

History
Georgians and Jacobites:
Sources from the '45
Advanced Higher

9017

Summer 2001

HIGHER STILL

History

Georgians and Jacobites: Sources from the '45 Advanced Higher

Support Materials



This publication may be reproduced in whole or in part for educational purposes provided that no profit is derived from the reproduction and that, if reproduced in part, the source is acknowledged.

First published 2001

Learning + Teaching Scotland
Northern College
Gardyne Road
Broughty Ferry
Dundee
DD5 1NY

Tel. 01382 443 600

CONTENTS

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

SECTION 2: THE '45

Part 1: June – September 1745

Part 2: October 1745 – January 1746

Part 3: February – March 1746

Part 4: April – September 1746

SECTION 3: BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

The main events of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion are probably known to anyone with even a passing interest in Scottish history. The romance and tragedy of Charles Edward Stuart's desperate - and ultimately futile – attempt to overthrow the Hanoverian regime and seize the throne of the United Kingdom on his father's behalf, has become one of history's most popular lost causes. Movies, shortbread tins, whisky bottles and romantic novels of doubtful historical value have all served to simultaneously preserve and distort the public's perception of a crucial year in British history. The object of this publication is to tell the story of the '45 in the words of those who were there at the time – without embellishment. Nor are there any accounts of Prince Charles' adventures in the western Highlands after Culloden - partly because Advanced Higher students are not required to have a detailed knowledge of this aspect of the '45, and partly because the 'flight in the heather' contributes so strongly to the tartan imagery associated with the '45 and diverts attention from the real issues and legacies of the rising.

The selected sources are arranged in chronological order and highlight the main events and developments of the rising. Both Hanoverian and Jacobite accounts of the main events are presented, allowing students to reach their own conclusions as to the reliability and accuracy of individual sources. A large number of newspaper and magazine reports are also included to illustrate the uncertainty and confusion that prevailed throughout the United Kingdom – particularly during the first few weeks of the rising.

This collection of sources is aimed at Advanced Higher students, relating specifically to:

Historical Study: Outcomes 3 & 4

Outcome 3

Evaluate complex sources with reference to their provenance and content.

Performance criteria

- PC (a)** The evaluation of a range of primary and secondary sources takes account of their origin and purpose.
- PC (b)** The evaluation accurately interprets the content of the sources.
- PC (c)** The comparison of sources demonstrates understanding of their origin, purpose and/or content.
- PC (d)** The evaluation, where appropriate, takes account of different historical interpretations.

Outcome 4

Evaluate complex sources with reference to their wider context.

Performance criteria

PC (a) The sources are related to historical developments and events through recall.

PC (b) The source and/or its content is used to make a balanced response.

PC (c) The comparison demonstrates understanding of the wider historical context.

PC (d) The evaluation, where appropriate, takes account of different historical interpretations.

The two outcomes described above comprise part of the assessment criteria for **Historical Study**, the first of the two mandatory units of Advanced Higher History. The following two outcomes apply to the second unit, **Historical Research**.

Outcome 1

Plan and research a dissertation on a historical issue.

Performance criteria

PC (a) The issue is identified and placed in a historical context.

PC (b) Information is sought from a range of primary and secondary sources.

PC (c) Relevant information is selected from the sources.

Outcome 2

Prepare a dissertation on a historical issue.

Performance criteria

PC (a) The information is used to analyse the issue selected.

PC (b) The analysis takes account of historical interpretations.

PC (c) Plans are developed to ensure that the dissertation is clearly structured with an introduction, development and conclusion relevant to the issue.

Although this collection is designed for Advanced Higher students, some of the sources included may – after adaptation – be useful for more able pupils studying the Jacobite period in S1 and S2.

WHO WERE THE JACOBITES OF 1745?

A number of recent publications on the '45 have debated the composition of Jacobite forces during the rising. Much of what has been said is not new; the details of who fought for Prince Charlie and where they came from has been common knowledge for some time, but it is only fairly recently that historians have taken the time to scrutinise and analyse works such as the *List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion* (Scottish History Society, vol. 8, Edinburgh 1890); Seton and Arnot's *The Prisoners of the '45* (Scottish History Society, 3 vols, Edinburgh 1928/9); and *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five* by A. & H. Tayler (Aberdeen, 1928). The debate has not only focused on where the class of '45 Jacobites came from – highland or lowland, east or west coast, urban or rural - but also on their occupations, social class and religious background. In short, the debate has focused our attention on the simple question – who were the Jacobites?

The problem with such a simple question is that it has no simple answer. Many Jacobites joined Prince Charles out of political conviction; they genuinely believed that the Stuarts were the rightful monarchs of Great Britain and Ireland and should be restored to the throne from which they had been illegally usurped. Among those who could be categorised in this manner were the leading Jacobite figures of the '45; Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, O'Sullivan, Tullibardine, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel etc. The motivation for some other senior figures 'coming out' in 1745 is rather less principled. Financial desperation resulted in the earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock giving their support to the rising, the former stating shortly before his execution that 'for the two Kings and their rights I cared not a farthing which prevailed; but I was starving, and, by God, if Mahommed had set up his standard in the Highlands I had been a good Mussulman [Muslim] for bread, and stuck close to the party, for I must eat.'¹ (Even so staunch a supporter of the Stuart cause, Cameron of Lochiel, refused to join Charles until the latter gave an undertaking to provide financial compensation for Cameron lands should the rising fail.) John Murray of Broughton, the son of an impoverished Borders laird, was himself on the verge of bankruptcy, and the same could be said of a number of the lesser gentry who joined the Prince. For many, their Jacobitism meant that they were permanently alienated from the Hanoverian regime, and therefore excluded from the system of patronage that provided lucrative government or military posts for the adherents of King George. This, in turn, made it more likely that such men would support Prince Charles; it is much easier to risk everything for a hopeless cause if everything amounts to little or nothing.

Scottish nationalism has often been cited as an important factor in Jacobite recruitment, but the evidence for this is hard to establish. Certainly in 1708 and 1715 anti-Union feeling was strong in many areas of Scotland and the high level of support for Mar's army in 1715 partly reflects that feeling. However, by 1745, it is difficult to ascertain how powerful Scottish nationalism was among Jacobite supporters, although James VIII clearly believed that anti-Union sentiment remained widespread. His Scottish manifesto, published in December 1744, placed the blame for Scotland's 'intolerable burdens' firmly on the Union and promised, on his restoration, to call a parliament 'to free our people from the unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions which have been the consequence of the pretended union; so the nation may be restored to that honour, liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.'²

Despite his stirring appeal to nationalist sentiment, James never specifically guaranteed to abolish the Union, that particular duty was performed by Prince Charles on 10 October 1745 when, in a petulant response to George II recalling parliament, he prohibited all Scots from attending this unlawful 'assembly' on the grounds that the 'pretended Union of these Kingdoms [was] now at an End.'³ It may be that James and Charles were correct in directly appealing to Scottish nationalist sentiment; the Union had not yet delivered economically (although there were definite signs of an upturn in the Scottish economy by 1745), the imposition of the malt-tax in 1725 still rankled with many Scots and the Porteous Riots in Edinburgh during 1736 were certainly partly inspired by anti-English feelings. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid agreeing with Lord George Murray on the extent of Scottish nationalist feeling in 1745 when he commented, 'Thirty years has made a great alteration in things, in men, and their minds.'⁴

Recent work by Murray Pittock has focused on the geographical origins of units of the Jacobite army and is particularly concerned to point out that the majority of Prince Charles' army was not recruited from the Highlands. Pittock's analysis (although not original) does help to de-mythologise the notion of the gallant, oppressed Highlander fighting for a lost cause out of love and loyalty for Scotland's rightful king. According to Pittock, less than 50% of the Jacobite army in 1745 came from the Highlands, whereas 17-24% came from Moray, Aberdeen and Banff and between 17 and 20% came from Perthshire.⁵ Pittock also points out that Jacobite support was weakest in the Scottish Borders, the western Lowlands and those areas of the Highlands dominated by Clan Campbell. There is nothing surprising in these findings. The areas where Jacobite support was strongest coincide with those parts of Scotland where Episcopalianism retained a powerful hold over the local population, and most of those areas were to be found north of the Tay in the north-eastern Lowlands – a strong recruiting-ground for Charles in 1745. Episcopalianism had been associated with the Stuarts since the 17th century; the hierarchical structure of the church, with bishops appointed by the monarch, dovetailed neatly with Stuart theories of absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings. Both James VIII and Charles had been raised in the Catholic faith, and this fact undoubtedly attracted a number of Scottish Catholics to their cause in 1745 – notably the Glengarry and Clanranald Macdonalds.

However, despite their well-publicised Catholicism, both Charles and his father had insisted that, if restored to the thrones of the United Kingdom, the Crown would pursue a policy of religious toleration and refrain from persecuting religious dissenters of any sort. These promises appear to have had little impact on the presbyterian Lowlands of Scotland or the rest of the United Kingdom. When Charles occupied Edinburgh in September 1745, he encouraged the city's churches to remain open on Sundays and for normal (presbyterian) services to be resumed. His pleas fell on deaf ears, and all but a handful of the city's presbyterian churches remained closed throughout the six week Jacobite occupation. During his subsequent invasion of England, government pamphleteers focused on Charles' links with Rome and Catholic France and Spain; in the eyes of the Hanoverian government, there was little room for doubt – if James VIII was restored then Britain would become a Catholic state controlled from Paris and the Vatican. This virulent, anti-Catholic approach adopted by the government in its attacks on Prince Charles may very well have persuaded a number of wavering Catholics and Episcopalians to give their backing to the Jacobites; after all, a Stuart government that promised to promote religious toleration would surely offer more comfort than one that had, historically, delivered only discrimination and persecution.

Factors other than religion and nationalism, politics and poverty, contributed to support for Prince Charles. In the western Highlands the Stewarts, Macleans and Camerons were becoming increasingly alarmed by the extent of Campbell expansion: all three clans had lost the superiority of ancient lands to the aggressive land-purchasing policies pursued by the 2nd Duke of Argyll (1680-1743). Not only was the chief of Clan Campbell obtaining lands across the western Highlands and Islands, his attempts to improve the productivity and profitability of his vast estates had led to the breaking-up of traditional patterns of land tenure and ownership in the Highlands and were becoming a serious threat to the very structure of Highland society itself. When one remembers that the Macdonalds of Glencoe had not forgotten the events of the Massacre of 1692, it is not surprising to find that many of those clans whose lands bordered those of the Campbells (whose Whig credentials were readily acknowledged) supported the Jacobite cause in 1745.

Of course the Campbells were not the only Highland clan openly hostile to Prince Charles. The Presbyterian and Whig sympathies of the Earl of Sutherland and the Chief of Mackay, Lord Reay, meant that those two great northern clans, together with their near neighbours the Rosses and Munros, actively opposed the rising. Jacobite recruitment in those areas was disappointing, although efforts were made by Jacobite officers to swell the ranks of Charles' army – with varying degrees of success. Coll Macdonnell of Barrisdale's attempts to 'persuade' some 100 men of Assynt to join up were not entirely successful. He plied the locals with whisky who all agreed to follow him and 'fight like Dragons' for the cause. However, 'when the whisky was done, and the people slipped and cold they began to repent, and by the means of one Ross who lives there, a great band of them deserted.'⁶ While the Sutherlands and Mackays were almost unanimous in their opposition to the Jacobite cause, other clans were far more divided. The Mackenzies provide one good example. The Earl of Seaforth, on an expedition to raise men from his own lands to fight for King George, threatened to throw the houses of any of his clansmen who 'were not at home' into a nearby river, whereas, as we have already seen, the Earl of Cromarty finally, and rather reluctantly, came out in support of Prince Charles.

This essay has attempted to answer the question: Who were the Jacobites of 1745? Hopefully, the reader will have come to the conclusion – even allowing for the brevity of this article – that there is no easy answer. Political commitment played a part for some, for others it was barely a consideration; many Roman Catholics and Episcopalians were attracted to the cause, many more were not. In the final analysis, personal courage (or lack of it), a spirit of adventure, Barrisdale's whisky or financial hardship may have been far more influential in determining whether or not someone followed the Bonnie Prince in 1745 than any high-minded idealism.

¹ Quoted in Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746*, pp256-7

² Quoted in M. Hook & W. Ross, *The 'Forty-Five: The Last Jacobite Rising*, p12

³ *ibid.*, p14

⁴ *ibid.*, p13

⁵ *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, M.G.H. Pittock. P60

⁶ George Menary, *The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden*, p231

NOTES ON SOURCES: (1) THE CONTEMPORARY PRESS

Source provenance is an important element in the Advanced Higher course, particularly when it comes to evaluating sources (**Historical Study, Outcomes 3 & 4**) and when researching material for the dissertation (**Historical Research, Outcome 1, Performance criteria (b) & (c)**). As a considerable number of the sources included in this collection are taken from the contemporary press, it seems appropriate to comment on the political standpoint of the various journals and newspapers quoted.

The contemporary press reported events reasonably accurately during the course of the rebellion, although there were cases of rather one-sided accounts being published – depending on the political viewpoint of the publication concerned. Perhaps the most reliable source for the period is the *Scots Magazine*. First published in Edinburgh in 1739, the *Scots Magazine* prided itself on its objective reporting of the rising. As a monthly publication it had the advantage over the daily press of being able to confirm most reports before publishing, thereby avoiding having to retract reports sent in by correspondents who had failed to check the accuracy of their sources. The value of the *Scots Magazine* has long been recognised by historians of this period; most of the standard texts on the '45 acknowledge it as a valid, unbiased and reliable historical resource.

The *London Gazette*, first published in the 17th century, was an official government newspaper devoted to parliamentary and court matters. During the '45 the *Gazette*, not surprisingly, took a vigorously pro-government stance and delighted in publishing anti-Jacobite propaganda as well as news of any rebel military setbacks. Because the *Gazette* was based in London – far enough away from the centre of the action – many of its 'reports' were simply revised (pro-government) versions of stories that had appeared earlier in the Scottish press.

The two Scottish newspapers quoted from in this publication – the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* – were both published thrice weekly in Edinburgh. The *Mercury* was a pro-Jacobite paper run by Thomas Ruddiman junior and his partner, John Grant. Both were arrested by the Hanoverian authorities for publishing Jacobite proclamations while the rebel army occupied Edinburgh – Ruddiman dying of disease in captivity in 1747. The *Courant*, on the other hand, was a staunchly Whig publication whose reports belittled the successes of the Jacobite army at every opportunity. This paper toned down its anti-Jacobite stance while Edinburgh was occupied by Prince Charles, but gleefully resumed its partisan position the moment the Jacobites left the city.

It is clear that the press in the 18th century was open to the same criticisms that face today's media, namely that all newspapers or magazines are guilty of some form of political bias when it comes to reporting a major social or political event. The rising of 1745 was such an event; we must not forget that an armed insurrection of less than 10,000 men briefly threatened to overthrow the monarchy, government and official state religion established by the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689-90. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that the press – particularly those publications controlled by the very government that found itself in mortal danger – were incapable of reporting events objectively, let alone accurately. In studying the newspaper sources in this publication, students should remember to treat some of the reports with a degree of caution, while appreciating that correspondents – then as now – often have to make instant decisions as to what is reported and what is left out.

NOTES ON SOURCES: (2) AUTHORS

The following thumbnail sketches are designed to provide students with brief details on the backgrounds of the more important authors of the sources contained in this publication. It has not been thought necessary to include information on some of the authors included – notably Prince Charles, the Duke of Cumberland and Sir John Cope; students of the period should have little doubt as to the personal and political standpoints of those individuals.

Albemarle, William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of (1702-1754)

Son of Arnold Joost van Keppel, 1st Earl of Albemarle; educated in Holland; returned to England in 1717 and gazetted to the Coldstream Guards. Appointed colonel of that regiment in 1744. Served in Flanders during the War of the Austrian Succession, but returned to Britain in order to serve under Cumberland. He commanded the first line of the Duke's army at Culloden, and succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland in the summer of 1746. In 1754 he was sent to Paris on behalf of the government, where he died suddenly on 22 December. **[Document 124]**

Campbell, John of Mamore: major-general and cousin of Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll. Given the command of government militia forces in the west of Scotland during the rising. These forces largely consisted of members of Clan Campbell, the largest and most powerful Whig clan in the Highlands. Mamore became 4th Duke of Argyll on the death of his cousin in 1761. **[Document 40]**

Cameron, Donald of Lochiel (1695-1748)

Known as the 'gentle Lochiel'. Chief of his clan and son of John Cameron who was attainted for his part in the 1715 rising. Although an ardent Jacobite, Lochiel was reluctant to give his support to Prince Charles; like many clan chiefs, Lochiel was dismayed that Charles had landed without French troops or arms. In a private meeting, Charles managed to persuade Lochiel to rally to his cause, but only after agreeing to compensate Lochiel financially if the campaign should fail. Lochiel brought some 800 clansmen to the raising of the standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August, and it was his support that guaranteed the rising would proceed. Lochiel played a major role in the rising and his loyalty to Prince Charles was never questioned. He was seriously wounded at Culloden, but escaped to Lochaber before finally making his way to France with Charles in September 1746. He died in France two years later. **[Document 11]**

Carre, George of West Nisbet: Advocate and loyal Whig. Became sheriff-depute of Berwickshire in 1748, and was appointed a Lord of Session (as Lord Nisbet) in 1755. **[Document 24]**

Cochrane, Andrew: Merchant and Provost of Glasgow at the time of the '45. A staunch Whig and ally of the Argyll family, Cochrane was instrumental in raising a regiment of 1000 men from the city on behalf of the government. Later successfully petitioned parliament for compensation for losses incurred during the Jacobite occupation of Glasgow. **[Document 64]**

Crichton, Patrick of Woodhouselee: Saddler and ironmonger in Edinburgh. Purchased the country estate of Woodhouselee (Woodhouselee) eight miles to the south of Edinburgh. A staunch Whig and Presbyterian, Crichton's less than flattering observations on the Jacobite army were published in *The Woodhouselee manuscript* . . . [etc] in 1907. [Documents 26 & 44]

Cromarty, George Mackenzie, 3rd Earl of: Although sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, Cromarty delayed bringing his clan out until persuaded to do so by a combination of Lord Lovat's threats and his own poverty. He was captured at Dunrobin Castle the day before Culloden by militia units loyal to the government. He was sentenced to death, but reprieved after fainting at the feet of George II and incurring the sympathy of the Princess of Wales. [Document 10]

Drummond, Lord John: Brother of the Duke of Perth and officer in the French army. Landed in the north-east of Scotland in December with some 800 troops, mainly from his own regiment, the French Royal Scots. Commanded the centre of the Jacobite army at Culloden. Returned to France and died of a fever at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom in 1747. [Document 53]

Edgar, James: Secretary to James VIII, the 'Old Pretender'. Died at Rome in 1762 having served James for forty years. [Document 3]

Elcho, David Wemyss, Lord (1721-1787)

Eldest son of the 4th Earl of Wemyss. Staunch Jacobite; visited the Stuarts in Rome in 1740. Colonel in Prince Charles' Lifeguards; made Charles a loan of 1500 guineas in 1745 that was never repaid, leading to a deterioration in relations between the two men. On Charles' flight from the field of Culloden Elcho reputedly called after him, 'There you go for a damned cowardly Italian.' He was attainted for his part in the rising, but the family titles were restored in 1826. Elcho's account of the rising, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746* is very critical of Charles' behaviour during the '45. [Documents 19, 25 & 41]

Forbes, Duncan, of Culloden (1685-1747)

Advocate. Appointed Sheriff of Midlothian in 1709 and Sheriff-Depute of Edinburgh in 1714. In 1722 he became MP for the Inverness district of burghs, and two years later he succeeded Robert Dundas as Lord Advocate. Forbes was appointed Lord President of the Court of Session in 1737, some two years after succeeding his brother as Laird of Culloden. A friend and ally of John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, Forbes was a staunch Whig who supported the government during the 1715 rising. In 1745 Forbes played an active role in raising the so-called Independent Companies, Highlanders who fought for King George rather than Prince Charles. He was forced to retreat to Sky in March 1746 when rebel forces under the command of the Duke of Perth crossed into Sutherland. After Culloden he tried to persuade the authorities to show leniency towards the captured rebels, but his views were not popular, particularly with Cumberland who privately referred to Forbes as 'that old woman who talked to me of humanity'. Forbes continued to play an active role in the legal affairs of Scotland right up until his death in December 1747. Forbes' correspondence relating to the '45 can be found in *Culloden Papers* (ed. H.R. Duff) and *More Culloden Papers* (ed. Duncan Warrand). [Document 93]

Forbes, Robert, Bishop (1708-1775)

Born in Aberdeenshire, Forbes entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church, becoming minister of Leith in 1735. An enthusiastic Jacobite, Forbes made his way to join Prince Charles in 1745 but was arrested and imprisoned for his Jacobite sympathies before ever reaching the rebel army. He was released in 1746, and in 1762 Forbes was elected and consecrated Bishop of Ross and Caithness. During his travels in northern Scotland and elsewhere, he collected a considerable amount of Jacobite material and reminiscences which he assembled and published as *The Lyon in Mourning*, one of the most important sources for the entire Jacobite period. [Documents taken from the *Lyon in Mourning* – 5, 83, 103, 105, 106 & 108]

Home, John (1722-1808)

Minister in Edinburgh at the time of the '45, Home joined the Hanoverian forces and was captured by the Jacobites after the Battle of Falkirk. Home is best known for his play *Douglas*, which was first performed in Edinburgh in 1756, but his *History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745* remains one of the most reliable and balanced accounts of the '45 – despite the author's Whig background. [Documents 14, 43, 70, 92 & 101]

Johnstone, Chevalier de, James (1719-1800)

Born in Edinburgh and served as aide-de-camp to Prince Charles during the rising. He escaped to France after Culloden and joined the French army in which he served during the Seven Years War (1756-63). His *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746* was published in 1822. [Documents 50, 51, 57, 65, 68, 84 & 107]

Lockhart, George, of Carnwath (1673-1731)

Ardent Jacobite, Episcopalian and opponent of the Union of 1707; M.P. for Edinburgh from 1708-15. He was arrested as a Jacobite in 1715 and later fled to Holland. He wrote *Memoirs and Commentaries upon the Affairs of Scotland from 1702 to 1715* which gave the Jacobite view of the Union. His *Memoirs*, together with the anonymous *Journals and Memoirs of the Young Pretender's Expedition in 1745, by Highland Officers in his Army* were published – along with other documents – as *The Lockhart Papers* in 1817. The documents printed here come from this anonymous account of the '45, contained in Volume 2 of *The Lockhart Papers*. Lockhart himself was killed in a duel in 1732. [Documents 7, 71, 129 & 130]

Lovat, Simon Fraser, 11th Lord (1667-1747)

Clever and scheming head of Clan Fraser. Active Jacobite at start of the 18th century, but imprisoned by the French in 1702 for his duplicity. Supported the government during the 1715 rising, but conspired with Jacobite agents during the 1730s. Refused to commit himself or his clan at the beginning of the '45, but early Jacobite successes finally persuaded him to send his clan (under the command of his eldest son, Simon) to fight for Prince Charles. He was arrested in 1746 and tried in London where, despite an able defence, he was finally condemned (largely on Murray of Broughton's evidence) and executed. [Document 18]

MacDonald, Sir John: one of the 'Seven Men of Moidart'. An Irishman who had been a captain of carabiniers in the French service, his loyalty to Charles was never doubted – despite his reputation as a drunkard. [Document 69]

Maxwell, James of Kirkconnell: captain in Prince Charles' Lifeguards, Maxwell's *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales's expedition to Scotland in the year 1745* gives a valuable insight into the divided nature of the Jacobite high command during the '45, and is highly critical of Charles himself. [Documents 52, 56 & 58]

Milton, Andrew Fletcher, Lord (1692-1766)

Advocate, Lord of Session (Milton) and, at the time of '45, Lord Justice Clerk. Managed government patronage and elections in Scotland on behalf of Archibald, 3rd Duke of Argyll. Responsible for incarceration, drawing up charges and transporting to England for trial all Jacobite prisoners held in Scotland after the rebellion. [Documents 117, 125, 126 & 127]

Mitchell, Andrew (1708-1771)

Son of minister of St Giles in Edinburgh. Became Under-Secretary for Scotland (1741-47); M.P. for Aberdeenshire (1747) and Elgin burghs (1755 & 1761). Appointed Ambassador to Prussia in 1756. [Document 33]

Murray, George, Lord (c.1700-1760)

Son of the 1st Duke of Atholl and committed Jacobite. Together with his elder brother, William, Marquis of Tullibardine, he took part in the risings of 1715 and 1719. Both fled to France after the failure of the 1719 rising, although Lord George was pardoned by the government in 1726. When Prince Charles, together with Tullibardine, arrived in Scotland in 1745, Murray joined the rebellion. Appointed Lieutenant-General of Jacobite forces under Charles, Murray's military prowess was demonstrated at Prestonpans, on the retreat from Derby and at Falkirk. He was detested by Charles' Irish followers, notably O'Sullivan who was jealous of his military successes, and his public disagreements with Charles served only to divide the Jacobite high command. Murray vehemently disagreed with the decision to fight at Culloden and resigned his commission the following day. He escaped to France and died in Holland. Murray's own account of the '45, 'Marches of the Highland Army', appears in Robert Chamber's *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*. [Documents 55, 59, 66, 72, 75 and 102]

Murray, John of Broughton (1715-1777)

Son of a Perthshire laird, Murray was educated at Edinburgh and on the continent. He visited Rome where he came into contact with the Jacobite court. He was persuaded to become the agent for Scottish Jacobites and was Secretary to Prince Charles during the '45. Murray was captured after Culloden but, to his everlasting shame, saved his own skin by denouncing Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, who was later executed on the strength of Murray's evidence. Murray's *Memorials*, published in 1898, provide a useful insight into the intrigue of Jacobite politics in the years and months leading up to the '45, as well furnishing us with a valuable account of the events of the rising itself. [Documents 27 & 48]

O'Brien, Daniel: James VIII's agent in Paris. Disliked intensely by Prince Charles, O'Brien was later created Earl of Lismore by James. [Document 9]

O’Sullivan, John William (c.1700)

Of Irish descent and one of the original ‘Seven Men of Moidart’. O’Sullivan’s military experience was limited, although he had served in the French Army during the War of the Austrian Succession. Prince Charles made O’Sullivan his adjutant and appointed him Quartermaster-General of the Jacobite army, in which capacity he came into frequent contact and conflict with Lord George Murray. The professional and personal differences between Murray and O’Sullivan served only to divide the Jacobite high command and played no little part in the final outcome of the rising. After Culloden O’Sullivan escaped to France. His ‘Narrative’ – a highly personal and rather one-sided account of the ’45 – is published in A. & H. Taylers’ *1745 and after*. [Documents 16, 21 & 88]

Newcastle, Thomas Pelham Holles, 1st Duke of (1693-1768)

Whig politician; Secretary of State 1724; brother of Henry Pelham who was Prime Minister during the ’45; succeeded as PM in 1754, the year of his brother’s death. [Documents 90 & 118]

Pelham, Henry (1696-1754)

Whig politician and younger brother of Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle. Entered parliament in 1717 and held a number of second rank government posts. Finally became First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) in 1743 and held this post until his sudden death in 1754, when his brother succeeded him as PM. [Document 45]

Sutherland, Elizabeth, Lady: wife of William, 17th Earl of Sutherland whom she married in 1734. Her husband escaped from Dunrobin Castle in March 1746 when the Jacobites invaded Sutherland, leaving Elizabeth to entertain the officers and men of the occupying army. Although her husband was a loyal Hanoverian, Elizabeth was the daughter of James, 4th Earl of Wemyss and brother of Lord Elcho, one of Prince Charles’ senior officers. Lady Sutherland’s loyalties were clearly divided, as her letter to Barrisdale clearly proves. [Document 100]

Vernon, Admiral Edward (1684-1757)

Enlisted in Navy in 1700. His victory over the Spanish at Porto Bello in 1739 when he was still a vice-admiral was immensely popular in Britain, and Vernon was made an admiral in 1745. As commander of the Channel fleet during the ’45 he successfully prevented significant French reinforcements from reaching the Jacobites. [Document 63]

Welsh, Antoine: French born Jacobite, freebooter, adventurer and slave-trader of Irish descent. Welsh was a crucial figure in enabling Charles to get to Scotland in 1745; it was his ship, the *Du Teillay*, under the command of Captain Darbe, that landed Charles safely at Loch nan Uamh in July. Welsh, who accompanied the expedition, was knighted by Charles on their arrival in Scotland and presented with a gold-hilted sword. [Document 4]

SECTION 2: THE '45

Part 1: June – September 1745

Following the failure of France's attempt to invade southern England in March 1744, a bitterly disappointed Charles Edward Stuart attempted to persuade the French government to sanction a renewed invasion attempt in 1745. But circumstances had changed. In March 1744 the French were in desperate need of a military diversion to relieve the pressure on their beleaguered troops in Flanders; by 1745, French forces were in the ascendancy and it was the British and their allies who were on the defensive. In short, France had no need to consider another invasion of England, and Charles was politely but firmly told that no help would be forthcoming from the French Court. Furious at what he saw as the unreasonable attitude of the French, Charles decided to travel to Scotland himself in the hope that his presence there would encourage loyal Jacobites to support a rising against George II and help restore his father to the throne.

Those Scottish Jacobites who got to hear of the prince's plan were horrified; any attempted rising without French support, they argued, would be bound to end in failure, and every effort was made to dissuade Charles from his reckless plan – without success. Charles was aware that neither his father in Rome, nor the French Court, would support him in his designs, and he was forced to turn to a group of Franco-Irish shipowners based at Nantes and St. Malo who made their living as smugglers and privateers. These men were generally sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, and two of their number, Walter Ruttledge and Antoine Welsh, agreed to provide the prince with two ships to transport him to the western Highlands of Scotland. At the same time as he was securing transport, Charles had managed to obtain a loan from his father's bankers which he used to buy arms in anticipation of support from the loyal Jacobite clans.

By June 1745, the prince was ready to begin his dangerous expedition to Scotland. His only companions were a handful of committed but aged Jacobites – the so-called 'Seven Men of Moidart'. Before he left, Charles wrote to his father and Louis XV from Navarre outlining his plans; the letters clearly indicate that both men had been unaware of Charles' plans [Documents 1 & 2]. Charles had been dependent on the support of Welsh and Ruttledge, and both men had kept their promise to provide the prince with transport [Document 3]. On 22 June, Charles boarded the frigate *Du Teillay* (commanded by Captain Darbe) at St. Nazaire, and set sail for Scotland. Some ten days later, the *Du Teillay* rendezvoused with the *Elisabeth*, a 64-gun man-of-war. The voyage almost ended disastrously for Charles when the two French ships were challenged by a British man-of-war, the *Lyon* [Document 4]. Despite the setbacks, Charles finally landed on Eriskay on 23 July, and two days later the prince arrived at Loch nan Uamh in Arisaig [Documents 5 & 6]. Following his arrival, Prince Charles remained in the vicinity of Borrodale until 10 August. While he was there a number of clan chiefs came to pay their respects, including young Macdonald of Clanranald, whose anonymous companion provides a description of his first meeting with Prince Charles [Document 7].

The first few days following his arrival saw Charles send a number of letters to clan chiefs asking for their support [**Documents 9 & 10**]. He had already suffered a serious setback when he was informed that Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and the Laird of Macleod refused to have anything to do with the rising because of the absence of French military or financial support. The future of the rising now depended on Charles being able to persuade the influential Cameron of Lochiel to support his cause: although initially reluctant, Lochiel finally pledged his support and agreed to bring his clan out for the prince [**Document 11**]. Meanwhile, in London and Edinburgh ministers and press speculated as to the whereabouts of Prince Charles. There can be little doubt that the government took the rumours of his imminent arrival in Scotland seriously [**Document 8**], although no one was really certain where he was or where he was headed. Sir John Cope, the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland, marched northwards in order to discourage any Highlanders with Jacobite sympathies from joining the prince if and when he landed [**Document 12**]. The first land-based military action of the rising took place on 16 August when four companies of the Royal Scots, on their way to reinforce the garrison at Fort William, were ambushed by Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch [**Document 13**]. The victory over this small detachment of government troops did not come as a surprise to some contemporary observers, who believed that Cope's forces were not adequately equipped or trained to counter the Jacobite threat [**Document 14**].

One of the first official reports confirming the landing of Prince Charles was published in the London Gazette on 17 August [**Document 15**], two days before the prince raised his father's standard at Glenfinnan [**Document 16**]. On 22 August, Prince Charles, who had received intelligence of the reward placed on his head by the government, responded by placing a similar sum on the head of George II [**Document 17**], an early example of the propaganda war waged by both sides during the course of the rising. One of the problems facing the pro-government clan chiefs at this time was that they lacked arms with which to defend themselves against the Jacobite army that had begun its march south to Edinburgh. Lord Lovat's letter to the Lord Advocate [**Document 18**] highlights this problem, although Lovat's assurances of loyalty serve only to prove his duplicity: by the end of the year, Lovat had sent out his clan, under his son's command, to fight for Prince Charles – the man he refers to in his letter as 'the pretended Prince of Wales'.

The Jacobite army's march to Edinburgh began on 21 August and ended with the capture of Scotland's capital on the night of 16/17 September. General Cope had initially intended confronting the Jacobites at the earliest opportunity, but poor intelligence and a growing realisation that his untested troops would be no match for the Highlanders in the mountainous country south of Inverness forced Cope to revise his original plans [**Document 19**]. He headed north to Inverness, and from there marched to Aberdeen where he secured shipping to take his army south by sea to Edinburgh. This left the road to the south open, and the Jacobites wasted no time in taking advantage of this unexpected opportunity. By early September Edinburgh's newspapers were publishing accounts of the movements of both armies, and there was growing concern that Jacobite forces would shortly be at the gates of the city [**Documents 20 & 21**].

As the Jacobites headed south unopposed, many London-based politicians began to voice fears that Prince Charles' expedition was sponsored by the Catholic powers of Europe, and calls were made for the return of regular British troops from Flanders to protect the south coast of England against an anticipated French invasion [**Document 22**].

In Scotland members of the Hanoverian establishment rushed to assure the King of their undying loyalty to his royal house [**Document 23**], while others revealed traditional Lowland prejudices against the barbaric Highlanders [**Document 24**]. The Jacobite army was on the outskirts of Edinburgh by 16 September, and despite the attempts of the city magistrates to defend the city until the arrival of Sir John Cope's army from Aberdeen, the city fell to the Jacobites in somewhat farcical circumstances in the early morning of 17 September [**Document 25**]. Charles entered the city the following day where he was welcomed by a large crowd, most of whom lined the city's High Street out of curiosity rather than loyalty to his family. His father's Manifesto was to be read from the city's mercat cross, and the appearance of the Jacobite army on this occasion did not impress one loyal Whig observer [**Document 26**].

Cope's army arrived at Dunbar from Aberdeen on 16 September and disembarked the following day. On hearing news of Cope's arrival, the Jacobites set out to confront the Hanoverian army: the two forces clashed at Prestonpans on 21 September. The battle - known to the Jacobites as Gladsmuir - was over within half-an-hour, Cope's raw recruits proving unable to withstand the ferocity of the 'Highland charge' [**Document 27**]. The victory placed Charles in outright control of Scotland, and while he was privately unable to hide his joy at his army's victory [**Document 28**], he was reluctant to antagonise his opponents, and the public proclamation issued on 23 September was extremely conciliatory in nature and content [**Document 29**]. News of the Jacobite victory at Prestonpans shocked the government and its supporters in England. Many felt that the Scots had conspired with Charles Edward to overthrow the government in Scotland – an accusation vigorously disputed by loyal Hanoverians throughout Scotland and by those astute Englishmen who had a better understanding of Scottish politics than some of their more hysterical countrymen [**Document 30**]. Nevertheless, as English newspapers continued to publish accounts of the defeat of Cope at Prestonpans, there were growing demands for the Duke of Cumberland to send reinforcements from Flanders to bolster the country's defences – against threats from both within the United Kingdom and from Continental Europe [**Document 31**]. But even as Charles was basking in his moment of glory, there came a reminder that his control over Scotland was not as firm as he might have imagined. Throughout the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh the Castle remained in the hands of government troops. After Prestonpans, Charles sought to cut off all communication with the garrison and stationed troops at the head of the Royal Mile to block supplies reaching the Castle. General Preston, commander of the garrison, wrote to the city magistrates informing them that if the blockade was not lifted, then he would open fire on the town. The magistrates informed Charles of Preston's demands, and a copy of the prince's reply was printed in the *Caledonian Mercury* [**Document 32**].

[**Document 1**] (Charles to James VIII from the Duc de Bouillon's chateau at Evereux, 12 June 1745. Quoted in *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, Fitzroy Maclean, London 1988, pp33-4)

Sir, I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the Crown, and them to their Liberties . . .

Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year '15; but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeeding with the least help; the particulars of which would be too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which has been the reason that I have presumed to take upon the managing all this, without even letting you suspect there was such a thing a brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain, and show you demonstratively how matters stood . . . and had I failed to convince you, I was then afraid you might have thought what I had a mind to do, to be rash, and so have absolutely forbid my proceedings . . .

I have tried all possible means and stratagems to get access to the King of France, or his Minister, without the least effect . . . Now I have been obliged to steal off, without letting the King of France so much as suspect it, for which I made a proper excuse in my letter to him; by saying it was a great mortification to me never to have been able to speak and open my heart to him. Let what will happen, the stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to do and stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me.

Whatever happens unfortunate to me cannot but be the strongest engagements to the French Court to pursue your course. Now if I were sure they were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish as Curtius did, to save my country and make it happy; it being an indispensable duty on me, as far as lies in my power. Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately; for I never intend to come back; and money, next to troops, will be of the greatest help to me. I owe old Waters about 60,000 livres and to the young one above 12,000 livres . . . I write this from Navarre, but it won't be sent off till I am on shipboard . . .

I should think it proper (if your Majesty pleases) to be put at His Holiness's feet, asking his blessing on this occasion; but what I chiefly ask is your own, which I hope will procure me that of Almighty God upon my endeavours to serve you, my family and country, which will ever be the only view of

Your Majesty's most dutiful son,

Charles P.

[**Document 2**] (Prince Charles to Louis XV, Navarre, 12 June 1745, in *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1898, p507.)

Dear Uncle,

Having tried in vain by every means to meet Your Majesty in the hope of getting, out of your generosity, the help I need to enable me to play a role worthy of my birth, I have resolved to make myself known by my deeds and on my own to undertake a project which would be certain to succeed with a moderate amount of help. I dare to think that Your Majesty will not refuse it to me. I would certainly not have come to France if the expedition which was to take place over a year ago had not acquainted me with Your Majesty's good intentions towards me, and I hope that the unforeseen events which at the time made that expedition impracticable will not have changed them. Might I now not dare to say that the signal victory which Your Majesty has now gained over your enemies (for they are indeed mine too) will have changed matters and that I will be able to benefit from this new and glorious light that shines on you? I beg Your Majesty to reflect that in supporting the justice of my claim, you will put yourself in a position to reach a firm and lasting peace, the final conclusion to the war in which you are presently engaged.

At last I go to seek my destiny which other than being in the hands of God is in Your Majesty's. If you enable me to succeed, you will find a faithful ally in a relative who has already the honour to be, with the greatest respect, dear Uncle, Your Majesty's most affectionate nephew.

Charles P.

[**Document 3**] Charles to James Edgar (*The Forty-Five*, Lord Mahon, London 1851, p148)

I have . . . bought fifteen hundred fusees [muskets], eighteen hundred broad-swords mounted, a good quantity of powder, ball, flints, dirks, brandy, etc., and some hundred more fusees and broad-swords of which I cannot at present tell the exact number. I have also got twenty small field pieces, two of which a mule may carry; and my *cassette* will be near four thousand *louis d'ors*; all these things will go in the frigate which carries myself . . . It will appear strange to you how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French Court. I employed one Rutledge and one [Antoine Vincent] Walsh, who are subjects. The first got a grant of a man-of-war [the *Elizabeth*] to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is, luckily, obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without appearing to do it. Walsh understands his business perfectly well, and is an excellent seaman. He has offered to go with me himself, the vessel [the *Du Teillay*] being his own that I go on board of . . . He lives at Nantes; and I expect a courier every moment from him with an account that all is ready; and then I must lose no time to get there, and go directly on board.

[Document 4] (*The Lyon in Mourning*, ed. Henry Paton, Scottish History Society, 3 vols, Edinburgh 1895-6, vol i, p201)

They had not been above five or six days at sea, till one evening the *Lyon* ship of war appeared, and came pretty near them, and then disappeared. Next morning she came again in view and disappeared. She continued to do so three or four times, and the last time of her appearing she came within a mile or so of them; when the captain [d'Eau] of the *Elizabeth* (a Frenchman) came on board the frigate, and told Mr Welch, if he would assist him by keeping one side of the *Lyon* in play at a distance, he would immediately put all things in order for the attack. Mr Welch, well knowing the trust he had on board, answered him civilly, and told him it was what he could not think of doing, and withal remarked to him, it was his humble opinion that he should not think of fighting unless he should happen to be attacked . . . The French captain to all this replied, that from the *Lyon* appearing and disappearing so often, it seemed as if she were looking out for another ship to assist her . . . and therefore he behoved to think it the wisest course to fight the *Lyon* when single . . . Upon this the French captain drew his sword, took leave of Mr Welch and his company, went on board the *Elizabeth* with his sword still drawn in his hand, and gave the necessary orders for the attack.

Immediately the *Elizabeth* bore down upon the *Lyon* (each of them consisting of about sixty guns, and therefore equally matched), and began the attack with great briskness. The fight continued for five or six hours, when the *Lyon* was obliged to sheet off like a tub upon the water . . . During the time of the fight, the Prince several times observed to Mr Welch what a small assistance would serve to give the *Elizabeth* the possession of the *Lyon*, and importuned him to engage in the quarrel. But Mr Welch positively refused, and at last behoved to desire the Prince not to insist any more, otherwise he would order him down to the cabin.

After the fight was over, Mr Welch sailed round the *Elizabeth*, and . . . desired to tell the captain it was his opinion that he should without loss of time return to France, and that he himself would do his best to make out the intended voyage. The *Elizabeth* accordingly returned to France, and the frigate continued her course to the coast of Scotland. She had not been long parted from the *Elizabeth* till the crew descried two ships of war at some distance, which they could not have well got off from, but that a mist luckily intervened, and brought them out of sight.

[Document 5] (*The Lyon in Mourning*, vol I, p201) Account narrated by Duncan Cameron, who accompanied Prince Charles to Scotland on board the French ship, the *Du Teillay*. Here he describes how the prince first set foot on Scottish soil on 23 July 1745.

When they were near the shore of the Long Isle, Duncan Cameron was sent out in the long boat to fetch them a proper pilot. When he landed he accidentally met with Barra's piper, who was his old acquaintance, and brought him on board. The pilot piloted them safely into Eriskay, a small island lying between Barra and South Uist.

When they landed in Eriskay they could not find a grain of meal or one inch of bread. But they caught some flounders, which they roasted upon the bare coals in a mean low hut they had gone into near the shore, and Duncan Cameron stood cook. The Prince sat at the cheek of the little ingle and laughed heartily at Duncan's cookery, for he himself owned he played his part awkwardly enough.

Next day the prince sent for young Clanranald's uncle [Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale], who lived in South Uist and discovered himself to him. This gentleman spoke in a very discouraging manner to the prince and advised him to return home. To which the Prince replied, 'I am come home, sir, and I will entertain no notion at all of returning to that place from whence I am come; for that I am persuaded my faithful Highlanders will stand by me.' Mr Macdonald told him he was afraid he would find the contrary.

[**Document 6**] (*A Royalist Family, Irish and French (1689-1789) and Prince Charles Edward*, Charles Louis, Duc de La Tremoille, Edinburgh 1904. [Includes Captain Darbe's Journal on board the *Du Teillay*, from which this is the entry for 25 July 1745.])

I arrived between Skye and Canna and continued my course eastward, not wishing to anchor at the said islands for fear those English men-of-war should come to see us there. When I had passed Rhum and Canna, Eig was on my starboard and the mainland in front of us. I continued my course to find it . . . I saw to eastward of my port a low point jutting out from the mainland, and beyond the point a rock in the form of an island . . . I steered east and anchored at 3 o'clock in the evening at the head of a bay, a fine plain with a few poor houses and a great many cattle. The place is called Loch nan Uamh. At 4 o'clock I lowered my boat, and the prince with three or four gentlemen land and went to the houses.

[**Document 7**] (*Lockhart Papers*, George Lockhart of Carnwath, ed. A. Aufreere, 2 vols, London 1817, vol II, p479)

There entered a tall youth of the most agreeable aspect in a plain black coat with a plain shirt not very clean and a cambrick stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black buckles and brass buckles in his shoes; at his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediately told by one O'Brian, a churchman, that this youth was an English clergyman who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

I at this time taking him to be only a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak with him with too much familiarity yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit (viz. The highland garb), I answered that I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily and next enquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him.

Several such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person [O'Brian] whispered me a second time, to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand he drank to us all round, and soon after left us.

[**Document 8**] (Government proclamation offering a reward of £30,000 for the capture of Charles Edward Stuart. This proclamation appeared in many contemporary newspapers and journals.)

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament made in the Seventeenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, it was Enacted, That, if the Eldest, or any other Son or Sons of the Person who pretended to be Prince of Wales in the Life-time of the late King *James* the Second, and since his Decease, assumed the Name and Title of *James* the Third, King of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, should, after the first Day of May, in the Year One thousand seven hundred and forty four, land, or attempt to land, or be found in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, or any of the Dominions or Territories belonging to the Crown of *Great Britain*, or should be found on board any Ship, Vessel, or Boat, being so on board with Intent to land in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, He and They respectively should stand and be adjudged attainted of High Treason.

And whereas We have received Information, that the Eldest Son of the said Pretender did lately embark in France, in order to land in some Part of His Majesty's Kingdoms, We being moved with so just an Indignation at so daring an Attempt, do hereby, in His Majesty's Name, command and require all His Majesty's Officers, Civil and Military, and all other His Majesty's loving Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours to seize and secure the said Son of the Pretender, wherever He shall land.

We do hereby further, in His Majesty's Name, promise a reward of Thirty thousand Pounds, to such Person and Persons who shall so seize and secure the said Son of the said Pretender, so that He may be brought to Justice. And if any of the Persons who have adhered to, or assisted the said Pretender, or His said Son, shall seize and secure the said Son, he or they shall have His Majesty's Gracious Pardon, and shall receive the said Reward.
Given at Whitehall, the First Day of August, in the Nineteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign.
GOD SAVE THE KING

[**Document 9**] Charles Edward Stuart to Daniel O'Brien, one of his father's most trusted advisers.

Loch Ailort, 4 August 1745

Sir – I am thank God arrived here in perfect good health but not with little trouble and danger as you will hear by the bearer [the Abbe Butler] who has been along with me all along, that makes it useless for me to give my accounts and particulars on that head. I am joined here by brave people as I expected; as I have not yet set up the standard I cannot tell the number, but that will be in a few days as soon as the arms are distributed, at which we are working with all speed.

I have not as yet got the return of the message sent to the lowlands, but expect it very soon. If they all join or at least all those to whom I have sent commissions to at request, everything will go to a wish.

[**Document 10**] Charles Edward Stuart to George Mackenzie, Earl of Cromarty.

Borrodale, August the 8th, 1745

Having been well informed of your Principles and Loyalty, I cannot but express at this juncture, that I am come with a firms resolution to restore the King, my Father, or perish in the attempt. I know the interest you have amongst those of your name, and depend upon you to exert it to the utmost of your Power. I have some reasons not to make any application to the Earl of Seaforth without your advice, which I therefore desire you to give me sincerely. I intend to set up the Royal Standard at Glenfinnan on Monday the 19th instant, and should be very glad to see you on that occasion. If time does not allow it, I still depend upon your joining me with all convenient speed. In the meantime, you may be assured of the popular esteem and friendship I have for you.

[**Document 11**](Extract from *Memoire d'un Ecossais*, by Cameron of Lochiel, written in early 1747, in *Lochiel of the '45*, by John S. Gibson, Edinburgh University Press, 1994, p65.)

The arrival of the Prince of Wales in such an unexpected fashion astonished and alarmed all faithful subjects of the King his father. They told him that it would be impossible for them to take up arms for him with any chance of success without the help they had requested; they begged him to go back and wait until he could obtain it. But the Prince told them that he had resolved to perish rather than put up with such a humiliation, and that he had only come with such a small band of supporters and so poorly supplied to give them the opportunity to display the zeal they had always professed . . . On the other hand if they allowed their prince to perish, he who had thrown himself on their mercy, thy would earn for themselves eternal shame and would persuade all Europe that the Royal House of Stuart no longer had friends in Scotland, and that the Scots had fallen away from the bravery displayed by their ancestors. Three weeks passed in argument on one side and the other but, at last, Mr Cameron of Lochiel, alive above all else to the danger to which the Prince's person was exposed, came out in his support along with the majority of his people whom he made take up arms. The example of the Camerons, who count for a lot in the Highlands, brought in some neighbouring clans.

[**Document 12**] Cope to John Hay, 4th Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary of State for Scotland.

Edinburgh, 10 August 1745

Upon a Supposition, that the Persons mentioned in the last Account sent to your Lordship, would not venture to land without previously being encouraged by a Rising of some considerable Number of Highlanders in their Favour, the King's Servants, viz the Lord President, the Lord Advocate, and the Solicitor General, have been of Opinion with me, that the most effectual Way of putting a Stop to wavering People joining with the Disaffected, so as to make a formidable Body, was immediately to march to stop their Progress; for which purpose I have ordered Bread and Biscuit to be baked at Perth and Stirling, without which we cannot make a Day's March Northward.

I send off from hence To-morrow a few Field Pieces, Cohorns &c. to Stirling, and hope I shall get Bread ready to be able to march from Stirling on Tuesday or Wednesday at furthest, with two Troops of Dragoons and seven Companies of Foot Northwards, as also two Companies of Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment, if they come in Time. At the same time Eight Companies of Foot will march from Perth to join me at the Beginning of the Highlands, so that I shall have with me in all Fifteen Companies, a Company or two of Highlanders, and from the Foot of the Mountains I shall send back the two Troops of Dragoons to Stirling.

This sudden March, with the Show only of some Artillery, &c., I am in Hopes, and do believe with rest of the King's Servants, will put a Stop to the Design some of his Majesty's Enemies may have to rise in Favour of the Pretender: And if it should not, small as my Force is, I will go to the first Body I can meet of them, and try to check their Proceedings . . .

I am, with great Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant.

JOHN COPE

[**Document 13**] (Account of the first skirmish of the '45 by Donald Macdonell of Glengarry.)

Upon this it was agreed that Keppoch [Alexander MacDonell of Keppoch] should attack the party going to Fort William, and I undertook to attack the party going to Fort Augustus, and I had waited three days in ambush, with a party of Glengarry's people, on the top of Corrieyairack; but, lucky for them, they came not, otherwise they had probably shared the same fates with them that were going to Fort William, who passed in two days thereafter, and within nine miles of Fort William, Keppoch attacked them personally, with his cousin Tirnadris [Major Donald Macdonell of Tirnadris], with about 50 men, and drove them backwards, in the king's road, being like an avenue, on the side of a steep hill, and a close wood, could not attack them sword in hand.

The enemy retreated about six miles till they came to the plain of Auchendroom, where fifty of the Glengarry Kennedies turned out and joined Keppoch, and after one smart fire attacked them sword in hand, upon which the enemy surrendered. This was the first sword drawn in the Prince's cause. The prisoners, officers and private men, were sent under a strong guard to His Royal Highness.

[**Document 14**] (*The History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745*, John Home, London 1802, p55)

Sir John Cope, Commander in Chief [Scotland] during these alarms, was one of those ordinary men who are fitter for any thing than the chief command in war, especially when opposed, as he was, to a new and uncommon enemy . . . The King's army in Scotland . . . consisted of three battalions and a half of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, both horse and foot (one old corps excepted) the youngest regiments of the British army. Besides these forces there were in Scotland nine additional companies, that had lately been raised there for the national regiments serving abroad: there were also several companies almost complete of Lord Loudoun's Highland regiment, for which leveies were carrying on all over the North.

Of the nine additional companies, two had fallen into the hands of the rebels [See **Document 13**] . . . most of the other companies had been draughted, and were so weak, as not to exceed twenty-five men as a company. Lord Loudoun's men were scattered about in different parts of the North Country, and had not received their arms.

[**Document 15**] (*London Gazette*, 13-17 August. One of the first published notifications of the landing of Prince Charles.)

Whitehall, Aug .17

Letters from Edinburgh of the 11th Instant bring an Account, that a French Vessel of 16 or 18 Guns had appeared on the west Coast of Scotland, which, after having cruized for some Days off the Islands of Bara and Uust, stood in for the Coast of Lochaber, and had there landed betwixt the Islands of Mull and Skie, several Persons, one of whom, from the general Report, and from several concurring Circumstances, there is the greatest Reason to believe is the Pretender's Son.

[**Document 16**] (*1745 and after*, Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, London 1938 [includes John William O'Sullivan's 'Narrative' of the Rising]. Here O'Sullivan describes the raising of the Jacobite Standard on 19 August 1745.)

The Prince departed from Kinlochmoidart with about two hundred of Clanranald's men, to go to Glenfinnan which was two days march. Lochiel arrived the day appointed, which was the 19th, with about 700 good men, but ill-armed; Keppoch arrived the same day, with about 350 clever fellows; that Succour, though small, made a very good appearance and began to raise everybody's spirits.

The prince got the Royal Standard set up, which was carried by the Duke of Atholl [William Murray, Marquis of Tullibardine], and got the King proclaimed, and his declaration read, at the head of those Regiments, which was followed by a general Huzzah, and a great deal of Alacrity. The Prince ordered that some casks of brandy should be delivered to the men, to drink the King's health, which was accordingly done; there were so many Cows given to them likewise, and the Cheese and butter, for there was no bread, they left their meal with their wives and children.

[**Document 17**] (Prince Charles' public response to the government proclamation offering a reward of £30,000 for his capture.)

Whereas We have seen a certain scandalous and malicious Paper, published in the Style and Form of a Proclamation, bearing Date the 1st Instant, wherein, under Pretence of bringing Us to Justice, like Our Royal Ancestor King *Charles* the I of blessed Memory, there is a Reward, of Thirty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, promised to those who shall deliver Us into the Hands of Our Enemies: We could not but be moved with a just Indignation at so insolent an Attempt. And tho' from Our Nature and Principals We abhor and detest a Practice so unusual among Christian Princes, We cannot, but out of a just Regard to the Dignity of Our Person, promise the like Reward of Thirty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to him or those who shall seize and secure, till Our further Orders, the Person of the Elector of *Hanover*, whether landed, or attempting to land, in any Part of His Majesty's Dominions. Should any fatal Accident happen from hence, let the Blame lie entirely at the Door of those who first set the infamous Example.

Charles P.R.

Given in Our Camp at Kinlochiel August the 22nd, 1745

[**Document 18**] (Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat to the Lord Advocate, Robert Craigie, 23 August 1745. *Culloden Papers*, ed. H.R. Duff, London 1815)

Although I am entirely infirm myself these three or four Months past, yet I have very pretty Gentlemen of my family that will lead my Clan wherever I bid them for the King's Service. And if we do not get these Arms immediately, we will certainly be undone. For those Madmen, that are in Arms with the pretended Prince of Wales, threaten every day to burn and destroy my country, if we do not rise in Arms and join them; so that my people cry out horribly, that they have no Arms to defend themselves, nor no protection or support from the Government.

So I earnestly entreat your Lordship may consider seriously on this; for it will be an essential and singular loss to the Government if any Clan and Kindred [i.e. the Frasers] be destroyed who possess the centre of the Highlands of Scotland, and the Countrys most proper by their Situation to serve King and Government.

[**Document 19**] (Lord Elcho's account of the movement of the two armies between 19 and 29 August, 1745. *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746*, David, Lord Elcho, ed. the Hon. Evan Charteris, Edinburgh 1907.)

On the 27th August they [Charles' army] marched to the [Pass of] Corrieyairack, where they got intelligence of General Cope's coming to attack them. General Cope and the Earl of Loudoun had arrived at the Camp at Stirling the 19th, and the General ordered Gardiner's Dragoons to remain there, and Hamilton's to march to Edinburgh, where they encamped first in St. Anne's Yards, then in Barefoot parks, and lastly on the links of Leith. He [Cope] on the 20th marched the rest of the army over the Bridge of Stirling to Crieff, so to Tay Bridge, then on to Dalnacardoch and to Dalwhinnie. He had a thousand stand of arms to give to the people that would join him upon the route, but he was joined by none.

The 27 August [in fact, the 26th], as his Army had taken the road to the Corrieyairack, he got news of the Prince's Army marching to attack him; upon which he Called a Council of War, wherein it was determined not to fight the Prince but to go to Inverness, upon which he ordered his army to file off from the rear, and after a very quick-march they Arrived the 29th at Inverness, where he was joined by four Companies of Lord Loudoun's regiment 280 men, and two Companies of Guise's 140; and some Munros, who were the only highlanders not regulars, joined him.

[**Document 20**] (*Caledonian Mercury*, Monday 2 September 1745.)

We also hear that his Grace the Duke of Atholl has left that Country with his most valuable Effects. His Grace arrived here [Edinburgh] Yesternight, having received a Letter from his elder Brother, [William, Marquis of Tullibardine] (who was attainted in the 1715) advising that he was coming to take up his Quarters at his Castle of Blair.

Upon this surprising News, the Call to Arms was beat in the Canongate at 6 in the Evening on Saturday, and General Hamilton's Regiment of Dragoons from Canongate and Leith, marched out and encamped in St. Anne's Yards. We are also told, that Orders were sent to Stirling to the Hon. Colonel Gardiner's Regiment to have a sharp Look-out, less some of the Atholl Men should join these new invaders and march Southward.

The Hon. Magistrates, immediately on hearing the above News, went with the Officers of the Guard, and visited the Walls and Gates. A Council was also called, wherein it was resolved, the Trained Bands should mount Guard and do Duty; and that a second augmentation of the City Guard should take place. After Divine Service Yesterday, the Trained Bands were summoned to parade, in order to do Duty; which command was cheerfully obeyed: And Captain Robert Tenant, Commandant, took upon him the Command of the City.

[**Document 21**] (From O'Sullivan's 'Narrative' in A. & H. Tayler, *1745 and after*.)

When the Prince saw that the Atholl men were disposed to join, he parted for Dunkeld, by the Pass of Killiecrankie; from Dunkeld, he went to Perth, and dined that day at Lord Nairn's house. His Royal Highness stayed seven or eight days at Perth [4-10 September], as well to regulate matters for the rest of his undertakings, as to wait for the Atholl men, and get some succour in money, for the day he arrived at Perth, I don't believe he had ten Guineas in the world. The Duke of Perth sent him in money or bank bills, two or three hundred pounds. In seven or eight days there was a reasonable sum gathered up, which friends that did not appear sent in, the Town in General was not well disposed, but there were some honest peoples, that gave good intelligence.

The stay we made at Perth, gave us some leisure to accustom our folks to a little regular duty, of mounting of guards, and occupying of posts, and visiting of them . . . My Lord Ogiliv joined the Prince there, and promised to bring him his men, which he did before he began his march for England. My Lord George Murray joined him there likewise.

[**Document 22**] (Letter written by Benjamin Keene, MP, on 7 September 1745. Quoted in *Culloden and the '45*, by Jeremy Black, Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1993, pp75-6.)

The Pretender's son is in Scotland with near 3,000 rebels with new arms and French *louis d'ors*. We have not above 1,500 men under Sir John Cope, and not a clan has risen to join him though he has marched two-thirds of the kingdom . . . I confess this affair in Scotland taken by itself gives me no great terror, but when I look upon it only as a branch of a more extensive and pernicious project, connected with the Spanish embarkation from Ferrol and contrived by France, who now has it in her power to invade us, void of troops and defense at present, from Ostend, Dunkirk, Brest and where not, I cannot but wish for the return of the Duke of Cumberland and the forces, at least 10,000, under his command, without which I am certain we do not sleep in whole skins. Our danger is near and immediate, all our defence at a distance. You can not well imagine the concern all people are in . . . I am thoroughly convinced we shall be invaded from Flanders. And the 6,000 Dutch that are to come over will do nothing without 10,000 of our own people to fight our own battles. I bewilder myself in scenes of misery to come, unless providentially prevented.

[**Document 23**] (The City of Edinburgh's Loyal Address to His Majesty, George II; published in most contemporary Scottish newspapers and journals.)

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord provost, magistrates and council of the city of *Edinburgh*, want words to express the satisfaction we felt upon receiving the news of your majesty's happy arrival to these your majesty's dominions, so long and ardently wished for by all your majesty's faithful and dutiful subjects, at a time when the enemies to your person and government were daring enough to take up arms, with a wicked intention to deprive us of our religion, liberty and laws: blessings we have so long possessed, derived down to us from the revolution [of 1688-9], and happily enjoyed under your majesty's and royal father's auspicious reigns.

This city has always distinguished herself by a firm and steady attachment to revolution and whig principles, and a hearty abhorrence of all popish and arbitrary governments; and in the year 1715, when a most unnatural rebellion was kindled up against your royal father, our zeal for his person and government was equalled by few, surpassed by none. Since that time we have opposed, as far was in our power, every measure that might flatter the pretender's hopes.

We beg leave at this time to assure your majesty, that we will stand by you, and your royal family, with our lives and fortunes; employ every power we are possessed of, and all the means you shall put in our hands, to disappoint the views of *France*, and baffle the vain hopes of this rash adventurer, who has been audacious enough to attempt to darken and disturb the tranquillity of your majesty's happy government.

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty's most dutiful,

Most obedient, and loyal subjects and servants,

The lord provost, magistrates, and council of the city of *Edinburgh*, in council assembled,
Edinburgh, Sept. 7, 1745

Signed by their order,

ARCH. STEWART, PROVOST

[**Document 24**] (George Carre of West Nisbet, Bewrickshire, to Hugh, 3rd Earl of Marchmont. 10 September 1745. *Marchmont Correspondence relating to the '45*, ed. the Hon. G.F.C. Hepburne-Scott, Miscellany of the Scottish History Society Vol. 5, Edinburgh 1933.)

That refined policy like ways, which has been practised these twenty years, of making the Highlands an academy for the art of war, displays itself notably on this occasion . . . The consequence whereof must be plainly this, that in a few years more we shall have in the Highlands of Scotland a body of thirty thousand (I mean every man in the country) of the best trained regular Troops in Europe, constantly ready at the command of their own Chiefs, those worthy patriots. It is strange that all this should have happened since the memorable year 1715, and that in place of being exterminated (that is transplanted to a better climate) as they ought and must be if ever Great Britain expects to rest in security, they have been cherished in a surprising manner so as to be more capable of doing mischief than ever.

[**Document 25**] Lord Elcho's version of the capture of Edinburgh, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*.)

At ten at night of the 16th [September], there came four of the town Council out to the Prince's quarters to beg he would give them time to think on his demand [to surrender the city]. This was a message contrived to gain time, for they expected General Cope's Army every hour to land at Leith from Aberdeen, and in case he landed time Enough, they intend to wait the Event of a Battle. The Prince, after they had kissed his hand, told them that he was going to send off a detachment to Attack the town and let them defend it at their peril; that if they did the Consequences would be bad, and if they did not he intended no harm to the old Metropolis of his Kingdom.

As soon as they received this answer the Prince ordered young Lochiel with 800 men to March and attack the town. There Came out some time after another deputation of six councillors. They got the same answer as the first, and the Prince did not see them. The Coach that they came out in went in at the West Port and set down the Company, and as they were letting out the Coach at the Netherbow [the horses were stabled in the Canongate outside the city's walls] Lochiel's party who were arrived there rushed in, seized all the Guards of the Town, who made no resistance, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh without firing a shot.

[**Document 26**] (*The Woodhouselee manuscript. A narrative of events in Edinburgh and district during the Jacobite occupation*, ed. A.F. Steuart, London 1907.)

When I came to the head of the stairs [that] led to the Parliament Close I could scarce pass for throng, and the Parliament Close was crowded with them, for they were to make the parade at reading the Manifesto and Declaration from the [Mercat] Cross. All these mountain officers with their troops in rank and file marched from the Parliament Close down to surround the Cross, and with their bagpipes and loose crew they made a large circle from the end of the Luckenbooths to half way below the Cross.

I observed their arms: they were guns of different sizes, and some of enormous length, some with butts turned up like a heron, some tied with puck thread to the stock, some without locks and some matchlocks, some had swords over their shoulder instead of guns, one or two had pitchforks, and some bits of scythes upon poles, some old Lochaber axes. The pipes played pibrochs when they were making their circle. They stood around 5 or 6 men deep. Perhaps there was a stratagem in this appearance, to make us think they were a rabble unarmed in this public parade show, for a great many old men and boys were mixed, and they certainly concealed their best men and arms thus; for they have some 1400 of the most daring and best militia in Europe.

[**Document 27**] (The Battle of Prestonpans – Gladsmuir – to the Jacobites - was fought on 21 September 1745. *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton.*)

The left [of the Jacobite army] received one fire of the Cannon, which did little hurt, and then receiving a fire from the foot, they gave a loud huzza, returning the fire, upon which Gardiner's Dragoons run off, and the Highlanders, throwing away their muskets, attacked the foot with incredible impetuosity, who immediately gave ground. Upon the left of the Enemy the resistance, if such behaviour merits the name, was much less, for before the Duke of Perth was within three Score yards of them, Hamilton's Dragoons began to reel and run off before they could receive his fire; the foot likewise fired too soon, and almost all turned their backs before the Highlanders could engage them with their Swords. In a few minutes the rout was total; the Dragoons on the right run off by the high road through the Town of Preston, and those on the left by the Shore towards the east; the few of the foot that saved themselves escaped by Preston Park, the wall of which had been broke down the day before by General Cope's orders.

[**Document 28**] (Prince Charles to his father in Rome, 7 October 1745. In *Bonnie Prince Charlie*, by Moray McLaren, St Albans 1974, p97.)

'Tis impossible for me to give you a distinct gurnal of the procedyings becose of my time being so hurried with business which allows me no time; but notwithstanding I cannot let slip this occasion of giving a short account of ye Batle of Gladsmuire, fought on ye 21 of September which was one of ye most surprising action that ever was; we gained a complete victory over General Cope who commanded 3,000 fut and to Regiments of ye Best Dragoons in ye island, he being advantajiously posted with also baterys of cannon and morters, wee having neither hors or artillery with us, and being to attack them in their position, and obliged to pas before their noses in a defile and Bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage, for actually in five minutes ye field was clired of ye Enemy, all ye fut killed, wounded or taken prisoner, and of ye horse only to-hundred escaped like rabets, one by one, on our side we only losed a hundred men between killed and wounded, and ye army afterwards had a fine plunder.

[**Document 29**] (Proclamation by Prince Charles issued on 23 September. Published in the *Caledonian Mercury*.)

Having always had the greatest fatherly Love and Compassion to all our Royal Father's Subjects; and having with Concern reflected on the many and heavy Oppressions they have groaned under, during this long Usurpation; We were from these Motives influenced to undertake this present Enterprise, which it has pleased Almighty God to favour, by granting us hitherto a most surprising Success.

And whereas it has been represented to us by many of our loyal Subjects, that many of the Inhabitants of our ancient City of Edinburgh intended to testify their Joy upon our late Victory at Gladsmuir, by public Rejoicing usual upon the like Occasions: We, reflecting, that however glorious the late Victory may have been to us, and however beneficial to the Nation in general, as the principal Means under God for the Recovery of their Liberty; yet in so far as it has been obtained by the effusion of the Blood of His Majesty's Subjects, and has involved many unfortunate People in great Calamity; We hereby forbid any outward Demonstration of public Joy, admonishing all true Friends to their King and Country, to Return Thanks to God for his Goodness towards them, as we do hereby for ourselves by this our public Proclamation.

And we hereby again repeat what we have so often declared, That no interruption shall be given to public Worship; but on the contrary, all Protection to those concerned in it. And if notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their Duty in that particular [i.e. ministers of the kirk], let the Blame lie entirely on their own Door, as We are resolved to inflict no Penalty that may possible look like Prosecution.

[**Document 30**] (Extract from the *TRUE PATRIOT* (Anon) published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec. 1745.)

The common people of the lowlands in Scotland are as well affected to his Majesty as any of his subjects. Indeed they can have no motive to be otherwise. They are rigid presbyterians, and have tasted too much the spirit of persecution under a *Stuart*, who was, or pretended to be, a protestant, ever to trust a known and avowed papist of the same family. The least degree of common honesty is not required to preserve the loyalty of these people, the lowest portion of common sense will be sufficient. They must be fools or madmen, should they endeavour to set this popish pretender on the throne: But they have endeavoured at no such thing; and as the nature of the case gives us no suspicion, so neither have their actions given us any. They are fellow-protestants and fellow-sufferers with our selves; nay, they are hitherto much greater sufferers, and have seen and felt that devastation which we are to expect.

Let us not therefore entertain or vent any suspicion of these people, who will most assuredly, in their several stations, exert that courage for which they are, in common with us, renowned over *Europe*, in defence of that religion and liberty which in common with us, they enjoy. Let us remember the behaviour of the gallant Earl of *Loudoun* and his *Scotch* followers, the only soldiers on our side who rallied at the late battle [Prestonpans], and the glorious death of colonel *Gardiner*, who being born a *Scotchman*, fell in the cause of liberty with the spirit of a *Roman*.

[Document 31] (*London Gazette*, 28 September 1745.)

Whitehall, September 28

The King has been pleased to send Orders to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to send over immediately eight Battalions, and also nine Squadrons of the British Troops from the Army under his Royal Highness's Command, for the Defence and Security of his Majesty's Kingdoms.

By Letters from Berwick of the 23rd and 24th we are informed, that about 500 of the Dragoons under Sir John Cope were then there; that some of the Foot had likewise go to that Place, and others were gone for Carlisle. That the Rebels, after the late Action, lay for some time at Duddingston and Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, and then returned to that City; since which there were no certain Accounts of their Motions.

The following is the most exact List we have as yet received, of the Officers killed and Wounded in the late action.

Colonel Gardiner's Dragoons.
Colonel Gardiner, *killed.*
Lieut. Colonel Whitney, *wounded*
Hamilton's Dragoons.
Lieut. Colonel Wright, *wounded.*
Major Bowles, *wounded.*
Lascelles's Foot.
Captain Stuart, *killed.*
Ensign Bell, *much wounded.*
Murray's.
Captain Leslie, *slightly wounded*
Ensign Haldane, *dangerously wounded.*
Guise's.
Captain Leslie, *slightly wounded*
Captain Holwell, *killed.*
Leigh's.
Captain Bremner, *killed.*
Captain Rogers, *killed.*
Lieut. Colonel Whiteford, *slightly wounded.*

Besides the above List, there are several Officers Prisoners, whose names are not yet known.

[Document 32] (*Caledonian Mercury*, 30 September 1745)

GENTLEMEN,

I am equally surprised and concerned at the Barbarity of the Orders, that have been signified to you from the Castle, and which those who command in it say they have received from the Elector of Hanover, at the same time that they own that they have six Weeks Provisions left. If he looks upon you as his Subjects, he would never exact from you what he knows is not in your Power to do. And should we, out of Compassion to you, comply with this extravagant Demand of his, he might as well summon us to quit the Town, and abandon those Advantages which Providence has granted us, by crowning the Valour of our Troops with such signal Success. I shall be heartily sorry for any Mischief that may befall the City, and shall make it my peculiar Care to indemnify you in the most ample Manner. In the mean Time, I shall make full Reprisals upon the Estates of those who are now in the Castle, and even upon all who are known to be open Abettors of the German Government, If I am forced to it by the Continuance of such Inhumanities.

Charles P.R.

In Consequence of the above Resolution of His Royal Highness, a great Body of Horse had been immediately ordered to parade, in order to march off in several Divisions, with Orders to use Reprisals against the proper Persons.

Section 2: October 1745 – January 1746

The month of October 1745 was one of consolidation for Charles Edward Stuart. He needed to rest his troops and recruit more men if he was going to invade England and spur the French into providing assistance. Certainly there were growing signs of panic in London as news of events in Scotland reached the capital [**Document 33**], and numbers of Jacobite supporters were beginning to arrive in Edinburgh, swelling the size of Charles' army [**Document 34**]. As if to remind Charles that his position was still far from being secure, the castle garrison carried out its earlier threat to bombard Edinburgh [**Document 35**]. As a result of the rebellion, George II gave notice that Parliament was to be recalled on 17 October to debate the crisis. Charles' response was to forbid the Lords and Commons from assembling and decreeing that the Union of 1707 was terminated [**Documents 36 & 37**]. During the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh life was disrupted for many of the city's inhabitants, and one individual almost succeeded in severely disrupting the effectiveness of the entire army [**Documents 38 & 39**].

Despite the occupation of Edinburgh, opposition to Charles remained widespread in the Scottish Lowlands. Not surprisingly, Glasgow was hostile to the Jacobite cause: the town was controlled by the head of Clan Campbell, Archibald 3rd Duke of Argyll, a loyal Hanoverian and bitter opponent of the Stuarts. While Edinburgh and its environs supplied the Jacobites with food and equipment, Glasgow provided a similar service for the forces being raised in Scotland by the government [**Document 40**]. Meanwhile, in Edinburgh, the Jacobite high command was divided on the army's next course of action. Prince Charles had never been in any doubt: Scotland was secured, now England must be won. The senior officers and clan chiefs were not so sure. Many believed that in securing Scotland for the Stuarts they had fulfilled their obligations to the prince, and while others had no objections to fighting the government army commanded by Marshal Wade should he invade Scotland, they were reluctant to enter England and risk defeat miles from home with no prospect of escape. The matter was finally decided at a council of war held at Holyroodhouse on 30 October [**Document 41**], and the following day the Jacobite army left Edinburgh and began its march south [**Document 42**]. The weeks spent in Edinburgh following Prestonpans had not proved as rewarding in terms of new recruits as Charles and his officers would have hoped. Certainly the army was much larger than it had been at the time of Prestonpans, but it still appeared a woefully inadequate force with which to invade a England. Charles, of course, was still confident of French support, and had convinced himself that English Jacobites would flock to his standard once he arrived amongst them. The organisation and conduct of the Jacobite army as it left Edinburgh were observed by two supporters of the Hanoverian regime [**Documents 43 & 44**].

Lord Murray was acutely aware of the disadvantages faced by his army. Wade's forces in the north of England alone numbered some 10,000 men, while two other armies were being assembled further south. In total, the forces at the disposal of the London government numbered some 30,000 men, more than five times the size of the entire Jacobite army. Murray realised that his only hope of success was to keep the government guessing as to the strategic objectives of his force, and for this reason he split the army into two columns, the Duke of Perth and the Marquis of Tullibardine with the Lowland regiments took the western route through Peebles, Moffat and Lockerbie, while the second column, consisting of the Highland regiments and commanded by Prince Charles and Murray himself, went via Lauder, Kelso and Jedburgh. This approach certainly had the desired effect; Hanoverian ministers were clearly baffled by the movements of their opponents [**Document 45**].

As the Jacobite army continued its march into England, Edinburgh was reoccupied by members of the Scottish administration - supported by a considerable body of troops [Document 46] whose presence was designed to defend the city from any future Jacobite incursions. These troops would have been welcomed by the citizens of Carlisle who were forced to surrender their town to Prince Charles' army on 14 November [Document 47].

Despite the success at Carlisle, the Jacobite command was growing increasingly concerned at the lack of English support received so far and by the possibility of being caught between two government armies [Document 48]. There was better news for Charles from Scotland, however. Reinforcements from France arrived in the north-east of Scotland, greatly boosting the strength of Jacobite forces in the country and, at the same time, increasing tension between rival supporters of the Stuarts and Hanoverians [Document 49]. The main Jacobite army left Carlisle on 20 November and continued south, reaching Manchester nine days later. In Manchester Charles was joined by some 200 volunteers, the largest body of men to join his army in England [Documents 50, 51 & 52]. In December Lord John Drummond, the commander of the French reinforcements now in Scotland, issued a proclamation at Montrose in which he made it clear that he was acting on the orders of the French King and that he had come to make war against George II in support of Charles Edward Stuart. This proclamation confirmed the worst fears of the Hanoverian government, namely that France had sponsored Charles from the start and would now make even greater efforts on his behalf [Document 53].

Early December saw the turning point of the rebellion. Charles entered Derby on 4 December [Document 54]; he was now a mere 127 miles from London. However, despite his closeness to the capital, his commanders were far from happy at the military situation in which they now found themselves. At a council of war held on the evening of 5 December [Document 55], Lord George Murray, supported by the majority of the council, refused to continue the march towards London. They were, he argued, surrounded by vastly superior enemy forces and had received no material assistance from English Jacobites. Even when Charles informed his officers of Lord John Drummond's landing with 800 men they refused to change their minds, and Charles was reluctantly forced to comply with their demands. The following day a dispirited Jacobite army left Derby and began the retreat back to Scotland [Document 56]: Charles was never to trust Lord George Murray again. From a military point of view the retreat from Derby was a remarkable achievement [Document 57]. The Jacobite army managed to avoid being caught between Cumberland and Wade, both of whom commanded armies vastly superior in numbers to that of Charles. Lord George Murray's handling of the rearguard was exemplary, and he gave Cumberland's forces a bloody nose at Clifton on 18 December [Document 58]. Before crossing back into Scotland on 20 December, Charles had decided to garrison Carlisle in the (mistaken) belief that he would shortly return with a much larger army to renew his invasion of England. The 300 men selected for this thankless task were largely composed of those men who had joined the prince at Manchester. This decision was bitterly opposed by Murray [Document 59], and the subsequent fate of the so-called Manchester Regiment vindicated his position [Document 61].

Away from the drama of the invasion of England by the main Jacobite army, other significant developments were taking place. Fears of a projected French invasion in support of Charles had been growing during the early days of December, and on the 12th George II issued a proclamation placing the country on emergency footing and urging vigilance in case of invasion [Document 60].

The Royal Navy mounted a 24 hour watch on the French Channel ports to ensure that no invasion fleet set sail, but Admiral Edward Vernon could give no absolute guarantee that the enemy would not manage to avoid his watching squadrons and break out [**Document 63**]. In the north of Scotland, Lord Lewis Gordon who, along with Lord Strathallan, had been charged by Charles with raising more recruits for the Jacobite army, had successfully repulsed an attack by government forces commanded by the Laird of Macleod at Inverurie [**Document 62**].

On returning to Scotland the Jacobites headed for Glasgow which they occupied for a week. Relations between the Jacobites and the local inhabitants were not particularly cordial, certainly far less so than had been the case in Edinburgh the previous autumn [**Document 64**]. Charles was determined to link up with the forces of Lord Lewis Gordon and Lord John Drummond, and with this objective in mind, he left Glasgow on 3 January and marched to Stirling. Stirling and its castle – both of which were in Hanoverian hands – represented a formidable threat to Jacobite lines of communication, and it was decided, following the successful junction of the two Jacobite armies [**Document 65**], to lay siege to both town and castle. The town fell to the Jacobites on 5 January, but the castle proved impregnable. By this time Lord George Murray was clearly disillusioned by Charles' constant interference in military matters, and demanded that the prince consult his senior officers before making decisions that were beyond his competence [**Document 66**]. Charles' reply was both bitter and defiant [**Document 67**], and served only to indicate the extent to which relations between the two men had deteriorated. The siege of Stirling Castle continued - with increasingly heavy Jacobite casualties being the only result [**Document 68**].

Following the Duke of Cumberland's return to London during the height of the French invasion crisis in December, he had been succeeded as commander of the government troops in Scotland by General Henry Hawley. Hawley was an experienced soldier, a strict disciplinarian and totally lacking in imagination. Hoping to crush the rebellion in one hammer blow, Hawley marched from Edinburgh towards Stirling, confident of success. The two armies met at Falkirk on 17 January in appalling weather, and Hawley's overconfidence was quickly exposed as his army was scattered by Murray's highlanders and forced to retreat as far as Edinburgh [**Documents 69 & 70**]. As a result of his defeat Hawley was replaced by the Duke of Cumberland (who had come north after the French invasion threat of the previous month failed to materialise), and several of his officers faced court martial-charges [**Documents 73 & 74**]. But if the Hanoverians were despondent, not all was well in their opponents' camp either. Quarrels between different clan regiments, the ineffectiveness of the siege of Stirling Castle, increasing desertion among the ordinary soldiers and, finally, news that the Duke of Cumberland had arrived at Edinburgh with reinforcements, led Lord George Murray and other senior commanders to conclude that the only way to avoid a major defeat was to retreat to the highlands where the army would at least be on familiar territory [**Documents 71 & 72**]. On 29 January Lord George and his fellow commanders wrote to Charles recommending a retreat to the highlands. There were sound tactical and strategic reasons for suggesting such a course of action, but Charles was furious with his commander-in-chief and it was only with the greatest reluctance – coupled with the realisation that he had little choice in the matter – that he agreed to accept Murray's proposal [**Documents 75 & 76**]. From this point on, Charles and his most able senior officer were hardly on speaking terms.

[**Document 33**] (Andrew Mitchell to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, London, 2 October 1745, *Culloden Papers*)

I had the honour to write to your Lordship the 5th of September. Since that time the face of affairs in Scotland is sadly altered. Sir John Cope's defeat, which leaves the Rebels in possession of Edinburgh & of all the South country, has justly occasioned a very great alarm here. The first effect that this produced was, a run upon the Bank, which is now happily stopped, by the numerous Association of the principal Merchants to receive and make payments in Bank Notes; and by it the public credit is re-established.

The King has ordered a very large body of troops, Dutch and English, with a train of artillery, to march directly to Scotland. They are upwards of 9000, and are to be commanded by Marshall Wade; besides, it is probable that more will be sent to join them, as all the British troops are to come from Flanders. Who could have imagined that the P[retender]'s son, landing in Scotland with 7 or 8 people, and joined by such people as Kinlochmoidart, could in two months been in possession of Edinburgh, and have occasioned such an alteration in the affairs of Europe as the recalling of our troops must necessarily produce.

[**Document 34**] (Report from the *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh, 4 October 1745)

Yesterday 110 Highlanders of Lord Loudoun's Regiment, who were made Prisoners by the Prince's army at Gladsmuir, having petitioned to be set at Liberty on them swearing upon the Evangelists never again to carry Arms against the House of STUART, were accordingly enlarged, and received the Prince's Bounty to carry them home to the North.

A Gentleman of the Name of Grant went North this Morning with requisitorial Letters to the Laird of Grant and other Gentlemen his Vassals, Dependants &c. to come up and join the Army. Yesterday the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount of Dundee, at the Head of several Gentlemen from the Shire of Angus, came and joined the Prince's Standard.

Yesternight the Right Hon. my Lord Ogilvie, at the Head of a numerous Body of fine gentlemen on Horseback, joint the Prince's Camp. As did Mr Farquharson of Monaltrie, with a considerable Corps of Men. As did also the Hon. Colonel Arbuthnot, who lately arrived from France. This Morning a Detachment of the Prince's Life Guards marched from Holyroodhouse, in order to meet and conduct into the camp Major General Gordon of Glenbucket, with the troops he has raised in the North, which lay last night at Kirkliston.

[**Document 35**] (Report in the *Scots Magazine* describing the castle garrison's bombardment of Edinburgh on 4-5 October 1745.)

On the 4th at noon, notice was sent to the inhabitants to remove from the North part of James's Court, and places adjacent, lest some balls might chance to come that way. A few hours after, a terrible cannonading began. When it became dark, a party sallied out from the castle, and set fire to a house, which was deserted by the inhabitants. This occasioned a great consternation. Mean time the salliers threw up a trench across the castle-hill; and, to prevent any interruption, scoured the street with cartridge shot from some field pieces placed on the castle-hill; by which a merchant's book-keeper and another person were killed, and several wounded. Before their return, the soldiers pillaged some of the houses that had been deserted.

The firing continued next day, and distressed the inhabitants exceedingly. Bullets did execution at the Fleshmarket close-head, so that no body was safe to stand on the street. Some houses were shattered. Those who lived exposed to the castle, removed; and carried out the aged and infirm at the imminent hazard of their lives. Great numbers that lived in places that were in no hazard, were likewise so frightened, that they ran out of town, not knowing whither. Several of the inhabitants sent of their valuable effects, and a good deal of them were lost in the confusion. It was a very affecting scene.

[**Document 36**] (Proclamation of Charles Edward Stuart, Edinburgh, 9 October 1745.)

Whereas We are certainly informed, That the Elector of Hanover has taken upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at Westminster on Thursday the Seventeenth of this instant October; We hereby warn and command all His Majesty's Liege Subjects, whether Peers or Commoners, to pay no Obedience to any such Summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the Time and Place appointed; the so doing by any Authority but that of the King our Royal Father, since the setting up of His Standard, and His Majesty's gracious Pardon offered for all that is past, being an overt Act of Treason and Rebellion. And for those of His Majesty's Subjects of this His ancient Kingdom of Scotland, whether Peers or Commoners, who shall, contrary to these Our express Commands, presume to sit or vote as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified unto Us, the Transgressors shall be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels to their King and Country, and their Estates shall be confiscated for His Majesty's Use, according to the Laws of the Land; the pretended Union of these Kingdoms being now at an End.

[**Document 37**] (King George II's speech to Parliament, 17 October 1745. Published in most contemporary newspapers and journals.)

The open and unnatural rebellion which has broke out, and is still continuing in Scotland, has obliged me to call you together sooner than I intended; and I shall lay nothing before you at present, but what immediately relates to our security at home, reserving all other considerations to a further opportunity. So wicked and daring an attempt, in favour to a Popish pretender to my crown, headed by his eldest son, carried on by numbers of traitorous and desperate persons within the kingdom, and encouraged by my enemies abroad, requires the immediate advice and assistance of my parliament to suppress and extinguish it.

The duty and affection for me and my government, and the vigilant and zealous care for the safety of the nation, which have with so much unanimity been shewn by my faithful subjects, give me the firmest assurance, that you are together resolved to act with a spirit becoming at a time of common danger, and with such vigour as will end in the confusion of all those who have engaged in or fomented the rebellion.

[**Document 38**] (The *Scots Magazine*, Edinburgh, October 1745.)

Ever since the Edinburgh workhouse was opened, the inhabitants were entirely freed of beggars, either at their houses or on the streets, the soldiers of the city-guard having orders to seize all persons found begging in the city. By when these soldiers were set aside by the highland army, the streets were again infested with beggars. On this the managers of the workhouse published an advertisement, date Oct. 17 importing, That the poor in said [work]house were still maintained and employed in all respects as formerly; that the people who were then become a public nuisance by begging in the streets, had no title to the charity of the inhabitants; and that, in regard the funds had suffered by the want of public worship in the churches for some weeks past, all charitably disposed persons were therefore entreated to send what they could spare for the support of the house, to any one of the weekly directors, a list of whose names was annexed. This request was cheerfully complied with, and the workhouse liberally supplied by the inhabitants.

[**Document 39**] (Report from the *Caledonian Mercury*, Edinburgh, 21 October 1745.)

Friday last, at One Afternoon, a Woman, who calls herself Isabel Wright, says she was born at Linton and married to a Soldier, was observed by the Centinels on Duty at the Park of Artillery near the Palace of Holy-rood-house, carrying in, as they believed, Dinner to some of the Guard; under which Colour she actually got past the outer Centinels, and even made attempt to get by the inner Centinels: But being pushed back, she stepped to the South-east Wall of the Park, and actually got upon it, though the Centinels called out and fired upon her. She was immediately apprehended, and there was found upon her several combustible Affairs. The People who apprehended her having asked her, What Business she had within the Artillery Ground (where so much Powder lay) with her Straw, Faggots &c.? She only answered, That she believed it was a Church-yard, and pretended to be delirious. It is assured that two suspicious like Fellows were at the very time she was apprehended seen peeping over the Easter-wall of the Park; but that they unhappily escaped by the Confusion and Surprise every one was in.

As this Woman has not yet been examined in a proper Manner, we shall use no Reflections on the Subject. 'Tis said she was seen in Company lately with David Smith the Centinel, who was shot last Week by Sentence of a Court Martial [for desertion].

[**Document 40**] (Major-General John Campbell of Mamore [later the 4th Duke of Argyll] to Provost Andrew Cochrane of Glasgow, 25 October 1745. *Cochrane correspondence regarding the affairs of Glasgow 1745-46*, ed. J. Dennistoun, Maitland Club, Edinburgh 1836.)

Sir – I think it proper to acquaint you, that his Majesty intends to send me to Scotland, to command under [Marshall Wade in the west of Scotland and Highlands; and, as I flatter myself that my good friends in Glasgow will in every shape assist me in the public service, I take this opportunity of begging you will be so good as to enquire if in your town there are any Highland shoe-makers who can make brogues. I shall want about 1000 pairs, to be made immediately; and as soon as any tolerable quantity are got ready, you will order the contractor to send them by parcels to Dumbarton Castle, where they will be secure till I shall have occasion for them.

As I apprehend it to be one branch of your trade to the West Indies furnishing shoes, I need give you no particular directions for contracting and fixing a pattern &c.

As I am not sure but that this may fall into the enemy's hands, you will excuse my giving you any particulars of the instructions and powers that I come with. The Duke of Argyll directs the whole, and is the person who has determined me to accept of a very difficult command.

Since my arrival from Flanders I have not been able to learn if any thing has been done for the security of your town, and I fear that it has been neglected. Should that be the case, my humble opinion is, that you should apply to the Duke of Argyll to represent your situation as it is, and to desire arms may be put in your hands.

[**Document 41**] (Lord Elcho's account of the army council meeting held at Edinburgh on 30 October 1745, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*.)

That night the Prince Assembled a great many of the Principal Officers of his army in his room, and proposed again Going up the East road and fighting Wade. Lord George Murray and the rest of them were Against it. The Prince said, I find, Gentlemen you are for staying in Scotland and defending your Country, and I am resolved to Go to England. Lord George Murray and the rest of the Gentlemen, finding they could not prevail upon the Prince to remain and fight Wade in Scotland, and finding that if they marched on and fought Wade and were beat and so the Affair Ended, as there would have been no retreat, Then The French would have Said, Had these people waited a little we would have landed, and the English we would have joined, but their own impatience ended them. Lord George, to bring a medium betwixt all these reasonings, proposed to the Prince Since he would Go to England to go to Cumberland, where, he said, he knew the Country, That the Army would be well Situated to receive reinforcements from Scotland to join the French when they Landed, or the English if they rose, and it was a Good Country to fight Wade's Army in, because of the Mountainous Ground in which it is the fittest for the Highlanders, and then his (Wade's) Army would be fatigued after a winter's march across bad country. The Prince was against the proposal but Came into it afterwards at Dalkeith.

[**Document 42**] (Report from the *Scots Magazine*, Edinburgh, 31 October 1745.)

The highland army, who lay encamped at Duddingston, struck their tents about the middle of October, and were quartered in the neighbourhood. Before the army marched, a proclamation was issued in the name of the Chevalier, dated Oct. 28, importing, That where he was informed that several thefts and robberies had been committed in and around Edinburgh, by villains assuming the character of soldiers in his army, as well as by others; he therefore promised, that if any effects so stolen or robbed should be returned in three days after the date, no questions should be asked; but that all persons in whose custody such effects should be afterwards found, would be punished with the utmost rigour. And for the more effectual detecting of robbers, thieves, or resetts, he promised the discoverers £5 upon conviction of each offender.

Horses, corn, hay &c. were taken from several people for the use of the army. Sometimes the persons that made the demand would shew no order, sometimes they did shew an order, and sometimes they gave receipts.

They ordered a considerable number of horses and carts to attend them in their march; but promised to dismiss these so soon as they could be provided with other horses, and to pay the servants that attended them 6d per day. A small body of light horse, called hussars, was formed before they marched.

On the 31st at night, the Chevalier set out from Holyroodhouse, attended by his guards, and lodged that night at Pinkie.

[**Document 43**] (John Home describes the Jacobite army as it left Edinburgh at the beginning of November 1745, *The History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745*.)

When the rebels began their march to the southward, they were not 6000 men complete; they exceeded 5500, of whom 4 or 500 were cavalry; and of the whole number, not quite 4000 were real Highlanders, who formed the Clan regiments, and were indeed the strength of the rebel army. All the regiments of foot wore the Highland garb: they were thirteen in number, many of them very small. Besides the two troops of horse-guards, there were Lord Pitsligo's and Strathallan's horse, Lord Kilmarnock's horse grenadiers, and a troop of light horse or hussars to scour the country and procure intelligence. The pay of a captain in this army was half a crown a day; the pay of a lieutenant, two shillings; the pay of an ensign, one shilling and sixpence; and every private man received sixpence a day, without deduction. In the Clan regiments, every company has two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. The front rank of each regiment consists of persons who called themselves gentleman, and were paid one shilling a day; these gentlemen were better armed than the men in the ranks behind them, and had all of them targets, which many of the others had not . . . The train of artillery which belonged to this army of invaders consisted of General Cope's field pieces, taken at the battle of Preston, and some pieces of a larger calibre, brought over in the ships from France, amounting in all to 13 pieces of cannon.

[**Document 44**] Another Whig observer of the departure of the Jacobite army was Patrick Chrichton, *The Woodhouselee manuscript*.)

Friday, November 1, the Highlanders evacuate Edinburgh and the Prince went to Pinkie; and on Saturday and Sabbath they marched through Roslin Muir and by Auchendinnie Bridge for the south. They have got guards in form for the Prince and they have a troop of gentlemen in hussar dress with furred caps, long swords or sabres, and limber boots. The Secretary Murray's lady equipped herself in this dress with pistols at her side saddle, and her cape on distinguished with a white plumed feather. I saw them with my prospect distinctly on their long march along the muir, horse and foot going down to Milton Miln near Glencorse. They halted on Saturday at Greenlaw and had entertainment from Mrs Philp at her house at Greenlaw, the Duke of Atholl as they call him and Perthshire gentlemen lodged there . . . This disorderly army sowed destruction where they marched and seized the country horses on all hands . . . They had above 150 wagons and carts with provision, ammunition and baggage, and all General Cope's wagons they had taken at the field of Preston. On Sabbath morning they marched off from Greenlaw with pipers playing &c. towards Peebles.

[**Document 45**] (The splitting of the Jacobite army confused their opponents – as intended. On 9 November Henry Pelham, 1st Lord of the Treasury, wrote to William, Lord Hartington on this matter. Quoted in J. Black, *Culloden and the '45*.)

[Marshal] Wade had stopped his advance, on account of the rumour that the Rebels had marched to Kelso, some said to Carlisle and Lancashire, others to meet the Marshal and give him battle. Which to believe we don't know, for we have different reports every day, yesterday an express from Handasyde said they were actually at Wooler on this side of the Tweed, and today we have had that partly contradicted by an express from Lord Lonsdale, whose intelligence says a great party of them were at Moffat on their way to Carlisle on the 5th, the same day Mr Handasyde said they were at Wooler, and just now an express is arrived from General Handasyde and Mr Wade with intelligence that the young Pretender at the head of 4,000 men was marching for Jedburgh . . . and that their artillery was going for Dumfries. What all this means no one here can tell, whether they are determined at all events to push on their way to England, or whether this is a feint to amuse and disconcert our army is to me doubtful, but, be it as it will, the Marshall has determined to stay at Newcastle, until he is more certainly informed which way they bend, to get his army together, and then I presume follow them wherever they go. [General Sir John] Ligonier is making all the haste he can to put his troops in motion, but I fear it will be some time before he can get all the necessaries for so long a march.

[**Document 46**] (Report from the *Scots Magazine* on the Hanoverian reoccupation of Edinburgh.)

We had public worship in several of the churches of Edinburgh on the 3rd of November, in all of them on the 10th, and regularly ever since. While the rebels were in possession of Edinburgh, the Lord Justice-Clerk, Mr Dundas, Solicitor, and others of his Majesty's servants, had returned to Berwick. After the rebels marched to England, they returned to the city, and resumed the functions of their several posts. The Lord Justice-Clerk and some others of the Lords of Justiciary entered the city on the 13th of November, attended by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, High Sheriffs of the counties of Berwick and East Lothian. At the cross they were met by the gentlemen lately in the administration, and other inhabitants of distinction. They alighted in the parliament close, and were saluted by a round of the great guns from the castle; the music bells [of St Giles] playing the whole time of the procession, and the people joining their loud huzzas. Next day, Lt Gen. Handasyde arrived in town from Berwick, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's (late Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons. All the foot and Ligonier's dragoons were quartered within the city, and Hamilton's dragoons in the Canongate. After the return of the officers of state to Edinburgh, the banks resumed their business. The castle-flag was no longer displayed.

[**Document 47**] (The *Scots Magazine* reports on the surrender of Carlisle to Jacobite forces.)

Upon the first approach of the rebels, the garrison gave out that themselves were 3000 strong; upon which the rebels durst not attempt the city immediately, but went forwards towards Brampton; from whence they returned on the 13th. [In fact the Jacobites had received reports that Marshall Wade was marching across the Pennines to give battle and had marched to Brampton to meet him. When it became clear that Wade had been forced back by the weather, the rebels returned to Carlisle.]

The garrison kept continually firing upon them, till they were obliged, on the 14th, by the manager in the town, to desist and come off the walls . . . during which time it was supposed the terms of capitulation were settled. Next morning they observed that the rebels had intrenched themselves before the town; upon which the garrison renewed their fire with great spirit and bravery; but soon received orders to again desist, for the capitulation was agreed upon.

The Duke of Perth, with his division, were the first of the rebels that entered Carlisle, the pretender being then six miles from the city. They made the garrison swear never to appear in arms any more against them; and Perth, shaking the men by the hands, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them great sums to inlist with him. The rebels having taken above 200 good horses, and all the arms from the militia, besides 1000 stand lodged in the castle. The town capitulated on the 14th, in the evening; and on the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, it was given up. About one in the afternoon the rebels entered the city, and the next morning the castle was surrendered to them.

[**Document 48**] (John Murray of Broughton summarises the strategic dilemma facing the Jacobite high-command in mid-November, *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*. [**Note:** Murray refers to the southern army as being under the command of Cumberland; in fact, the duke did not replace Ligonier until late November.])

Upon the eighteenth [of November] a Council of War was called to determine of what next was to be done, and after some deliberation it was agreed on to march into Lancashire. Tho' the Chevalier in all appearance had little reason to expect any considerable assistance from his friends there, if held in the same light with those in Northumberland, where only two gentlemen joined him, yet he was determined that they should not have it to say that it was owing to the difficulty of passing the militia in the Country, and that their people were unwilling to rise without some troops to make a head for them, and therefore fixed his departure for the 20th. To have laid there [Carlisle] any longer would have been both idle and dangerous . . . Mr Wade [being] at Newcastle, and the 2 Regiments with the foot detached to Scotland on his left. So to prevent a junction of the Duke of Cumberland's and Mr Wade's armies, his only proper method was to march forward, that in case he came to action he might only have one army to deal with.

[**Document 49**] (The *Scots Magazine* reports on the arrival of Jacobite reinforcements and the behaviour of Jacobite sympathisers in the north of Scotland.)

Towards the end of November, Lord John Drummond, with 800 Scots and Irish, in six transports from Dunkirk, landed at Montrose, Stonehaven and Peterhead. By this reinforcement, the rebels about Perth, are 3000 strong. The *Hazard* sloop of war is fallen into their hands at Montrose, and Capt. Hill and the crew made prisoners. We hear great complaints of the highlanders from the North – A letter from Angus says, That Perth, Dundee, and the country round are one scene of horror and oppression; that robberies are perpetual, many of them in open day, in the public streets; that in Strathmore they have robbed many of the clergy of considerable sums; that the whole parishes in Angus are distressed by pressing men, or a composition in money; that some gentlemen are assessed in £50, some in £100 and some in £200; that illuminations were ordered in Dundee on account of the arrival of the French [i.e., Drummond's men]; that the Presbyterian Minister's windows were broke because not illuminated; that they threw stones, and even fired sharp

shot into one of them; that when violent attempts were made to break in, the family escaped by a back door; but that the aged Minister, unwilling to quit his house, wrote to one of their commanding officers, of his acquaintance, and got them called off.

[**Document 50**] (Chevalier de Johnstone's account of the Jacobite army's march from Carlisle to Preston, *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.)

Our cavalry left Carlisle on the 20th November. And marched that day to Penrith . . . It consisted of two companies of life-guards, composed of young gentlemen. Lord Elcho, a nobleman equally distinguished for his illustrious birth and singular merit, commanded the first company; and Lord Balmerino commanded the second. Besides the life-guards, there was a body of one hundred and fifty gentlemen on horseback commanded by Lord Pitsligo. On the 21st, the Prince followed with the infantry, and passed the night at Penrith; Lord Elcho, with the cavalry which he commanded, as first captain of the life-guards, passed the night at Shap, a village eight miles south from Penrith. The prince, on quitting Carlisle, left a garrison of two or three hundred men in the castle.

On the 22nd, the cavalry advanced to Kendall, and the infantry, with the Prince, remained at Penrith; and on the 23rd the cavalry and infantry met at Kendall. On the 24th, the cavalry passed the night at Lancaster, while the infantry rested at Kendall; and on the 25th, the cavalry advanced to Preston, and the infantry passed the night at Lancaster. The cavalry, having passed the bridge of Preston on the 26th, occupied a village near the suburbs, and our infantry arrived at Preston. The prince held here a council of the chiefs of clans; gave them fresh hopes of being joined by his English partisans on their arrival at Manchester; and persuaded them to continue their march. The whole army was allowed to rest itself during the 27th at Preston.

[**Document 51**] (Chevalier Johnstone narrates how one of his men, Sergeant Dickson, 'a young Scotsman as brave and intrepid as a lion', arrived at Manchester ahead of the main body of the army with the intention of raising support for the prince. *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.)

He had quitted Preston in the evening, with his mistress and my drummer; and having marched all night, he arrived next morning [the 28th] . . . and immediately began to beat up for recruits for the 'yellow haired laddie'. The populace, at first, did not interrupt him, conceiving our army to be near the town; but as soon as they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle, which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manoeuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the house of Stuart, took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that soon he had five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time.

[**Document 52**] (James Maxwell of Kirkconnell describes Prince Charles' entry into Manchester on 29 November, *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales' expedition to Scotland in the year 1745*, Maitland Club, Edinburgh 1841.)

The prince left Preston the 28th, and marched with the main body to Wigan, and the next day the whole army entered Manchester, while acclamations, bonfires and illuminations expressed the good wishes of the inhabitants. The prince had met nothing like this since his reception in Edinburgh. When the King [James III] was proclaimed at Preston, some of the inhabitants joined in the acclamations begun by the army; but nothing looked like a general concurrence till he came to Manchester. The Prince halted there the 30th, and was joined by some men of the most respectable families in the town, several substantial tradesmen and farmers, and above a hundred common men; these and the few English that had joined before were formed into one corps, which was called the Manchester Regiment, and the command of it was given to Mr Townley, who had been formerly in the French service. Though the Prince's reception at Manchester gave great encouragement to the army in general, there were nevertheless a few who had still a very bad opinion of the affair. I have been very well informed that a retreat was talked of at Manchester, and I believe Lord George Murray had it all along in his view' if there was no insurrection in England and no landing from France. One of his friends told [Lord George at Manchester, that he thought they had entered far enough, since neither of these had happened. Lord George said they might make a further trial, and go the length of Derby, and if there was not great encouragement to go on, he would propose a retreat to the Prince.

[**Document 53**] (Proclamation issued by Lord John Drummond at Montrose on 2 December 1745.)

We Lord John Drummond, Commander in Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's [Louis XV] forces in Scotland, do hereby declare, That we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents; and that the positive orders that we have from his Most Christian Majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom; whom he has declared to be, those who will not immediately join or assist, as far as will lie in their power, the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, &c. his ally; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary at the expence of all the men and money he is master of; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable a title. And his Most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, That his enemies should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highness's cause.

Given at Montrose the 2d of December 1745.

[**Document 54**] (Eye witness account of the Jacobite army's arrival at Derby on 4 Dec. 1745 published in the *Scots Magazine*.)

On Wednesday the 4th of December, about eleven o'clock, two of the rebels' vanguard entered this town, inquired for the magistrates, and demanded billets for 9000 men or more. A short while after, the vanguard rode into town, consisting of about 30 men, clothed in blue faced with red, and scarlet waistcoats with gold lace; and being likely men, made a good appearance. They were drawn up in the market place, and sat on horseback two or three hours

. . . About three after noon, Lord Elcho, with the life-guards, and many of their chiefs, arrived on horseback, to the number of about 150, most of them clothed as above. These made a fine shew, being the flower of their army. Soon after, their main body marched into town, in tolerable order, six or eight abreast, with about eight standards, most of them white flags and a red cross; their bagpipers playing as they marched along. While they were in the market place, they ordered their Prince to be publicly proclaimed before he arrived; which was accordingly done by the common cryer . . . Their Prince did not arrive till the dusk of the evening. He walked on foot, attended by a great body of his men, who conducted him to his lodgings . . . At their coming in, they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer, and ale, while all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready. After supper, being weary with their long march, they went to rest, most upon straw, and others in beds.

[**Document 55**] (Lord George Murray's account of the Council of War held at Derby on 5 December.)

Next day, when most of the officers were at the Prince's quarters, it was considered what next was to be resolved on. We did not doubt but that the Duke of Cumberland would be that night at Stafford, which was as near to London as Derby. Mr Wade was coming up by hard marches the east road, and we knew that an army, at least equal to any of these, would be formed near London . . . so that there would be three armies, made up of regular troops, that would surround us, being above thirty thousand men, whereas we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many. His Royal Highness had no regard as to his own danger, but pressed with all the force of argument to go forward. He . . . was hopeful that there might be a defection in the enemy's army, and that severals would declare for him. He was so very bent on putting all to the risk, that the Duke of Perth was for it, since his Royal Highness was. At last he proposed going to Wales, instead of returning to Carlisle, but every other officer declared their opinions for a retreat, which some thought would be scarce practicable. I said all that I thought of to persuade the retreat, and indeed the arguments to me seemed unanswerable; and . . . I offered to make the retreat, and be always in the rear myself, and that each regiment would take it by turns till we came to Carlisle . . . As all the officers agreed in this opinion, his Royal Highness said he would consent to it, though it was observed he was much disappointed to be so near London, and yet not in a condition to march forwards.

[**Document 56**] (James Maxwell of Kirkconnell describes the Jacobite retreat from Derby on 6 December 1745 – 'Black Friday', *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales' expedition.*)

The retreat was begun on the 6th. To conceal it from the enemy as long as possible, a party of horse was ordered to advance some miles towards them, while the army took the road to Ashbourne; and to keep the army in suspense, powder and ball were distributed as before an action, and it was insinuated that Wade was at hand, and they were going to fight him; but when the soldiers found themselves on the road to Ashbourne, they began to suspect the truth, and seemed extremely dejected. All had expressed the greatest ardour upon hearing at Derby that they were within a day's march of the Duke of Cumberland; they were at a loss what to think of this retreat, of which they did not know the real motives; but even such as knew them, and thought the retreat the only reasonable scheme, could hardly be reconciled to it. When it was [a] question of putting it in practice, another artifice was thought of to amuse them.

It was given out that the reinforcements expected from Scotland were on the road, and had already entered England; that Wade was endeavouring to intercept them, and the Prince was marching to their relief; that as soon as they had joined him, he would resume his march to London. The hopes of returning immediately made them somewhat easy under their present disappointment, but still all was sullen and silent that whole day.

[**Document 57**] (Chevalier de Johnstone's account of the retreat from Derby 6-17 December 1745, *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.)

On the 6th of December our army passed the night at Ashbourne; on the 7th we reached Leek; the 8th, Macclesfield; the 9th, Manchester; the 10th, Wigan; and the 11th, Preston, where we remained during the 12th. We arrived at Lancaster on the 13th, where we recruited ourselves during the 14th; and on the 15th we reached Kendal, where we received certain information that we had left Marshal Wade behind us, and that we were no longer in any danger of having our retreat to Scotland cut off . . . On the 16th, our army passed the night at Shap; but our artillery remained at the distance of a league and a half from Kendal, some ammunition waggons having broken down, so that we were obliged to pass the whole night on the high-road, exposed to a dreadful storm of wind and rain. On the 17th, the Prince, with the army, arrived at Penrith; but the artillery, with Lord George, and the regiment of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, consisting of five hundred men, who remained with us to strengthen our ordinary escort, could only reach Shap, and that with great difficulty, at nightfall.

[**Document 58**] (Maxwell of Kirkconnell's account of the skirmish at Clifton – the last 'battle' on English soil – on 18 December 1745, *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales' expedition*.)

Lord George finding himself in a pretty good post, was in no hurry to retire. He had along with him the McDonalds of Glengarry, the McPhersons, and the Stewarts of Appin: he occupied the village, and placed the rest upon the lane that leads to it . . . The enemy began to appear and form upon an open moor facing Clifton. They seemed to be a very considerable body. As soon as they were all arrived and drawn up, some troops of dragoons dismounted and advanced towards the post of the Highlanders, and a smart fire ensued on both sides. Lord George was very sensible that regular troops must have the advantage over Highlanders in the use of firearms, but he thought fit to let them advance among the lanes and hedges till they could not be supported by their friends on horseback, then he ordered the McPhersons, with whom he was, to attack, sword in hand, which they performed with great bravery and success. In an instant they brushed through a hedge that separated them from the dragoons, who at first made some resistance, but were soon driven, with great slaughter, out of the lane they occupied, and closely pursued, till they got to the moor, where their main body was drawn up . . . Lord George remained upon the spot till it was quite dark, when, finding there was no appearance of a second attack, he marched off in good order, and joined the Prince at Penrith, where the whole army set out that night, and got to Carlisle next day before noon.

[**Document 59**] (Lord George Murray's reaction Charles' decision to garrison Carlisle and the army's return to Scotland, 19-20 December 1745. *Marches of the Highland Army in Jacobite memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, Robert Chambers, Edinburgh and London 1834.)

I do not know who advised leaving a garrison at Carlisle; I had been so much fatigued for some days before, that I was little at the Prince's quarters that day, but I found that he was determined in the thing. It was very late next day before we marched . . . and when we came to the water Esk . . . no concert had been taken what route we were next to follow. His Royal Highness . . . desired to know my opinion, which was, that I should march with six battalions that night to Ecclefechan; next day for Moffat, and then halt a day; and after making a feint towards the Edinburgh road, turn off to Douglas, then to Hamilton and Glasgow; that his Royal Highness would go with the clans and most of the horse that night to Annan, next day to Dumfries, where they would rest a day, then to Drumlanrig, Lead Hills, Douglas, and Hamilton, so that they would be at Glasgow the day after us. This was immediately agreed to. I passed the water. We were a hundred men abreast, and it was a very fine show; the water was big, and took most of the men breast-high. When I was near cross the river, I believe there were two thousand men in the water at once; there was nothing seen but their heads and shoulders . . . The pipes began to play so soon as we passed, and the men all danced reels, which in a moment dried them, for they held the tails of their short coats in their hands in passing the river, so when their thighs were dry, all was right.

[**Document 60**] (Proclamation issued by George II on 12 December 1745 and printed in most contemporary journals and newspapers.)

George R.,

Whereas we have received intelligence, that preparations are making by our enemies to invade this kingdom, the safety and defence of which require our immediate care, and wherein, by the assistance and blessing of God, we are resolved not to be wanting; and to the intent that they may not, in case of their landing, strengthen themselves by seizing the horses, oxen, and cattle of our subjects, which may be useful to them for draught or burthen, or be easily supplied with provision: we have therefore thought fit, and do by this our Royal proclamation, by the advice of our privy council, strictly charge and command . . . all and every other officers and ministers, civil and military, within their respective counties . . . that they cause the coasts to be carefully watched, and, upon the first approach of the enemy, immediately to cause all horses, oxen and cattle which may be fit for draught or burden, and not actually employed in our service, or in the defence of the country, and also all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where the enemy shall attempt or appear to intend to land, and to secure the same, so as they may not fall into the hands or power of any of our enemies.

[**Document 61**] (*Scots Magazine* report on the siege of Carlisle by Cumberland's army.)

Only four pieces of cannon [from Whitehaven], however, having arrived by the 24th, the erecting of the battery was deferred. Next day six more pieces of cannon arrived. Mean time the garrison fired almost incessantly. But, on the 28th at noon, the besiegers began to batter the four gun battery of the town with six eighteen pounders.

On the 29th it was found necessary to abate the firing for want of shot, till towards evening; when a fresh supply arriving, it was renewed very briskly for two hours, which shook the walls very much. The night of the 29th was spent raising a new battery of three eighteen pounders which was completed by the morning. But, on the first platoon of the old battery firing, the rebels hung out the white flag; whereupon the battery ceased. [On asking for terms of surrender, the Duke of Cumberland sent the following reply:]

All the terms his R. Highness will or can grant the rebel garrison of Carlisle, are, That they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure. If they consent to these conditions, the Governor and principal officers are to deliver themselves up immediately; and the castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town, are to be take possession of forthwith by the King's troops.

[**Document 62**] (*London Gazette* account of the skirmish at Inverurie between the Jacobites and men of the Independent Companies commanded by the Laird of Macleod. The *Gazette's* account is not particularly accurate – most historians accept that Macleod's forces suffered considerably greater losses than the Jacobites.)

The March of Mr Macleod with the Detachment of 700 Men . . . forced the Rebels to retire to Aberdeen, and to send for a Reinforcement from Montrose, Dundee &c. They marched out of Aberdeen on the 23rd Instant with about 1200 Men, so secretly, that they came up with Mr Macleod at Inverurie, where he lay with about 300 of his Men (the rest being canton'd in the Neighbourhood, at the Distance of a Mile or two) after Four o' Clock in the Evening, without being discovered, till they were ready to begin the Attack; Mr Macleod however, and captain Munro of Culcairn, got the Handful of Men they had in the Village immediately together, and notwithstanding the Surprise, and the great Inequality of Numbers, maintained their Ground for about 20 Minutes, until they had fired away the greatest Part of their Shot, and then made their Retreat in so good Order, that the Enemy did not think fit to pursue them one Yard. The Rebels do not pretend that we lost in this Scuffle any more than seven Men killed, and 15 so wounded that they could not be brought off. Their own Loss they took Care to conceal, by burying their Dead in the Nighttime; but all the Reports from that Country agree, that it was much more considerable than ours. We have been obliged to retire this side of the Spey, to prevent Surprises of the like Nature, until we are reinforced.

[**Document 63**] (Admiral Edward Vernon to John Norris at Deal Castle dated 20 December 1745. Printed in the *Scots Magazine*.)

Sir,

As from the intelligence I have procured last night, of the enemy's having brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their small imbarcations [transports], and many of them laden with cannon, field carriages, powder, shot, and other military stores; the Irish troops being marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais; Gen. Lowendahl, and many other officers, being at Dunkirk, with a young person among them they call the prince, and was said to be the second son of the pretender; as I can't but apprehend they are preparing for a descent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, and which I suspect may be attempted at Dungeness, where many of my cruisers are in motion for, and I have some thoughts of my moving tomorrow with part of my ships, if the weather should be moderate for a descent; I thought it my duty, for his Majesty's service, to advise you of it, and to desire that you will communicate my letter to the Mayor of Deal, and that the neighbouring towns should have advice for assembling for their common defence; that my cruisers' signals, for discovering the approach of an enemy, will be their jack-flag flying at their topmast head, and firing a gun every half-hour; and to desire they will forward the alarm.

I am, &c.

E. Vernon.

[**Document 64**] (Provost Cochrane's letter to the Duke of Argyll recounting the Jacobite occupation of Glasgow between 26 Dec 1745 and 3 Jan 1746. The city of Glasgow had raised a militia regiment on behalf of the government, which explains the frosty relations between the two sides, *Cochrane correspondence*.)

My Lord Argyll,

I judge it my duty to lay before your Grace the following particulars of our late unhappy visit from the Highland army . . . we were required, on account of our late appearance in arms, to furnish 6000 cloth short coats, 12000 linen shirts, 6000 pairs of shoes, and as many pairs of tartan hose and blue bonnets. After representing in vain the great amount of this fine, and impossibility of complying with the demand, we were, for fear of being plundered, obliged to submit without the least abatement. What contributed to this was the steadiness of our whole inhabitants; this Prince appeared four times publicly in our streets, without the smallest respect being paid him; no bells rung, no huzzas, nor did the meanest inhabitant so much as take off their hats. It was hinted that by the Magistrates and principal burgesses waiting on him, an mitigation might be procured. This they declined; Yea, our Ladies had not curiosity to go near him, or to a ball held by some of the leaders . . . I shall not dwell longer on this melancholy subject, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with great respect,

Andrew Cochrane.

[**Document 65**] (Chevalier de Johnstone reports on the Jacobite departure from Glasgow on 3 January, 1746, *Memoirs of the Rebellion.*)

The object of the Prince in approaching Stirling was to accelerate his junction with Lord John Drummond, whom he had ordered to repair to Alloa with the artillery and stores he had brought from France. The town of Stirling, protected by the castle, in which there was a strong garrison, commanded by General Blakeney, the governor, having refused to surrender, the Prince, on the 4th of January, ordered a part of his army to occupy the villages of St. Denis [Denny] and St. Ninians, which are within cannon shot of the town, on the south. By this position it was blockaded and invested on every side; the stone bridge, to the north of the town, having been broken down when General Cope was there with his army . . . Lord George Drummond immediately repaired to Bannockburn with his regiment of Royal Scots, and five piquets of the Irish Brigade; as also with Lord Lewis Gordon, and six hundred vassals of his brother, the Duke of Gordon; Mr Fraser, the eldest son of Lord Lovat, and six hundred of his vassals; the Earl of Cromarty, his eldest son, Lord Macleod, and his vassals, the Mackenzies. The Prince was then joined by many other Highlanders of the clans of Mackintosh and Farquharson: so that by this reinforcement our army was suddenly increased to eight thousand men, the double of what it was when we in England.

[**Document 66**] Letter from Lord George Murray to Prince Charles, 6 January, 1746.

It is proposed that His Royal Highness should from time to time call a Council of War to consist of all those who command Battalions or Squadrons; but as severals of those may be on partys, and often absent, a Committee should be chosen by those Commanders, to consist of five or seven, and that all Operations for the carrying on the War should be agreed on, by the Majority of those in His Royal Highness's presence, and once that a Measure is taken, it is not to be cahnged except by the advice of those, or most of them, who were present when it was agreed on. That upon any sudden Emergency such as a Battle, Skirmish, or in a Siege, a Discretionary power must be allowed to those who command. This is the Method of all Armys, and where so many Gentlemen of Fortune, not only venture their own and their Family's All, But if any Misfortune happen are sure of ending their lives on a Scaffold should they escape in the field, if this plan is not followed the most Dismal Consequences cannot but ensue. Had not a Council determind the Retreat from Derby, what a Catastrophe must have followed in two or three Days! . . . Had a Council of War been consulted as to the leaving a Garrison at Carlisle it would never have been agreed to, the place not being tenable, and so many brave men would not have been sacrificed, besides the reputation of His Royal Highness's Arms. It is t be considered that this Army is an Army of Volunteers, and not Mercenaries, many of them being resolved not to continue in the army, were affairs once settled.

[**Document 67**] Prince Charles' reply to Lord George Murray, 7 January 1746.

When I came to Scotland I knew well enough what I was to expect from my Enemies, but I little foresaw what I could meet with from my Friends. I came vested with all the Authority the King could give me, one chief part of which is the Command of his Armies, and now I am required to give this up to fifteen or sixteen Persons, who may afterwards depute five or seven of their own number to exercise it . . .

This I am told is the method of all Armies and this I flatly deny, nor do I believe it to be the Method of any one Army in the World. I am often hit in the teeth that this is an Army of Volunteers, and consequently very different from one composed of Mercenaries. What one would naturally expect from an Army whose chief Officers consist of Gentlemen of rank and fortune, and who came into it merely upon Motives of Duty and Honour, is more zeal, more resolution and more good manners than in those that fight merely for pay: but it can be no Army at all where there is no General, or which is the same thing, no Obedience or deference paid to him. Every one knew before he engaged in the cause, what he was to expect in case it miscarried, and should have stayed at home if he could not face Death in any shape: but can I myself hope for better usage? At least I am the only Person upon whose head a Price has already been set, and therefore I cannot indeed threaten at every other Word to throw down my Arms and make my Peace with the government. I think I show every day that I do not pretend to act without taking advice, and yours oftner than any body's else . . . I have insensibly made this answer much longer than I intended . . . and shall only tell you that my Authority may be taken from me by violence, but I shall never resign it like an Idiot.

[Document 68] (Chevalier de Johnstone's account of the siege of Stirling which began on 6 January 1746, *Memoirs of the rebellion*.)

M. Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer, and chevalier of the order of St. Louis, was sent into Scotland with Lord John Drummond, and arrived at Stirling on the 6th . . . It was supposed that a French engineer, of a certain age, and decorated with an order, must necessarily be a person of experience, talents and capacity; but it was unfortunately discovered, when it was too late, that his knowledge as an engineer was extremely limited, and that he was totally destitute of judgement, discernment and common sense. His figure being as whimsical as his mind, the Highlanders, instead of M. Mirabelle, called him always Mr Admirable. Mr Grant [Colonel James Grante, and officer in the French army] had already communicated to the Prince a plan of attack of the castle, which was to open the trenches and establish batteries in the burying ground, on that side of the town which is opposite to the castle gate. The inhabitants of Stirling having remonstrated with the Prince against this plan, as the fire from the castle would, they said, reduce their town to ashes, he consulted M. Mirabelle and as it is always the distinct mark of ignorance to find nothing difficult, not even doing things that are impossible, M. Mirabelle, without hesitation, immediately undertook to open the trenches on a hill to the north of the castle, where there were not fifteen inches depth of earth above the solid rock, and it became necessary to supply the want of earth with bags of wool, and sacks filled with earth brought from a distance. Thus the trenches were so bad, that we lost a great many men, sometimes twenty-five in one day.

[Document 69] (Account of the Battle of Falkirk (17 January 1746) written by Sir John Macdonald, one of the original 'Seven Men of Moidart'.)

On the day of the battle, about three o'clock in the morning, Mr Brown came to rouse the Prince telling him that the enemy were beating to quarters. It was then feared that we might be surprised and we sent all round to collect the troops which were however not assembled until 10 o'clock on the height on the right of the Edinburgh road.

It was decided to march on the enemy, Lord George at the head of the Highlanders on the heights leaving the high road to Edinburgh on the left and came to a halt with his right resting on a small wall on a heather moor opposite the town of Falkirk and on his left the enemy's camp, who were quietly remaining in their camp until they saw us on the moors. Then they moved towards the town of Falkirk, and came towards us, crossing a ditch between the two armies, their cavalry on the left in front of the infantry. The cavalry rode up the slope in good order ready to charge our right, then composed of Macdonalds, who waited for them, kneeling on one knee till they were within pistol shot, then firing their volley, attacked the cavalry sword in hand, and it fled by the right across our front line, receiving the whole of its fire. This charge took place before our second line was formed. Suddenly the Highlanders of the front line attacked and beat the enemy. At the same time our second line, consisting of Lowlanders, smitten apparently with terror took to flight. I therefore quitted the cavalry which would not listen to orders, to go and rally a large body of our people going off on the right . . . I got up on the height, from which I saw the ditch and all the enemy infantry flying towards the town . . . at the same time the enemy cavalry which had passed across our right after being beaten, had rallied and re-ascended the heights on our left. Our reserve, consisting of the Royal Ecosais and the Irish piquets marched in good order towards the cavalry which then retired.

[**Document 70**] (John Home's version of the Battle of Falkirk, *History*.)

The infantry of the King's army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve. The first line consisted of a battalion of the Royal, of the regiments of Wolfe, Cholmondley, Pulteney, Price, and Ligonier. The Royal had the right of the first line, and Wolfe's regiment the left. The second line consisted of B[arrel]l's regiment, Blakeney's, Monroe's, Battereau's, and Fleming's; Barrell's regiment had the right of this line, and Blakeney's the left. Howard's regiment formed a body of reserve. The dragoons that were advanced before the infantry, and a good way to their left, having large intervals between their squadrons, extended so far that they covered a great part of the first line of the rebel army, for the left of the dragoons was opposite to Keppoch's regiment, and their right to the centre of Lord Lovat's, which was the third regiment from the left of the rebels. Behind the greater part of this body of cavalry there was no infantry but the Glasgow regiment, which, being newly levied, was not allowed to have a place in the first or second line, but stood itself near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons. Most of the regiments of foot in the King's army were standing on the declivity of the hill. More than one regiment both of the first and second line stood higher up, and on ground somewhat more plain and level. The Highlanders towards the left of their front line saw the foot of the King's army; the Highlanders on the right of the first line saw no foot at all; for besides the great inequality of the ground, the storm of wind and rain continued, and the darkness increased so much, that nobody could see very far. To conclude this account of the field of battle, there was a ravine or gully which separated the right of the King's army from the left of the rebels. This ravine began on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite to the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, and went down due north, still deeper and wider to the plain . . . The infantry of the King's army not being completely formed (for several companies of Fleming's regiment were only coming up to take their place in the centre of the second line) when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, who commanded the cavalry, to attack the rebels: Colonel Ligonier with the three regiments of dragoons advanced against the Highlanders, who at that very instant began to move towards the dragoons.

Lord George Murray was marching at the head of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, with his drawn sword in his hand, and his target on his arm. He let the dragoons come within ten or twelve paces of him, and then gave orders to fire. The Macdonalds of Keppoch began the fire, which ran down the line from them to Lord Lovat's regiment. This heavy fire repulsed the dragoons. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments wheeled about, and fled directly back; Cobham's regiment wheeled to the right, and went off between the two armies, receiving a good deal of fire as they passed the left of the rebels. When the dragoons were gone, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and stand firm. The same order was sent to the other two Macdonald regiments, but a great part of the men in these two regiments, with all the regiments to their left (whose fire had repulsed the dragoons), immediately pursued. When they came near the foot of the King's army, some regiments of the first line gave them a fire: the rebels returned the fire, and throwing down their musquets, drew their swords and attacked the regiments in the left of the King's army, both in front and flank: all the regiments in the front line of the King's army gave way, as did most of the regiments of the second line. It seemed a total rout . . . but Barrell's regiment stood, and joined by part of two regiments of the first line (Price's and Ligonier's) moved to their left, till they came directly opposite to the Camerons and Stuarts, and began to fire upon them across the ravine. The . . . rebels, after losing a good many men, fell back a little, still keeping the high ground on their side of the ravine . . .

Most of the men in those regiments which stood behind the Clans of the first line that attacked the foot of the King's army, seeing the wonderful success of that attack . . . [had] followed the chase; but many of the men belonging to the regiments that were thinned in this manner, hearing the repeated fires given by the King's troops across the ravine, thought it was most likely that the Highland army would be defeated; and that the best thing they could do was to save themselves by leaving the field when they might; accordingly they did so and went off to the westward. At this moment the field of battle presented a spectacle seldom seen in war . . . Part of the King's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward. Not one regiment of the second line of the rebels remained in its place; for the Athol brigade, being left almost alone on the right, marched up to the first line, and joined Lord George Murray where he stood with the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Between this body of men on the right of the first line, and the Camerons and Stuarts on the left (who had retreated a little from the fire of the troops across the ravine), there was a considerable space altogether void and empty, those men excepted who had returned from the chase, and were straggling about in great disorder and confusion, with nothing in their hands but their swords. By and by Lord George Murray with his men joined them, and Charles with the Irish piquets, and some other troops of the reserve, came up from the rear. The presence of Charles encouraged the Highlanders: he commended their valour; made them take up the musquets which lay thick upon the ground; and ordering them to follow him, led them to the brow of the hill. At the approach of so considerable body of men, Cobham's regiment of dragoons, which, having always kept together, was coming up the hill again, turning back, and went down to the place where the regiments of foot were standing who had behaved so well, and retreating with them in good order, joined the rest of the army who had rallied on the ground in front of their camp, where the Argyleshire Highlanders had been left by General Hawley, when he marched with his troops to meet the enemy. The storm of wind and rain continued as violent as ever: night was coming on, for the battle began a little before four o'clock. Before it grew dark, General Hawley gave orders to set fire to the tents, and marching his army through the town of Falkirk, retreated to Linlithgow, leaving behind him seven pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of provision, ammunition and baggage.

[**Document 71**] (This description of the aftermath of the Battle of Falkirk was written by an anonymous Clanranald Macdonald [*Lockhart Papers*]. His assertion that it was a Keppoch Macdonald who killed Glengarry's son is probably untrue: most authorities now accept that it was a Clanranald man who was responsible for young Glengarry's death, and this unfortunate individual was later executed to appease the Glengarry men's anger.)

The enemy, finding they could neither possess nor save their camp . . . were just got to the east end of the town of Falkirk when Lord John Drummond entered it on that side, Lord Geirge Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the west end of the town. We took most of their cannon, ammuniton and baggage, which they had not themselves destroyed. We reckoned about seven hundred of the enemy taken prisoners, and about six hundred men and between thirty and forty officers killed. We had not above forty men killed on our side, among whom were two or three captains and some subaltern officers. His Royal Highness's first care early next morning was to cause bury the dead, as well those of the enemy as our own people. Had not night come on and been very stormy, and our men engaged in pillaging the enemy's camp, our army might have got between them and Linlithgow and would have entirely destroyed them; but they being in want of everything, they thought fit to retire to Edinburgh, near twenty miles from the field of battle . . . An unlucky accident happened amongst us next day; Colonel Aeneas Macdonald, second son to Glengarry, and who commanded the Glengarry men, a brave and good natured youth, was unhappily shot by the accident of a Highlandman's cleaning his piece. This poor gentleman, satisfied of the unhappy fellow's innocence, begged with his dying breath that he might not suffer; but nothing could restrain the grief and fury of his people, and good luck it was that he was a Macdonald (tho' not of [Glengarry's] own tribe, but of Keppochs), and after all they began to desert daily upon this accident, which had a bad effect upon others also, and lessened out numbers considerably.

[**Document 72**] Lord George Murray was becoming increasingly concerned by the poor level of morale evident in the Jacobite army, *Marches of the Highland Army*.)

The Prince returned [19 January] to Bannockburn, and the siege of Stirling Castle was to be pushed forward with all expedition. The Duke of Perth commanded in the town, and was obliged to stay there with about twelve hundred men, at the time of the battle, to hinder the castle from sallying, and to carry on the works. It was soon found that we had no good engineers. He who was the principal, a French gentleman [M. Mirabelle de Gordon], I believe, understood it; but he was so volatile, that he could not be depended upon. All our army, except the clans, were cantoned in and about Stirling . . . I continued at Falkirk with the clans. The Frasers, and some others who had come up before the battle, were lodged near me, on Carron Water, towards the Torwood. Many of the men went home from all the different corps, and this evil was daily increasing; so that when we understood [28 January] that the Duke of Cumberland was ready to march from Edinburgh, and that two or three new regiments had joined their army, the principal officers at Falkirk, taking their situation into serious consideration, were persuaded that we were in no condition to fight them, and that there was not the least hopes of taking Stirling Castle . . . but by starving, which would be the work of months. In less than two hours after they first talked of this matter, the officers at Falkirk drew up their opinion and signed it, and sent it to his Royal Highness.

[Document 73] (The *London Gazette*.)

Edinburgh, 21 January. Yesterday a Court Martial was ordered for the Tryal of some Officers and Men who behaved ill in the late Action [Falkirk], of which Brigadier General Mordaunt is President, and the Proceedings began this Morning. The Pretender's Son marched back to Stirling Saturday Afternoon. That Morning the Rebels summoned the Castle there to surrender, and again in the Afternoon, but General Blakeney's Answer was, That he had always been a Man of Honour, and that the Rebels should find that he would die so. The Army is preparing to move from hence again, the Cannon and Stores being on the Road from Berwick and Newcastle. As yet we have heard but of 30 of our Men who were made Prisoners by the Rebels, and carried to Stirling, one half of which belonged to the Glasgow Regiment; and we have also an Account of three officers wounded. The other, who are missing, it is to feared are killed, particularly Sir Robert Munro, Lieutenant-Colonels Whitney, Powell and Biggar, though as yet we have no absolute Certainty, and cannot form a List. One hundred and seventy Men, supposed to have been lost, got on Board a Vessel at Barrowstounness, and came here this Day, and more are continually coming in. The Loss of the Rebels is, by all Accounts, considerable; but the Number of their Killed and Wounded are not known.

[Document 74] (The *London Gazette*.)

Edinburgh, 28 January. We have received here, with the greatest Joy, the news of the Duke of Cumberland's intended Journey hither; we are now every Day in Expectation of his Royal Highness, and the Army will be ready o march at an Hour's Warning after his Arrival. By our last Accounts from Stirling, the Cannon from the Castle continued to do good Execution upon the Rebels, who have not yet, by what we can learn, fired a single shot feom their Batteries upon it, neither has General Blakeney lost a Man of His Garrison. By the best Accounts we have, they continue in great Want of Provisions. We have distressed them all we can, by sending out Parties towards the West; and our Sloops have burnt several of their Boats which are employed in bringing over Meal &c. from Alloa . . . The following are the Particulars of the advices received from Stirling. The Rebels had Yesterday erected two Batteries against the Castle, one at Gawan Hill within 40 yards of the Castle, and one at Lady's Hill, upon which they gave out, they should have their Cannon mounted this Day . . . A Drum had been sent round the Town, with Notice, that evry Person that was taken near the Castle should be shot; and that if any of the Town's People entertained any of the Wives or Children of the Soldiers who were in the Castle, they would be punished with Military Execution.

[Document 75] (Petition of Lord George Murray and seven other leading Highland chieftains to Prince Charles, 29 January 1746. Home, *History*, p352)

We think it our duty, in this critical juncture, to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before your Royal Highness. We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of your Royal Highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk . . . and as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your Royal Highness's hands, we can forsee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy.

For these reasons, we are humbly of opinion, that there is no way to extricate your Royal Highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter, by taking and mastering the forts of the North . . . and in spring, we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought together, and follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper . . . The hard marches which your army has undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by your Royal Highness's allies abroad, as well as your faithful adherents at home . . . Nobody is privy to this address to your Royal Highness except your subscribers; and we beg leave to assure your Royal Highness, that it is with great concern and reluctance that we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments, in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevailed with us to have done, but the unhappy going off of so many men.

[**Document 76**] (Prince Charles' reply to the Chiefs, 30 January 1746.)

Gentlemen,

I have received yours of last night and am extremely surprised at the contents of it, which I little expected of you at this time. Is it possible that a victory and a defeat should produce the same effects, and the conquerors should flee from an engagement, whilst the conquered are seeking it? Should we make the retreat you propose, how much more will that raise the spirits of our enemies and sink those of our own people? Can we imagine that where we go the enemy will not follow, and at last oblige us to a battle which we now decline? Can we hope to defend ourselves at Perth, or keep our men together there better than we do here? We must therefore continue our flight to the mountains, and soon find ourselves in a worse condition than we were in at Glenfinnan. What opinion will the French and Spaniards then have of us, or what encouragement will it be to the former to make the descent for which they have been so long preparing, or the latter send us any more succours? . . . But what will become of our Lowland friends? Shall we persuade them to retire with us to the Mountains? Or shall we abandon them to the fury of our merciless enemies? What an encouragement will this be to them or others to rise in our favour, should we, as you seem to hope, ever think ourselves in a condition to pay them a second visit . . . For my own part, I must say that it is with the greatest reluctance that I can bring myself to consent to such a step, but having told you my thoughts upon it, I am too sensible of what you have already ventured and done for me, not to yield to your unanimous resolution if you persist in it.

Section 3: February – March 1746

Although Lord Murray's decision to retreat to the Highlands had infuriated Prince Charles, his decision was, in theory, strategically sound. The rate of desertion from the army was increasing, the indiscipline of a number of clan regiments at Falkirk greatly concerned Murray and the presence of a reinforced government army under Cumberland at Edinburgh was a major threat. Murray sincerely believed that by retreating to the Highlands the army would be able to avoid a major confrontation with a superior force or, failing this, at least be able to engage the enemy on terrain which was far more suited to the Highlanders' method of fighting. He also reasoned that the presence of Prince Charles in the heart of the Highlands – traditionally the most fertile recruiting ground for the Jacobite cause – would boost the strength of his forces and discourage desertion. Finally, Murray questioned the government's stomach for a prolonged campaign in the Highlands during the winter. Cumberland's continued presence in Scotland with his seasoned veterans would significantly weaken Britain's ability to support her Continental allies in their struggle against France – a struggle in which France had undoubtedly gained the upper hand by early 1746. If the Jacobite army could avoid a major confrontation with Cumberland and mount a sustained and successful guerilla campaign against government garrisons and fortresses then, so Murray argued, in the late spring the prince could lead a revitalised and reinforced Jacobite army in a new campaign against weakened and dispirited government forces. Whether such a strategy would have been successful remains a matter of conjecture, but at least Murray's plan had much to recommend it – despite Charles' opposition.

The Jacobite retreat north after Falkirk initially sparked off great celebrations in the government camp, although reports of disarray in the rebel army were considerably exaggerated [**Documents 77 & 78**]. Various explanations were given for the Jacobite retreat by the pro-government press – many of which were highly unlikely [**Document 79**]. The citizens of Glasgow, having suffered the indignity of occupation by Jacobite forces, lost no time in reassuring George II of their loyalty to his family while, at the same time, seeking financial compensation for losses sustained during the occupation [**Document 80**]. Government reinforcements arrived from the Continent at Leith, further strengthening the Hanoverian military presence in Scotland [**Document 81**]. (**N.B.** The Hessian troops (commanded by George II's son-in-law) replaced 6000 Dutch troops sent to Britain in the autumn of 1745 under the terms of an existing defensive treaty between the two nations. However, the majority of these Dutch troops were part of the garrison of Tournai that had surrendered to France the previous June. The terms of the garrison's surrender stipulated that they were not to be employed against France or her allies while the War of the Austrian Succession lasted. The arrival of Lord John Drummond at Montrose in December with 800 troops (mainly of Irish descent) serving in the French army meant, therefore, that the Dutch troops were obliged to withdraw from Britain and played no part in the rebellion.)

As Cumberland's army moved north in pursuit of the retreating Jacobites, reports reached the press that the troops were looting and damaging property belonging to known Jacobites [**Document 82**]. However, although the Jacobites were in retreat, they did enjoy some limited success against government forces. The 'Rout of Moy' and the capture of Inverness were two examples, even although these victories were not over regular government troops but fellow Highlanders (commanded by John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun) who had volunteered to serve George II rather than Prince Charles [**Documents 83 & 84**]. Moreover, supplies and equipment from France arrived safely in the north-east of Scotland, providing a welcome boost for the Jacobites who were running short of money and arms [**Document 85**].

Despite the minor setbacks suffered by government forces, Cumberland's march northwards continued inexorably, even although his progress was delayed by poor weather and lack of supplies: he finally reached Aberdeen via Montrose [**Document 86**] on 25 February [**Document 87**].

The month of March saw an increase in military activity throughout the Highlands. Most of the documents covering this month describe the various skirmishes that took place. The Jacobites captured Fort Augustus [**Document 88**] and successfully invaded the County of Sutherland, forcing the Lord President, Duncan Forbes of Culloden and the earl of Loudoun to flee to Skye [**Documents 90 & 95**]. Government forces enjoyed success at Strathbogie [**Document 91**] and continued to harass suspected Jacobites and lay waste rebel property [**Documents 94, 96 & 98**]. After the euphoria of early February when government ministers believed that the rebellion was all but over, there was a growing awareness in London that the Jacobite army was merely reassembling and reassessing its priorities [**Documents 89 & 90**]. The bitter nature of the rebellion is well illustrated by two documents showing how families were divided by events, occasionally leading to somewhat bizarre incidents [**Documents 92 & 100**]. Despite a number of Jacobite successes during this period, there were signs that the noose was tightening round Charles. In late November the *Hazard* sloop carrying a considerable sum of money intended for Jacobite coffers was captured [**Document 97**], and the Edinburgh newspapers began to carry stories of Jacobite prisoners being escorted to London or incarcerated in Edinburgh Castle [**Document 99**].

[**Document 77**] (Cumberland to Lord Milton, Falkirk, 1 February 1746: printed in the *Scots Magazine*.)

I reviewed the whole army this morning, before we marched, who were in the highest spirits. The advanced parties of the rebels retired with precipitation on the approach of ours, and our foremost scouts brought in some stragglers, who said the rebels were repassing the Forth in a good deal of confusion; being afraid, as they said, of another battle, because of the increase of our strength, and the great desertion there had been amongst the clans, which had much diminished their numbers. On our march we heard two great reports, like the blowing up of some magazine; and it was soon confirmed to us; for the rebels had blown up a very large quantity of powder, in the church of St. Ninian's, before they went off. On my arrival here, I found all our wounded men whom they had made prisoners in the late action, and in their retreat had been obliged to leave behind them . . . As soon as I came here, I detached immediately Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Argyllshire men, and all the dragoons, in pursuit of them; tho' it is imagined that most of them will have escaped at the ford of Frew, as they generally make a good deal of haste when they are going off. They have lost a great many men at Stirling, and say it is all over with them, and they shall make to Montrose . . . I propose to march tomorrow morning to Stirling, and there take measures for further quieting these parts of his Majesty's dominions.

[**Document 78**] (*The Scots Magazine*.)

Whitehall, February 6.

Late last night another express arrived from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with letters, dated Stirling Feb. 2, giving an account, That his Royal Highness arrived there at one o'clock that afternoon, without meeting the least resistance; as Brigadier Mordaunt had also done the night before, but too late to pursue the rebels. Their precipitate flight is not to be described. They were all to be at Perth the 2d; where, as their own men declare, they would not stay for his Royal Highness to come up to them. When the rebels heard that his Royal Highness was got to Linlithgow, they held a council, and drew out their men, declaring that they would meet him; but as soon as the baggage and the cannon arrived, they lately were moved off, they told the country people that they were going to meet a reinforcement; but that, as they could not carry away all their plunder, they would give it to them; and that it was in St. Ninian's church; where they had made a magazine of powder and ball. And when the country people came to fetch it away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine; but fortunately the first train missed, so that several escaped; but the second was so soon fired, that many poor people were blown up, and buried in the ruins.

[**Document 79**] (The *St James Evening Post* reports on the Jacobite retreat to the Highlands.)

Copies of a paper were brought to Aberdeen, which was printed, and dispersed all over the highlands, by the rebels, containing the reason for their retreat from Stirling. In it they say, That, after the battle of Falkirk, a great part of their men desired to carry home the booty they had got there and in England, and promised to be back again before the King's forces could possibly be recruited, and come again to attack them; that they accordingly went, but not being come back when the King's army set out from Edinburgh, they though it more prudent to retreat to Blair of Atholl, than to hazard a battle:

And that the reason of their retreating still further North, was, that tho' they had taken from the King's army upwards of 1000 tents at Falkirk, yet they could not prevail upon their men to make use of them, who chose either to lie in the open fields, in their usual manner, notwithstanding the severity of the weather; that their leaders foresaw that this must be very prejudicial to their healths, and therefore ordered them to retreat to Inverness, till the weather became more favourable; and that then they would come South again, and make the uprightness of their cause to appear.

[**Document 80**] (Loyal Address of the City of Glasgow, 12 February.)

We lament this unnatural rebellion, begun and chiefly carried out by our countrymen; we detest such as would exchange your Majesty's mild and lawful government, for a merciless despotic tyranny under a Popish pretender. This corporation has at all times been remarkable for their firm attachment to . . . the Protestant succession in your Royal house; and it gives us unspeakable joy to reflect, that in our zeal for your Majesty's happy government, we have not come short of our ancestors. We at this time had the honour to levy, in pursuance of your Royal approbation, two battalions, of 600 men each, for your service; one of which battalions, after assisting for some time to guard the pass at Stirling, marched to Edinburgh to defend the capital, and lately made no bad appearance in the action near Falkirk. These things indeed did not fail to draw upon us the resentments and fury of the pretender and his merciless army, and which we severely felt by two exorbitant fines that were rigorously extracted: but tho' they have thereby greatly impaired the public funds of our corporation, and at the same time almost ruined many of our members in their private fortunes, by a total stagnation of trade, and by living on us with their whole army at free quarters; yet it gives us the greatest comfort, that all their cruelties and our sufferings have not been able to shake our zeal for your Majesty's service . . . and we most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that our lives, and the remainder of our fortunes, are, and shall always be ready to be sacrificed in the defence of that inestimable blessing.

[**Document 81**] (In February the *Scots Magazine* reported on the arrival of Hessian soldiers at Leith.)

In the afternoon of the 8th, the Prince Frederick of Hesse, and the Earl of Crawford, with the Hessians (between 4 and 5000, among whom were some hussars), arrived in Leith road, in four days from Williamstadt. The Prince, the earl of Crawford, and some other persons of distinction, went ashore that night; but the troops remained on board till the Duke [of Cumberland]'s pleasure should be known, to whom an express was forthwith sent to Perth. The Prince lodged in the Royal palace of Holyroodhouse. His Serene Highness was saluted, on his arrival, by the ships, and by the castle of Edinburgh; persons of distinction paid him their compliments; and he was entertained, during his stay, with balls, concerts of music, assemblies &c. In three or four days the troops were landed. Both men and horses looked well. The Duke of Cumberland made a trip from Perth to Holyroodhouse on the 15th; and having concerted the military operations with the Prince of Hesse, his Royal Highness returned next day to the army.

[**Document 82**] (*Scots Magazine* report of looting by government troops, February 1746.)

In their way to Perth, the army march through some of the Drummond's, Strathallan's, and other disaffected persons estates. There, as is reported, the exasperated soldiers gave a specimen of what they would do, in revenge for the fatigues and hardships they had been made to suffer, if they were at once let loose without control. A letter from Perth, of February 6 says, 'Our soldiers have made a kind of military auction, or public sale, of household goods, cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. and with what little silver plate they have been able to find in the houses of such Gentlemen as are with the rebels.' Another letter, dated Stirling, February 13, says 'Our army, in their march from Stirling to Perth, has made search in several parties for arms, ammunition, &c. in several parts of the country, particularly at the house of the Lord Strathallan. I cannot distinguish what they have found in the different places; but, in general, some parties of the Old Buffs have brought in some arms, forty five horses, which were sold for the benefit of the captors, and fifty seven head of black cattle, which were ordered for the use of the army.' Parties, 'tis said, went afterwards to the Eastward of Perth, to Fife, Atholl &c. and carried off effects out of rebels' houses.

[**Document 83**] (Report on the 'Rout of Moy', 16 February 1746. *The Lyon in Mourning*, Vol. I.)

When the Prince was about going to rest, or rather when it became dark, Lady MacIntosh ordered one Frazer, a blacksmith, and four servants, to get loaded muskets, and to go away privately beyond all the guards and sentries without allowing them to know anything about them or their design, and to walk on the fields all night, and to keep a good look-out . . . The blacksmith and his faithful four accordingly went pretty far beyond all the sentries, and walked up and down upon a muir, at the distance, Captain Macleod said he believed, of two miles from MacIntosh's house. At last they spied betwixt them and the sky a great body of men moving towards them, and not at a great distance. The blacksmith fired his musket and killed one of Loudoun's men, some say, the piper . . . The four servants followed the blacksmith's example, and it is thought that they too did some execution. Upon this the blacksmith huzzaed and cried aloud, 'Advance, Advance, my lads, Advance! (naming some particular regiments), I think we have the dogs now.' This so struck Lord Loudoun's men with horror, that instantly they wheeled about, after firing some shots, and in great confusion ran back with speed to Inverness.

[**Document 84**] (Chevalier de Johnstone's account of the capture of Inverness by the Jacobites on 18 February, 1746. *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.)

Next morning the Prince assembled all his column, who had passed the night in the villages and hamlets some miles from Moy, and advanced to Inverness, with the intention of attacking Lord Loudoun, and taking revenge for the attempt of the previous night; but, as he approached the town, his Lordship retreated across the arm of the sea, to the north of Inverness, after collecting and taking along with him to the other side all the boats, great and small, and other vessels that could aid us in pursuing him. The castle of Inverness was fortified in the modern manner, being a regular square with four bastions, and it was advantageously situated on the top of an eminence, which commanded the town.

The governor of the castle [Grant of Rothiemurchus], who was in a situation to withstand a siege, at first refused to comply with the summons of the Prince; but two hours after the trenches were opened, he surrendered himself with his garrison, which consisted of two companies of Lord Loudoun's regiment. The Prince immediately gave orders to raze the fortifications, and blow up the bastions. M. L'Epine, a sergeant in the French artillery, who was charged with the operation, lost his life on the occasion. This unfortunate individual, believing the match extinguished, approached to examine it, when the mine sprung, which blew him into the air, with the stones of the bastion, to an immense height.

[Document 85] (*Scots Magazine* reports on the arrival of two French ships in Scotland in February 1746 with supplies and reinforcements for Charles' army.)

They write from Aberdeen that, on the 21st, a ship of about 150 tons burden, with French colours, came into that road about six at night, and fired two or three guns; upon which the rebels sent off a boat to her; which returned about eight, and brought ashore two officers; who after some consultation, went on board again, and carried seven or eight boats, with an intention, as it was thought, to land their men; but they returned empty; and the ship went off, as is said, for Peterhead, and some people went from Aberdeen to meet them there. It is said the said ship had money, arms, cannon, and ammunition on board; but it seems was not to deliver the money, by some particular order of one Boyer [Alexandre du Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles], whom they call a French Ambassador, and who is with the pretender's son. That upon the 22^d, about five after noon, another ship came about from Stonehaven, of about 100 tons burden, of no force, and anchored in the road of Aberdeen, and between eight and ten at night landed about 130 men, including five officers. They were clothed with red turned up with blue. They also landed a parcel of saddles, and some horse furniture, and some horsemen's arms and breastplates. Many of them are English and Irish. They carried nine or ten carts and twenty pack loads of baggage with them . . . Those that landed from the French ship report, that there sailed five ships in all from Dunkirk, and that the three other ships were larger, and contained more men, and could not be far from the Scots coast.

[Document 86] Proclamation by the Duke of Cumberland issued at Montrose on 24 February 1746.

His Royal Highness having received information, that sundry persons who have been concerned in this wicked rebellion, are returning to their dwellings, or are lurking about the country, some of them with their arms, and others without them; and likewise, that sundry arms, and other effects belonging to persons who have been engaged in the rebellion, are concealed in various parts and places of these countries of North Britain where the rebels have resorted: These are therefore, in his Royal Highness's name, strictly to require and command all ordinary common people who have borne arms, or otherwise been concerned in this rebellion, to bring in their arms to the magistrate, or Minister of the Church of Scotland, where this notice shall reach them; and likewise to give in their names and places of abode: and in case they have no arms, then to declare their names and places of abode: and all are to submit themselves entirely to the King's mercy . . . And all such as shall any ways fail in the most exact obedience to this order, are to take notice, that they will be pursued with the utmost severity as rebels and traitors, by due course of law, or military execution, as the case may require.

[**Document 87**] (The *Scots Magazine* describes Cumberland's arrival at Aberdeen on 25 February. He had been delayed by poor weather and a lack of supplies.)

The first division of the King's army reached Aberdeen on the 25th, and the rest of the army in a day or two after. Here the Duke was waited upon by the Noblemen and Gentlemen in the neighbourhood, Mr Grant of Grant junior offered to bring out 600 of his people armed as soon as the army was ready to march. The day after his Royal Highness came to Aberdeen, he detached Lord Ancram with 100 dragoons, and Major Morris with 300 foot under his command, to a castle at the head of the river Don, 40 miles from thence, called Corgarff, and situated in the heart of the rebellion, in order to get possession of a quantity of Spanish arms and powder which were lodged there. His Lordship took them without resistance, the rebels having quitted the castle upon his approach; but as they had driven away the horses of the country, he was forced to destroy most of the arms, and 30 barrels of powder. On the 28th, the Duke received advice, that the rebels had published a paper, importing, that they proposed to lie still till the spring, and then to assemble a great army of highlanders, and make a fresh eruption . . . and that Captain Dyves of the *Winchelsea*, had destroyed the dogger which lately landed the French soldiers with saddles &c. at Aberdeen.

[**Document 88**] (John William O'Sullivan's version of the siege of Fort Augustus which began on 3 March 1746. In *1745 and after*.)

The Chiefs, seeing how easily Inverness was taken, expected they would not meet with more difficulty at Fort Augustus and Fort William, and proposed to the Prince to undertake those sieges which he consented to. Brigadier Stapleton was to have the command; Lochiel's, Glengarry's and Keppoch's Regiments which were above 1500 were to form the siege, they marched to Inverness, with the Irish Piquets and Lord John's, grant was the Engineer, and was the best we had. God knows what pains we had to send them the Artillery, Ammunition, meal, and even for forage, for there was not a scrap to be had in that part of the Country, the roads were frozen, the horses reduced to nothing, and not a Carter that knew how to drive or guide them. Our small pieces of Cannon could be of no great use, only to fire on the Barracks, all we had to depend upon were two pieces of eight that were found in the Castle of Inverness, and three or four small mortars, that were taken at the battle of Falkirk, and it was by their means that Fort Augustus was taken, there were but sea-carriages for our pieces of eight-pounders . . . Stapleton began to despair of succeeding, seeing the difficulty there was of getting what was necessary, & the little effect the Cannon made, but happily one of those little bombs fell upon a magazine of powder that was in the Angle of a kind of bastion, blew it up and made a breach, so the Garrison Surrendered immediately upon discretion, with restriction that they should be sent to Inverness and their officers' baggage conserved them, which was granted.

[**Document 89**] (John Maule of Inverkeillor, MP, to Lord Milton, 4 March 1746. Quoted in *Culloden and the '45*.)

The folks here [London] who some days ago belived the rebellion was over are again begun to have their fears, and it is no wonder for I am of the opinion it looks worse than ever; these rebels are now quite desperate, they are near their own homes, which will make them fight better than they would do anywhere else and they'll get more to join them than ever they had before. Join to this the difficulty of subsisting the king's troops in the country . . .

[**Document 90**] (The Duke Newcastle to the Duke of Richmond, 6 March 1746. Quoted in *Culloden and the '45.*)

Our accounts from Scotland are very bad. The rebels are certainly reassembling; and it is thought they will have more real Highlanders than ever. The rebels have got Inverness, and the castle. Lord Loudoun is retreated further north. The Duke [Cumberland] complains extremely of the country, and I am afraid with the greatest reason. His Royal Highness is afraid the rebels will also get Fort Augustus. But he has taken care to secure, I hope, Fort William . . .

[**Document 91**] (The *Scots Magazine* reports on a skirmish at Strathbogie on 17 March 1746.)

The Duke, having received intelligence on the 16th, that Roy Stewart was at Strathbogie, with about 1000 foot and 60 hussars, sent Colonel Conway with orders to Major-General Bland, to attempt to surprise them, and if he should not succeed in that, to attack them; and his Royal Highness ordered Brigadier Mordaunt, with four battalions and four pieces of cannon to march by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, in order to sustain Major-General Bland, if there should be occasion. Accordingly Major-General Bland marched on the 17th towards Strathbogie, and was almost within sight of the place when the rebels had the first notice of his approach. Upon which they abandoned the town, and fled with utmost precipitation towards Keith. General Bland's vanguard pushed their rear a good way beyond the river Deveron: but as the night was coming on, and the evening was wet and hazy, his Excellency ordered the troops to quit the pursuit . . . The Campbells, who had the van, behaved extremely well; as did also Kingston's horse, and in general all the troops.

[**Document 92**] (On 18 March '46, Lord George Murray laid siege to his ancestral home, Blair Castle, held at that time for the government by Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw. Murray was later forced to abandon the siege. *The History of the Rebellion in Scotland.*)

Lord George looking earnestly about him, observed a fold dyke (that is, a wall of sod or turf) which had been begun as a fence for cattle, and left unfinished. He ordered his men to follow him, and drew them up behind the dyke, at such a distance from one another, that they might make a great show, having the colours of both regiments flying in their front. He then gave orders to the pipers (for he had with him all the pipers of the Athollmen and the Macphersons) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers appear, to strike up with all their bagpipes at once. It happened that the regiment came in sight just as the sun rose, and that instant the pipers began to play one of their most noisy Pibrochs. Lord George Murray and his Highlanders, both officers and men, drew their swords and brandished them about their heads. Sir Andrew, after gazing a while at this spectacle, ordered his men to the right about, and marched them back to the castle of Blair. Lord George Murray kept his post at the bridge, till several of his parties came in, and as soon as he had collected three or four hundred men . . . he marched to Blair and invested the Castle; but he had no battering cannon, for his whole train consisted of two small field-pieces, whose shot made no impression upon walls that were seven feet thick.

[**Document 93**] (Duncan Forbes wrote to Cumberland on 19 March from Sutherland. *Culloden Papers.*)

I take the liberty to lay before your Royal highness by this messenger, the present condition of this neighbourhood as it appears to me, together with what may probably be the views of the Rebels . . . The Rebels' scheme in marching Northwards was obviously to collect their shattered Forces to make themselves masters of everything to the northward of the Spey, before your Royal Highness could come up with them, to amass together all the Provisions they could come at, to force into their service all those whom Prudence only restrained from joining them; and if they could not make a stand against your Royal highness at Inverness or to the eastward of it, to retire to the Highlands by Loch Ness if they could find Provisions to subsist them, or to the Northward towards this Country and Caithness, where some provisions are to be found, and where because of a multitude of Inlets of the Sea, and Passes, a Regular Army would find it difficult to follow them, and they could spin out the Rebellion many weeks, waiting for the results of the Chapter of Accidents. This scheme they have so far executed, as to have made themselves masters of Fort George, and Fort Augustus, and to have prevailed with numbers of men who 'till their Arrival kept out of the Rebellion to join them.

[**Document 94**] (During the abortive siege of Fort William (5 March-5 April) by Jacobite forces commanded by Brigadier Walter Stapleton, Campbell militia combined with Royal Navy units on Loch Linnhe to launch a series of punitive raids on Cameron, Macdonald and Maclean settlements in Morvern and Arisaig. The Jacobite Chiefs threatened to exact a bloody revenge, as reported in the *Scots Magazine.*)

By some accounts from Argyllshire, twenty-six villages in Morvern and places adjacent, possessed chiefly by the Camerons, were burnt by a party sent ashore from the sloops of war on the West coast. This . . . has, as reported, produced a kind of manifesto by Lochiel and Keppoch [issued at Glen Nevis on 20 March] in which they exclaim against the Campbells, for burning houses and corn, killing horses, houghing cattle, stripping women and children, and exposing them to severity of the weather in the open fields; threaten to make reprisals, if they can procure leave from their prince, by entering Argyllshire, and acting there at discretion, and by putting a Campbell to death (of whom several had lately been made prisoners in Atholl) for every house that should be afterwards burnt by that clan; extol the lenity and moderation of the rebels, notwithstanding the aspersions industrially spread to the contrary; and insinuate, that those who gave orders for the burning, could not answer for it to the British parliament.

[**Document 95**] (The *Scots Magazine* describes the Jacobite invasion of Sutherland, 20 March 1746.)

It was observed that a body of the rebels had gone after Lord Loudoun. A small party of this regiment had been surprised, and taken prisoners, some few only excepted, who made their escape by flight. The particulars are thus related. The rebels having collected a number of fishing boats at Findhorn, and two other small places on the Moray firth, put four men on board each, and by the favour of a thick fog, which lasted eight days, coasted round Tarbat Ness to Tain in Ross-shire, where a body of their men lay.

There they embarked, to the number of 12 or 15000, under the command of the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromartie, and Clanranald; and on the 20th of March, at eight in the morning, they crossed the ferry, and landed on the Sutherland side, about two miles west of Dornoch, where 200 of Loudoun's regiment were cantoned. On notice of the rebels' landing, 140 of Loudoun's men retired eastward. The other 60 were surprised and made prisoners . . . Lord Loudoun had left Dornoch that morning about five o'clock, and gone westward, to reconnoitre the different passes where the rest of his men were stationed; dreading nothing from that quarter, as he had carried all the boats over to the opposite shore; and judged it impracticable to bring any from the Moray firth, three ships of war being stationed there . . . Advice has been received since, that Lord Loudoun, the Lord president [Forbes of Culloden], the Laird of Macleod &c. with about 800 men, had got safe into the Isle of Skye.

[**Document 96**] (The *Scots Magazine* continued to report incidents of looting and plundering by Cumberland's troops.)

While the army lay at Aberdeen, some of the soldiers discovered an inclination to use the same freedoms that had been taken in Perthshire [where the homes of suspected rebels had been looted]. But it assured in several letters, that the Duke discountenanced such practices. On dated at Aberdeen, date March 24 says, Some detached parties having pillaged James Gordon of Cowbairdie's house (who is in the rebellion), and his Lady having, by Lord Forbes, her father, petitioned the Duke, his Royal Highness thereupon ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the matter, and 100 guineas to be given the Lady for her losses; declaring that there never was an order for taking any effects belonging to the rebels, other than their cattle and forage, for that the rest was to be left to the law. By this it appears that his Royal Highness knows not of some little outrages committed, but punishes them when known . . . It appears that some officers were likewise criminal. Lieutenant Fawlie, of Fleming's regiment, was broke at Montrose on the 24th February, for disobedience of orders, for forfeiture of his word of honour, and prevarication before a court-martial held on him in consequence of his plundering the house of Mr Oliphant of Gask.

[**Document 97**] (The loss of the *Hazard* in March 1746, here reported by the *Scots Magazine*, came as a severe blow to the Jacobites who were desperately in need of hard cash and weapons.)

The *Hazard* sloop, taken by the rebels in November last, and called the *Prince Charles Stuart*, which has been of great use to them, is retaken. On the 24th March, she was descried by four English ships at anchor off Troup head. On sight of them, she bore away. Thereupon the *Sheerness*, Captain O'Brian, gave her chase quite through the Pentland firth, about 50 leagues, kept a running fight for five hours, and at last ran her aground in Tongue bay. Here they landed their men late in the evening of the 25th, and came to a Gentleman's house opposite to Tongue. Lord Reay's militia, and about 100 men of Loudoun's regiment . . . were at this time not far from Tongue. Lord Reay, on noticing the landing of the men, sent a boat with proper persons to get intelligence of their numbers &c. On whose return, it was concerted by his Lordship and the officers, immediately to convene as many of the men as lay nearest, and to run expresses to such as were at a greater distance, with orders to join them with all possible sped. About 50 of Loudoun's men, and the like number of Reay's, marched by break of day, and in two hours came up with the French; who had forced a guide to lead them off in the night. The French drew up, and being attacked, made several fires: but the highlanders, after discharging their firelocks, attacked them sword-in-hand.

Thereupon the French, having five or six men killed, and as many more wounded, and seeing Captain George Mackay.

Coming up with a reinforcement of fresh men, surrendered . . . A great deal of arms and ammunition, with £13,000 Sterling, all English, except 1000 French guineas, was found on board.

[**Document 98**] A report in the *Scots Magazine* on the destruction of Episcopalian meeting houses in Angus by government forces.

His Royal Highness [Cumberland] had ordered Major La Fausille, with 300 men, to go to Glenesk, one of the most rebellious parts, to attack all whom he found in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such as had left them, and were with the rebels. A letter from Brechin says, That they would certainly have been swallowed up, if the Duke had not been so good as send this detachment to their assistance; for that one David Ferrier, an old smuggler, had, with a small party of rebels, taken up his quarters in Glenesk; had sent down parties almost to the very ports of Brechin, and carried off men, horses, arms &c. and had raised about 200 men in Glenesk and Glenprosen: That Major La Fausille made a trip to Edzell, burnt the meeting house of Lethnet, and laid two or three of the richest Jacobites under a small contribution; that he next paid Lord Airlie a visit, traversed Glenprosen and Clova, and there took some greater freedoms; that he burnt or destroyed all the meeting houses where-ever he came; that it cost some pains to save Glenesk from being burnt from end to end, being a nest of Jacobites; and that these measures, with some threats, had the desired effect, all having submitted, and partly delivered up their arms.

[**Document 99**] *Reports by the Edinburgh Evening Courant and the Caledonian Mercury* on life in Edinburgh during March 1746.

According to letters from Aberdeen, of the 31st, the continued ill weather during the month of March, had raised the water of the Spey so high, that the army still remain in that city and neighbourhood; but his Royal Highness proposed to march as soon as possible. Several small parties came to Edinburgh from England during this month, regulars and irregulars, and marched to the posts assigned them. Considerable sums of money for the use of the army, and great quantities of stores, provisions &c. have likewise come to Scotland from England. Lee's regiment from Berwick came to Edinburgh on the 16th, and were quartered in the suburbs. The Edinburgh regiment is still kept up. They do duty not only in town, but likewise Canongate, the castle &c. when there is occasion; and twelve of them, with a Sergeant, went on the 3rd March for Blackness castle, ten miles West of the city, to reinforce the garrison there. The free-holders of the shire of Mid-Lothian, at a general meeting held on the 14th, resolved, that they should pay up their full cess [land tax] without asking deduction of what they had been obliged to pay to the rebels. On the 27th, four surgeon-lads, who had attended the rebels in their expedition into England, and had been prisoners some time in Edinburgh castle, were sent under guard to London; and on the 1st April, several prisoners taken up on suspicion at Perth, were brought to Edinburgh, four Gentlemen in a coach, the rest on foot, and committed to the castle.

[**Document 100**] (Lady Sutherland to Prince Charles, 26 March 1746. *The Companions of Pickle*, Andrew Lang, London 1898.)

The treatment I met with last Friday obliges me to accost your Royal Highness for a protection to prevent the Like Usage in the Future. However my Lord Sutherland Acted, It's known over most of this Kingdom my particular attachment to your Royal Highness's Family, and were it ordinary in one of my sex to go to the Field to Fight for my Prince and Country, I would make an early an appearance as any, and had not my Coach horses and saddle horses been carried away I would presume the Honour to wait on your Royal Highness. Lest my letter be too tedious I will give only an instance of my usage, a man holding a drawn dirk to my breast gave a scratch of a wound which marked it well bare: but this day Barrisdale coming here, being my acquaintance, in his presence I sent a gentleman to all the men of my Lord Sutherland's that were in arms desiring them to disperse and return to their homes in order a proper Draught be made of them for your Royal Highness's service. My success I cannot determine as I cannot depend on much assistance, but if matters were further at my Disposal all the Fencible men in Sutherland would be on you Royal Highness's army as I am quite affrighted.

Section 4: April – September 1746

As Cumberland's army prepared to depart Aberdeen [Document 101] and seek a decisive confrontation with the Jacobites, messages were sent to the various units of Prince Charles' army dispersed throughout the Highlands ordering them to assemble near Inverness [Document 102]. Lord George Murray clearly believed that the proposed site of the battle – Drummoissie Moor near Culloden – was disadvantageous to the Highland way of fighting, supported the idea of a surprise night attack on Cumberland's army at Nairn on the night of 15/16 April [Document 103]. The failure of this attempt forced the Jacobites to return to Drummoissie where, the following morning, the dispirited and exhausted rebel army watched as Cumberland's troops arrived and took up their positions. The inevitable defeat of Prince Charles' army at Culloden [Document 104] effectively ended the rebellion. Charles fled the field [Documents 105 & 108] and spent the next five months in the western Highlands and Islands hiding from government forces, sheltered and protected by men and women whose loyalty to the House of Stuart was unshakeable; even the offer of a £30,000 reward for delivering Charles into the hands of government forces did not result in his betrayal.

Many innocent people became the victim of atrocities perpetrated by government troops in the immediate aftermath of Culloden [Document 106], while a number of rebels who had escaped the carnage, together with reinforcements who arrived too late for the battle, assembled at Ruthven to discuss the possibility of continuing the rebellion. Much to the dismay of many of those present, Prince Charles made it clear that the enterprise was finally over [Document 107]. Not surprisingly, news of Culloden was greeted with enormous relief by the Hanoverian establishment [Document 109], although hostilities did not end with the defeat at Culloden [Document 111]. The press eagerly reported the surrender of leading Jacobites [Documents 110, 113, 114, 115 & 121], and speculated feverishly on the whereabouts of Prince Charles [Document 112]. Strict measures were taken to prevent the escape of Jacobite fugitives abroad [Document 116], although it soon became clear that despite these precautions, many influential Jacobites had escaped detection and reached the continent [Document 120]. Meanwhile, the growing number of Jacobite prisoners held in Scottish prisons was becoming an administrative and legal nightmare for the Lord Justice Clerk, who was greatly relieved when he was ordered to send the prisoners (together with any witnesses) to England where they would stand trial [Documents 117 & 118]. As the growing number of Jacobite prisoners were sent south, so too did the Duke of Cumberland continue his triumphal procession from the Highlands to London [Document 119], where he arrived on 25 July to a hero's welcome.

A few days after Cumberland's arrival in London, the first of the Jacobite prisoners were executed at Kennington Common in the city [Document 122]. These were men who had formed the Manchester Regiment, the only substantial body of Englishmen to have joined Prince Charles during his invasion of England, and were subsequently abandoned at Carlisle by Charles in December 1745. The month of July saw many more leading Jacobites captured and committed to prisons throughout Britain [Document 123], while Cumberland transferred the command in Scotland to the (reluctant) Earl of Albermarle [Document 124]. Lord Milton, the Lord Justice Clerk, continued to run affairs in Scotland during the summer of 1746. The varied nature of his duties and the difficulties associated with carrying them out can be seen in his correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle [Documents 125, 126 & 127]. On 18 August two Scottish nobles were executed on Tower Hill – a reminder that aristocratic privilege was no protection against treason in 18th century Britain [Document 128].

As his erstwhile adherents suffered under the executioner's axe and rope, Prince Charles finally managed to escape the clutches of his foes. On 20 September 1746 he boarded the French ship *L'Heureux* [**Document 129**] (then anchored in Loch nan Uamh where, rather ironically, Charles' adventure in Scotland had first begun some fourteen months earlier), and arrived in France on 30 September. He travelled to Versailles where he was given a rousing reception by Louis XV and the French Court [**Document 130**].

[Document 101] (John Home details the march of Cumberland's army prior to Culloden. *The History of the Rebellion in Scotland.*)

On the 8th April, the Duke of Cumberland left Aberdeen with the last division of his army, and advancing to the northward was joined by General Bland and General Mordaunt, with the troops under their command; so that the whole army met at Cullen, which is twelve miles from the river Spey . . . On the 12th April, the army left Cullen, and marched on till they came to the Muir of Arroudel, which is about five or six miles from the river Spey. The army halted there and formed in three divisions, each of them about half a mile distant from each other . . . In this order the army marched till they came to the river [Spey], which the greatest division entered at a ford near Gormach, the next division to that at the ford by Gordon Castle, and the next division on the right at a ford near the church of Belly. In this manner the Duke's army crossed the river Spey without opposition, though it was generally expected that the passage of the river would be disputed. But . . . when the King's troops were approaching the river, the banks of which are very high on the north-west side, the Duke of Perth drew off his men and retreated to Elgin. On Sunday the 13th, the army marched from Speyside to the muir of Alves and encamped near the parish church of Alves, four miles from Elgin. On Monday the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, which is seventeen miles from Alves. The vanguard, which consisted of some companies of grenadiers, with part of the Argyleshire men, and Kingston's light horse, marched on briskly. When they came to the bridge of Nairn, they found that the rear-guard of the rebels had not left the town, and a party of their men, standing at one end of the bridge, fired upon the grenadiers on the other; some shots were exchanged without much loss on either side.

[Document 102] (Lord George Murray's description of the state of the Jacobite army on the eve of Culloden. *Marches of the Highland Army.*)

On Sunday morning, the 13th, it was confirmed that the enemy was coming on, and passed the Spey. Many of our people, as it was seed time, had slipt home; and as they had no pay for a month past, it was not an easy matter to keep them together. On Monday, the 14th, Lochiel came up; and that day his Royal Highness went to Culloden, and all the other men as they came up marched there . . . Many were for retiring to stronger ground till all our army was gathered; but most of the baggage being at Inverness, this was not agreed to. Early on Tuesday morning, we all drew up in a line of battle, in an open muir near Culloden. I did not like the ground: it was certainly not proper for Highlanders. It was then proposed a night attack might be attempted. His Royal Highness and most others were for venturing it, amongst whom I was; for I thought we had a better chance by doing so than by fighting in so plain a field; besides, those who had the charge of providing for the army were so unaccountably negligent, that there was nothing to give the men next day, and they had got very little that day.

[**Document 103**] (Description of night attack on Cumberland's army, 15/16 April 1746. *Lyon in Mourning*, Vol. I.)

It was near eight at night when they moved . . . Lord George Murray was in the van, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth towards the rear, where also the Prince was . . . It was now about one o' clock in the morning, when Lord John Drummond came up to the van and told if they did not stop or go slower, he was afraid the rear would not get up . . . There was a stop accordingly. Mr O'Sullivan now having come up to the front said he had just then come from the Prince, who was very desirous the attack should be made; but as Lord George Murray had the van, and could judge the time, he left it to him whether to do it or not. Lord George desired the rest of the gentlemen to give their opinions, for they were all deeply concerned in the consequence. It was agreed upon all hands that it must be sunrise before the army could reach Nairn and form, so as to make an attempt on the enemy's camp. The volunteers were all very keen to march. Some of them said that the red-coats would be all drunk, as they had surely solemnised the Duke of Cumberland's birthday. But the officers were of different sentiments . . . It was about two o' clock in the morning when they went back in two columns . . . Day-light began to appear about an hour after. They got to Culloden pretty early, so that the men had three or four hours' rest.

[**Document 104**] Duke of Cumberland's account of Culloden, written two days after the battle. Quoted in *Culloden and the '45*.)

They began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill-served and pointed. Ours immediately answered them which began their confusion. They then came running on in their wild manner, and upon the right where I had placed myself imagining the greatest push would be there, they came down there several times within a hundred yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords, but the Royals and Pulteney's hardly took their fire-locks from their shoulders, so that after those feint attempts they made off; and the little squadrons on our right were sent to pursue them. General Hawley had by the help of our Highlanders beat down two little stone walls, and come in upon the right flank of their second line. As their whole first line came down to attack at once, their right somewhat outflanked Barrell's regiment, which was our left, and the greatest part of the loss we had was there, but Bligh's and Sempill's giving a fire upon those who had outflanked Barrell's soon repulsed them, and Barrell's regiment and the left of Monroe's fairly beat them off with their bayonets and spontoons, and they so fairly drove them back, that in their rage that they could not make any impression upon the battalions, they threw stones at them for at least a minute or two, before their total rout began.

[**Document 105**] Edward Burke's account of Prince Charles' escape from Culloden in *Lyon in Mourning*, Vol. I.)

Our small, hungry and fatigued army being put into confusion and overpowered by numbers was forced to retreat. Then it was that Edward Burke fell in with the Prince, having no right guide and very few along with him . . . The Prince was pleased to say to Ned, 'If you be a true friend, pray endeavour to lead us safe off.' Which honour Ned was not a little fond of, and promised to do his best. Then the Prince rode off from the way of the enemy to the Water of Nairn, where, after advising, he dismissed all the men that were with him, being about sixty of Fitz-James's horse that had followed him.

After which Edward Burke said, 'Sir, if you please, follow me. I'll do my endeavour to make you safe.' The prince accordingly followed him, and with Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, O'Sullivan, and Mr Alexander MacLeod, aid-de-camp, marched to Tordarroch, where they got no access, and from Tordarroch through Aberarder, where likewise they got no access; from Aberarder to Faroline, and from Faroline to Gortuleg, where they met with Lord Lovat and drank three glasses of wine with him. About 2 o'clock next morning with great hardships we arrived at the Castle of Glengarry, called Invergarry, where the guide [Burke] spying a fishing net set, pulled it to him, and found two salmon, which the guide made ready in the best manner he could, and the meat was reckoned very savoury and acceptable . . . At 3 o'clock afternoon, the Prince, O'Sullivan, another private gentleman, and the guide set out and came to the house of one Cameron of Glenpean.

[Document 106] (Many accounts of atrocities perpetrated by government troops – including this one - can be found in *The Lyon in Mourning*.)

On Friday after the battle, April 18th, [Lady Inches] went home to her house called the Lees, within a mile or so of the field of battle. Upon the road as she went along she saw heaps of dead bodies stripped naked and lying above ground. When she came to the Lees she found sixteen dead bodies in the close and about the house, which as soon as possible she caused bury. When she came into the close some of the soldiers came about her, calling her a rebel-bitch, and swearing, that certainly she behaved to be such, or else so many of these damned villains would not have come to get shelter about her house. Then pulling her by the sleeve they desired her to come along with them, and would show her a rare sight, which was two dead bodies lying in the close with a curtain laid over them. They took off the curtain and made her look upon the bodies, whose faces were so cut and mangled that they could not be discerned to be faces. They told her that the party who had been formerly there had cut and mangled these villains, and left them in the house in their wounds; but when they themselves came there they could not endure to hear their cries and groans, and therefore had dragged them out to the close and given them a fire to their hinder-end. 'For,' said they, 'we roasted and smoked them to death, and have cast this curtain taken down from one of your rooms over them, to keep us from seeing the nauseous sight.' Lady Inches said she saw the ashes and remains of the extinguished fire.

[Document 107] (Chevalier de Johnstone describes events the pre-arranged rendezvous held at Ruthven on 18 April 1746. *Memoirs of the Rebellion*.)

We passed the 19th at Ruthven without any news from the Prince. All the Highlanders were cheerful and full of spirits, to a degree perhaps never before witnessed in an army so recently beaten, expecting with impatience, every moment the arrival of the Prince; but on the 20th, Mr MacLeod, Lord George's aide-de-camp, who had been sent to him, returned with the following laconic answer: 'Let every man seek his safety in the best way he can' – an inconsiderate answer, heartbreaking to the brave men who had sacrificed themselves for him . . . The Clan of Macpherson of Cluny, consisting of five hundred very brave men, besides many other Highlanders, who had not been able to reach Inverness before the battle, joined us at Ruthven; so that our numbers increased every moment; and I am thoroughly convinced that, in the course of eight days, we should have had a more powerful army than ever . . .

But the Prince was inexorable and immovable in his resolution of abandoning his enterprise, and terminating in this inglorious manner an expedition, the rapid progress of which had fixed the attention of all Europe. Our separation at Ruthven was truly affecting. We bade one another an eternal adieu. No one could tell whether the scaffold would not be his fate. The Highlanders gave vent to their grief in wild howlings and lamentations . . . when they thought that their country was now at the discretion of the Duke of Cumberland, and on the point of being plundered; whilst they and their children would be reduced to slavery, and plunged, without resource, into a state of remediless distress.

[**Document 108**] Donald MacLeod, who had been sent to guide Charles to the islands, describes his first meeting with the Prince at Borradaie on 25 April 1746. *The Lyon in Mourning*, Vol 1.)

When Donald came to Borradaie, the first man he met with was the Prince in a wood, all alone. The Prince, making towards Donald, asked, ‘Are you Donald MacLeod of Gualtergill in Skye?’ ‘Yes’, said Donald, ‘I am the same man, may it please your Majesty, at your service. What is your pleasure with me?’ ‘Why’, said the Prince, ‘the service I am to put you upon I know you can perform very well. It is that you may go with letters to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod’ ‘What’, said Donald, ‘does not your excellency know that these men have played the rogue to you all together, and will you trust them for a’ that? Ma, you mauna do ‘t.’

When Donald MacLeod had absolutely refused to go any message whatsoever to Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod, the Prince said to him, ‘I hear, Donald, you are a good pilot; that you know all this coast well, and therefore I hope you can carry me safely through the islands, where I may look for more safety than I can do here.’ Donald answered that he most willingly undertook to do his best in the service he now proposed. For this purpose Donald procured a stout eight-oar’d boat, the property of John MacDonald, son of Angus MacDonald, or Borradaie . . . Donald took care to buy a pot for boiling pottage or the like when they should happen to come to land, and a poor firloft of meal was all the provision he could make out to take with him.

[**Document 109**] (Loyal Address of the House of Lords to George II, 29 April 1746.)

When we consider the value and extent of that happiness which this execrable rebellion was formed to take from us, our holy religion, our laws and liberties, and the great support of them all, your Majesty’s mild and gracious government, and the Protestant succession in your Royal house; when, on the other hand, we consider the insupportable miseries designed by the wicked authors of this detestable scheme to be brought upon this nation, our thankfulness to heaven and the transports we feel in our breasts on this occasion, are raised beyond the power of words to express . . . The just and wise use which your Majesty has made of those necessary measures which were taken to strengthen your hands in this conjuncture, for the defence of your Majesty’s crown, and the protection of your people, demands all the returns of gratitude, zeal and affection, which the most faithful subjects can pay to the best of Kings; and the unprovoked treason and perfidy with which this rebellion has been begun, and obstinately carried on, as well as the many calamities this nation has suffered from it, call for exemplary justice against the disturbers of our peace . . .

May the divine providence continue to preserve your Majesty's precious life, and to prosper your councils and arms with success: and permit us, in the most solemn manner, to renew the strongest assurances to your Majesty, of our most zealous and vigorous support and assistance entirely to extinguish this rebellion, absolutely crush this last desperate effort of a Popish abjured pretender, and to improve the consequences of it to add stability to your throne.

[**Document 110**] The *Scots Magazine* reports on the capture and surrender of leading Jacobites in the weeks following Culloden.

An account came from Edinburgh on the 30th from Dumbarton, that the Marquis of Tullibardine, and one Mitchell, an Italian, who said he had been thirty years in the service of the pretender, had surrendered themselves to Mr Buchanan of Drumakill, a Justice of the Peace, and were by him committed to the castle of Dumbarton. The Marquis was put aboard the *Eltham* at Leith on the 13th of May. It was well for him that he had a strong guard to defend him against the people of Glasgow, who were greatly exasperated against him. He did not pass through Edinburgh, but was carried directly to Leith, where likewise a strong guard protected him from the resentment of the populace. Count Mirobel, A French officer, and Engineer-General to the pretender's army; Sir James Kinloch, his brother, and his brother-in-law; Henry Ker of Gradyne, and others, were likewise taken, in different places, about the beginning of May; and Mr Murray of Taymount, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, surrendered himself to a Justice of the Peace in the shire of Mearns. About the end of April, Lord Pitsligo, with many of the foot that followed him, were lurking about the coast of Buchan, in hopes of finding an opportunity to make their escape to France.

[**Document 111**] (Two French privateers, *Le Mars* and *La Bellone*, had sailed from Nantes in April with 40,000 louis d'or and other provisions for Charles Edward. It was only after their arrival at Loch nan Uamh that they found out about Culloden. While they were unloading their cargo, the French ships were attacked by three Royal Navy ships, the *Greyhound*, *Baltimore* and *Terror*. The *Scots Magazine* describes the action.)

The *Greyhound* man of war had come from Ireland to the isle of Mull a few days before; and her Captain, Noel, having got an account that there were two large ships in Loch nan Uamh, sailed next morning, in company with the *Baltimore*. In the evening they were joined by the *Terror*, and at daybreak on the 3rd they stood in for the loch. A little after four o'clock, the *Greyhound* crossed pretty close to the [French] Commodore, gave him a broadside, and then stood to the other. The two sloops followed the *Greyhound*'s example, and the engagement continued till nine o'clock. By this time, the masts and rigging of our ships were so much shattered, that the sloops could not be kept under sail; which was the only way they could annoy the enemy, as they were inferior in strength. Therefore, after lying at anchor some time, and repairing their damage as well as they could, they left the French, and went to Aross bay, to refit.

[**Document 112**] (The *Scots Magazine* – together with every other British newspaper and journal - speculates on the whereabouts of Prince Charles, 22 May, 1746.)

A letter from Old Rock (a fictitious name) in Ardnamurchan, of May 10 bears, that the pretender's son, the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sheridan, O'Sullivan, Mr Buchanan, and many others whose names were not known, made their escape on Sunday the 4th on board the two French men of war from Arisaig; the Secretary Murray remained to take care of the money and stores landed; that the clans talked of assembling at Strontian, and to keep themselves in a moving body, to harass and fatigue the king's troops, in hopes to obtain terms; that their chiefs assured the clans, that the two ships that arrived, parted at sea with fifteen more, full of men, money arms &c.; and that the pretender's son promised to return soon with powerful succours; but that this gained no credit even amongst the rebels themselves. On the other hand, according to advices from Inverness of the 22nd, the escape of the pretender's son was not absolutely certain. He was, some time before, in the North of the island of Lewis; but failing of a vessel there to carry him off, he went to Barra, at the South end of it; and it was afterwards reported, that he had missed the two French ships, and was returned to Moidart.

[**Document 113**] (Newspaper reports of Cumberland's activities in May, and the surrender of increasing numbers of rebels to the duke's army.)

On the 23rd, the Duke set out from Inverness, and next day arrived at Fort Augustus, with eleven battalions of foot, and Kingston's horse. By letters from the last named place, dated the 27th, his Royal Highness proposed to send Houghton's battalion next Thursday half-way to Fort William, to take the post and secure the road; to go thither himself the same day, and return the next; and on Saturday that battalion was to go into Fort William, to relieve the remains of Guise's regiment. Lord Loudoun was with the Duke on the 26th, and informed him, that having marched with the highlanders under his command, and some regular troops commanded by Lt-Col. Howard and Major Lockhart, against the Camerons and Macdonalds, who were assembled to the number of 300 for the security of Lochiel and Barrisdale, they immediately dispersed on the appearance of Loudoun's advanced parties, Lochiel ordering everyone to shift for himself. Upon their dispersion, the Camerons sent a person to desire they might be admitted to bring in their arms, and submit themselves to the King's mercy. By the 27th Lord Loudoun was gone into Badenoch for two or three days, to disarm the rebels there; and it was thought that they would immediately submit; as the Macphersons had in great measure done to Brig. Mordaunt, in his passage through their country to Perth. As the rebels were by this time dispersed, the Duke proposed not to stay in that country above a week longed, unless something extraordinary should happen, but to march South by the King's road to Crieff.

[**Document 114**] (Government forces remained active in the Highlands during the summer of 1746. Here the *Scots Magazine* describes events in early June 1746.)

Parties were sent from Fort Augustus all round the highlands. Where-ever these came, they left nothing that belonged to the rebels. They burnt all the houses, and carried off the cattle; part of which the Duke ordered for the use of the army, and sent the rest South. A strict eye was kept on the shipping on the East coast; and several ships of war were cruising on the West coast. By these means the rebels being distressed exceedingly, several of them submitted. Besides those of Glenmoriston, Urquhart, and Stratherrick, some of the Macdonalds of Glengarry are said to have come into Inverness before the Duke left that place; and the rest of them came into his R. Highness at Fort Augustus on the 11th of June. About 100 Frasers surrendered to G. Blakeney at Inverness on the 10th. A little while after, Barrisdale surrendered to the Duke, and was sent home with his followers. In short, the rebels are said to have come in in shoals; and that by the middle of June upwards of 8000 firelocks, 7000 broadswords, including those taken at the battle, and a great number of targets, &c. had been got from the rebels, also 57 pieces of cannon, in all. 'Tis said, that some of the rebels that surrendered before the Duke left Inverness, were put aboard the ships, and sent to England with the rest of the prisoners. Others were ordered home, to answer when called for.

[**Document 115**] (The *London Gazette* reports on the capture of Murray of Broughton who was later branded a traitor by the Jacobites for his part in the trial of Lord Lovat.)

Upon information that Mr Murray had dined at Kilbucco on Friday June 27 and had that night gone to the house of Mr Hunter of Polmmod, who married Mr Murray's sister, John Smith, Sergeant in St. George's dragoons, and seven private men, then under his command at Broughton, Mr Murray's seat, was ordered thither with a guide, and at three o'clock on Saturday morning he seized Mr Murray in the house of Polmood. He was carried to Edinburgh by the same party, and committed close prisoner to the castle about twelve o'clock on Saturday night by order of the Lord Justice Clerk. Mr Murray, upon his examination, declared, that the pretender's son, with Sullivan and O' Neil, both Irish, and no other person in company, did, about four days after the battle of Culloden, go off from Moidart in an open boat, in order to get on board a ship; but that he himself being at that time indisposed, was not able to go with them; that he had been mostly with Lochiel and his uncle Major Kennedy, and his brother, in a starving way, lying on the side of hills all day, and traveling or wandering all the night, with scouts at a mile or half a mile's distance, never daring to stay two night in one place; that Lochiel was very ill wounded in the heel, and obliged to use a horse; that he himself, unable to bear fatigue and want any longer, crossed the hill without a servant, and came to Monteith to the place where he was taken.

[**Document 116**] (Strict measures were taken to prevent leading Jacobites from fleeing abroad, as the *Scots Magazine* reports.)

Great diligence has been used to discover and seize rebels, and to prevent them escaping out of the kingdom. To help to discover them, the clergy have been desired to give in lists of all those in their respective parishes that have, or that have not been concerned in the rebellion . . . And to prevent any rebels escaping out of the kingdom, rewards are offered for apprehending such of them as shall land or attempt to land in Ireland; care is taken by the British ministers at foreign courts in alliance with his Majesty, to have any of them apprehended that shall land in their territories; and the Justices of the Peace of Kirkcudbright have writ to Patrick Lindesay Esq., Governor of the Isle of Man, advising him to be on his guard lest any of them should escape thither. This gentleman published three orders . . . requiring the militia to resist the rebels, if a body of them should attempt to land in the island by force, and that all strangers should be strictly examined.

[**Document 117**] (Letter from Lord Milton in Edinburgh to the Duke of Newcastle detailing the numbers of rebel prisoners held in Scotland. *The Albemarle Papers*, 2 Vols, ed. Charles Sandford Terry, New Spalding Club, Aberdeen 1902.)

My Lord Duke,

I can now at last send your Grace some account of Rebel Prisoners in the several Gaols in this Country that are to be sent to Carlisle pursuant to his Majesty's Commands . . . The number of the whole is 126 persons, whereof there are 34 that wee either considered here as in the rank of Gentlemen, or were employed as officers in the Rebel Army, and of these I have enclosed a list of their names and designations or offices in the Rebel Army. The other 92 are Private men, and I did not think it worth the troubling your Grace with a List or Roll of their names . . . But in the meantime I have sent orders to Aberdeen, to send under a Guard to this place the prisoners in that Gaol against whom there seems to be sufficient evidence, because that is the most distant place from which I have got any account of the prisoners and any evidence against them, and they were to have set out from thence as yesterday. The List of Witnesses that prove against these 126 prisoners consists of no less than 134, and I want your Grace's answer to my Letter of the 14th, which I hope will bring your Grace's directions in what manner they can be sent . . . After all these prisoners shall be sent away a great many will still remain in our Gaols, whereof several are undoubtedly guilty, even by their own confessions, and against others there is one witness and no more, but it would be to no purpose to send them to Carlisle, because we have as yet got no other evidence against them.

[**Document 118**] (Newcastle to Milton, 11 July 1746. *Albemarle Papers*.)

Having acquainted your Lordship by my letter of the 12th May last with His Majesty's pleasure that you should procure from the Sheriffs or other proper officers in the Several Counties of Scotland Exact lists of the names of the persons that were in Custody on account of the Rebellion, with an account of the proofs and Evidence that could be brought against them, And that your Lordship should transmit to me the said Lists, I am now commanded to send His Majesty's directions to your Lordship, that all such persons as are confined in any of the prisons of Scotland on account of their having been taken in Arms, or of having personally Joined those that were in Arms against His Majesty, should be forthwith sent under sufficient guard to Carlisle in order to take their Tryal, for which your Lordship will accordingly give the necessary orders. And I am to acquaint your Lordship with His Majesty's pleasure that you should at the same time transmit to Mr Philip Carteret Webb at Carlisle, the Solicitor appointed on His Majesty's behalf for that purpose, such Evidence as shall have been procured by H.R. Highness The Duke or Your Lordship against the Prisoners that shall be sent to Carlisle, Taking particular care that the witnesses that shall be sent to give Evidence against the said prisoners are able to prove that they have seen the prisoners do some hostile Act on the part of the Rebels, or marching with the Rebel Army.

I am with great Truth and Respect etc.,
Newcastle

[**Document 119**] (The *Scots Magazine* reports on Cumberland's triumphal procession from the Highlands to London in late July 1746.)

On the 18th July, the Duke set out from Fort Augustus on his return for London, was at Stirling on the 20th, lay in the Royal Palace of Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh on the 21st, reached Newcastle on the 22nd, York on the 23rd, and arrived at St. James's on the 25th, about two o'clock after noon. The most sincere testimonies of esteem and gratitude were every where shewn his R. Highness; tho', at his own desire, public rejoicings were often forbid. At York he was very highly complimented in two elegant speeches; one made by the Archbishop, at the head of the clergy; and the other by Mr Recorder, when the Lord Mayor and Aldermen presented his R. Highness with the freedom of the city, which was put up in gold box. The magistrates of Glasgow, and other cities, waited likewise upon him with their respective freedoms; and as the citizens of Edinburgh, being destitute of magistrates, could not do themselves this honour in all its formalities, the freedoms of the several trades were presented to him in a gold box. This brave prince accepted of these compliments with a politeness and condescension becoming his high birth and honour.

[**Document 120**] Despite the precautions taken to prevent the escape abroad of suspected Jacobites, significant numbers managed to evade detection, as the *Scots Magazine* reports.

Great care has been taken in guarding the coasts, and embargoes have been sometimes laid on the shipping. Accounts nevertheless are come, by the *Elizabeth* of Glasgow, who arrived at Greenock on the 10th of July, and left Morlaix on the 1st, that while she was at the last named port, an Irish wherry arrived there, with about thirty rebel officers on board, and a highland pilot; that the populace, on seeing them, cried ‘Vive le Roi’, imagining the pretender’s son to have been among them; and that the passengers, as soon as they got on shore, sung, ‘And a begging we must go’. And Captain Lorimer, of the *Glasgow Packet*, who arrived in Newcastle in the end of July from Bergen in Norway, whence he sailed on the 21st, gives an account . . . that a French cutter from Lochbroom arrived at Bergen, with about thirty rebels on board; of whom some were in the highland dress, and others in that of the pretender’s son’s lifeguards . . . that the British Consul applied to the Governor to have the vessel searched, and the passengers secured, but was refused; and that the Consul took a protest on this likewise.

[**Document 121**] (Various newspaper accounts of actions against the rebels.)

The troops continue their diligence in searching for rebels through the hills and isles, and in distressing their estates. In this service, the highlanders under the command of Major-General Campbell [of Mamore] and the Earl of Loudoun, are much employed. The Major-General was returned from Barra to South Uist before the middle of July, having scoured the Western isles; and according to accounts received at Edinburgh towards the end of the month, all the principal Gentlemen of the clan Cameron, and some of the Appin Stewarts, and all the Macdonalds, followers of Clanranald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Kinlochmoidart, and Gelincoe, were made prisoners by the indefatigable care of his Excellency, and the other officers, in the search through their respective countries . . . Lord Loudoun’s men were kept moving pretty much in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber. An advertisement, signed by his Lordship, and dated at Ruthven, July 1, has been published in the Edinburgh news-papers, in these terms, *viz.*, ‘Whereas great part of the king’s arms belonging to the regiment commanded by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Loudoun, were taken away by the rebels in Sutherland, and by them distributed to people of different parts of the country; who, notwithstanding the many orders published by his Royal Highness the Duke, still detain them in their possession: These are to advertise such as do not deliver them in to the storehouse at Inverness, or to the commanding officer of any part of his Majesty’s forces who happens to be in their neighbourhood, by the first day of August, that the possessors wherever they are found, whether civil or military, and of what rank so ever, shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour, as the law in that case directs.

[**Document 122**] The *Scots Magazine* reported on the first executions of Jacobite prisoners on 30 July 1746.

After [the prisoners] had finished their devotions, every one of them took some written papers out of the book which he held in his hand, and threw them and their prayer books, among the spectators. He contents of the papers were, That they did in a just cause; that they did not repent of what they had done; that they doubted not but that their deaths would be revenged; and several other treasonable expressions

Immediately after, the executioner pulled their caps out of their pockets, put them on, and drew them over their eyes, and then they were turned off. When they had hung about three minutes, the soldiers pulled off their shoes, white stockings, and breeches, and the executioner pulled off the rest of their clothes. He then cut down the body of Mr Townly, and laid it on the block. But on observing some signs of life in it, he struck it several violent blows on the breast; then taking out the bowels and heart, he threw them into the fire; and afterwards, with a cleaver, severed the head from the body, and put both into a coffin. He then cut down Mr Morgan, and afterwards all the rest, unbowelling and beheading them one by one, in the same manner as he did Mr Townly. When the executioner put the last heart, which was Mr Dawson's, into the fire, he cried 'God save King George'; and the multitude of spectators gave a great shout.

[**Document 123**] (Leading Jacobites continued to surrender to the authorities, as this extract from the July 1746 edition of the *Scots Magazine* confirms.)

About the end of the month, a great many prisoners were ordered for Carlisle; among who was Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, who was carried into Aberdeen to or three weeks before. Lord Lovat arrived at Edinburgh on the 20th, guarded by a party of Mark Kerr's dragoons, and proceeded for London on the 22nd. As his Lordship [Lovat] cannot stand or walk, his guard have him to lift out of and into his coach. The Earl of Kellie surrendered himself to the Lord Justice Clerk at Edinburgh, on the 11th of July, and was committed to the castle; so that the attainder does not take place with respect to his Lordship. On the 7th of July, Secretary Murray was carried from Edinburgh castle for London; where he arrived on the 19th, and was committed to the tower. On the 24th, at night, the Lord Chancellor, and the two Secretaries of state, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Harrington, went to the tower, and stayed till early next morning; during which time Mr Murray was under examination, and it was expected great discoveries would be made. Accordingly, on the 26th, Dr Barry, a physician, was taken into custody, and all his papers seized: near twenty messengers were sent to diverse parts of the country; and Sir John Douglas of Kilhead, member for Dumfries-shire, was taken up at Edinburgh on the 28th at night, and carried off for London on the 31st, by a messenger and a guard.

[**Document 124**] (William Anne Keppel, 2nd Earl of Albemarle, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland on 23 August 1746. Albemarle had known of his appointment as Cumberland's successor for some time before the official announcement, and he was not at all happy at the prospect, as this letter to the Duke of Richmond (written in June) clearly illustrates. *Albemarle Papers*, Vol. 1)

My Dear Duke,

As I know by long experience of your Grace's friendship to me and mine . . . makes me trouble you with my present situation and beg your assistance. Some days since H.R.H. sent for me to tell me that the King had given leave to General Hawley to give up his command in this country, and at the same time had appointed me his successor; this my chief accompanied with many civil and flattering expressions to me. I excused myself of that honour and gave my reasons why, but to no purpose . . . therefore I find my Doom is decreed and that I am on the brink of ruin. I was in hopes after four years absence from home, and 16 months campaign, the more so since I came to this Kingdom [Scotland] a volunteer on purpose to attend the Duke, I might have had the satisfaction of going home; but in short it can't be, and I find I must again be separated from my family and friends, split upon the rocks that has in different ways undone four of my predecessors, and left to mercy of these people, who never want lies or malice to ruin a man that wishes well to the King and his interest, and it is absolutely impossible for the person who commands here to do his duty like an honest man and be well with the people and their present Minister at Court [the Duke of Argyll], who we here begins already to screen some of these Rebellious rascals; Therefore my dear Lord I must hope for your succour and that of my friends, that I may not be condemned hereafter without being fully hear . . .

Make what you want of this Letter, and then burn it.

Albermarle

[**Document 125**] (Milton to Newcastle re troops rioting in Aberdeen on 1 August. *Albemarle Papers*, Vol. 2)

I have just now advice from Aberdeen of some abuses committed there on the first of this month by the Troops, the occasion whereof was that the Officers of the Army wanted to have public rejoicings that day, being the anniversary of the accession of the Royal family to the Throne, and accordingly the Bells were rung in the same manner as is usual on days of rejoicings. But it seems no orders had been given for illuminations, and as there were none in former years, the inhabitants neglected to have any at this time, and the soldiers supposing that it proceeded from disaffection, broke all the windows, the Timber as well as the Glass, to a considerable value, and it is said that they did it by the order of some Officer . . . It gives me great uneasiness to hear so many complaints made of the Army; several were made in form to the Court of Session of Officers having seized and disposed of the goods and effects of innocent persons under pretence of seizing the Rebel effects, or of carrying away the effects of persons said to be in the Rebellion, to the disappointment of their Landlords rent, or of their Creditors who had in the Forms of Law attached them. I did not think these matters of importance enough to mention them to your Grace, and I do it now only in Obedience to your Grace's Commands to acquaint you of every thing material that passes in this Country.

[**Document 126**] (Milton to Newcastle on prisoners being sent to Carlisle, 9 August '46. *Albemarle Papers*, Vol 2.)

My Lord Duke,

I was prevented sending my Letter by the post of the date, through the hurry I have been in giving the necessary directions for sending off the Prisoners and witnesses from this and other places to Carlisle; about 140 prisoners set out from this place [Edinburgh] yesterday for Carlisle, whereof above 25 have agreed to be evidence, and at least 30 other witnesses have set out from this place to Carlisle. This day the prisoners and witnesses set out from Perth, and to-morrow another party set out from Stirling, the last division from Montrose and Dundee I have not yet heard of the day they set out. This will be a very expensive affair. I have given them money to carry them to Mr Philip Carteret-Webb, who is I suppose enabled to take care of them afterwards; several of the Witnesses who are examined have stepped out of the way, and more may probably do so if they meet with bad company; however, all shall be done that is in my power, and I believe there will be evidence against a great many. Two Lawyers of great practice, Mr Alexander Lockhart and Mr James Fergusson, I am told go to Carlisle for the Rebels with three Solicitors . . . I think we have lost scent of the Pretender's Son since H.R.H. left us, so that I begin to suspect that he is either got off by sea or perished at Land.

[**Document 127**] (Milton to Newcastle, 14 August 1746. *Albemarle Papers*, Vol. 2.)

My Lord Duke,

I can now acquaint your Grace that all the prisoners and witnesses are at Carlisle or on the road to it. The last division of them, who arrived yesterday from the North at this place, set out this morning for Carlisle. The whole prisoners sent are about 270, and the number of witnesses who I have one way or other prevailed on to go to Carlisle are about 160, exclusive of about 30 of the prisoners who have already agreed to be witnesses, and no doubt more of them will speak if properly applied as the danger approaches; besides the persons I formally mentioned sent along to take care of the prisoners, I found it necessary to send Mr James Fauld to conduct those who came in the last Detachment from Angus; this Gentleman was very assistant to me in rescuing our officers taken at Preston. The whole affair has been very troublesome and difficult to manage, and nothing but his Majesty's service and your Grace's commands could have engaged me in it. However, I have wrought through and done the best I could, and my Friends have supported me, notwithstanding the ridiculous cry that prevails, rendering all those who bear witness to the truth in the service of their country odious by the name of Informers, and taking all indirect methods to spirit away witnesses, and deter them or seduce them from telling truth.

Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

Andrew Fletcher.

[**Document 128**] On 18 August 1746 Lord Balmerino and the Earl of Kilmarnock were executed at Tower Hill for their part in the rebellion. The *Scots Magazine* describes Balmerino's death.

His Lordship then called for the executioner; who being introduced to him, was about to ask forgiveness. But my Lord stopt him, and said, 'Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.' His Lordship then presenting the executioner with three guineas, said, 'I never had much money; this is all I have; I wish it were more for your sake; and I am sorry I can add nothing else to it, but my coat and waistcoat'; which his Lordship instantly took off, and placed on his coffin for the executioner. His Lordship then prepared himself for the block, by putting on a flannel waistcoat that had been made for the occasion, and a plaid cap upon his head, (saying he died a Scotsman . . . His Lordship then observing the executioner with the ax in his hand, took it from him, and having felt the edge, returned it to him again; at the same time shewing him where to strike the blow, and animating him to do it with resolution; 'for in that Friend,' said his Lordship, 'will consist your mercy.' And I wish I could conclude, that his head had been taken off at one blow: but the executioner was so terrified at his Lordship's intrepidity, and the suddenness of the signal, that notwithstanding he struck in the part directed, yet the force of the blow was not sufficient to sever he head from the body, tho' (happily) sufficient to deprive him of all sensation. After the first blow, his Lordship's head fell back upon his shoulders; but being afterwards severed at two more gentle blows, was then received into a piece of red baize, and, with his body, deposited in his coffin, and delivered to his friends.

[**Document 129**] (*Lockhart Papers*, Vol.2.)

The P[rince] being now informed that the French ships were in Lochnanuagh waiting for him, set out immediately, accompanied by Lochiel. Lochgarrie, John Roy Stewart, etc., and going on board the Happy privateer of St. Maloes, she immediately set sail the twentieth of September, and escaping all the government's warships, and being in her way happily favoured by a fog, he arrived safely in France; an unparallel'd instance, upon a review of all the circumstances of this escape, of a very particular Providence interesting itself in his behalf. For what wise end Haven has thus dissappointed and yet preserved this noble prince, and what future scenes the history of his life may display, time only can tell; yet something very remarkable still seems waiting him and this poor country also. May God grant a happy issue.

[Document 130] (*Lockhart Papers*, Vol. 2.)

Intelligence was no sooner brought to Versailles that the young Chevalier de St George was landed . . . that the Castle of St Antoine was ordered to be prepared for his reception, and his brother, accompanied by several young noblemen, went to meet him, and conducted him directly to Versailles, he not chusing to stop at Paris for any refreshment. The King of France, Louis the fifteenth, immediately quitting the Council, which was sitting on affairs of moment, went to receive him, and as he advanced, took him in his arms with every mark of tender affection . . . After a quarter of an hour's conversation with the King, the young Chevalier passed to the apartments of the Queen, who welcomed him with every demonstration of good will and satisfaction; and as he quitted the palace, the whole Court crowded about him to pay their compliments, and testified as much joy as if the Dauphin himself had been engaged in the same dangerous expedition and returned in safety.

SECTION 3: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Contemporary Newspapers and Journals

Caledonian Mercury

Edinburgh Evening Courant

Gentleman's Magazine

London Gazette

Scots Magazine

Published Primary Sources

BLAIKIE, Walter B., *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, Scottish History Society, 1st series, no. XXIII (Edinburgh, 1897)

CHAMBERS, Robert, ed., *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745* (Edinburgh, 1834)
[Includes Lord George Murray's 'Marches of the Highland Army']

DENNISTOUN, James, ed., *Cochrane correspondence regarding the affairs of Glasgow 1745-46*, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1836)

DUFF, H.R., ed., *Culloden Papers*, (London, 1815)

ELCHO, David Wemyss, Lord, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746*, ed. by the Hon. Evan Charteris (Edinburgh, 1907)

HEPBURNE-SCOTT, Hon. G.F.C., ed., *Marchmont Correspondence relating to the '45*, Miscellany of the Scottish History Society (Vol. V), 3rd series, no. XXI (Edinburgh, 1933)

HOME, John, *The History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745* (London, 1802)

JOHNSTONE, James, Chevalier de, *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746* (London, 1822)

LA TREMOILLE, Charles Louis, Duc de, *A Royalist Family, Irish and French (1689-1789) and Prince Charles Edward*, translated by A.G. Murray MacGregor (Edinburgh, 1904)
[Includes Captain Darbe's *Journal* on board the *Du Teillay*]

LOCKHART, George, of Carnwath, *The Lockhart Papers*, ed. by Anthony Aufrere, 2 Vols. (London, 1817)

MAHON, Lord, *The Forty-Five*, (London, 1851)

MAXWELL, James of Kirkconnell, *Narrative of Charles Prince of Wales's expedition to Scotland in the year 1745*, Maitland Club (Edinburgh, 1841)

MURRAY, John of Broughton, *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, Sometime Secretary to Prince Charles Edward 1740-1747*, ed. by Robert Fitzroy Bell, Scottish History Society, 1st series, no. XXVII (Edinburgh, 1898)

PATON, Henry, ed., *The Lyon in Mourning*, 3 vols., Scottish History Society, 1st series, nos. XX-XXII (Edinburgh, 1895-6; reprinted 1975)

SETON, Sir Bruce Gordon, & ARNOT, Jean Gordon, eds., *The Prisoners of the '45*, 3 vols., Scottish History Society, 3rd Series, nos. XIII-XV (Edinburgh, 1928-9)

STEUART, Archibald F., ed., *The Woodhouselee manuscript. A narrative of events in Edinburgh and district during the Jacobite occupation, September to November 1745* (London, 1907)

TAYLER, Alistair & Henrietta, *1745 and after* (London, 1938) [John William O'Sullivan's 'Narrative']

TERRY, Charles S., ed., *The Albermarle Papers*, 2 vols., New Spalding Club, (Aberdeen, 1902)

TERRY, Charles S., ed., *The Rising of 1745* (London, 1903)

WARRAND, Duncan, ed., *More Culloden Papers*, 5 vols. (Inverness, 1923-30)

Secondary Sources

BLACK, J., *Culloden and the '45* (Stroud, 1990)

GIBSON, John S., *Lochiel of the '45* (Edinburgh, 1994)

LANG, Andrew, *The Companions of Pickle* (London, 1898)

LENMAN, Bruce, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London, 1980)

LENMAN, Bruce, & GIBSON, John S., *The Jacobite Threat: England, Scotland, Ireland, France: A Source Book* (Edinburgh, 1990)

McLAREN, Moray, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (St. Albans, 1974)

MACLEAN, Fitzroy, *Bonnie Prince Charlie* (London, 1988)

McLYNN, F.J., *France and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745* (Edinburgh, 1981)

McLYNN, F.J., *Charles Edward Stuart, A Tragedy in Many Acts* (London, 1988)

MENARY, G., *The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden* (London 1936)

SPECK, W.A., *The Butcher: the Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the Forty-Five* (Oxford, 1981)

TOMASSON, Katherine, & BUIST, Francis, *Battles of the '45* (London, 1962)