



Emery Walker Lith. ph. sc.

Lord Pittsligo of Forbes
from the picture by Alexis Belle at Fettercairn House.

JACOBITE LETTERS

TO

LORD PITSLIGO

1745-1746

Preserved at Fettercairn House

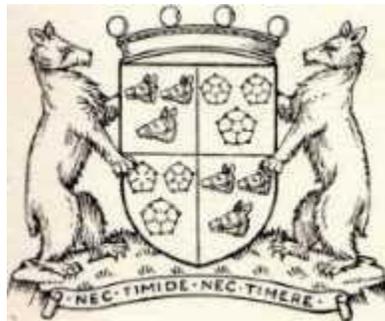
EDITED WITH NOTES BY

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Authors of

“The Book of the Duffs,” “Lord Fife and his Factor”

“Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in 1745,” etc.



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PREFACE.

The letters in this volume are the property of Lord Clinton, by whose desire the present editors have under-taken their production.

That they should have been preserved to the present day is truly remarkable, when it is considered that Lord Pitsligo, by whom they were received (mostly while he was Governor of Elgin during the few weeks before Culloden), must have carried them with him in his flight after the battle, and concealed them about his person until he had an opportunity of leaving them with his wife at Pitsligo Castle, or with his son at Auchiries. Both these relatives seem to have been unmolested by the Government, with the result that the family papers are intact and have been transmitted to the descendants of his sister, Mary, in the sixth generation, now represented by the present Lord Clinton. Former historians of the Forty-five were unaware of the existence of these papers, which are now printed for the first time. They throw new light on various points connected with the disastrous end of Prince Charles' campaign, especially on the vexed question of why Cumberland's passage of the Spey was not opposed. They also show the unquenchable optimism in many of the Prince's followers, not least in the amiable figure of Lord Pitsligo. The letters, copies and memoranda are printed exactly as found, the Editors having confined themselves to adding a brief resume of events and biographical sketches of the personages introduced. It has been a labour of love.

ALISTAIR TAYLER.
HENRIETTA TAYLER.

DUFF COTTAGE,
ANGMERING-ON-SEA, SUSSEX, *1st February, 1930.*

INTRODUCTION.

“Jacobite Letters to Lord Pitsligo.”

THE letters are in a packet, docketed on the outside by Sir William Forbes, the Banker.

This Sir William was great-grandson of Sir William Forbes, 4th Baronet of Monymusk, whose son, John, married Mary, sister of Lord Pitsligo. John died in his father's lifetime, and *his* son became Sir William, 5th Baronet, and the son of the 5th became the 6th.

Monymusk had been sold in 1711 by Sir William, the 4th Baronet, to Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen.

Sir William Forbes, the Banker, noted the contents of the packet as follows:—

“Letters to Lord Pitsligo from Lord George Murray. The Duke of Perth. Lord John Drummond. Sir Thomas Sheridan. Secretary Murray, etc. etc. from 2nd. September 1745 to 11th April 1746,”

and added:—

“These letters strongly mark the confidence reposed in Lord Pitsligo by the unfortunate grandson of King James the Second, and his Lordship's zeal to serve the Prince during that disastrous expedition.

“An expression in one of Lord Pitsligo's letters In Sir Thomas Sheridan, dated 6th April 1746, only ten days before the battle of Culloden, is very remarkable, in which it says:—

“I hope we shall soon have more agreeable things to talk and write about, for I will never despair of the Prince's affairs.”

Another note is made to these letters by Sir John Stuart Forbes, 8th Baronet, grandfather of the present Lord Clinton, to the effect that these papers give—

“A most curious and interesting picture of the difficulties the Prince encountered and the Trust reposed in Lord Pitsligo.”

The letters themselves, which are, of course, only a very few of those received by the veteran Commander of Horse in the Prince's army, cover, roughly, the whole period of the campaign.

The first two relate to the early days and the march to Edinburgh, and two others to the time when Court was held in the Capital.

A most interesting memorial of the date of the retreat from Derby follows, and several letters written just after the battle of Falkirk.

From the time of the beginning of the retreat to the north, the letters are much more numerous, and from the middle of February, 1746, when Lord Pitsligo became Governor of Elgin, they are of almost daily dates. The series ends abruptly on 11th April, 1746, when the Jacobite army was compelled to abandon the line of the Spey and decide on retreat to Forres, Nairn and Culloden.

Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| BIOGRAPHIES. | 8 |
| LORD PITSLIGO, | 8 |
| JOHN MURRAY. | 11 |
| LORD GEORGE MURRAY | 13 |
| SIR THOMAS SHERIDAN. | 17 |
| COLONEL O’SULLIVAN. | 20 |
| THE DUKE OF PERTH. | 22 |
| LORD JOHN DRUMMOND. | 24 |
| THE MARQUIS D’EGUILLES. | 26 |
| LORD JOHN DRUMMOND ARRIVES UPON THE SCENE. | 37 |
| LETTERS OF 1746. | 39 |
| COURT MARTIAL. | 69 |
| THE FINAL STAGE. | 74 |
| GLENBUCKET. | 81 |
| JOHN HAY OF RESTALRIG. | 84 |

ILLUSTRATIONS.

| | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| Lord Pitsligo, from painting by Alexis Belle, now at Fettercairn | <i>Frontispiece</i> FACING PAGE |
| Rebecca Norton, 1st wife of Lord Pitsligo, from painting at Fettercairn | 4 |
| Elizabeth Allen, 2nd wife of Lord Pitsligo, from painting at Fettercairn | 27 |
| Pitsligo Castle, from an old print in University Library, Aberdeen | 52 |
| Pitsligo Castle, from a photograph..... | 64 |
| Map of the Mouth of the River Spey | 76 |
| House of Auchiries, from an old sketch..... | 92 |
| Miniature of Prince Charles Edward with the Jewel of St. Andrew | 126 |

BIOGRAPHIES.

SHORT biographies are first given of those correspondents in Sir W. Forbes' list (on the outside of the packet) and including the French Ambassador. Notes are added on the other writers as they occur, and also on the persons mentioned in the letters.

LORD PITSLIGO,

To whom the following letters were written, was a very prominent figure in the Rising.

ALEXANDER FORBES, 4th and last Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, but always known as Lord Pitsligo, was the only son and heir of Alexander, 3rd Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, and Sophia Erskine, daughter of the 4th Earl of Mar. He was born in 1678 and educated in France, where he became the friend of Fénélon. His father died in 1690, and he took his seat in the Scottish Parliament in 1700. He protested against the Act of Union between England and Scotland, and retired during the Session in which it was passed to his Castle of Pitsligo. This was an old keep of the 15th century, with walls nine feet thick, and originally consisting of three rooms only—the kitchen on the ground floor, which was twelve feet high, the living room above, twenty feet high, and the topmost floor, which was the sleeping room for the whole household, containing twenty-four beds. By the 18th century the castle had been made more habitable.

Lord Pitsligo was “out” with his first cousin, the Earl of Mar, in the Rising of 1715 and escaped to France, but his name not having appeared in the list of attainders he returned to Scotland in 1720 and lived quietly. He had been married in London in 1703 to Rebecca, daughter of John Norton of Saint Lawrence by Guildhall (St. Lawrence Jewry)—by her he had one son, John, the Master of Pitsligo. The date of her death is not known, but in September, 1731, he married another English lady, Elizabeth, sister of Thomas Allen of Finchley, by whom he had no children.

His loyalty to the exiled house of Stuart was constant, and though he had, it is said, no great hopes, from the outset, of the success of Prince Charles' venture, and was, moreover, sixty-seven years of age in 1745, he decided to come out in support and to induce as many as possible of his friends and neighbours to join him. In this he was eminently successful, there being no landowner in the county at that time who was so much loved and respected. He formed a band of volunteer cavalry, consisting of the gentlemen of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, with their servants, and rode into Aberdeen on 5th October, 1745. On leaving Aberdeen for Edinburgh, the troop being

mustered, he moved to the front, lifted his hat and said:—"Oh Lord, Thou knowest our cause is just. Gentlemen, march."

He was received in Edinburgh with the greatest affection and enthusiasm; even the politic Murray of Broughton described him as "deservedly the most popular man in the country," and in all the unfortunate quarrels and jealousies of the various Scottish leaders he is never even mentioned as taking a side.

In spite of his years, he took part in the whole campaign, riding most of the way. Only during the toilsome winter march in England was he induced to share Prince Charles' carriage with the Marquis D'Eguilles, the French envoy.

He was present both at Falkirk and Culloden, and after the latter battle escaped and was hidden for a few days in Mr. William King's house of Grey-friars in Elgin.¹ A week later he was in his own country, visited his wife at Pitsligo Castle and obtained a disguise. For three or four years after this he lived an extraordinary hunted wandering life, sometimes hidden in the houses of his tenants, sometimes in caves or under bridges. On one occasion, in the character of a beggar, he was given a shilling by the soldiers for whom he carried a lantern, while they searched his cave for himself! Later on, the search for him was relaxed, but ten years after Culloden, when he was almost eighty years of age, he was very nearly taken in his son's house at Auchiries. He was hastily concealed in a recess behind the bed of a lady visitor, who was obliged to cough loudly all the time the soldiers were searching her room, to cover the asthmatic breathing of the poor fugitive in his hiding place. Directly he was released from his uncomfortable confinement, Lord Pitsligo sent a servant to see that the unsuccessful searchers "get some breakfast and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning, they are only doing their duty and cannot bear me any ill will."

In the last years of his life, he wrote several religious works, and one of these, "Thoughts concerning man's Condition and duties in this Life and his hopes in the World to come," with a short biographical sketch by his kinsman, Lord Medwyn,² was published in Edinburgh in 1835.

Lord Pitsligo died 21st December, 1762, aged eighty-four, and was buried in the family vault of the old church of Pitsligo. He was the last of his name and title, as his son, the Master of Pitsligo, died without issue in 1781. The estates were bought in 1788 by Sir William Forbes, the banker, grandson of his sister, Mary, who married John Forbes, son of Sir William Forbes, 6th Bart, of Monymusk. The grandson of Sir William, Sir John Stuart Forbes, prepared, in 1862 or 1863, a claim for the revival of the title and Barony of Baron

¹ See page` 71.

² His great-great nephew.

Forbes of Pitsligo (the title lost by the attainder in 1746 of the Jacobite lord), but his death occurred in 1866 and so far the claim has not been revived.¹



Emory Walker Del. ph. sc.

*Rebecca Norton, 1st wife of Lord Pitsligo
from the picture at Tettercairn House.*

¹ An appeal was made, while Lord Pitsligo was in hiding, for the reversal of the attainder, on the ground that the man attainted was called "Lord Pitsligo," whereas the proper title was "Lord Forbes of Pitsligo." The appeal was allowed by the Edinburgh Court of Session on 16th November, 1749, but this decision was reversed by the House of Lords, 1st February, 1750, and the attainder held to stand.

The only daughter of Sir John Stuart Forbes married, in 1858, the 20th Lord Clinton, and her son, Charles John Robert Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis, the 21st Baron, now represents the direct line of Lord Pitsligo, the baronetcy of Forbes of Monymusk being held by a younger branch.¹

It has been often said that Sir Walter Scott drew some of the traits of his Baron Bradwardine from traditions of Lord Pitsligo, dead not fifty years before Waverley was written. The absurdities of the fictitious character are, however, a libel upon the Prince's friend.

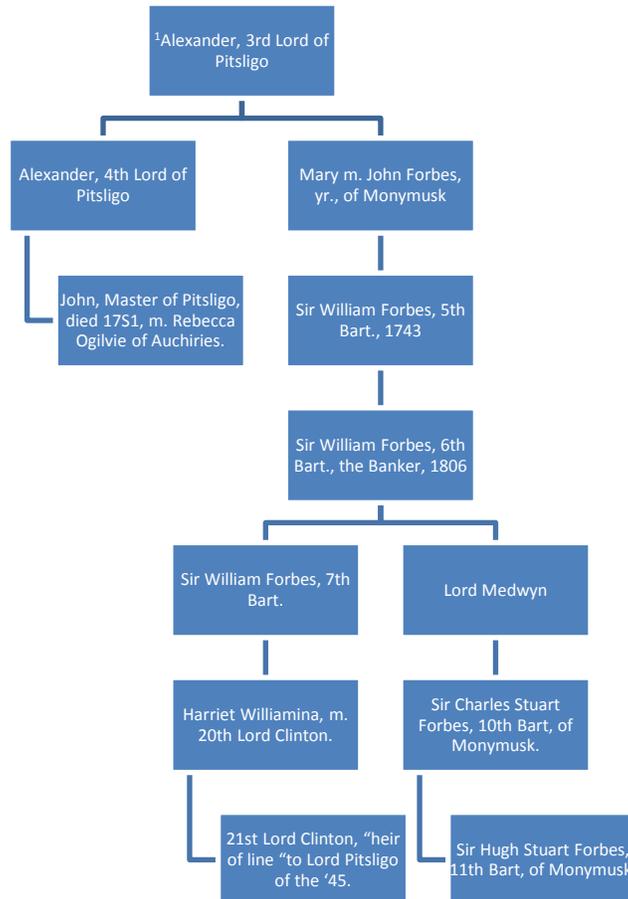
The only known portrait of Lord Pitsligo is now at Fettercairn, and is here reproduced, with those of both his wives.

JOHN MURRAY.

John Murray of Broughton is one of the best known figures in the drama of the Rising of 1745, and one of which Scotsmen have least reason to be proud.

Andrew Lang states categorically that "the '45 sprang from the energy and ambition of a small Lowland Laird, John Murray of

1



Broughton in Tweeddale,” with whom he brackets MacGregor of Balhaldy.¹

Murray was born in 1705, and, in 1737, after completing his studies in Holland, went to Rome, where he met many Jacobites and conceived a deep personal devotion for the boy Prince Charles, whose miniature he brought home with him. Three years later he was appointed a kind of official agent and correspondent for the Jacobite party—unpaid, as he is careful to state in his memoirs. He quarrelled both with Balhaldy and Lord Traquair, and at that period he was undoubtedly the most honest as well as the most energetic of the three. He was strongly in favour of the Prince’s expedition to Scotland, and made the utmost of all the promises of support, which he poured into the ready ear of Charles at the romantic meeting in the stables of the Louvre in July, 1744.

When the Prince actually landed in July, 1745, Murray had the proclamations all ready, and hastened to join his hero at Kinlochmoidart on 18th August. Perhaps naturally, as the Prince’s Secretary, and as a Lowlander who brought in no men, he was never popular with the Highland chieftains. Lord George Murray, who joined the Prince just a fortnight later, and the Secretary were from the first antagonistic, and the latter undoubtedly turned the Prince’s mind against his best General, and was very largely responsible for the constant friction at the Council table and elsewhere. The very phrase in which he offered to retire from the Council, but to continue to advise his master “in a private manner,” shows the kind of backstairs influence he possessed. This was at the time of the surrender of Carlisle and the temporary resigning by Lord George of his commission 15th November, 1745.

John Murray was, however, a capable organizer, and as long as the Commissariat arrangements were, at any rate partially, in his hands, the best that could be done in the state of the country was always accomplished; Lord George emphatically stated this in “The Marches of the Highland Army.” It was after Murray fell ill in March, 1746, at Elgin, and was compelled to leave his Master’s service and retire to Inverness, that his successor, John Hay of Restalrig, made such a lamentable failure of the business.

After Culloden, Murray was a hunted fugitive, like the rest, and having, as it now seems, very unwisely gone to his own country, was taken while in bed in his sister’s house. The story of his subsequent imprisonment in the Tower, and how he betrayed his associates to save his own skin is too well known to bear repetition.

He was kept in prison till after Lord Lovat’s execution and after he had made many urgent appeals for release.

¹ Dr. Blaikie, on the other hand, would give the prime place as an intriguer to John Gordon of Glenbucket.

In 1770 he succeeded to the family baronetcy, on the death of his nephew, the gallant young Sir David,¹ who was captured at Whitehaven, condemned to death, but pardoned and exiled.

Sir John Murray lived until 1777, but all honest Scotsmen of both sides shunned him, and the story of Sir Walter Scott's father breaking the cup that the traitor's lips had touched has often been repeated.

It seems probable that the simple physical cowardice, which sometimes attacks men of keen intellect, was responsible for his moral tragedy.

A contemporary MS. poem, preserved in the Public Record Office, S.P. Dom. 103, contains the following:—

Go wretch, enjoy the purchase you have gained,
Scorn and reproach your every step attend,
By all mankind neglected and forgot
Return to solitude, return and rot.

Thus may you drag your heavy chain along
Some minutes more inglorious life prolong
And when the fates shall cut a coward's breath
Weary of being, yet afraid of death. . . .

If crimes like these hereafter are forgiven
Judas and M— both may go to Heaven.

ANON.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY.

LORD GEORGE MURRAY was the sixth son and tenth child of the family of twenty of John, second Marquis and first Duke of Atholl (who died in 1724), and was born in 1694.

His eldest brother, John, Marquis of Tullibardine, was killed at Malplaquet, 1709, and was succeeded in the title, as eldest son of the Duke, by William, the Tullibardine of the '15 and the '45, who died a prisoner in the Tower 9th July, 1746.

James, the third son, who was a Whig like his father, became second Duke of Atholl, *de facto*, in the lifetime of his attainted elder brother, but *his* sons both died as infants,² and John, the eldest son of Lord George, eventually succeeded as third Duke, married his cousin (the daughter of Duke James), and their descendant now bears the title.

¹ Two brothers and another nephew had also previously held the title, John Murray being the 6th son of the 2nd, and himself the 7th Baronet! The first holder of the title, Sir William Murray, Bart, of Stanhope, was so created by Charles II for his distinguished loyalty.

² As did two intervening brothers, Lord Charles, at the age of 31 in 1720, and another, George, born and died in 1693.

Lord George Murray took part, at the age of twenty-one, in the unsuccessful Rising of 1715, and, after lurking in Skye and elsewhere, he escaped and landed in Brittany on 9th May, 1716.¹ A true bill of High Treason was found against him in 1718, so that he could not come home, but in 1719 he shared and again distinguished himself in the abortive Highland Rising of Glenshiel. After this he escaped to Rotterdam and lived abroad for five years longer.

The Duke of Atholl made great efforts to obtain a pardon for this younger son from King George, and in 1724 Lord George was allowed to come home in time to see his dying father, though his pardon was not actually passed until November, 1725. In 1728 he married Amelia Murray of Glencarse.

When the Prince landed in Scotland in 1745, Lord George was considered to be safely on the side of the Hanoverian Government. The eldest brother, the Jacobite Lord Tullibardine (or "Duke William"), was abroad and quite separated from his family. Lord George's eldest son, who had been educated at Eton, had been given a commission in Lord Loudoun's regiment, and Lord George himself had been appointed by his brother, the Whig "Duke James," Sheriff-depute of Perthshire. It was, therefore, a very great surprise to many when he decided to throw in his lot with Prince Charles, but contemporaries and historians have all alike realised that it was a matter of conviction and real loyalty to the House of Stuart. He was a man of over fifty, with nothing to gain and all to lose by adherence to what he seems all along to have felt was rather a desperate venture, but his adherence was of inestimable value to the Prince.²

He was the only soldier by profession among the Prince's Highland Generals, and even he can hardly be called a trained soldier, since his military service was confined to having been an Ensign in the Royals from 1712 to 1715, that is from the age of eighteen to twenty-one, and having been with Marlborough's forces in Flanders for one year preceding the peace of Utrecht!

During his period of exile on the continent, he seems to have endeavoured in vain to obtain military employment under some foreign government; there is no evidence as to the truth of the legend that he was at one time in the Sardinian army. He was, however, a man of experience and great good sense, with an innate military

¹ According to a list now in the Library at Avignon, Lord George Murray was one of the 150 gentlemen who arrived there to join the Chevalier de St. George three months later, 2nd August, 1716.

² The Lord Justice Clerk, writing to the Marquis of Tweeddale on the 6th of September, 1745, says:—"The report of Lord George Murray's having joined the Rebels gave the Duke of Atholl more concern and vexation than being deprived of his estate. I wish it may not be true, but I fear the *worst*."

genius, recognised by the French officers with the Jacobite army, who “regretted that a man possessed of so fine a natural Genius should not have been bred a solger.” This verdict is quoted by Secretary Murray, who was, unfortunately, no friend to Lord George and perpetually influenced the Prince against him, so that Lord George was unable to do all he would otherwise have accomplished for the Prince’s cause.

Chevalier Johnstone says, what many people have thought, that “had Prince Charles slept during the whole of the expedition and allowed Lord George to act for him, according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the Crown of Great Britain on his head when he awoke.”

Andrew Lang, on the other hand, says that, had Lord George been asleep, Prince Charles would have taken his Highland army on from Derby to London, with what result Lang does not venture to prognosticate!

The actual services rendered by Lord George to the Prince are well known, and also the unfortunate jealousies and misunderstandings which occurred between him and the other leaders, not only with the Irish but also with the Catholic Duke of Perth and with his Royal Master himself.¹ All respected the gallant Murray, but few of those who worked with him really seem to have liked him, and though the victories of Prestonpans, Clifton and Falkirk were all recognised to be due primarily to his plans, as was also the masterly march into England and back with so little loss, no opportunity was lost of blaming him for anything that went wrong, notably for the abortive night attack on Nairn, and the resolution to fight at Culloden, which latter, as a matter of fact, he strenuously opposed. After the defeat, he would certainly have got the army together again and made another stand, had not Charles and his Irishmen decided that all was lost and taken to flight in earnest and so rapidly! He wrote to the Prince from Ruthven resigning his commission and telling his master some unpalatable home truths. After several months of wandering in Scotland, he escaped to Holland and thence to Venice. He finally settled at Cleves not far from Aix-la-Chapelle, and his wife and children came to stay with him (besides his eldest son, the future Duke of Atholl, he had three sons and three daugh-

¹ It seems almost incredible that such an arrangement could ever have been contemplated, but the Orderly Book of Lord Ogilvy’s regiment proves that the Lt.-Generalship of the whole army was at one period vested, on *alternate* days, in Lord George Murray and in the Duke of Perth! Differences of opinion would seem inevitable!

ters¹—one born abroad). In 1749 he was settled at Utrecht and later at Emmerich. He died in 1760 at the little town of Medemblick in North Holland, where his grave may still be seen, with his arms on the wall above.²

¹ The eldest married, firstly, in 1750, the aged Lord Sinclair, the Master of Sinclair of the '15, and, secondly, James Farquharson of Invercauld.

² One of the present writers made a pious pilgrimage there some years ago, to the great surprise of the inhabitants of the little town. They were, however, able to point out the grave of what they called "het Engelscher." The church was, unfortunately, so dark that it was impossible to obtain a photograph of the stone.

SIR THOMAS SHERIDAN.

SIR THOMAS SHERIDAN was Prince Charles' tutor, appointed in 1725, so he was probably a man of over fifty at the time of the Rising. According to Andrew Lang, he was a "left-handed cousin of the Old Chevalier." His father, another Thomas Sheridan, fled with James II into exile, became his private Secretary, and, *it is said*, married a natural daughter of the King. Thomas, the younger (made a baronet¹ in 1726), had been "out" in the '15, and had since lived in Rome. He was immensely devoted to his young pupil, and certainly at times exercised a restraining influence over the latter's headstrong passions, but he was no soldier and the Highland chieftains did not like him, MacGregor of Balhaldy, indeed, describing him to James in December, 1744, as "pernicious and useless." The Jacobite Lord Sempil, on the other hand, says "he was the boldest adventurer I ever knew yet or heard of." He had accompanied the boy Charles on his brief campaign under his first cousin, the Duke of Liria (son of the famous Duke of Berwick), at Gaeta in 1734, and was one of the seven who made the historic landing with the Prince on 25th July, 1745, at Loch-nan-Uamh.² One of these was an Englishman, Strickland, originally appointed by the old Chevalier to tour with Charles in Italy in 1737 "and superintend his writing." He does not appear to have been of much use in Scotland, and eventually died in Carlisle just after the surrender of the city to Cumberland, thereby probably avoiding hanging!³

Four of the seven were Irish, Sheridan himself, O'Sullivan (of whom later), the Rev. George Kelly, an experienced plotter who was sent back to France as an envoy, and Sir John Macdonald, a drunken old cavalry man who quarrelled with the Highland chiefs at Tullibardine and again in Derby, and was certainly of less than no use in the campaign.⁴

¹ By the old Chevalier.

² The Prince specially asked for Sheridan to follow him from Rome to Paris in 1744.

³ Strickland, like Lord George Murray, was one of the adherents of James who had followed him to Avignon in 1716, as shown by the list still preserved in that city.

⁴ "Upon the march to Tulliebardine, where the army was to halt and refresh, and the Prince to dine, Sir John Macdonald, either it was that he had drunk too much (which was frequently his case) or that he had a natural brutality, was very rude to Lord George Murray, Keppoch being present. The pretence he took was his being ill-mounted and he said he was ill-used in not being better provided."—"Atholl Chronicles."

Only two were Scots—Lord Tullibardine, an attainted Jacobite of the '15, an exile since then—fifty-six years of age and in poor health, so that he looked much older—“above seventy years old” according to one observer; and Aeneas Macdonald, the Paris banker, who was coming to Scotland on his own affairs, and was (according to his subsequent evidence in London) most unwillingly of the party.

Surely the most curious collection of adventurers with which a young man ever set out to conquer his father's kingdom—for they were all of his father's generation.¹

Bisset, factor to the Whig Duke of Atholl, describes the party, whom he saw at Blair, as “old allagrugous-like fellows as ever I saw.” This word, which may be found in Scots vernacular dictionaries, means grim and ghastly.

Antony Walsh, captain of the ship, “Du Teillay,” is sometimes included among Charles' original followers, but he did not, of course, land with them. Aeneas Macdonald brought with him a clerk or servant, named Buchanan (who had been to Rome on Jacobite business), and a certain Duncan Cameron (a Lochiel man) was on board to “spy out the long island,” or in fact to tell them when they had arrived! There was also Michel, the Prince's Italian valet.

To return to Sir Thomas Sheridan. He was naturally of the Prince's council—went everywhere with him and was in his entire confidence. In order to please his darling Prince, Sheridan was secretly in favour of continuing the march to London, though he did not dare to lift up his voice in Council at Derby to that effect.

He was on the field of Culloden with the Prince, and is by many historians made responsible for the latter having ridden away so precipitately after the defeat, a cornet of the Guards having testified that he saw “Sheridan urging departure and O'Sullivan with his hand on the Prince's bridle.” The two Irishmen were certainly with the Prince when he claimed the unwilling hospitality of old Lord Lovat at Gortuleg that evening.

Lord George Murray, in writing long afterwards to Hamilton of Bangour of the abandonment of his own plan of a “hill campaign” following the rendezvous ordered at Ruthven in Badenoch on 17th April, says “His Royal Highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the Army. It is true, Sir Thomas Sheridan etc. could not have undergone it, so we were obliged to be undone for their ease.”

Sir Thomas was physically unfit to accompany Charles when the latter made for the Hebrides in what must, unfortunately, be de-

¹ Later in the campaign it was more of a young man's war, and boys of sixteen were found in command of companies of Highlanders.

scribed as something of a panic, and, having remained near Loch Arkaig, was able to embark for France from Borradale on 3rd May with the Duke of Perth, his brother, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, John Hay and others. He remained in Paris, being loath to meet or even to write to Charles' disconsolate father, who accused him of deserting "Carluccio," though he had the Prince's written orders to leave him. He was eventually summoned to Rome, and died very soon after, on 28th November, 1746, it is said of a broken heart, sinking under James' reproaches. James himself says of apoplexy, and takes the opportunity of dilating upon the evil influence both Sheridan and O'Sullivan had had upon the Prince of Wales.¹ He had perhaps forgotten that they had both been his own choice as tutors and Governors for the difficult if charming boy.

Sir Thomas's nephew, "young Sheridan," had been with him for part of the time in Scotland, having come over with the Marquis d'Eguilles as interpreter, and was present at Culloden and in the subsequent flight.

¹ He also constantly abused the unfortunate Strickland, and later he insisted on Prince Charles dismissing Kelly from his service.

COLONEL O'SULLIVAN.

COLONEL JOHN WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN was born in Ireland in 1700. He was educated in France and Rome for the priesthood, and is said to have gone as far as taking minor orders, but having become a tutor in the family of the Marquis de Maillebois, he elected to join the army under his former employer. He saw much service in Corsica, Italy and Germany, and acquired the reputation (according to a French general) of "understanding the irregular art of war better than any men in Europe, nor was his knowledge in the regular much inferior to that of any general living." Why he left the French service and joined the household of Prince Charles when the latter came to France in 1744, is not stated, but he was one of those anxious to share in the expedition to Scotland and his experience was of use to Prince Charles, who appointed him Adjutant-General. The usual opinion of O'Sullivan is inevitably coloured by the references to him in the writings of Lord George Murray,¹ certainly the Prince's best General, who was jealous of the Irishman and could not associate efficiency with the kind of childish horseplay indulged in by O'Sullivan and his Royal Master.² There is also no doubt that he was very unbusinesslike and dilatory in organising the transport, etc., on the retreat from England, and the account of his supping with the Prince at Kendal and "drinking Mountain Malaga while the army waited for orders" has often been quoted. He must also share with Hay of Restalrig the blame for the lack of provisions at Cul-loden.

In Lord George Murray's angry letter to the Prince, written on 17th April, 1746, from Ruthven in Badenoch (where neither the Prince nor any of the Irish appeared at the rendezvous), the writer says:—

"Mr. Hay and Mr. O'Suliman had rendered themselves so odious to all the army that they were resolved to have apply'd to your R.H. for redress if they had had time before the battle. As for my part I never had any particular discussion with either of them, but this much I will venture to say, had our field of Battle been right choise and if we had got plenty of provisions, in all human probability we would have done by the Enemy as they have unhappily done by us."

At Falkirk, O'Sullivan was definitely accused of cowardice, as he remained with the Prince and Sheridan sitting over a fire in a cottage until Lord George Murray sent them news of the rout of Hawley's army! Lord George says further, in the above quoted letter, "I never seed him in time of Action, neither at Gledsmoor, Falkirk nor this last."

¹ "The Marches of the Highland Army," and his letters.

² In pulling each other out of bed, etc.

He was certainly also responsible for omitting to apprise Lord George Murray of the change of hour for leaving Falkirk on 1st February, 1746, and thus for the general muddle that ensued and for the forced abandonment of much of the artillery and baggage, including the stores of clothing requisitioned at Glasgow.

He escaped with the Prince from the field of Culloden and was with him in his wanderings until June, when he left him and eventually sailed to France in a cutter, and returned to Rome, where he gave his own account of the Highland Campaign to the old Chevalier, Who knighted him. The date of his death is not known.

It is not, perhaps, too much to say that he was something of an evil genius to the Prince during the whole of the brief campaign.

THE DUKE OF PERTH.

JAMES DRUMMOND, 3rd Duke of Perth,¹ was born in 1713—therefore thirty-two years of age in 1745. He is described by Murray of Broughton as “six foot high, of a slender make, fair complexion, and weakly constitution.... As he was bred in France till the age of nineteen, he never attained to the perfect knowledge of the English language, and what prevented it in a great measure was his over fondness to speak broad Scots.”

The weakly constitution alluded to above is stated to have been caused by the rolling of a barrel over him in his youth, with the result that he was unable to digest ordinary food, but had to subsist on a milky diet. This must have made campaigning especially trying to him. He was of great personal valour and adored by his own men, with whom he worked in his shirt sleeves in the trenches before Carlisle. And in the crossing of the Esk on the retreat from England he rode backwards and forwards many times, carrying over the weaker foot soldiers. But as a military leader he had insufficient experience, and was never the equal of Lord George Murray, to whom circumstances made him something of a rival. His modest and unassuming nature tended to minimize the dangers of this, as when he voluntarily resigned the chief command at Carlisle.

He had been known as a prominent Jacobite before the Prince's landing, and two attempts had been made to capture him, one in March, 1744, and the other on 24th July, 1745, the day the Prince actually touched the island of Eriskay. This second attempt took place by treachery in Perth's own house of Drummond Castle, but he again escaped, took refuge in Braemar, and joined the Prince at Perth on 4th September with a large following, when he was immediately appointed Lieut.-General. In addition to his other accomplishments, he is said to have been no mean artist.

The account of the second attempt to capture him is thus given in “The Lyon in Mourning.” Captain Campbell of Inverawe was entrusted with the warrant, but doubting his own ability to execute it in Perth's own country, he secured the treacherous assistance of a neighbour, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, and the two “gentlemen” invited themselves to dinner at Drummond Castle, the Duke sending back word that he should be “proud to see them.” During dinner one of the Duke's servants called him from the room and told him soldiers were coming to the house, but Perth refused to suspect any treachery. After dinner, when Campbell produced the warrant, the Duke very quietly proposed to go into the next room, a small closet, and get himself ready. He was able to lock the door and es-

¹ Grandson of James 4th, Earl of Perth, who was created Duke by James II at Saint Germain's.

cape down a small staircase, which they not suspecting, he then got into the garden and crawled through bushes and briars, and thus eluded the sentries before the alarm was raised. He then lay in a ditch and heard the search party ride by him on its way to Crieff. Later he commandeered a pony from an old country man, and, riding without saddle or bridle, came to the house of Mr. Murray of Abercairney and thence to that of Mr. Drummond of Logie, but not daring to stay all night he pushed on to the north and so escaped. It is said that when Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre was made prisoner by the Jacobites at Prestonpans, the Duke of Perth came up to him, asking him how he did, and spoke these words to him very pleasantly:—"Sir Patie, I am to dine with you to-day"—which shows his character in a charming light.

Captain John Daniel¹ thus describes him:—"The brave and illustrious Duke of Perth, whose merits it would require the pen of an angel properly to celebrate, being a true epitome of all that is good." Daniel and Perth escaped together to France after Culloden on the French ship, the "Bellona," which would have taken the Prince had he not been afraid to linger on the coast and so been out of reach when she arrived at Borradale on 3rd May. This ship also brought the much needed gold—which was buried at Loch Arkaig— and became the source of so much trouble.

Perth died before reaching France and was buried at sea; he was succeeded in the title by his brother, Lord John Drummond.

¹ Whose narrative of his progress with the Prince's army was published by Walter Blaikie in the "Origins of the Forty-Five," Scottish History Society, 2nd series, Vol. II.

LORD JOHN DRUMMOND.

LORD JOHN DRUMMOND was younger brother of the Duke of Perth and only a year or two older than Prince Charles. He had, like his brother, been brought up abroad, held a French commission and commanded a regiment in the French service. He seems to have been hot-blooded and quarrelsome, and fell out with Sir Hector Maclean of Duart before the latter came to Scotland. A duel would have ensued had not Maclean been sent off hastily as an emissary to Scotland early in 1745. (He was, unfortunately, made prisoner in Edinburgh, where he had dallied too long after making his reports, in order to have special boots made for his peculiar feet!—*Vide* Murray of Broughton's Memoirs.)

In Prince Charles' own letter to his father, of November, 1744, he says that "Lord John is one of those who has been plaging [sic] me with complaints, but I quieted him in the best manner that I could." Andrew Lang adds that Drummond would appear to have been insane, but there is no evidence as to this.¹ He was, however, immensely puffed up with pride at his position as "Commander in chief of his Most Christian Majesties forces" when he landed in Montrose on 22nd November at the head of his own regiment of Royal Scots, accompanied by picquets of fifty men each from the six Irish regiments in the French service, these detachments being under Brigadier Stapleton.

Prince Charles was at this time marching from Penrith to Lancaster, and Lord John issued a proclamation, signed by himself, saying that he had come to Scotland to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover and all his adherents. He was at this time in command of at most eight hundred men. Both he and Lord Strathallan, whom he afterwards joined at Perth, neglected (*it is said, refused*) to march into England, or even to the border, and join the Prince's army there. (Had they done so, the luckless garrison of Carlisle might have been saved.)

Drummond's letter to the Prince, which reached the latter when he returned to Carlisle on the retreat from Derby on 19th December, quoted the French king's wish that the Prince "would proceed cautiously and if possible avoid a decisive action till he received the succours he (King Louis) intended to send him, which would be such as to put his success beyond all doubt." French "succour," as we know, never amounted to very much. The promised force from Dunkirk never sailed, and the further contingent under the Comte de

¹ A psychologist-graphologist might deduce some mental peculiarity in Lord John Drummond from the fact that in addition to the erratic spelling of the period he seems unable quite to finish his words; in particular, he always spells night "nigh" and right "righ!"

Fitzjames, which came in February, was, as will be seen, chiefly lost or captured. Two of the transports coming with Lord John Drummond were also taken (on one of them being young Alistair MacDonell of Glengarry.—Lang's "Pickle the Spy").

Lord John and Lord Strathallan eventually joined the Highland army at Glasgow in time for the review on (At January, and were with the army throughout the rest of the campaign. Lord John commanded the left wing at the battle of Falkirk. When the Highland army retreated to the north after the battle, Lord John Drummond and the French brigade marched with Lord George Murray by the coast route. For the first half of the month of March he was in charge of the defence of the Spey, his headquarters being at Gordon Castle. After crossing the Spey on 19th March, his headquarters were at the Manse of Speymouth.

It was asserted that the pillaging of Cullen House was due to the fury of Lord John Drummond at some expressions in a letter from Lord Findlater declining to pay or allow his tenants to pay Cess or levy money to the Jacobites;¹ the letter was addressed to "the man they call Lord John Drummond," and the Rev. James Lawtie said he saw an order signed by Drummond, but Lord John himself denied that he had given orders for allack or pillage of any sort.

After Culloden, Lord John escaped to France in the same ship with his brother the Duke of Perth, and on the death of the latter succeeded to the title as 4th Duke. He died unmarried in 1747, after having served with Marshal Saxe at Bergen-op-Zoom. The 5th Duke was his uncle, the Lord John Drummond who had, in 1740, signed the bond of the seven Highland chiefs, the "Associators," which is looked upon by some historians as one of the main causes of the Rising of the '45. The other six signatories were the Duke of Perth, Sir John Campbell of Auchinbreck, William MacGregor of Balhaldy, Lochiel, Lord Lovat and Lord Linton (afterwards Traquair). Of the seven, only two, viz., Perth and Lochiel, actually fought for the Prince. Campbell and Lord John thought themselves too old, Traquair remained in England, Balhaldy in France and Lovat at home, all three waiting the turn of events!

¹ Lord Findlater himself in asking for compensation for the great losses he had suffered through the destruction of his house and property, suggested that this might be furnished out of the sequestered estate of Lord John Drummond. See his own petition in the Public Record Office.

THE MARQUIS D'EGUILLES.

Early in October, 1745, the French Government learning from Charles' own letters that his landing was an accomplished fact, thought it well to send over an envoy to ascertain the exact position of affairs, and what likelihood there was of the rising being well supported in Scotland and eventually successful.

The man chosen for this purpose was Alexandre Jean Baptiste de Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles, who landed at Montrose on 14th October. The instructions with which he was furnished from his Government can still be read in the French Foreign Office Archives. It is obvious he was intended to act with great caution, so as not to commit his Government, and the fact that he was accredited to Charles was to be known to the Prince alone, but d'Eguilles from the first "went further" than his instructions. He seems to have been a man of great resource and force of character. By his own energy and exertion, he achieved, almost in the face of the enemy, the landing of the arms and money¹ which came from France with him, and himself joined Charles in Edinburgh. He was there at once recognised as an envoy from his most Christian Majesty and was shortly afterwards alluded to as "the French Ambassador."

He did his very best to induce the French Government to send sufficient quantities of men and money. Though not a soldier, he seems to have had a keen appreciation of the military situation throughout the campaign, and has left long memorials of it at various stages.² He took part in the march into England, and was with the Prince up to the very day of Culloden, after he had tried in vain to make the latter await the arrival of the promised French contingent and his own absent Highlanders. According to his own account, he earnestly besought the Prince (on his knees) not to give battle to Cumberland at that time and place, but to retire to Inverness, reassemble his forces and carry on the campaign in the Highlands. Finding his representations vain, he withdrew to Inverness, and, on Cumberland's arrival after the battle, capitulated to him there and succeeded in making terms for all the subjects of the French king and those who bore his commissions. He was himself kept on parole at Carlisle for some months, but eventually returned to France, became "President a Mortier du Parlement d'Aix-en-Provence" and died there on 8th October, 1785.

¹ Carrying sacks of both ashore on his back.

² With humorous descriptions of some of the Princes' supporters, men and women.

LORD PITSLIGO, 1745-1746.



Emery Walker Ltd. ph. sc.

*Elizabeth Allen, 2nd wife of Lord Pitsligo
from the picture at Fettercairn House.*

LETTERS OF 1745.

THE first letter of the series is from John Murray of Broughton, of date six weeks after the landing of Prince Charles at Loch-nan-Uamh.

Lord Pitsligo was then at home in Aberdeenshire.

(The letter referred to (from the Prince) was, no doubt, similar to those sent to many of the noblemen and gentlemen of the north, announcing his landing and saying that he relied upon their loyalty and support in his enterprise. It has not been preserved.)

To The Rt. Honble. The Lord Pitsligoe.

Blair of Atholl, Sept. ye 2nd, 1745.

My Lord,

It is now some time since the Prince did you the honour to write you with an account of his arrival, which letter, tho' there was not an occasion found to send it so soon as I inclined, is I hope never the less come to hand. His Royal Highness orders me to acquaint your Lordship that he has expected for some weeks past to hear of my Lord Marshal's Landing upon your Coasts and as yesterday a gentleman arrived from France with despatches from that Court assuring him of speedy and effectual assistance and informed him likewise of my Lord Marshal's arrival in the French camp where the body of men allotted for this country with arms, ammunition etc. were ready to embark. But as there is a quantity of arms from Hamburg expected dayly to land at Petterhead and a report already spread of a landing there, his royal Highness requires you will be upon your guard to receive them and after distributing to the gentlemen of that country what number will be necessary for them, lett the remainder be escorted to the Camp by them with all expedition. The Signals the ship will give are as follows—A white flag on the main-yard. Upon which a boat must go out. The Ship will call St. Andrea—the boat must answer St. Lewis. I beg your Lordship will be very careful to give no more arms than are absolutely necessary as they are much wanted in these parts and I am with great regard

My Lord—Your Lordship's most obedient and most
humble servant,

J. MURRAY.

Added in another hand (Lord Pitsligo's own)—"The Letter mentioned in the above, came not to hand for some considerable time after."

The reports as to the activities of the Earl Marischal were without foundation.

George, 10th and last Earl Marischal, had been "out" in the '15 and in 1719, and was attainted. Owing to his disapproval of the tortuous methods of the Jacobite intriguers of the years

1740-1744—Lovat, Balhaldy, Sempil, Murray—he took no personal part in the rising of 1745. He had resigned the position conferred upon him by the Old Chevalier of Commander-in-Chief in Scotland (in 1740) and begged that James would allow him “to live quietly with a great Plutarch, the way I wish.” He died, unmarried, in 1778 at Potsdam, having been long a personal friend and valued servant of Frederick the Great.

John Murray to Lord Pitsligo (3 weeks later than the last, and after the Highlanders' victory at Preston-pans on 19th September).

Ed., Sept. ye 29th, 1745.

My Lord,

It is now some time since I had the honour to write your Lordship in regard to a ship was expected to land On your coast with arms, but as I understand from Mr. Cumming¹ that she has not appeared, I now beg leave to give your Lordship the trouble of this letter to inform you that His Royal Highness has sent orders to all his friends to join furthwith, being determined to march Into England as soon as possible and to beg you may use all the Diligence possible, especially as our horse are not numerous. We were informed some days ago that my Lord Marshal had sailed from Dunkirk with some ships of Warr from which we expect him to Land every day. I dare say it is needless for me to beg yr Lordship will make no delay, so shall only assure you that I am with great regard My Lord,

Yr. Lordship's most obedt. and most Humbl. Servt.

J. MURRAY.

The next paper shows some of the curious “alarms and excursions” of the period, also Lord George Murray's anxiety for his Master, and the “dryness” that existed between him and his brother, Duke William.

The paper is headed

“COPY

On the back of a Letter to etc. . . .

London mark 28 Sept.

Within, no title on top The words these

Kimber, who wears his own black hair, aged 27, of a middling stature and who dined with the Marquis of Tullibardine the 20th,

¹ William Cumine of Pitullie, a neighbour of Lord Pitsligo, and a volunteer in the latter's famous troop of horse. He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but was subsequently allowed to return home. He was compelled (by poverty) in 1788 to sell his estate to Sir William Forbes, great nephew of Lord Pitsligo, and purchaser of *his* forfeited estates.

from whom he got a pass, is in Scotland with a design of assassinating the—

If this does not come too late, for God's sake stop the blow.

No subscription nor any other word whatsoever.”

There is no other reference to this matter in any of the Fettercairn papers, nor is anything more known about Kimber, but in the Jacobite correspondence of the Atholl family occur the two following letters:—

Lord George Murray to his brother, Duke William.

Ed. 4th Oct., 1745. Friday,
seven in the morning.

Dear Brother,

I am desired to let you know that there is one Kimber, an Anabaptist, who came from London with a design to assassinate the Prince—he is about 27 years old, black hair, of a middling stature, talks fluently and bluntly about his Travels in the West Indies. It is wrote that he dined the 20th Sept. with you, and gott a pass from you; he has readily changed his name and perhaps cutt his hair. Last night one was taken up here, by the name of Jeffreys, who possiblie is the same person.

Duke William replied.

Blair Castle, 7th Oct.

“Brother George,

You write to me a terrible account of one Kimber, who came from London with a most horrid design against the Prince's person. I nor anybody with me knows not what he is, nor has any unknown person dined with me, much less got a pass upon any account whatever.”

The proclamation, whereby King George II offered a reward of £30,000 for apprehending Prince Charles alive or dead, was issued on 1st August and was first heard of by the Prince's followers when he was at Kinlocheil on 22nd August. No attempt at assassination was ever made.

The Secretary Murray to Lord Pitsligo, at Perth.

(Lord Pitsligo had just set out for the south to join the Prince.)

Holyrood house. Oct. 6, 1745.

My Lord,

I just now received the honour of your Lordship's letters dated at Aberdeen and Perth, which I immediately read in Council which is

now sitting and had his Royal Highness' orders to acquaint your Lordship how agreeable it was to him to see the Dilligence you have used to serve him. There are now no troops att Stirling who dare make a sortie so their [sic] can be no danger in passing by St. Ninian's especially as you have 100 foot to sustain you, but for the more security you have only to order the foot to mount behind the horse when within a mile of the town and pass with the greatest expedition. There is no other way of crossing the Forth but att the foord of the Frews. Your Lordship may enquire at St. Ninian's for bread where some was ordered last week to be baked for the use of the troops in passing, as likewise at Falkirk. Mr. Livingstone, Post master, will find it upon a call and I am with great esteem,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obt. & most humble Servt.

J. MURRAY.

Lord Pitsligo arrived in Edinburgh with his body of horse on 9th October. The orders which led to the following protest have, unfortunately, not been preserved.

Draft of letter (from Lord Pitsligo) to Secretary Murray.

Edinr. Oct. 15, 1745.

Sir,

It is with the utmost reluctance I propose an alteration in any orders the Prince thinks fit to give, but I find those given last night will be a great Discouragement to the Gentlemen of the Corps which his R.H. would needs honour me with the command of. I even suspect that they will be impracticable, because of the danger of being so near the men of war, who swore (as I'm informed) they would beat up the quarters of any that should venture to ly at Kirklistown and I remember that when the greatest part of the Corps was there last Tuesday with a good party of foot, an Alarm came which occasioned a stronger Guard to be set, and the Horse were advertised likewise of the danger. For my part I never slept sounder, since in one night there could hardly be time for acquainting any Man of War.

But the danger would be greater in case of a longer stay and with a smaller party and especially at the Queen's Ferry.

I shall never be against a cantoning if it can be done with safety, I always wished the Corps should be modelled into Troops and taught a little of the Exercise, without which they'll disperse into other Regiments and some of them perhaps go back. I leave it to the

bearer, Mr. Garioch¹ to represent other inconveniences and the fewer that know of any alteration in the orders the better.

I am etc.

(not signed.)

“The reply to the last.”

Past two o'clock.

My Lord,

I had the honour to represent to the Prince the situation of your horse, when he agreed with regret to pass from the orders. Enclosed you have scrole of the Commission and I am

My Lord,

Your lordship's most obedt. & most humble servant,

J. MURRAY.

Lord Pitsligo's Commission as Colonel of his own Troop of Horse.

Charles P.R.

Charles Prince of Wales and Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland and other Dominions thereto belonging, to our Right Trusty and well beloved Lord Pitsligo, Greeting. We reposing especiall trust and confidence in your courage, Loyalty and good conduct do hereby constitute and appoint you to be a Collonell of his majesty's forces and to take your rank in the army as such from the date hereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty and trust of a Collonell aforesaid by doing and performing everything which belongs thereto and we hereby require all and every the officers of our soldiers and forces to observe and follow all such orders, directions and commands as you shall from time to time receive from us, our Commander in Chief for the time being or any other your Superior officer according to the Rules and Discipline of war. In pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you.

Given at our palace of Holyrood House the 18th Oct. 1745.

C. P. R.

(This is written by hand on an ordinary sheet of paper, and is similar to the six blank commissions found at Cluny and sold at Sotheby's in 1928.)

There are no further letters until the expedition into England as far as Derby was over and the retreat resolved on.

The next paper is an interesting military appreciation of the situation at the moment when the retreat of the Highland Army had

¹ Alexander Garioch of Mergie, who had been out in the '15, was in 1745 Jacobite Governor of Stonehaven; he had a son of the same name.

been decreed and, indeed, begun; it was written at Preston and is addressed:—

*“A Milord Pitsligo
au black bull à Preston.*

(The writer is not known, though it might possibly be the Marquis d’Eguilles, or more probably the Duke of Perth.)

On pense qu’il est nécessaire que l’armée de S.A.R. s’arrête à Preston jusqu’à quelque nouvel évènement— On se fonde

1. Sur les avantages qu’elle en retirera et sur les inconveniens quelle préviendra.

2. Sur le peu de solidité des objections qu’on peut faire contre le séjour proposé.

1. Nous trouverons facilement de quoy nourrir icy les hommes et les chevaux, ce qui seroit difficile à Carlisle et presque impossible en Ecosse, surtout en ne disposant plus d’Edimbourg et des pais bas.

2. Nous aurons en sejourant icy la facilité de faire des levées d’argent et de recevoir les impôts d’une partie de l’Angleterre au lieu qu’en remontant plus haut nous nous reduisons au seul mauvais duché de Cumberland.

3. Notre séjour dans le duché de Lancaster nous donnera le temps d’y conoître et d’y ramasser nos amis, d’y faire des recrues considérables et de faciliter la jonction des gallois bien intentiones et autres; tous avantages aux quels il faut renoncer en s’avançant vers le nord.

4. Nous sommes icy a portée de marcher vers Londres ou vers la mer, à la Ire nouvelle d’un débarquement, manœuvre qui peut devenir nécessaire et qui sera impracticable du fond de l’Ecosse.

5. En approchant de ladite Ecosse, les deux tiers des soldats deserteront et dussent ils tous revenir au printemps prochain, en attendant ils laisseront l’armée dans un état de foiblesse qui rendra notre partie méprisable chez les étrangers, en Angleterre et en Ecosse même.

6. La France, l’Espagne et nos amis domestiques agiront avec encor moins de vigueur si pour tout fruit de nos courses ils nous voyent de retour en Ecosse sans avoir la ville d’Edimbourg c’est à dire dans un état de moindre apparence que celui ou nous étions il y a trois mois.

7. Notre retraite brusque, entière et incomprehensible sans avoir été battus ny même attaqués, paroitra ou un défaut de courage ou une preuve de mésintelligence ou, qui pis est, un commencement d’inconstance, peut-être meme une trahison cachée de la part de quelquesuns, soupçons qui diminueront infailliblement le sèle (zèle) des mieux intentiones, qui nous ôteront de nos vieux amis, qui nous

empêcheront d'en acquerir de nouveaux et qui dissiperont la terreur des peuples en quoy consistoit peut-être notre plus grande force.

8. Il faut se souvenir que Carlisle est la seule porte par où nous puissions revenir en Angleterre n'ayant pas Berwic; que nous ne le reprendrions pas une seconde fois aussi facilement que nous avons fait la première et que cette place est perdue si nous mettons une fois le Forth entre elle et nous.

9. Si en arrivant en Ecosse l'armée ne se dissipe pas, ne disposant plus de la ville d'Edinbourg n'y du plat pais, on ne trouvera guères [sic] de quoy la payer qu'en mettant des impôts extraordinaires, chose odieuse et peut-être impracticable.

10. Il n'y a point de raison bonne n'y meme plausible de reculer plus loin que Preston et voicy réponses aux objections qu'on peut faire contre le séjour propose.

Ire Objection.

Les Montagnards ne veulent point rester si longtemps hors de leur pais, ils sont venus en Angleterre pour s'y battre et non pour y passer leur quartier d'hyver.

Réponse.

C'est à dire, en bon Anglois, que les montagnards en arrivant en Ecosse retourneront chacun ches soy, raison excellente pour que le prince les retienne éloignés.

2me Objection.

Si le prince retourne tout de suit en Ecosse nous aurons le temps d'y faire des recrues considerables et nous nous mettrons en campagne au printemps prochain avec quinze mille homines.

Réponse.

Ce n'est pas l'armée qui fera des recrues, ce seront les chefs et les officiers quand l'ennemi sera une fois en quartier d'hyver, ce qui ne peut guère être differé. Les dits chefs et officiers pourront se partager en sorte que les uns restent icy et que les autres avec une bonne escorte aillent en Ecosse pour les levées, moyennant le poste de Carlisle et un autre qu'on peut aisément établir sur le Forth en y mettant les deux régiments arrivés de France. La communication est établie pour tout l'hyver entre l'armée et Montros et le nord.

3me Objection.

Mais si ces deux régiments françois ont joint les recrues qui doivent êtres parties de Perth, il ne reste plus de troupes pour assurer la communication avec le nord d'Ecosse.

Réponse.

En supposant que toutes les sudites troupes nous joignent, il y aurait une foiblesse inexcusable de retourner en arrière par la seule raison de faire des recrues que l'on trouverait bien moyen de faire et de rassembler. Soyons forts et ne paraissons point intimidés, c'est la façon la plus sure d'amasser du monde.

4me Objection.

Il ne faut pas abandonner l'Ecosse pour garder une partie de l'Angleterre: c'est en Ecosse qu'il faut établir notre principale force et c'est de là que nous devons espérer toutes nos ressources.

Réponse.

La meilleure façon de servir l'Ecosse c'est de n'y pas attirer l'ennemi en nous y retirant mal à propos, et de n'aller pas en consumer l'argent et les denrées tandis qu'il nous est facile de vivre chez l'étranger. Voilà les moyens de nous y ménager les ressources.

5^{me} Objection.

Vouede (Wade) peut venir nous attaquer icy; que ferions nous en ce cas là?

Réponse.

Si Vouede venoit, il faudroit en remercier Dieu, l'attendre et le battre; une armée qui apres une campagne comme celle de Flandre, a passé la mer, est venue du sud de l'Angleterre a Newcastle et Doncastre, et de Doncastre à Preston, composée de malades, de miliciens et d'hollandais, au fort de l'hyver, obligée de camper ou de nous enlever en un jour par un coup de main, est elle bien redoutable pour d'aussi braves gens que les montagnards, vigoureux et sains, situés dans un poste presque escarpé et ayant devant eux une riviere?

6^{me} Objection.

L'avantage du poste n'en est point un pour les montagnards, que ne savent se battre qu'en pleine campagne.

Réponse.

C'est icy un préjugé. De braves gens le sont partout. Mais au pis aller il n'y a qu'à s'en tenir aux seuls avantages de la valeur et de la force qui valent bien celui du nombre, se faire d'avance un lieu propre pour un combat général et y venir attendre Vouede quand il sera à portée.

7^{me} Objection.

Ces raisonnements ne sont admetables qu'au cas où Vouede serait tout seul; mais si l'armée du duc de Cumberland se joignoit à la sienne et tachoit de nous tourner, soit pour se mettre entre nos recrues et nous, soit pour nous fermer l'approche de Carlile, nous nous trouverions presque hors d'espoir de salut.

Réponse.

Si l'armée du duc de Cumberland si joignoit à celle de Vouede et nous poursuivoit, il faudroit commencer par emmagisiner icy et à Carlile tous les vivres qui sont aux environs pour les mettre dans l'impuissance de faire vivre leur nombreuse armée. S'ils nous approchent—vous choisirez de les attendre ou de vous retirer sous Carlile et vous prendriez ce dernier parti si vous appreniez qu'ils voulussent vous tourner.

8^{me} Objection.

Quand nous serions retirés sous Carlile de quoy vivrions nous?

Réponse.

De ce que je conseille de faire ramasser et enfermer incessamment des environs. Il suffiroit qu'on eut de quoy s'y nourrir 7 a 8 jours, car dans la saison où nous sommes et l'état où se trouvent nécessairement les ennemis, il est impossible qu'ils campent autour de la ville un plus longtemps, surtout n'ayant point avec eux de gros canon.¹ S'ils prenoient des quartiers dans les villages des environs, il n'y auroit point de nuit que vous ne pussiez leur en enlever quelqu'un; en un mot vous serez toujours à temps de gagner Carlisle sur les nouvelles que vous aures et jamais on ne songera de vous y attaquer cet hyver a moins qu'on ne veuille se détruire entièrement.

Il faut donc rester icy jusqu'à quelque nouvel évènement. Tout ce qu'on a à y faire c'est de fortifier la tête du pont et les gorges qui forment le chemin, choses bien aisées et qui font de Preston une véritable place forte.

Il faut aussi se hâter d'envoyer à Carlisle un détachement avec ordre de faire amasser incessamment dans cette place toutes les denrées qu'on pourra trouver aux environs; le meme gros détachement pourra avancer jusques dans l'Ecosse pour reconnaître ce que sont devenues les troupes parties de Perth, les hâter et faire passer par une partie de leur détachement des lettres à Perth, à Montros et aux autres endroits de l'Ecosse où l'on auroit affaire, avec ordre d'établir de plutot qu'il le pourroit un poste de communication sur le Forth à l'endroit le plus commode pour passer de Carlisle à Perth."

This paper is exceedingly valuable as showing the views of a man in a certain position in the army of the Prince, who did not approve of the retreat from Derby. It has apparently never been seen by any historian of these times, and the reasons here given for differing from the decision of Lord George Murray that the Highland Army must return to Scotland have never before been found so clearly stated.

The writer was certainly one who was familiar with the French language (though some words and turns of phrase seem both peculiar and awkward), who was acquainted, at least by tradition and report, with the habits of Highlanders in warfare and was correct in his geography. He was also probably a personal friend of Lord Pitsligo. All this points to the Duke of Perth rather than to the French Ambassador. It is known that Perth had been brought up in France, and that though he spoke broad Scots, was never really at home in the English language. He came to Great Britain for the first time a year or two before the Rising of 1745. The spelling of Marshal Wade's name is curious, whoever was the writer.

¹ This was speedily supplied by the expedient of bringing heavy cannon up from Whitehaven, with a result fatal to Carlisle.

The most delightful touch among the objections is that as to the Highlanders having come to England to fight and not to go into winter quarters. That must have been suggested to the writer by a friend from the remote Highlands, and either his own experience or the views of other Highland residents must have prompted the phrase about its being better to eat up the food in England and spare that of the northern country!

There is no note of any answer sent, and it would seem that Lord Pitsligo made no use of the paper. It only reached him when the retreat was in actual progress, after the fatal council at Derby, and was probably never shown to the Prince, whom it would only have made more miserable, nor to Lord George Murray, the Commander of the Army, whose decision it would not have shaken.

The Marquis d'Eguilles has left it on record that he saw no particular objection to going on to London since they were as far as Derby, but then, as has already been stated, he was not a military man, and could not be expected to realise the danger of an enveloping movement by three English armies¹ on the devoted little Highland host.

LORD JOHN DRUMMOND ARRIVES UPON THE SCENE.

While the Prince's army was in England, the only considerable contingent of men and arms which reached him from France arrived at Montrose under the command of Lord John Drummond. The declaration issued by the young leader in his own name has already been printed many times—it was in fact printed at the time²—but the following is from the autograph copy personally received by Lord Pitsligo and docketed on the back by himself:—

Declaration of Lord John Drummond, Commander in chief of his most Christian Majesties forces in Scotland.

The Lord John Drummond, Commander in chief of his most Christian Majesties forces in Scotland do hereby declare that we are come to this kingdom wt written orders to make War against the King of England, Elector of Hanover and all his adherents and that the positive orders we have from his most Christian Majestie are to Attack all his Enemies in this Kingdom, whom he has declared to be those who will not immediately join and assist, as far as will lie in their power, the Regent of Scotland his Alley and whom he has resolved with the concurrence of the King of Spain to support in

¹ i.e., Wade's, Cumberland's and that in process of assembling at Finchley.

² By Fairbairn at Perth.

taking possession of England, Scotland and Ireland, if necessary at the Expence of all the men and money he is master of; to which three kingdoms the family of Steuarts [sic] have so just and indisputable a Title, and his most Christian Majesties positive orders are that his enemies should be used in this Kingdom in proportion to the Harm they do or intend to do his Royal Highness' Cause. Given at Montrose the 2nd day of December, 1745.

LETTERS OF 1746.

After the victory of Falkirk, 17th January, there was a brief period of rest for the Highland Army, the Prince being at Bannockburn. To that time belong the three following letters:—

I. From a Professor at Glasgow, asking Lord Pitsligo's help in obtaining the liberation of four Ministers. Curiously enough, this same professor was afterwards instrumental in obtaining the pardon of Robert Forbes of Newe (a young Jacobite who had lodged with him when the Highland Army was in Glasgow), who was shortly after this taken prisoner and confined in Carlise for nearly two years.¹

Dr. Leechman to Lord Pitsligo.

Glasgow, Jan. 23, 1746.

My Lord,

The short stay which your Lordship made in this place deprived me of an opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with you which I would have been very fond to have done had you continued here for a longer time. Upon the small acquaintance with you with which I am honoured, I presume to intercede with you in behalf of the distressed. There are four persons who were taken and made prisoners at Falkirk whom I am interested in and who I am assured will claim your Lordship's pity and aid, when you know their circumstances. Their names are Mr. Wodderspoon a minister, Mr. Mcvey a Preacher, Mr. Archibald Smith and Mr. Andrew Mitchel, Students of Divinity. I can assure your Lordship that they were all only Spectators of the late action at Falkirk, and if they had been in arms I would not have presumed to trouble your Lordship with this. Mr. Wodderspoon is minister of a large Parish where there are many poor who must suffer greatly by his absence. Mr. McVey is tutor to some sons of Sir John Douglass² who are here for their education and who stand in need of his Instruction and Inspection. Mr. Archibald Smith is a worthy young man of a very tender constitution and who has been far gone in consumption not long ago and whose life must be in the utmost hazard if he be not soon relieved. Mr. Andrew

¹ In this case, the letters of Leechman, preserved in the Public Record Office, have been printed in "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire." Alistair and Henrietta Tayler. Milne & Hutchison, 1928.

² Possibly the Sir John Douglas who approached Secretary Murray with secret offers of help, as revealed in Murray's evidence after Culloden.

Mitchell is a student of Divinity with me here and who is likewise very tender and uncapable of bearing hardships of any kind. From what I know of your Lordship's character I am persuaded that you are fully sensible of the many unavoidable calamities of a Civil war and that you will be ready to remedy to the utmost of your power and prevent all such miseries as may be avoided. I hope that the distress which the detaining these four deserving young men may occasion to themselves, to their relations and those with whom they are connected will prevail with you to use your Interest for their speedy release. I hope your Lordship will excuse me for giving you this trouble and will look upon it as proceeding entirely from a tender concern for these young Gentlemen, and if your Lordship will be pleased to use your interest on their behalf you will lay a very strong obligation upon my Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient & Humble Servt.

WILL LEECHMAN.

P.S.—Mr. Andrews and Mrs. Leechman join with me in this request and in offering our most respectful Compliments to your Lordship. We desire likewise to be remembered to our agreeable Guest and friend Mr. Forbes and we shall be glad to hear of his welfare.

II. A second letter, written three days later, in case the former should have miscarried, says much the same thing save noting that Mr. Archibald. Smith had not been taken and had returned home. Leechman continues:—

“As I am persuaded, my Lord, you are always disposed and ready to do kind offices, I make no doubt but that as soon as the Hurry of your affairs will permit, you will use your interest to procure freedom to these young Gentlemen to return to their friends and to the business of their several stations. Upon examination you will find that they were only spectators at the late action. I acknowledge they were but too idle in being there at any rate; and that it would have been acting a wiser and a better part to have been employed about their own business.”

There is no record of Pitsligo's reply to this, nor of what happened to the young ministers, presumably they were all released. Nothing is known of Mr. McVey nor of Mr. Andrew Mitchell in after life; the Rev. John Wodderspoon, who was afterwards well known in America, was always held to have “taken some part in the rising of 1745.” It seems likely that the above was the extent of his participation. He emigrated to America, where he became a prominent member of the Anti-British party in New England and was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. He died in 1794, aged seventy-one, so was only twenty-three when Professor Leechman so ably petitioned for his liberation.

III. The following letter, of similar date, shows the terror inspired by the Highland Army, and the peaceable character borne by Lord Pitsligo:—

The Rev. James Robb, Minister of Kilsyth, to Lord Pitsligo (a week after the battle of Falkirk).

Kilsyth, Jan. 23, 1746.

My Lord,

The good character I had heard of a long time of your Lo: made me lament my being from home while my house had the Honour of such a Lodger for a night. I persuade myself it would have been agreeable and instructive to me to have been at home, but in truth such are the Alarms we have had and yet have of your peoples treating men of my Coat severely when in their hands that I chose rather to be out of the way. If I could be secure at home I would rather chuse to give a view¹ to the place which everybody have deserted, and apply myself wholly to my books and the carrying on of my monthly history.

Your Lo:'s showing discretion like yourself while here, emboldens me to beg a favour of you for one of my parishioners Alexander fforester, Innkeeper in Kilsyth, now prisoner with your Army—it seems a son of his and two or three other people going to ffalkirk last week seized upon one of your Hussars and carried him prisoner to ffalkirk (as I had publickly from the pulpit dissuaded the people under my care from meddling with the Highlanders, so I was sorry for them sezing upon the man, when it was wrott to me at a distance from my home). The father now says he had no hand in it. The Horse it seems that was given to another than his son, was brought to his stable and found there. The father cannot answer for his son who is not in the country, as I am informed. The fellow was useful in keeping the best public house upon the road and is known to several of your people who have a kindness for him. The treating him kindly will heighten the peace of the country. I need not hint other things to one of your Lo:'s good sense. I believe this frank open way of applying to your Lo: which is my ordinary, will not be disagreeable and may have influence with you to use your Influence to get the man liberate.

I am in good truth,
My Lord, Your L's most humble servant,
JA. ROBB.

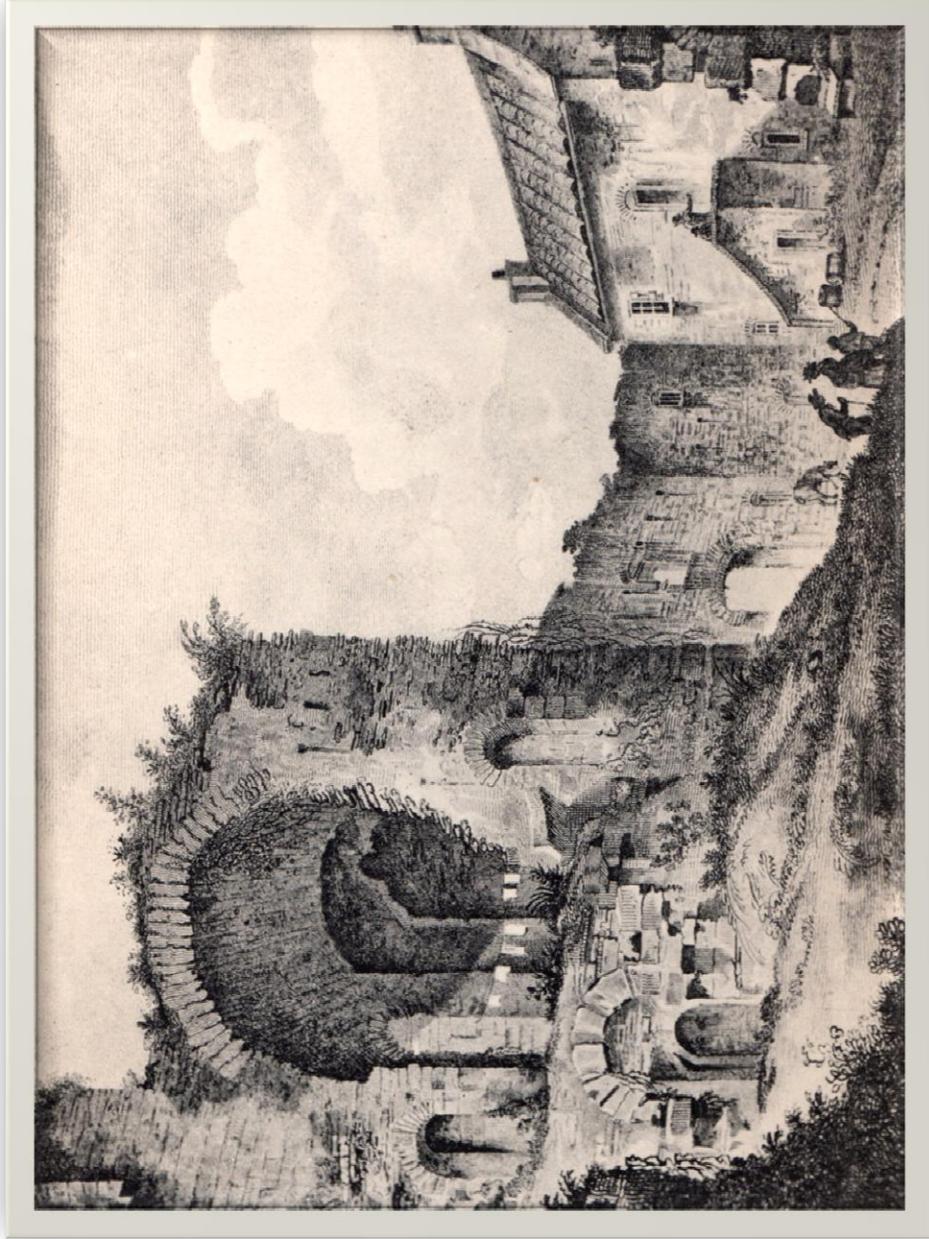
Three days later Mr. Robb writes again, with expressions of deep gratitude to thank Lord Pitsligo for promising to use his interest for Forester.

¹ i.e., look after.

A week after the date of this letter, the Highland Army was in what can only be described as Retreat (although orderly) to the northern country.

It is curious that the biographer of Lord George Murray¹ states that comparatively little is known of his movements after the departure from Falkirk on 1st February till he rejoined the Prince at Culloden on the 19th—the next six letters to Lord Pitsligo partially fill in this gap. Lord George must have had a particularly trying time on his way north.

¹ “Lord George Murray AND the Forty-Five.” Winifred Duke. Milne and Hutchison, 1927.



PITSLIGO CASTLE
FROM AN OLD PRINT KINDLY LENT BY THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ABERDEEN

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo at Brechin.

(The special work to be done by Lord Pitsligo at this date is not known, but his personal influence in this part of Scotland was of inestimable value to the Prince's army. "The affair of the Cannon" also remains unexplained.)

Forfar, 5 Feb., 1746.

My Lord,

I have the Honour of your Lops of this date, and am much obliged to you for being so particular. I am only afraid your Lop. has been put to too much trouble in this affair I took the Liberty to intreat your Lop to undertake, but as I know your goodness and great attachment to the Cause I shall make no appologies.

I hear nothing certain of the motion of the Enemy but that yesterday at Midday none were past Stirling except 500 Campbells to Dumblean and a few Dragouns that came to Doun by the Frews Foord. There was a report that some Dragouns came this morning to Perth about 5 a'clock, but as I have no Intelegence sent me, I can't be sure if it be so or not. In the mean time as I have but very few men in our devision till I be join by Ld. Cromerty, Coll: John Steuart and Ld. Ogilvie, I think it but proudent to make all the dispatch possible, besides, I have repeated orders from his R:H: to lose no time in joining him near Inverness.

The affair of the Cannon (if the Spanish Capitain would undertake it) is of the utmost Consequence.

I am with great regard, My Lord,
Your Lop's Most Obedient Humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Since writing I have your Lop's dated at three this afternoon, which I only receive at ten. I shall have a party at Breechen by nine tomorrow morning, so your Lop can with your gentlemen make all dispatch forward.

I expect to be at Aberdeen the 9th and stop but a day: the carages is the only thing I am in pain about and I know you will do all that way can be wished. Express is pd.

The army was retreating northward in three divisions, to facilitate the finding of provisions en route.

The Prince, with the Highland clans, went by Blair Atholl and Aviemore to Moy and Inverness.

The second division, in which were the Farquharsons and other Lowlanders of Aberdeenshire and Kincardine, went by a middle route via Ballater, Kildrummy and Huntly, while the main body, under Lord George himself, which comprised the Atholl Brigade, all the cavalry and the Lowland regiments, took the longer route by the coast to Aberdeen, and northwards to Fochabers and Elgin. After

passing Aberdeen this body again divided into two, one party going by Inverurie and Keith, while the other, in which was Lord Pitsligo, kept near the coast all the way, and men and officers as far as possible visited their homes.

(It is often stated that Ogilvy's regiment marched by the Kildrummy route, but, according to this letter, Lord George had included it in his own division.)

David, Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the 4th Lord Airlie, born in 1725, had joined the Prince in Edinburgh on 3rd October with six hundred men of his own clan, which regiment he commanded throughout the campaign.

His wife accompanied him during the march into England. After Culloden, she was taken prisoner and sent to Edinburgh Castle, whence she escaped and made her way to France. Lord Ogilvy escaped to Bergen, but also reached France later on, and Louis XV gave him command of a regiment in the French service, thenceforth called Ogilvie's Regiment, in which many prominent Scottish Jacobites served.

In 1778 Lord Ogilvy received a free pardon and a reversal of his attainder, and from that year until his death resided on his own estates in Scotland. The right to the title of Lord Airlie was, however, never restored. He survived until 1803, dying at the age of seventy-eight, the last of the Prince's Commanders. After the French Revolution, and the death of Louis XVI, he declined any longer to draw his French pay.

George Mackenzie, 3rd Lord Cromarty, one of the Prince's Commanders, was absent from the battle of Culloden. He had been sent north to his own country just before—with the object of retrieving the money landed from France, in Lord Reay's country, and captured by him. Lord Cromarty, with his son, Lord Macleod, allowed himself to be made prisoner while dining at Dunrobin Castle. He was taken to the Tower and condemned to be beheaded with Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino; but the petitions of his wife, "bonnie Belle Gordon," and of her brother, Sir John Gordon of Invergordon, a noted Whig, procured his pardon and that of his son, a boy of nineteen, to whom were eventually restored the family titles and estates.

John Roy Stuart was an old British cavalry officer, who came over from France very soon after the Prince, joined him on 31st August, and was given the command of a regiment. He was a good soldier, and did well at the siege of Carlisle and the skirmish of Clifton, where he won the encomium of Lord George Murray. They were, however, as a rule antagonistic to one another and just before Culloden had a serious quarrel, and afterwards Roy Stuart, who shared with Robertson of Struan and Hamilton of Bangour the honour of being the poet of the Prince's cause, wrote some bitter

Gaelic verses about Lord George. He escaped to France, and was one of those who, in spite of being excepted from the Act of Indemnity, returned to Scotland with impunity, as chronicled in papers at the Record Office.

One of his poems in the vernacular, which has come down to us, is on the model of a paraphrase and has this hardy refrain:—

“Though Campbells come in thousands
We will not be afraid.”

The followers of the Duke of Argyll, always on the Whig side, were traditionally obnoxious to the Stuarts and their partisans, and Sir William Gordon, writing to his mother-in-law, Lady Braco, four months after Culloden, says:—“I expected after our Countrymen the Campbells left the country that the greatest cruelties would be over.”

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo (who was apparently moving in advance of the main body, as being better acquainted with the country).

Forfar, 6th Feb. 1746.

My Lord,

I forgott to intreat your Lop. would leave all the necessary directions about Cartes, for I find great deficulty in geting even a few, as we are upon the retreat.

Pray, My Lord, apoint some Gentlemen of the Mairns¹ and Aberdeenshire for this purpose, and that some of them may constantly attend me to assist me. Your Lop. will cause do the same about Aberdeen (to be going forwards to Old Meldrum) and if you could cause purchass some good horses and harnase, cartes, etc. it would be of great use. Please bespeak as much course tartan as can be got for me.

I am, My Lord,

Your Lop's most obedient & Humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

6 in the morning.²

¹ The Mearns, i.e., Kincardine.

² On this date the Prince, with the clans, was at Blair Castle.

*The same to the same.
The Right Honble.
Lord Pitsligo
at or near Aberdeen.¹*

Breechen, 6th Febr. 1746.

My Lord,

I return your Lop my most hearty thanks for your obliging letter which I received just at my arrivall here. I shall only say in return that there are few men whos friendship & aprobaton I would value so much as your Lop's. I am still in pain for the Miletarry loses as I know so well the trouble of finding carages.² If your Lop. approve of it I would pay a reasonable price for carages & indeavour to save the poor peoples horse as much as possible.

Were the thing practicable I would wish the Stores were at Old Meldrum the 8th or the 9th at furthest. But if your Lop. thinks they cannot all be transported towards Inverness with safty I would propose to have good parte buried, espesially the Amunition if it can be done Clandestently. But your Lop. can much better judge of this than, My Lord,

your Lop's Most Obedient Humble Servant,
GEORGE MURRAY.

*The same to the same.
To The Right honble
My Lord Pitsligo at Aberdeen.*

Glen Bervy Castle,

7th Febr. 1746.

My Lord,

I would gladly hope by what your Lop. mentions in your letter from Stonehive of this date that the Armes and Stores may be taken to Aberdeen by sea for I am sensible how difficult it is to do it otherways, and by what I understand our people (particularly them cal'd Hussars)³ have rob'd the Country of so many horse that they will not be able to perform Carages, nor even labour the grounds.

¹ Really at Stonehaven. See next letter.

² Owing to the carelessness of O'Sullivan in not apprising Lord George of the change of hour appointed for the commencement of the retreat from St. Ninians, on 1st February, artillery, baggage and waggons had had to be abandoned, also the kilts requisitioned in Glasgow, which, from the previous letter, would seem to have been greatly needed in the wintry weather.

³ Murray of Broughton nominally commanded this branch of the cavalry, which was really under the orders of John Bagot.

I intreat your Lop may apoint some person to order the Quarters at Aberdeen. There is one Caw¹ who has acted as a Clarck in that way who is the only person I have had since I left Creef and I believe if he had some body that understood the thing to direct him he would be of use. I order'd him to Aberdeen for that purpose haveing no body else, but your Lop. will find some Gentleman who can undertake the being Quartermaster and Mr. Caw will be one of his deputes. In the mean time I wish the Quartering at Aberdeen be regular and every billet sign'd and a cobby kept that if disputes should arise, they may be rectified, for the sign'd billet must be the rule. How to transporte the Armes & Stores must be our nixt care whither by land or water, the first will be safest, but can it be done? You see, my Lord, I give you much trouble, but without your assistance I can do little.

I'd incline to be quartered myself in a private house about the Midle of the town so as to be of easy access. Wishing your Lop. all health and happyness, I ever am, My Lord,

your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

On 10th February Lord George Murray was writing to the Earl of Cromarty from Aberdeen, so he must have reached that town soon after the despatch of the above letter; it is not known where he was quartered.

It seems almost incredible that the Lieutenant-General of the Prince's army should have had to attend to all these details himself. The fact explains a great deal of the chronic irritation due to overwork from which it is known that Lord George suffered.

From the very first he appears to have felt, and not without reason, that unless he did, himself, anything that he thought necessary for the good of the troops, it would not be done! In the first week after he joined the Prince, in September, 1745, he busied himself in providing "pokes," i.e., knapsacks, for the men to carry their meal, no one else having thought of this important detail, and a month later he wrote to his brother, William, about the Atholl men who were to join him in Edinburgh—"I am extremely anxious to have our men here, for at present I could get them supplied with Guns, Targets, Tents and those who want them, shoes also, but if they be not here soon, them that come first will be first served."

The Duke replied quaintly:—"Did any of us endeavour to make too much haste to join the Prince, I am afraid we would be too like a good Milk Cow, that gives a great pail of milk, and after kicks it down with her foot. Forgive the comparison."—(Jacobite correspondence of the Atholl Family.)

¹ The only man of this name to be found in any list of Jacobites is one Lewis Caw, a surgeon's apprentice!

Between the 10th and the 16th of February, Lord George's movements are not known, but on the latter date he was at Gordon Castle, Fochabers.

Some of the following letters are written on paper having as a watermark the Royal Arms, doubtless unwillingly provided by the Duke of Gordon!

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo at Banff (the former being now ahead on the march to the rendezvous, which had been given near Inverness; the Prince with the clans arriving there on 18th February).

Gordon Castle. 16th Febr. 1746.
6 at night.

My Lord,

I have just now the pleasure of your Lop's of yesterday. I am much press'd by his Royal Highness to push forward towards Inverness and propose being, with the few that are with me, at Elgin tomorrow, where I halt a day to give time to those behind to join.

I had desir'd all our horse to be at Elgin on Teusday, but if your Lop judg it proper to remain a day longer at Bamph (Banff) with what of your Squadron you think proper, I shall always approve of any measure you think for the good of the Service. I'm glad to think recutes will be got to strenthen us,¹ and your Lop. will give what directions you believe most for the Publick Service in that & tho' some small party stay'd at Bamph so long as we had troupes at Aberdeen I'm persuaded it would be right.

I ever am, My Lord
Your Most Obedient Faithfull Servant,
GEORGE MURRAY.

I'm vastly concern'd your state of health is not as I wish.²

I reccon the Prince is not far from Inverness.³

The date hitherto given for the surrender of Inverness by Colonel Grant has been 20th February. Apparently the town surrendered on 18th February, and the Castle three days later.

¹ The raising of recruits in February when the Highland Army was in retreat would seem rather a forlorn hope, but, in fact, some of the lairds did bring in a few of their own men.

² This was the first mention of the aged Lord Pitsligo's failing health.

³ This was the actual day of the skirmish of Moy, when Prince Charles so narrowly escaped capture.

The same to the same.

Forres. 19th February 1746.
3 o'Clock afternoon.

My Lord,

His Royal Highness' Army took possession of the Town of Inverness yesterday, the troops that were in the Town haveing ferryed over to Rosshire.¹ His Royall Highness is at Castlehill and as we are ordered to proceed forward with all expedition yet notwithstanding I think it proper you should continue where you are for two three days to forward the Meal that is ordered up, and whenever Lord Ogilvy's other Battalion comes up they will proceed forwards without delay. This you will communicate to Lord Ogilvy. I pray your Lordship will give such directions about the Canon so as they may come safe to Findorn as quick as possible, they being of all things in the world we have most need of at present.

I am, my Lord,
your Lordship's most Obedient & most humble servant,
GEORGE MURRAY.

P.S.—Your Lordship may if you think they will be usefull to you, keep Lord Balmerino or Kilmarnock's² Horse to be assisting in forwarding the meal and ordering in the Carrages.

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Fores, 20th Febr. 1746.

My Lord,

I received your Lop's early this morning. I am in much pain about the Cannon. Coll. Steuart's³ Batalion is at Findron and are to wait. Ranas⁴ servant went to Garmouth to know if the Cannon had tuched there. I pray your Lop send every where to see about them. The Meall that comes let it be directed to Major David Tulloch's care here who has orders to Forward it.

I ever am my Lord,
your Lop's most faithfull and obedient servant,
GEORGE MURRAY.

I have not heard from Aberdeen these three days nor any thing about the motion of the enemy on that side. So soon as I see his

¹ This was Lord Loudoun's army, which was eventually dispersed by the Duke of Perth on 20th March.

² These two Jacobite Lords, who lost their heads for the cause on Tower Hill, are too well known to require any note.

³ Colonel John Roy Stuart.

⁴ Andrew Hay. See page 68.

R.H.¹ shall acquaint your Lop where any of our troops that are coming forwards are to be cantound.

It was at Garmouth, the port mentioned above, at the mouth of the Spey, that King Charles II arrived from Holland on 3rd July, 1650. He was carried ashore on the back of a stout Scot named Milne (thereafter to be known as King Milne), and in a house in Garmouth (demolished, only in 1834) was forced, as the price of Scottish help, to sign the "Solemn League and Covenant."

In the old maps of Morayshire this place is marked as "Germok," and among the recently published papers from Blairs College is a letter from the Jesuit, Father Christie, written from Douai on 10th August, in which he says:—"I have a kind letter from my Lord Marquis of Huntly, . . . our king landed at Germok, lodged in the Bog and next in Strabogie."

At that period there was nothing nearer the sea than Garmouth; the village of Kingston was built early in the 19th century.

David Tulloch, who was to collect the meal, was a tenant of the Duke of Gordon in the farm of Dunbennan, Huntly. He was active in raising recruits, especially in Banffshire, and became Captain of those he had raised, amounting, according to one account, to "some scores of men." He was not one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but a true bill of High Treason was found against him in 1748. His descendants now spell the name Tulloh, a form which he himself also uses in letters.

Here follow 2 blank orders for the delivery of Meal.

The three counties of Banff, Moray and Nairn had been assessed at 5,000 Bolls (a boll was 10 stone or 140 pounds).

Elgin, 19th Feby. 1746.

These are ordering you to deliver at Forres tomorrow the 20th Inst. — bolls oatmeal for the use of His Royal Highness Army and for which you shall receive ready money at the Current price of the Country, but in case of Refusal the same will be taken without payment and the tenants distressed in their persons and effects.

¹ The Prince was now at Culloden House, to which he moved from Inverness on 19th February. (See Dr. Blaikie's "Itinerary.")

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

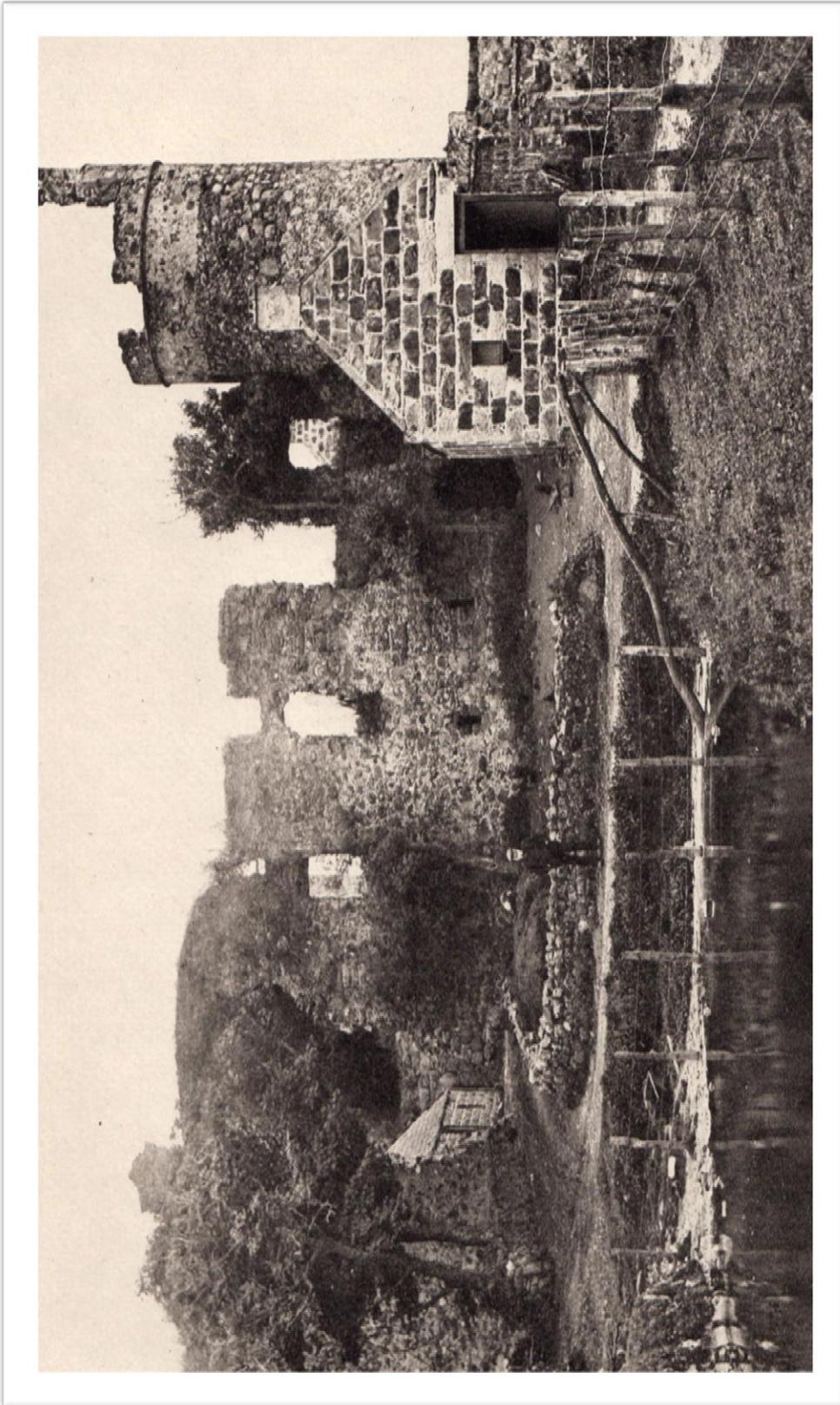
Nairn, 21 Feb. 1746.

My Lord,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that this morning before nine the Castle of Inverness hang out the white flagg but no terms would be given them except surrendering upon discretion which they accordingly did about midday and we took possession of the Gates, etc.

I was with his Royal Highness at Cullodden all the forenoon and I find he inclines that our Horse and so many of the ffoot should continue at Elgin, Forres and this place and even it is thought it would not be amiss that some were at Fochabers. I believe the Battallion of Lord Ogilvy's commanded by Sir James Kinloch would be the most proper to be at Fochabers of which your Lordship will acquaint Lord Ogilvy.

Lord Strathallan with the Perthshire squadron will be at Elgin tomorrow and your Lordship will please order quarters to be provided for them, and it is hoped in Conjunction with my Lord Strathallan you will give all the necessary orders for the inbringing of the Cess and meal. There is nothing of so great consequence to us now as these two articles and the meal is all ordered to Inverness where Collonel Maclauchlan or one of his Deputies will receive it and give the necessary directions about the payment etc. So I pray you will cause intimate immediately that the quantity demanded be carried there.



Emery Walker Ltd. ph. sc.

*Pitsligo Castle, present day
from a photograph*

I received both your Lordship's Letters of yesterday's date, His Royall Highness had particular accounts by Letters intercepted of 4000 Hessians being in Leith road,¹ but what is to become of them afterwards is not yet known for even by these Letters there seems to be strong hints of an embarkation from France.

Bagot² or either of the Mr. Moirs³—they ought not to grudge expenses. I believe the service will call me elsewhere, perhaps to the heart of the Highlands, but of this I shall know more in two or three days. In the meantime, as your Lordship knows everything that is most usefull for the common cause, His Royal Highness desires you will take the joint command with the Viscount of Strathallan so as everything may be ordered for the best and I am with great regard

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient Humble Servt.
George Murray.

It was shortly after this period that Lord George Murray went south to undertake the siege of his family home, Blair Castle, then in the hands of his third brother, James (called the Duke of Atholl by the Government party). This siege had to be abandoned on 2nd April.

Of the Jacobite leaders mentioned in the above letter, Sir James Kinloch of Nevay, a Colonel, married Janet, sister of the Whig Lord Braco. He was taken prisoner after Culloden and confined for some time in the Tower with his two younger brothers, Charles and Alexander.

All were eventually pardoned, Sir James on condition of remaining in England, while the two brothers were banished to the West Indies.

Lord Strathallan was the 4th Viscount of the loyal family of Drummond. He joined the Prince at Perth in September, 1745, and was made Governor of that city, and commander of all the forces from the north which joined during the Prince's absence in England. It is said that Charles wished these forces to follow him to Carlisle, and that Strathallan refused, but accounts vary. He was son-in-law of Lady Nairne.

Strathallan was one of those killed at Culloden, and tradition relates that as he lay wounded on the field Holy Communion was administered to him, the only available materials being oatcake and whisky.

¹ Six battalions of Hessians were landed on 8th February.

² John Bagot was a Irish-French officer in the Highland Army, and actually commanded the Hussars, of which Secretary Murray was the nominal Colonel.

³ Probably James Moir of Stoneywood and William Moir of Lonmay. See notes on pages 66-67.

Joint commands were common in the Jacobite army. Any man who shared responsibility with Lord Pitsligo would, no doubt, have avoided the friction usual in other cases.

Lachlan Maclachlan, Laird of Machlachlan, was Commissary General in the Jacobite army; he was killed at Culloden. There is among the Tanachy papers in the possession of Captain Tulloch, Melrose, "an order by the Commissary of his Royal Highness army. These does order and require all officers with the men under their command presently quartered on Mr. Alexr. Tulloch's lands of Tanachie to remove, his having satisfied me in the full of the orders drawn on him.

Given att Elgin 25 March 1746

LN. MACLACHLANE

to the Commanding officer of the partie on the lands of Tanachie."

James Moir, Laird of Stoneywood, was one of the Prince's most prominent supporters, and with Lord Pitsligo and John Gordon of Glenbucket was largely responsible for so many men from Aberdeenshire having joined the Highland Army. He raised his own regiment, which he commanded throughout the campaign. After Culloden he had many hairbreadth escapes from capture, and eventually got away to Sweden, where he remained for sixteen years and became a prosperous merchant. He returned to Stoneywood in 1762, and died there in 1784, after which the estate was sold.

William Moir of Lonmay, uncle of James Moir of Stoneywood, was factor to the Countess of Erroll. He was a very active Jacobite, and had collected the Excise and Customs as well as the Land Tax, all in the interests of the Prince. During the Jacobite occupation of Aberdeen, he was appointed Deputy Governor of that town. He was exempted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747.

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo.

Nairn, 22nd February 1746.

My Lord,

I send your Lordship a Cobby of an order signed by me for Levy money out of the Shires of Murray and Nairn and as we also take up the Cess for the Last Quarter due the first March, as well as the preceeding ones that are unpaid, I hope these funds will not only answer the payment of the meal to be furnished for His Royall Highness' use but also bring in some money for the pay of the Troops.

I wrote to Mr. Moir, Governour of Aberdeen which after your Lordship has perused you'll please seall and forward by this Express.

I am, my Lord
your Lordship's most humble and most obedient Servt.

George Murray.

P.S.—I pray your Lordship appoint Mr. Hay of Rannas and any others you judge proper in seeing this order which I have signed, intimate throw the shire of Murray.

“Order by the Right Honourable Lord George Murray, Lieut. General of His Majesty's Forces by command of His Royall Highness Charles, Prince Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland.”

These are ordering one hundred merks Scotts to be paid out of each hundred pound of valued rent in the Shires of Murray and Nairn betwixt the first day of March next as Levy money for Recruiting His Royall Highness' Army, and as abuses have been committed in neighbouring Counties by the alternative of ffurnishing a sufficient man in Lieu of the said one hundred merks, these are Declareing that the one hundred merks out of each one hundred pound of valued rent will be only accepted off. And it is to be known and understood that all Gentlemen and Heretors of the said shires who have join'd the Royall Standard are excem'd from this Contribution. Were it not for the present Troubles, when a Free Parliament cannot be summoned to lay on the necessary Taxes for carrying on the War, His Royall Highness the Prince Regent would not take this method of raising the Levy money. And if any Heretor or Freeholder does not comply with this demand by the time limited they may depend upon Military Execution being used against them, their persons, houses and Tenantry.

At Nairn this 21st February 1746.

GEORGE MURRAY.

Andrew Hay, younger, of Rannes, mentioned in the previous letter, was one of the most prominent of Banffshire Jacobites. (His father, Charles, was still alive in 1745, having been “out” in the Jacobite rising of 1715.) Andrew Hay joined the Prince in Edinburgh, was the first man to march into Manchester, being noted by Samuel Maddocks, the informer, as being “7 foot high” (his actual height being 7 foot 2 inches), and was present at Falkirk and Culloden. He was one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and passed more than ten years as an exile on the Continent, but eventually returned to his own home and died there at the age of seventy-six, 29th August, 1789. His estates went to his nephew, Alexander Leith, the family being now Leith-Hay.

The following letter at Cairnfield, Banffshire, shows that Andrew Hay faithfully carried out the Prince's orders in his own county at least:—

To Alexander Gordon of Cairnfield.

Focabers Feb. 22, 1746.

Sir,

By order of Lord George Murray, Lieut-Genll. of His Majesty's forces under Command of His Royall Highness Charles Prince of Wales, I desire you to deliver att Elgin the 25th and 26th Current to Patrick Graham, Commissary Genll to the Prince's army, the number of twenty bolls oatmeal, who will pay you upon delivery eight merks scots for each boll. This doe under pain of military execution and the meall being taken w-out paymt, which I hope you'll prevent by complying wt this order. I am sir

Your humble servant

ANDREW HAY.

Copy of Lord George Murray's order for Levy Money, issued by Lord Pitsligo.

Elgin, 24 Feb. 1746.

Sir,

I have orders from Lord George Murray by His Royal Highness command to require you against the first day of March ensueing to send in here your share of the Levy money for recruiting his Royal Highness Army at the rate of five pounds sterling on each hundred pounds Scots of your valued rent in the shires of Murray and Nairn, this order you will comply with under the pain of military execution, the present state of the nation not admitting the subsidy to be raised in the ordinary way.

In Lord Pitsligo's hand is added:—

“Ld. George's orders were 100 merks in the £100 which I took upon me to alter according to the stent upon Aberdeenshire and it was approved of.”

100 merks in the £100 would be two-thirds of the total. £100 Scots equals £8 6s. 8d. sterling—two-thirds of this is £5 11s. 0d. The stent in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, by the orders of Lord Lewis Gordon, was £5 on 100 Scots as above, so Lord Pitsligo in reality let off the inhabitants of Moray and Nairn 11s.!

At one period of the campaign, when French money was plentiful and more was expected, the Jacobite leaders had been quite willing to accept one fully equipped recruit in lieu of each £5 or 100 merks Scots (£5 11s. 0d.), but at this stage it was more important to keep together the army they had and to obtain the wherewithal to pay it.

Lord Lewis Gordon, who collected the Cess and Levy money in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, was the third son of the second Duke of Gordon and Lady Henrietta Mordaunt. He was only twenty at the

time of Prince Charles' landing, and was in the Navy, being third lieutenant of H.M.S. Dunkirk.

He joined the Prince at Holyrood in October, 1745, without the consent of his brother, but certainly with the approval of his widowed mother.¹ His accession to the cause was of great advantage to it, as many of his brother's tenants followed him. He became a member of the Prince's Council, Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire and Governor of the towns of Aberdeen and Banff.

He was very active in collecting the Cess and Levy money, making his headquarters at Huntly Castle. The defeat of Munro and Macleod at Inverurie on 23rd December, 1745, was his most prominent achievement. He fought in the second line at Culloden, and afterwards spent eight weary years as an exile in France till he died, unmarried, at Montreuil, before he was thirty, 15th June, 1754.

A MS. in the French Foreign Office describes him, in 1749, as "presque brouillé avec le Prince qu'il ne voit guère. Très-étourdi et quelquefois dérangé jusqu'à ce que se faire enfermer."

The valuation of the Shire of Moray, for the calculation of the Levy Money, dated 24th February, 1746, is among the letters; an interesting name is that of "Lord Braco for his lands 10,842: 10: 9 (Scots)." This is the only item which runs into five figures. Some of the others are as small as £13 and £14 Scots— a little over £1 sterling in value.

William King of Newmill, whose valuation is of 455: 9: 2, was the Sheriff-Substitute of the county of Moray, and a Jacobite at heart. Sir Robert Gordon had reproached him with what he called his rebel sympathies "behind the curtain," and after the defeat at Culloden, King's town house of Grey-friars in Elgin sheltered not only the Duke of Perth, But Lord Pitsligo, with Thomas Mercer, his aide-de-camp, William Cumine of Pitullie and Alexander Irvine of Drum.

There was a hiding-place behind the kitchen chimney, which has, unfortunately, been built up during the restoration and rebuilding of old Grey-friars (now a convent). A memorial of the Duke of Perth's sojourn there still exists in a silver and inlaid snuffbox which he presented to Mr. King, bearing the inscription:—"A gift by the Duke of Perth to William King of Newmiln. Gr. Frs. 1746." This is now the property of Mr. Norman Farquharson of Whitehouse, Aberdeenshire, a great-great-grandson of Mr. and Mrs. King. An embroidered silk badge of the Order of the Thistle, worn by Prince Charles during the campaign, was also presented by the Duke of

¹ As shown by her own letter, now in the Public Record Office, and printed for the first time in "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire."

Perth to the Kings and handed down in the family of Colonel Archibald Young Leslie of Kininvie.

Lord George Murray to Lord Pitsligo at Elgin (of which town the latter had been appointed Governor).

Nairn, 23 Feb. 1746.

10 in the morning.

My Lord,

I have just now your Lop's of yesterday four o'clock afternoon. Moiness is but four miles further than Fores and it was thought by everybody that to shift the meall and change horse for four miles would be close. There was a person appointed at Moiness to receive the meall but no keys could be got and at last it was found not a proper place but bad to be the Granary. Your Lop will easily see many difficulties that must occur, and we have few hands that will take the trouble of assisting.

I shall now desire David Tulloch to receive the Meall that comes from the other side of Elgin at Fores but what comes from this side of Elgin may esely be brought here. I take it for granted as I understand the Finances are low, most of the Meall must be payed out of the Quarter's Cess due now, or out of the Levie money. I always am,
My Lord,

Your Lop's most faithfull Humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Having obtained meal in fairly large quantities, the Jacobite leaders seem to have found much difficulty in storing it, where it would most readily be accessible. The greater part, eventually collected in Inverness, was, tragically, out of reach when so much needed on the day before the battle of Culloden, and fell finally into the hands of Cumberland's army.

It was this store which was counted on by Lord George Murray as making possible the "Highland campaign" which was to be the alternative to accepting battle at Culloden. (See page 12.)

John Murray to The Right Honble The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

(Showing that the Prince had now no money in his Exchequer. It is known that about this time he began to pay his men in meal.)

Inverness, 24th Feb. 1746.

My Lord,

I have the honour to write to your Lordship, by command of his Royal Highness, that you will be pleased to be as diligent as possible in collecting together all the Meal in Morray and the neighbouring Counties, for which you are to give your Receipt, but you are by no means to apply for that purpose the Levy or other monies you are

possesst of, but assure the proprietors that his R.H. will pay them so soon as the state of affairs will permit; it will therefore be necessary that your Lordship mention the prices in the Receipts.

I am, with great respect, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,
JO. MURRAY.

This letter was presumably written from the house in Church Street, Inverness, where the Prince was lodging with Anna Duff of Drummuir, widow of Lachlan, Both of Mackintosh. Cumberland occupied the same rooms after Culloden.

Two days later John Murray had left his master, and did not return, alleging ill-health.

Colonel O'Sullivan, the Quartermaster General, to Lord Pitsligo.

Inverness, 24th February 1746.

H.R.H's express orders are yt. my Lord Pitsligo's and Perthshire horse actually quartered at Elgin are to march armes and baggage w.thout losse of time to Aberdeen where they will meet w.th frinch (French) troops yt. are landed, and there to follow the orders they receive from My Lord John Droummond. Their marches or stag-esses are not fix'd to those two Corps, they having knowledge of the country and it being obsollutely necessary to force marchesses, and to arrive *as soon as possible* at Aberdeen.

J. O'SULIVAN.

As has been seen from Lord George Murray's letter of three days previously, Lord Pitsligo himself, with Lord Strathallan, had been placed in supreme command of the army at Elgin, but he here receives contradictory orders from the Prince to return to Aberdeen and place himself under the orders of Lord John Drummond (who might have been his grandson!).

Copy of the letter from Lord Pitsligo to John Murray.

Fochabers, 26th Feby. 1746.

Sir,

At the same time I had your letter of the 24th I reed, orders from Coll. Sullivan to leave Elgin and march wth. all expedition to Aberdeen in consequence of which I came here last night and designed to have been near Aberdeen this night, but had Intelligence that the French who landed there and Stonnywoods Battalion together with the Hussars had abandoned the town¹ and were marched northward

¹ On 23rd February the last of the Jacobite troops left Aberdeen, after an occupation which had lasted five months.

by way of Turreff and Banff. There were expresses sent to Cullen and Strathbogie to know the certainty of it and it was confirmed.

I had determined according to Coll. Sullivan's orders to have gone on to Aberdeen the shortest way and by forced marches, but a Letter appeared from Mr. Mackraw,¹ a French Officer to Lord John Drummond importing that the troops that were not landed at Aberdeen were gone to the northward,² which will oblige me to take the route by the Coast to support the landing as much as possible and a part of the Athol Brigade and some other Foot are to march the same way.

This was very agreeable to the French Ambassador's inclination and seem'd also reasonable for the service. Circumstances must determine whether we shall make head against the Enemy, or make an honourable Retreat should they advance upon us with a superior force. Of all this I thought proper the Prince should be acquainted (Mr. Mercer³ is the bearer) and I shall expect your return impatiently.

There was no money come in when I left Elgin either of the Cess or Levy Money, but I had sent orders for both as also for bringing in meall, and as a good quantity was already come in, it will be necessary to have a fitt person to take care of it, though it is the generall oppinion that the want of ready payment as was promised, will be a great hinderance to it.

27th.

You must have patience to look at the different oppinions that were given according to the Intelligence that came in yesterday every half hour. Lord John Drummond came up about twelve and new consultations were entered upon which consumed the whole day, after which an express was sent to Mr. Moir, Lonmay who came here this morning and by the accounts he gives the resolutions

¹ Captain MacRaw, of Glengarry's Regiment, was with Prince Charles when he came to Loch Arkaig in the course of his wanderings on 15th August, 1746.—("Lyon in Mourning.") This may have been the same man. Certainly the Mr. Mackraw, a French officer, was a Scot.

² Peterhead.

³ Thomas Mercer of Auchnacant was the son of James Mercer, merchant, Aberdeen, representative of the Mercers of Auchnacant, a cadet branch of the Mercers of Aldie, Perthshire.

Thomas Mercer was Aide-de-Camp to Lord Pitsligo. He escaped after Culloden, and, after much wandering, reached France. A true bill of High Treason was returned against him in Edinburgh in October, 1748, but he was then safe beyond the seas. He appears in the list of Pensioners of the French Government of that year as "Thomas Messer, Garde du Corps, 600 francs." He died in 1770.

taken are—1 That the troops just now here halt this day and that expresses be sent to those who are advanced to return or stop as there are any French landed at Peterhead. 2 That the passage of Spey be secured by a sufficient party and the boats to be gathered together from the different passages hither.

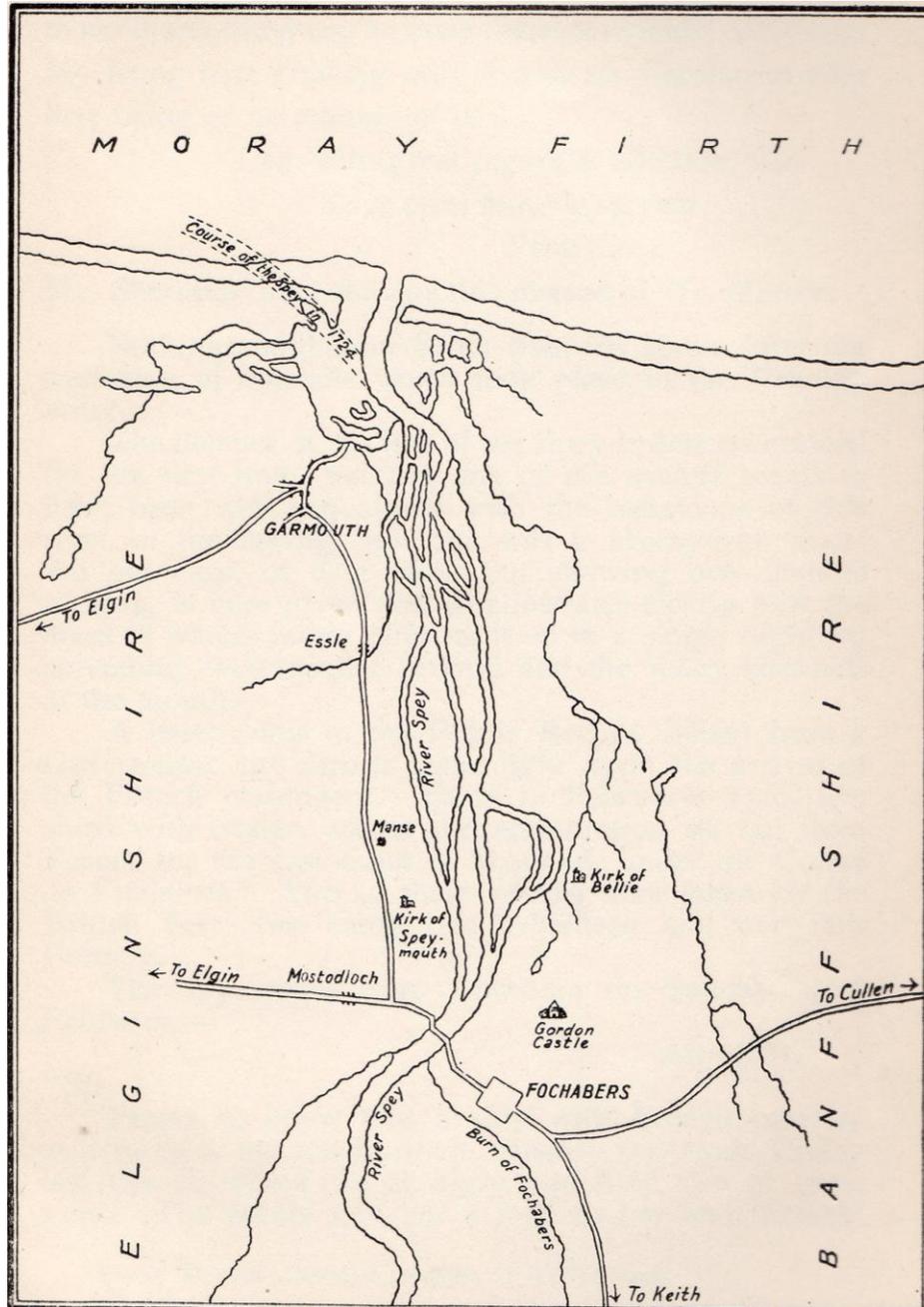
It is the humble opinion of all here that his Royall Highness call in all his troops from Fort Augustus,¹ Fort William, or wherever they are since it's probable Cumberland, now at Aberdeen, will advance and his Hessians will give him the more encouragement.

¹ Fort Augustus here alluded to, situated between Loch Ness and Loch Lochy, was built in 1734 to overawe the Highlanders.

Fort William, at the southern end of Loch Lochy, between that and Loch Linnhe, was built by General Mackay in the time of William III. The Government garrison there was only relieved in May, 1746.

Fort George, at the northern extremity of the Caledonian Canal, was built *after* Culloden.

MOUTH OF THE SPEY FROM A MAP OF 1806.



If you have any commands for me I return to Elgin this night to see if any thing can be done there as to meall or money. My being here (having only five or six Gentlemen with me) being of no manner of use.

I am with great regard & affection, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

PITSLIGO.

Mr. Sheridan¹ now delivers this instead of Mr. Mercer.

Nothing could show better than the above letter the confusion of councils which took place in the Prince's army.

The defence of the line of the Spey is here mentioned for the first time, but not one of the leaders seems to have been well acquainted with the behaviour of this river in the spring, not one was a Morayshire man! An old map, of date 1806, but showing one channel of 1724, is here given and demonstrates clearly how the mass of waters might alter its level in a single night by spreading over the flat ground and the many channels at the mouth.

A letter (now in the Public Record Office) from a Government spy throws some light upon the arrival of the French contingent. Early in February, 1746, five ships with troops, stores and ammunition set out from France for the east coast of Scotland, under the Comte de Fitzjames.² Two of these vessels were taken by the British fleet, two came into Aberdeen and one into Portsoy.

The spy writes from Aberdeen on Sunday, 23rd February:—

9 at night.

“Sir,

Please to know that a ship with French colours, said to be a 150 ton burthen, came to the roads Friday last the 21, about six at night and fired two or three guns. The rebels sent out a boat to her and brought ashore 2 or 3 officers and other boats were sent with intention to land the men, but it seems they changed their mind and the ship went off, it is said to Peterhead.

Upon Saturday afternoon another Ship came, about 100 tons burthen. She landed from 120 to 130 men, including officers. They marched from Aberdeen as did all the other rebels on Sunday. They said there sailed 5 ships in all from Dunkirk, that the other ships were large and contained more men and could not be far from the Scottish coast.”

These French troops took part in the battle of Culloden, and were among those whose capitulation as prisoners of war was arranged by the Marquis d'Eguilles.

¹ Young Thomas Sheridan, nephew of Sir Thomas.

² See page 81.

John Murray to The Right Honble. The Lord Pitsligo att Elgin.

(Not dated, but between the 26th and 28th February, 1746, being an answer to the last from Gordon Castle, the Prince being still in Inverness.)

Monday past 7 att night.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's this evening and have sent the Ambassador's letter enclosed. I had no such orders when I left Inverness nor having received any such since I left it. I believe it might be very necessary to have a quantity of straw and fire provided in case the Prince send any more troops this way, but without a certainty I should be sorry to harass the country too much. Carnousie¹ writes me about the Levie Money and Cess. It is absolutely necessary to collect all the meal possible with a good quantity of bear and lett the Cess go as part payment and those who are not able to pay Levie money we to take meal in lieu of it. Major Hale² desires me to send the enclosed order and I am, with great regard, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obt. and most humble servant,
JO. MURRAY.

The same to the same.

Castle Gordon, 28th Febry. 1746.

My Lord,

As the country people grudges they do not get receipts for their meal which is brought to Elgin and as I understand your Lordship does not incline to give receipts, Mr. Graeme ought to give receipts which he absolutely refuses, for what reason I know not.³ I have

¹ Arthur Gordon, son of George Gordon of Carnousie, a Jacobite of 1715. He was a major in Lord Pitsligo's Horse, and went with the Highland Army into England.

According to an autograph letter of Cumberland, now in the Record Office, Gordon of Carnousie and Gordon of Kincardine Mill had offered, in December, 1745, to change sides if assured of pardon, but their offer was not accepted.

² Major Hale was of the regiment of Royal Scots, and came over with Lord John Drummond, to whom he appears to have acted as A.D.C.

³ Patrick Graham, Commissary General. He was probably loath to give receipts for purchases which it was most unlikely would ever be paid for.

sent John Goodwillie¹ who will give receipts in my name and if they have any scruples let them come here tomorrow and they shall have my own. I am, my Lord,

your Lordship's most humble servt.

Jo. MURRAY.

John Murray to Lord Pitsligo.

Gordon Castle, March 1st, 1746.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's letters and shall give the man you sent the ballance for his meal when he counts for his Cess. I beg your Lordship may not delay one moment to send all the meal att Elgin and Forres to Nairn with orders to forward it to Inverness. By three different informations, Cumberland is this night att Old Meldrum, so if we have no reinforcements here it will be impossible to maintain the passage of the River, as it is very low and Consequently the Enemy may give us little time to carry of our Meal.

I am with great regard, My Lord,

your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

J. MURRAY.

This is the first allusion to a sudden lowness of the river, which was to have such fatal consequences to the Jacobite cause.

To The Right Honble. My Lord Pitsligo att Elgin.

Gordon Castle, March ye 2d. 1746.

My Lord,

I could not possibly find an express to go from this the whole way to Inverness² so must beg the favour your L'ship will forward it with all possible expedition as it contains some things of consequence. There is a company of Berwick's³ Regiment with the crew

¹ John Goodwillie occurs in Lord Rosebery's "List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion of 1745" as a Writer in Edinburgh. He is said to have worn tartan with a white cockade, and assisted in levying the revenues, etc. His whereabouts were "not known" at the date of the compilation of this list in 1747.

² i.e., to the Prince.

³ The second Duke of Berwick, son of the famous Marshal of France, who was half brother to the old Chevalier (being the son of James II and Arabella Churchill) and died in 1734 aged 64. During his father's lifetime the 2nd Duke of Berwick was known as the Duke of Liria, and it was under his command that Prince Charles, at the age of fifteen, had enjoyed his ten days' campaign at Gaeta, his only taste of soldiering before he landed in Scotland.

of the ship in which they were carried to Cullen, the ship was stranded near the Slains and the crew obliged to abandon it. Lord John desires your Lordship may not allow the troops come this day to Elgin to march further and likewise to stop those at Forres till further orders.

I am, with great regard, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obednt. & most humble servant,
Jo. MURRAY.

This is the last letter in the collection from Secretary Murray. He appears to have taken the opportunity while in Gordon Castle to send to his Royal Master, through Lord Pitsligo, a letter of "some consequence" presumably "demitting office." He is known to have "been ill in Elgin" sometime during the month of March, but before the army moved on from there to Nairn and Culloden he had taken refuge in Inverness, whence he escaped to the south of Scotland.

Lord John Drummond to The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo
at Elgin.

(Fochabers)
Sunday 2 of March.

My Lord,

As all our Intelligences informe us of the Enemies comming forward, if your Lordship does not get contrary orders from the Prince, you will be pleased order off at two a'clock this afternoon all the Foot that is at Elgin to Forest (Forres) to make room for somme troops that from this will go this night to Elgin. Ther must be a quarter-master sent on to make the Quarters for the troops that go to Forest.

Your Lordship must be so good as to order that the meal should be pushed on with the utmost expedition to Inverness.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most humble and obed. servant,
J. DRUMMOND.

(He now had his headquarters at Gordon Castle and was visited there by the Prince sometime during the latter's stay in Elgin.)

The younger brother of the 2nd Duke of Berwick was the Comte de Fitzjames, who was taken prisoner on his way to assist his cousin, Prince Charles Edward.

Berwick himself never left France, probably because, like his father, the Marshal, he was a naturalized French subject and could not do so without the express permission of the Government. His descendants are now entirely Spanish, those of Fitzjames being French.

Lord John Drummond to Lord Pitsligo.

Focabars, ye 3rd March 1746.
at 11 o'clock.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's letter at one this morning only. I must beg you not to let the troops that went to Forres yesterday go any farther and those that went to Elgin will stay there. We have more meal to send you from hence which must also be forwarded with the greatest expedition, we have no positive accounts of the main body of the Enemy's coming from Aberdeen. Some of their troops are come so far as old Meldrum and Turrow (Turriff) on one side and Inveroury on the other side; they make great preparations as if they were to camp at those places. This moment we have received advice that the Enemy are said to be this night at Turrow and Strathbogie. If so we shall soon repass the Spey.

I am my Lord with all my heart
your Lordship's most Obedient and most humble servant,

J. DRUMMOND.

Here follows a Petition, undated, but obviously received by Lord Pitsligo while he was in command at Elgin.

Unto the Right Honourable My Lord Pitsligo.

The Humble Supplication of James Reid, feuar in Urquhart, Sheweth.

That your Supplicants feu in Urquhart consists only off thirty-four pound seventeen shillings Scots money of valued rent by which means the extent of his Royal Highness levys demanded does not exceed twenty one pound Scots.¹

That in affection to the Royal Cause your supplicant joined the Loyalists in the one thousand seven hundred and fifteen and on his own charges, served in the Elgin troop during the time the King's friends continued in a body for supporting the cause and on the dispersion of the Army your supplicant suffered the Common disaster with the other loyalists.

That the Creasiness² and old age has deisabled your Supplicant from his personal appearance at this happy Conjunction. Yet as his old sentiments of duty continues firm and unshaken, he did very early equipp and rigg out his son with Cloathes and arms who attended his Royall Highness in Scotland and England and as in these routs his cloathing has become shattered and useless, your Supplicant on his own Expenses has of new equipped his son who at present is in Captain Taylor's company of Collonel Moir's regiment

¹ In sterling, £1 13s. 4d.

² Perhaps increase of old age was meant!

and resolves to continue firm in the service during life or until the cause terminate in a prosperous way.

Your Supplicant is indeed blest with a numerous family tho' reduced to narrow circumstances and how far the particulars before mentioned may excuse him from the levies justly demanded from the vulgar who have not such distinctions to plead, Your Lordship and others of his Royal Highness' Council are the proper Judges.

Meantime your supplicant must confess that at present he is not in a condition to answer the present levies. Tho' nevertheless and if your Lordship and other Members of his Royal Highness Council shall think that your supplicant's case does merit no distinction, then he will cheerfully lay by his plough, make penny of his labouring beasts and resign himself and poor family to the divine protection and support wishing and heartily praying that his poor mite may have effect in support of so good a cause.

In respect whereof your Lordship's answer is Intreated which shall effectually determine your Lordship's most obedient and most dutiful servant,

JAMES REID.

COURT MARTIAL.

The following account of a Court Martial held at Elgin is curious as showing that even in this time of stress, proper military procedure and discipline in the Prince's army were still maintained:—

List of Officers of Aberdeen Battalion to Hold a Court Martiall at Elgin (where the Prince's staff then was).

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| Captains. | { Charles More (Moir). |
| | { Robert Sandilands. |
| Lieutenants. | { John Abernethie. |
| | { James Rose. |
| Ensigns. | { Francis Gordon. |
| | { Patrick Crawford. |

Captain James Gordon to preseed and William Aberdeen, Clerk
"Gentlemen.

You're hereby desired and required to meet tomorrow by ten of the Cloack in the forenoon at the house of Baillie McKinzie in this town to Hold a Court Martiall and Judge Charles Pirie, Serjant in the above Battalion and John Thain Soldier there and William Webster, Piper to Capt. Byres Company of said Battalion for the Crimes laid to their Charge by Capt. Byres and if found guilty to cause punish them or each of them as you shall think the Crimes deserve according to the military Laws. Given at Elgin this Eleventh day of March one thousand seven hundred and fourty six years."

LEWIS GORDON.

Of the persons engaged in the Court Martial it is interesting to note the following particulars:—

CHARLES MOIR was the younger brother of the famous James Moir of Stonewood. He had a commission in his brother's regiment and was with it during the march into England and throughout the whole campaign. He escaped after Culloden and went to Gottenburg, where he received 1,000 francs from the French Government. In 1747 Patrick Byres wrote to him from Paris advising him to get himself made a burgher of Rotterdam or of Gottenburg, buy a prize vessel and start trading with it, as he had formerly been a shipmaster. He seems to have acted on the advice with success.

ROBERT SANDILANDS was a scion of the family of Craibstone. He had himself raised a company of foot and subsequently had a company in the Duke of Perth's regiment. After Culloden, at which he was present, he and his brother, Bartholomew, succeeded in escaping to Sweden. Robert subsequently married the daughter of Patrick Byres of Tonley.

JOHN ABERNETHIE was probably the Overseer of the highways, who came from Tyrie, Aberdeenshire.

JAMES ROSE cannot be identified. It will be noticed that he did not actually take part in the Court Martial.

FRANCIS GORDON is not known unless he was the youth "of the Tilphoudie family" of that name.

PATRICK CRAWFORD was probably the Vintner at Don Bridge, afterwards a prisoner.

There were at least three prominent James Gordons in the Aberdeenshire Battalion.

The famous JAMES GORDON of Cobairdy, JAMES GORDON of Glastirem and JAMES GORDON, younger, of Aberlour. The last of the three was certainly a Captain.

WILLIAM ABERDEEN, the clerk, was a merchant in Old Aberdeen, and acted as a Quartermaster in the Highland Army, being with it until the end. He was not present at the battle of Culloden, as he had been taken ill with a violent fever in his lodgings in Inverness. In the afternoon of the battle, some English soldiers being informed that "a rebel was lying sick upstairs in Mrs. Davidson's house" rushed in and cut the poor man's throat as he lay in bed.

CAPTAIN PATRICK BYRES of Tonley was an active Jacobite and escaped abroad. He was one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but was ultimately pardoned on the ingenious plea, advanced by his friends, that his name appeared in the list as Peter, instead of Patrick. In Scotland, of course, though not in England, these two names were always interchangeable.

JAMES TURNER, YOUNGER OF TURNERHALL, Aberdeenshire, "had recruited about 20 men on the retreat north."—*Vide* Lord

Rosebery's List. He was probably made a captain in consequence of this.

Elgin, March 12, 1746. Court Martial of the Aberdeen Battalion commanded by the Right Honourable Lord Lewis Gordon, in virtue of the said Lord Lewis Gordon's order of yesterday's date—by Capt. Gordon, President, Capts. More and Sandilands, Lieut. Abernethie, Ensigns Crawford and Gordon and William Aberdeen Clerk to the Courts. Lawfully Fenced.—

Charles Peirie being brought before the Court and examined, acknowledged that he had served Capt. Byres as a Sergeant, obtained a foreloff (furlough) and absented himself from his Company for the time etc. as sett furth in the Complaint and refused to return for the reason therein mentioned. (According to a second paper, headed "Information for Captain Byres," it appears that Peirie went for "a fortnight forloff" to see his friends in the parish of Ellon, when instead of returning to his Company he absented himself therefrom till the 2nd Curt., when he came to Elgin with another corps and when ordered by his officer to repair to his Company, refused, alleadging he belonged to another company and absented himself till the 9th when the foresaid Capt. Byres was informed that William Webster, his Pyper, was offering to List in another Company upon which he immediately went to the house where Webster was and found him in company with the said Charles Peirie who pretended that he had given him money and Listed him in Capt. Turner's Company which is another corps and using a great many abusive expressions he (Peirie) swore that he would keep the said Webster as his recruit. Upon which Mr. Byres ordered them both to be confined prisoners in the main guard. Whereupon Peirie swore that he would defend himself to the last drop of his blood and would by no means be committed prisoner and in consequence thereof drew his broadsword and bayonet and threatening any who would pretend to commit him and continued in that posture until he was forcibly carried to the Guard.)

The Court Martial continues—That upon the 9th of this month, Webster the piper offered to enlist with the Declarant and he accordingly enlisted him for Capt. Turner's company for this reason that the pyper was threatening to leave the army because he was pressed away, had no mind to stay, nor was he paid, that the Declarant promised him one shilling a day and said he would keep him if Captain Byres would pass him.

Denys that he gave Capt. Byres any abusive language or Offered to draw upon him or threatened him or any other or swore he would defend himself agst. those that would come to apprehend him.

signed CHARLES PIRIE.

For further proof of the Complaint, Capt. Byres adduced the following witnesses—viz.

Ensign John Lawrence of the Abn. Battalion who being solemnly sworn and interrogate Depons that upon this 10th of this month at night the deponent heard Charles Peirie say he had enlisted Capt. Byres piper for Capt. Turner's Compy. and was to give him a shilling a day and that he would keep him. *Causa scientiae patet* and this is truth as he shall answer to God. Further depones yt. Charles Peirie was intoxicate in Liquor at the time above mentioned.

George Cox, Serg.-Major gave evidence to the same effect, and further that John Thain, one of the Musketeers ordered to take Charles Peirie to the Guardroom swore that he would sooner goe prisoner himself than take Charles Peirie to the Guard,¹ and upon the Deponent's ordering him to doe his duty, Thain offered to draw upon him. Then Mr. Byres came out of the room and upon hearing the Matter, ordered Thain prisoner and accordingly he was carried off.

John McNicol, Soldier in Capt. Byres' company of the Aberdn. Battalion who being solemnly sworn and Interrogate, Depones that after John Thain was Committed prisoner to the Guard and when Capt. Byres was in another room, Charles Peirie and one of his Comerades when they saw the Deponents and the rest of the Guard coming to make Chas. Peirie prisoner, drew a sword which Charles Peirie drew in one hand and had a short naked weapon in the other, which weapon Charles Peirie tapered at Capt. Byres when he entered the room and upon Capt. Byres' desiring him, he threw them down and said before he were taken he would make dead men.

Thereafter Charles Peirie plead that at the time mentioned he was drunk, remembered nothing of what had passed and was sorry if he had been guilty of any Indecency or crime. That he never intended Capt. Byres any indignity but had always the greatest regard for him.

The intoxication being proved, and Captain Byres stating that "during the whole course of his service prior to the date of the furl-off, he never knew Charles Peirie guilty of any misbehaviour," the Court decided in the Case of Charles Peirie and William Webster to "supercede advising the complaints and proofs against them till the Court has the opinion of other officers and of the Prince, his secretary, and in the meantime ordains them to remain prisoners."

There was a further charge against John Thain "that he took upon him one or other of the days of February past to discharge Alex Kempt a recruit belonging to said Capt. Byres and to take from the said Kempt for his discharge ten shillings sterling." The Court ordains him "to remain prisoner in the main guard here untill the day the Regiment march from this place and then before they march to

¹ The second account of the Court Martial adds laconically;—"In which request he was indulged."

receive thirty lashes from a drum att the head of the Regt. and ordains Thain to reimburse Kempt of the ten shillings taken from him.”

THE FINAL STAGE.

The Prince, with his personal suite, was now at Elgin, where he was ill. Lord John Drummond continued at Gordon Castle until 19th March, when he and his staff crossed the Spey and took up their quarters in the Manse of Speymouth.

Marchant's History of the Rebellion says:—"The person called Lord John Drummond and the remains of his regiment and the few French horse lately landed, is at Gordon Castle; their low country people, whom they set at 2,000, are at Elgin, Fochabers and other places on both sides the Spey. They are intrenching themselves and preparing Herissons and crow-feet to spoil the fords, and they give out that their clans are coming behind them."

Lord Elcho¹ says that "from March 19, Lord John Drummond's troops were quartered all along the north side² of the Spey from Rothes, quite to the mouth of the river, mostly in huts built on purpose." Elsewhere these huts are described as "a sort of barracks made by the Rebels of clods of earth and sticks after their Highland fashion."

On the 20th of March Major Glascoe,³ with a small party of horse and foot, returned from Fochabers to Keith, where he inflicted a signal defeat on Captain Campbell's forces quartered there; the Duke of Perth's defeat of Lord Loudoun occurred on the same day.

Lord John Drummond to The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Spea Side, 22 March 1746. (Speyside)

My Lord,

I received just now the letter your Lordship favours me with. I was not before last night informed of Stonywood's Regt. being

¹ In his "Affairs of Scotland, 1745-1746."

² He means, of course, the west side, as the one reached after crossing the river which runs almost due north.

³ Nicholas Glascoe, an Irishman, born in France, and a lieutenant in Dillon's Irish-French Regiment. He distinguished himself in the "affair of Keith" and (less honourably) at the sacking of Cullen House (page 113) He was taken prisoner at Culloden and sent to London, when, after nine months in the Marshalsea, he was eventually liberated. In the Prince's army he was a major in Lord Ogilvy's regiment.

diminued of so many men, but if Abochie's¹ be not yet sett out, pray send them off immediately, the only danger we ar in being from a strong body of the Enemies which is at Strath-bogy and Keith. How ever just now the River is scherse fowerdable any wher. (*This condition which had suddenly occurred was very soon to be altered again.*)

As to the Laird of Grant since he is gone up to his own country without any regular troupes, tho it was according to the inclination of his people, with whatever gathering he can make will not comme into a country wher we have 2,500 men which can fall into his country when ever they have a mind.²

As to the sea we can not pretend to hinder boats from towing ships, but as little will they pretend to say to us at Land. It is very probable that L(ord) Loudon³ is imberrquing himself and maybe a few of his men; all his people having been dispersed, a great many taken prisoners, and the 3 ships seased which carried off from Inverness all their goods and armes. This moment I am informed of it by an express from Sir Thomas Sheridan.

¹ John Gordon of Avochie, nephew to old Glenbucket, a very prominent Aberdeenshire Jacobite. He raised a regiment and was one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity.

² Ludovick Grant of Grant, whose father, Sir James Grant, M.P., had remained in London during all the time of the Rising, was a Whig at heart, but some of his clan were on the Prince's side, and after he had held a meeting of the clan, at Castle Grant, and left it as described later to join Cumberland in Aberdeen, five prominent Grant lairds, Rothiemurchus, Tullochgorum, Delachaple, Whitteran and Aucherneck, made a "compact of neutrality" with the Jacobite leaders, which lasted until Culloden. They appreciated the situation of their country just as did Lord John Drummond!

³ John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, b. 1705. He raised an Independent Company of Highlanders in 1745, and a certain number of the Prince's followers in Lord Rosebery's list are described as "deserters from Lord Loudoun's regiment." He was adjutant-general to Cope, but was sent to the north immediately after Prestonpans to command the troops there. He did not particularly distinguish himself, except by inducing old Lord Lovat to come into Inverness as a kind of hostage, under his eye. A few days later this astute nobleman effected his escape. This was in December, 1745. In March, 1746, when the Highland Army came north, Loudoun, with Lord President Forbes, fled for refuge first to Sutherland, and, after his defeat there by the Duke of Perth, he went to Skye, and took no part in the battle of Culloden, though he was very active afterwards in assisting in the harrying of the Highlands.

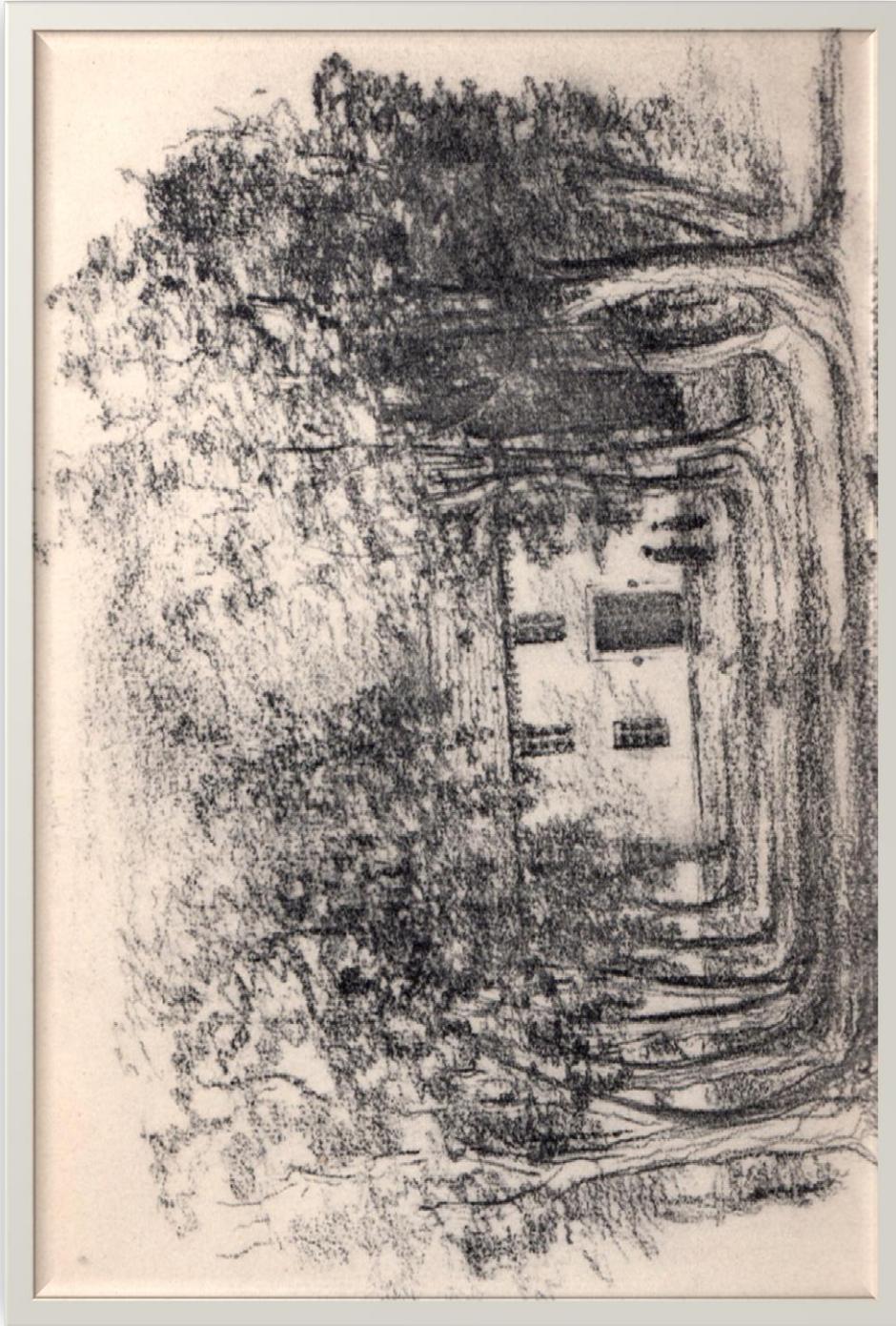
Pray send off as soon as possible the Prisoners to Inverness with such a guard as your Lordship will suppose sufficient and intelligent officers, for we do not know how long we will be able to keep this post, and the first march we make from this must be Forest.

This moment I am informed by my Lord Ogilvie of the accident that has happened to the Farkersons in losing their Prisoner¹ which I am sorry for.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most um and obed. servant,
J. DRUMMOND.

The moment you receive this express *Pray* send us here Abockies Regt. and keep Stonywoods.

¹ This probably refers to Mr. Charles Maitland of Pitrichie, taken prisoner at the battle of Inverurie, 23rd December, 1745. In a petition presented to the Government in 1747 for the pardon of Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, Mr. Maitland gives as a reason for clemency to be shown to Farquharson that "by the kindness of this Gentleman, who was in charge of the prisoners he (Maitland) was enabled to escape from the back window of the room where he lay confined, in Baillie Sutherland's house in Nairn, on 20 March 1746," two days before the date of the above letter. The petition is in the Public Record Office.—"Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the '45."



AUCHIRIES HOUSE
FROM AN OLD SKETCH KINDLY LENT BY J. C. OGILVIE FORBES, ESQ.
(THE HOUSE IS NOW IN RUINS)

Major Hale, A.D.C. to Lord John Drummond, to The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Speymouth ye 23 March 1746.

My Lord,

My Lord John had the honour of yours late last (night) which made him defer answering your Lordship till this morning and as he was obliged to go out on business he desir'd me to do it.

My Lord begs if Avachie's men are not parted from Elgin that your Lordship wou'd make them part immedeatly so that they may be here today. My Lord desires also that you wou'd order every day ten or twelve of the Gardes, or your Lordship's own regt., to come here every day to make patrouilles and return at night. Some of them must come today.

There has been seen at the river mouth a ship beating since yesterday; and this morning two large fishing boats attempted to land men but as the boats cou'd not pass the bar they were oblig'd to return. The two boats are gone up the Firth and some of our men say they have White Cockaids in their hats and by the course they steer shou'd be ours. The ship is still here. If they shou'd go up as far as Elgin it is proper your Lordship send to the coast to observe them and if ours, to give them the assistance necessary.

We have already sent along the coast on this side to know what they are.

I am, My Lord, with great respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
H. HALE.

My Lord John begs you'l hasten the Gardes etc. that are to patrouille today.

The same to the same.

Speymouth ye 23 March 1746. nine at night.

My Lord,

This moment I had the honour of your Lordship's letter which I shew'd to my Lord John.

As for the meal, we are taking all the necessary precautions about it and shall send it to Elgin as soon as possible. My Lord posetively desires that he may have every day some horse from Elgin to help to make the patrouilles, for as the Enemy is so near us and this day considerably renforced, it is very proper that we shou'd watch them, so close as not to suffer them to make one movement without our knowledge. But as for Fitzjames' horse they will be of no use to us here as they are too heavy and besides we must not wear their horses at that exercise but keep them for a better occasion. By an Express

arrived this moment we have an account that the Laird of Grant arrived at his house last Thursday but cou'd raise no men and yesterday was oblig'd to go off in a fright to joyn Cumberland having with him only twenty foot armed and some gentlemen on horseback. So that now you have no need of patrouilles at Elgin. Lord George Murray is expected with his troops every moment in Strathspey.¹

I am, my Lord, with great respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
H. HALE.

The same to the same.

Speymouth ye 25 March 1746.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's letter which I show'd to my Lord John Drummond who has sent another order to the Gardes to come here to morrow morning, for it is impossible for us to keep the enemy in view without horse to go out and get us information.

As for the meal we shall send you this night sixty bols and as soon as possible will send you more. We have visited the Granaries belonging to Lord Braco,² but find little or no meal in them and as for those belonging to the Duke of Gordon³ we are oblig'd to sub-

¹ Lord George Murray had left Inverness on 15th March with 700 men; he had surprised, and taken 30 Government posts in the early morning of the 17th, and for a fortnight remained in Atholl besieging his brother's Castle of Blair. On his way there he seems to have paid a passing visit to Castle Grant, for, on 24th March, Ludovick Grant wrote to his father from Strathbogie:—"Lord Nairn came to Castle Grant as did Lord George Murray with about 1600 men and brought with them two cannon 9 pounders, to batter down the house if resisted. When our people saw that force, they agreed to give access to the house immediatlie.... I am informed Lord Nairn did noe great hurt—further than drinking some wine etc and cutting a little beef and mutton."

² Lord Braco, formerly William Duff of Braco, had been made an Irish peer in 1735 and was a prominent supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty. He vied with Lord Findlater in making gifts to Cumberland and his army, and after the downfall of the Jacobite cause, exerted his interest on behalf of his relations on that side—three brothers-in-law, Sir James Kinloch, William Baird and Sir William Dunbar of Durn, also his son-in-law, Sir William Gordon of Park.

³ Alexander, third Duke of Gordon, refrained as long as possible from declaring himself on either side, but it was always surmised that, unlike his young brother, Lord Lewis, he was a Whig at heart.

sist our men here upon them and if we stay here any time will hardly have enough to furnish us.

'Tis certain the Enemy had made or is making a movement. They sent their Equipage southward and the Campbels took the road towards Old Meldrum, but as this may be a feint it is very requisite to be very exact. For that reason it will not be amiss that you make patrouilles during the night on your side and as soon as we can fix their designs we shal not fail of letting your Lordship know them.

I am, my Lord, with a very great respect

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

H. HALE.

The next letter, dated 26th March, effectually disposes of the legend so long repeated by historians and others, that it was the swollen state of the Spey which prevented Cumberland from leaving Aberdeen and advancing to the north before the date on which he did so, viz., 8th April.

(He knew exactly what he was doing and employed the six weeks' stay of his troops in Aberdeen most usefully in instructing them in the new drill he had devised, whereby they were trained to receive with the bayonet the shock of the Highlanders' advance; a shock which had hitherto proved so fatal to their discipline.)

Not the height of the Spey, but its lowness was the present feature of the military situation, and it had come upon the Highland commanders as a sudden and quite unexpected difficulty (and, in fact, disadvantage) of their position. This point is one of the most interesting in the present collection of hitherto unpublished letters.

The frequent changes in the level of the river are chronicled by John Murray, who mentions its lowness on 1st March, and by Lord John Drummond who, on 22nd March, says it is "scarce fordable anywhere," whereas on the 26th it is again "so small" that the fords are a source of danger.

On 9th March he left Gordon Castle secretly on foot and joined Cumberland in Aberdeen. (The testimony as to this is Cumberland's own letter to the Duke of Newcastle.) He had been still in the country when the Prince stayed at Gordon Castle, though not in his own house at the moment. The Duchess was there, as she was daily expecting her confinement, but she refused to see the Prince.

Lord John Drummond to Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Spea Mouth 26 March
10 in the morning.

My Lord,

As the water is growing very smal it is essential we should gard strictly all the Fowerds (fords). Pray see that Glenbucket's people (see next page) should comme this night or tomorrow morning early.

As John Roy Stuart is gone up to Strath Spea with his Regt. to watch the enemies motions that way, your Lordship need be in no sort of apprehention att Elgen.

Colonel Mackintosh has brought along with him an order from Mr. Goodwilly to quarter the men For Cesse in the very houses which are full of soldiers and Mr. Comry¹ sends orders for caring off the Corne and Haiy from the houses in which we live, when we ar our selves in great want of both. I wish these gentlemen would come or send a company here to examin the situation of these affairs for to give the proper directions.²

Just now we hear that a party of the Enemy are coming to Keith.

I am with true valew and esteeme, My Lord,
your Lordship's most um and obed. servant,

J. DRUMMOND.

GLENBUCKET.

John Gordon of Glenbucket is, perhaps, the best known figure of the '45. Already one of the heroes of the unlucky and ill-managed Rising of 1715, he was now an old man over seventy, who had been bedridden for three years. Moreover, after the '15 he had, as is proved by his own letters and those of Lord Huntly and others, acted as a Government agent in the pacification of the Highlands, and had been entirely unsuspected of continued Jacobite sympathies at the time of Prince Charles' landing. Lord President Forbes, who did so much by his peaceful and skilful treatment of many of his neighbours to thwart the Prince's aim of conquering Scotland, wrote on 14th August, 1745:—"I have some confidence in my old friend Glenbucket's prudence and temper, that if he hear of the thing, he will give Glengarry good advice to prevent his certain destruction, and I doubt not he will be ready to take it." As it turned out, Glengarry was the prudent one who remained at home, while John

¹ Steward to the Earl of Moray at Donnibristle. (Lord Rosebery's "List of Persons in the Rebellion of 1745.")

² The confusion in the quarter-master's department was beginning to have its fatal consequences.

Gordon, all his old loyalty to the Stuart cause stirred again, joined Prince Charles among the very first, was largely instrumental in “bringing out” both the Lairds and the common people of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire; fought in every battle, was a hunted fugitive for seven months after the failure of the cause at Culloden, escaped to Sweden and then to France, where he died at Boulogne, 16th June, 1750. He makes but a very fugitive appearance in these letters, but there is at Fettercairn House an interesting letter from him to Lord Pitsligo, written three years before the Rising. It is known that at some period between 1715 and 1745 Glenbucket was in bad health. It is dated from Fraserburgh (where the family of Glenbucket long had a house) 18th June, 1742:—

My Lord,

I am much obliged to your Lop for your concern for me. I got home with trouble and obliged to take a vomite and this day I thank God I am prettie easie and I'm hopeful my daughter Jeanie will have no feavour being prettie well since last night I was assisted up stairs frightened her sicknes away. As to Boynlie his affair, your Lop need take no trouble till your convenience, your word is sufficient if sure of lyfe. I wish your Lop long lyfe and health. I with all my concerns here offer our most dutiful respects to your Lop and my Lady Pitsligoe.

I continue my Lord

Your Lop's most humble and most obedient servant,

J. GORDON.

Lord John Drummond to Lord Pitsligo.

26 March.

My Lord,

I receiv'd this day the letter your Lordship favour'd me with.

Some fisher men who had been aboard of the ships that ar seen off this shore assure that there was no soldiers aboard of them so that probably they ar sent to cary the canons of Lord Louden and some of his men. However this is not intirly to be depended upon.

My Lord Elchies¹ girnals have been visited in which ther is no meal and the only we have now here to depend upon for the Troups

¹ Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, whose son sold the estate to the Earl of Findlater. Patrick Grant, in writing to Robert Grant of Tamore on 13th May of this year, said:—“I give you my word that since I got your letter in January, I never heard nor knew one bitt of it till I got your letter yesterday—nor knew not one tittle about my estate, further than getting repeated verbal messages that the rebels had left nothing but the bare walls, but had destroyed everything

is what is in a giral belonging to John Gordon which he had bought up. As Your Lordship is upon the spot pray deside the present dispute explained in a Petition, for 3 men that are out of the way.

The Enemy sent this morning a smal party of Foot and Horse to Keith, which return'd agen to Strathbogy about 4 in the afternoon.

I am with great sincerity, My Lord,
your Lordship most um. and ob. servant,

J. DRUMMOND.

Some of the fishermen who went "aboard of the ships" were not so lucky as Lord John Drummond's informants.

The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 31st March, 1746, has the following:—

"The 'Vulture' looked into Portsoy Harbour on Tuesday last and hoisted French colours, on which two boats with 16 men (Jacobites) on board came from the town. They were all taken and put on board the Aldborough Man of War."

Major Hale, A.D.C. to Lord John Drummond, to The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Speymouth, ye 26 March 1746.

My Lord,

I had the honour of yr Lordship's Letter. Am very glad the meal came safe.

It is without doubt but the Enemy has some designes but we can't find them out as yet. This morning a party of them about a hundred and fifty went into Keith and another body near a thousand men staid about half way from Strathbogie and Keith. What their designes are we can't tell but we have informations that they'l strive to get over Spey at or above Rothes.¹ We are just now sending to reinforce that post. I shall let your Lordship know if we have anything new and am with a great respect

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

H. HALE.

This moment we have an Acct. that the Enemy is again retir'd from Keith to Strathbogie as well as the other party.

they could not carry with them; and your letter makes me hope that matters though bad enough, are not quite so bad as I had heard.

¹ That the enemy should have had designs of crossing the Spey as far south as Rothes added greatly to the anxieties of the commanders in charge of that line of defence.

Copy Letter Addressed by John Goodwillie to Captain Ramsay at Duff us.

Elgin, 27th March 1746.

Sir,

I received a letter yesterday from Inverness from Mr. John Hay (see page 103) acquainting me it was agreed that Sir Robert Gordon's Levy Money should be taken in Wheat and Oats, and if there were not so much as pay it of that Grain, to take the remains in Bear. The Wheat & Oats to go to Forres and the Bear to this town. You will therefore go with your party to morrow morning early and oversee the measuring out of all the Wheat & Oats and take in the whole horses of Sir Robert Gordon's lands & set them off loaded for Forres and keep an exact note of what is sent away, which remit me. You are to quarter at Gordonstown till the whole victual is delivered. You will acquaint Sir Robt. that there is a Terms Cess due off his lands 25th Curt., which he must remit in Cash as it seems it was ordered so, as Mr. Hay writes me the sum being $\text{£}132: 16: 7$ Scots which by no means I will accept in victual. Otherwise must order quartering for it. I expect it will be paid me at once tomorrow. The Levy Money demanded of Sir Robert is $\text{£}192: 8s.$ Sterl. The Wheat and Oats to be calculated at 8 merks pr. Boll, so that you will know whether there will be Wheat and Oats sufficient to answer that sum and which you will acquaint me off. This you are upon no consideration to delay as my orders were pressing.

I am, Sir,
your most humble Servant,
Signed Jo. GOODWILLIE.

JOHN HAY OF RESTALRIG.

John Hay of Restalrig, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, was younger brother of Thomas Hay of Huntingdon, afterwards a Judge—Lord Huntingdon.

John Hay was Treasurer, and had become Assistant-Secretary to the Prince at the date of the battle of Falkirk, as it was to him Lord George consigned the memorial from all the Highland chiefs *re* a retirement to the north on 29th January, 1746. When John Murray of Broughton became ill early in March, John Hay succeeded to the duties of Secretary, which he seems to have performed very badly. This was no doubt partly due to the fact that Murray had been in a position of great, though ill-defined responsibility and importance. Hay has been universally blamed for the failure of the Commissariat before Culloden. Lord George Murray, writing to the Prince the day after the battle, says:—"The want of provisions was another misfortune which had the most fatal consequences. Mr. Hay, whom yr

R.H. trusted with the principall direction and superintendancy of these things of leat (and without whos orders not a Boll of Meall or one farthing of money was to be delivered) has served yr R.H. most egregious ill.”

Hay escaped in the French ship, the “Bellona,” on 3rd May with so many others. He was one of those included in the Act of Attainder of 1745 as “John Hay portioner of Restalrig”— a designation which he resented as not being sufficiently dignified.¹ He remained with Charles in France and during his wanderings on the continent, and after the death of the old Chevalier became Master of the Royal Household in Rome, until he was dismissed by Charles in 1768. He returned to Scotland, and died in 1784.

Lord John Drummond to The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

(Apparently losing his temper even with Lord Pitsligo!)

Speymouth, ye 29th March 1746.

My Lord,

Tis most surprising that notwithstanding I have insisted so often to have some of the Gardes here every day to make patrouilles that I must still call for them three or four times before I can get them to come once. I beg your Lordship wou’d tell them once for all that I expect that six of them will come here every day and that if they miss I shall be obliged to abandon this post and give the Prince an account of the reasons for doing it.

I am, my Lord, very sincerely
your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. DRUMMOND.

These constant appeals for horse patrols from Lord Pitsligo’s troop emphasise the fact that the Prince’s army was lamentably deficient in cavalry.

At the time of the march into England it was calculated that the Life Guards, under Lords Elcho and Balmerino, amounted to about one hundred and seventy men.

The Horse Guards, under Lord Kilmarnock, about one hundred (and some had been dismounted in order to provide horses for the officers of Fitzjames’ regiment).

The Hussars had been reduced to even less, and Pitsligo’s own troop, which had at one time numbered three hundred, had already shrunk to one-half.

On the 31st March Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstone sent an immensely long petition to Lord Pitsligo at Elgin, setting forth that

¹ According to a letter now in the Public Record Office from himself!

“72 bolls of oats have been taken from him with a like proportion of Straw and all his Hay old and new, tho’ little or none was taken from his neighbours who have more hay than Sir Robert had and not the tenth part of the number of Cattle to maintain. . . .”

“That his whole tenants with their horses have been employed in carrying different draughts of victual from Elgin to Nairn, Calder and Inverness so that they have got no time to plough or sow, and great parts of Sir Robert’s own farm lye these ten days unharrowed after the seed was thrown into the ground for want of the use of men and horses.”

“Therefore it is to be hoped from Common principles of Humanity and Justice that Sir Robert and his tenants will be but equally taxed with the rest of the Country for Forrage and other Carriages.”

He also complains that the party quartered in his house to collect Cess and Levy Money drove his family from the house and ill-treated his servants.

It is “further to be hoped that of the hundred and twenty work horses said to be raising out of this Country none more will be demanded from any of Sir Robert’s tenants as the outmost proportion out of Sir Robert’s whole estate should be seven of that number and nine have been already taken.”

Another complaint is that wheat, oats and barley were to be taken from him for the Levy money at eight marks the boll—when the local price was higher, and a request is added that a certain quantity of each sort of grain sufficient for flour, meal and malt for his family and seed may be left.

In a second portion of his memorial, Sir Robert complains that the remaining horses of his tenants have been again used for carrying victual to Inverness, and seven more taken away, and his own “breeding mares, heavy with foal were seized and yoked for two days successively in carrying forrage to Elgin.” He says he sent a protest to Inverness and received a reply, “That as Lord Pitsligo commands and directs in that corner, if these things are done by his orders he finds and sees them necessary for the service; if by subalterns, he is too knowing and good not to redress grievances on a proper address,” and he therefore addresses himself direct to Lord Pitsligo, repeating his demands with a somewhat sneering remark that “My Lord Pitsligo will likewise determine what quantities of each sort of grain are to be left for seed and for the use of Sir Robert’s family and servants, if his Lordship does not intend that they should continue exiles from their habitation while his Lordship commands in this place.”

A reply, doubtless drawn up by the orders of Pitsligo, is also preserved. It points out that Sir Robert and his tenants have been treated like everyone else, and that he must “impute his grievances to the unfortunate circumstances of the Nation.”

That Sir Robert Gordon did his best to avoid paying of Cess, etc., and providing horses for the Prince's service, is shown by another Memorial, dated 16th February, wherein he protests against "ane order upon me, signed by Francis Gordon for no less than one thousand stone weight of hay, twenty cart loads of straw and ten bolls of oats. I had a very large pease-stack in my corn-yard and it was the practice of the Rebels when they brought their horses to carry away loads from Gordonstown to put their horses to eat at this pease-stack, and as above sixty horses could have conveniently eaten at this stack at one and the same time, and that they were at different times put to, and did eat at the stack, it necessarily follows that I thereby suffered damages." He further complained that the Jacobites "carried away from the house of Gordonstown Pork, hams, dried fish, books, etc.," and says, "As my servants were threatened, I was obliged to secrete my labouring horses." The stable where he did this may still be seen on the coast at Covesea, near Lossiemouth. It is a natural cave in a rock facing the sea, and the entrance was then probably below high water mark, so as to form an effectual hiding place.

A letter from Arthur Gordon of Carnousie states that three of Sir Robert's¹ best horses were seized for the use of the Prince himself when the Highland Army first came to Morayshire.

*Sir Thomas Sheridan to The Rt. Honble The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.
(This letter is first addressed to the Duke of Perth. This address is erased and Sheridan adds, Pray excuse the Blunder and hurry that occasion'd it.)*

Inverness April the 4th 1746.

My Lord,

I have just received the honour of yr. Ldp's without wch. I should have been obliged by orders from H.R.H. to give you this trouble.

As ye Laird of Maclachlane is sent to provide every thing requisite for the service of the Army so it is necessary he should be supported by such parties as he wants to execute these orders, and this is particularly recommended to yr. Ldp's care. Now it happens that horses, i.e., the best and strongest kind of them that the country affords, as well as proper carts, are what is most wanted for the

¹ Sir Robert Gordon of the '45 was the eldest son of Sir Robert Gordon, the 4th Baronet, born about 1645, a man of great learning and culture, who was popularly supposed in his own day to have been in league with the Devil, and called the Wizard. His two sons, Robert and William, having succeeded him as 5th and 6th Barts., and both having died childless, the estates and title passed to the family of Cumming of Altyre, thereafter Gordon-Cumming.

carrying the Artillery and Princes Baggage. These Mr. Murray had directions to provide when he went from hence and wou'd have done it had he not fallen sick. Upon which Peter Smith¹ was sent to do it. But he, having given some orders about it, came away, and now the same commission is entrusted to Col. Maclachlane who must see it done at any case. This makes it impossible to return the horses already sent hither on that score (of wick many were carried back by their drivers). If they were loaded with meal or other things it was accidental and only not to let them come empty, tho' yet as I understand some of them did.

I have the honour to be with Respect and Sincerity, My Lord

Yr. Lpd's most humble and most obedient servant,

THOS. SHERIDAN.

This letter shows the beginning of the final débâcle. With the departure from headquarters of John Murray of Broughton, all the arrangements for provisions for man and beast were shockingly mismanaged. In view of Murray's subsequent treachery it has been suggested that the illness which necessitated his retirement to Inverness at this period was at any rate very conveniently timed by him; but the exigencies of the Prince's service were enough to wear out the strongest man. Even Lord George Murray, who is known to have had a constitution of iron, had written to his wife shortly before this date that "to be changed into a post-horse would be a positive ease to me!"

All the leaders were frequently at work through the night, writing the innumerable letters to each other which the want of trained and trustworthy clerks rendered necessary.

Copy Answer Wrote to Sir Thos. Sheridan by Lord Pitsligo, always patient, and thinking the best of everyone, even of John Murray of Broughton.

Elgin 6th Aprile 1746.

Sir,

I hope our correspondence on disagreeable subjects shall come to an end when matters are sufficiently explained. I do assure you of one thing—there never came any orders to me but what I instantly intimated to the proper persons for putting them in execution and partys were allways ordered out as occasion required.

¹ Patrick Smyth of Methven, an enthusiastic Jacobite, whose daughter married John Gordon of Beldorney, and while the Prince was at Holyrood started to make him an embroidered waistcoat. This, in its unfinished slate, was sold in Aberdeen as recently as 1898.

As to the Horses and Carts for the Artillery and Baggage, as soon as I reed, the Prince's orders by Peter Smith, I caused execute them through the Parishes lying most adjacent to this place. Accordingly a great many horses were brought in here, some of which were found insufficient and cast by Mr. Comrie.¹ Those that were sufficient (with some Carts) were sent with a party to Forres, where they were all delivered safe, and I could not but suppose that they would have gone in the same manner from town to town till they arrived at Inverness, this being the method proposed by Mr. Smith.

By the enclosed list there were 90 Horses and thirty Carts to be raised from the Parishes next to Forres, for which I signed orders and sent them by Mr. Smith as he returned to Inverness. I hope these Horses and Carts shall still be made effectually, and I doubt not but there are more to be gott beyond Forres if necessary, for the country hereabouts is allready exhausted. It is very true that numberless hardships follow upon war, as Armys must be supplied, but in such cases, where nothing more is to be gott, Invention is likewise exhausted.

There is another difficulty which must be adverted to concerning meall. The great quantitys that were raised here having been sent to Inverness and beyond it, has made the meall so very scarce that there is difficulty to find wherewithall to subsist the men here and at Speyside, and if the Army should march this way some course must be taken for a supply. I'm told a good quantity might be gott from Rosshire to which there is now access, and the country betwixt the River of Findhorn and Inverness affords more meall than between Findhorn and Spey, most of the rents of the former division being paid in meall and the rents of the latter in Bear or money.

I hope we shall soon have more agreeable things to write and talk about for I shall never despair of the Prince's affairs.

You will be very glad to hear that Mr. Murray is in a good way.

I am with great sincerity and regard

yr obed. hum. servant,

PITSLIGO.

¹ "Mr. Comrie, one of the Scotch officers, died this morning."—
Note by Mr. John Sharpe in Carlisle, 25th July, 1746.

Sir Thos. Sheridan to Lord Pitsligo.

Inverness April ye 7th 1746.
six in the evening.

My Lord,

H.R.H. dos not in ye least doubt but yr. Ldp. has allways complied punctually with the orders signified to you, and if he has not hitherto reaped the benefit he expected from them, he is persuaded the fault will not be laid at yr. door. But so it is, that of the ninety horses you mention'd there have come hither not fifty, so that he still wants a great many to make up the number of a hundred and twenty demanded, nor are there near thirty carts. This makes it necessary to press others, for in fine H.H. must have wherewithal to draw his baggage and mount, if possible, Fitzjames's horse.¹ What do's not serve for one may for the other. I have been told particularly of a man that had disfigured his horses on purpose that the Troopers might not be pleased with them.² If the thing be true he ought not to have one of them spared. Orders, repeated orders, have been sent into Rosshire to provide Meal and ship it over, and several persons have been charged with the commission. I hope, as yr. Ldp. do's, that we shall soon have something more agreeable to write or talk upon. In the mean time I have the honour to be with all Respect, my Lord,

Yr. Ldp's most obedient humble servant,
THOS. SHERIDAN.

Another letter of the same evening from Sir Thos. Sheridan to Lord Pitsligo, with a copy of the answer, written next morning.

Inverness April ye 7th, 1746.

My Lord,

I am sorry the correspondence I have the honour to have with yr. Ldp. should sett upon such disagreeable subjects as I find now still must. I am perfectly sensible how hard it is to make low people hearken to reason, but yet it is still necessary to trie it.

As to yr. fears as to horses—yor Ldp. cannot but see that Artillery and Baggage horses must be had and C-L Maclachlane has had orders to provide them in a country where we were told they might be found. It is no doubt a hardship upon the owners, wch. wou'd not be put upon them if it were avoidable. But if we were to stay here during the summer you know the Armies wou'd eat up the crop in its

¹ The contingent of Fitzjames's Horse, which landed at Aberdeen in February, is known (from the letters of Cumberland's spies) to have consisted of men and saddles without horses.

² Probably Sir Robert Gordon!

ground. This is one of the hardships of War wch allways carries such mischiefs along with it.

I have the honour to be with all Respect, My Lord,
Your Ldp's most humble and most obedient servant,
THO. SHERIDAN.

Copy of Lord Pitsligo's answer to Sir Thomas Sheridan.

Elgin, 8th April 1746.

Sir,

The 90 horses I mentioned formerly, and for levying which I had given orders about three weeks ago, had never been called for, I know not by what chance, but I'm informed Coll. Machlachlane sent out partys yesterday to raise them, so that I hope they shall still answer. There were fifteen horses more sent from this place today recommended to that Coll; which is such a burden upon this Country that a great many of the Farmers will be incapacitated from tilling their ground and their familys consequently reduced to Beggary. I'm sure it was allways the Prince's intention (since hardships must be) that none should suffer beyond their proportion.

I'm glad there is like to be a supply of Meall from Ross-shire but an unlucky accident happen'd this morning by a party that was ordered from Speyside to bring in some quantity from Lord Findlater's estate, instead of which they have plundered his house, carried off everything that was valuable in it except some Pictures and what they could not carry they broke and destroyed, Mirrors, Tables, Chairs etc. This no doubt will vex R.H. generous heart and it throws a great disparagement on his Army; his friends too are apprehensive that this abuse will be precedent for treating their Houses with the same severity. Lord John Drummond will inform you how the thing happened, he disclaims his giving such orders, and every body wishes that orders of any consequence were only given to such persons as are acquainted with the laws of the Country. As this unlucky affair will make a noise over all the world, I would humbly suggest that the Prince should testify his dislike of such proceedings in some publick Declaration. I have this moment spoke with a Servant of Lord Findlater's who tells me the dammages are far beyond what I imagine, for there is hardly a bit of Glass left in the windows. I was flattering myself with the thoughts that we should no more have any disagreeable subjects to write about and am truely sorry you should have your share in the mortification.

James, 5th Earl of Findlater and 2nd Earl of Seafield, was a prominent supporter of the Government at this period. As such, he was naturally the object of Jacobite vengeance, and the sack of Cullen House, regretted by Lord Pitsligo, was a great blot on the

conduct of the Jacobite army in the north. The actual responsibility for it has never been fixed.

From Lord Findlater's complaint to the Government, now in the Record Office, and from the official account in the Register House in Edinburgh, further details of this deplorable incident can be obtained.

The servants in the house described how it was broken into by a party under Major Glascoe and that a terrible scene of desolation ensued. The Rev. Mr. Lawtie, the minister of Cullen, said he went over next morning and saw "All the furniture tore down and almost all carried off—chests, trunks, cabinets, presses broke in pieces and lying open, all the floors full of rubbish and strewed with feathers, broken mirrors, broken glass, broken china, pieces of broken wood torn from the panels of the rooms, papers, parchments torn and trampled and mixed with dust and feathers and jelly and marmalade and honey and wet and all sorts of nastiness mixed together and that in some rooms he waded to the knees in that mixture."

Sir Thomas Sheridan to Lord Pitsligo.

Inverness, April ye 9th, 1746.

My Lord,

Yr. Ldp. nor no body else need doubt but H.R.H. is concern'd at any dammage done in a country which he came not to oppress but set free. Yet still it must be remembered that War always carrys such accidents along with it and tho' H.R.H. wou'd never be persuaded to allow of such things, yet his ennemies cou'd have no just reason to complain if he did, considering with what barbarity the Elector's forces and Partizans have treated our friends, by burning the houses and stripping the women and children wherever they could come.

As for the horses it will never be doubted but yr. Ldp. has done and will do yr. utmost considering the need in wch. we stand of them.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
yr. Ldp's most humble and most obedient servant,
THO. SHERIDAN.

Of the same date is an autograph letter from the Duke of Perth, preserved at Cairnfield, Banffshire.

To Alexander Gordon of Cairnfield.

Sir,—You are hereby ordered to deliver forthwith to His Royall Highness Magazine in this place thirty bolls of meall and that att or before twelve o'clock in the forenoon, under the penalty of the severest military execution to be done immediately thereafter against your person and effects.

Given att fochabris this ninth day of April 1746.

PERTH.

Some of the minor difficulties of the residents in the zone of war are shown in the documents which follow:—

A certain censorship over the letters of the Government sympathisers was exercised by the Jacobite leaders. James Thomson, servant to Sir Harry Innes, had been summoned to appear before Lord Pitsligo, Lord Lewis Gordon and others at Elgin on the 6th of March, 1746, and confessed to having carried letters to Lady Gordon of Gordonston, the Lord Lyon (Alexander Brodie) and to some merchants in Elgin, as well as one “to the Cook at Gordon Castle,” “all of which he showed to Lord Pitsligo.”

There is also a letter from Lady Gordon¹ of Gordonston herself to Lord Pitsligo, in which she said, “I return your Lordship many thanks for sending me the letter which came from Sir William Dunbar. I do assure your Lordship I don’t at all grudge the opening of my letters. Sir Robert offers his most Humble to your Lordship and I am with Due respect my Lord

Your Lordship’s most obedient servant,
AGNES GORDON.

Saturday after noon.

(but a more precise date is obtained from the deposition of James Thomson.)

There are also two letters from Lady Innes:—

Anne Drummonda, wife of Sir Harry Innes of Innes, was the eldest daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, an M.P. and a noted Whig. Her brother, Ludovick Grant, was also a Government sympathiser, and another sister was married to the Whig Lord Braco.

As Sir Harry Innes was himself a supporter of the Government, it is natural that the Jacobite leaders should have regarded Lady Innes with some suspicion.

Lady Dunbar of Durn was her younger sister, Clementina, but in this case the husband—Sir William—was a Jacobite, though not a particularly distinguished one. He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but interest was made for him by his brother-in-law, Ludovick Grant, and the latter’s father-in-law, Lord Findlater, who wrote to the Duke of Cumberland that “the publick interest cannot possibly receive any hurt from his Majesty’s extending his mercy to this foolish silly man.” The Pardon was granted.

¹ Agnes, daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood. She survived her husband (who died in 1772) for a long period, and during the Napoleonic Wars she had the garden wall of her small house at Lossiemouth fortified by a frieze of broken glass imbedded in lime to repel a possible French invasion!

Lady Innes to Lord Pitsligo.

Colledge of Elgin, Aprile the 6th 1746.

My Lord,

Being informed yt. all the Victual of every kind in the Girnels and Lofts at Innes House and whatever Victual is found in the hands of the Tennants is to be violently carried off, I have only one necessary request, that your Lop. wou'd be pleas'd to order as much to be left as will maintain, to next cropt, 26 Servants belonging to my family, both here and at Innes House, besides what will be necessary for my own support and young children.

I must also assure your Lordship that forty Bolls of Bear lying at Innes House were some time agoe sold and ready to be delivered to Provost William Gordon, merchant at Forress; that ninety four Bolls of Bear belong to the Duke of Gordon as feu duty payable out of the Lands of Meft; that twenty three Bolls one firloft and two pecks of meal are due for the last cropt to the Ministers of Urquhart and St. Andrews (Llanbryde) as stipend. None of the above mentioned quantitys of victual being mine, I hope they will be left in the Lofts and Tenants hands. Whatever may be the event I thought proper to inform your Lordship of this.

I am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ANNE INNES.

P.S.—Not being very able to write just now I hope your Lordship will forgive a borrowed hand. Had I thought matters would have been drove so far, I could have sold of this Victual since the Army came here, but I assure your Lordship I have not sold one Boll.

The following document from the MSS. of the Duke of Roxburghe (Historical Manuscripts Commission) still further elucidates the situation of the Government supporters. It is in the handwriting of Sir James Innes Norcliffe, who succeeded as 5th Duke of Roxburghe in 1812 as the result of a decision in his favour by the Lords. Sir James was born in 1736, and was therefore nine years old at the time of the battle of Culloden:—

“My father, Sir Harrie Innes in the autumn 1745 went to Culloden House and joined the friends of the House of Brunswick in the North Highlands. The Earl of Sutherland and he were unluckily in the house of Dunrobin cut off by the rebels and being unable to rejoin the army they embarked in an open boat in the month of March 1746 and crossed the Murray Firth in safety and joined the Duke of Cumberland's army att Aberdeen. Lady Innes and her three daughters, my brother Robert and I,¹ Sir Harrie left att Elgin in an old house of the Duke of Gordon's near the Cathedral and the winter

¹ The “young children” spoken of by Lady Innes.

passed undisturbed. But as the Duke of Cumberland advanced, the estate of Innes was laid under military execution, all the horses and cattle what belonged to Sir Harry were carried off, the granaries emptied and the tenants obliged under the direction of Mr. George Gilzean, tenant of Innes mill, to carry all they ordered to the rebel magazine at Minos¹ near Inverness. They did not leave enough for the cotters or for the maintenance of the family in Elgin. As the Duke's army advanced our situation was more unpleasant and unsafe, and a worthless fellow fired a bullet at my head which recoiled from the stone lintell of the door and fell into a tub of water placed to catch the rain.

Lady Innes became uneasy; she sent my tutor the Rev. Mr. Simpson with a letter to Sir Harrie at Dunrobin where she believed him to be. Mr. Simpson took a boat at Braehead (Burghead) to cross the Firth with the letter. The rebels suspected that he had been sent with some account of their strength and situation. Lady Innes was informed of his danger and on the morning of his return he fortunately walked speedily in the direction of Rothes and crossed the Spey that night and was safely within the Duke's lines. In the evening the house was surrounded and every corner searched, happily without effect.

The Rebel Chiefs held their councils at the Red Kirk with intention of opposing the passage of the Spey, which they relinquished and retired to Elgin. We remained under their protection and Fitz-James Horse prevented the house from being plundered and ourselves maltreated. The Duke of Cumberland crossed the Spey the Saturday. That night we were guarded by Col. Bagot of their Husars and Colquhoun Grant,² who remained until the advance of Kingston's Light Horse obliged them to join their rear in the town of Elgin, leaving the gates barricaded. As soon in the morning as it was thought safe the gates were opened: some dragoons passed the gate in pursuit; they called (to enquire) the road to Quarrelwood. I run and showed them passed Dunkinty's and on the opposite side up the Lossie heard and saw the skirmishing in Quarrelwood. I returned and run to the bank of the Lossie and looking towards the Stone Crop hill, I saw my father crossing the field the short way to his

¹ Moyness. (See page 72.)

² Colquhoun Grant was an officer in Roy Stuart's troop. After the battle of Prestonpans he pursued a party of dragoons back to Edinburgh, and the inhabitants were amazed by the sight of the defeated cavalry galloping up the High Street followed by a single Jacobite. The troopers just managed to get into the castle, and Colquhoun Grant, as the gates closed upon them, stuck his blood-stained dirk into it in token of defiance. He was in after life a noted W.S. in Edinburgh.

house about 8 o'clock the Sunday morning. He brought a small sword for me, and by 11 o'clock I was mounted on my old dun poney which the rebels had left, and was presented to the Duke of Cumberland as he led the column to the south of Elgin; the others passed thro' the town and the army encamped that night at Alves. The Duke quartered in (the Rev.) Mr. Gordon's manse. Next day, Monday, my mother and I accompanied the Duke's army to the bank of the river Findhorn; there we were sent back, I with the promise of a Commission."

The mention of the Gates of Elgin, as existing at the time, is specially interesting.

The Red Kirk is the existing kirk of Speymouth.

Second Letter from Lady Innes to The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo, with a copy of the answer.

Elgin, 7 Aprile 1746.

My Lord,

The situation of my health these many years past cannot make it ane unreasonable demand to requist my being allowed to retire from amidst these unhappie Confusions. My word of Honour I will not pretend to offer, but I am free to give my oath in anything your Lordship will think proper to guard against any Intelligence it may be thought I can give. Tho' I must observe to your Lordship there was not the smallest objection to giving me a Pass, when my sympathetic for Lady Dunbar moved me to ask one to goe to Durn when Intelligence must have been of greater consequence to the Duke of Cumberland's Armie than anything I could possibly inform at present if I was left at freedom.

I must intreat ane ansure, for I am prepared to receive any, being

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient Humble Servant,

ANNE INNES.

I am put to the last straits for fire, and while I ought to have of my own it's hard to be obliged to others.

Copy (Lord Pitsligo to Lady Innes.)

Madam,

To deall openly with your Ladyship, I did hear you had declared your intention of going to Aberdeen, which would not be permitted in any army, and accordingly I thought it was required of me to hinder your journey. But now that you are pleased to assure me in the most binding terms that you are to give no Intelligence, I shall no longer oppose it. This, I reckon, will serve for a Pass the length of Speyside, my Commission extending no farther, since there are

superior officers there which was not the case when Lord Strathallan and I granted you a pass for going to Durn.

I am heartily sorry for your bad health and any thing gives you uneasiness, being very sincerely

Yr Ldp's humble servant,
PITSLIGO.

Two letters from Lord John Drummond, one from his A.D.C. and one from the Duke of Perth, show the final stage in the retirement of the ill-fated Jacobite army to Culloden:—

To The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Focabers, 8 April 1746.

My Lord,

We have got positive assurances that the D. of Cumberland lay last night at Old Meldrum and is pushing forward, so that if they intend to cross this water we must prepare for a Retreat.

What meal we can get here we will send to Elgin. Any thing of heavie bagage must be sent out of Elgin. Foress will probably now be the best place for a magasin.

This letter to the Prince and Sir Thomas pray forward by an express as soon as it comes to your hand.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most hum and obed. servant,
J. DRUMMOND.

The same to the same.

Spea Mouth, 9 April 1746.

My Lord,

I received the letter your Lordship favoured me with last night. As to John Sutherland, I do not see in what shape I can indemnify him for the loss of his cloas at Cullin.

Your Lordship may easily believe that John Chambers has not been taken up without very good reason and he is the more to blame that he continued to cary on a close correspondance with Strathbogy after I had given him full warning of the positive information I had against him. His fate will be decided when the Prince comes up which I hope will be soon: till then your Lordship must be so good as to order that he should be kept carefully.

All the meal we could get from Portsoy was 50 Bolls and, the Enemie having sent a party as far as Banf, we probably will get no more from the other side of the water.

We ar to get 50 Bolls of meal today which is to be sent to Elgin. I can not imagine how the Prince's armie will subsist hereabouts, unless bear meal is provided.

I have the honor to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most hum. and obed. serv.,
J. DRUMMOND.

Not only was the veteran Lord Pitsligo in command of part of the Prince's army, but multifarious duties in connection with the Commissariat, the prisoners, etc., seem to have been thrust upon him, and he was consulted by all the leaders.

Major Hale to The Right Honourable The Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Focubirs the 11th Aprill 1746.

My Lord,

The Enemy instead of coming to Focubirs are gone to Cullene to make, as we suppose, a junction with those who came to Bamf, so that his Grace the Duke of Perth desires that the soldiers at Elgin may return to their former quarters, but they must be ready at a moment's warning. As soon as we know what designs the Enemy may have your Lordship shall be acquainted with it.

I am, My Lord, with great respect
Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,
H. HALE.

At soonest we shan't retire before to morrow morning.

The final comment on the state of the Spey is made in this letter:—

The Duke of Perth to Lord Pitsligo at Elgin.

Speymouth, 11 April 1746.

My Lord,

As we are informed that the enemy are already past Keith on their way thither and that the water is so low that there is no keeping this place, it is thought proper to retire and therefore as it will be dangerous for us to stay even so near as Elgin after we have abandoned the water to them, it will be necessary to march the foot that is at Elgin beyond Forest (Forres) because Forest and the neighbourhood of it must be the place where the troops that are upon the north¹ of Spey must quarter. It would be also proper to order Collonel Shee to get in as many horses as possible to evacuate all the provisions at Elgin as soon as possible. I intend to send more positive orders when we begin our march but I writ only this that things may be in readiness. In case the canon be come that length it is proper to send it off as soon as possible. I am with the most sincere regard My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

PERTH.

¹ i.e., west or further side. (See page 91.)

(In another hand.) The Duke is furder informed that the Enemy is within ane hour's march of this, so that your Lop will be ready with all the Troops to march against furder advice.

I am, My Lord,
your Lop's most obedt and most humble servt.,

JA. RAVENSCROFT.

On 11th April, the day on which this last letter of the collection was written, Cumberland's whole army camped at Cullen, little more than ten miles from Speymouth.

Lord John Drummond and the Duke of Perth retired that same day through Elgin to Forres and Nairn, and Lord Pitsligo with them.

Cumberland's army reached Fochabers on the 12th April.

According to the picturesque account quoted in Dr. Blaikie's "Origins of the '45," "Lord John Drummond and the other leaders were sitting very securely after breakfast (in the manse of Speymouth) when a country man came over the river in great haste, and told them that the Enzie¹ was all in a vermine of Red Quites (meaning a swarm of red coats), but they were so averse to believe it that when they ran to ane eminence and observed these at a great distance, they swore it was only muck heaps; the man said it might be so, but he never saw muck heaps moving before. And after they were convinced it was a body of men, still they would have it to be only some of Bland's parties, till their Hussars, whom they had sent over to reconnoitre, returned and assured them the whole army under his Royal Highness was coming up."

Cumberland's army crossed the Spey on that day without opposition. It has been said that Prince Charles wished to dispute the passage of the river, but that Lord George Murray was against it on the ground that Cumberland's artillery would sweep the ranks of the defenders while their musketry shots would not reach the enemy. It seems, however, from these letters, which were unknown to all previous historians of the campaign, that the river was at the moment so low as to be untenable, and that Cumberland's own despatch to Newcastle in which he says, "It would be a most difficult undertaking to pass this river before an enemy who should know how to take advantage of the situation," refers to the river as it was usually in the spring, and as it became almost immediately after his crossing (in the which he records that he "only lost one Dragoon and 4 women drowned").

The heavy rains and melting snow in the upper reaches of the river must have swelled the Spey in one day, as still frequently happens.

Upon the 12th and 13th of April Cumberland's army was quartered on the west side of the Spey, on Lord Braco's lands (and Lord

¹ The district directly south of Buckie.

Braco, in spite of his Whig principles, afterwards made an extensive claim for damages).

On the evening of the 13th the army reached Alves, beyond Elgin, and pushed on to Nairn on the 14th; the Duke of Perth, with a small force of rearguard, having gallantly held that town until the very last moment, and leaving one end of it while Cumberland entered at the other. The 15th of April, being the Duke of Cumberland's 25th birthday,¹ was spent quietly at Nairn, extra rations of food and drink being served out to the troops, and it was this fact, as is well known, which caused the Highlanders to make their desperate and futile attempt with their own starved and wearied followers, at a night surprise from Culloden, to which they had to return. The question of the responsibility for this, as between the

Prince and Lord George Murray, has often been discussed and will never be definitely settled to the satisfaction of every one—but twenty-five minutes on the Moor of Culloden next day settled the Jacobite cause for ever, and that same afternoon the veteran Lord Pitsligo, carrying with him the bundle of letters which have so wonderfully come down to us, started on his weary hunted life, which was to last another sixteen years, until 21st December, 1762, when (according to a charming letter from his son, John, written from Auchiries to a Mr. Hamilton), "My dear is at last removed to (I hope) a far better place."

¹ Prince Charles had celebrated his twenty-fifth anniversary in Glasgow three months previously.



Jewel of St. Andrews
worn by Prince Charles and presented to him by Lord Pittsligo
(2 1/2 natural size)



Miniature of Prince Charles
belonging to Lord Clinton
Emery Walker Ltd. ph. sc.