultimately sailed in March.

The next step is to examine weather patterns of the past and put the storm of 1719 in a context with what people at that time had observed as a common COL. This step is more challenging since there are fewer records to help understand the weather patterns of the early eighteenth century than there are for understanding today's weather patterns. Nevertheless, we can judge some weather patterns by what people said about the storm when it occurred.

²²⁷ Colin Martin, and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1988), 212.

²²⁸ David C. Goodman, *Spanish Naval Power, 1589-1665: Reconstruction and Defeat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 109-111.

²²⁹ Jeronimo Cortés, *Lunario nuevo, perpetuo, y general, y pronostico de los tiempos* (Madrid: P. Madrigal, 1601) 35-38. It should be noted, however, that although Spanish sailors may have used these almanacs, their accuracy must be questioned. The edition printed closest to the 1719 rebellion was in 1713, but it is only accessible in person and it is housed in Germany. The three editions that were used in this thesis were from 1601, 1758, and 1836. The entry for all these years in describing the months was exactly the same. Changes had been made to other parts of each edition of this almanac, but for this section that "predicted" the weather it remained unchanged since the first edition in 1601.

Other ships who sailed near the Spanish fleet commented on the unusual nature of this storm. The captain of a French vessel who sailed past the Spanish fleet days before the storm struck stated that he had not seen weather that bad in over twenty years.²³⁰ The French captain also believed the Spanish fleet perished at sea because even with his experience at sea, the French captain struggled to make it to land. Although it is only one report, the account of the French captain makes the case for the COL of 1719 being both severe and something unusual in that time of year or for that matter for the previous 20 years. Given his experience, it suggests that if storms of this severity were a regular occurrence then he would not have been sailing off the coast of Spain in March 1719.

Franz Arago's *Sammtliche Werke* stated that the weather in France and Italy was unusually warm that winter up until the end of March. In January for instance, there was only one day below freezing.²³¹ The report of the trees blossoming in winter show that it was unusually warm and that the weather was abnormal for winter.²³² If Ormonde and Alberoni planned an expedition during a warm winter, it suggests that they did not factor any large storms associated with winter and cold weather into their plans. Because the ability to predict the weather was only in its initial stages by 1719, there was little help in preparing for storms except by patterns based on daily observations and common weather patterns of previous years. Therefore, if Ormonde and Alberoni only viewed what happened around them then the weather of the Mediterranean and Atlantic did not appear to be a problem.

This voyage was not solely intended for the coast of Spain, the voyage to Britain was long and the weather in Britain was just as important. Studies of weather patterns in Britain during the early eighteenth century although spotty because of the large gap in records also suggested that March was a good month to sail. A 2008 study of British ship logs from 1685-

²³⁰ *London Gazette*, London, April 18, 1719.

²³¹ Arago, *Sammtliche Werke*, 341.

²³² Arago, *Sammtliche Werke*, 341.

1750 examined storms near the British Isles. The report stated that from 1700-1709 and 1730-1739 the number of storms mentioned in these log books dramatically drop during March. In fact, from 1700-1709 March had the fewest occurrences of storms mentioned in any of the log books. Based upon this report the weather patterns in Britain in the years before the storm suggested that March was an ideal time to attack. Since basic observations were what the Spanish and the Jacobites used to judge and predict the weather, the weather patterns before the storm as well as the precedent of previous years would have suggested that March was an ideal time to sail to Britain.²³³ In other words, Alberoni and Ormonde chose well and deliberately in selecting the Hilary term (between January and March) as the preferred time for the Jacobites to sail. Not only did they try to sail during the Hilary term for the 1719 rebellion but they also sailed during the Hilary term in the 1708 invasion and in December for *the fifteen*. From this, it appeared that the Jacobites knew the best time to sail or at least had set a precedent on what time of year worked best to land an invasion in Britain.²³⁴

It does not appear that Ormonde or Alberoni did not have much concern for the weather. The two planners assumed one of three things. That the weather would not have been a problem (the most likely case given the success of the earlier invasion that sailed during the Hilary term or end of March), that they could not have done anything about the weather even if it had been a problem, or they simply never even considered it (which is highly unlikely given the failure of other Spanish “Armadas” because of weather). The most likely scenario was the first or second option because in their letters they do not mention the

²³³ C. W. Wilkinson and C. Ward, "Atmospheric Circulation and Storminess Derived from Royal Navy Logbooks: 1685 to 1750," *Climatic Change*. 101, (2010): 17-22.

²³⁴ During another planned invasion with French aid in 1744, the Jacobites planned on invading Britain in February 1744. Clearly, the bad effects of the storm in 1719 did not affect the way the Jacobites thought of the weather. Judging by this, the storm must have not occurred during a time, which the Jacobites viewed as dangerous to sail.

weather until it became a problem. At the end of February around the 24 (NS) the fleet was ready to depart but was kept in port by contrary winds and bad weather. This was the first time that weather was given serious consideration by the planners of the expedition. As the ships waited, Alberoni and Ormonde made a contingency plan to meet at Coruna or Cape Finisterre if the weather became too bad.²³⁵ This was a last-minute consideration, however, as the ships were already prepared to sail. The lack of consideration of the weather in these letters does not suggest an unpreparedness of the planners, but rather shows they had no need to prepare for the weather based upon the data of weather patterns at the time and especially for the winter of 1718/1719. The winter was warm and storms were less frequent in March so the planners felt no need to prepare or make a plan for bad weather until it affected them.

With all the scheming and thought that Alberoni, Ormonde, and the Jacobites put into planning the expedition it was illogical for them to ignore the weather if they felt it was going to be a problem. Clearly, they did not feel it would hinder the invasion and made a last minute plan to assemble at Coruña or Cape Finisterre just in case there was bad weather. Based upon their weather observations before the fleet was supposed to leave Coruña there was some unexpected fog and this is when they began to factor in the weather. Because the storm damaged the Spanish fleet and from the data it appears that the storm was unexpected, if nothing else, we know that Spain was serious about helping the Jacobites. The storm was not just a feigned effort by Spain to withdraw their support after invasion from France and the rest of the Quadruple Alliance appeared imminent. Spain in fact contributed a significant number of troops (5,000), or at least a significant number of what troops they had remaining, and arms for the invasion and risked invasion itself if the expedition was unsuccessful, which is precisely what happened: Britain invaded (Galicia) shortly after the Spanish fleet had been

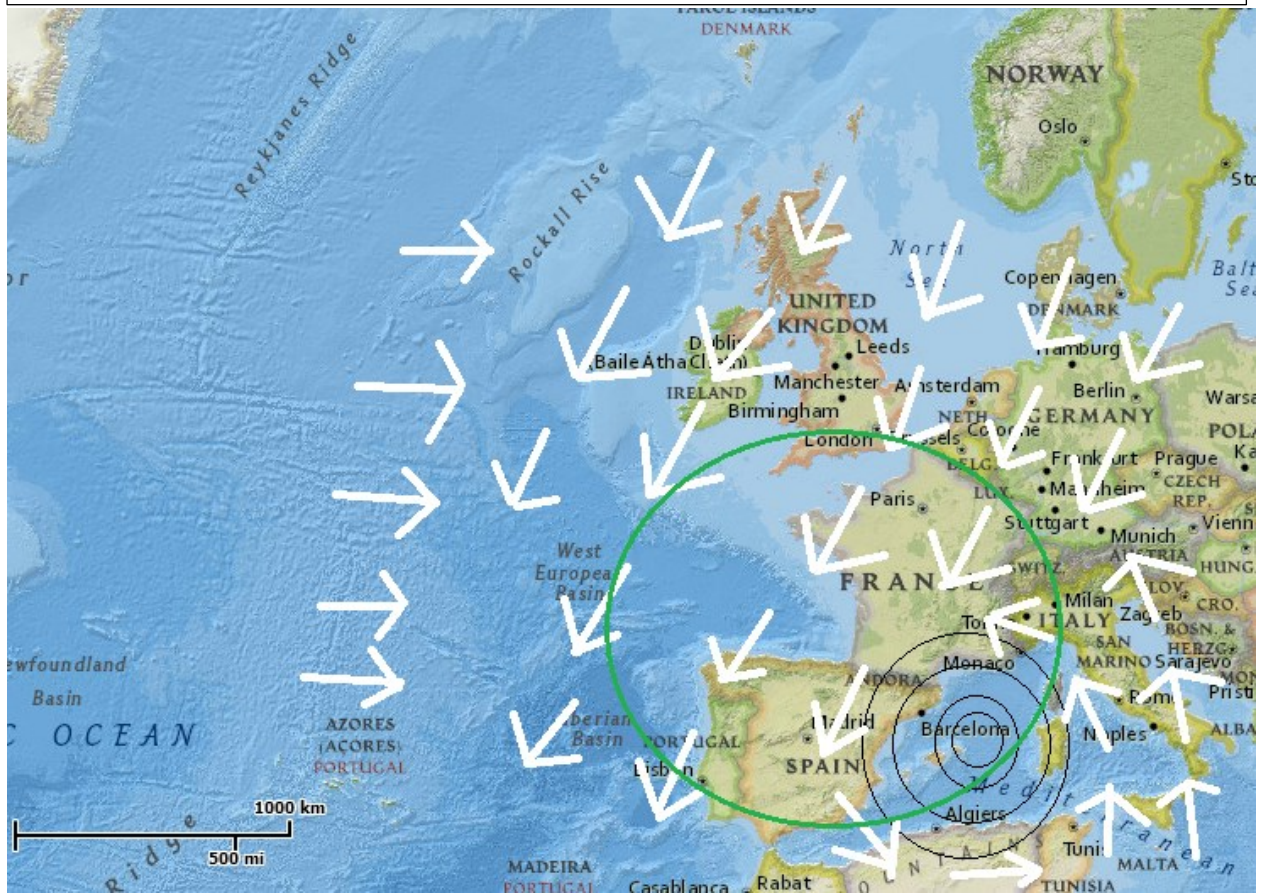
²³⁵ Dickson, *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 68-90.

shredded by the “Protestant Wind.” Spain appears to have been serious in their attempts to aid the Jacobites.

Ultimately, the weather derailed the plans of both the Spanish and the Jacobites (which were quick and rushed, thus easily upset).²³⁶ Yet because Spain was, as we have determined, so determined in their attempt to “aid” the Jacobites while conditions looked favorable, we can turn to address the fundamental questions: Was it actually a Jacobite Rebellion? Or had the Jacobites simply become a tool manipulated by the hands of Spanish masters to prune British power and to further their ambitions in the Mediterranean and in Europe, one to be discarded when the opportune season had passed? What about the support that the Jacobites were supposed to have in Britain once they landed? Why did it not materialize? Was there actually going to be a full-scale rebellion? If the weather had not interfered with the planned invasion did Ormonde, Alberoni, and Philip actually believe that the Jacobites with Spanish help could take over Britain and thus complete a Jacobite Rebellion, or was it just a diversion to take Britain out of the War of the Quadruple Alliance?

²³⁶See figure 5.2 for a reconstruction of what the weather might have looked like during the storm, based in part on the observations from 1719.

Figure 5.2



A reconstructed cut-off low pressure system centered in the western Mediterranean. The areas in the green circle are most likely to receive precipitation. The white arrows are the surface winds based upon observations from 1719.

Chapter 6: A Rebellion like the Rest

With the narrative of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion completed and the demonstration proving that a significant and rightly unexpected storm system (COL) wrecked the Spanish fleet, it is time to answer the biggest and perhaps most important question of this thesis: was the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 truly a “Jacobite” Rebellion? A majority of this final chapter will be devoted to answering this question and several smaller questions that coincide with it such as: Could the Jacobites really have taken over Britain? What were the potential consequences if they had won? Would Spain have just given Britain to the Jacobites if they had won? And finally, what consequences did the failure of the 1719 rebellion have for the Jacobites, Spain, and the rest of Europe.

A Jacobite Rebellion?

Although it was and still is called a Jacobite Rebellion, the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion was not exactly “Jacobite.” In fact, the Jacobites did little to fund the expedition monetarily or via troops, and although they intended to have a strong showing once the invasion landed this ultimately never occurred. Spain, however, supplied a majority of the forces, ships, and supplies for the invasion and even went as far as offering to fund Sweden’s part in the invasion. From just this data, it is clear who in the end was in charge, though, as shown above, early in the planning stages (April – October 1718), Alberoni and Spain were hardly interested in the Jacobite’s overtures. As the plans progressed and when events began going against Spain and the Jacobites, Ormonde’s letters revealed who was actually in charge of the invasion. Although Ormonde (and the Jacobites) was leading the men into battle and planned the invasion, the final say in what happened or the final approval for what went on had to go through the Spanish government either through Cardinal Alberoni or King Philip. Ormonde’s letters from early April revealed this when he began panicking about the landing in England, stating “je obeirai les ordres du Roy et que je ne songerai plus a l Ecosse et qu il ne sera pas

ma faute sy nous ne débarquerons pas en Angleterre.”²³⁷ This statement shows a frustrated Ormonde who had no choice but to follow the orders of Alberoni.

Once Sweden was out of the invasion plans, Spain (Alberoni and Philip) appeared to take over control of the invasion. Without Swedish help, Ormonde appeared to no longer have complete faith in how the expedition was being drawn up. In his letters from April 4 (NS) through April 9 (NS) Ormonde started to falter in his support of the planned invasion.²³⁸ Ormonde believed that the invasion would not work if Britain was aware of what was going on.²³⁹ By this time (early April in Spain which was late March in Britain), Britain knew every detail of the expedition except the exact departure date and the exact location of where the invasion was landing. Ormonde told Alberoni and Philip that he was landing in Scotland and calling off the English invasion. He even wrote to James telling him that “I think there is nothing to be done but the going of Scotland” because of the delays caused by the weather.²⁴⁰ To Ormonde under the circumstances it would be better to land in Scotland than in England. This made it appear as though he had some power and control over the planning, but Alberoni and Philip were both against this idea. The next letter from Alberoni and the one Ormonde wrote back had a different tone, and Ormonde clearly is lower in command after Alberoni and Philip told him he was to land in England at all costs.²⁴¹ By the next letter, they backed down and told Ormonde that he could land in Scotland only if England proved impossible and he begrudgingly agreed, “Je ne manquerai pas de faire tout ce qui me sera possible pour obéir aux ordres de sa Majesté en tachant de débarquer en Angleterre mais si

²³⁷ Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, Spain, (French) April 4, 1719, Stuart Papers; Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, (French) April 9, 1719, Stuart Papers. Alberoni to Ormonde, Madrid, (French) April 4, 1719, Stuart Papers.

²³⁸ Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, Spain, (French) April 4, 1719, Stuart Papers; Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, (French) April 9, 1719, Stuart Papers.

²³⁹ Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, Spain, (French) April 4, 1719, Stuart Papers.

²⁴⁰ Ormonde to James, Coruña, (French) March 31, 1719. Stuart Papers

²⁴¹ Alberoni to Ormonde, Madrid, (French) April 4, 1719, Stuart Papers.

cela se trouve impracticable Je ferai tout ce que je puis pour mettre pied a terre en Ecosse ce qui ne sera que la derniere resource.”²⁴² Nonetheless, it was clear that the real power controlling the expedition by this point was Spain under Philip and Alberoni.

It must have been at this point that Ormonde felt the strain of leading the expedition and being caught between his duty to James and Spain on one hand and his desire to serve the Jacobites on the other. Both James Francis Edward Stuart (like his father and later his son) and Spain wanted to strike directly at England. For them the main purpose of the invasion was to ignite a rebellion in England on the western coast and lead it to capture London and the crown, but Ormonde and many of the Jacobite generals viewed the rebellion differently. One major problem of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion and the Jacobite movement as a whole was a conflict of interests between James and his followers. James, like his father and later his son, refused to break up his “kingdom” in exchange for foreign aid.²⁴³

During other Jacobite Rebellions, the French had previously offered full assistance in exchange for control of Ireland.²⁴⁴ James, however, wanted control of all three kingdoms or no kingdom at all. Therefore, his men planned an expedition with the main goal of conquering England, hoping that in the process, the other two kingdoms would join him. His generals and commanders, however, viewed things in a different light. Ormonde was content to invade Scotland alone and establish a foothold there especially once Spain was the only force backing the Jacobites and Ormonde had learned that Britain was aware of the planned invasion.²⁴⁵ Ormonde’s letters to Alberoni and some to James in early April clearly show his frustration and complaints with the state of the overall expedition. The conflicting goal between James and Philip of Spain on one side and Ormonde and James’s other top generals

²⁴² Ormonde to James, Coruña, April 5, 1719, Stuart Papers; Ormonde to Alberoni, Coruña, (French) April 9, 1719, Stuart Papers.

²⁴³ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 74-75.

²⁴⁴ Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement*, 74-75.

²⁴⁵ Ormonde to James, Coruña, April 5, 1719, Stuart Papers.

(Marischal and Tullibardine) on the other brought tension to the plan. By March, when the main expedition was to sail to England, the chances of it making it to English soil and setting up a successful landing were small because the Royal Navy was coasting along the waters outside of England and troops had been sent to stop an invasion in western England. If the Armada sailed to Scotland instead, there was a greater probability of it landing and becoming an effective military force in Britain, assuming that people came out in support for James, but instead the Jacobite command was divided.

Ormonde's confusion and the orders he was given are just more examples of the control and influence that Spain had over the Jacobites in the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. Yet, despite all of Spain's control over planning, funding, and troops for the rebellion, when it comes right down to it the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 was truly a "Jacobite" Rebellion. Yes, the majority of funding and troops that participated in the rebellion were in large part supplied by foreign sources, and this may seem like solid grounds to declare it a Spanish invasion using the Jacobites as a tool for their ambitions, which in many ways it was. Spain had its own ambitions and plans for Europe and the Mediterranean. A Jacobite Rebellion was the best way for it to further those goals. In order to accomplish those goals Spain supplied the bulk of the invasion forces to Britain (5,000 men and 15,000 plus arms), but the potential return of this "investment" was greater than Spain could have imagined. It is hard to tell if Spain would have just given Britain over to the Stuarts once the invasion was complete since so much changed between the time of the planning of the rebellion and the initial "launch" of the rebellion (although it is doubtful the invasion would have been successful enough for that to occur, but it will be discussed later in the chapter). Odds are that it never would have come to that point since the invasion was unlikely to succeed once Swedish assistance was no longer available to Ormonde and Alberoni.

Despite all of this, to call the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 anything but a Jacobite rebellion would be a mistake based upon the precedent set by previous historians as what classifies as a Jacobite Rebellion. No, there is no scale or system that measures how much involvement the Jacobites themselves had to put in for the rebellion to be considered a Jacobite one, but based upon the Rebellions that are “truly” Jacobite (1707-1708, 1715, and 1745) the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 fits into this category. After all since the uprising of 1690 (even this rebellion was largely supported by, and failed because of French aid) when had there ever been a Jacobite Rebellion that did not rely in large part on foreign assistance? The *forty-five* came close with a large portion of the troops being Scottish and English Jacobites, but even then the assistance of the French was still necessary to secure a victory, which ultimately never materialized. The Jacobites relied heavily upon foreign aid for the entirety of the Jacobite movement, and the 1719 rebellion was no different. Although the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion might not have been self-sufficient or even able to get off the ground without Spanish help (the failed uprising in Scotland helped illustrate this), its ultimate goals still were those timeless ones of the Jacobite cause and therefore, based upon previous precedent must be called a Jacobite Rebellion.

Who is to Blame?

As with most failed political, social, or military expeditions there has to be fault somewhere or with someone. The first target may well have been the Duke of Ormonde if the same historians who wrote about *the fifteen* worked on the 1719 rebellion. In fact, one of the major problems in most histories of the Jacobites is the negative view scholars and historians have of the Duke of Ormonde. The previous chapters, however, have shown that Ormonde did everything in his power to piece together the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. Yet his accomplishments from the 1719 rebellion go unnoticed by historians and most tend to focus on his failures during *the fifteen*. In many ways, however, Ormonde was ahead of his time or

at least ahead of his peers in planning the 1719 rebellion. For example, in October 1718, he advised Mar and James that the invasion forces would have to depart before the end of Hilary term to have the best chance of succeeding and urged them to talk to Spain immediately.²⁴⁶ The significance of this passage can be interpreted two ways. First, it may indicate that the Ormonde was an observant student of the weather and knew based upon weather patterns that it would have been best to sail during the Hilary term, since there are fewer major storms during the winter months. It also shows he understood Spain was looking for an immediate response to the British attack at Cape Passaro and saw it as a favorable opportunity to further the Jacobite cause. If the Jacobites were to wait then the war might end and they would miss their chance.²⁴⁷ Thus, Ormonde wrote to James showing him the need to push Alberoni to start the expedition.²⁴⁸ He feared that if Britain and Spain came to peace then James would lose out.²⁴⁹ Both interpretations indicate that Ormonde realized action was urgent; when he wrote to James on October 17, they had not even “planned” the expedition yet. When it came to planning, Ormonde appears to plan as well as anyone, which goes against his poor reputation for planning and leading given to him by historians of *the fifteen*.

Ormonde also had insight into action in the field. Having served with William in the “Glorious” Revolution and with Britain during the War of Spanish Succession, Ormonde had enough combat experience to know how to win. One particular aspect that Ormonde focused on during the planning of the invasion shows how well he understood fighting on the ground. In a letter to Cardinal Alberoni dated January 27, Ormonde showed his military skill asking Alberoni to supply the expedition with muskets of the same manufacture that had

²⁴⁶ Ormonde, Paris to James, Bologna, October 17, 1718, Stuart Papers. Hilary term or St Hilary term after its namesake occurred after the feast of St Hilary and fell between January and March.

²⁴⁷ Ormonde, Paris to James, Bologna, October 17, 1718, Stuart Papers.

²⁴⁸ Ormonde, Paris to James, Bologna, October 17, 1718, Stuart Papers.

²⁴⁹ Ormonde, Paris to James, Bologna, October 17, 1718, Stuart Papers.

interchangeable bayonets, and were of the same caliber; making it possible to quickly fix any musket with the parts of another.²⁵⁰ It might seem like common sense to have a military unit well supplied and outfitted correctly and uniformly, but in the early eighteenth century one might be surprised with the motely units that most countries sent into battle. His close attention to these finite details, which bedevil many forces on the battlefield, show that Ormonde was not negligent in preparing for an invasion and is not at fault for the failure of the rebellion.

The blame for the failure of the rebellion falls on three things: the weather, loss of surprise, and Spain. The weather is the most obvious of culprits. The weather delayed the Armada from sailing out of Cadiz, Spain in February 1719, and it was the weather that wrecked the Spanish Armada off the coast of Cape Finisterre in late March. Delaying and then ultimately canceling the invasion. Ormonde himself blamed the weather for the defeat in August 1719.²⁵¹ In the planners' defense the weather was very difficult to predict in 1719, and the Jacobites followed the same precedent set by previous invasions, sailing or at least intending to launch the invasion during the Hilary term (1708 for example). Yet, to say that it was only the weather that prevented the 1719 invasion attempt from succeeding hides some of the serious weaknesses in the planning and execution of the invasion stemming from a lack of Spanish resources and the loss of surprise.

Let us pretend for a minute that the weather did not intervene and the fleet gathered all the extra supplies off Coruña and sailed onto Britain. In doing so, the real problems (a lack of secrecy, uncertain support from British citizens, and a lack of Spanish resources) standing in the way of a successful invasion (besides the Royal Navy) become clear. After all, the invasion was no surprise and Britain was aware that something was a foot as early as October

²⁵⁰ Ormonde to Alberoni, Valladolid, Spain, (French) January 27, 1719, Stuart Papers.

²⁵¹ Ormonde to General Echlin, Lugo, Spain, August 4, 1719, Stuart Papers. General Echlin was a Jacobite officer from the 1715 rebellion.

when Stair wrote to Craggs about the possibility of Ormonde's invasion as soon as he was rumored to have traveled to Spain. Despite all the attempts of Ormonde and the Jacobites to write in code and keep James uninformed of their plans, their plans still made it to Britain. Britain's spies, especially Abbé Dubois, kept it well informed of what was afoot beginning in January 1719. Yet Britain did not take the invasion seriously until March 1719. On March 11 (NS) Stair wrote to Craggs about the feeble attempts of the Jacobites to invade Britain.²⁵² On March 26 (NS) it was a different story. Craggs was panicking and told Stair to get any person he could find ready to sail against Spain.²⁵³ If the weather had not delayed the expedition from sailing until March then the chances of a successful invasion would have even been greater.

Could a rebellion have worked?

Counterfactual history or history that looks at an issue or topic from a different perspective, that of what reasonably could have happened were one or more conditions changed to a plausible alternative, can be useful in thinking through the key factors that shaped the outcome of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. The last few pages of this thesis will look at some of the possible consequences of a successful rebellion and what circumstances needed to be present for a victory of any kind to have occurred during the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. Most of these events never occurred, but in presenting this information it can help show how important the Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 was and if it had been even a little bit more successful, the major changes it could have brought about for the future of Europe in the eighteenth century.

It is impossible to rule out the chance that the 1719 rebellion could have succeeded had it not been for the weather intervening, but that chance was small. We will never truly

²⁵² Earl of Stair to Craggs, Paris, March 11 1719, in *Miscellaneous State Papers From 1501-1726 in Two Volumes* (London: W. Strahan, 1778), 193.

²⁵³ Stair to Craggs, Paris, March 15, 1719, in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, 232.

know if it would have, but in all likelihood, the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion had little chance of succeeding for the Jacobites. The glimmer of hope the Jacobites had was that Britain had a small standing army. At its strongest point during peacetime Britain could assemble 25,000 men and cavalry combined between England, Scotland, and Wales.²⁵⁴ Even with Britain having a small number of ready troops defending it the Jacobites needed an army to fight George I. A portion of the population was unhappy with George I and therefore potentially willing to join the Jacobites. The riots of 1714 and 1715, which occurred on the Jacobite, Williamite, and Hanoverian “holidays”, were brought about because of the discontent among some of the population because George I was in power. These riots had not stopped after the failure of *the fifteen*. There were anti-Hanoverian riots in 1716, 1717, and 1718.²⁵⁵ London police arrested anti-Hanoverian rioters in both 1717 and 1718.²⁵⁶ Ormonde believed that the Jacobites would have a strong showing once an army made it to England, while Craggs and Stair felt the opposite was true. The only direct evidence we have of the size of the Jacobite army is the approximately 1,200 men who showed up for the battle of Glenshiel. A small number even compared to the earlier rebellion of 1715. The number of the 1719 rebellion is a bit skewed, however, because as the Jacobites pointed out (Tullibardine), many were waiting on a large foreign army to show up before they joined in the rebellion. Furthermore after the rebellion failed there was another attempt to seize the throne; the Atterbury Plot of 1722 (planning began in 1720). This plan was designed to seize the munitions from the Tower of London and then capture the royal family.²⁵⁷ There was clearly support for the Jacobites but the question of how much is unknown. The devotion to all of these plans leads to a quagmire for the Jacobites. The 1719 rebellion like the Atterbury plot had devoted followers who were

²⁵⁴ Oates, *The Jacobite Campaigns*, 24-25.

²⁵⁵ Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 224.

²⁵⁶ Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, 204.

²⁵⁷ Evelyn Cruickshanks, *Lord North, Christopher Layer and the Atterbury Plot: 1720-1723*, found in *The Jacobite Challenge*, 98,99.

willing to die for their cause, but in both plans George I was never expected to be killed. He was always either captured or the rebellion would happen while he was in Hannover. If it came down to it, one can assume that the Jacobite would have killed George I to take the throne, but we cannot be certain of this. Even if their plan worked then the Jacobites (the Stuarts) would then be looking over their shoulders for someone to take the throne from them.

The real problem for the Jacobites was not finding men for an army; they could always find men who were unhappy with the current government and willing, in some degree, to support the Stuarts, who could promise the world in return for support. No, the real problem was what to do if they won. Granted there was a chance that the Spanish and Jacobite army could have defeated the British army and marched on London, but that in all likelihood would have led to a civil war. A civil war was not good for the Jacobites (but it was great for Spain) because in a civil war people had to choose who they were willing to support. There were still too many problems between the way the Jacobites and the Stuarts wanted to run the country versus the way Britons felt about how their country should be run. When it comes right down to it, Britain did not appear to be ready to accept a Catholic monarch (James Francis Edward Stuart) not matter what concessions he was willing to give.²⁵⁸ Religious toleration or lack thereof appeared to be the biggest problem standing in the way of James obtaining the British throne.

There is some reason to believe that the invasion had a greater chance of success if the Jacobites and especially James put their attention and efforts solely on Scotland. Scotland and northern England were not well defended. Britain only deployed 3,000 men to western England when it heard of the impending invasion and this was a more important area to

²⁵⁸ Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration*.

protect than Scotland.²⁵⁹ If Britain had to concede any territory and had to choose a place to fight the Jacobites even if only temporarily, it would have been its newest addition to the Union, Scotland. The Jacobites had expected a large number of followers to support them during the rebellion. Ormonde probably had the best idea of what support was like in western England because he had been in charge of that area during *the fifteen*, and from his letters he expected a strong showing.²⁶⁰ Yet when the Jacobites landed in Scotland, no rebellion occurred in England. The supporters the Jacobites had in England (most likely the same support base leftover from *the fifteen*) were probably waiting on the main invasion force to arrive before they joined in and rightfully so. In Scotland, however, the support for the rebellion was still rather lackluster. By the battle of Glenshiel a few months into the rebellion, the Jacobites had a little over a thousand supporters. Where did all their followers go? Tullibardine the Jacobite “commander” who landed in Scotland may have been right in suggesting that the rebellion had occurred too close to *the fifteen* and supporters were still unwilling to join until it appeared that a rebellion was well underway. The alternative is that the Jacobites overestimated their support in Scotland. Probably the truth lies somewhere close to both statements. Many supporters were still waiting for the main invasion force to arrive and did not want to risk a failed rebellion and the possible consequences, but at the same time, the Jacobites were probably overzealous in the expectation of numbers. Either way without the major landing force making it to Britain we will never know. The reality of the situation is that having James focus solely on Scotland, however, seems unlikely to have happened because as mentioned above James was unwilling to concede one part of his “kingdom.” Therefore, it appears as though the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion (under the revised

²⁵⁹ *Whitehall evening post*, March 21-24, 1719; Oates, *The Jacobite Campaigns*, 38.

²⁶⁰ Ormonde Coruña to James, March 22 and 27, 1719, Stuart Papers.

plans) even if it had landed in Scotland or Britain was unlikely to have succeeded for the Jacobites, but the Jacobites were not the only side interested in the outcome of the rebellion.

Spain on the other hand did not need the Jacobites to be successful in order to achieve their goals for the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. In fact, all Spain really needed was Britain out of the Mediterranean for a few months. If the Jacobite invasion landed anywhere in Britain and the combined army of Spanish and Jacobite soldiers fought the British army for a few months, there was a good chance that Spain could have held the advantage in the War of the Quadruple Alliance. With Britain out of the Mediterranean or, at the very least, unable to send reinforcements to the Mediterranean, Spain could have resupplied its army that was trapped in Sicily. Once Sicily was won then Spain's army of 30,000 men could have gone onto the Italian Peninsula or returned to Spain to confront the French, or even possibly to invade France. It is hard to know Spain's next step after Italy since they never had a chance to fully develop their plans for after the rebellion. Since the rebellion failed to neutralize Britain and France and Britain consequently invaded them, Spain never had a chance to resupply and redeploy its army in Sicily.

The French Connection

The last scenario worth counterfactual consideration is probably the most farfetched, but without taking it to extremes; it can help show the importance of a successful rebellion for Spain. The War of the Quadruple Alliance was a war that was unpopular for many who were involved. France was reluctant to invade too far into Spain because it feared a Spanish counter-offensive and invasion. Britain was willing to fight a naval war but did not want to involve foot soldiers. Austria was really the only country that had a will to fight, but they had the weakest military and if Spain defeated the Austrian army in Sicily there was little Austria could do to stop another Spanish invasion. If Spain had taken its army with 30,000 plus troops into France to counter the French invasion then the War of the Quadruple Alliance

would be remembered to this day. With the number of Jacobites in France and the connections that the Jacobites had it was possible to support a Spanish army in France. If Spain gained control of France then Philip V, who had a legitimate claim to the French throne, would have become king of two countries. The young dauphin king might have disappeared or been exiled himself. Under this scenario with the resources now under Spain's control, there may have even been another attempt to restore the Stuarts to Britain. Even without another invasion of Britain, the uniting of France and Spain under one monarch would have become a huge problem for the rest of Europe. There would probably have been a new Franco-Spanish and maybe even Anglo alliance that would have lasted for thirty years or so until Philip's death. Upon Philip's death, (in this unlikely situation of scenarios) it is likely that there was another War of Succession and from there anything could have happened.

Which plan to blame?

January was a turning point when the King of Sweden died and was officially out of the Jacobite plans. Because of this, assigning blame becomes much more difficult. Once revised invasion plans were drawn up it seems that to place fault for the failure of the expedition we have to determine which plan is at fault. The first invasion plan with the help of Sweden would have to fall on Ormonde if it had failed, (which for the Jacobites, it is likely that it would have failed to succeed long term because of the ideological differences between Britons and the Jacobites) but this plan never happened. The second plan developed after the King of Sweden's death still used Ormonde's ideas, but was not the same plan that Ormonde had drawn up. For one thing, the invasion fleet sailed almost one month later than Ormonde had hoped. They also lost the additional help of Sweden. Since Ormonde was only asking for 3,000 Swedish troops, this might not seem like a huge blow, but just having the prestige of the Kingdom of Sweden helping would have helped to motivate the Jacobite base in Britain.

Not only that, but Sweden was a Protestant Kingdom. With the fears of the Jacobites being all Catholic and under the direction of the Pope, having a legitimate Protestant Kingdom as an ally would help dismiss many of the rumors and anti-Catholic feelings. This could only have benefited the Jacobites. A final difference between the two plans was the confidence of its leaders. As previously mentioned, in the new plan before the fleet was supposed to leave Coruña, Ormonde wrote to Alberoni and others to tell of his doubt that the expedition would succeed as implemented. In fact, before Ormonde received Alberoni, Philip, and James's response he had made up his mind to sail directly to Scotland. If the timing was a little different and the fleet arrived sooner before he received Alberoni's letters, Ormonde would have sailed directly to Scotland and just initiated a rebellion there. In hindsight, this might have gathered the most recruits and in turn had the best chance of all the possible rebellions of winning battles if it had made it there. With as fickle as the Jacobite army was, a large Spanish army supporting the Pretender could only have helped recruit numbers and support. Now let us look at Alberoni, Philip, and Spain.

Alberoni and Philip were adamant about sailing, and for Spain the quicker the expedition sailed the better, but Spain had completely different goals for the expedition than the Jacobites. Alberoni used the expedition to benefit Spanish interests and not the Jacobites. If the invasion had overthrown George I then it was just an added bonus. Therefore, from a Spanish perspective as long as some troops made it to Britain, it in turn helped Spain in the Mediterranean. This explains why Alberoni and Philip were always willing to change the plan and help fund the expedition so long as it attacked England. Therefore, Spain was willing to risk a small amount (which to the Jacobites seemed a large sum) for the possibility that Britain left the Mediterranean and therefore Spain gained control of Sicily and possible more. So long as an expedition went to Britain, Spain benefited.

In many ways, this view of the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion is like the modern interpretation of the 1588 Spanish Armada.²⁶¹ The two events have more in common than just terrible luck with the English and weather. What might look to some like a terrible failure that was ill planned, was actually a better solution than not launching the invasion. Some historians today view the 1588 Armada as a success for Spain.²⁶² It was better for Spain to sail to England and show that it had the men, ships, and ability to invade than to not sail at all. Much of the same was true for the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion. For Alberoni and Spain it was better to launch a quickly planned invasion attempt at the British to show that Spain could compete with Britain than it was not to do anything, and watch Britain control the Mediterranean and in turn the War of the Quadruple Alliance. The weather, however, did not cooperate with Spanish intentions and for Spain the expedition turned out to be just unlucky.

Alberoni seems to have missed a great chance for a more successful attempt at an invasion when Marlborough and the Jacobites contacted him in March and April of 1718. Alberoni, however, never responded to the Jacobite offers and both sides never pressed the issue until fall. It was only after the Battle of Cape Passaro that Alberoni became active in seeking out an ally to attack Britain and found the Jacobite still willing. If Alberoni had gone on the offensive in March or April, Spain might have saved some of its fleet from being destroyed at Passaro, putting it in a better position to invade Britain. Then again, who is to know if another storm would have come by and destroyed this invasion attempt as well since it would have sailed during a more stormy time of year?

Despite missing this potential chance, Cardinal Alberoni should not take all of the blame for the failure of the 1719 rebellion; after all, he was Philip V's scapegoat. Philip

²⁶¹ For more information on the 1588 Armada, see Mattingly, *The Armada*. For a modern interpretation of the 1588 Armada, see Fernández-Armesto's *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588*.

²⁶² See Fernández-Armesto's *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588*.

deserves just as much of the blame for the failure of the invasion. Philip had just as much control over the country as Alberoni. In the end, it was the resources of Spain that let it down. Spain could only have overcome the setbacks that the expeditionary force suffered if it had had more men and resources, but it did not have enough ships even to resupply its army in Sicily let alone to re-launch another invasion attempt after the weather damaged the first. The Spanish empire was spread out thinly and therefore everything had to go perfectly to plan for the invasion to have had any chance of success. Based upon all of this, besides the weather, the blame for the failure of the 1719 rebellion has to fall on a lack of Spanish resources. Because of the timing of the expedition (during the invasions of Spain by France and Britain) there was little that Spain could have done without putting itself in too vulnerable of a position.

The 1719 Jacobite Rebellion

Without going too far into the possibilities, it is safe to say that there are a myriad of what-ifs when dealing with this rebellion. The possibilities of what could have been or the counterfactual history are endless, but in reality the 1719 Jacobite Rebellion was unsuccessful. Its failure weakened support for the Jacobite movement with no invasion occurring for the next twenty six years, rendered Spain almost insignificant in Europe, and brought about the demise of the political career of Alberoni. It was so much of a failure that it remains understudied and largely forgotten. The ambitious plans of Ormonde and Alberoni, however, should not go unnoticed, for their plan, despite its flaws and ultimate failure shows us how easily the Europe we know today could have looked drastically different. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1719 should be remembered for what it was: A truly Jacobite rebellion with the assistance of Spain that if it had not been for the weather could have shook the foundations of Europe in the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX: TIMELINE OF EVENTS

- 1685-** James II crowned king of England; Monmouth Rebellion
- 1688-** James Francis Edward Stuart born; William invades England
- 1689-** Battle of Killiecrankie (Scotland campaign); Dundee killed; Siege of Londonderry (Ireland Campaign)
- 1690-** Battle of the Boyne (Ireland campaign)
- 1691-** Treaty of Limerick (Ireland Campaign ends)
- 1701-** James II dies; War of Spanish Succession Commences
- 1702-** William III dies; Anne Stuart takes over British throne
- 1708-** Failed Jacobite invasion attempt
- 1714-** War of Spanish Succession ends; Anne Stuart dies; George I becomes British Monarch
- 1715-** Failed Jacobite Rebellion; Spain lends aid to Jacobite cause
- 1717-** Swedish invasion attempt discovered; War of the Quadruple Alliance begins
- 1718-** April- Mar writes to Alberoni about possible invasion
- August- British fleet sent to Mediterranean; Battle of Cape Passaro
- October- Jacobites begin plans for Spanish Invasion, Ormonde travels to Spain; Spain seizes goods of all British citizens in Spain
- November- Ormonde reaches Spain
- December- Ormonde and Alberoni create plan for British invasion
- 1719-** January- Second plan for invasion drawn up once Sweden leaves planned invasion
- February- Spanish fleet delayed
- March- Storm system damages Spanish fleet; Jacobite rebellion begins in Scotland
- April- France and Britain invade Spain; Spain puts invasion on hold
- May- Jacobites fight British forces at Eilean Donan Castle
- June- Jacobite Rebellion put down at battle of Glenshiel
- December- Alberoni forced to leave Spain
- 1720-** Peace Treaty Ending War of the Quadruple Alliance

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