Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Atlas of Scottish History to 1707

Peter G B McNeill and Hector L MacQueen

ISBN: 978-1-908332-40-0

The text in this work is published under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommerical 4.0 International licence (CC BY-NC 4.0). This licence allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work and to adapt the work for non-commercial purposes, providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

McNeill, P G B and MacQueen, H L 1996 *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Medievalists and Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh. https://doi.org/10.9750/9781908332400

Important: The illustrations and figures in this work are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence. Permissions must be obtained from third-party copyright holders to reproduce any of the illustrations.

OPEN ACCESS

Every effort has been made to obtain permissions from the copyright holders of third-party material reproduced in this work. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland would be grateful to hear of any errors or omissions.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a registered Scottish charity number SC 010440. Visit our website at www.socantscot.org or find us on Bluesky @socantscot.bsky.social.

Cover sheet.indd 1 20/10/2026 13:11:44

Events from 1460 to 1707

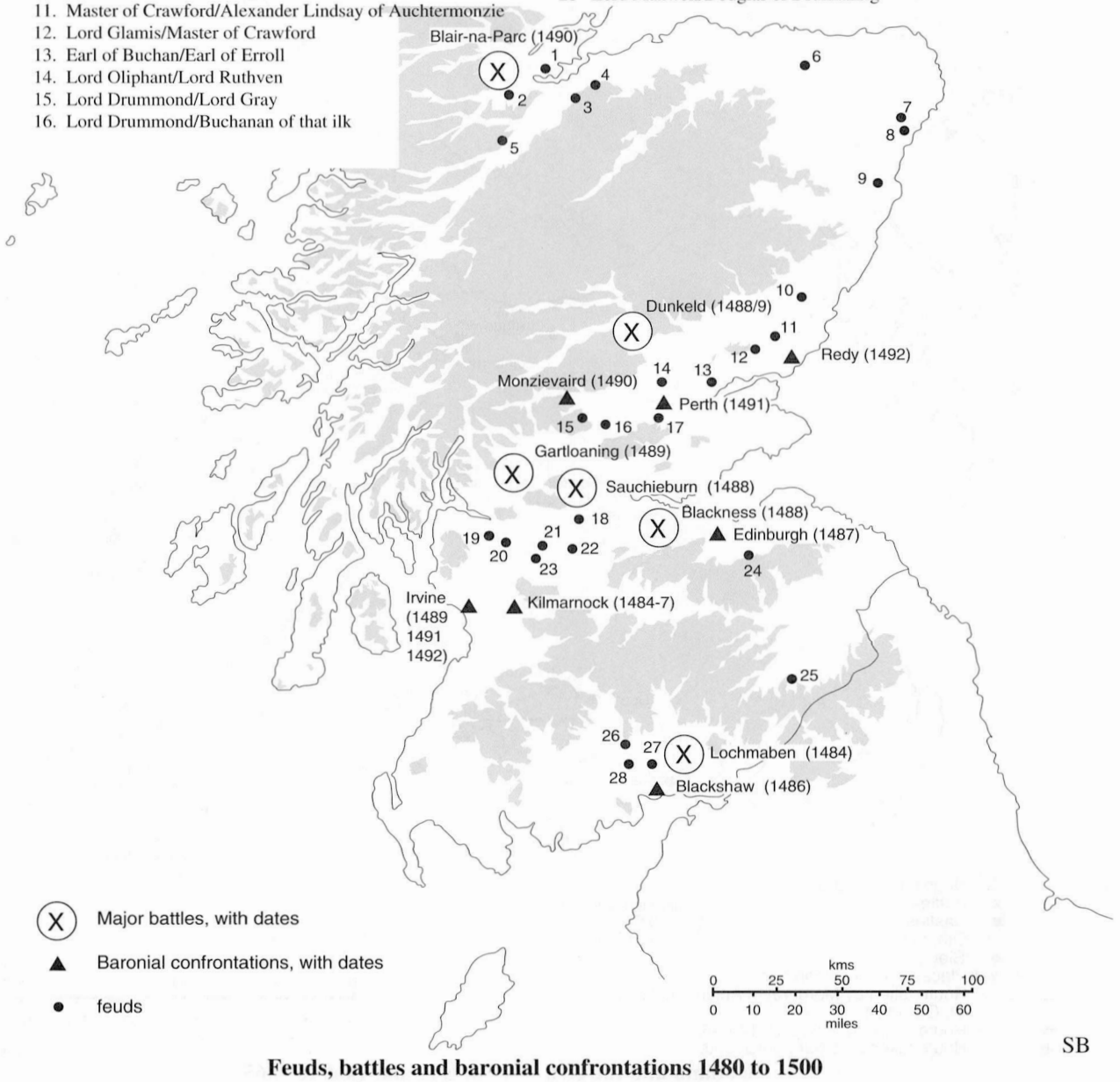
Major feuds in late medieval Scotland

The map illustrates some of the major baronial feuds in later fifteenth century Scotland. The last two decades of the fifteenth century saw a number of intense local and regional feuds which contributed to, and were exacerbated or initiated by, the national crises of James III's reign, particularly the contest between the king and his son and heir, Prince James, for political control of the Kingdom during 1488. In many ways, the battle of Sauchieburn was the culmination not only of the conflict between the king and his son but also of a number of regional power struggles. Much of the political violence of 1488 - 9 resulted from these pre-existing local tensions with the forces adhering to both the prince and the King reflecting these local divisions.

The map shows major pitched battles, including the four battles (Blackness, Sauchieburn, Dunkeld, Gartloaning) which took place between 'royal' and 'rebel' forces in the fifteen months from May 1488 to October 1489. In addition the map identifies the location of full scale confrontations between individual baronial families, such as the clash in Edinburgh between Lord Lyle and James, earl of Buchan during 1487. The political settlement of 1488, after James IV's accession to power, saw the wholesale removal of James III adherents from local office and gave rise to a series of feuds between members of the new regime and the men they had displaced at the local level. The most remarkable example of this type of dispute was the sustained campaign mounted by the Cunningham kindred against Hugh, Lord Montgomery's exercise of the office of bailie of Cunningham after 1488, which accounts for the series of confrontations between the two families in Irvine. Where details of any large scale confrontation are unclear or unrecorded the feud is simply numbered and the protagonists named.

List of feuds

1. Earl of Huntly - Rose of Kilravock/MacKenzies of Kintail
2. Clan Chattan/Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat
3. Clan Chattan/Dunbars of Westfield
4. Clan Chattan/Seton of Touchfraser
5. Earl of Huntly/Lord of the Isles
6. Earl of Buchan/Gordon of Longer
7. Earl of Erroll/Lord Gordon
8. Earl of Caithness/Keith of Inverugie
9. Lord Gordon/Forbes of Skene
10. Earl of Crawford/Lindsay of Edzell
11. Master of Crawford/Alexander Lindsay of Auchtermonzie
12. Lord Glamis/Master of Crawford
13. Earl of Buchan/Earl of Erroll
14. Lord Oliphant/Lord Ruthven
15. Lord Drummond/Lord Gray
16. Lord Drummond/Buchanan of that ilk
17. Lord Oliphant/Lord Drummond
18. Lord Fleming/Lord Kennedy
19. Earl of Lennox, Lord Lyle/Lord Sempill
20. Burgh of Renfrew/burgh of Paisley
21. Lord Fleming/Lord Hamilton
22. Lord Fleming/Laird of Kincaid
23. Earl of Lennox/Lord Hamilton
24. Lord Borthwick/Lord Crichton
25. Kers of Cessford/Murrays of Touchadam
26. Lord Crichton of Sanquhar/Douglas of Drumlanrig
27. Lord Carlisle/Murray of Cockpool
28. Lord Maxwell/Douglas of Drumlanrig

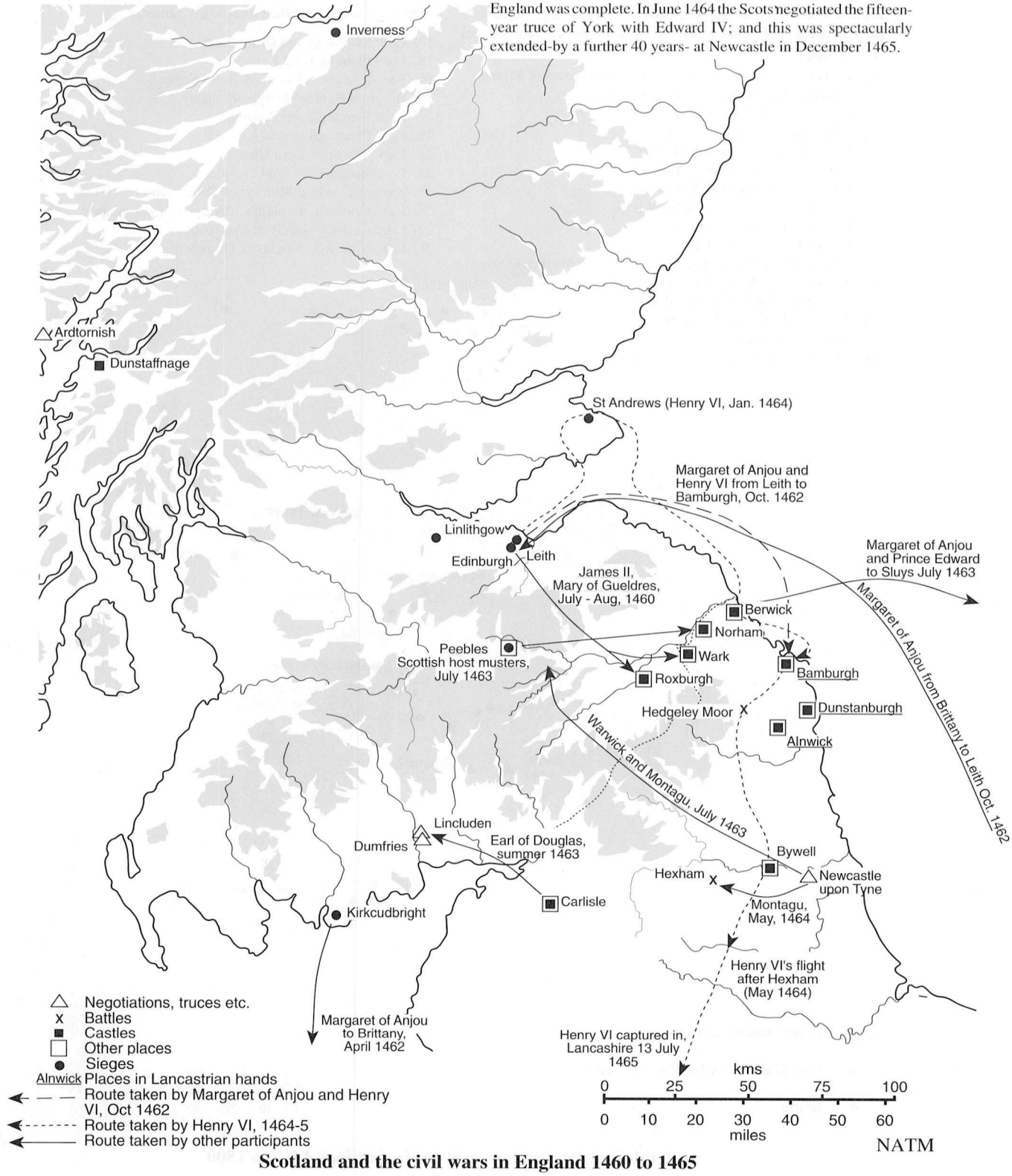


SB

Feuds, battles and baronial confrontations 1480 to 1500

Anglo-Scottish relations 1460 to 1465

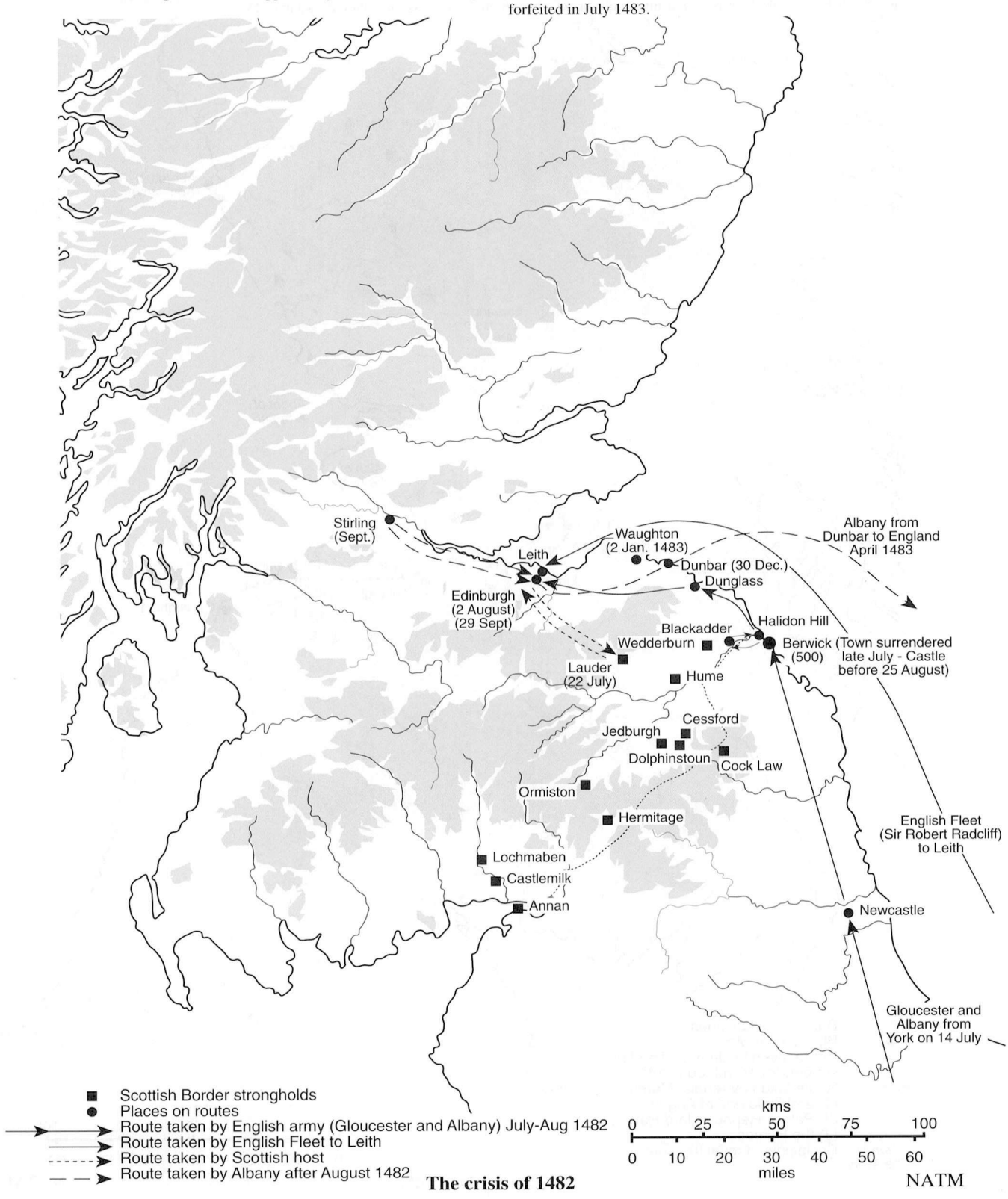
The early 1460s saw the York-Lancaster struggle in England at its height, and English governmental weakness gave the Scots their best chance to recover their remaining border strongholds - Roxburgh and Berwick - still in English hands. James II was killed at the siege of Roxburgh (3 August 1460), but the siege was ultimately successful, and the government of James's eight-year old son fell into the capable hands of his widow, Mary of Gueldres. Initially she favoured an alliance with the deposed Lancastrian king Henry VI, and his queen, Margaret of Anjou, who ceded Berwick to the Scots in April 1461. The Lancastrian king and queen remained in Scotland a full year, dividing their time between Linlithgow and the Dominican convent in Edinburgh. Margaret of Anjou sailed from Kirkcudbright to Brittany in April to plead her cause with Louis XI of France and on her return in the autumn succeeded in capturing the northern castles of Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Dunstanburgh for the Lancastrians. But in her absence, Mary of Gueldres had already entered into negotiations with Yorkist Warwick 'the Kingmaker' at Dumfries. This pragmatic policy of playing off York and Lancaster ensured the retention of Scotland's border conquests; frustrated the treaty of 'Westminster-Ardtornish' of February 1462, whereby the Black Douglas 'fifth column' attempted to recover power in Scotland with the help of the earl of Ross and Edward IV, and prevented too heavy a Scottish reliance on the Franco-Lancastrian axis, rapidly abandoned by the cynical Louis XI in 1463. Mary of Gueldres died on 1 December 1463; but her successor at the head of government, her arch-rival Bishop James Kennedy of St. Andrews, a Lancastrian by conviction, who had forced her into conducting an abortive siege of Norham castle in the summer of 1463, was constrained by circumstances to follow her policies. Following the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham (April, May 1464), the Yorkist triumph in England was complete. In June 1464 the Scots negotiated the fifteen-year truce of York with Edward IV; and this was spectacularly extended by a further 40 years- at Newcastle in December 1465.



Scotland and the civil wars in England 1460 to 1465

The crises of 1482 and 1488

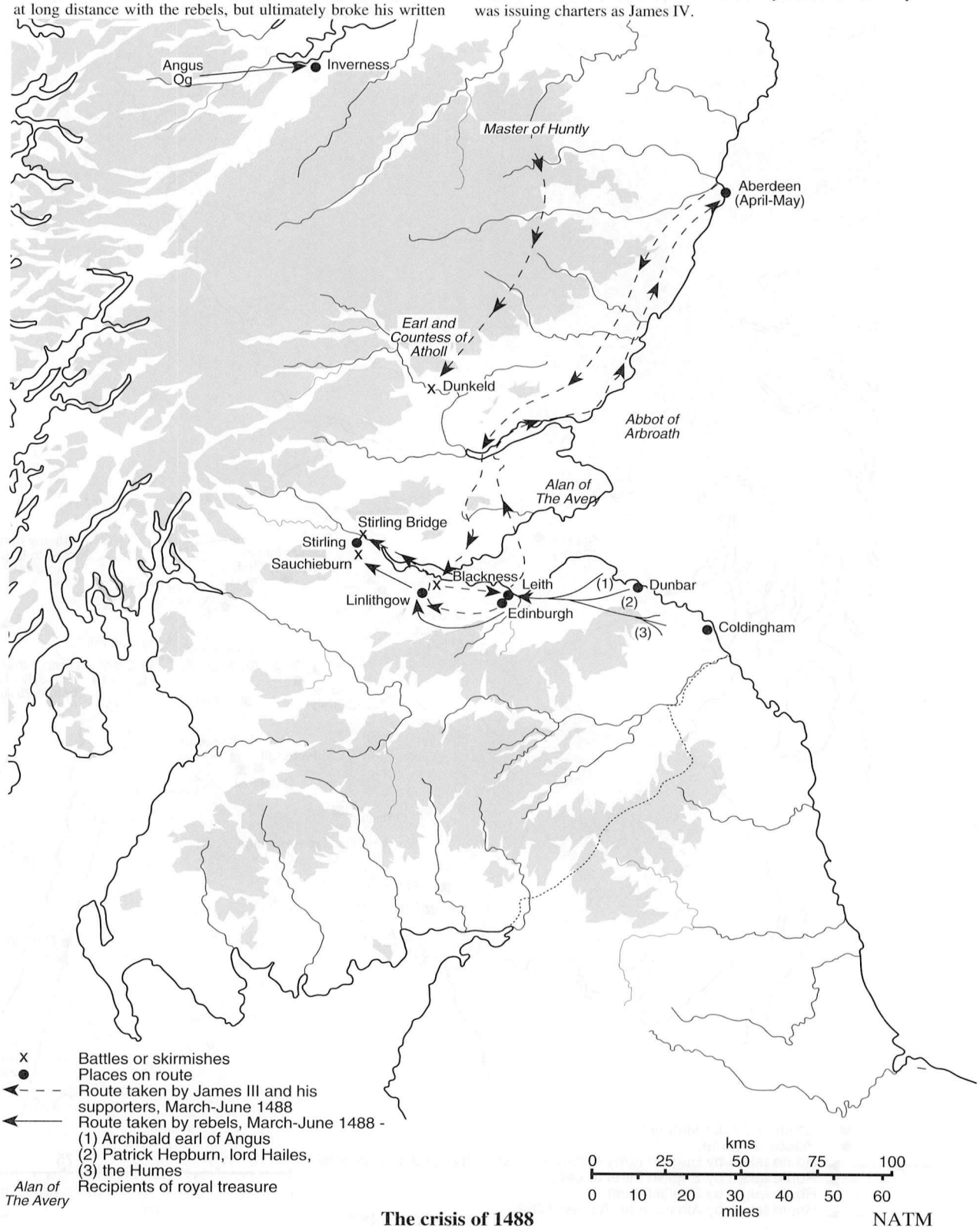
An English army, numbering about 20,000 men, entered Scotland late in July 1482, having first obtained the surrender of Berwick town. Its commanders were Richard, duke of Gloucester, and James III's brother, Alexander, duke of Albany, styling himself 'Alexander R'. Scottish resistance, apart from the host led by James III himself, was confined to small garrisons throughout the Marches, together with 500 mercenaries paid by James III to defend Berwick. These garrisons consisted in all of no more than 1,100 men. On 22 July James III was seized at Lauder by members of the nobility led by his half-uncles, and incarcerated in Edinburgh castle until 29 September. The route of the English army, after a brief detour to inflict £1,800 (Scots) worth of damage on Blackadder, lay by the coast to Edinburgh and Leith, supported by a fleet commanded by Sir Robert Radcliff. Tortuous negotiations followed, with the English withdrawing from Scotland by late August, taking Berwick castle on the way (25 August), and leaving Albany to negotiate for the position of lieutenant-general. Failing to be confirmed in this office in an abortive parliament (2-11 December 1482), he retired to Dunbar and attempted to seize the king by advancing on Edinburgh (2 January 1483). Albany attacked and seized Waughton castle (defended by the loyalist David Hepburn) and his supporters killed James III's familiar, Sir Anselm Adornes, near North Berwick. But Albany failed to seize his brother, King James gradually recovered power and the death of Albany's main prop, Edward IV (9 April 1483) made his position in Scotland hopeless. He admitted an English garrison to Dunbar castle, fled to England, and was forfeited in July 1483.



The crisis of 1482

The crises of 1482 and 1488

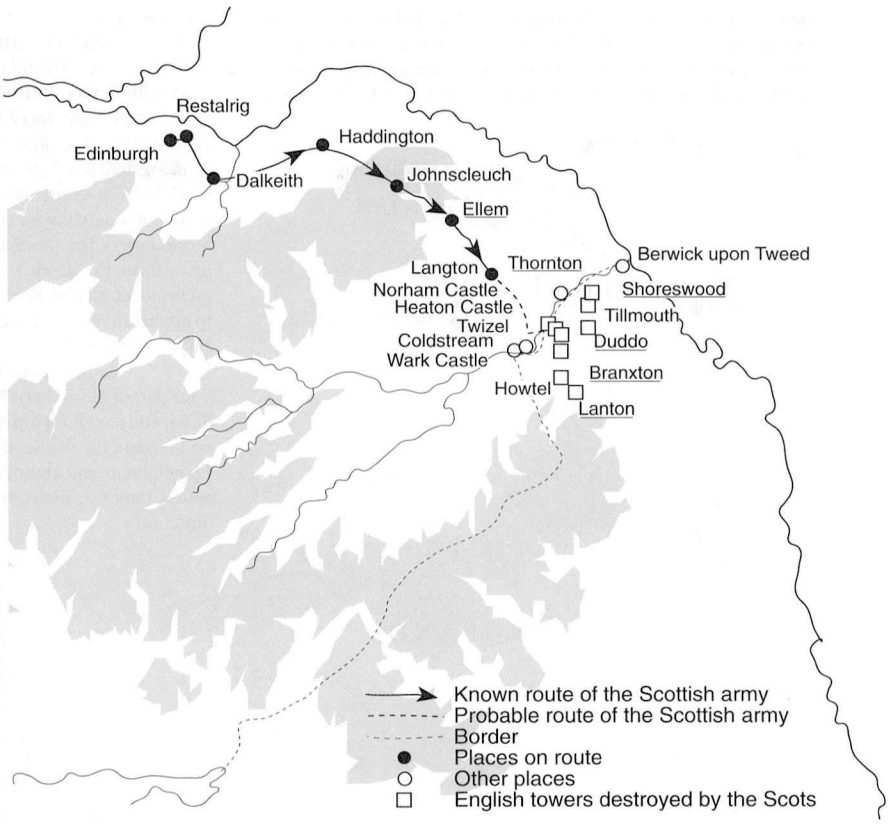
The background to 1488 lay in James III's determination to coerce the Humes over the revenues of the priory of Coldingham (October 1487-January 1488) and the aggressive stance he adopted in the parliament of January 1488. The major difference between the crises of 1482 and 1488 was the presence throughout the latter of the 15-year-old James, duke of Rothesay, heir to the throne, on the rebel side (from 2 February). His consistent defiance of his father over the four months of the crisis forced James III on to the defensive throughout. The map shows the principal areas of conflict and confrontation in the period March-June. Around 24 March James III left Edinburgh - with the southeast and Dunbar in rebel hands it had become too dangerous to stay - and crossed to Fife from Leith, subsequently moving north to Aberdeen (April). Here he negotiated at long distance with the rebels, but ultimately broke his written promise to send commissioners to talks (articles sometimes wrongly described as the 'Pacification of Blackness'), and came south with reduced support. There was a skirmish at Blackness (mid-May), followed by a giving of hostages by the king, a brief return to Edinburgh, and the final campaign in and around Stirling in early June. James III had short-lived success in a skirmish at Stirling Bridge, but was defeated and killed at Sauchieburn near Bannockburn (11 June), in spite of his efforts to emulate Robert Bruce by bringing the hero-king's sword to the field. James III's only really committed supporter, Alexander, master of Huntly, who had received rewards, including royal treasure, from the king (and the burgh farms of Inverness for 19 years) fought an inconclusive battle on the king's behalf at Dunkeld. But it was too late; as early as 12 June Rothesay was issuing charters as James IV.



The crisis of 1488 NATM

Anglo-Scottish relations: James IV and Governor Albany

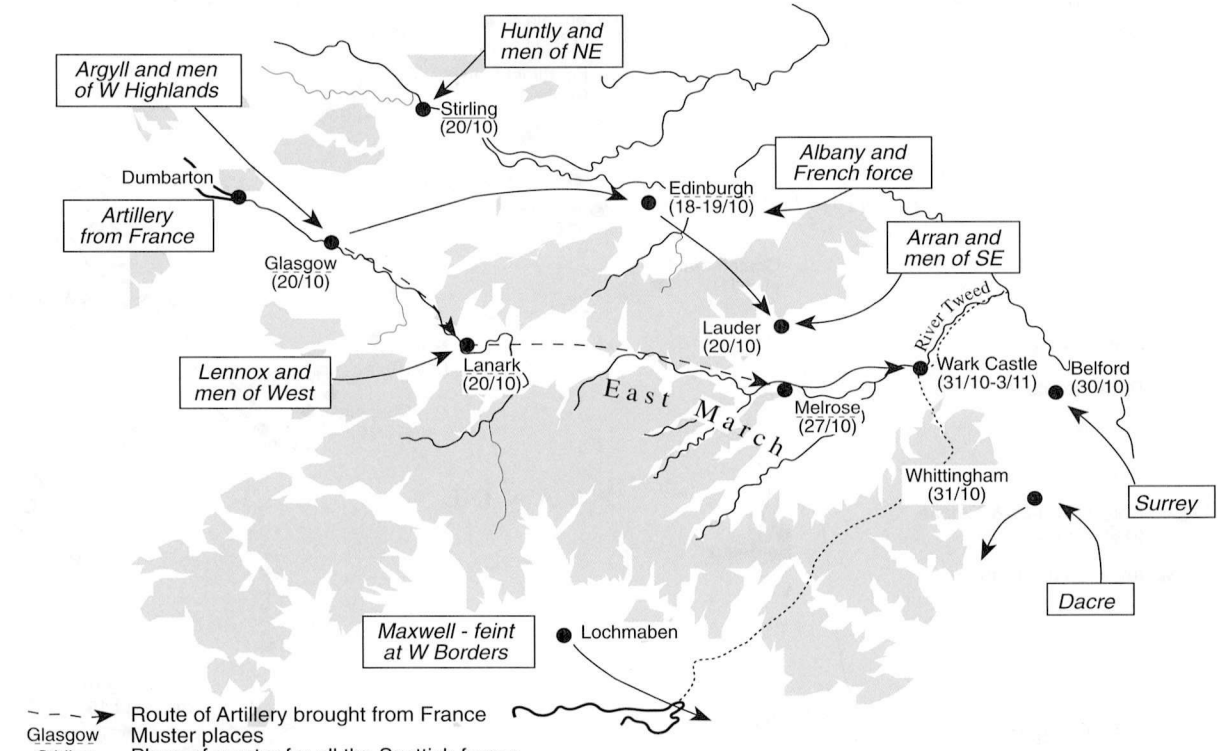
In the 14th century Scottish armies penetrated deep into England, burning and looting as widely as possible but avoiding strongholds and moving rapidly to avoid English forces. With the development of effective siege guns a different strategy could be adopted, and was by James IV and after him by Governor Albany. Facing the Scots across their southern border was no fortification which, when effectively attacked, could be expected to hold out longer than a few days. With sufficient manpower to blockade the chosen strongpoint and prevent relief from the neighbouring castles the Scots would hope to capture and demolish their objective and withdraw before a relief army arrived on the scene. If this all took place in late summer or autumn the lateness of the year might deter the English from doing too much damage in Scotland in revenge. While Berwick was not actually attacked at this time the successful reduction of English strongholds in the East Marches would have the effect of isolating it and it can hardly be doubted that its ultimate recovery was a major foreign policy objective of James IV and Albany.



Campaign of James IV 1496

This strategy only achieved any significant success in 1496 when Heaton Castle and several other lesser towerhouses in the East Marches were destroyed and the host had time to withdraw before the arrival of the English army of relief. Owing to the time it took to get the artillery to the Border and the excellent quality of Tudor intelligence-gathering the Scots only had four days to ply their guns against Heaton.

In the campaign of 1497 Norham was subjected to a bombardment of similar length but could not be captured. In 1513 the English were surprisingly slow to react to one of the strongest Scottish invasion forces ever, giving James ample time to reduce Norham and leading him on to the battle which the strategy was surely designed to avoid. Albany could only pursue this strategy in 1523 thanks to substantial French aid in the form of mercenary troops and money payments to the nobles but had only two days to bombard Wark, without success. His failure and the lasting impression of Flodden discredited this strategy for good.



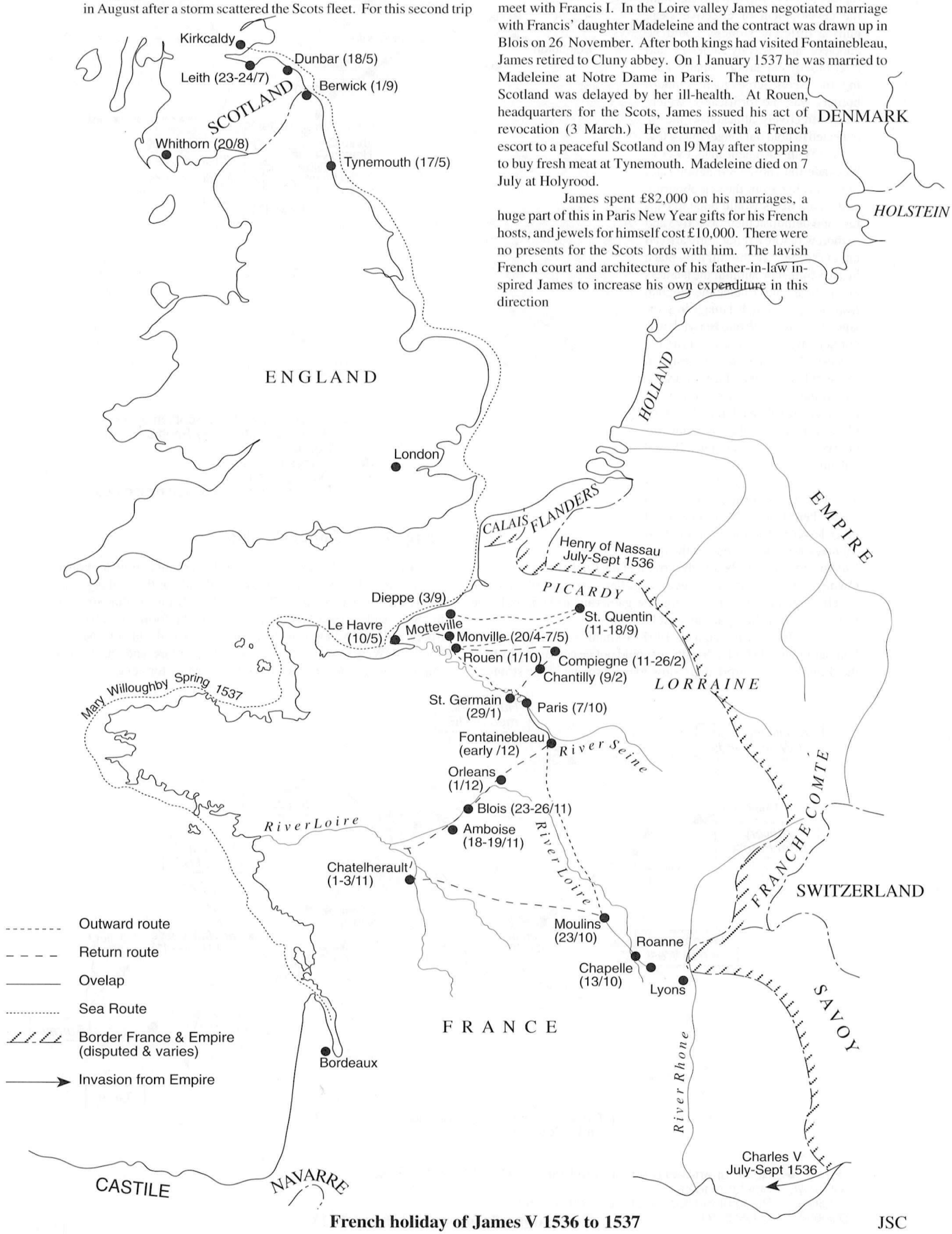
Campaign of Governor Albany 1523

DHC

James V (1513-42)

James V set out from Kirkcaldy on 1 September 1536 to sail to France to marry Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome. The marriage contract was confirmed on 29 March 1536 and was not welcomed by Henry VIII. A discreet attempt to reach France by sailing around the north of Scotland had been abandoned at Whithorn in August after a storm scattered the Scots fleet. For this second trip seven ships carrying five hundred men for protection sailed down the English east coast, off which the last Scots king to travel overseas had been kidnapped. They arrived at Dieppe on 10 September where James disembarked and travelled in disguise to St Quentin to inspect his bride-to-be. He did not like the look of her and headed south to meet with Francis I. In the Loire valley James negotiated marriage with Francis' daughter Madeleine and the contract was drawn up in Blois on 26 November. After both kings had visited Fontainebleau, James retired to Cluny abbey. On 1 January 1537 he was married to Madeleine at Notre Dame in Paris. The return to Scotland was delayed by her ill-health. At Rouen, headquarters for the Scots, James issued his act of revocation (3 March.) He returned with a French escort to a peaceful Scotland on 19 May after stopping to buy fresh meat at Tynemouth. Madeleine died on 7 July at Holyrood.

James spent £82,000 on his marriages, a huge part of this in Paris New Year gifts for his French hosts, and jewels for himself cost £10,000. There were no presents for the Scots lords with him. The lavish French court and architecture of his father-in-law inspired James to increase his own expenditure in this direction



French holiday of James V 1536 to 1537 JSC

James V (1513-42)

Marriage in Europe was a prime concern of diplomacy for Stewart kings. The traditional ally was France but James V, like his father, concluded a perpetual peace with England before reverting to the auld alliance. The Scots first approached Francis I in 1516 (1, 2) and in the following year concluded the defensive treaty of Rouen by which a royal French princess (3, 4, 6) was promised for the young James on the understanding that the Emperor Charles V had the first refusal. Henry VIII then sought in 1523 to woo Scotland away from France with the offer of his daughter Mary (5). The Danish kings tried three times without success to attract Scottish support in their family squabbles over the Danish throne (7, 8, 10, 11). Charles V, at odds with both France and England in 1528, saw Scotland as a possible ally (12, 13). James' uncle, the duke of Albany, tried to win Scotland over to France with the promise of Catherine of Medici (9), but by the time the Scots ambassador arrived in Rome she was betrothed to Francis I's son. In the 1530s Francis I had higher priorities for his daughters when James sought to implement Rouen (14, 15, 16). He only consented in 1536 to James marrying Madeleine (4) (d 1537) after resisting an invasion by Charles V. James himself had forgone the pleasure of marrying his mistress (17). His second bride (15), whom he married by proxy in France on 11 June 1538, expressed her own preference to become the fourth wife of Henry VIII. The French dowries were worth £166,666 Scots.



The marriages of James V JSC

James V (1513-42)

James V was born on 10 April 1512 at Linlithgow and succeeded to the throne on 9 September 1513. The early years of the minority were spent at Stirling,until he was moved to Edinburgh for safer keeping in the Duke of Albany's absence from the summer of 1517. Thereafter he travelled rarely until his escape from the Douglases in 1528. (This is reflected in the registered great seal charters: 504 out of 596 were granted at Edinburgh in the period September 1513 - June 1528).

Apart from the journeys undertaken to use royal resources in kind and for hygienic reasons, principally between Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling and Falkland, there were four main reasons for travel. These were to oversee justice, for religious reasons, for pleasure and to show himself and his brides to the people. These reasons were not mutually exclusive.

The pursuit of justice led to the trip of July 1526 with the earl of Angus, but it seems to have been ineffective because of the opposition which led to armed conflict near Melrose (at Darnick Moor) where Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch attempted to wrest the king from Douglas control. Other trips to the Borders were made in June 1527; May-June 1529; July 1530; May 1532; June and Oct-Dec. 1534; April-May 1535; June 1536 and January 1539.

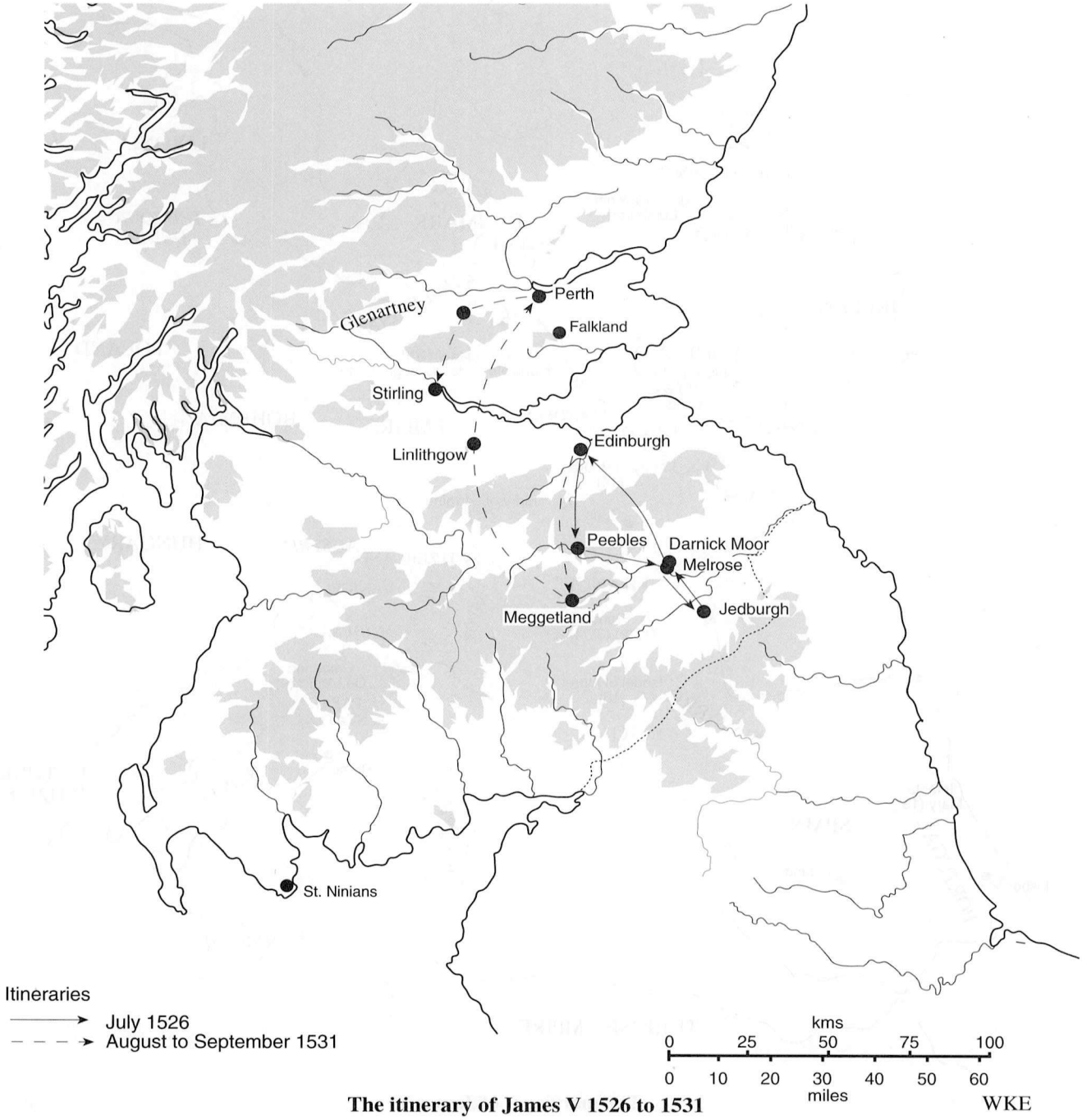
Pacification of the west and of the Isles and showing the royal flag on the fringes of the kingdom were the principal reasons for the trips to Argyll in 1533, the north in 1537 and the most famous journey of James V, round the north of Scotland via Orkney to the Western Isles in 1540.

Religious pilgrimages were made to St. Ninian's (Whithorn) in July 1531 and September 1533 and to St. Duthac's (Tain) in March 1534.

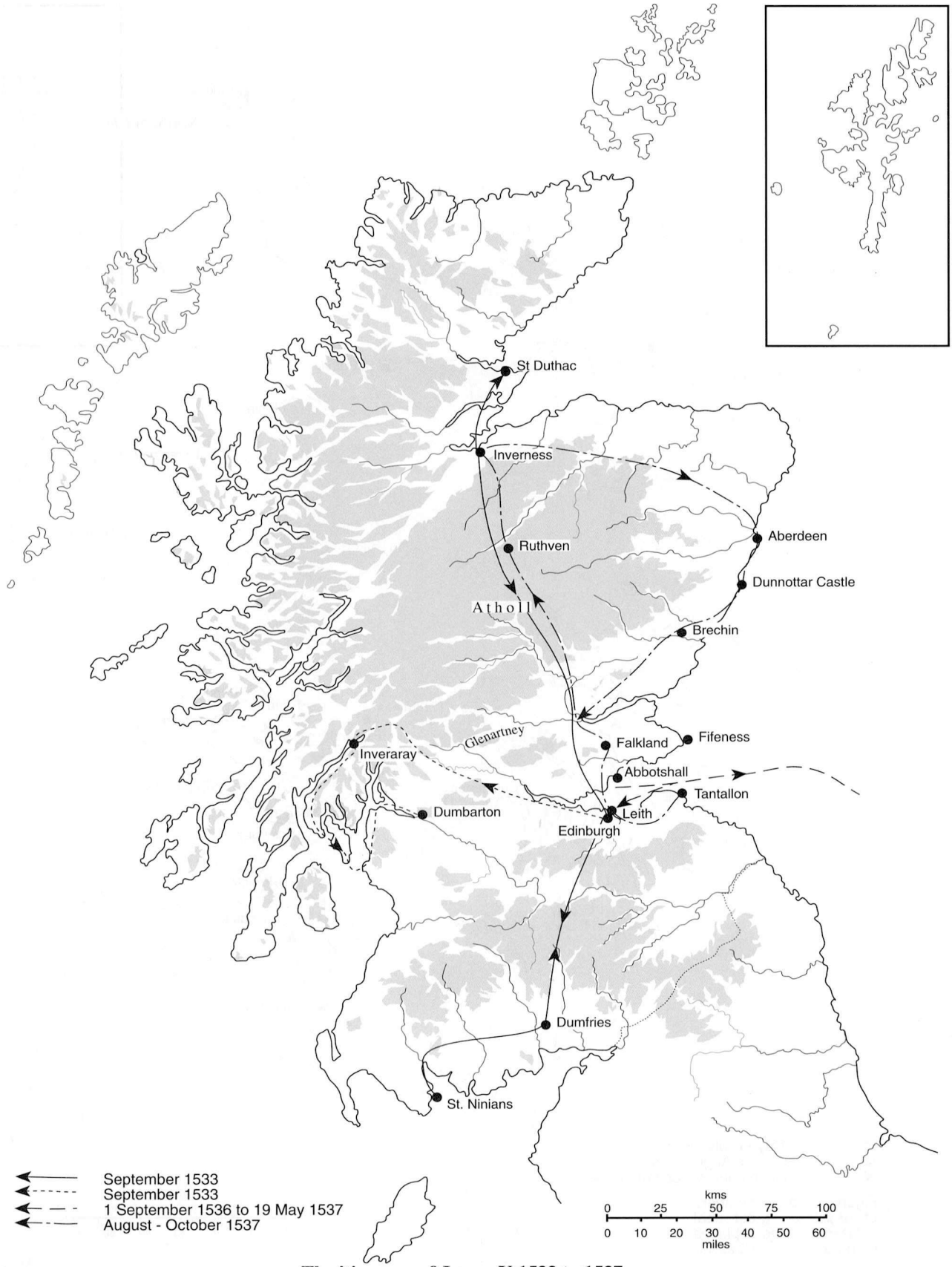
James's favourite hunting grounds were at Meggetland in the Borders (visited in August 1531 and June 1534) and at Glenartney and Benmore in Perthshire (visited in September 1531 and July 1534). He also hunted in Atholl in 1532.

Queen Madeleine's tragically early death in July 1537 was followed by a trip to Tantallon in August and thence on the northern tour through Ruthven, Inverness, Aberdeen, Dunnottar and Brechin, in September-October 1537. Marie de Guise landed at Fifeness near Crail in May 1538 and married James at St Andrews. A tour of Fife followed.

War accounted for James's final journey and he was at Lochmaben when he heard the news of the rout at Solway Moss. He returned to Marie at Linlithgow and travelled on to Falkland where he died on 14 December 1542 aged 30.

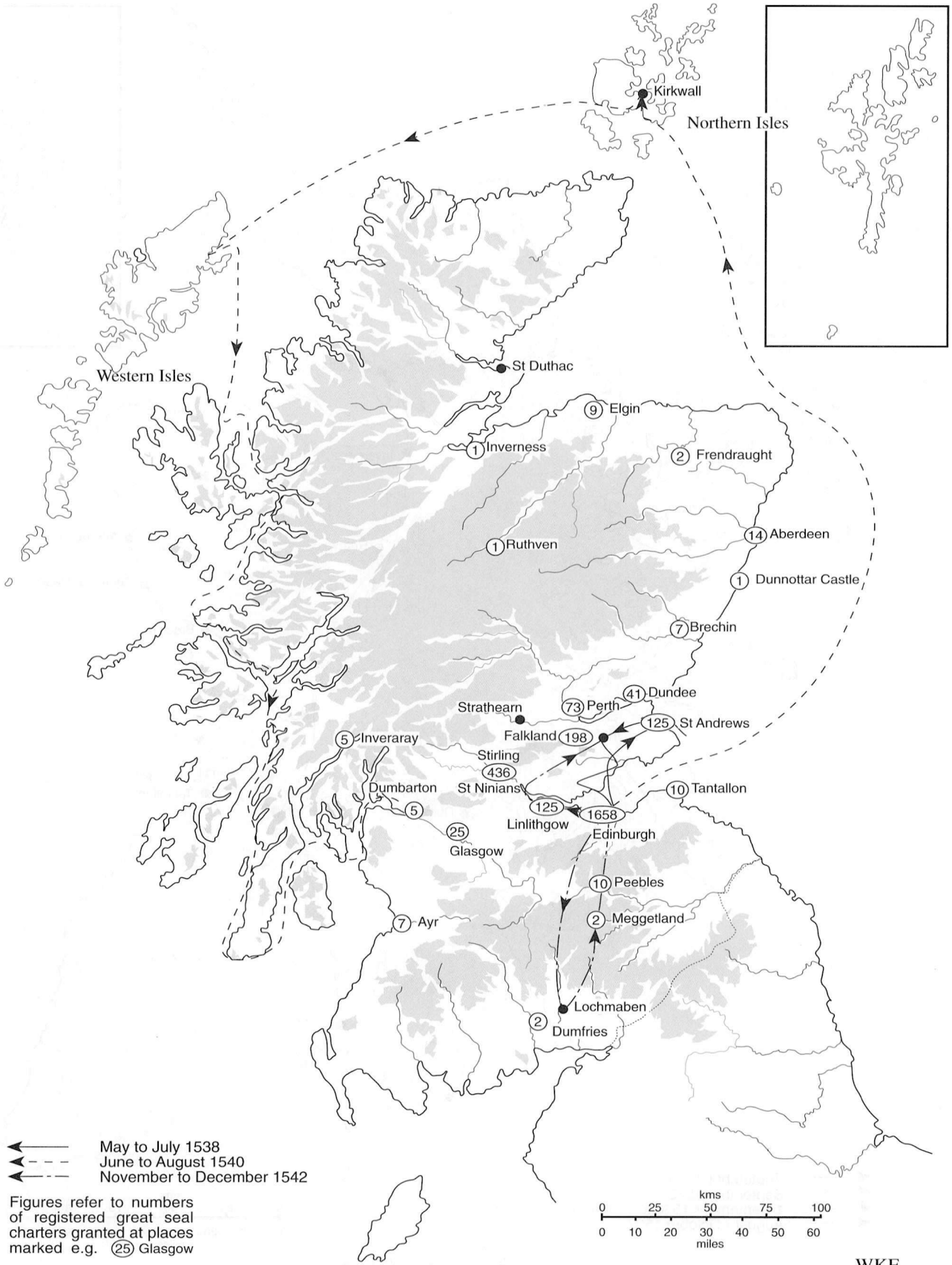


The itinerary of James V 1526 to 1531 WKE



The itinerary of James V 1533 to 1537

WKE



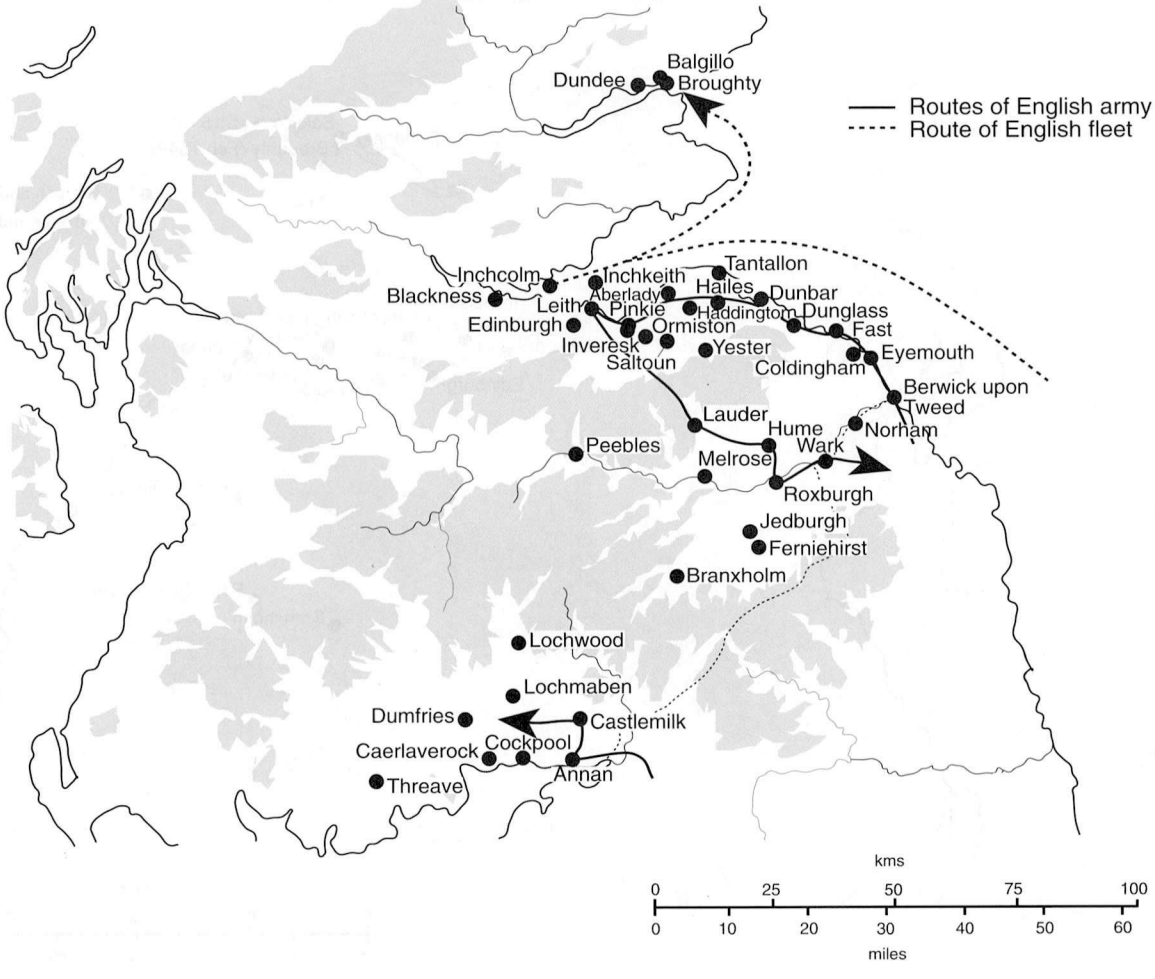
The itinerary of James V 1538 to 1542

Anglo-Scottish relations: the 'Rough Wooing' 1544 to 1550

The 'Rough Wooing' of 1544 to 1550 was the attempt by Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset to force the Scottish government of the earl of Arran to agree to the betrothal of Mary, queen of Scots and Henry's son, Edward and thereby to unite the two monarchies dynastically. The normal pattern of warfare during the period 1544 to 1546 was by raids into Scotland by English raiding parties based along the Marches, which caused considerable destruction from Dumfries to Hume and Coldingham. Even although the English briefly held some parts of Scotland, such as Lochmaben, Caerlaverock, Threave and Langholm, the warfare remained confined to the Borders. The invasion of a large force in May 1544 destroyed Edinburgh, and the invasion of September 1545 ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale; but the English retired on the death of Henry VIII in January 1547 without achieving the marriage.

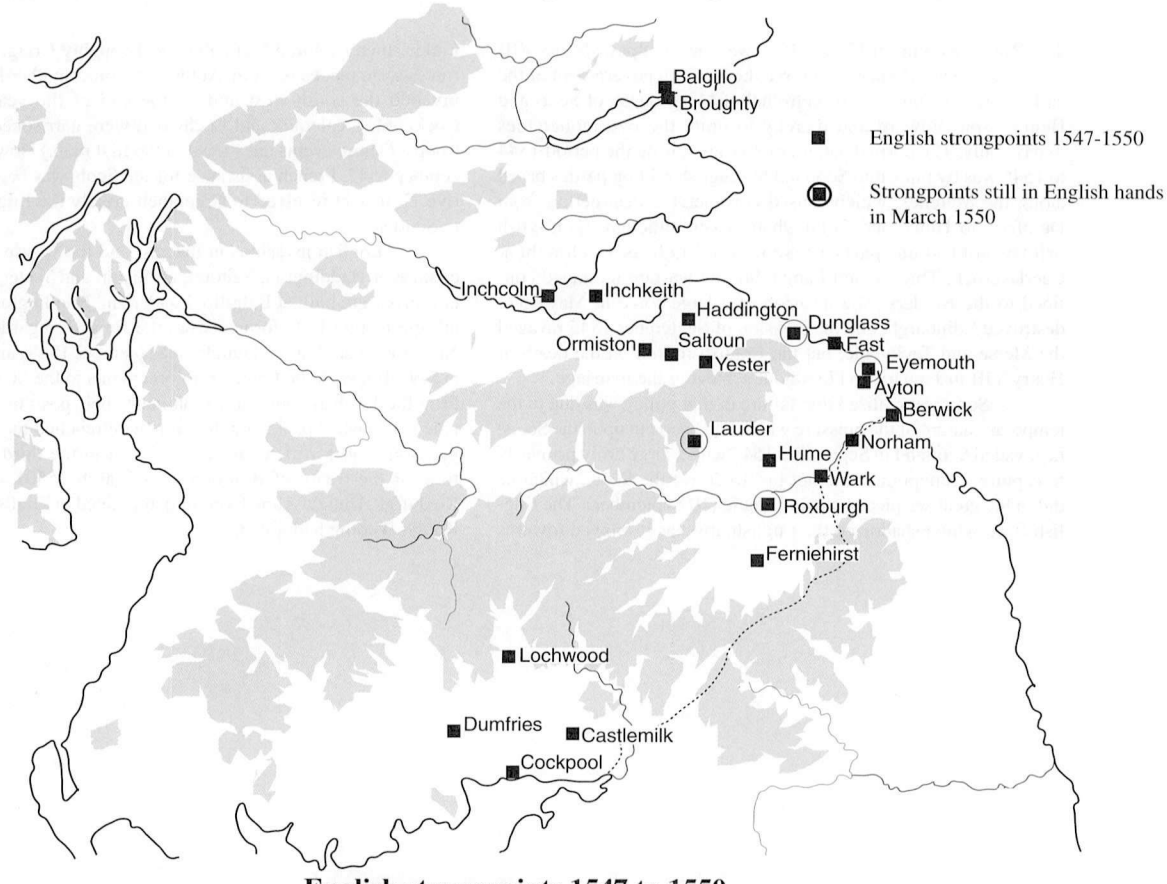
Somerset realised that failure in that policy was due to the temporary nature of the pressure which had been put upon the Scots: he invaded Scotland in September 1547 with a large army primarily to capture strongpoints, and not just to defeat the Scots, which he did in the great set-piece battle of Pinkie (10 September). The English fleet, which shadowed the English army as it moved towards Pinkie, then captured Inchcolm and Broughty Craig; and English forces were placed in them. At the same time another English army invaded the south-west and by the end of the year Dumfries, Cockpool, Castlemilk and Lochwood were garrisoned by English troops. (These events are shown in the first map.) However, by December 1547, French assistance for the Scots was beginning to arrive. Somerset resolved to strengthen greatly the English position in Scotland.

English invasions in the east and the west resulted in the capture of Haddington, Saltoun, Ormiston and Yester. Later, modern forts were built at Balgillo, Lauder and Haddington. The mutually-protecting forts formed what the English regarded as a pale. New forts were built at Dunglass (September 1548) and Fast castle (1549). But with the French reinforcements to the Scots, there was little the English could do to maintain their position: the English pale was pushed back; and the French entrenched themselves with garrisons and fortifications, as is shown in the third map. At the time of the treaty of Boulogne (24 March 1550), only Lauder, Roxburgh, Dunglass and Eyemouth remained in English hands. The Rough Wooing had failed.

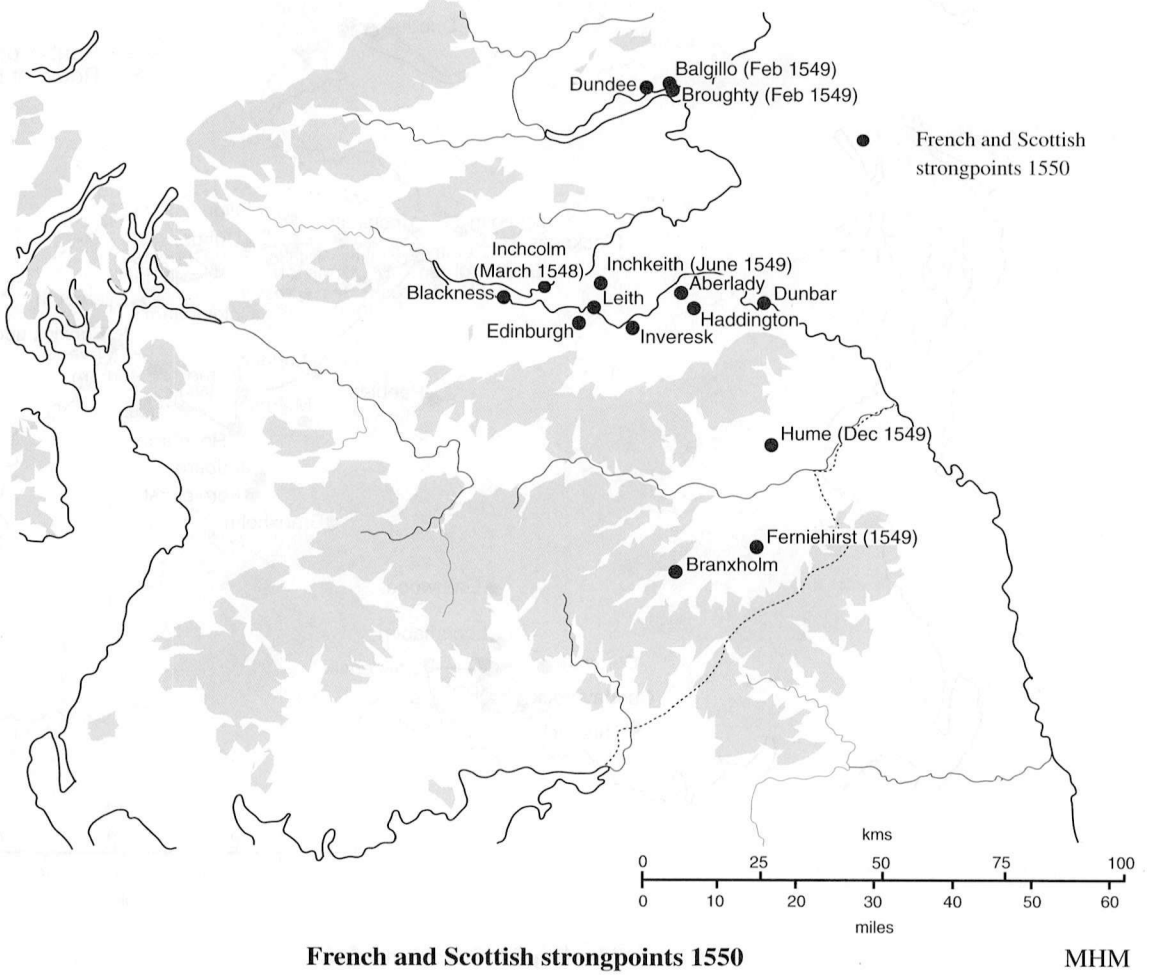


The English invasion 1547 MHM

Anglo- Scottish relations: the 'Rough Wooing' 1544 to 1550



English strongpoints 1547 to 1550



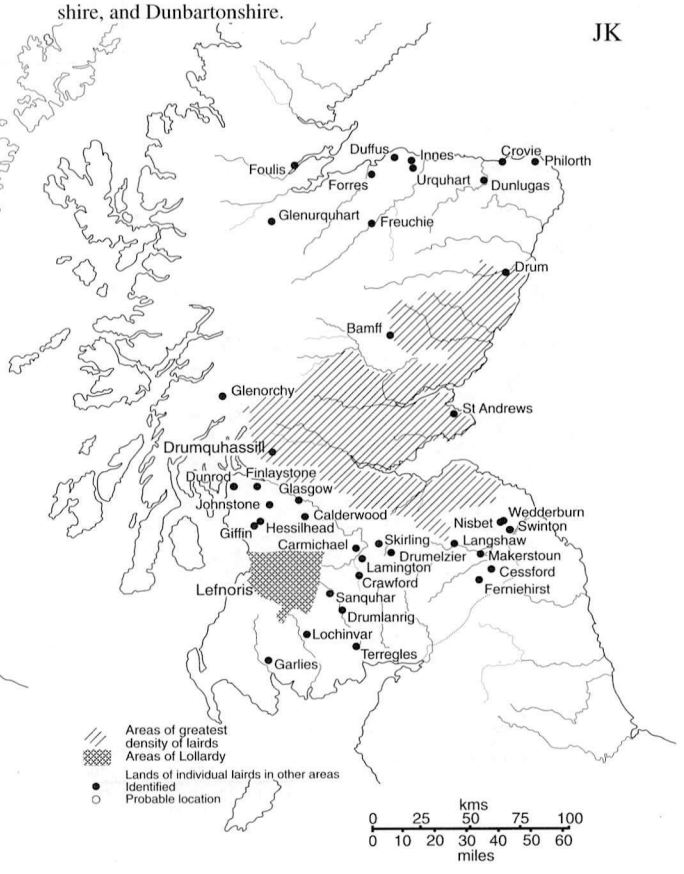
French and Scottish strongpoints 1550 MHM

The Reformation parliament 1560

In the midst of the Protestant Revolution, agreement was reached in the Treaty of Edinburgh (July 1560) between England and France for a withdrawal of foreign troops from Scottish soil. With the ensuing peace, preparations went ahead for summoning parliament in Edinburgh, which was duly authorised by Queen Mary and Francis II of France to meet on 10 July and to adjourn for reassembly on 1 August. When parliament met in earnest, a week was spent debating legalities, the committee of the articles was elected, petitions accepted and, with characteristic promptitude, the assembled estates sanctioned a reformed Confession of Faith (17 August), abrogated papal authority in Scotland, prohibited idolatry and rescinded all previous legislation considered inconsistent with the protestant Confession of Faith, abolished the celebration of mass and prescribed punishment for offenders who failed to abstain from the rite (24 August). Whereas in England the Henrician 'Reformation parliament' had sat in seven sessions over seven years, its Scottish counterpart dispatched its essential business in seven days. Its work was short and swift. Concentrating on fundamentals, it assigned to others the task of working out the details. The unprecedented attendance, from far and near, of so wide a spectrum of the political community in the parliament of 1560 is indicative of the determination of the victorious revolutionaries to make a showing in the capital by rallying their adherents from many corners of the kingdom. The impressive appearance of 14 earls, led by 'the duke' who was heir presumptive to the throne, some 19 lords, half a dozen sons of peers, commissioners from 22 burghs, and a hundred or so lairds (whose right to attend by custom and use was a subject of dispute) was designed to overawe any opposition. Members of the country's most powerful and influential families evidently considered it imperative to give their presence: most were firmly protestant, some were militantly so; and the few conservatives who put in an appearance for the best part kept silent. Among the six members of the episcopate who gave their attendance, three turned protestant reformers; and the remainder showed, at least, some disposition towards wavering, if not conforming. Nor was the strong turnout of two dozen or so commendators from the monastic houses inimical to religious change, for most had shown themselves friends of the reforming party. A remarkable feature of the Reformation parliament's composition was the broad base of support which could be claimed from the political community. Its membership was drawn geographically from so far north as Inverness and its environs, along the north-eastern coastal plain, southward through Aberdeenshire, Angus and the Mearns, Perthshire (highland and lowland), to Fife, the Lothians and Merse, Stirlingshire, Lanarkshire, and Dunbartonshire.

JK





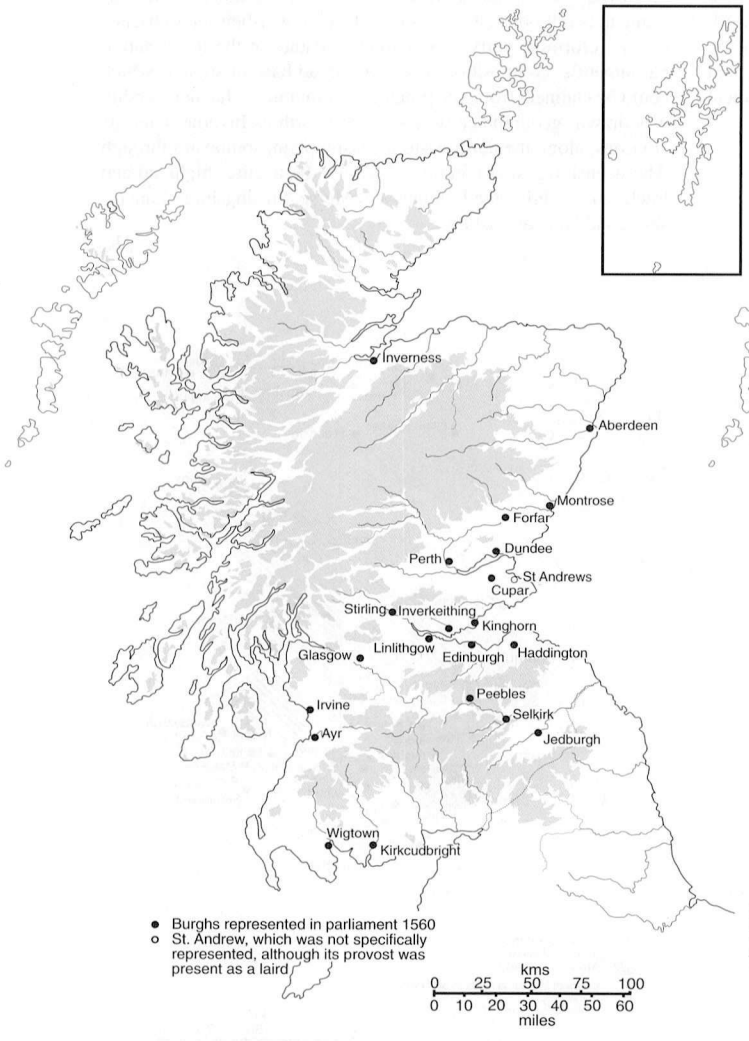
The nobles in parliament 1560

	Title	Seat
Duke		
1	Chatelherault	Hamilton
Earls		
2	Arran	Hamilton
3	Argyll	Inveraray
4	Atholl	Blair Atholl
5	Marishal	Dunnottar
6	Crawford	Edzell
7	Morton	Dalkeith
8	Glencairn	Kilmaurs
9	Rothes	Rothes
10	Eglinton	Polnoon
11	Sutherland	Skelbo
12	Cassillis	Cassillis
13	Caithness	Girnigoe
14	Menteith	Inchtaile
Lords		
15	Gordon	Huntly
16	Erskine	Alloa
17	Ruthven	Perth
18	Home	Hume
19	Lindsay of the Byres	Byres
20	Hay of Yester	Yester
21	Somerville	Carnwath
22	Livingstone	Callendar
23	Boyd	Kilmarnock
24	Stewart of Ochiltree	Ochiltree
25	Saltoun	Saltoun
26	Elphinstone	Elphinstone
27	Stewart of Innermeath	Invermay
28	Gray	Fowlis
29	Ogilvie	Airlie
30	Glamis	Glamis
31	Borthwick	Borthwick
32	Cathcart	Auchincruive
33	St. John	Torphichen
	Masters	
34	Terregles	Terregles
35	Marischal	Dunnottar
36	Lindsay	Edzell
37	Sinclair	Girnigoe
38	Glencairn	Kilmaurs
39	Somerville	Carnwath

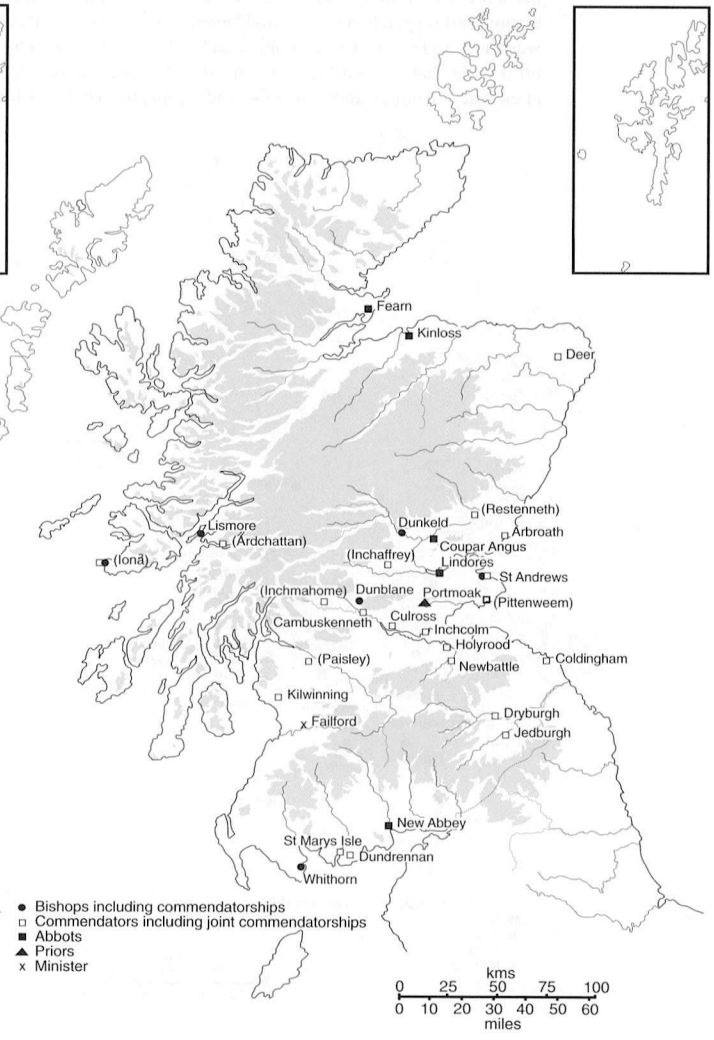
The lairds in parliament 1560

IBC

The Reformation parliament 1560



The burghs in parliament 1560



The churchmen in parliament 1560

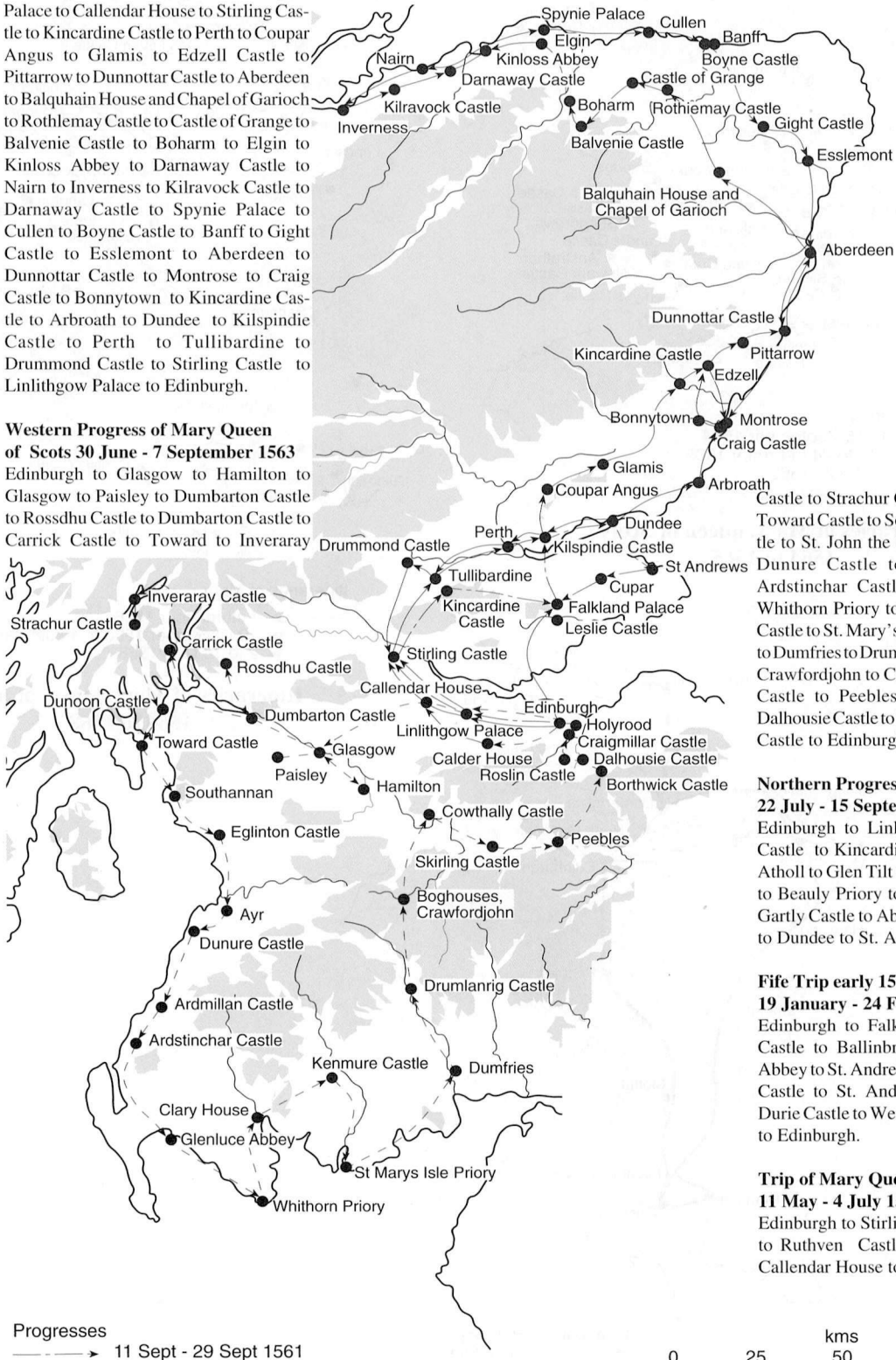
IBC

Mary, queen of Scots (1542-67)

First Progress of Mary Queen of Scots 11 September - 29 September 1561:
Holyrood,Edinburgh to Linlithgow Palace to Stirling Castle to Kincardine Castle making a detour to Leslie Castle in Fife en route to Perth to Dundee to St. Andrews to Cupar to Falkland Palace to Edinburgh.

First Northern Progress of Mary Queen of Scots 10 August - 21 November 1562
Edinburgh to Calder House to Linlithgow Palace to Callendar House to Stirling Castle to Kincardine Castle to Perth to Coupar Angus to Glamis to Edzell Castle to Pittarrow to Dunnottar Castle to Aberdeen to Balquhain House and Chapel of Garioch to Rothlemay Castle to Castle of Grange to Balvenie Castle to Boharm to Elgin to Kinloss Abbey to Darnaway Castle to Nairn to Inverness to Kilravock Castle to Darnaway Castle to Spynie Palace to Cullen to Boyne Castle to Banff to Gight Castle to Esslemont to Aberdeen to Dunnottar Castle to Montrose to Craig Castle to Bonnytown to Kincardine Castle to Arbroath to Dundee to Kilspindie Castle to Perth to Tullibardine to Drummond Castle to Stirling Castle to Linlithgow Palace to Edinburgh.

Western Progress of Mary Queen of Scots 30 June - 7 September 1563
Edinburgh to Glasgow to Hamilton to Glasgow to Paisley to Dumbarton Castle to Rossdhu Castle to Dumbarton Castle to Carrick Castle to Toward to Inveraray Castle to Strachur Castle to Dunoon Castle to Toward Castle to Southannan to Eglinton Castle to St. John the Baptist Monastery, Ayr to Dunure Castle to Ardmillan Castle to Ardstinchar Castle to Glenluce Abbey to Whithorn Priory to Clary House to Kenmure Castle to St. Mary's Isle Priory, Kirkcudbright to Dumfries to Drumlanrig Castle to Boghouses, Crawfordjohn to Cowthally Castle to Skirling Castle to Peebles to Borthwick Castle to Dalhousie Castle to Roslin Castle to Craigmillar Castle to Edinburgh.



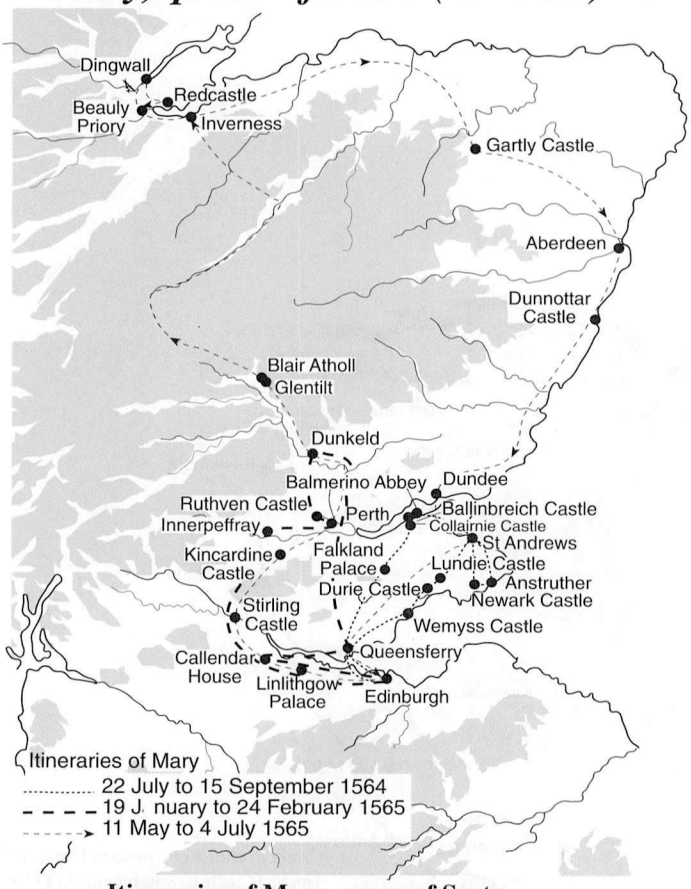
Itineraries of Mary, queen of Scots 1561 to 1563 IBC

Northern Progress of Mary Queen of Scots 22 July - 15 September 1564
Edinburgh to Linlithgow Palace to Stirling Castle to Kincardine Castle to Perth to Blair Atholl to Glen Tilt to Blair Atholl to Inverness to Beauly Priory to Redcastle to Dingwall to Gartly Castle to Aberdeen to Dunnottar Castle to Dundee to St. Andrews to Edinburgh.

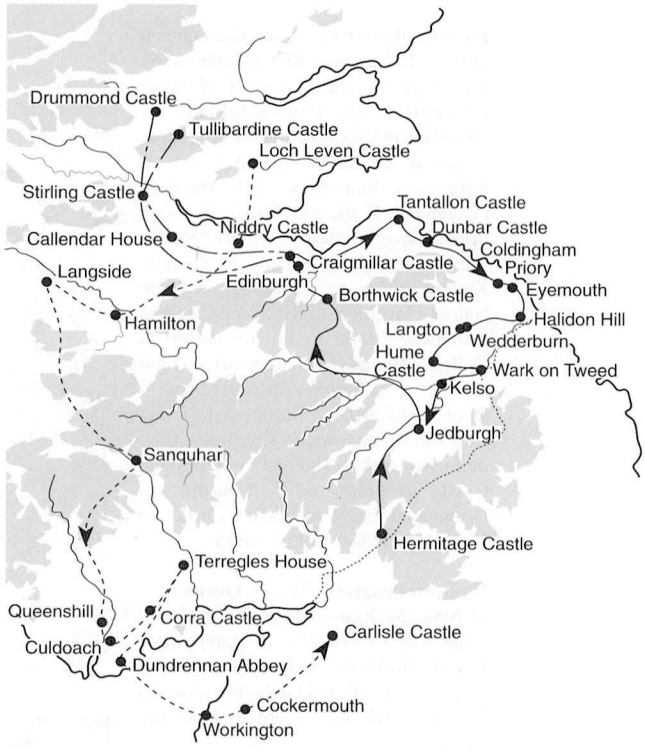
Fife Trip early 1565 - Mary Queen of Scots 19 January - 24 February 1565
Edinburgh to Falkland Palace to Collairnie Castle to Ballinbreich Castle to Balmerino Abbey to St. Andrews to Anstruther to Newark Castle to St. Andrews to Lundie Castle to Durie Castle to Wemyss Castle to Queensferry to Edinburgh.

Trip of Mary Queen of Scots 11 May - 4 July 1565
Edinburgh to Stirling to Innerpeffray to Perth to Ruthven Castle to Dunkeld to Perth to Callendar House to Edinburgh.

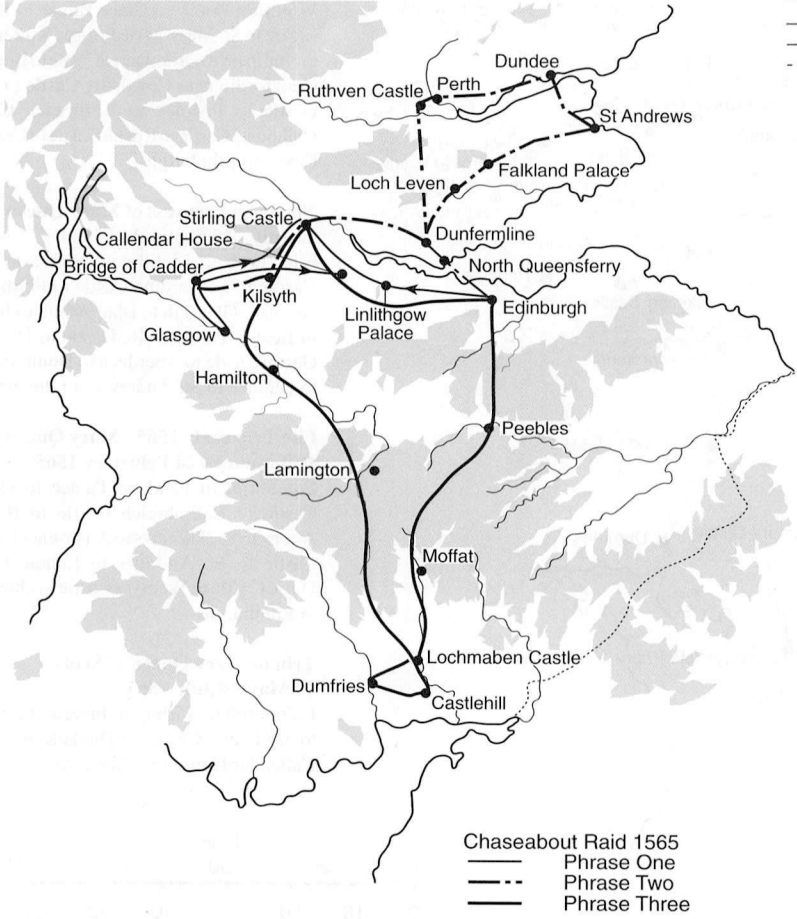
Mary, queen of Scots (1542-67)



Itineraries of Mary, queen of Scots 1564 to 1565



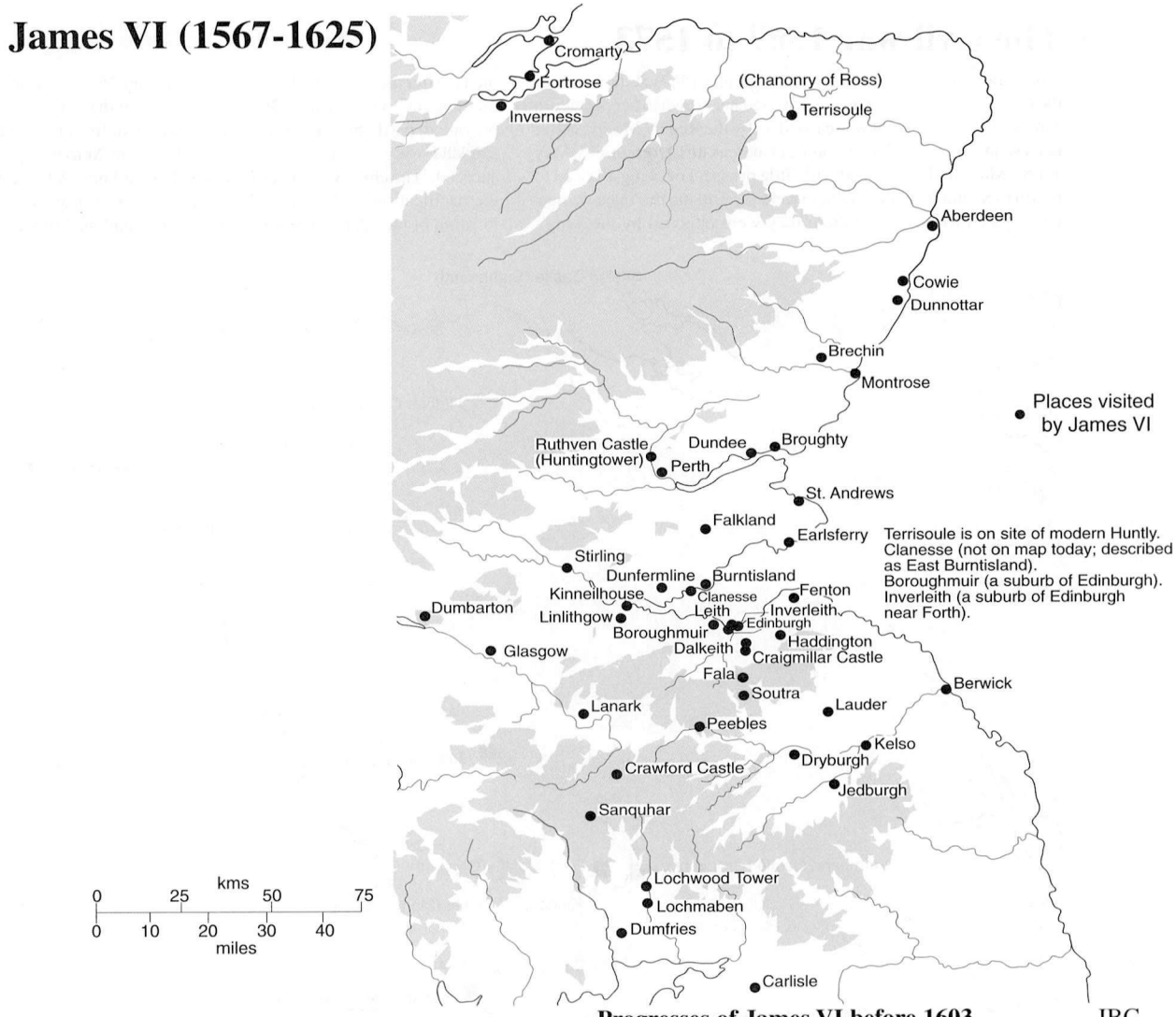
Itineraries of Mary, queen of Scots 1566 to 1568



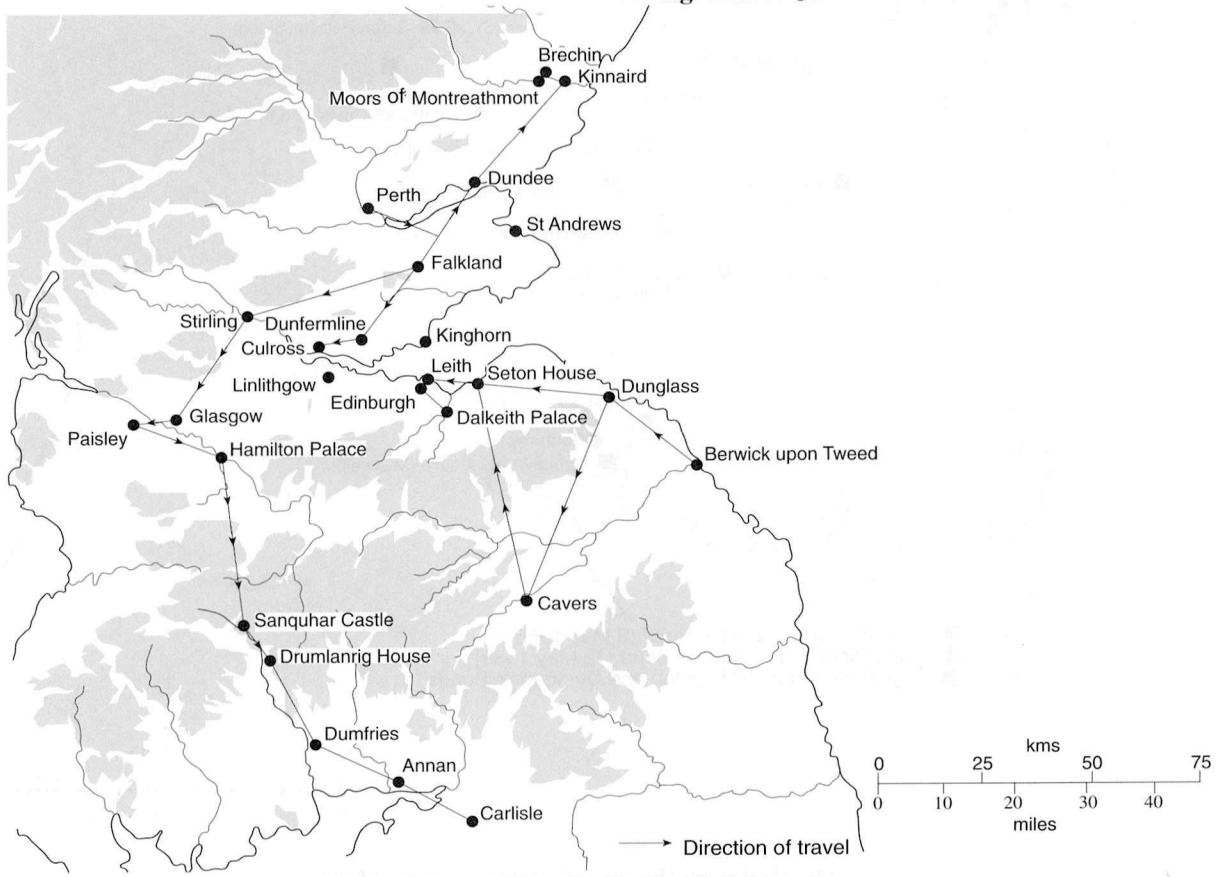
Itineraries of Mary, queen of Scots: the Chaseabout Raid 1565

IBC

James VI (1567-1625)



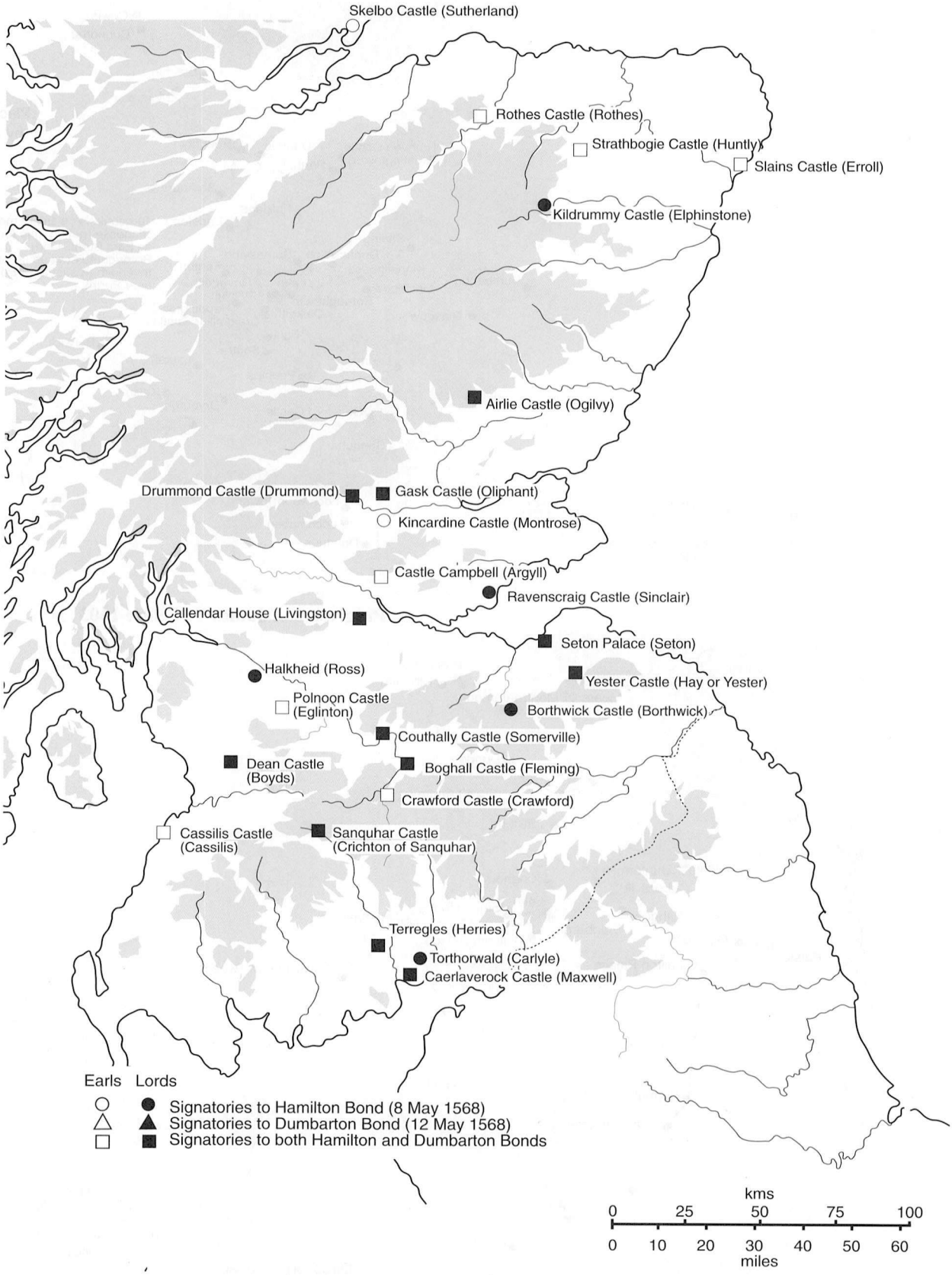
Progresses of James VI before 1603 IBC



Itinerary of James VI 1617 IBC

The civil war 1567 to 1573

After Mary's defeat at Carberry Hill (15 June 1567) at the hands of the confederate lords, the queen demitted her crown to her infant son James. The government was carried on by the Regent Moray. After her escape from Lochleven and her defeat at Langside (13 May 1568), Mary fled to England with little prospect of being allowed to return to Scotland, although there were in Scotland the 'queen's men' who looked for her restoration: they were opposed by the 'king's men'. After the assassination of Moray (January 1570) the opposing factions slid into civil war. By 1573 the cause of the king's men had prevailed, partly because of the support for them from Elizabeth of England who saw her position in doubt if the Marians were to succeed. The chief Marian lords acknowledged James VI as king in the pacification of Perth (23 February 1573). The maps show the location of the supporters of the queen's men and the king's men.



The civil war: the queen's men, earls and lords IBC



The civil war: the queen's men, bishops and commendators IBC

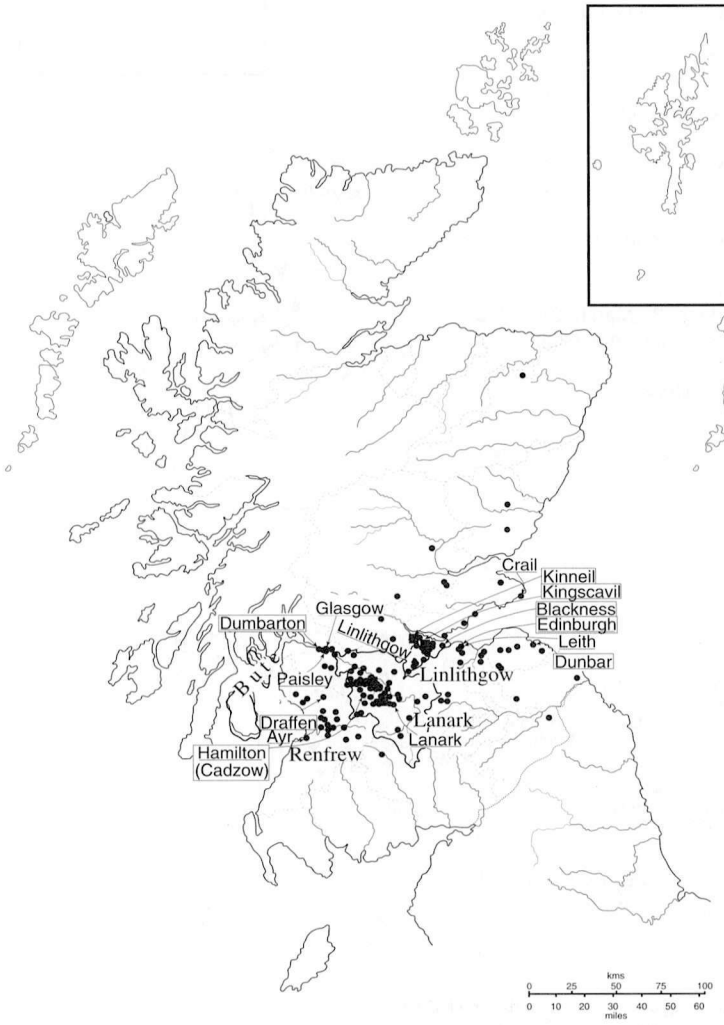


The civil war: the king's men IBC

The house of Hamilton 1554 to 1573

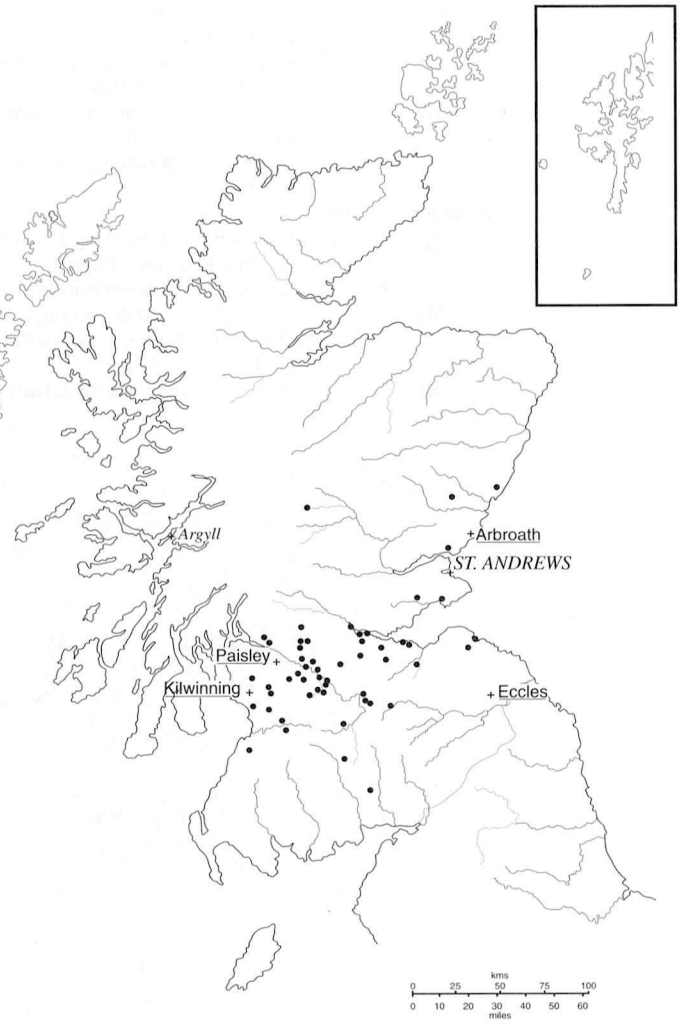
The strength of the house of Hamilton in the middle decades of the sixteenth century depended upon a widespread yet consolidated network of influence derived from both temporal and ecclesiastical wealth, property and positions.

In the secular sphere Hamiltons were to be found as sheriffs of Lanark, Renfrew, Linlithgow, Bute (and Arran); captains of strategic royal castles; representatives on the town councils of main burghs, in addition to controlling over 200 estates stretching from Arran to the Merse, Sanquhar to Corse in Aberdeenshire. The greatest concentrations were in Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and West Lothian around the main family fortresses, the nuclei being the baronies of Cadzow, Mauchline and Kinneil granted by Robert Bruce in 1314 to Walter, son of Gilbert, the earliest recorded ancestor, in recognition of his support during the Wars of Independence. The chief means of land accumulation was the crown grant, especially following the forfeitures of recalcitrant noble families such as the Douglases and the Boyds, but outright purchase, excambion (exchange), and marriage with sole or joint heiresses also served to increase and unify existing holdings. By a simultaneous policy of careful distribution and intermarriage, the Hamiltons ensured that their numerous offspring, whether legitimate or illegitimate, did not become alienated but instead were variously established as the heads of cadet branches, taken into crown service or appointed as baillies and chamberlains, thus maintaining an extensive loyalty to kin and name. Many younger or illegitimate sons were allocated pensions and positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, although continuity was harder to preserve as control terminated with the death of the holder. The governorship of James Hamilton, second earl of Arran and duke of Chatelherault, provided the opportunity to entrench kinsmen particularly in lucrative episcopal and monastic benefices, thus with the exception of the bishopric of Argyll and Lismore, gaining influence over an area conterminous with their secular properties. Where possible, members of the family also benefited from the feuing of church lands, mainly in the Clyde valley and north Ayrshire, and from the revenues of parish churches appropriated to the religious houses and collegiate churches or free from external influence such as Crawfordjohn, Libberton, Quothquan, Kirkmichael and Rannoch. In a period of political and religious unrest, family security ultimately mattered more than national aspirations or individual faith. Internal unity ensured that neither forfeiture nor direct attack could weaken the influential position held by the house of Hamilton in mid-sixteenth century Scotland.



Bute Sheriffdoms with Hamilton sheriffs
Dunbar Castles with Hamilton captains
Edinburgh Main burghs with Hamilton representatives on the council
• Other Hamilton lands

The house of Hamilton: secular landholding 1554 to 1573



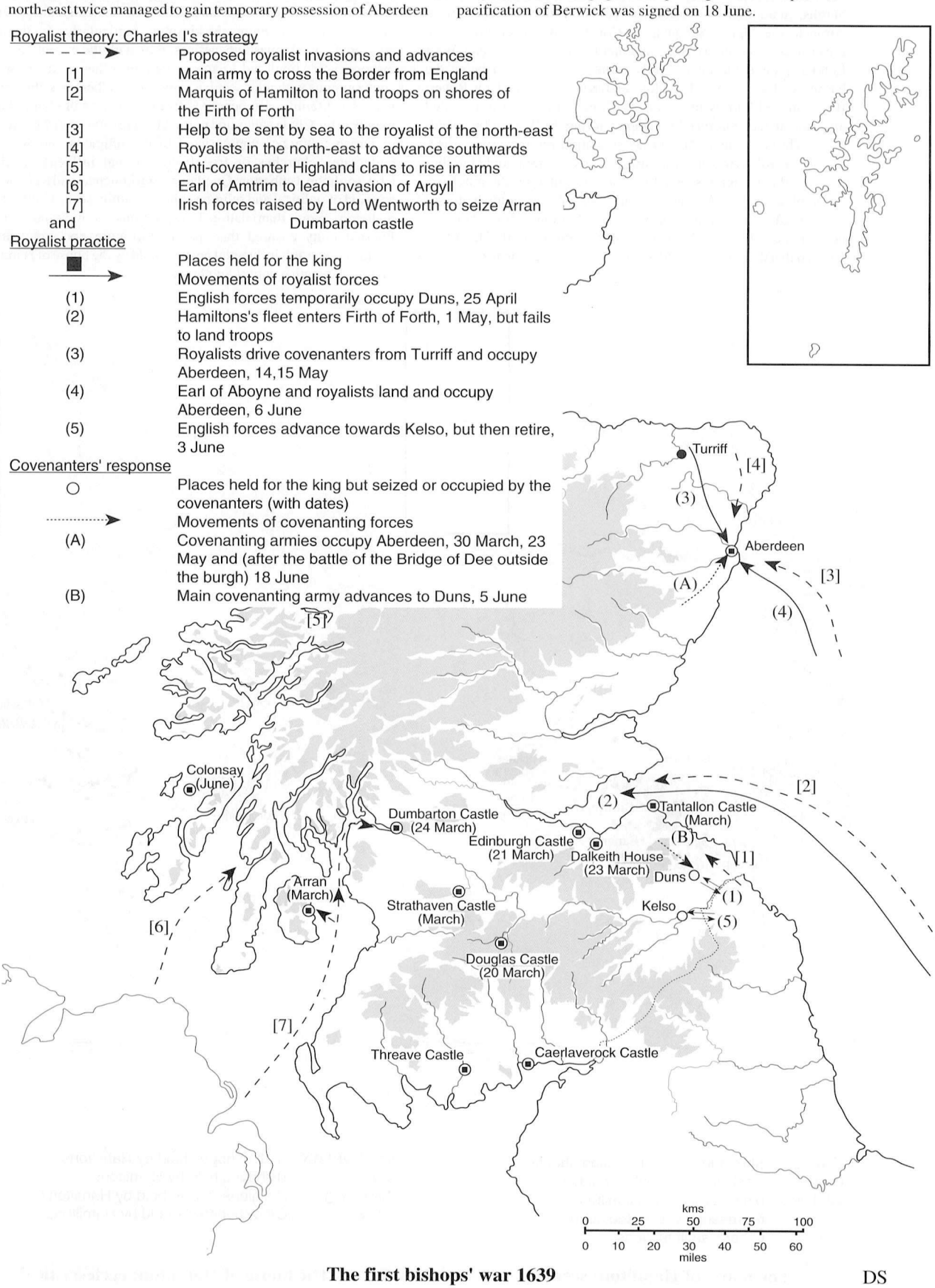
ST ANDREWS Archbishopric held by Hamiltons
Argyll Bishopric held by Hamiltons
Kilwinning Religious house held by Hamiltons
• Other benefices held by Hamiltons

The house of Hamilton: ecclesiastical benefices 1554 to 1573

EF

The civil wars 1639 to 1651

This map depicts Charles' strategy for subduing the Scots in the first bishops' war of 1639 - and its failure. Grandiose plans for coordinating invasions by sea and land, from both England and Ireland, with royalist risings in northern Scotland were almost uniformly unsuccessful. The covenanters took the initiative in March by seizing (without bloodshed) nearly all the castles held for the king and by sending forces to occupy Aberdeen and Arran. The royalists of the north-east twice managed to gain temporary possession of Aberdeen (on the second occasion by a landing from ships sent from England), but this was all the success that the royalists could boast. The invasions from Ireland failed to materialise, the shores of the Firth of Forth were too strongly held by the covenanters for a landing to be risked, and the king's army on the border was too weak to invade. When in June the covenanters threateningly advanced their main army to Duns, the king agreed to open negotiations for peace, and the pacification of Berwick was signed on 18 June.



The first bishops' war 1639

DS

The civil wars 1639 to 1651

When war broke out again in 1640, Charles's plans were similar to those of the previous year, but the idea of a landing on the shores of the Firth of Forth was abandoned; and it was realised that there was no longer much hope of active help from the royalists in the north-east. The covenanters again seized the initiative, sending forces to occupy Aberdeen and to march through the central and southern Highlands to deter potential royalists from action. Only four castles were held for the king, but all of them required formal sieges before being forced to surrender -and three of them did not surrender until after it was clear that the king's cause was lost. As in 1639, the help expected from Ireland did not appear (except for a small scale raid in Islay long after the war was over, undertaken more for clan than royalist motives), and the king failed to assemble an army capable of invading Scotland. The covenanters therefore resolved to force a military decision by invading England. Their invasion met with complete success, and the covenanters entered Newcastle after defeating the king's forces at the battle of Newburn. Charles was forced to open negotiations and accepted the humiliating treaty of Ripon on 17 October, whereby he not only agreed that the Scots army would remain in England, but that he would pay it. The army eventually withdrew from England in August 1641, after a peace settlement had been negotiated in the treaty of London.

Royalist theory: Charles I's strategy

- - - - ➤ Proposed royalist invasions and advances

[1] Main army to cross to the Border from England led by Lord Conway

[2] New army raised in Ireland by the earl of Strafford (formerly Lord Wentworth) to land somewhere in south-west Scotland

[3] Part of Strafford's Irish army to land in England to join in the main army's invasion of Scotland

[4] Possible raids on Argyll by the earl of Antrim's men and anti-covenanter refugees from the Highlands

[5] Anti-covenanter Highland clans to rise in arms

Royalist practice

■ Places held for the king

——➤ Movements of royalist forces

(1) Raid by Alasdair MacColla on Islay, November 1640

Covenanters' response

○ Places held for the king but seized or occupied by the covenanters (with dates)

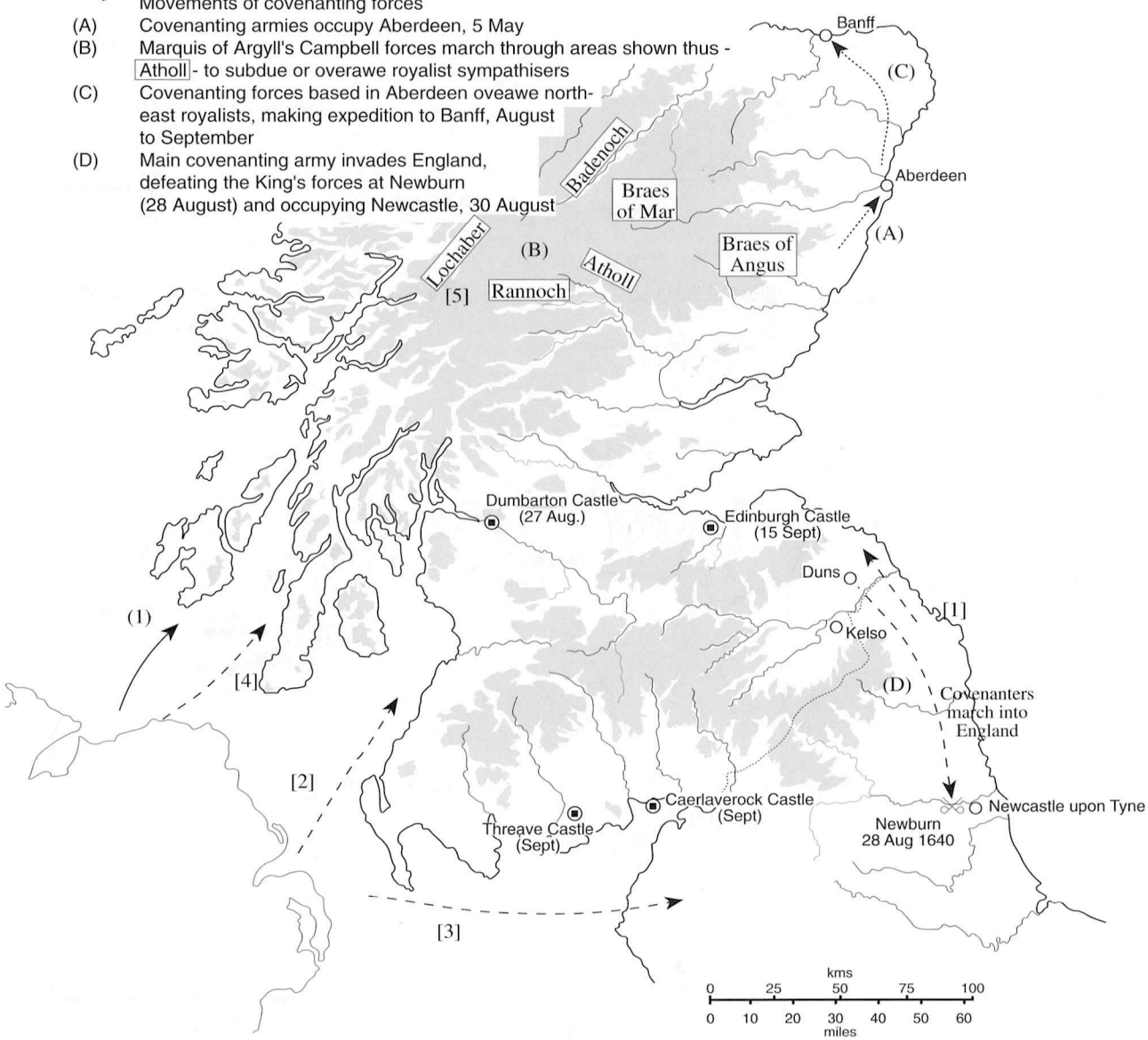
·····➤ Movements of covenanting forces

(A) Covenanting armies occupy Aberdeen, 5 May

(B) Marquis of Argyll's Campbell forces march through areas shown thus - Atholl - to subdue or overawe royalist sympathisers

(C) Covenanting forces based in Aberdeen oveawe north-east royalists, making expedition to Banff, August to September

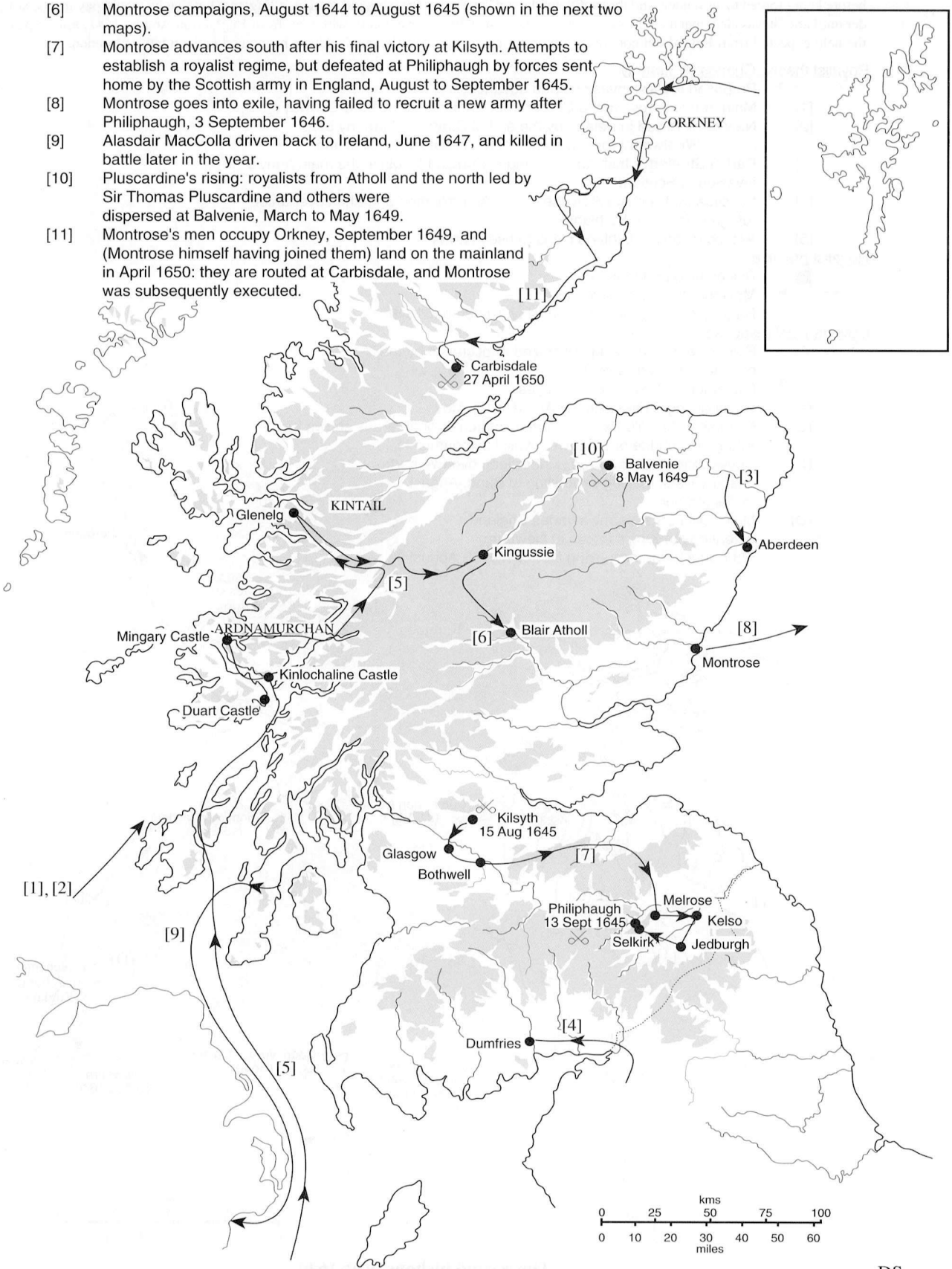
(D) Main covenanting army invades England, defeating the King's forces at Newburn (28 August) and occupying Newcastle, 30 August



The second bishops' war 1640 DS

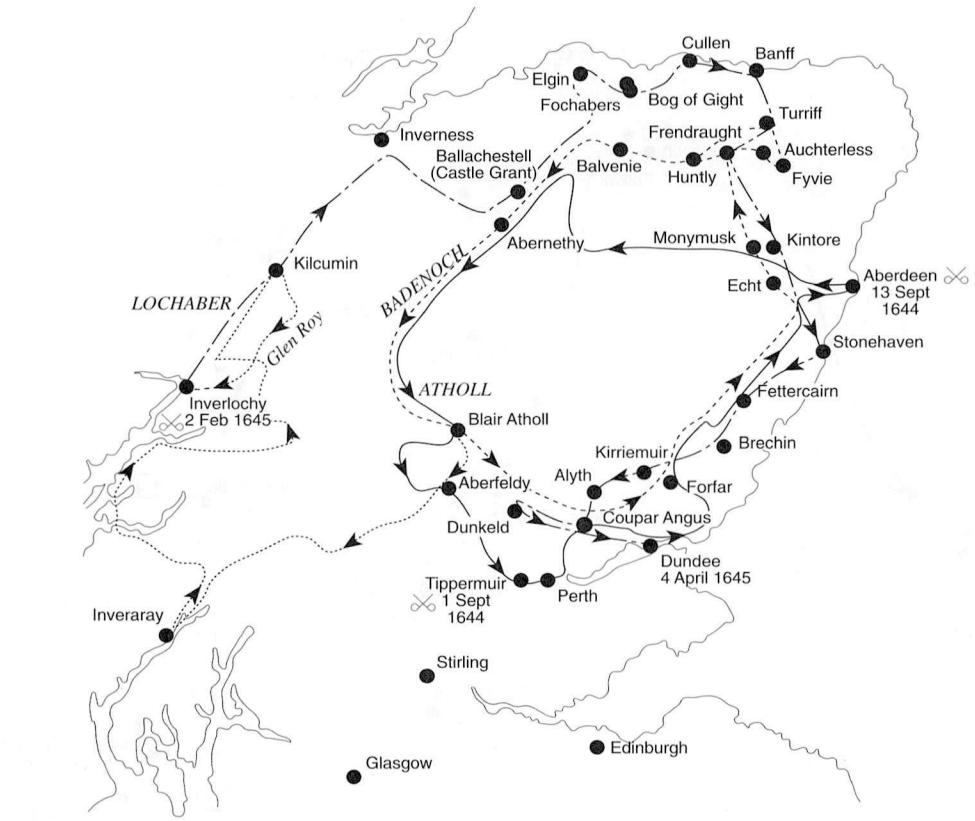
The civil wars 1639 to 1651

[1] Raid on the Isles by Alasdair MacColla, November 1640.
[2] Raid on the Isles by Alasdair MacColla, November 1642 to early 1645.
[3] Marquis of Huntly seizes Aberdeen (March 1644) but soon forced to abandon it.
[4] Marquis of Montrose seizes Dumfries, but forced to retreat into England.
[5] Alasdair MacColla sails with Irish confederate expeditionary force from Wexford to Ardnamurchan, June to July 1644. After seeking support from anti-covenanter clans joins Montrose at Blair Atholl, July to August 1644.
[6] Montrose campaigns, August 1644 to August 1645 (shown in the next two maps).
[7] Montrose advances south after his final victory at Kilsyth. Attempts to establish a royalist regime, but defeated at Philiphaugh by forces sent home by the Scottish army in England, August to September 1645.
[8] Montrose goes into exile, having failed to recruit a new army after Philiphaugh, 3 September 1646.
[9] Alasdair MacColla driven back to Ireland, June 1647, and killed in battle later in the year.
[10] Pluscardine's rising: royalists from Atholl and the north led by Sir Thomas Pluscardine and others were dispersed at Balvenie, March to May 1649.
[11] Montrose's men occupy Orkney, September 1649, and (Montrose himself having joined them) land on the mainland in April 1650: they are routed at Carbisdale, and Montrose was subsequently executed.



Royalist risings and invasions 1640 to 1650

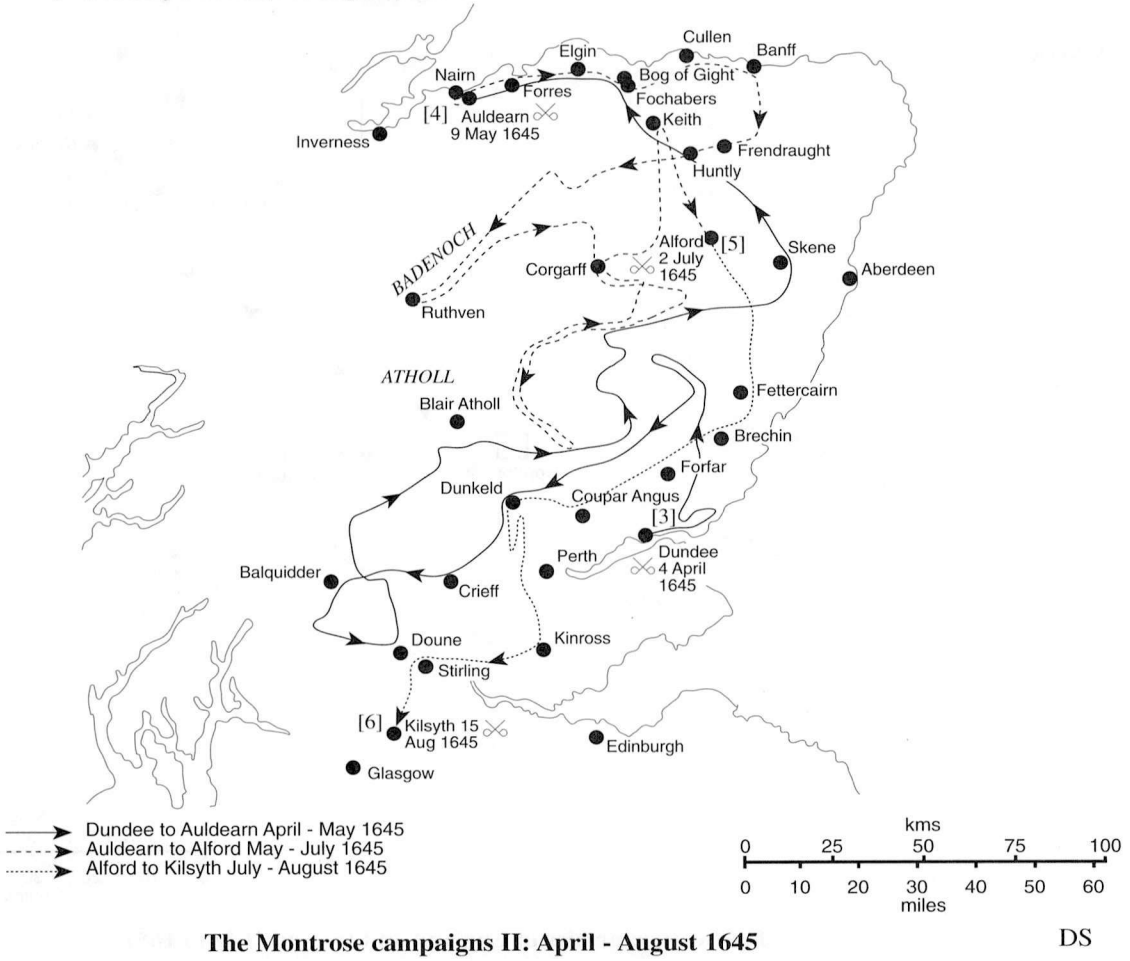
DS



DS

The Montrose campaigns I: August 1644 to April 1645

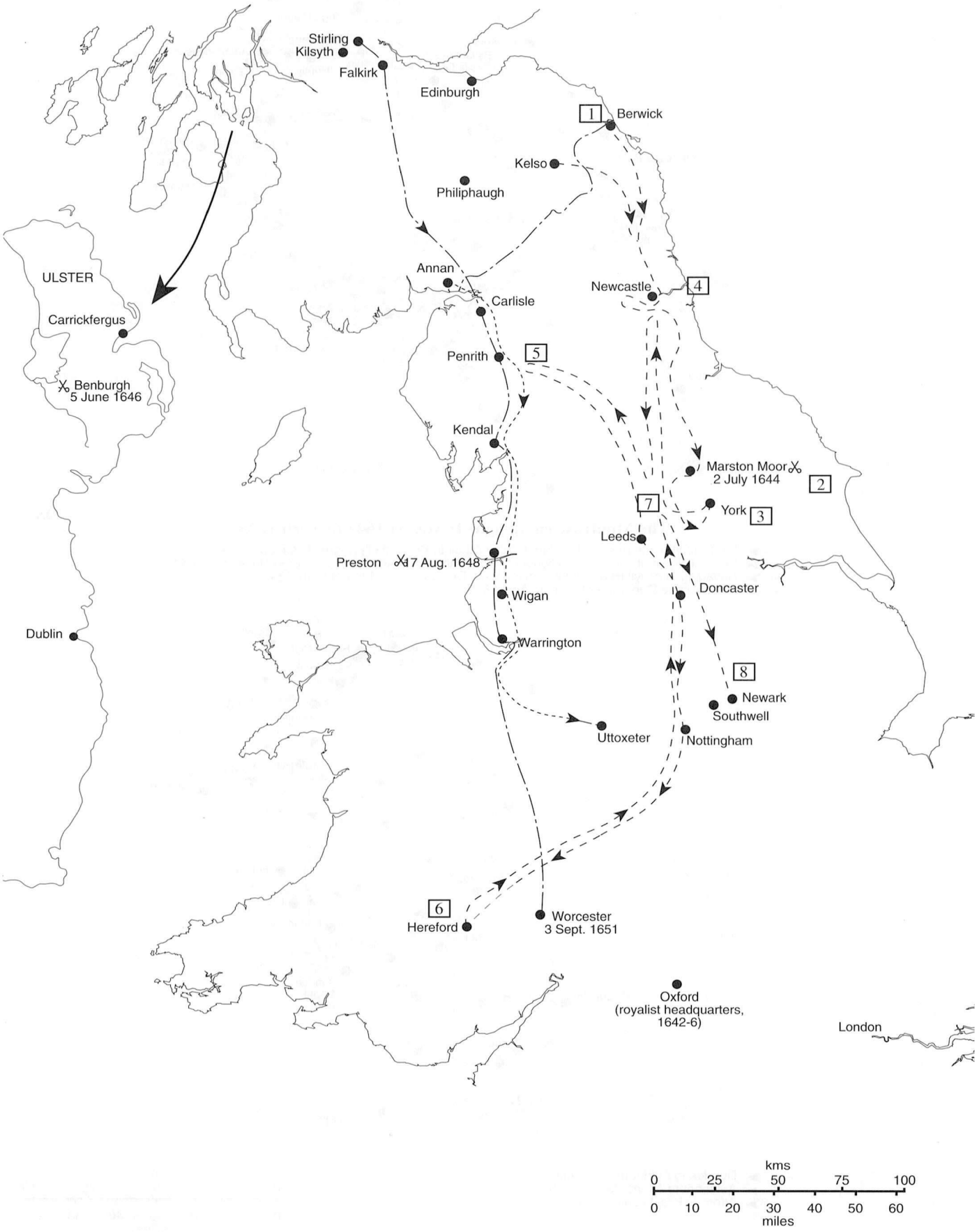
First circuit of the eastern Highlands (Blair Atholl to Blair Atholl) August to October 1644
Second circuit of the eastern Highlands (Blair Atholl to Blair Atholl) October to November 1644
Ravaging of Argyll (Blair Atholl to Inverlochy) December 1644 to February 1645
Inverlochy to Dundee, February to April 1645



Dundee to Auldearn April - May 1645
Auldearn to Alford May - July 1645
Alford to Kilsyth July - August 1645

The Montrose campaigns II: April - August 1645

DS



The Scottish armies in England and Ireland 1642 to 1651 DS

The Scottish army in Ireland, 1642-8. The army occupied north-east Ulster, with its headquarters at Carrickfergus. It was successful in preventing the Irish Catholic confederates from over-running all Ulster and destroying the Ulster plantation (a Scottish and English colony), but was defeated in the only major pitched battle it fought at Benburgh. The remnants of the army was dispersed in 1648 by forces of the English parliament after part of the army had left to join the Engagers' invasion of England.

The Scottish army in England, 1644-7. The army played an important role in swinging the balance in the English civil war in favour of parliament, but failed to play the dominant role in defeating the king that the covenanters had hoped for.

[1] The army crossed the border to England, 19 January 1644.

[2] The army joined with the armies of the English parliament in defeating the royalist army of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor, 2 July 1644.

[3] The army took part in the siege of York which surrendered 16 July 1644.

[4] The army stormed Newcastle, 19 October 1644, and then quartered for the winter.

[5] In 1645 the army was reluctant to venture south, as Montrose was defeating covenanting armies in Scotland, and there were fears that the king would try to break into Scotland to join him. In May and June it moved west to block a move north by the king. When the army did march south it left forces to help in the siege of Carlisle which surrendered on 28 June 1645.

[6] After pausing at Nottingham, 22 June to 2 July, the army laid siege to Hereford on 30 July 1645

[7] Fears of a new attempt of Charles I to reach Scotland led to part of the army marching back north, and in September, the rest of the army followed on news of Montrose's victory at Kilsyth and the king's advance to Worcester.

[8] In November 1645 the army moved south again (Montrose having been defeated at Philiphaugh) and laid siege to Newark. The siege lasted until May 1645 when the defeated king put himself in the hands of the Scots army and Newark surrendered. In February 1647 it moved back into Scotland, leaving the king to fall into the hands of the English parliament.

The army of the Engagement (a treaty with the imprisoned king) crossed the Border on 8 July 1648, hoping to be joined by English royalist forces and then rescue the king. But English royalist risings had already been defeated; and Cromwell routed the Engagers' army (led by the duke of Hamilton) at Preston. Remnants of the army, cut off from Scotland, retreated south before surrendering at Uttoxeter on 25 August. Cromwell later led forces into Scotland to support the Kirk Party regime which overthew the Engagers after Preston.

Charles II's despairing invasion of England, undertaken after the English invaders had outflanked his army at Stirling. The Scots army left Stirling on 31 July 1651; while it marched through England to the west of the Pennines, Cromwell hastened his army south on the east catching the Scottish army and destroying it at Worcester on 3 September.

The Scottish armies in England and Ireland 1642 to 1651 DS

The civil wars 1639 to 1651

The route of English armies
The route of Scottish armies
Counties forming the Western Association

[1] Cromwell leads the English army into Scotland, 22 July 1650.

[2] English attempts to capture Edinburgh are thwarted, and Cromwell retires to Dunbar, July to August 1650.

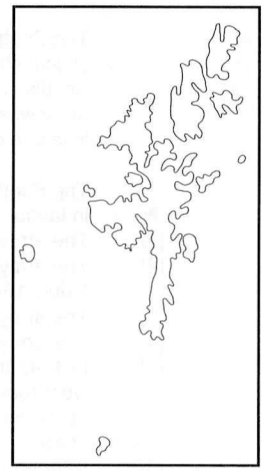
[3] Scottish army defeated at Dunbar, after which all south-east Scotland is occupied by the English. Charles and the Kirk Party regime of the covenanters establish themselves in Perth and Stirling.

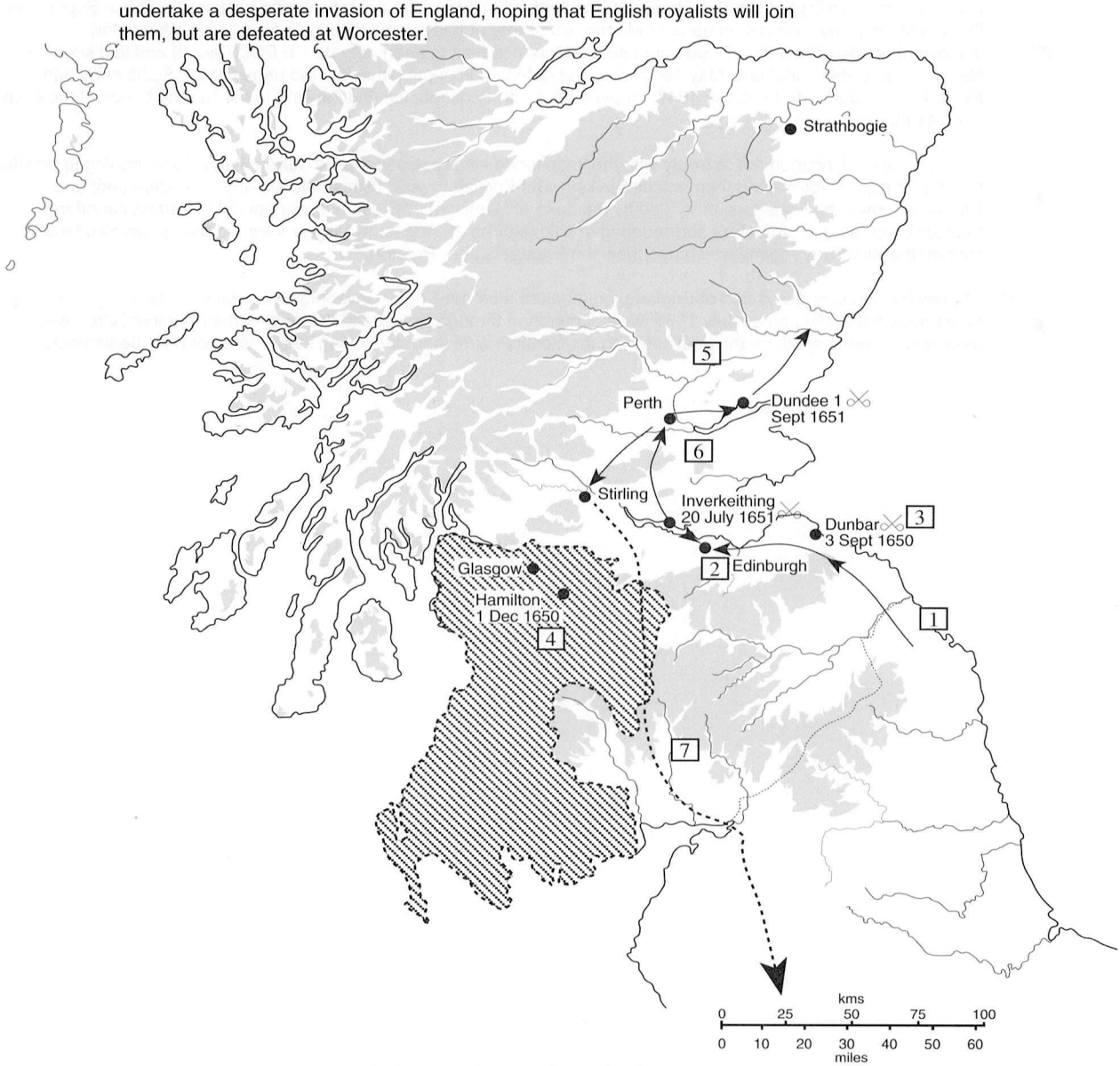
[4] Western Association organises its own virtually autonomous army to resist the English. This godly army of the west disowns the cause of the king, claiming to fight for God alone. The Kirk Party resolves to use force if necessary to crush the Western Association, but before it acts the English advance and defeat the Western army at Hamilton. The Association collapses and the south-west is occupied by the English.

[5] The Start. Royalists in Fife and in the north plan to rise in arms and seize Perth, freeing Charles II from Kirk Party control. The plot fails, and by a treaty at Strathbogie on 4 November 1650 the royalists lay down arms. But the Kirk Party is now on the verge of collapse, and the royalists soon infiltrate and take over the regime.

[6] English forces cross the Firth of Forth, rout the Scots at Inverkeithing, and then march north occupying Perth on 2 August 1651, before moving on Stirling and (via Dundee) the north-east. By the end of 1651 all the Lowlands (with the exception of a few castles) are in English hands.

[7] Charles and the Scottish army, outflanked and cut off from hoped for recruits and supplies from the north by the English advance, leave Stirling on 31 July 1651. They undertake a desperate invasion of England, hoping that English royalists will join them, but are defeated at Worcester.



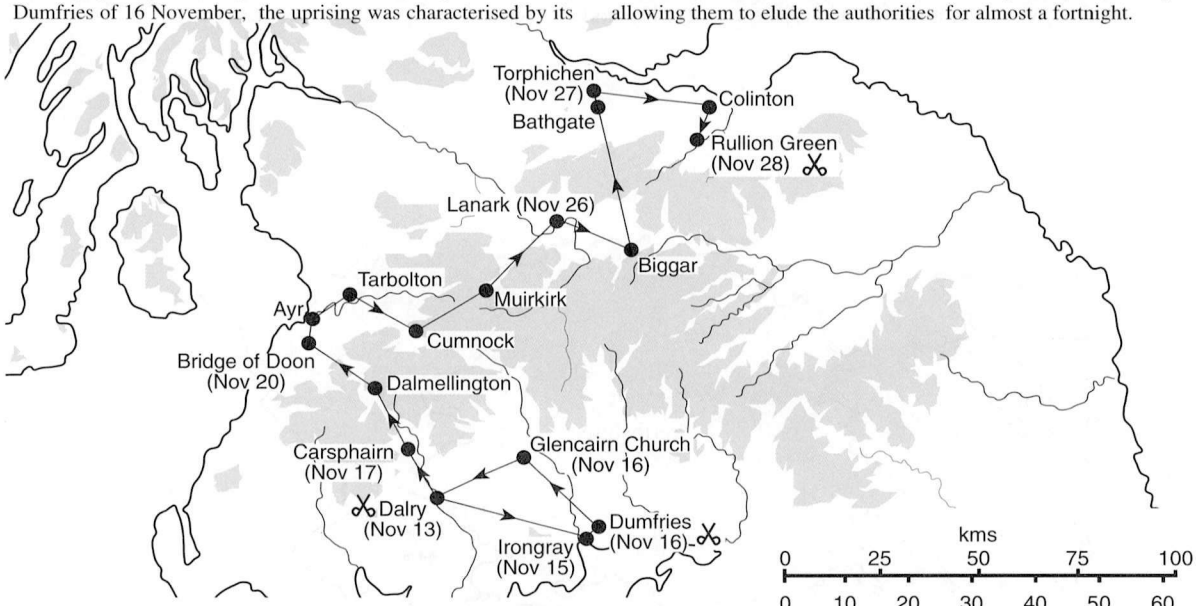


The Cromwellian conquest of Scotland 1650 to 1651

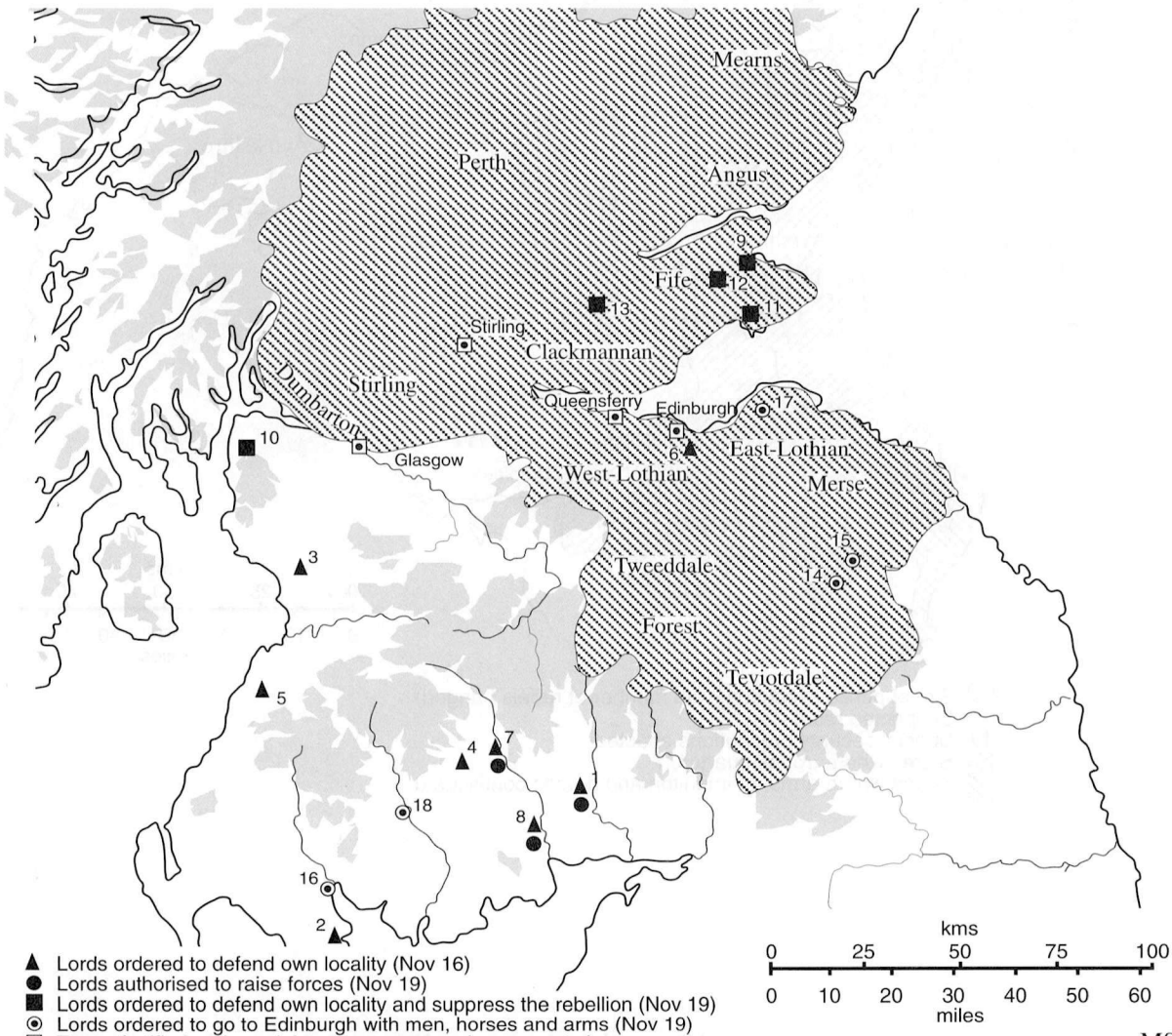
DS

The Pentland Rising of 1666

The Pentland Rising was a popular revolt triggered by the military occupation of the southwest. What began as a local dispute between a contingent of foot guards collecting recusancy fines near Dalry on 13 November 1666 and a handful of vigilantes who objected to the soldiers' methods escalated quickly into a nation-wide rebellion involving over 3,000 Scots. Yet apart from the initial attack on Corporal Deane's troop, the call to assemble at Irongray church two days later, and the subsequent march on Dumfries of 16 November, the uprising was characterised by its spontaneity. In terms of their immediate objectives, for instance, the leaders of the uprising - who were mainly conventicle preachers and small heritors - possessed only a vague plan of having their grievances redressed by marching on the capital, Edinburgh. Ironically, this element of uncertainty lent as much strength as weakness to the revolt. Although the lack of decisive leadership contributed to the rout of the rebels by government troops in the Pentland hills, nonetheless it made the rebels' actions more unpredictable, thereby allowing them to elude the authorities for almost a fortnight.



The rebels' movements

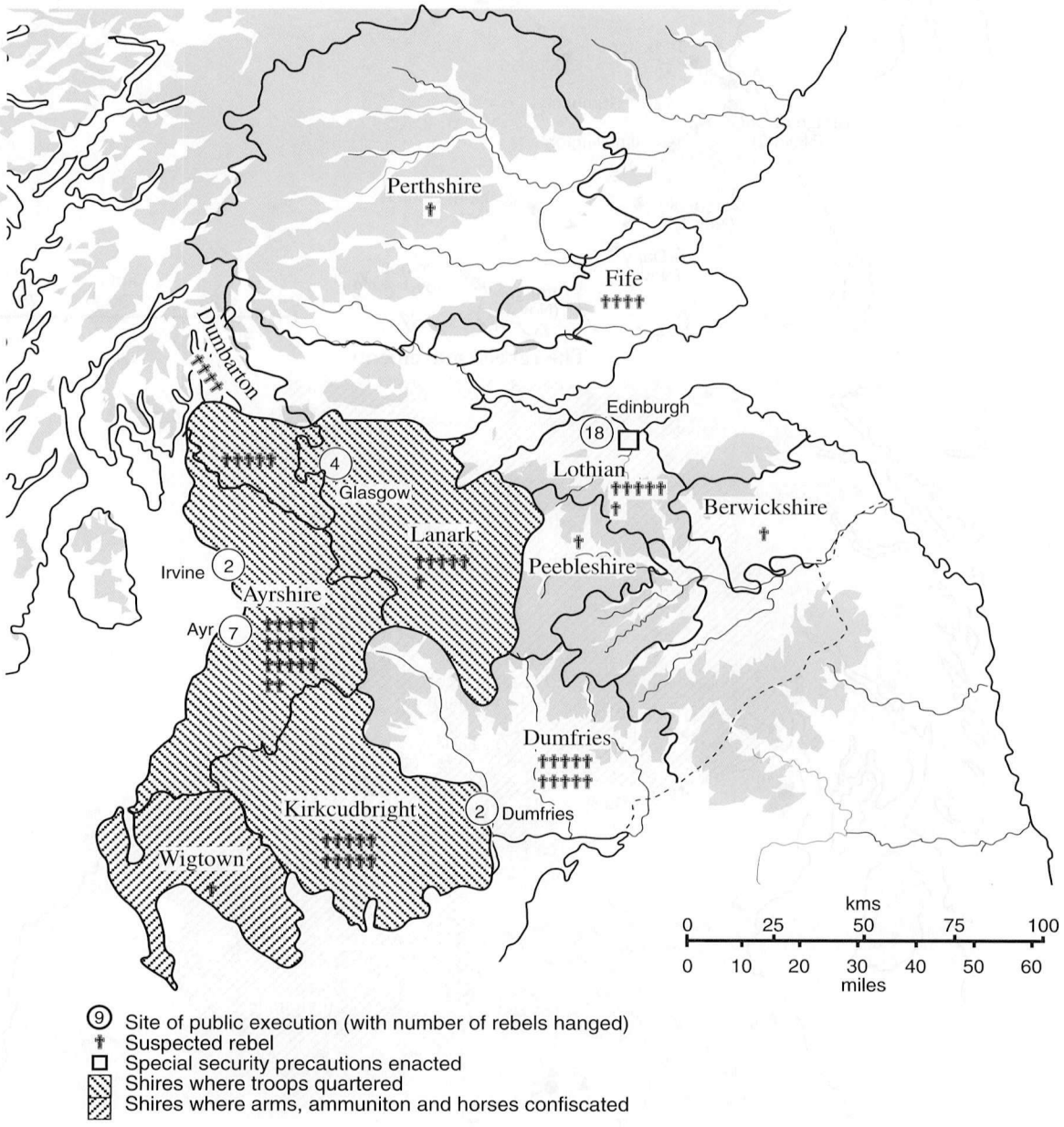


MS

The Government reaction

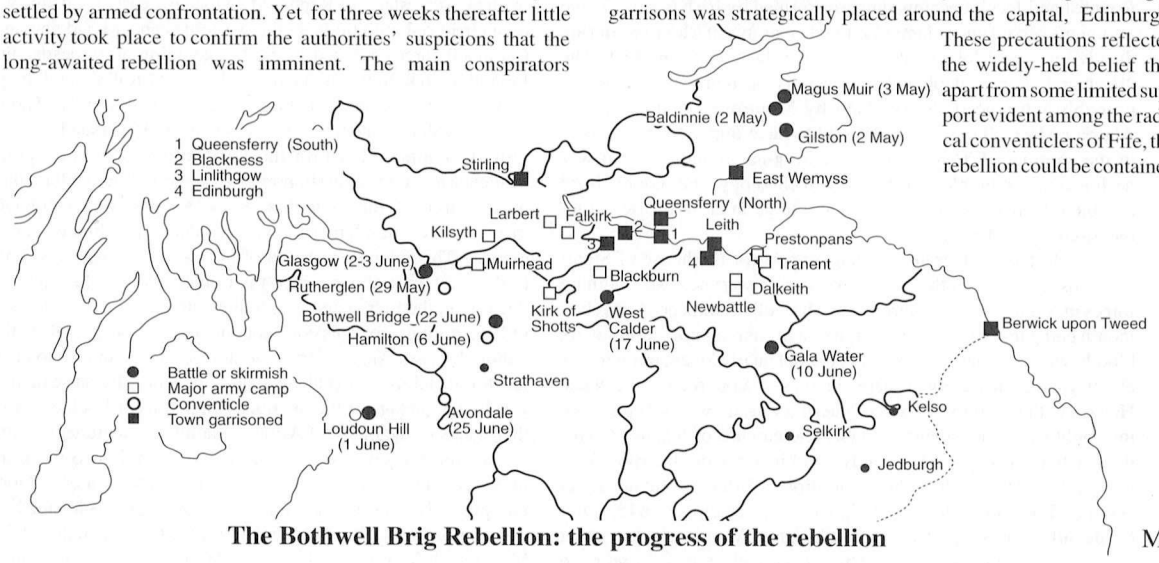
The Pentland Rising of 1666

Government response to the rising was initially traditional. In addition to mobilising troops under General Dalziel, the privy council ordered local heritors in the disaffected areas of the southwest as well as the earl of Lothian to defend their own localities and suppress the insurrection. But this conventional solution had to be abandoned when it became evident that the degree of anti-government sentiment in the country had been underestimated. Moreover, it soon became apparent too that heritors in the west who were largely sympathetic to the rebels' case could not be relied on to suppress the uprising. Therefore, a general muster of fencible men was called on 19 November in the eastern shires from the Mearns in the north to the south-eastern Borders where covenanting sentiment was thought to be weaker. As a result, the Pentland Rising saw the lowlands split regionally between the west and east with anti- and pro- government forces emerging from these parts of Scotland respectively.



Bothwell Brig Rebellion 1679

Tensions between the state and militant nonconformists came to a head in May of 1679 when the murder of Archbishop Sharp on Magus Muir precipitated a series of acts of defiance by conventiclers in different parts of the country which together constituted an uprising. In essence, then, circumstances rather than any orchestrated conspiracy forced the dissidents to take a more aggressive public posture. For example, if the dozen men who met at Gilston and then travelled to Baldinnie on 2 May had not decided at the last minute to kill the Archbishop of St. Andrews - rather than the local sheriff, Sheriff Carmichael - there would have been neither the necessity nor the determination to foment rebellion. However, with the murder of a chief minister of the crown, the assassins had provoked a serious crisis for the government that could only be settled by armed confrontation. Yet for three weeks thereafter little activity took place to confirm the authorities' suspicions that the long-awaited rebellion was imminent. The main conspirators including Hackston of Rathillet had gone into hiding only to surface again on 25 May at a large, ambulatory conventicle in Avondale led by Robert Hamilton. Here, with the support of over 3,000 devoted followers, Hamilton advocated the need for a popular rising: a decision further legitimised by the creation of a manifesto which was written in Glasgow, approved in Strathaven and, finally, published in Rutherglen on 29 May to coincide with the king's birthday celebrations. The Caroline government's response to this declaration of war was essentially two-fold. Firstly, not only were general musters called in nearly all Scottish shires with the exception of those in the southwest but English troops were dispatched by sea to Berwick. Secondly, in addition to fortifying the eastern burghs of Berwick, Stirling, Blackness, East Wemyss and Linlithgow, a ring of garrisons was strategically placed around the capital, Edinburgh. These precautions reflected the widely-held belief that apart from some limited support evident among the radical conventiclers of Fife, the rebellion could be contained



The Bothwell Brig Rebellion: the progress of the rebellion MS

within the bounds of the western shires of Ayr, Dumbarton, Renfrew and Lanark. Of the five major battles or skirmishes which took place between 1 June and 22 June, the early battles fought at Loudoun Hill and Glasgow ended in victory for the rebels. However, both the skirmish at Gala Water and West Calder involving smaller numbers of combatants turned into a rout of the dissidents. Thus when the king's army gathered at Kirk of Shotts on 21 June prepared to march on the main rebel camp at Bothwell Bridge neither side could entertain the expectation that an easy victory was assured.

Bothwell Bridge proved to be the rebels' last stand. Military inferiority compounded by a lack of martial discipline and effective leadership among the dissident forces account for much of the ease with which the king's army won the battle. And, apart from a final armed encounter at Aird's Moss on 22 July 1680 where some of the leading insurgents including Richard Cameron, Hackston of Rathillet and Donald Cargill were captured or killed, no other large-scale manifestations of popular discontent took place. Instead the dissidents were forced into a more protracted, guerilla warfare where acts of civil disobedience took other forms such as the publication of anti-government declarations. In the immediate aftermath of the rising, the government showed itself to be more concerned with moderation than retribution. Although 36 southern lairds were forfeited for their failure to join the king's host and two circuit courts - roughly one for eastern Scotland and another for the west - were set up to administer pardons and loyalty oaths to rank and file participants, no large scale executions or show trials were organised. However, given that 800 rebels (20%) were killed in battle, this approach may have been part of a conscious effort by the government to avoid the creation of any more covenanting martyrs.



The Bothwell Brig Rebellion: the aftermath MS

Clan support for the house of Stuart

The clans - the Gaelic-speaking, patriarchal amalgams of kinship, local association and feudal deference-were the bedrock of both the Royalist campaigns of 1644-47 and the first Jacobite rising of 1689-90. The persistence of hosting and the ready mobilisation of the clans by passing round the fiery cross meant a lower threshold in the Highlands than the Lowlands for the resort to arms. The militarism of the clans can be overplayed, however. The resolution of territorial disputes by the wholesale recourse of clans to arms was becoming less of an occasional practice, more of a rarity in the course of the seventeenth century. Technological change meant that it was becoming no longer fashionable to take arms off trees. The chiefs and leading gentry of the clans were increasingly reluctant to meet the expense of providing guns. The professional backbone to the Royalist and Jacobite campaigns was formed by Irish troops. Three regiments served under James Graham, marquis of Montrose during the civil war, and John Graham, viscount Dundee from 1689. The "Highland charge" deployed successfully on both campaigns was probably introduced to Scotland by Montrose's major-general, Alasdair MacColla, who can be said to have imported from Ulster in the summer of 1644 a tactic for irregular infantry which was designed to suit highland terrain, the technology clans could afford and the effectiveness of the sword and targe in close-quarters after the discharge of firearms.

In terms of strategy, clan support for the house of Stuart was most effective in the pursuit of guerilla warfare. After joining forces in August 1644, Montrose and MacColla commenced a twelve-month campaign of continuous movement running up a series of six bloody victories that culminated in the defeat of Covenanting forces at Kilsyth. Each victory attracted increased support from the clans. However, the military success of guerilla warfare was not converted into political achievement, notably the capture of leading towns, the key to control in the Lowlands. Within a month of parting from MacColla and the western clans, Montrose's fortunes went into rapid decline. From his defeat at Philiphaugh in September 1645, until his departure into exile twelve months later, Montrose was a spent force in Scotland. Although he was eventually forced to retire to Ireland by July 1647, MacColla fared relatively better on the western seaboard where his continued pursuit of guerilla warfare was distinctly less naive and more constructive. Other than the MacDonalds of Sleat who preferred to remain rather than accept his leadership, MacColla's affiliations to the lineal descendants of the Lords of the Isles created a ready reservoir of support. Unrivalled charisma based on his personal valour in battle and the fact that he was not required to lay siege to large towns enabled MacColla to occupy Kintyre and Islay and thus maintain, for eighteen months, a Royalist bridgehead with Ireland. Nor did the successful pursuit of guerilla warfare prove politically remunerative during the first Jacobite rising. Dundee's stunning victory at Killiecrankie in July 1689, was neutralised by his death in the course of battle. The burgeoning clan support occasioned by his personal charisma and his inspired generalship was soon dissipated by insipid and inept leadership from his officers with the Irish forces who assumed command but failed to make a military breakthrough either into central Lowlands or areas of Jacobite affinity in the north-east. Admittedly, the Stuart cause was not helped by the fluctuating nature of clan support during the Jacobite rising as during the civil war. While undoubtedly influenced by their desire to return home with booty, this fluctuating support was attributable more to the clans' reluctance to disrupt the agrarian cycle of sowing and harvesting and, above all, to their aversion to prolonged absence from their patrimonies which sustained campaigning left exposed to the ravages of cateran bands or reprisals by political opponents. For although around 5,000 clansmen were mobilised during the civil war and again for the Jacobite rising, the 47 foremost clans were never united in their support for the Stewarts albeit over 60% of the clans actively supported or shifted their support in favour of the royal house on both occasions.

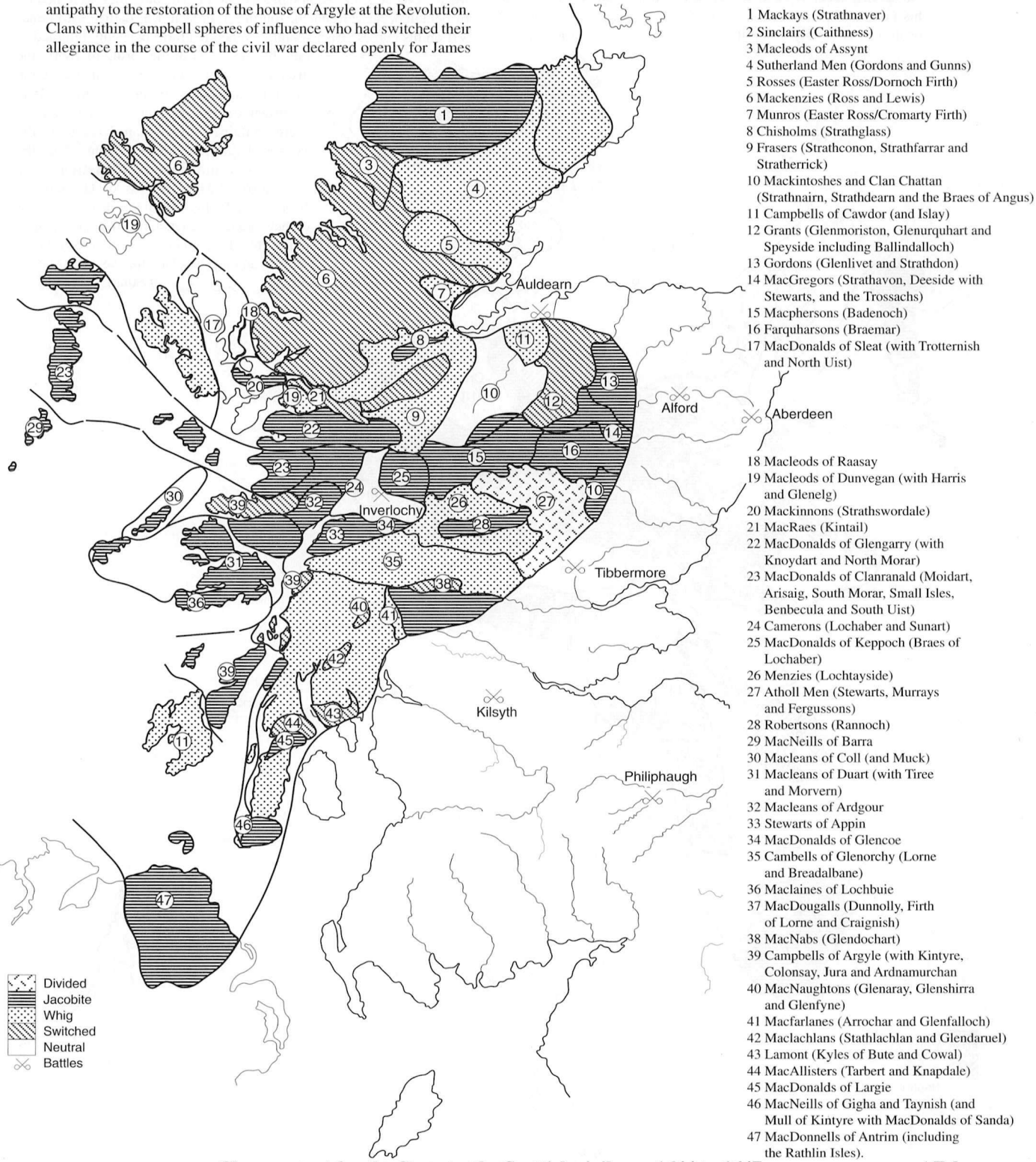
Clan support for the house of Stuart as hereditary rulers of Scotland was based primarily on the projection of traditional values of clanship onto the national political stage. As the chiefs were the protectors of the clan patrimonies, so were the Stuarts trustees for Scotland. At the same time, clan support for Charles I during the civil war was essentially reactionary. The 21 clans who declared unequivocally for the Royalist cause were fighting less in favour of that absentee monarch than against the Covenanting Movement which was making unprecedented demands for ideological, financial and military commitment. More especially the clans were reacting against powerful nobles whose public espousal of the Covenanting cause masked the private pursuit of territorial ambitions. Thus, the Mackays took up the Royalist mantle to defend their patrimony of Strathnaver against the acquisitive overtures of John Gordon, earl of Sutherland. The most acquisitive influence, however, was undoubtedly that of the Clan Campbell, the main beneficiaries of the expropriation of MacDonalds from Kintyre, Islay, Jura and Ardnamurchan since the outset of the seventeenth century. Having been evicted by Campbells from Colonsay in 1639, the determination of MacColla to perpetuate the feud under the Royalist mantle was endorsed by the Irish regiments under his command which were recruited almost exclusively from among his kinsmen on the Ulster estates of Randal MacDonnell, earl of Antrim, whose own territorial ambitions on the western seaboard had encouraged Campbell forces enlisted in the Covenanting army despatched to Ireland in 1642 to wreak havoc on the isle of Rathlin and the glens of Antrim. The deliberate but wanton ravaging of Argyll and northern Perthshire during the winters of 1644 and 1645 persuaded six clans hitherto contained within the territorial spheres of Campbell influence to cut loose in support of the Royalist cause albeit the two most prominent, the Lamonts and MacDougalls, were subsequently massacred for their temerity to switch sides and plunder Campbell estates. The polarizing impact of the Campbells was not confined to the western seaboard since their chief, Archibald, marquis of Argyle, in the four years prior to the outbreak of the civil war, had utilised military commissions not only to harry suspect Royalists in Atholl, braes of Angus, Braemar and Deeside, but also to push his territorial claims over Badenoch and Lochaber. Because their chief was in the tutelage of the marquis, Camerons of Lochiel who held their lands of the house of Argyle, maintained a prudent neutrality throughout the civil war. Conversely, aversion to the hitherto pervasive influence of the Royalist magnate, George Gordon, marquis of Huntly, in the central Highlands, persuaded the Frasers and originally the Grants to declare for the Covenanters and for the Mackintoshes, but not all of the Clan Chattan to remain neutral. The willingness of the Royalist commanders to despoil territories of clans reluctant to join their cause convinced the Grants of the expediency of switching sides. The MacLeods of Dunvegan and the Sinclairs limited their support for the Covenanting Movement to the protection of their clan patrimonies. Torn between the defence of their clan patrimonies and the political ambitioning of their vacillating chief, George, second earl of Seaforth, the MacKenzies, together with their allies, the MacRaes and MacLeods of Assynt, demonstrated an unparallelled lack of touch in switching adversely whenever Royalist or Covenanting forces enjoyed ascendancy.

While the Campbells and the other clans who campaigned offensively for the Covenanting Movement were in broad sympathy with presbyterianism, the militant catholicism of the Irish forces, while espoused by MacColla and the leading branches of the ClanDonald, was certainly not shared by the majority of the Royalist clans. However, religion was a principal factor influencing clans to come out for the first Jacobite rising. The sporadic inroads of Catholic missions served to solidify the opposition of former Royalist clans to the disposition of James VII. More significant in attracting support from hitherto neutral clans and in persuading Covenanting clans to adopt a neutral standpoint was the spread of episcopalianism during the Restoration era, which not only provided a religious complement to the hierarchical nature of clanship, but inculated a spirit of obedience and submission to royal authority throughout Gaeldom. Accordingly, the replacement of James VII by William of Orange was interpreted as a breach of patriarchal duty by Gaelic poets for whom the sundering of genealogical continuity imperilled the lawful exercise of government which, in turn, subverted the maintenance of a just political order. Far from being tyrannical or oppressive, James VII had won a favourable press from the clans. When duke of York, he had instituted the commission for pacifying the Highlands in 1682 which, for the next three years, had sought the co-operation of chiefs and leading gentry in maintaining law and order. This commission represented a brief, but welcome, respite from the grasping and intimidatory policies of successive regimes in the Restoration era which had sought to tarnish the Highlands as an area of endemic lawlessness in order to maintain a standing army and facilitate the collection of onerous taxes. Moreover, James had proved notably responsive in redressing the

Clan support for the house of Stuart

acquisitiveness of the house of Argyle. Although the marquis had been executed in 1661, when his son Archibald was restored as ninth earl two years later he embarked upon a credit squeeze that revived his father's policy of forcing heavily indebted chiefs and leading gentry to accept the feudal superiority of their house. By exploiting the legal technicalities of public and private indebtedness, Argyle even had chiefs and leading gentry of the Macleans of Duart expropriated from Tiree, Mull and Morven by 1679. Six years later, when the ninth earl rebelled against the accession of James VII who had engineered his forfeiture in 1681, over 4000 clansmen under the command of John Murray, marquis of Atholl, drawn from clans throughout Gaeldom, but predominantly from the victims of Argyle's acquisitiveness, systematically ravaged mid-Argyll, Cowal and Kintyre. This "Atholl Raid" gave a foretaste of the simple antipathy to the restoration of the house of Argyle at the Revolution. Clans within Campbell spheres of influence who had switched their allegiance in the course of the civil war declared openly for James VII in 1689. Only the MacAllisters declared for the Whigs, as earlier for the Covenanters, before switching sides.

The 27 clans that declared unequivocally for the Jacobite cause demonstrated not just an increased willingness to support the royal house at the outset of campaigning, but also masked a pronounced movement of 10 clans in favour of James VII with a loss of 4 former supporters of Charles I. The only Royalist clan actually to declare for the Whigs were the Mackays, principally because one of their leading gentry, major-general Hugh Macrae of Scourbie, commanded William of Orange's forces in Scotland. Although the MacDonnells of Antrim opted to concentrate their political energies on Irish affairs, a small contingent from the Isle of Rathlin served with the Kintyre clans fighting for James VII. Of the 25 clans who maintained the same political standpoint towards

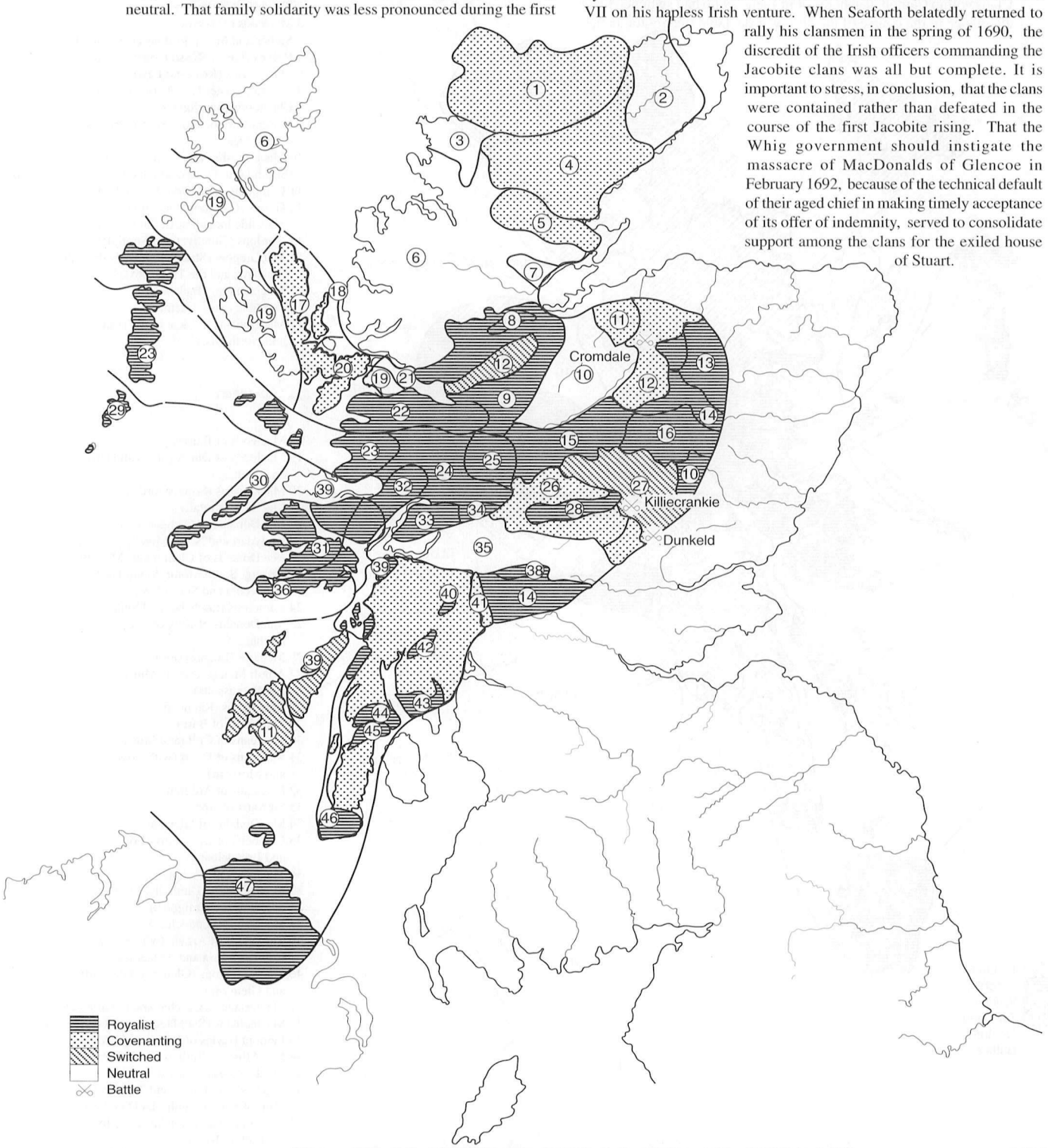


1 Mackays (Strathnaver)
2 Sinclairs (Caithness)
3 Macleods of Assynt
4 Sutherland Men (Gordons and Gunns)
5 Rosses (Easter Ross/Dornoch Firth)
6 Mackenzies (Ross and Lewis)
7 Munros (Easter Ross/Cromarty Firth)
8 Chisholms (Strathglass)
9 Frasers (Strathconon, Strathfarrar and Stratherrick)
10 Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan (Strathnairn, Strathdearn and the Braes of Angus)
11 Campbells of Cawdor (and Islay)
12 Grants (Glenmoriston, Glenurquhart and Speyside including Ballindalloch)
13 Gordons (Glenlivet and Strathdon)
14 MacGregors (Strathavon, Deeside with Stewarts, and the Trossachs)
15 Macphersons (Badenoch)
16 Farquharsons (Braemar)
17 MacDonalds of Sleat (with Trotternish and North Uist)
18 Macleods of Raasay
19 Macleods of Dunvegan (with Harris and Glenelg)
20 Mackinnons (Strathswordale)
21 MacRaes (Kintail)
22 MacDonalds of Glengarry (with Knoydart and North Morar)
23 MacDonalds of Clanranald (Moidart, Arisaig, South Morar, Small Isles, Benbecula and South Uist)
24 Camerons (Lochaber and Sunart)
25 MacDonalds of Keppoch (Braes of Lochaber)
26 Menzies (Lochtayside)
27 Atholl Men (Stewarts, Murrays and Fergussons)
28 Robertsons (Rannoch)
29 MacNeills of Barra
30 Macleans of Coll (and Muck)
31 Macleans of Duart (with Tiree and Morvern)
32 Macleans of Ardgour
33 Stewarts of Appin
34 MacDonalds of Glencoe
35 Cambells of Glenorchy (Lorne and Breadalbane)
36 Maclaines of Lochbuie
37 MacDougalls (Dunnolly, Firth of Lorne and Craignish)
38 MacNabs (Glendochart)
39 Campbells of Argyle (with Kintyre, Colonsay, Jura and Ardnamurchan
40 MacNaughtons (Glenaray, Glenshirra and Glenfyne)
41 Macfarlanes (Arrochar and Glenfalloch)
42 Maclachlans (Stathlachlan and Glendaruel)
43 Lamont (Kyles of Bute and Cowal)
44 MacAllisters (Tarbert and Knapdale)
45 MacDonalds of Largie
46 MacNeills of Gigha and Taynish (and Mull of Kintyre with MacDonalds of Sanda)
47 MacDonnells of Antrim (including the Rathlin Isles).

Clan support for the Stuarts: the Scottish civil war 1644 to 1647 AIM

Clan support for the house of Stuart

the house of Stuart, 17 loyal to Charles I remained loyal to James VII, albeit the MacDonalds of Keppoch remained apart from the main contingent of Jacobite forces, being more committed to plunder than military campaigning. The Mackintoshes, against whom they fought the last clan battle at Mulroy on the braes of Lochaber in August 1688, were the only clan to remain neutral during the Jacobite rising as during the civil war. No more than 3 clans committed to the Covenanting cause sided with William of Orange, albeit 12 actually fought exclusively for the former and 8 for the latter. The most notable loss arose from the breaking of ranks within the Clan Campbell. Not only did clansmen in territories appropriated by the Campbells in the course of the seventeenth century fail to adhere to the Whig cause, but the principal cadet, John Campbell of Glenorchy, recently ennobled as the earl of Breadalbane, affirmed his political independence of the house of Argyle by remaining neutral. That family solidarity was less pronounced during the first Jacobite rising than during the civil war was borne out by the split allegiance of Grants and the Atholl Men. Whereas the majority of Grants in Strathspey followed their chief in declaring for William of Orange, the Grants of Ballindalloch consistently adhered to the Jacobite cause while the Grants in Glenmoriston and Glenurquhart, after an intimidatory measure of persuasion from neighbours, switched in favour of James VII. Although the marquis distanced himself from commitment to either cause, a small contingent of Atholl Men supported the Whigs at the instigation of his eldest son, Lord Murray; but the majority switched to Jacobitism in the aftermath of Killiecrankie under the leadership of his second son, Lord James. While the extension of civil war between as well as among the clans was the most innovatory feature of the first Jacobite rising, the MacKenzies and their associates were again afflicted by inept leadership. Although Jacobite in sympathy they were neutral by default because Kenneth, fourth earl of Seaforth, dallied with James VII on his hapless Irish venture. When Seaforth belatedly returned to rally his clansmen in the spring of 1690, the discredit of the Irish officers commanding the Jacobite clans was all but complete. It is important to stress, in conclusion, that the clans were contained rather than defeated in the course of the first Jacobite rising. That the Whig government should instigate the massacre of MacDonalds of Glencoe in February 1692, because of the technical default of their aged chief in making timely acceptance of its offer of indemnity, served to consolidate support among the clans for the exiled house of Stuart.



Clan support for the Stuarts: the first Jacobite rising 1689 to 1690 AIM

The 1707 Union: support and opposition

The treaty of union of 1707 was the product of diplomatic brinkmanship, military intimidation and political manipulation on the part of an English ministry intent on an incorporating parliamentary union and of economic defeatism, financial chicanery and political ineptitude on the part of Scottish politicians intent on personal advantage from the loss of national independence.

By 1702, Anglo-Scottish relations were crystallizing into constitutional crisis which made the continuance of the regal union no longer a viable political option. The thirteen-year rule of William of Orange had witnessed the blatant sacrificing of Scottish trade on the altar of English foreign policy. The death of the last surviving child of Anna, the new queen, and the recognition of the Jacobite pretender as James VIII and III by Louis XIV of France, meant there was a real danger that the current continental imbroglio, the war of the Spanish succession, would spill over into the war of the British succession. In the event, Anglo-Scottish hostilities were restricted to a legislative war. The English parliament having passed the act of settlement in 1701, unilaterally vesting the succession on the house of Hanover, the Scottish estates retaliated with a tripartite package in 1703. The act of security and the wine act upheld respectively the independent right of the Scottish estates to fix the succession and authorise trade with France; the act meant peace and asserted the estates' right to assume an independent foreign policy on the death of Queen Anne. The Scottish bluff was called in 1705 when the English parliament passed the alien act which threatened to treat Scots as foreigners unless the Hanoverian succession was accepted unequivocally by the estates. At the same time, the Scottish estates were invited to resume the discussions for a closer union which had been an early casualty of the legislative war.

Economic and social factors played an important part in persuading Scottish politicians, in particular the aristocratic factions which dominated parliamentary politics, to treat for union. There was undoubtedly an aura of economic defeatism in the country at large occasioned by the swallowing up of Scottish venture capital in the Darien fiasco and compounded by five years of intensive dearth and famine that ended in 1700. More immediately, the alien act had posed a direct challenge to the rent-rolls of the aristocracy which depended heavily on open access to English markets for such commodities as coal, linen and, above all, livestock. That 1 in 7 Scottish nobles had English wives at the resumption of negotiations, testifies not only the their steady assimilation into the British ruling class, but also to their growing dependence on the English marriage market to build up disposable income.

Notwithstanding these factors, the accomplishment of union within two years must be attributed primarily to political considerations. The English ministry guiding the queen had a clearly defined objective - an incorporating parliamentary union to shut permanently the Scottish back-door to military invasion by a foreign power. The English treasury was prepared to advance £20,000 sterling (£240,000 Scots) to influence voting in the Scottish estates. For their part, the Scottish estates, though initially not inclined to accept a parliamentary union, were unable to sustain a common front in support of alternative options which ranged from complete separation to federalism. Moreover, politicians across the political spectrum were becoming conditioned to seek the support and clientage of the English ministry in their competitive drive for office. The Court party, which had favoured shoring up the regal union until its leader, the duke of Queensberry, was threatened with loss of backing by the English ministry, espoused parliamentary union in a salvage operation to retain office. Opposed to the Court was the Country, not so much a party as a confederation. At the one extreme was a rump of constitutional reformers, the only principled opponents of parliamentary union, who were intent on freeing Scotland from the shackles of aristocratic privilege as of the English ministry. At the other extreme were the Jacobites, the one political grouping prepared to condone the military option, but weakened by the defection of episcopalians who placed the prospect of toleration before the restoration of the house of Stuart. The dominant grouping within the Country was the old party frustrated placemen and the disappointed investors in Darien, led by a quixotic vacillator, the duke of Hamilton, whose indecisiveness occasioned this defection of aristocratic associates, the formation of the new party - known as the "flying Squadron' or the "Squadrone Volante" for their desperate pursuit of office - and, most crucially, the choice of commissioners to treat for an incorporating union being left to the queen not the estates. As a result, the twenty-four articles of the treaty of union presented for the approval of the Scottish estates on 3 October 1706, were not so much the fruits of diplomatic negotiations as the dictates of the English ministry. To underline the seriousness of their intent, the English ministry had moved troops to Berwick and northern Ireland to be held within striking distance of Edinburgh and the west of Scotland, the main areas of anticipated opposition to the union.

From the crucial vote on the first article of union on 4 November, which revealed a majority of 33 in favour of a united kingdom of Great Britain, the Country confederation mounted a continuous barrage of protests and amendments to negate, alter and delay the passage of the remaining articles. Addresses against the union were also forthcoming from around half the shires (18) and about a third (21) of the royal burghs. Nonetheless, despite the general assembly of the Kirk expressing its reservations and the convention of royal burghs its outright opposition, the treaty was ratified on 16 January 1707, when the majority in favour was augmented to 41. In only two shires did the parliamentary commissioners respond positively to the addresses and vote solidly against the ratification. The burgh commissioners were no more responsive: eight continued to vote in favour of the union though one did abstain on the ratification. While these addresses were undoubtedly instigated and concerted by the parliamentary opposition, the Court party was unable to mobilize any addresses in favour of the union. Instead, its influence was applied, particularly in the Highlands and south-west, to suppress the endeavours of gentry and burgesses to petition against the union. Although the addresses led no significant shift in the voting pattern against ratification, their presentation enabled the Country confederation to claim that the treaty of union lacked public support, a claim given further plausibility by popular protests against the union and recalcitrant magistrates in the burghs of Glasgow, Dumfries and Edinburgh and more convincingly, by sixty-two exceptional and unsolicited addresses from presbyteries (3), towns (9) and parishes (50), the latter usually in clusters. These addresses against the union came predominantly from west-central and south-western Scotland, where local communities drew consciously on covenanting traditions of supplicating in support of religious and civil liberties. The extreme Cameronians in the south-west went so far as to submit their own eclectic band against the union. The leavening of petitions from around the firth of Forth, from communities involved in the burgeoning coal and salt industry, were also inspired, perhaps, by the union's threatened eradication of differential trading tariffs.

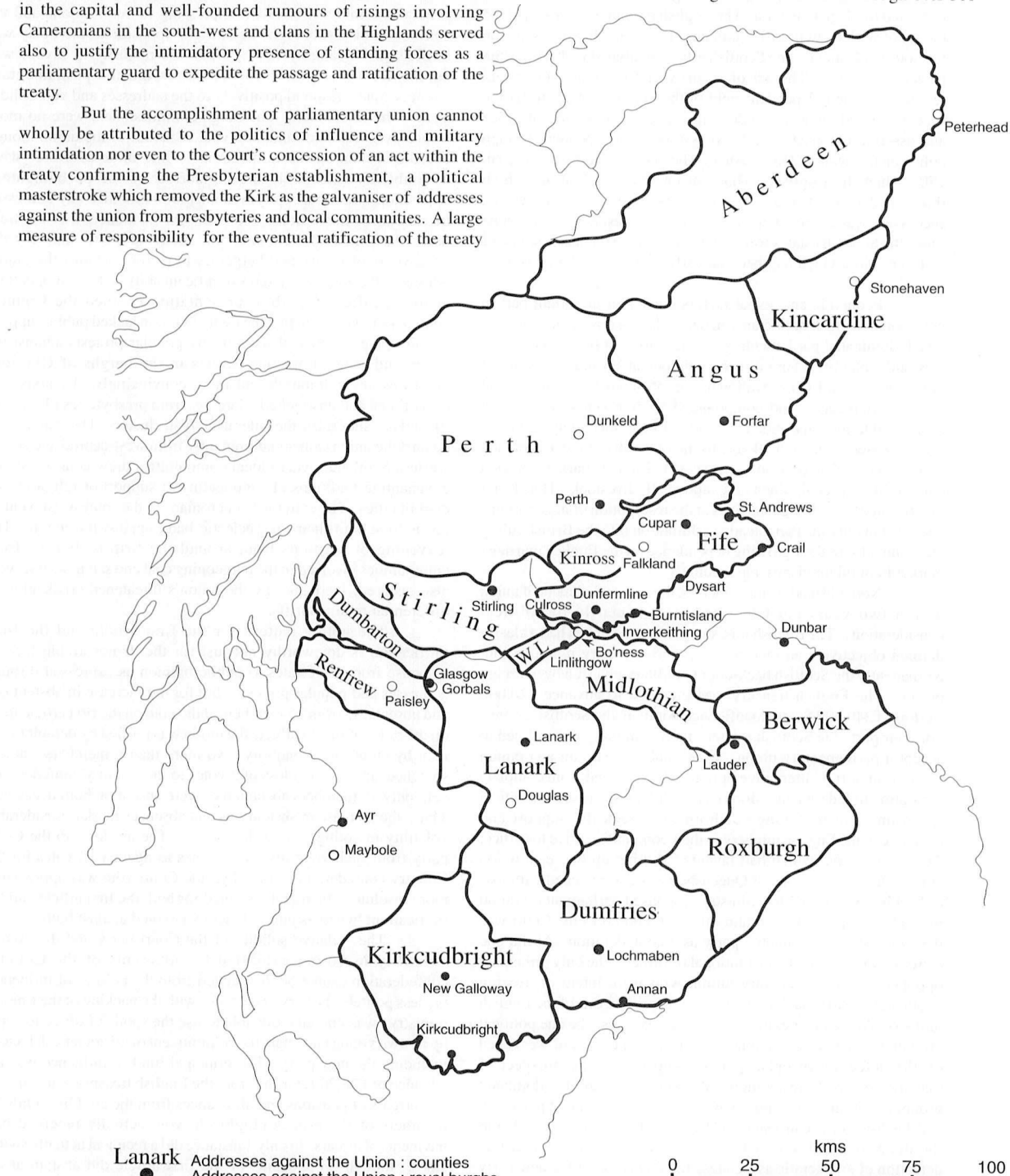
The voting pattern for the first article and the final ratification is noteworthy not just for the demonstrable lack of response from the estates to public opinion as expressed through addresses and popular protests, but for the increase in abstentions and absentees, from 25 members at the vote on the first article to 46 on the ratification. In effect, the union was ratified by default rather than by an absolute majority. No more than 6 members actually switched sides at a net loss of 2 votes to the Country confederation yet, only 15 members abstained or were absent on both occasions. Thus, the increase in abstentions and absences masks considerable volatility in voting among the estates. The net loss to the Court party from such volatility was 8 votes as against 12 votes for the Country confederation. Equally, the Court vote was appreciably more resolute. 102 members voted for both the first article and the ratification; whereas only 59 members voted against both.

The relative solidity of the Court party and the greater volatility in voting exhibited by adherents of the Country confederation cannot be dissociated from the politics of influence, or, less politely, bribery. The court, with the backing of the English ministry, was undoubtedly able to use the spoils of office to shore up its own voting and retain the commitment of aristocratic defectors, including the new party. The principal fund of influence was the advance of £20,000 sterling from the English treasury ostensibly to pay arrears of pensions and allowances from the civil list. Only 26 members of the estates eligible to vote actually received part payments of arrears. In only 1 instance did a recipient actually switch sides, though 2 opponents of the first article did abstain at the ratification of the treaty. More pertinently, 9 recipients had no apparent claim to arrears and another 6 were not required to

The 1707 Union: support and opposition

acknowledge receipt for sums paid, fuelling suspicions that they were again reimbursed from the capital equivalent (of £308,085-10/-) conceded to compensate Scottish interests materially disadvantaged through alignment to higher English fiscal dues, exchange rates and national debt. This expectation that over 58% of the capital equivalent would be utilized to make reparations for venture capital lost at Darien was a further powerful inducement for members of the estates not to oppose the union. The bulk of the sum advanced for arrears of salary (£12,325 sterling) was placed at the personal disposal of Queensberry, as the queen's commissioner to the estates, and was certainly distributed covertly, not only to shore up the Court, but also to pay informers and, perhaps, agents provocateur in order to expose and discredit any recourse to the military option by the parliamentary opposition or their adherents in the country. That the estates' proceedings on the union were conducted against a continuous background of popular disturbances in the capital and well-founded rumours of risings involving Cameronians in the south-west and clans in the Highlands served also to justify the intimidatory presence of standing forces as a parliamentary guard to expedite the passage and ratification of the treaty.

But the accomplishment of parliamentary union cannot wholly be attributed to the politics of influence and military intimidation nor even to the Court's concession of an act within the treaty confirming the Presbyterian establishment, a political masterstroke which removed the Kirk as the galvaniser of addresses against the union from presbyteries and local communities. A large measure of responsibility for the eventual ratification of the treaty of union rests with the inept political leadership of the Country confederation also, in particular with the duke of Hamilton, who personally sabotaged three manoeuvres to stem the parliamentary tide running in favour of the Court. Following the estates' approval of the first article, moves were set afoot to mobilize the political extremes in the country, the Cameronians and the clans, to effect a coup d'etat. The order to rendezvous outside the town of Hamilton was countermanded peremptorily by the duke who had taken fright at the prospect of dissolving the estates by force of arms. Instead of the anticipated 7-8000 fighting men, less than 50 kept the rendezvous. Hamilton secreted himself in his mansion until the potential insurgents dispersed leaderless. As the Court was now on guard against the possibility of an armed rising, the opposition, again inspired primarily by the Jacobites, decided upon a mass lobby of parliament-house by the gentry who had submitted addresses from the shires against the union. Although over 500

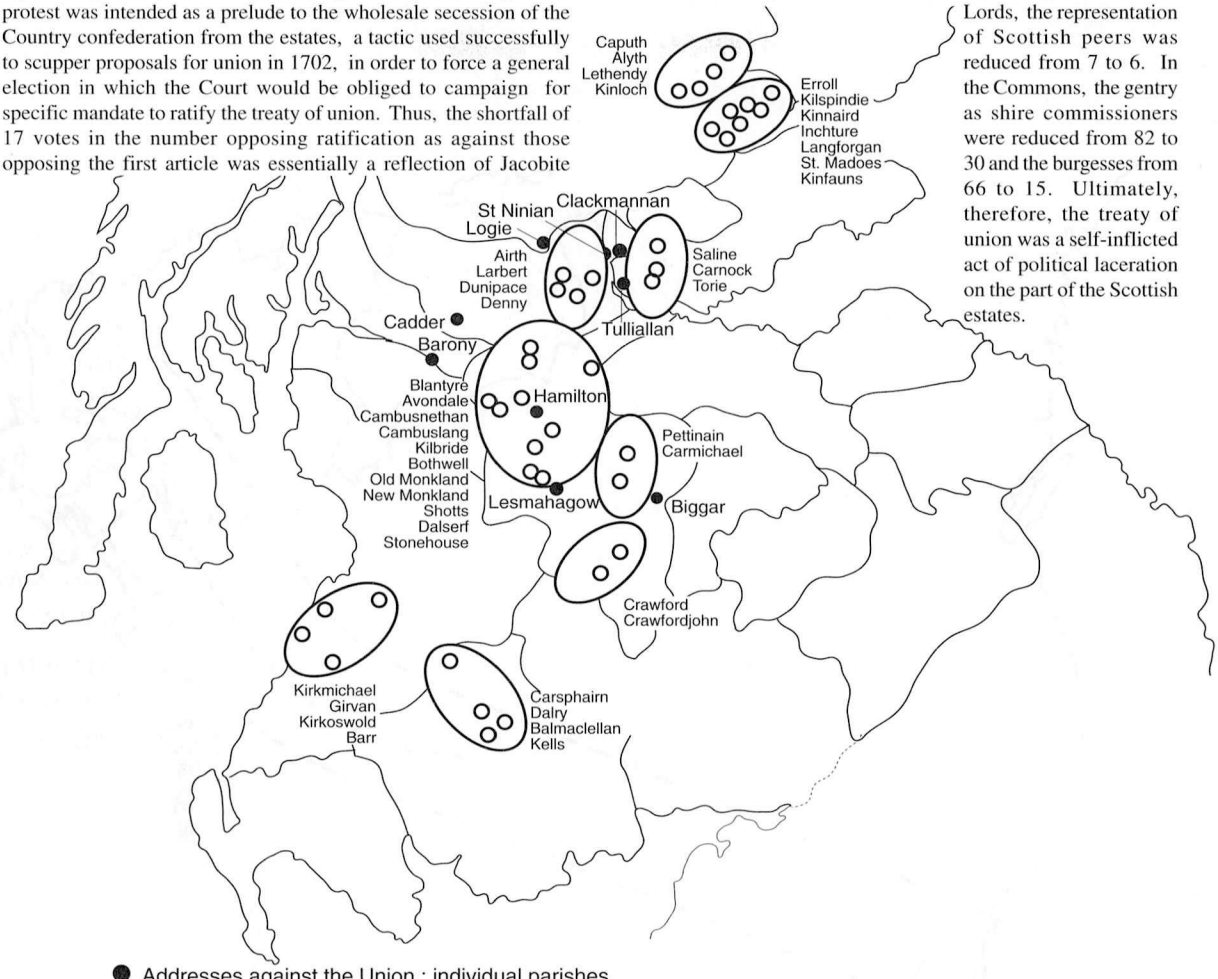


Civil opposition to the Union AIM

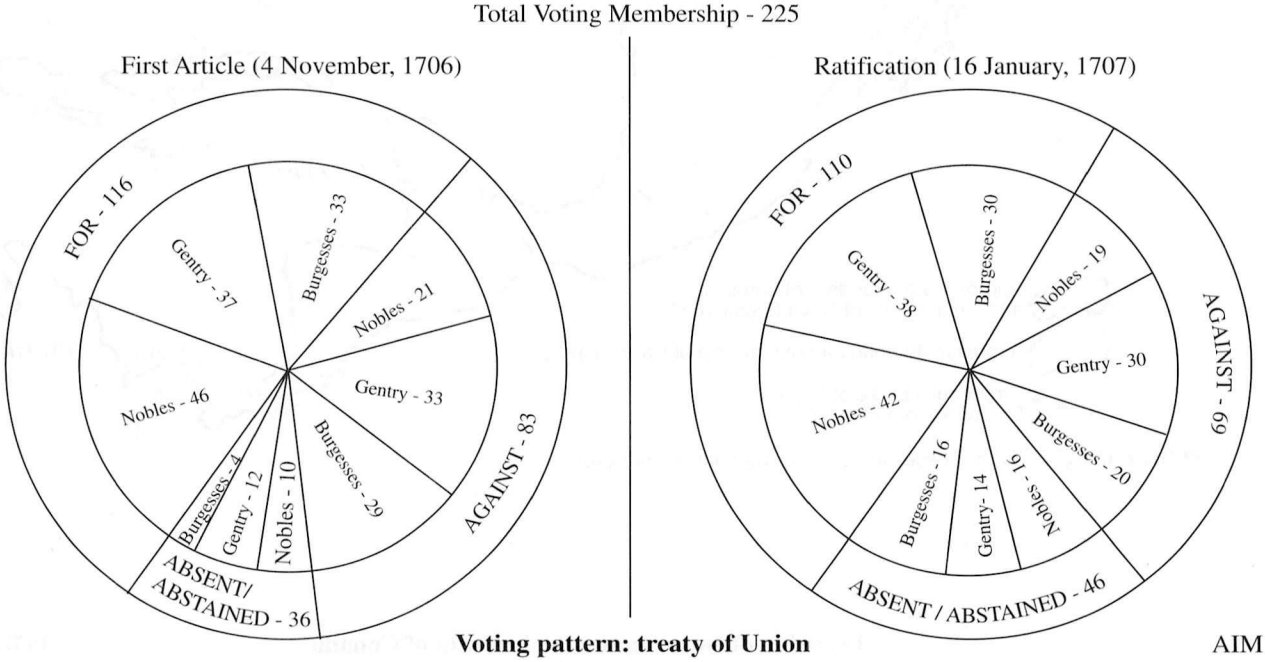
The 1707 Union: support and opposition

gentry were mobilized to demand that the estates suspend proceedings until the queen be acquainted with the true extent of public antipathy towards the union, the lobby was forestalled by Hamilton's insistence that any address to the Crown must acknowledge the Hanoverian succession. The same condition was later repeated by Hamilton to renege on his commitment to present a protest against the estates proceeding to ratify the treaty. This protest was intended as a prelude to the wholesale secession of the Country confederation from the estates, a tactic used successfully to scupper proposals for union in 1702, in order to force a general election in which the Court would be obliged to campaign for specific mandate to ratify the treaty of union. Thus, the shortfall of 17 votes in the number opposing ratification as against those opposing the first article was essentially a reflection of Jacobite disillusionment with the duke of Hamilton.

Two months after the treaty of union had been ratified with comparative ease in English parliament, the parliamentary incorporation of Scotland into the united kingdom came into force on 1 May 1707. The accomplishment of union resulted in a drastic reduction in the number of voting members in the last session of the Scottish estates eligible to sit in both houses at Westminster. In the Lords, the representation of Scottish peers was reduced from 7 to 6. In the Commons, the gentry as shire commissioners were reduced from 82 to 30 and the burgesses from 66 to 15. Ultimately, therefore, the treaty of union was a self-inflicted act of political laceration on the part of the Scottish estates.



Ecclesiastical / parochial opposition to the Union

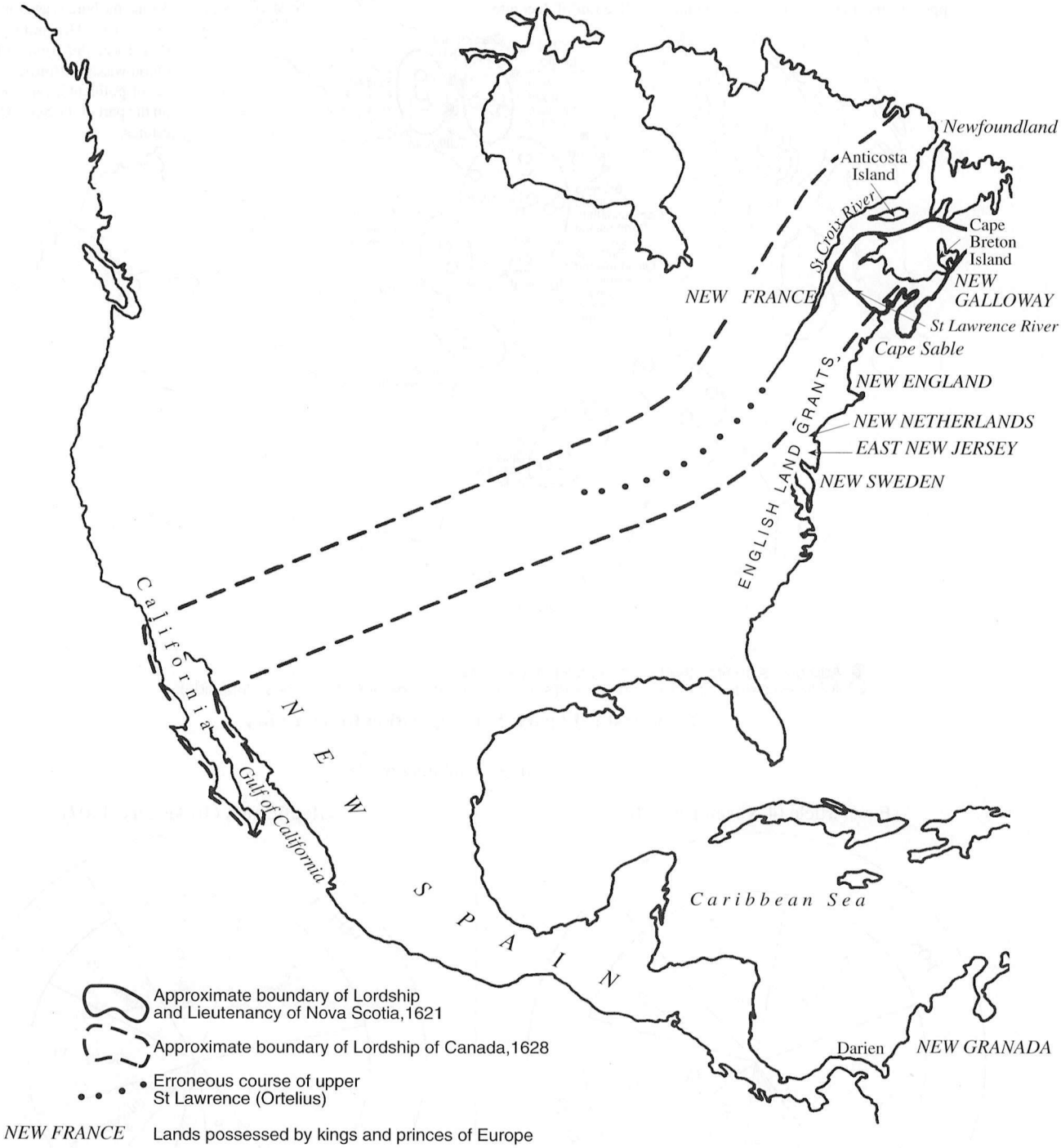


Voting pattern: treaty of Union

AIM

Scotland and the New World

In 1621 James VI granted to Sir William Alexander the lands in Canada between the English lands of Newfoundland and New England and up to the St Lawrence. Later the crown granted baronies of 16,000 acres from land that Alexander surrendered from his grant. Quite separately, in 1628. Charles created in his favour a strip of land 100 leagues across North America, but not extending to lands effectively possessed by the king or other Christian princes in league with the king. The charter apparently proceeds on the representation of the area by Ortelius whose map does not show the Great Lakes. and has the St Lawrence rising in the modern states of Indiana or Illinois. The two lordships did not endure and succumbed to the rivalries of the European powers.



Lordship of Nova Scotia: the lordship of Canada PGBM

Scotland and the New World

In general, people associate Scottish settlement in early seventeenth century America with Nova Scotia and overlook the virtually permanent Scottish presence in the contemporary West Indies, which had a far greater impact on the society and economy of Scotland.

The earliest mention of a Scottish merchant ship leaving for the West Indies is 1611. In 1626 a Scotsman, James Hay, earl of Carlisle, was first to be appointed by Charles I as Proprietor of Barbados. Subsequently a number of Scots were sent there as administrators. William Powrie, planter from Peebles was one such. There is evidence of direct trade links between Scotland and Barbados, Martinique and other Caribbean islands during the 1630s and 1640s, which led to settlement by merchants and planters. The English Civil War led to a marked increase in the numbers of Scots in these islands because of the transportation of hundreds of Scottish prisoners-of war by Cromwell after the battles of Dunbar and Worcester 1650-1651. After the Restoration, the Scottish Privy Council followed the English precedent by banishing criminals, social undesirables and religious dissidents to the English Plantations in the West Indies. Its records outline numerous requests by merchant-skippers for felons to be shipped to the English colonies. Scottish indentured servants were also sailing via the English ports of London, Bristol and Liverpool. During the 1660s the Dutch islands of Curacao, Saba and St Eustacia also were home to numbers of Scots. By the 1680s serious consideration was being given to the establishment of an independent Scots colony in the West Indies, but this plan did not come to fruition.

The Scottish connection began with small scale success in Barbados but ended in large scale failure in Darien. These links, however, were the foundation of the substantial trade and settlement in the following century.



Places with Scottish presence

(1) 1625 to 1650
(2) 1651 to 1675
(3) 1676 to 1707

The Scots in the Caribbean 1626 to 1707 DDo

Scotland and the New World

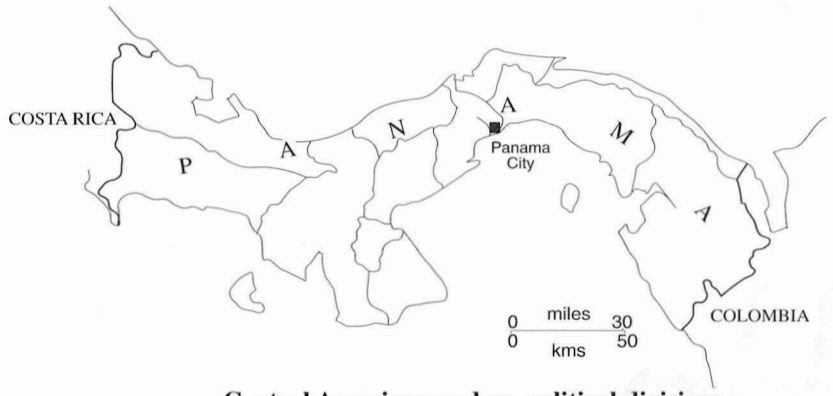
Darien was the name given to the entire isthmus now known as Panama. It was the Spanish province in central America between Veragua and New Granada; but the name came to be applied later to the smaller area between the Gulf of S Miguel on the east and the Gulf of Uraba on the west. This is where the Scottish settlement was. After 1821, Panama became a province of the independent republic of Colombia; and in 1903, Panama, with the backing of the United States of America, declared itself to be a separate republic. Now, the republic is divided into nine provinces of which two are Panama and Darien; and part of the original Darien is still within the republic of Colombia.

There are other places called Darien: Santa Maria Antiqua del Darien, known as "Darien", is situated on the western shore of the Gulf of Ubara: it was the first Spanish settlement on the American mainland (1509). There are other Dariens on the river Tuva, and in the modern Canal Zone. (These places are seldom marked on modern maps.)

The project of a passage across central America at the point chosen by the Scots was no more fanciful than the passage from Colon to (Old) Panama which the Spaniards used for three centuries. The Spaniards had tried the Darien passage before and the English were considering a colony there. Across the Serrania del Darien, was the river Tuira, which was navigable for 100 miles of its length of 190 miles.

In 1698, the Scottish colonists landed near Punta Escoces and founded a colony called New Caledonia: its capital was New Edinburgh and its fort, New St Andrews. In February 1700 the Scots with Indian allies defeated a Spanish force at Tubuganti, but were themselves besieged by the Spaniards and had to surrender to them in March. That was the end of the Darien project.

The expedition left some Scottish effect on the place-names of central America: Punta Escoces, Caledonia Bay and the Caledonian Mountains.



Central America: modern political divisions



Navigable part of River Tuira

VERAGUA Provinces of the Spanish Empire

○ Possible location of Tubuganti

0 miles 30
0 kms 50

Darien PGBM