

The Orderly Book
of
Lord Ogilvy's Regiment

IN THE ARMY OF
PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART

10 October, 1745, to 21 April, 1746

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WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
BREVET-COLONEL SIR BRUCE SETON, BART., C.B.



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INTRODUCTION

IT is necessary to offer a few remarks on events prior to the appearance at Edinburgh of Lord Ogilvy's regiment. Only the barest outline, however, can be given.

The Prince landed at Eriska on 23 July, 1745, with 7 followers, and sent messages to some of his adherents. On the 25th he landed at Borradale on the mainland, where he staid until 10th August. By the 8th August news of his landing had reached Edinburgh, and Cope began to collect stores and troops to resist him. The regular garrison of Scotland consisted of two Dragoon regiments, scattered in squadrons with their horses out at grass; the infantry consisted of three regiments and fourteen detached companies drawn from five other regiments. Immediate steps were taken by Lord President Forbes to raise troops on the Government side in the north, and he actually raised some twenty-four companies for the "Loudon's Highlanders."

The Prince set out with a few clansmen and the Standard was raised at Glenfinnan on 19 August. He was there joined by about 1,200 men of different clans.

Hearing of Cope's advance to meet him he at once advanced with his small force, collecting small numbers of adherents on the way. Cope, however, evaded the Prince and went north, reaching Inverness on 29 August.

The Prince then marched to Perth, crossed the Forth, and passed by Stirling and Linlithgow to Edinburgh, which he reached on 16 September. He had no difficulty in getting possession of the town; but the Castle stood out against him, and was never captured.

Meanwhile Cope got ships, embarked his troops and landed at Dunbar on 17 September, with a force of about 2,500 men. Thence he advanced towards Edinburgh, reaching Prestonpans on 20 September.

The Prince went to meet him with a force of about the same size, and routed Cope on 21 September, putting his force completely out of action. He then returned to Edinburgh, where he halted and collected followers from the Highlands. He was in Edinburgh from 22 September.

Lord Ogilvy himself had joined the Prince during the halt at Perth, but the regiment did not appear at Edinburgh until 3 October, after the battle of Prestonpans. It was, judging by the opening entry for 10/11 October, not completely equipped when it joined; and the appointments of regimental staff date from that day.

In dealing with the manuscript it has been deemed expedient to standardise the spelling of names and places throughout. Many words, now obsolete, have been replaced by their modern equivalents, in order to

facilitate reading.

The manuscript from which this Orderly Book is now printed is the property of Sir Douglas Seton-Steuart, Bart., of Allanton, who has kindly consented to its publication.

It is contained in a small notebook measuring 5" by 4", of the kind now used by students for lecture notes, and the blank pages at the end are illustrated with crude drawings. There is no entry showing the name of the regiment to which it belonged; but, as internal evidence shows, it was certainly the official Orderly book of Lord Ogilvy's regiment. The book was left—accidentally no doubt—at Bannockburn House, the seat of Sir Hugh Paterson, Bart., on 6 January, 1746, when the Prince's Head-quarters were there during the siege of Stirling; on that date the entries cease.

The manuscript bears no title, the one selected above being merely explanatory of its contents. But, besides being the daily orders of the Prince's Army, it also breaks off occasionally into a journal of the itinerary of the regiment; and, when the Army was moving in *two* Divisions, the orders become the Divisional ones of the Lieut.-General commanding.

James, 2nd Earl of Airlie, acted as A.D.C. to the Marquess of Montrose, and was taken prisoner after the battle of Philiphaugh, 18 September, 1645, and condemned to death. He escaped, however, from the Castle of St. Andrews, the night before his execution. He was ultimately pardoned in 1649, but immediately joined Charles II. and was again imprisoned—this time in the Tower of London—for seven years. He died in 1698. His grandson, James, joined in the Jacobite rising of 1715 under the Earl of Mar, and, during his father's lifetime, was attainted in consequence. Nevertheless he called himself Earl of Airlie after his father's death. When he died in 1731 his brother John became Earl of Airlie, and, although he took no active part in the '45, it must have been with his knowledge and consent that the Ogilvy regiment was raised on his estates.

His eldest son David, the Lord Ogilvy of this Book, was born in 1725, and joined the Prince on 3 October, 1745, at the age of twenty, at Edinburgh with 600 men, mostly of his own name, or from among his own father's tenants.

After Culloden he lay concealed for a time in his own home, and then escaped to Norway. He thence went to France where he was given command of an Infantry regiment called after himself, and rose to the rank of Lieut.-General in the French Army. He was, of course, attainted for his part in the '45, but was pardoned in 1775; the attainder, however, was not removed until long after his death. His wife, Margaret Johnstone, with whom he had eloped, was as perfervid a Jacobite as her husband. She joined him at Glasgow when the Prince's army went there, in January 1746, and remained with him until just before Culloden. She was taken prisoner at Inverness, and

was sent to Edinburgh Castle, but escaped in November 1746 and joined her husband in France. (*Scots Peerage I.*, 125-128.)

The Adjutant of Ogilvy's Regiment, the writer presumably of this Orderly Book, was James Stuart (or Stewart), of the family of Stuart of Inchbreck. Before joining the regiment on 3 October, 1745, he had served in Holland, and, after Culloden, he entered the French army and was created a Knight of the Order of Merit. He died in France in 1776.

Of the other officers, unfortunately, it has not been found possible to compile a complete roll, and the references to individuals in the Orderly Book are few. Besides the Adjutant, Captain James Stuart, there are mentioned Captain James Lyon, Quartermaster; Thomas Creighton, Surgeon; Ensign "Lodnathy" (no doubt his territorial designation); Captains John Kinloch and Alexander Farquharson; Captain John Ogilvy of Inshewan, paymaster; Lieutenants McDuff and Hume; and, when a 2nd Battalion was formed, Captains Ferrier and Erskine.

While the Regiment was in England with the Prince sufficient recruits were raised to form a second battalion 300 strong, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Sir James Kinloch. This Unit joined the Prince at Stirling in January 1746.

These two battalions served through the campaign to the end. After Culloden they retired, along with the greater part of the Prince's Army, to Ruthven, awaiting the expected orders from the Prince to continue the campaign. They were, however, told that there was nothing more to be done, and they marched to their own territorial area and were disbanded at Clova on 21 April, 1746, a week after the disaster of Culloden.

According to Home, all the regiments of foot wore the kilt; their weapons were at first of a very mixed description, but were replaced by more modern ones captured at Prestonpans (21 September, 1745) or sent over from France. The ammunition supply must have been extremely limited, as, on the march to the Border, we find that "12 shot" were issued to the men, who were warned against shooting it off "in the idle way they have done."

The transport consisted partly of horses, of which two represented the scale per company, and partly of waggons. It is particularly interesting to notice that soldiers then, as now, were addicted to the habit of trying to get their arms conveyed for them in these waggons.

As regards the movement orders, especially those of the Cavalry, they indicate, from day to day, the directions from which danger was expected and intelligence desired. The threat of Wade's and Cumberland's approach is reflected in the directions given to the cavalry patrols and the occasional detachment of Infantry flying columns; but as a contribution to the history of the brilliant, but unfortunate, expedition to Derby the manuscript is of little

or no historical value; daily orders written before the events cannot throw much light on the military or political situation of the period covered. But they afford a most eloquent commentary on the crushing burden of conducting a force of 5,000 men in mid-winter into England which fell to the lot of Lord George Murray.

His was indeed a colossal task. Coldly treated by the Prince he served so well, at enmity with more than one of the Council, which nominally conducted and was responsible for the operations, it was he who had to march his men into the heart of England and back again. And if he was not a great soldier this Orderly Book at least shows that his handling of the untrained, ill-disciplined force at his disposal was too successful for the combined intelligences of the Duke of Cumberland, Wade, and Hawley.

Neglect of orders in all ranks, through sheer ignorance of the customs of war, was the rule rather than the exception; scarcely a day passes without a reference to it. Nothing would keep the men in the ranks when on the march, even Officers placed on the flanks and at the head and rear of each column failed to stop the "Scampering souldiers." The excuse, no doubt, was that, in the absence of adequate commissariat arrangements, the men had to live on the country they passed through; hence the references to shooting sheep and hens in the roads, and the "cruel plunder" of which complaint was made to the commander-in-chief. But the Officers needed, and received, as much admonition as the men to secure their attendance to published orders. They habitually forgot or neglected to attend at Headquarters for orders, and evidently did not do much to limit the wandering propensities of their men; and, when in cantonments, they required frequent reminders of their duties in regard to guards and outposts.

When the force was moving, however, the chief anxiety was the artillery, the transport of which in November and December presented almost insurmountable obstacles. The orders of 3/4 November show that this difficulty had to be overcome by the improvisation of Pioneers out of the craftsmen serving in Perth's regiment, who were attached to the Artillery column, no doubt to repair the gun-carriages and the ammunition-carts, which kept breaking down.

Nor had regimental Officers an altogether easy time. Lord Ogilvy's Regiment had only joined the Prince's army on 3 October, and on the 10th it was found necessary to issue peremptory orders against applications for leave of absence, and the officers were practically confined to the quarters occupied by their men. Within that short period, too, company officers had to be made responsible "to contain the Soldiers and hinder the Disorders that are Dayly committed."

Internal discipline was, apparently, in the hands of the Majors of

regiments; it is they who are repeatedly reminded of the necessity for being present at His Royal Highness's Quarters daily for orders and, almost as frequently, censured for their neglect of the orders to come themselves or send an Orderly Serjeant.

Judged by results the Prince's attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors was a failure; but that failure was due more to political than to military reasons. The fact remains that in a period of nine months, with utterly inadequate forces of untrained, badly-armed men, he succeeded in administering two sound defeats to the Royal armies, and in defying the far larger forces that were opposed to him. Culloden was an irreparable disaster which need never have occurred had Lord George Murray's advice been followed, instead of that of the incompetent Irishman O'Sullivan. From the very first the Prince was let down by his own adherents—for the English Jacobites never moved, the French assistance was almost negligible, the Lowlands of Scotland were unsympathetic, and even the Highlands were acutely divided in their attitude to the Cause.

The Orderly Book from the opening date, 10/11 October, 1745, down to 5/6 January, 1746, is contained in the manuscript book above mentioned; the remainder from 6/7 January to the end is contained in another copy of the Regimental Orderly Book, which was published in 1841 in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club. It has been included in this article as it seemed advisable to give a complete history of the Ogilvy regiment.

In preparing the Notes, the ordinary sources have been used, such as Home's and other histories, Lord George Murray's and the Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, and the *Lyon in Mourning*, reproduced by the Scottish History Society. But for the purpose of following the movements of the army and of the opposing forces no published work can compare for accuracy with the *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, by Walter B. Blaikie,¹ whose knowledge of the '45 is unequalled—the result of many years of study of original sources. To that book, and to its author for permission to use it, I make the fullest acknowledgments.

¹ Edinburgh, 1897. The Scottish History Society.

CALENDAR OF BOOKS WHICH ARE REFERRED TO IN THE INTRODUCTION AND NOTES



William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. By the Rev. A. N. Campbell-Maclachlan. Henry S. King and Co. London. 1876. Demy 8vo. pp. xii. 362.

Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart from his Landing in Scotland, July 1745, to his Departure in September 1746. Compiled ... by Walter Biggar Blaikie. Edinburgh. 1897. Map. *Scottish History Society*.

Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746. By the Chevalier de Johnstone. Translated from a French MS. Second edition. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. London. 1821. *Ports plan*. Demy 8vo. pp. lxxii. 456. *Ports plan*.

Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family during the Rebellion, M.DCC.XLV.—M.DCC.XLVI. Edinburgh. 1840. Imp. 8vo. pp. xxii. 258. *Ills*.

Culloden Papers: Comprising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence from the Year 1625-1748, etc. T. Cadell and W. Davies. London. 1815. Imp. 8vo. pp. xvi. xlv. 480. *Ills*.

The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745. By John Home. T. Cadell Junr. and W. Davies. London. 1802. Imp. 8vo. pp. xx. 396. *Map*.

Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, Sometime Secretary to Prince Charles Edward, 1740—1747. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and an Appendix of Original Documents, by Robert Fitzroy Bell. The Scottish History Society. Edinburgh. 1898. Demy 8vo. pp. xl. 540. *Ills*.

Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745. Edited from the Manuscripts of the late Right Rev. Robert Forbes, A.M., Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Robert Chambers. William and Robert Chambers. Edinburgh: and Longman and Co. London. 1834. Demy 8vo. pp. xx. 512.

NOTE.—This contains (pp. 29—130) “Marches of the Highland Army, from the Manuscript of Lord George Murray, Commander-in-Chief.”



DAVID, LORD OGILVY,
afterwards 6th (attainted) Earl of Airlie.
Born 1725. Died 1803.

[From a painting by Allan Ramsay (1745) in the possession of Gilbert Ogilvy, Esq.,
Winton Castle, with whose kind permission it is now reproduced.]

The Orderly Book¹ of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment

1745-1746.

10-11 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. James and Montrose.

Lord George Murray.² Lieut.-General of the Day.

H.R.H.'s intention is that the Major, or an Officer in his place, from each Regiment should assemble every Day at Eleven o'clock at his R.H.'s quarters

¹ In George Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary*, 1779, under the article "Orderly," the following is given: ORDERLY *book*. Every Company has such a book for the serjeants to write down both general and regimental orders, for the officers to read them.

² Sixth son of John, first Duke of Athole. He joined the Regular Army in 1712 when 18 years of age. On the outbreak of the '15 he joined Lord Mar and got command of a regiment of the "Athole Brigade." After the disaster of Sheriffmuir (13 November, 1715)—at which he was not present—he went abroad; he returned and took part in the '19 and was wounded at the action of Glenshiel (10 June). He then again escaped abroad. He was pardoned in 1724 and returned to Scotland, but, along with his elder brother, William, the titular second Duke, joined Prince Charles Edward on his landing in 1745. He was appointed a Lieutenant-General in the Army of the Prince, and commanded the left wing in the action at Preston Pans (21 September, 1745). He stands out among the Jacobite leaders as the best soldier of them all; to him was due the conduct of the operations in England and the withdrawal of the small force in the face of Cumberland and of Wade. At Culloden (16 April, 1746) he commanded the right wing of the Army. Had this advice been taken it is probable that that disaster would have been avoided. He escaped after the battle and was in hiding for many months before he could get abroad. He was attainted, along with most of the leaders, and died in Holland in October, 1760, at the age of 66. He appears to have been a man of taciturn disposition, and was unpopular among his colleagues; but to him, more than to anyone else, the Prince owed such successes as he obtained. Historians generally have been less than fair in their estimates of his great qualities; and the Prince himself never properly appreciated his services. See *Scots Peerage* I. 482, "D.N.B.," and *Memoirs of the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745*, by Mrs. Thomson, 1845, Vol. III., p. 1.

to receive the orders. That every Captain should give immediately to the Major of his Regiment a List, as well of the Officers, Serjeants, and Private men of their Companies, as of those that are absent or sick; that the Major should make a general controul¹ to present it to H.R.H.; that wherever the Regiment be either encamped or in Quarters, that the Major, or Adjutant, or some other Officer to act for them, should be always present to execute the orders that they may receive. That an Officer of each Company shall give every morning an account to his Major; or he that acts for him, of any Disorder, Desertion, etc., that happens in his Company; that the Major may make his report when he comes to receive orders, that the Major should publicly intimate if any Private man is taken half a mile from the Camp or Quarters where they are in, shall be treated as a Deserter and punished according to the law of war, unless they have a permission in writing from their Captain.

Glengarry² relieves the Guards of the town of Edinburgh; tomorrow the Atholes³ Regiment will furnish a Captain and 50 men for H.R.H.'s guard, a Captain and 50 men on the Canongate guard; Perth's⁴ regiment will furnish

¹ *I.e.* counter-roll. "A copy of a document or roll, kept for purposes of checking."—*Oxford English Dictionary*.

² Macdonell, of Glengarry, joined the Prince at Aberchallader on 27 August, 1745, with about 600 men, consisting of his own 400 followers, the Macdonalds of Glencoe (120), the Grants of Glenmoriston, and others.

³ "Athole's Regiment"—or, as it subsequently became, "Athole's Brigade"—was raised among the followers of the second Duke of Athole, and was commanded by his brother, Lord George Murray, until his promotion to be Lieut.-General of the Army. It probably numbered about 1,000 men when it took part in the advance into England, and was organized in three battalions, commanded respectively by Lord Nairn, Mercer of Aldie, and Menzies of Shian. William Murray, second son of the first Duke of Athole, became Marquess of Tullibardine on the death, in 1709, of his elder brother. He joined Mar in the '15 and fought at Sheriffmuir, in which action he was a Lieutenant-General. He was attainted in February, 1715-16, and fled to France. Prince James Edward, "the Old Pretender," created him Duke of Rannoch. He came back to Scotland with the Spanish force in 1719, was defeated at Glenshiel, and had a sum of £2,000 put on him for his apprehension. He again escaped to France, and, for some years led a life of poverty and discomfort. He accompanied Prince Charles Edward from France to Scotland in the '45, and raised the Standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August. He assumed the title of Duke of Athole, which had passed to his next brother, James, under the Act of Attainder. A man of 56, in poor health, he was incapable of service in the field, but he was active in raising the "Brigade" called after him. After Culloden he was captured and committed to the Tower of London, where, fortunately for himself, he died on 20 June, 1746. See "D.N.B.," and *Memoirs of the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745*, by Mrs. Thomson, 1845, Vol. II., p. 92.

⁴ Perth's regiment, together with a small body of foot brought in by Lord Pitsligo,

the guards to the Camp. Each Regiment will furnish a Quarter-guard before themselves.

My Lord Ogilvy, Colonel, orders that all the Officers of his Regiment¹ provide themselves in Targets from the armorers in Edinburgh; likewise that Captain James Lyon be acknowledged Quartermaster, Thomas Creighton Surgeon, and Captain James Stewart Adjutant, in his Regiment; also that an Officer and Serjeant of each Company attend every Day at two o'clock at the Commandant's quarters to receive the orders. Also that every Captain give in a List of shoes wanting in his Company.²

Further that no Officer or soldier shall pretend to ask liberty to go home till further orders, under the pain of being laid directly under arrest; also that the Officers bring their men under arms to the parade tomorrow at two o'clock, and that no Officer whatever stir from the Camp or Quarters or leave the Regiment without leave from the Commandant, under the pain of being put under arrest* Ordered for Leith guard tomorrow, Capt. Inshewan and Ensign Lodnathy, two Serjeants, 30 men, and a Drum.

11-12 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Edward and Canterbury.

My Lord Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

It is needless to repeat here the orders that were given yesterday, H.R.H. being persuaded that the Officers will observe them punctually, and that, beside, the Major, or some other Officer acting for him, are never to be absent from the Regiment; that there will also be an Officer of each Company continually present to contain the Soldiers, and hinder the disorders that are daily committed, which not only shows the neglect of the Officers, but is

numbered about 700 men. The men are occasionally referred to later as "the Red Coats of Perth's." Lord James Drummond, third titular Duke of Perth, and, but for his father's attainder, sixth Earl of Perth, lived principally in France until 1734, when he returned to Scotland. Following the Jacobite traditions of his family he joined the Prince on 4 September, 1745, and served throughout the campaign. He escaped after Culloden in a French ship, but died on the voyage to France, on 13 May, 1746. His estates were forfeited. See *Scots Peerage* VIII. 54, and *Memoirs of the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745*, by Mrs. Thomson, 1845, Vol. III., p. 226.

¹ Ogilvy's regiment, raised by Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the fourth Earl of Airlie, joined the Prince at Edinburgh on 3 October. It consisted of about 600 men, raised in Forfarshire, and officered almost entirely by members of the Airlie family, or by men who bore the surname of Ogilvy.

² On 30 September, orders were issued to the City of Edinburgh to supply 1,000 tents, 2,000 "targets," or round shields, 6,000 pairs of shoes, and other articles for the Prince's Army, to the value of £15,000.

hurtful to the Prince's cause.

Glengarry's regiment will relieve themselves at Edinburgh. Athole's will relieve themselves likewise on H.R.H.'s guard and on the Canongate. Perth will continue the guard on H.R.H.'s tent and furnish Sentries on that wing of the Camp. Ordered for main guard tomorrow at Leith, Captain David Ogilvy, 2 Serjeants, 30 men, and a Drum. Andrew Lawson to be acknowledged Serjeant in Captain John Kinloch's Company. My Lord orders the Serjeants have the Regiment under arms tomorrow at their barracks at half an hour after two and ready to be marched by the Officers of their respective Companies by three o'clock to the place of parade behind the town to be reviewed by his lordship.

11-13 [Sunday] October, 1745.¹

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Henry and York.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General of the Day.

H.R.H. is surprised, notwithstanding his repeated orders, that the Majors, or some others acting for them, are not more punctual in the Execution of their orders, and do not render themselves at his Palace at the hour appointed.

Glengarry's Regiment relieves the guard of the town tomorrow, the 13th.

Lochiel's² will furnish 100 men for H.R.H.'s guard and the Canongate.

Perth's will furnish a Captain and 50 men this day, the 12th, and the like tomorrow, the 13th, on H.R.H.'s tent, and will furnish Sentries on that wing of the Army.

My Lord Ogilvy orders that Alexander Farquharson and Lieut. McDuff, 2 Serjeants, 30 men, and 1 Drum mount the main guard at Leith tomorrow, the 13th. James Leuchars to be acknowledged Serjeant in the first water [of] Esk Company.

11-14 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. James and Northumberland.

¹ On 12 October a treaty was signed by the Marquis d'Arganson, for the King of France, and Colonel O'Brien, the Chevalier's agent in Paris, by which the King undertook to send troops to his assistance.

² Donald Cameron of Lochiel, "the young Lochiel," was one of the first of the Highland chiefs to throw in his lot with the Prince. He raised 750 men of his own clan, and these formed the first considerable body of supporters of the Jacobite attempt of '45. The regiment served throughout the campaign. After Culloden, Lochiel had to go into hiding, while his country was ravaged by Cumberland's troops. He ultimately escaped to France with the Prince in October, 1746. See "D.N.B.," and *Memoirs of the Jacobites of 1715 and 1745*, by Mrs. Thomson, 1845, Vol. I., p. 313.

My Lord Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

H.R.H. will himself review the whole Army, that is to say all the Foot, tomorrow at ten o'clock in the morning, at Duddingston; the Corps that are separated are to repair there at that hour, and such as have guards will be relieved by others until after the review.

Glengarry's Regiment relieves themselves in town.

Clan Ranald¹ relieves H.R.H.'s and Canongate guards until Lochiel passes in review.

Perth mounts the guard on H.R.H.'s tent, and the guard of the forage. The horse² will likeways be reviewed at Dalkeith. An Officer of each Company [will] Daily make the Appell³ of the Companies, and give in writing to the Major the number of Officers and men that are present, and the Major will make his report to the Colonel who is to make his to H.R.H.

14-16 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Lewis and Carlisle.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General of the Day.

Glengarry's Regiment furnishes H.R.H.'s guard, the Canongate, and the guards of the town. Every Regiment in the Quarters they are in will have a guard that will furnish Sentries on the different avenues of their Quarters, or Serjeants posts, if the main guard be too far off from the place where it is necessary to place Sentries. To-morrow the Quarters will be assigned to each Corps.

16-17 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Gordon and Galloway.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General of the Day.

Glenbucket⁴ relieves H.R.H.'s guard and the Canongate at 10 in the

¹ The younger Clanranald, son of Macdonald, chief of that clan, was probably the first to offer his services to the Prince on landing. He did all in his power to get the other chiefs to rise, and he himself raised 100 men. This unit was subsequently increased to 200.

² The horse at this time probably consisted entirely of Lord Pitsligo's Troop.

³ Fr. *Appel*—Roll call, Muster.

* John Gordon, of Glenbucket, was one of the most remarkable of the Prince's leaders. He was a cadet of the ducal family, but as a perfervid Jacobite he maintained traditions which were ignored by the Duke of Gordon of that time. He joined Mar in the '15, and, although taken prisoner, was pardoned. In 1738 he went to Rome with a scheme for a Jacobite rising, and was given a commission of Major-General. At the age of 72 he came out and joined the Prince, and he was the first of all in the field, having captured an Officer of a Royal Regiment on 14 August, 1745. He then returned home to recruit men by all sorts of means—some he cajoled, others he "pressed," and

morning; My Lord Ogilvy the posts of the town at the same time.

A Serjeant of each Regiment will be regularly at H.R.H.'s guard as ordinances¹ in case there were any orders to be sent to their Regiments and will be relieved regularly every 24 hours. An Officer and 20 men of each Regiment will be present this day, 16 October, at an execution that is to be made betwixt two and three o'clock this afternoon at the Lincks of Leith.²

A Lieutenant and 20 men of the Guard of Canongate will conduct the prisoner, Robert Monro, that is to be executed this afternoon, to the Lincks of Leith, and won't quit him till he be executed. The Gaoler is to get his arms tied behind and set the said Monro in the Officer's custody who is to answer for him. Six men of the Red Coats of Perth's and six others of Colonel Stewart's³ are to be commanded to shoot the said Monro.

eventually he got about 400 men, mostly Grants and Farquharsons. With these, and a number of horses, he joined the Prince's army at Edinburgh on 4 October.

In spite of his years he served continuously throughout the campaign, escaping abroad after Culloden after great hardships. He died in France in 1750.

His daughter was married to John Macdonell, of Glengarry; and three of his sons accompanied him from the commencement of the campaign. Contemporary writers speak of him as an old man who used to ride crouched on a "little grey Highland beast" with his men. See *The Gay Gordons*, J. M. Bulloch. Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1908, pp. 77-90.

¹ Fr. *Ordonnances*. Orderlies.

² There are only two references to military executions in the Orderly-book. Several edicts had been issued by Head-quarters warning the Army of the penalties attaching to theft and violent crime; and it may be fairly assumed that the infrequency of capital punishment indicates a higher degree of internal discipline in these regiments than it is the fashion of historians to allow. Such irregularities as did occur in the town were mostly the acts of the criminal classes, who assumed the white cockade for the purpose.

³ The Prince's reasonable expectations of large accessions to the strength of his army, while in Edinburgh, were never realised. Lord Lovat had practically promised a force of at least 4,000 men of the Frasers, but did not carry out his engagement, even partially, until long after the advance into England. Other chiefs, too, who might have been expected to join, hung back. Even after the victory of Prestonpans (21 September, 1745) there was little response to the Prince's efforts to raise men in Edinburgh and the South of Scotland, and he only succeeded in getting two Troops of Life Guards, a few Hussars, and one unit, 450 strong, formed by Colonel Roy Stewart, an ex-Regular Cavalry officer. Glasgow and the neighbouring counties were definitely opposed to him, and, on the march south, the inhabitants at Lockerby stole 30 cart loads of tents and carried them off. France, too, failed to offer any appreciable assistance. In a letter to the King of France after his return to that country, the Prince stated that if he had had an additional 3,000 regular troops after the battle of Prestonpans he could have reached London before the return of the English troops

16-18 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. William and Glasgow.

My Lord Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

Clanranald, Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

My Lord Duke of Perth's Regiment relieves H.R.H.'s guard with 100 men, Canongate guard with 50 men, the town guard with 300 men, at ten of the clock to-morrow morning.

A Serjeant out of each Regiment to be of H.R.H.'s guard, to be relieved every Day at the hour of the guard.

An Officer and 20 men of every Regiment are to be at the Lincks of Leith at two o'clock this afternoon commanded by the Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel and Major of the Picket, to assist at an Execution. Six of the Red Coats of the Duke of Perth's and six of Colonel Stewart's for the Execution; a Lieutenant and twenty men of the Canongate guard will conduct Daniel Smith who is to be executed on the Lincks of Leith, where the Commanding Officers will set the Court Martial's judgment in Execution. The guard of the Canongate will get the corpse of the said Smith buried near the ground where he is executed.

18-19 October, 1745. [Edinburgh.]

Parole. David and Montrose.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General of the Day.

My Lord Nairn,¹ Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel and Major of the Picket.

Athole's Regiment furnishes two Captains and 100 men for H.R.H.'s guard, a Captain and 50 men at the Canongate, Keppoch² the guard of the town. These guards are to be relieved at ten in the morning.

The Regiments that are not on guard pass in review to-morrow morning

from abroad.

Colonel Roy Stewart belonged formerly to the Greys and joined the Prince on 31 August, 1745. After Culloden he escaped to France.

¹ John, 3rd Lord Nairn, an ardent Jacobite, had taken part in the '15 as a Lieutenant-Colonel in Lord Charles Murray's regiment, and was taken prisoner at Preston. He was forfeited, but was given his freedom. He came out again in the '45 and joined the Prince at Blair, and he captured Dunkeld on 3 September, 1745. At Prestonpans he commanded the second line. He was appointed one of the Prince's Privy Council, which was nominally responsible for the operations. After Culloden he escaped to France, and died there in 1770, aged 79. He was attainted for the second time in 1746. Nairn's regiment consisted of about 250 men from Athole, and was the first battalion of the Athole Brigade.

² Alexander McDonald, or Macdonell, of Keppoch, joined the Prince with 300 men at Glenfinnan; by the end of the halt at Edinburgh the unit numbered 400.

at their Quarters. Perth's, that comes off the guard, passes at three o'clock in the afternoon.

H.R.H. is informed of the little notice the Officers, especially the Majors, take of his orders, as well in not coming regularly at 11 o'clock to receive orders, as in not rendering the Serjeants of ordonnance¹ as he ordered. H.R.H. will not forget those that are exact, as he will not those that neglect their Duty.

19-20 [Sunday] October, 1745. [Edinburgh.]
Parole. Taffy and Wales.

Keppoch, Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

The Army is to keep themselves ready to march on Tuesday, 22nd instant, H.R.H. being resolved to change his quarters. The Foot that came with My Lord Pitsligo,² and Tulloch's³ men, will furnish a Captain and 100 men on H.R.H.'s Guard, and a Captain and fifty men on the Canongate guard; they'll observe to make regular Patrols. Clanranald furnishes the town. The Serjeants will come regularly to H.R.H.'s guard. The Commandant orders that the Captain of every Company report every night the number of effective men present, absent, and sick, to the Major or Commanding Officer.

For guard to-morrow, Captain Lethno and Ensign Quick, 2 Serjeants and 30 men (3 per Company) with a drum.

20-21 October, 1745. [Edinburgh.]
Parole. Robert and Pembroke.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General for the Day.

Glengarry is Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Glengarry mounts H.R.H.'s guard, town, and Canongate; 100 men at H.R.H.'s guard, 50 on Canongate, 50 on the main guard of the town; a Lieutenant and 15 men mount guard on the Nether Bow port, 100 men on the grass market, 50 men near the Weigh-house.⁴ Athole's Regiment passes

¹ Orderly-Serjeants.

² Alexander, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, was born in 1678. He was implicated in the '15, but escaped forfeiture. He again came out in the '45 and joined the Prince at Edinburgh on 9 October, bringing with him a Troop of Horse and a small body of Infantry. The latter were attached to Perth's regiment, but the Cavalry remained under his command throughout the campaign. After Culloden he was attainted and his honours and title forfeited. He died in 1762, in Scotland. *The Scots Peerage*, IV., 76.

³ Colonel David Tulloch brought 480 men from the Gordon country on 4 October.

⁴ The "weigh-house" stood at the head of West-bow and only a few hundred yards

in review at 8 o'clock in the morning, Clanranald's Regiment at one o'clock afternoon, and Appin's¹ at the same hour at their quarters.

The Commandant orders that the Regiment be under Arms for exercise tomorrow morning by nine o'clock on the common place of Parade at the back of the town, and that an orderly Serjeant go to the Prince's quarters to-morrow at ten to attend orders.

21-22 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Andrew and Scotland.

My Lord Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

Lochiel, Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Lochiel's regiment mounts H.R.H.'s guard, town, and Canongate 100 men on H.R.H.'s guard, 50 on the Canongate, 50 on the main guard of the town; a Lieut. and 15 of which on the post of the Nether Bow, 100 men on the grass market, 50 near the Weigh-house. All the regiments that are off duty will assemble to-morrow betwixt 12 and 1 of the clock at the Camp near Duddingston, H.R.H. being Desirous to make a general review.

The Commandant orders that the whole regiment be in readiness to march, to-morrow, by nine in the morning to Duddingston to be reviewed by H.R.H. Likewise that the Serjeants be careful to cause the men keep their arms clean, and qualify themselves for learning the men their Exercise and that the Serjeant Major remember every Day at the hour of the guard being relieved, to send the Orderly Serjeant to H.R.H.'s quarters; also that the Doctor attend close at Leith.

22-23 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Patrick and Ireland.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General of the Day.

My Lord Ogilvy, Colonel and Major of the Picket.

Glenbucket furnishes 100 men on H.R.H.'s guard, 50 on the Canongate. Lord Ogilvy's the town guards, that is 50 men on the main guard, a Lieut. and 15 of which on the post of the Netherbow, 100 men on the Grass market, and 50 near the Weigh-house.

from the Castle, which was commanded by the redoubtable Colonel Guest. The weigh-house guard was heavily bombarded by the Castle on 4 October as retaliation for the blockade caused by its presence. *Pourparlers* ensued which resulted in the retention of the guard and withdrawal of the blockade. The castle garrison, however, continued to "snipe" at the guard, which perhaps accounts for its being posted "near" the weigh-house.

¹ The Appin regiment consisted originally of 260 Stewarts of Appin, commanded by Stewan of Ardshiel. It had joined the Army on 27 August.

That the taptoo be beat every night at nine, after which hour every Soldier that is found abroad is to be carried to the guard Prisoner, and that Patrols be regularly made for the purpose. The Commandant orders that the whole regiment be under arms to-morrow half an hour before nine precisely on the parade behind the town in order to detach the Edinburgh guards.

23-24 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. David and Holyrood house.

My Lord Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

The Master of Strathallan¹ Colonel: his Lieut.-Colonel and Major of the Picket.

Duke of Perth's Regiment mounts H.R.H.'s guard, town and Canongate: 100 men on H.R.H.'s guard; 50 men on the Canongate; 50 men on the main guard, a Lieut. and 15 of which at the Nether Bow; 100 men on the post above the Weigh-house; 50 men on the grass market; 50 more at the Parliament close.

Lochiel's Major will relieve the posts with the Major of Perth's regiment, and show them where the Sentries are to be placed; the Officers of Picket, as well as those on guard, will be very exact and alert in making their Patrols.

24-25 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Daniel and Newcastle.

My Lord George Murray. Lieut.-General of the Day.

My Lord Nairn, Colonel, his Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Athole's Regiment H.R.H.'s guard and the Canongate; 100 men of H.R.H.'s guard; 50 for Canongate.

Keppoch relieves the town guards; 50 men on the main guard, a Lieut. and 15 of which on the post of the Nether Bow; 50 on the grass mercate, and 50 on the Parliament Close; 100 above and over against the Weigh-house. The Officers on picket and those on guard to be very exact in their Patrols. All the regiments are advertised to keep everything ready for their march, so as to be in a condition to Decamp on 12 hours warning.

25-26 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. John and Skye.

My Lord Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

¹ James Drummond, Master of Strathallan, was eldest son of the fourth Viscount of Strathallan. Both father and son were out in the '45 and were at Culloden, where the father was killed, while commanding the Perth Horse. He was posthumously attainted; his son escaped from Scotland and was also attainted.

Lochgarry¹ Colonel; his Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Clanranald's Regiment mounts H.R.H.'s guard and Canongate; Glengarry's the Guards of the town, 100 men on H.R.H.'s guard, 50 on the Canongate, 50 on the main guard of the town, a Lieut. and 15 of which on the post of the Nether Bow, 50 on the Grass market, 50 on the Parliament close, 100 on the Weigh-house.

A Lieut. and 15 men of H.R.H.'s guard will be Detached at night to one of the houses of the Abbyhill. Mr. O'Sullivan² will place them.

The Officers of Picket as well as those of the Different posts will be very exact in making their Patrols. H.R.H. orders absolutely that the Majors won't fail to send a Serjeant to his guard at Holyrood house.

The Duke of Perth's Regiment will march, arms and baggage, to-morrow the 26th, to Musselburgh,³ where quarters are appointed for them.

Glenbucket's Regiment will likewise march there to-morrow.

There will be bread brought from Dalkeith to Musselburgh for their conveniency.

The Colonels and other Officers are to give strict orders that the Bakers should not be molested nor no wrong done to them.

The Colonels that are at Edinburgh and in the neighbourhood are

¹ Donald Macdonald, or Macdonell, of Lochgarry, was gazetted to a commission in the Highland Regiment composed of well-affected clans which was being raised by Lord Loudoun in June, 1745. When the Prince landed, however, he at once joined him with his kinsman Angus, the "young Glengarry." The latter was sent to raise reinforcements when the army advanced into England, and Lochgarry then commanded the Glengarry regiment. After the accidental death of Angus at Falkirk, Donald again assumed command of the unit. He escaped abroad after Culloden.

² Captain O'Sullivan was one of the most remarkable of the Prince's adherents. An Irishman by extraction, he was in the French Service, and an enthusiastic Jacobite. He was one of the small party who came over with the Prince from France, and not only served with him throughout the campaign but accompanied him during his wanderings in the Highlands after Culloden until they were compelled to separate for safety. A devoted friend of the Prince, he was probably not a very successful officer. In a letter dated 17 April, 1746, Lord George Murray informs the Prince that "Mr. O'Sullivan committed gross blunders on every occasion of moment. He, whose business it was, did not so much as visit the ground where we were to be drawn up in line of battle. . . . I wish Mr. O'S. had never got any charge in the army than care of the baggage. . . his orders were vastly confused." O'Sullivan held the appointment of Quarter-Master General and was a member of the Council which was instructed to administer the Army and carry out operations.

³ Up to this time the bulk of the army had been quartered in and about Edinburgh; on 25 and 26 October, however, the whole force was concentrated near Inveresk.

advertised that the Soldiers will find bread of a right weight at Holyrood house when Mr. Graemes will get it Delivered to them, the bread being of a better weight than in the Baker's Shops, where they are imposed upon. Mr. Graemes will get the bread brought to the Different quarters if the Colonels desire it.

My Lord orders exercise twice a day, at eight and three a'clock, per companys.

Commandant orders a man per Company to clean their quarters.

26-27 [Sunday] October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. James and Leith.

My Lord George acts as Lieut.-General of the Day.

Glengarry Colonel; Lieut.-Colonel and Major of the Picket.

Glengarry's Regiment mounts H.R.H.'s guard, the town and Canongate; 100 men in H.R.H.'s guard, 50 on Canongate, 50 on main guard of the town, 50 on Grass market, 50 on Parliament close, 100 men near the Weigh-house; a Lieut. and 15 men of the main guard on the Nether Bow post.

A Lieut. and 15 men of H.R.H.'s guard in the night time on the Abbey hill.

All the troops are advertised to keep themselves in readiness to march on twelve hours warning.

The Officers of Picket and those on Different Posts are to Double their attention for the Patrols; an Officer and twelve Gentlemen of Pitsligo's horse¹ will come to Edinburgh about five o'clock this afternoon, where they will receive further orders.

28-29 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Henry and York.

Duke of Perth. Lieut.-General of the Day.

Lochgarry, Colonel; his Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Glengarry will continue H.R.H.'s guard, the town and Canongate tomorrow. The Officers of Picket, as well as those on the Posts, are to be alert and make exact Patrols. Keppoch's and Appin's Regiments are to have a guard on their Quarters and the Officers to be with the men especially at night, in case of an alert.

The Posts of Leith, Canny mills, and Newhaven are likewise to be alert and Patrol frequently.

An Officer and 12 Gentlemen of Pitsligo's will Patrol this night from Leith

¹ Pitsligo's Horse consisted of a body of gentlemen from Banff and Aberdeen with their servants, all well-armed and mounted. They numbered about 120.

along the sea side, by Newhaven.¹ The Officer of this Corps that Patrol'd last night can give them the Directions he had.

28-29 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. Charles and Wales.

My Lord George acts as Lieut.-General of the Day.

Lochiel, Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

100 men on H.R.H.'s guard, a Lieut. and 15 of which will be posted at night on the Abbey Hill.

50 men on the Canongate; 50 on the main-guard of the town; 50 on the Grass market: 100 men near the Weigh-house; a Lieutenant and 15 men of the main guard on the Nether Bow port.

All the troops are advertised to keep themselves in readiness to march on twelve hours warning. The Officers of Picket as well as those on the Different posts are to be alert and exact in making their Patrols.

Clanranald's Regiment furnishes 100 men this night at Royston house to support Newhaven.

Lord Ogilvy's Regiment will furnish the like number at Newhaven.

An Officer and twelve of the Life Guards² are to patroll westward of Newhaven until break of day.

¹ English troops from the Continent had been concentrating at Berwick and Newcastle and there was a possibility of their attempting an advance on Edinburgh—as indeed, if Wade had had any enterprise, they would have done.

² There were two troops of Life Guards (or Horse Guards); the first was commanded by Lord Elcho. and consisted of 62 Gentlemen and their servants, under 5 Officers, making in all some 120 of all ranks; the second troop, which was commanded by the Hon. Arthur Elphinstone—subsequently Lord Balmerino—was a smaller unit, and probably never exceeded 40 or 50 men.

David, Lord Elcho, born 1721, was eldest son of James, fourth Earl of Wemyss, and was a keen Jacobite. He travelled on the Continent as a young man and returned to Scotland in 1741. He joined the Prince in 1745 with his troop, and took an active part in the campaign. After Culloden he escaped to France. His estates were forfeited and he never returned to Scotland. (*Scots Peerage* VIII., 509.) Arthur Elphinstone, 6th Lord Balmerino, was born in 1688, and was an officer in the Regular Army. He was actively employed against the Earl of Mar in the '15. After the battle of Sheriffmuir, however, he resigned his commission, joined the Jacobites at Perth, and thence went to France, where it is believed he entered the French service. A pardon having been granted to him he returned to Scotland in 1734. He joined the Prince at Edinburgh in 1745, and was appointed to command the second Troop of Horse Guards. He succeeded his brother, on the latter's death in January, 1746. He was taken prisoner at Culloden and tried for High Treason in London. He was executed in the Tower, and his titles and estates were forfeited. (*The Scots Peerage* I., 571.)

29-30 October, 1745.¹

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. William and Aberdeen.

My Lord Duke of Perth acts as Lieut.-General of the Day.

Keppoch Colonel, his Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Keppoch's Regiment mounts the guards of the town. Appin's H.R.H.'s guard and the Canongate; 100 men on H.R.H.'s guard, a Lieut. and 15 of which are to mount at night on the Abbey-hill; 50 men on the Canongate guard; 50 on the main-guard of the town, a Lieut. and 15 of which are to be on the Nether Bow port; 50 men on the Parliament close and 36 at the Grass market; 100 men at the Weigh-house.

Ogilvy's regiment will furnish 100 men at Newhaven.

Clanranald's will furnish the like number at Royston house to sustain Newhaven.

An Officer and twelve of the Life Guards are to patrol as usual from Leith by Newhaven, along the sea side.

30-31 October, 1745.

[Edinburgh.]

Parole. James and Murray.

My Lord George acts as Lieut.-General of the Day.

Keppoch Colonel, his Lieut.-Colonel, and Major of the Picket.

Keppoch's Regiment continues the guards of the town.

To-morrow the Army Decamps.²

¹ The Council of War met on the evening of 30 October, and decided on the advance into England. The majority favoured the march on Carlisle, rather than on Newcastle, as the Prince desired. The next morning the Prince announced that he would accept the Carlisle objective, and a plan of march was immediately drawn up.

When the Prince started on his march into England he left Lord Strathallan to command the forces which were being raised in Scotland. Young Macdonald of Glengarry was sent recruiting in his own country, and Lord Lewis Gordon went north to try and raise the Gordons, in the face of his father's opposition thereto.

On 1 October a strong force of cavalry and infantry was ordered to march to Scotland under General Wade. It assembled at Newcastle on 29 October, where it was reinforced by troops landed from Holland and Ireland, and the cavalry that had escaped from Prestonpan.

It was composed of five regular cavalry regiments, Oglethorpe's "Georgia Rangers," and the "Royal Hunters," a Yorkshire volunteer corps; ten regular infantry battalions; and 6,000 Dutch troops who were prohibited, under treaty, from taking part in the campaign. During the Prince's retirement from Derby five cavalry regiments were sent to Cumberland, and joined him at Preston on 13 December.

² It had been decided by the Council that the Army should march in two columns. The first of these consisted of most of the six Clan regiments (Glengarry's,

A Major or Adjutant of each regiment is to come to H.R.H.'s Palace this night where they'll receive further orders and Directions for their march.

My Lord Ogilvy's Regiment will Decamp to-morrow morning from their quarters with arms and Baggage to go to Dalkeith, where they'll receive new orders.

Ogilvy's Regiment will furnish 50 men at Newhaven, during the night.

Clanranald's Regiment will furnish 100 men at Royston house.

An Officer and 12 of the Life (Guards) will patrol as usual from Leith by Newhaven.

Keppoch's, the Macgregors, Macpherson's, Appin, Stewart's, etc.) and the Life Guards, under the Prince and Lord George Murray; the second column consisting of the other seven regiments was under the Duke of Athole, with the Duke of Perth as second-in-command.

The total ration strength of the Army was 7,587; it is not possible to say to what extent there were followers included in this number.

The Army of Prince Charles Edward which undertook the expedition into England was composed as follows:

Cavalry.	1st troop, Life Guards	Lord Elcho's	125
	2nd troop	Lord Balmerino	40
	Horse Guards (and Kenmure's Horse)	Lord Kilmarnock	100
	Pitsligo's Horse	Lord Pitsligo	120
	Hussars, commanded by Baggot		70
Infantry.	Lochiel Regt.	Cameron, younger, of Lochiel	150
	Appin	Stewart of Ardshiel	360
	Athole Brigade (3 battalions)	Lord George Murray	1,000
	Clanranald Regt.	Macdonald, younger, of Clanranald	300
	Keppoch	Macdonald of Keppoch	400
	Glencoe	Macdonald of Glencoe	200
	Glenbucket	John Gordon of Glenbucket	427
	Ogilvy's	Lord Ogilvy	500
	Perth	Duke of Perth	750
	Robertson	Robertson of Struan	200
	Maclachlan	Maclachlan of Maclachlan	260
	Glencarnock	Macgregor of Glencarnock	300
	Naim	Lord Nairn	200
	Stewart (or Edinburgh) Regt.	John Roy Stewart	450
	Various units		1,000
Artillery.	1 unmounted iron gun, carried in a cart drawn by a pony. 6 Swedish field-guns, 2 to 4 pounders, from France, with French gunners. 6 1½-pounders, captured from Cope at Prestonpans. The Artillery was commanded by Col. James Grant, an officer of the French Army.		

My Lord Ogilvy's Regiment marches, arms, and baggage, from Leith to Dalkeith on Thursday, the 31 October, 1745.¹

1 November to Auchindinny.²

2 November to Peebles.

3 November. The Regiment rested.

4 November. To Killbucko.

3 [Sunday]-4 November, 1745. [Tweeddale at Peebles.]
Parole. William and Perth.

Officers of the Piquet. Lord Nairn, Colonel; Forbes of Skellater, Colonel; and Major Stewart of Perth's Regiment.

The Troops shall pass from their respective Quarters early enough to be assembled upon a large field nigh this village at 6 in the morning, there to pass muster, and then to march.

Athole's, Perth's, Ogilvy's, Glenbucket's, and Menzies's³ are to file off in their rank.

The Majors are advertised to send the Quartermasters of their respective Corps with a man of each Company to the Quartermaster General's lodgings,

¹ No orders were issued from 1 to 3 November. The regiment arrived at Dalkeith on 31 October and moved on the next day.

² The advanced guard of the Western division, apparently Ogilvy's regiment, left Dalkeith for Peebles on the evening of 1 November. The main body—the Athole Brigade, Glenbucket's, Perth's, and Roy Stewart's, together with the Artillery and baggage, followed the next day. The other, or Eastern division, under the Prince, and consisting of the Clan regiments, moved from Dalkeith on 3 November by Lauder towards Kelso. The Life Guards crossed the Tweed and moved some miles towards Newcastle in order to deceive General Wade as to the Prince's intentions, and to draw off his attention from the advance of the other column on Carlisle.

The Prince's column crossed the Eden and quartered in villages four miles below Carlisle on 9 November; the other division joined him the same afternoon—a very creditable bit of staff work, considering the time of year, the condition of the roads, and the enormous difficulties experienced by armies in those days in transporting their artillery and ammunition.

Wade's Intelligence branch, however, must have been very inefficient. Deceived by the appearance of a troop of cavalry and bogus enquiries and requisitions at Wooler for quarters, Wade made up his mind that the Prince was marching on Newcastle, and allowed him to get clear away from a force 11,000 strong, which should have been able to stop any advance into England.

³ Menzies of Shien, and the Macphersons, under Cluny himself, joined the army the day before the departure from Edinburgh. They brought, between them, somewhere about 1,000 men. Menzies was given command of the 3rd Battalion of the Athole Brigade.

where they are to be at six in the morning. The Majors are prayed to take care that the Soldiers have water enough in their cantines¹ when parting, that they may have no pretext to quit their ranks. To avoid this Inconveniency the Majors are prayed to name two Captains and as many Lieutenants every day of march to take care that the soldiers keep their ranks; the Captains will march in the rear and the Lieutenants on the flanks of their Regiments.

When any Regiment passes a defile these Officers are to stay there till all their men have marched up and joined their Colours; and before they leave the place are to be relieved by as many Officers of the following Regiment.

The Majors are also prayed to bring to the Major-General when they come for orders an exact List of what Recruits they may have made that day, and another of the men amissing by Desertion² or other accidents.

It is seriously recommended to all the Officers to take care that the most exact discipline be observed as they are to be answerable for their respective Corps. It is forbid above all things to shoot sheep, hens, etc.; or break open the Country people's houses, or cause any disturbance.

There must be a Serjeant, as Ordinance (Orderly) of each Regiment, constantly at the General's Lodgings, who shall not stir from thence without an order from the General or the Major-General.

McPherson's Regiment, when come up, are to make the Rear-Guard during this march. Roy Stewart's is to be attached and serve as a Guard to the Artillery and baggage, 50 men whereof to be chosen as a particular Guard for the bread-waggens, with 50 of Perth's.

Other 50 of Perth's Regiment are to be chosen amongst the Gardiners, Carpenters, and other Workmen, to serve as Pioneers, who are to march at the head of the Artillery.

All Officers detached from their Corps will take care to send a soldier of their Guard as Ordinance to their respective Regiments.

Every man to have 12 shot.

Captain Ogilvy, of Inshewan, appointed Paymaster to the Regiment.

That no man, under pain of severe punishment, pretend³ to shoot off his amunition in the idle way they have done.

That every Company have two baggage-horses⁴ and their proportion of

¹ The provision of haversacks and canteens was due to the foresight of Lord George Murray.

² Desertion was rife on the march south, especially among the "Clan" units. Some hundreds of men disappeared—how many is not known—before the force reached Carlisle. When mustered at that place, preparatory to advancing into England, the Prince's army numbered only 4,500 men at the outside.

³ *I.e.* under any pretence.

⁴ On 23 September the Prince had called upon all farmers living within 5 miles of

tents, etc., given them by the Quartermaster, which they are to take care of; that every man carry his full arms, and no man put them upon the baggage-waggons.

Ordered that an Officer of each Company stay always in the Quarters with his Company and send an Orderly man from their different Quarters to the Commandant's Quarters to attend for Orders. Likewise a Drum.

4 November. To Kilbucko.

4-5 November, 1745.

Broughton House.

Parole. Charles and York.

The Army to march upon 5 November, 1745, at 7 o'clock in the morning for the Rendezvous and then to Bield, Polmond, and Crook, with a proper Guide. The Duke of Perth's Battalion is to have the van of the March of the Army. The Duke of Athole's men, commanded by Colonel Mercer of Aldie, are to guard the Artillery, ammunition, Bread-Waggons and Baggage of the Army, and to be accomptable during their charge thereof.

The Army and the whole baggage and Artillery thereof, are to rendezvous at Mossfinnian Haugh by Eight of the Clock in the morning at farthest, in order to march. The Artillery march first, next to which the Stores, thereafter the Prince's baggage, and after that the Regimental baggage, conform to the station of each in the march, and all to proceed in their proper situations.

The same Orders with respect to discipline on the march which were given out yesterday are continued and particularly recommended, as are those concerning the general and particular Quartermasters.

The Adjutant-General and Majors are expressly appointed to attend for orders, and the Orderly Serjeants are to be exact in their attendance.

The Master of Strathallan, Colonel; Sir William Gordon, Lieut.-Colonel; and Major Patrick Gordon, of Glenbucket's, are Officers of the day and piquet.

5-6 November, 1745.

[Crook.]

Parole. Louis and Aix.

Officers of the day. Lord Ogilvy Colonel; Sir Wm. Gordon Lieut.-Colonel, and Major Stewart of Perth's.

All the troops are to march to-morrow from their respective Quarters early enough to be at Erickstain Brae by 9 o'clock, from whence they will

Edinburgh to guarantee, under bond, the provision of horses and waggons, on a scale in accordance with the acreage of their holdings. Other horses were forcibly obtained from the Duke of Hamilton and Douglas, the Earl of Hopetown, and others.

march in good order to Moffat.

Lord Ogilvy's will have the Van and Glenbucket's the Rear.

Glenbucket's Regiment will find the Artillery on their march and will leave them a 100 men for their escort.

The light equipage will file off after the troops; the Artillery and heavy baggage are to follow.

The Majors are prayed to send a man of a Company with the Quartermaster, the Major, or Adjutant, of each Regiment, to Moffat, for the Lodgings, where they will address themselves to Mr. Brown; none of them must part till they be all assembled.

No Regiment is to march in to Town without seeing that the other two are at hand, that they may all come in at once.

The Master of Strathallan will detach a Lieutenant and 30 men in the morning, as well to hinder any stragglers from coming before, as to prevent the cruel plunder of which their Graces the Dukes of Athole and Perth complain, and earnestly recommend to the Officers of each Corps to have an eye to their Soldiers behaviour.

Perth's Major will warn the number of Captains and Lieutenants requisite to hold a Court Martial tomorrow at Moffat on the criminal of Perth's Regiment now prisoner.

It is hoped the Majors will not forget to send daily to the General's Lodgings a Serjeant as ordered.

6-7 November, 1745.

[Moffat. Regiment at Kilpatrick Kirk.]

Parole. John and Strathallan.

Officers of the Day. Mr. Mercer, Colonel; Fascal, Lieut.-Colonel; Mr.

Ratray, Major.

They will mount tomorrow a Captain and fifty men, at Seven in the morning, of Lord Nairn's Regiment, at the gate of Moffat that leads to Lockerby.¹ The Major of his regiment who is to post them there must choose for them a convenient Guard-house. A Lieutenant and 30 men of Mercer's²

¹ For some reason unexplained, the whole of the tents and part of the baggage were left behind at Lockerby and were carried off by the inhabitants of Dumfries. This accounted for the fact that during their march into England the army had to be quartered in towns and villages, and could only march in two columns at intervals of one day.

² Robert Nairn, brother of the Lord Nairn who took part in this expedition, assumed the names of Mercer of Aldie on marrying the daughter of Sir Lawrence Mercer. He joined the Prince at Blair in September 1745, with his brother, and was given command of one of the battalions of the Athole Brigade. He was killed at

Regiment will relieve tomorrow morning a Lieutenant of the same Regiment who is on guard on the Prince's equipage.

The Officers are prayed to see that their respective Corps get their arms and everything else in good order, as they shall be reviewed next day by the Duke.

The Artillery is likewise to get every (thing) ready for a march. It is strongly recommended to the Majors to observe the exactest discipline and to mind that in their different Cantonments the men don't pillage.

The Commanders of the Corps are prayed to examine tomorrow, that nothing be wanting for the men to encamp.

The Majors are desired to give an exact State of the men they have lost, by desertion, or other accidents, since they departed from Dalkeith.

It is again recommended to the Majors to send every Day a Serjeant, as ordinance, to the General's Lodgings where there shall be a Guard-house fixed for them.

A Captain and fifty men of Lord Ogilvy's will mount the Duke of Perth's guard tomorrow, before Eleven forenoon.

7-8 November, 1745.

[Moffat.]

Parole. James and Nairn.

Officers of the Day. Menzies of Shien, Colonel; Fascaly, Lieut.-Colonel;
Kinnachin, Major.

The Duke of Perth's, Ogilvy's, and Glenbucket's Regiments are to part at six in the morning, and to march on the road to Dumfries, to a village six miles off, where they are to wait for the rest of the Column. The Regiments that are cantoned are to march at five in the morning, to join these that are to wait of them six miles off.

Then all the Column will march, Ogilvy's in the Van, Lord George Murray's in the Rear. My Lord Ogilvy's Regiment is to have three pieces of the French Artillery on their front with one cart of ammunition.

The Artillery must part at 3 in the morning, except the 3 pieces that go at the head of the troops.

A Captain and 50 men [of Lord George's Regiment] is to stay behind one hour after the troops are parted, to bring up all the scampering soldiers.

All the Majors of the troops in the town are prayed to be ready, with one man of each Company at 7 [? 4] in the morning at Mr. Brown's lodgings, as he is to part exactly at that hour.

Culloden. [*The Scots Peerage VI.* 395.]

It is recommended to all the troops to march in good order after the Halt, especially when they come nigh Dumfries, and to have their arms in readiness for action.

A Captain of Lord George's Regiment is to march one hour before his troops to join the equipage on the road to Dumfries. He is to have with him a Lieutenant and 70 men. If the troops come up to the baggage that parted this evening, this Captain, with his Detachment, is to join his Corps, as the Regiment is to make the rear of the equipage.

The Majors of the troops cantoned, with one man of each Company, will be at a Village six miles off on the road to Dumfries at six in the morning.

8 November, 1745. Lord Ogilvy's Regiment marched from Kilpatrick Kirk near to Lockerby.

9 November, marched to Newtown in Cumberland.

Sunday, 10 November. [Sunday.] To Stanwix,¹ hard by Carlisle, where they lay on their arms all night.

11 November. To Rickerby, half a mile off Carlisle.

12 November. The Regiment marched to Naworth Castle.

13 November. Returned to Rickerby; betwixt which place and Stanwix was Lord Ogilvy's post, in forming the blockade on the north side of Carlisle.

14, 15, and 16 November, 1745. Continued there at the Siege of Carlisle.²

¹ A small cavalry patrol had advanced to Stanwix Bank, a small hill near Carlisle, the day before, and had fallen back under fire from the castle.

² On 9 November the two columns of the Prince's army met at Carlisle, only two hours separating their arrival. This junction was effected without General Wade being aware of it—in fact he was still expecting an advance on Newcastle. According to the Chevalier de Johnstone (Memoirs, p. 56) the plans of the advance were totally unknown to all but the Prince and the senior Officers. For the moment, then, Wade was in the neighbourhood of Newcastle with 11,000 men, and the Prince had to deal with Carlisle, a walled city whose fortifications were greatly decayed. There was in the city a Norman castle and a Tudor citadel; the castle was provided with artillery and had a garrison consisting of a company of "invalids." The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been mobilised, and were in the citadel and the city itself. Colonel Durand was in command of the place.

By 10 November the whole army had crossed the Eden and the city was invested. The Prince then sent a letter to the Mayor demanding immediate surrender. No reply was sent, but the guns opened fire on the investing force. During the night trenches were dug, and Grant, an Engineer officer who had lately arrived from France, succeeded in mounting the six Swedish guns obtained from France, and the guns captured at Prestonpans, in position.

Hearing that Wade was advancing on Carlisle and had reached Hexham, the Prince decided to go to meet him, leaving a force to carry on the investment. For some reason not yet satisfactorily explained Wade changed his plans and went back

17 [Sunday] November. The Regiment marched through Carlisle to Butcherby.

18-19 November, 1745.¹

Carlisle.

Parole. Fortune and Carlisle.

The Army sojourns tomorrow at Carlisle and will keep themselves in readiness to march the next day at break of day.

to Newcastle. The inhabitants of Carlisle, meanwhile, and the militia garrison sent a message to the Prince at Brampton offering to surrender everything but the castle; the Prince demanded unconditional surrender. Colonel Durand, the Commander of the castle, agreed, and the capitulation was signed on 14 November. The blockading force, consisting of the Lowland regiments, entered the city next day. The castle was handed over on the 16th. The army here obtained a thousand stand of arms, ammunition, and 200 horses, besides the arms of the Militia.

Arising out of the arrangements made for the capitulation, the longstanding friction between Lord George Murray on the one hand and the Duke of Perth and Murray of Broughton on the other now became acute. Lord George resigned his appointment of Lieut.-General, but resumed it at the expressed wish of the army generally; and the Duke of Perth, who had been appointed Lieut.-General in his place, resigned it and resumed command of his Regiment.

The importance of this friction can scarcely be overrated. It led to trouble throughout the campaign, as the Prince generally supported Lord George's rivals.

¹ A Council of War was held at Carlisle on 18 November, and great diversities of opinion were expressed. Neither help from France nor a general Jacobite rising in England had shown signs of materialising, and some of the members advocated an immediate return to Scotland, there to stand on the defensive until reinforcements arrived. Others were in favour of holding Carlisle and waiting to be attacked; another proposal was to attack Wade at Newcastle before Cumberland could join him. The Prince himself was in favour of an immediate advance through Lancashire. Lord George Murray, while not recommending the advance, said that he and the army—small though it was—would follow him. It was decided therefore to move at once.

Meanwhile the success of the Prince at Carlisle had alarmed the Government, and Sir John Ligonier was sent with nine regular battalions, two regiments of Dragoons, and his own regiment of Cavalry, to assemble an army of 10,000 men in Staffordshire. He left London on 21 November, and by 1 December this army, of which the Duke of Cumberland had been appointed Commander, was quartered at Lichfield, Coventry, and Stafford. Chester was put in a state of defence, a regiment of 700 men was raised at Liverpool, and a third army was ordered to be raised for the immediate protection of London.

With these formidable forces on his left flank the Prince's rear was distinctly threatened. The Glasgow, Paisley, and Lothian Militia had been mobilised, and there were at least two regular Infantry battalions and two Cavalry regiments at Stirling under General Handasyde, ready to stop him recrossing the Forth in case he decided to retire.

Thirty of my Lord Pitsligo's Horse will part tomorrow at break of day, to go on the road of Newcastle by Brampton, to have an account of the Enemy's motions; they'll receive further instructions tomorrow morning.¹

19-20 November, 1745.

Butcherby.

Parole. Charles and London.

Athole's Brigade, Ogilvy's, Glenbucket's, Roy Stewart's, and Perth's Regiments will march tomorrow at break of day, arms and baggage, with my Lord George, under whose commands they are.²

The Artillery marches tomorrow likewise and will receive their orders from my Lord George.

The Colonels and Officers of those Regiments are to have their heavy Baggage in the Castle of Carlisle, and absolutely forbid to suffer any woman to follow.

20 November. Regiment rested at Butcherby.

A draught made of 6 Officers, 50 men, and 2 serjeants to the castle of Carlisle.

21 November. Marched to Clifton. Prince's Quarters at Penrith.

22 November. From Clifton to Kendal.²³ November, 1745.

22-23 November, 1745.

Parole. Edward and Penrith.

The troops rest here tomorrow³ except the Life Guards, Lord George

¹ Wade had actually left Newcastle on 16 November; when he reached Hexham the next day he heard of the surrender of Carlisle. After a delay of three days, on account of the weather, he returned to Newcastle.

The strength of the Prince's army at this time, after allowing for casualties and desertion, was probably not more than 4,500 men.

⁸ The army, from this date onwards, frequently marched in two divisions, one being a day ahead of the other. A garrison of 200 men was left in Carlisle, under the command of one Hamilton.

³ After the capture of Carlisle the Prince's army numbered only about 4,500 men. It was reorganised in two divisions, one consisting of the six Lowland regiments and the Life Guards under Lord Elcho, the other consisted of the "Clan" units and the remainder of the Cavalry. The army troops consisted of the Duke of Perth's regiment and the Artillery. The first division, which was commanded by Lord George Murray, reached Penrith on 21, and was followed the next day by the second division, commanded by the Prince. The cavalry advanced to Kendal on 22 November, and were generally a march ahead of the infantry.

Murray's and [Menzie's] Shian's Regiments, that march upon a Command.

It's recommended to all the Officers to be lodged with their men, and to be much with them, and to take care they commit no abuses, and pay everything in their Quarters, or elsewhere.

An Officer of each Battalion to be at Lord George's Quarters tomorrow by 10 o'clock.

Lord Nairn's Battalion furnishes the Guard of 150 men.

23-24 [Sunday] November, 1745.

[Kendal.]

Parole. Charles and York.

The main body of the Army rests here tomorrow at Kendal, and marches straight for Lancaster on Monday.

The 4 Battalions of Perth, Gordon, Ogilvy, and Roy Stewart form the Rear Guard, and the cannon to be betwixt the main body and rear. If the cannon come up in time, both them and the Rear Guard are to march on Monday, but no further than Burton for conveniency of quartering.

The Commanding Officers of each Battalion to be at H.R.H.'s Quarters tomorrow morning by nine.

Glenbucket relieves H.R.H.'s Guard tomorrow at midday with 100 men.

Orders against all women but soldiers wives; and horses only allowed to Field Officers and Staff Officers, or such whom their Colonel can declare upon honour cannot march on foot.

24 [Sunday]-25 November, 1745.

[Kendal.]

Parole. John and Lancaster.

Order for march tomorrow.

Kenmure's Troop¹ of Life Guards has the van. Kilmarnock's² after. Cluny

From the wording of the order for 22 November it is evident that the first division advanced to Kendal on that day. The Prince halted at Penrith until the retirement of Wade towards Newcastle was confirmed.

¹ John Gordon, titular eighth Viscount Kenmure, was the second son of the sixth Viscount, who was executed and attainted for the part he took in '15. He received a letter from the Prince dated 7 October, 1745, calling him out, and he immediately complied and promised his support. On his reaching home his wife dissuaded him from further action, and he wrote to the Lord Justice General apologising for having gone to Holyrood. He appears, however, to have sent a few men to join the Prince, and these were sometimes called Kenmure's troop of Life Guards. Being very few in number, they were combined with Lord Kilmarnock's Horse Grenadiers and some Perthshire Cavalry, raised by Lord Strathallan. [*The Scots Peerage* V. 131.]

² William Boyd, fourth Earl of Kilmarnock, was, in his youth, a convinced Hanoverian. After Prestonpans, however, he decided to throw in his lot with the

the Van of the foot.

Glengarry.	Lochiel.
Clanranald.	Glenbucket, the Rear of the Foot.
Keppoch and Glenkarnock.	Pitsligo's Horse.
Appin.	The Hussars. ¹

These Corps are to be ready tomorrow at break of day, H.R.H. is to be at their head.²

Clanranald's Regiment has the Royal Standard.

The Baggage marches between Pitsligo's Horse and the Hussars which are to have the Rear of all with an Officer of each Regiment.

Perth's Regiment, Ogilvy's, and Roy Stewart's are to make the rear-guard of the Artillery, and to quarter tomorrow night at Burton, half way from Kendal to Lancaster.

If the Artillery marches this night, Perth's Regiment is to furnish a fresh Detachment of 100 men and two Captains to escort it.

The Corps or Regiments which do not find themselves ready to take Their rank, according to the order of march, are to stay in the rear, not to interrupt the march of those that are in readiness.

25 November, 1745. The Regiment marched to Burton—8 miles; the Prince's quarters at Lancaster.

26. To Garstang—18 miles. Headquarters at Preston.

27. To Preston—10 miles.

Order of 27 to 28 November.³

[Preston.]

Parole. Henry and Preston.

Prince, who made him a Privy Councillor, Colonel of the Horse Guards, and subsequently a General. He was taken prisoner at Culloden and tried for high treason. He pleaded guilty and was executed on 18 August, 1746. [See "D.N.B."]

¹ The Hussars, here referred to for the first time, were a Troop of Light Cavalry, about 70 strong, commanded by Major Bagget, an Irish officer, formerly in the French service.

² The Prince and his Division reached Lancaster on the 25th.

³ With the exception of Mr. Townley, a Catholic gentleman who had been in the French service, and two or three others, the Prince received practically no accessions to his strength on the march to Preston. At a Council of War held there he told the Highland Chiefs he expected English adherents at Manchester, and persuaded them to continue their march, which they were loth to do. Lord George Murray suggested marching with his Division to Liverpool, rejoining the other at Macclesfield, but this proposal was overruled.

The Life Guards, Ogilvy's, and Roy Stewart's Regiments will decamp tomorrow, at six in the morning, and will follow for about 8 miles the road from Preston to Wigan; will quit that Road and strike to the left to go to Leigh, where they'll quarter; they are to send some intelligent Officer before to mark their Quarters, and assure provisions; they'll part from thence the next day early to join H.R.H. at Manchester. The Life Guards to go to Sir [] House about a mile further than Leigh, and will join the next day at Manchester; they are to take Guides from Preston. Mr. Vaughan¹ will go with my Lord Elcho.

28 November. The Regiment marched to Leigh.

29 to Manchester.

30 November-1 December [Sunday], 1745.² [Manchester.]
Parole. St. Andrew and Scotland.

The Army decamps tomorrow from Manchester, at break of day.

The Hussars have the Van.

The Life Guards.

Appin's.

Lochiel's.

Cluny, the Royal Standard.

Glenbucket.

Glengarry.

Clanranald.

Keppoch and Glenkarnoch.

Athole's Brigade.

Perth. The Artillery and Baggage.

Ogilvy's, Roy Stewart's, Pitsligo's Horse.

¹ Mr. William Vaughan, a Welsh Jacobite. He joined the Prince at Preston. His brother Richard was in Perth's regiment. They were both excluded from the amnesty of 1747, and entered the Spanish Army.

² At Manchester the Prince was received with acclamation. A body of 180 recruits was raised in the city by one Serjeant Dickson, who had obtained leave to go on ahead of the army as a recruiting serjeant. These men are later described as the "Manchester" regiment, the command of which was given to Mr. Townley, who was given the rank of Colonel. A few others joined while the Prince was in Manchester, but its strength never exceeded 300 men, and they represented all the English who openly declared for the Prince.

An Officer of each Regiment is to keep in the rear with Pitsligo's Horse, and will not quit them until they come to their Quarters.

Kilmarnock's Horse will part early from their quarters and follow the road they are in to Didsbury Ford, where they pass the river Mersey¹; from that Ford they'll follow the road at least to Altrincham. If they join the Column there or wherever it be, they'll march between the Hussars and the Life Guards.

An Officer and 12 men of H.R.H.'s Guard will escort the Treasure.

A Colonel with 100 men will mount H.R.H.'s Guard for the future.

The Colonels are to prevent [*i.e.* warn] their Majors that each Regiment is to furnish a certain number of men proportional, to mount out-guards for their own surety. If it does not rain this night the Army will pass by the Fords of the river Mersey: H.R.H. orders, notwithstanding, that the Bridge of Crossford may be repaired for the good of the Country and that General Wade may pass more diligently with his Army.

1 [Sunday]-2 December, 1745. [Macclesfield.]

Parole. James and Newcastle.

The Army decamps tomorrow at break of day from Macclesfield.²

¹ The English authorities, being uncertain as to the Prince's intentions, and thinking he might try to march by Chester into Wales, destroyed the bridges over the Mersey. The two Divisions accordingly left Manchester separately; the first, under the Prince, went by Stockport, and had to wade the river; the second went by Knutsford and crossed by a temporarily-constructed bridge. The Cavalry and Artillery crossed at Chedleford. The whole joined up in the evening at Macclesfield.

² At Macclesfield the Prince learnt of the advance of the Duke of Cumberland with Ligonier's army, consisting of 5 Cavalry and 15 Infantry regiments, with 30 guns, and of their being quartered at Coventry, Lichfield, and Stafford. Lord George Murray moved out towards Congleton, on the direct road to Lichfield, thus leading the Duke to imagine that the Prince's army intended to offer battle in that neighbourhood. The English army hastily concentrated about Lichfield, and left the road to Derby open to the Prince. Cavalry patrols picked up a few prisoners, including a notorious spy, Weir, who, thanks to the misguided clemency of the Prince, was not shot. After his successful feint, Lord George Murray turned off to Leek, thence on to Ashbourne; the main body effected a junction with him there on 3 December.

The movements of the Force are a little hard to follow from the Order Book. Having reached Macclesfield on 1 December, it was decided to go on to Derby. Lord George's Division marched on 2 December to Congleton, as stated above, halted the night there, and then marched on the 3rd by Leek to Ashbourne. Meanwhile, the Prince and his Division stayed at Macclesfield on 2 December and marched on the 3rd to Leek, and thence after a short rest made a night march to Ashbourne, where he joined Lord George.

The Hussars have the Van.

Lord Ogilvy's the Van of the foot.

Roy Stewart's, Glenbucket's, Perth's, Athole's Brigade, Lochiel, Cluny, Glengarry, Clanranald, Keppoch, Appin, Kilmarnock's Horse in the Rear.

The Artillery, Swedish Canon, with 2 Carts of powder and ball between Perth's Regiment and the Athole Brigade.

Athole's Brigade the Royal Standard.

The Colonels are to recommend to their Officers that the Soldiers are to provide bread and cheese for two days, not knowing but we may be in the Enemy's presence tomorrow. The Officers will take care that the arms may be in good order. The baggage with the rest of the Artillery in the Rear.

2 December. Rested at Macclesfield.

2-3 December, 1745.

Macclesfield.

Parole. Charles and London.

The Army decamps tomorrow, at the break of day, from Macclesfield. A Field Officer with 50 horse of Pitsligo's have the Van Guard.

Ogilvy's, Roy Stewart's, Perth's.

The Six Swedish pieces, with powder and ball necessary for them, follows.

Lochiel, Cluny, Glengarry, Clanranald, Keppoch.

The rest of the Artillery and all the waggons and baggage-horses of the Army. Appin and Glenbucket in the rear. The rest of Pitsligo's Horse in the rear of all.

A Serjeant of each Regiment and an Officer of the Artillery are to be every night at H.R.H.'s Quarters to carry orders to their respective Corps in case of necessity.

Glengarry has the Royal Standard.

An Officer and 12 men of H.R.H.'s Guard to escort the Treasure.

An Officer of each Regmt. to keep in the rear with the horse, to bring up the stragglers.

4 December, 1745. Leek.

Parole. Henry and Newcastle.

The Army decamps at 12 this night from Leek.

The Artillery and baggage are all to be ready at the same hour.

A Field Officer and 50 of Pitsligo's Horse to be in the Van of all.

Cluny the Van of the Foot—Glengarry, Clanranald, Keppoch, Appin,

The Order Book occasionally appears to include Army Orders with Divisional ones, and the entries for 2 and 2/3 December probably mean that Ogilvy's Regiment did not form part of Lord George's column, but remained at Macclesfield on the 2nd.

Lochiel, and Glenbucket in the Rear.

All the Artillery and baggage of all kind after this column; it being absolutely forbidden that any baggage horse should mix with the troops.

Roy Stewart's, Perth's, and Ogilvy's, in the rear of the Artillery and baggage; the rest of Pitsligo's Horse bring up the rear.

A Serjeant of each Regiment and an Officer of the Artillery, as likewise an Ordinance of each Troop of Horse, are to be every night at H.R.H.'s Quarters to wait for the Orders that may be sent to their respective Corps.

An Officer and 12 of H.R.H.'s Guard to escort the Treasure.

Clanranald has the Royal Standard.

The Officers are to be very vigilant this night, and they are to visit their posts and their Soldiers' quarters, that they may not sleep but keep themselves in readiness at the least hour's alarm.¹

Manchester's Regiment² will follow direct the baggage.

4-5 December, 1745.

Derby.³

Parole. James and London.

The Army to be in readiness tomorrow forenoon, when the pipes⁴ play, which is to be the signal of an immediate march; but the pipes are not to play until there be a special order.

Athole's Brigade has the Van of the Foot, the 3rd Battalion of which is to carry the Royal Standard, Ogilvy next to Athole, Perth, Roy Stewart, Glenbucket, Manchester, Glengarry, Clanranald, Keppoch, Appin, Lochiel, Cluny the rear of the whole Foot. The Life Guards the Van of the Horse, and

¹ This sentence is rather obscure. The MSS. Read "houris allarm." It may mean that each unit must be ready to fall in at a rendezvous at an hour's notice.

² This unit consisted of some 300 men recruited in Manchester. Most of them were raised by a man Dickson, who had been taken prisoner at Preston and then joined the Prince's army. The command was given to Francis Townley, formerly in the French army, who had joined a few days before, with the intention of raising an English regiment.

It is a remarkable commentary on the method of raising armies in past times that a unit composed, as the Chevalier de Johnstone shows, of "substantial farmers and common men," should have been regarded as part of a fighting force within a few days of its creation.

Its career was a short one, as it was left behind at Carlisle on the return march, and fell into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland on 28 December.

The fact, too, that this was the only English unit raised to help the Prince goes far to account for the ultimate failure of this gallant but ill-advised attempt.

³ The main body arrived in Derby at 3 p.m.

⁴ Besides his own pipers, the Prince could show quite a formidable number of pipers from the "Clan" regiments—over a hundred.

to be before the Athole Brigade. Hussars on the skirts of the Army. Kilmarnock's in Cluny's rear. Pitsligo's the rear of the whole Army

The whole Artillery and ammunition in Glenbucket's rear.

The baggage to be altogether, either in front or rear,¹ as they shall receive Orders before marching.

All the Officers in each Regiment to keep their respective ranks and to contain their men accordingly.

5-6 December, 1745.

Derby.

Parole. John and Bristol.

The Army decamps tomorrow at break of day.²

The Life Guards the van. Kilmarnock's next.

Athole's Brigade the van of the Foot and has the Royal Standard. Perth's, Ogilvy's, Roy Stewart's, Glenbucket's, and Manchester Regiment, the Artillery and baggage of all kinds, as well carts as baggage horses are to march after Manchester Regiment, viz. the 6 English Cannon in the van and the 6 Swedish pieces with powder and ball necessary in the rear of all the baggage.

¹ This is the first indication of the possibility of retirement, and must have been recognised as such by the army generally. The Council of War actually decided on the retirement on 5 December.

² A fateful Council of War was held at Derby on 5 December. The Prince was in favour of advance, but Lord George Murray proposed an immediate retreat. He pointed out once again that neither France nor the English Jacobite party had risen to the occasion, that Cumberland was expected that night at Stafford with 7,000 men, that Wade was advancing with 10,000 men and was only a couple of marches off, at Ferrybridge, and that the third army outside London would bring up the forces against the Prince to at least 30,000 men, without counting the County militias. The only chance of saving the situation was to retreat at once. The Prince and the Duke of Perth were still opposed to this view, and suggested retiring to Wales as an alternative. But the whole of the remainder of the Council supported Lord George Murray, and the Prince assented reluctantly, and orders were issued at once. Lord George offered to command the rear himself, but made it a condition that he was not hampered by guns or transport.

When the retreat began, few of the Officers and none of the men knew what was intended. They were led indeed to believe that they were going into action at once against Wade. When they found out that they were retreating there was an outburst of indignation, and they were only pacified by being told they were falling back on reinforcements from Scotland, who were in danger of being cut off by Wade.

On this date Wade was at Wetherby, and Cumberland at Lichfield; on 6 December the latter was at Coventry. On the 7th Wade's Cavalry had reached Doncaster.

Glengarry in the van of the Clans and follows the Artillery; Clanranald, Keppoch, Appin, Lochiel; Cluny the rear of the whole Foot.

Pitsligo's Horse in the rear of the Foot.

The Hussars in the rear of them, which will be disposed of as H.R.H. thinks proper.¹

An Officer of each Regiment in the rear with Pitsligo's Horse to bring up their stragglers. The Officers are to march at the head of their Companies to keep their troops always in order, in case they may meet the Enemy.

6-7 December, 1745.

Ashbourne.

Parole. Richard and Manchester.

The Army decamps tomorrow at 6 in the morning from Ashburnham.² The Life Guards the van.

Athole Brigade the van of the Foot and has the Royal Standard. Perth's, Ogilvy's, Roy Stewart's, Glenbucket's, and Manchester's form the 1st Division.

The Artillery and baggage of all kinds depart at 4 in the morning, and marches in the same order they were in today.

Clanranald the van of the 2nd Division; Keppoch, Appin, Lochiel, Cluny, and Glengarry, who has the rear of the 2nd Division; Kilmarnock's Horse in the rear of Glengarry's Regiment. The Hussars in the rear of all, to be disposed of as my Lord George shall think proper. An Officer of each Regiment in the rear with Kilmarnock's Horse.

Pitsligo's Horse will escort the Quartermasters.

A Captain, a Lieut., and 50 men of Glengarry's Regiment to mount guard this night at the end of the street that leads to Derby. The Lieutenant and 20 men of this Detachment will mount at the Turnpike House, and will keep 2 Sentries out and the Gate shut. The Officer is advertised that there are two Detachments of Horse to go out by that gate to patrol. A Captain and 50 men of Glenbucket's will mount guard this night at the Market place. Perth's Regiment will furnish 2 Captains and 100 men to guard the artillery. An Officer and 12 of the Life Guards of Lord Elcho's Troop will patrol about a mile out of town on the road of Derby, and will be relieved by an Officer and 12 of Kenmure's Troop, so that the Patrol may continue till break of day.

An Officer and 12 of Kilmarnock's patrol on the road leading to Burton in the same manner as the Guards; this road separates from that of Derby at the turnpike, and strikes to the right hand.

¹ To deceive the enemy the Hussars were sent some miles along the road toward them while the Army retired to Ashbourne.

² Ashbourne.

Saturday, 7 December. The Regiment marched from Ashbourne by Leek to Macclesfield.¹

8 [Sunday] December. Marched to Stockport.

9. To Manchester.²

9-10 December, 1745.

Manchester.

Parole. St. Taffy and Wales.

The Army sojourns at Manchester tomorrow;³ two Captains, 2 Lieuts., and 100 men of Appin's Regiment will mount Guard this night at the Town house. A Captain and Lieut. and 50 men of Cluny's Regiment will mount Guard this night at Scotland bridge at Millgate. A Captain, 2 Lieuts., and 50 men of Glenbucket's on Salford bridge, between the two towns. A Captain, a

¹ Owing to lack of accommodation at Leek, Ogilvy's regiment, together with Roy Stewart's and part of the Cavalry, went straight on to Macclesfield that day. The whole force entered Manchester together.

² The Prince's reception on his return to Manchester was the reserve of cordial. The retreat of the army, and the news of Cumberland's movements in pursuit of them, encouraged some of the inhabitants to riot and threaten those who were known to have Jacobite leanings. At one time it was thought resistance would be offered to the entry of the army, but this did not eventuate. The Prince had intended to remain at Manchester for a day, but, on the advice of Lord George Murray, it was decided to push on the next morning.

³ For two days after the retirement from Derby the Prince had left a party in possession of Swarkstone bridge, and this deceived Cumberland, who was unaware of his departure. As soon as he discovered what had happened the Duke started off with a mounted force in pursuit, hoping to stop and hold the Prince's army until the rest of his force could come up. He marched to Uttoxeter and Cheadle; but, owing to the state of the roads, did not reach Macclesfield until the night of 10 December, on which day the Prince had left Manchester. He at once sent on troops to keep in touch with them and pick up stragglers.

Wade meanwhile, having entered Yorkshire, tried to catch the Prince's army, but by the time he reached Wakefield the Prince had left Wigan, so he gave up the attempt and fell back on Newcastle.

Lieut., and 50 of Glengarry's men, besides the Guard that Perth's Regiment furnishes on the Artillery. Athole's Brigade will relieve H.R.H.'s Guard tomorrow between 10 and 11 of the forenoon by a Field Officer, four Captains, 4 Lieuts., and 200 men.

Lochiel will relieve at the same hour Appin's Guard at the Town house. Cluny will relieve his own Guard.

Appin's Guard, which is the main Guard, are to take the Prisoners,¹ and to have special care that they should not escape, it being of the greatest consequence. All the Guards and posts are to patrol very exactly about their posts, every half-hour, and oblige their Sentries to cry everyone to another every half quarter of an hour, that all goes well, or to advertise if any mob or noise be near them.

An Officer and twelve of the Life Guards are to patrol until the break of day, about a mile out of Town on the road to Rochdale, going by Scotland Bridge, where there is a post of Cluny's regiment. They can take, if they think proper, each of them a man of this post behind them. The Life Guards are to relieve one another as usual.

An Officer and 15 of Pitsligo's Horse are to patrol in the town and towards the Artillery park, on the road that leads to Crossfoord bridge. An Officer and 15 of Kilmarnock's Horse will patrol likeways on the Road that leads to Stockport, and on the road they are in themselves.

10 December, 1745. The Regiment marched to Leigh.

11 December. Marched to Chorley.²

12. To Preston.

12-13 December, 1745.

Preston.

Parole. Edward and Durham.

The Army marches tomorrow morning precisely at break of day, but the

¹ These included the spy Weir. In spite of repeated requests that this man be hanged the Prince refused his consent. He was, later, responsible for the death of many Jacobites.

² On 11 December the Duke of Perth was sent on ahead with a Cavalry escort to call up reinforcements from Scotland. He was stopped at Shap by enemy Cavalry, so that even at this time the Prince's retreat was seriously threatened. As Cumberland had his own and Wade's Cavalry at his disposal—twelve regiments—it is extraordinary how the little force even got back to Scotland from a position which ought to have been fatal to it.

Artillery, with Colonel John Roy Stewart's before it and Lord Ogilvy's behind it, exactly at 4 of the clock, with candle or flambeau light.

The Duke of Perth's Regiment goes along with the Artillery, that so many may be with each carriage; the remainder of that Regiment to be immediately in the front and rear of the Artillery. Glenbucket has the van of the line of Foot and Cluny the rear. Pitligo's Horse have the van of the Foot, and Lord Elcho's Life Guards the rear of all. Clanranald has the Royal Standard, Glenbucket the Prisoners, whom he must receive from the Guard in the morning as the march begins. Twenty-five of Lord Elcho's Life Guards are to patrol betwixt the Bridge and the town on one side, and the Wigan road on the other.

Glenbucket mounts a Guard of 100 men, a Field Officer, two Captains and four Subalterns in the House and offices H.R.H. was lodged in when last in Town.

In case of an alarm some of the Guard of that House are to fire their pieces, and one Cannon, charged with powder alone, always to be ready to fire in that event. The Pipes are to play when hearing the Cannon and the place of Rendezvous is the field betwixt and the Bridge, upon a certainty of any Enemy's approach.¹

Kilmarnock's Horse upon the Wings of the Army on their march. Every Colonel to have a Guard of a man at least out of each Company of his Regiment to advertise the Regiment in case of any sudden alarm. If any one stays after the Rear-Guard it is at their own peril, as they are not to be waited on.

¹ When Wade reached Wakefield on 10 December and found he could not catch the Prince's army with a mixed force he sent his Cavalry, under General Oglethorpe, to join Cumberland. Oglethorpe reached Preston the day the Highland army left it, having marched, over snow-covered roads, a hundred miles in three days. At Preston he met a detachment of Kingston's Horse and the Georgia Rangers, and might easily have made things very unpleasant for the Prince's rear-guard. As it was, he received an order from Cumberland, based on a false rumour of a French movement, to stand fast; and the Prince thus gained a whole day's march ahead of his pursuers. The Prince must have known that the English Cavalry was getting dangerously close to him.

Wade then retired to Newcastle, arriving there on 14 December.

13-14 December, 1745.¹

Lancaster.

Parole. Edward and Lancaster.

The army sojourns here² tomorrow. Each Regiment of foot is to mount a Guard of a man of each Company at the Colonel's Quarters, or more, if required.

Roy Stewart's, Keppoch's, and Ogilvy's, which are lodged at the extremity of the town on the road of Preston, are to assemble their 25 men each at the barn near the House called the White Cross, at the very extremity of the street where they are to mount their Guard and sustain in case of necessity the patrols of Horse by that side of ye Town.

My Lord Pitsligo's Horse will patrol with an Officer and 12 men until 8 in the morning, on the road of Preston about ½ a mile from town.

An Officer and 6 of Kenmure's Guards are to patrol likewise, till the same hour on the road to Hornby.

Athole's Brigade relieves H.R.H.'s Guard tomorrow.

The Regiments will be advertised the orders tomorrow for those that are to mount Guard and where.

14-15 [Sunday] December.

Lancaster.

Parole. Edward and Northumberland.

The Army decamps tomorrow at break of day from Lancaster. Lord Pitsligo's Horse to assemble at 6 in the morning at the Market place and to escort the Quartermasters.

Lord Kilmarnock's Horse have the van of the Army. Elphinston's Troop of Life Guards to wait for H.R.H. and to assemble before his Quarters at break of day. Athole's Brigade has the van of the foot. Glengarry the van of the Clans. Clanranald follows, Keppoch after and has the Royal Standard, Lochiel, Appin, Cluny the rear of the clans. Roy Stewart follows Cluny, Ogilvy's the rear of all the Foot. Lord Elcho's Life Guards the rear of all, and are to assemble at break of day at the extremity of the street that leads to

¹ The Prince appears to have made up his mind to make a stand here; and here Lord George, O'Sullivan the Q.M.G., and Lochiel were ordered to select a suitable site. This they did, but the danger of Wade cutting across to Penrith before he could reach it decided the Prince to continue the march.

Cumberland reached Macclesfield on the 10th, and Preston on the 13th. Here Oglethorpe's Cavalry joined him. He was at Wigan on the 14th, Lancaster on the 16th, and Kendal on the 17th.

² Lord George Murray, in a letter to the Prince dated 6 January, 1746, in which he deals with certain features of the English campaign and the necessity for a true Council of War, points to the fearful risks run by the delay of a day at Lancaster, which would never have been permitted by such a Council.

Preston, where they will wait, as well as Ogilvy's and Roy Stewart's Regiment until my Lord George orders them to depart.

The Colonels are to give orders to their respective Regiments that their sick and baggage may part before-day. The Officers are to see this night and provide carriages for their sick. The Officers are also to advertise that, if their baggage be not in the van of all, that it will be left altogether in the rear, exposed to the Enemy.

As we expect to meet the Enemy tomorrow,¹ the Officers as well as the private men that are in a condition to act against them are to be on foot and in their posts, and to send their horses to the front as well as all the Women and Children.² Those that are not in a condition to act against the Enemy may stay on horseback, but must go to the van of the Army and not stay with their Regiments.

Lord Kilmarnock's [escorts] the prisoners on horseback. Athole's Brigade mounts H.R.H.'s Guard and is charged with the prisoners. Glengarry's, Clanranald's, Keppoch's, Appin's, and Lochiel's are to prepare 50 men each to mount Guard at their arrival.

Kilmarnock's Horse is to patrol with an Officer and 20 men on the road that leads to Preston; the post of Roy Stewart's and Ogilvy's Regiments, that is at the extremity of the street that goes to Preston, will advance an Officer and 20 men towards the Cross that is near the Windmill, each time that the Horse goes on to patrol.

This Patrol is to begin at 10 a'clock and continue till the Break of Day.

15 [Sunday]-16 December.

Kendal.

Parole. Henry and Peterhead.

The Army decamps tomorrow at six in the morning from Kendal³. Lord Kilmarnock's Horse at the same hour before H.R.Hs.' Quarters, to escort the Quartermasters.

Two Officers and 24 of Lord Pitsligo's Horse are to be in the rear with Lord George, the rest of Pitsligo's Horse are to march for the Quarters with Kilmarnock. The Life Guards, as well Lord Elcho's as Elphinston's, to be in the van of the Army. The Detachment of Lord Pitsligo's that is to be in the

¹ The army had scarcely left the town when some of Cumberland's and Wade's Cavalry entered it. They followed up the retirement at a respectful distance most of the way to Kendal.

² Apparently the order regarding women published on 19/20 November was not closely observed.

³ The Chevalier de Johnstone says that at Kendal they heard that they had now got ahead of Wade, and that the line of retreat to Scotland was no longer in danger of being cut off. (2nd edition, 1821, p. 84.)

rear is to assemble at 7 in the morning betwixt the Inn called the Cock and Dolphin and the bridge over against it that leads on the road to Lancaster, where they'll wait Glengarry's Regiment that has the rear of the Foot, until all the Army and baggage be out of town, where they will receive Lord George's orders. Athole's Brigade has the van of the Foot, Clanranald the van of the Clans, and Glengarry the rear. Lochiel has the Royal Standard.

Perth's, Ogilvy's, Glenbucket's, Roy Stewart's and Manchester Regiments are to escort the Artillery and to part at 5 in the morning.

They are to march by Orton; there will be particular orders given for the march of the Artillery.¹

The Officers are to take precautions for their sick, which are to part with and follow the Artillery, as well as all the heavy baggage, viz. carriages. The baggage horses are to part before the Column of the Army and go the same Road. An Officer and 12 men of H.R.H.'s Guard to escort the Treasure. Athole's Brigade mounts H.R.H.'s Guard, and is charged with the Prisoners. Keppoch's Regiment mounts the main Guard in the Market place.

A Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men of Glengarry's Regiment on the bridge that leads towards Penrith. Clanranald's Regiment the same number on the Artillery Park. Appin's Regiment the like number at the Cock and Dolphin; Lochiel's Regiment the same number in their Quarters; all these Guards and posts are to be very exact in their Patrols.

These same Regiments will be ready tomorrow night to mount the like Guards.

Lord Pitsligo's Horse are to patrol till the break of day with an Officer and 30 men on the road that leads to Lancaster. The Body of the Detachment are to be betwixt the Bridge and the Inn called the Cock and Dolphin, where half of them may unbridle and refresh the horses, whilst ten of them will patrol behind the bridge on that same road, unto the second great barn or house on the left hand.

The Officers are to see that their men be provided with a day's Provision.²

¹ This refers to the substitution of the wheeled carts for waggons. As carts could not be obtained in sufficient numbers, Lord George's fears regarding the difficulty of negotiating the Shap were realised, and the Artillery only succeeded in doing 4 miles and had to halt for the night.

² This order was not carried out by some units, with the result that many men returned to the town and the march was delayed.

17-18 December, 1745.¹

Penrith.

Parole. James and Carlisle.

The Army sojourns here tomorrow. Clanranald's Regiment will furnish this night a Captain and 50 men on Guard at Squire Geiskil's House. Lord Ogilvy the like number on the Artillery Park, where there is a Guard Room and fire prepared.

Appin, a Captain and 50 men on the main Guard, in the Town Guard House near the Cross.

Keppoch mounts H.R.H. Guard tomorrow. Roy Stewart will relieve Clanranald's post. Glengarry will relieve the main Guard. Lochiel's Regiment will relieve the Artillery Guard.

An Officer and six of the Hussars will patrol till break of day on the Road to Newcastle. The whole Regiment of Hussars will be ready to march, arms and baggage, at six in the morning; they'll send out that hour to receive the Duke of Perth's orders.

¹ There are no orders for the 16/17 December, though the army reached Shap on the morning of the 16th. Lord George had enormous trouble with his ammunition waggons, and had to spend the night of the 16th only four miles out of Kendal. Many of the waggons were incapable of repair and it was found necessary to get the rear-guard to carry 200 cannon balls. They reached Shap on the evening of the 17th, and Penrith the same night. On the morning of the 18th, on leaving Shap, Lord George observed small parties of English Cavalry behind his rear-guard. At mid-day a force of about 200 cavalry appeared in front of the rear-guard, and sounded trumpets and beat drums. Four companies of Roy Stewart's at once advanced towards them, and the Glengarry regiment followed. The enemy cavalry then withdrew.

Later in the day two prisoners were taken, and they reported that Cumberland, with 4,000 cavalry, was a mile off. Lord George hastily summoned reinforcements and waited, but none came, and he was left with about 1,000 of his own column, and Pitsligo's Horse and the Hussars—who retired as soon as they saw the enemy. On Clifton Moor a large body of English dragoons was drawn up, and about 500 dismounted men were in position at the foot of the moor in some ditches.

Meanwhile Lord George received information that the Prince was moving off to Carlisle, and that he was to hurry on to Penrith. His only course was to attack the dismounted dragoons, which he did with great effect. They were very roughly handled, with about 100 casualties, while of Lord George's column only Macdonald of Lochgarry and a dozen men were wounded. With the flight of these dragoons the action of Clifton Moor was over, and the column then continued its march to Penrith, and thence straight on to Carlisle, where it arrived on the morning of the 19th.

Orders from 19-20 December, 1745.¹

Carlisle.

Parole. Charles and France.

The Army is to march from Carlisle at six o'clock this afternoon. Twelve of my Lord Elcho's Troop to be in the van. Athole's Brigade the van of the Foot. Roy Stewart's, Ogilvy's, and Glenbucket's follow Athole's, Lochiel's the van of the Clans. Appin the rear.

Glengarry the Royal Standard.

Kilmarnock's Horse follows the Foot. The Hussars follow them. Pitsligo's follows the Hussars. The Life Guards the rear of all. Lochiel mounts H.R.H.'s Guard.

The other Regiments will keep a certain number of men ready to mount Guard accordingly as it shall be found necessary.

The Artillery marches betwixt Lochiel's and Glenbucket's Regiments, escorted by Perth's.

The sick of all the Army are to be left here at Carlisle, where great care shall be taken of them.²

21 December,³ marched, under Lord Geo. Murray's command, from Ecclefechan to Moffat. 16 miles.

¹ At Carlisle the Prince heard optimistic reports of the raising of Jacobite forces in the north. The French Government had, as far back as 24 October, promised to send reinforcements, and about 15 November Lord John Drummond (brother of the Duke of Perth), who commanded the Royal Scots in the French service, was sent off with that regiment, detachments from the French-Irish regiments and Fitzjames' Horse, with some arms and ammunition. Some of the transports were captured by English ships, but about 1,000 men reached Scotland.

² The decision of the Prince to leave a garrison in Carlisle is inexplicable, except as an instance of his optimism. He insisted, in spite of Lord George Murray's arguments, in abandoning to certain destruction 400 men, and at least six guns, in the hope that their presence in Carlisle would secure his re-entry into England when reinforced. The "Manchester" regiment and certain details were under the command of Townley, and John Hamilton was appointed Governor. On 28 December Cumberland's artillery opened fire, and on the 30th the place surrendered. The unhappy Townley was executed for his participation in the expedition.

³ The Army, after crossing the Esk, moved in two columns; one, under Lord George Murray, was sent by Ecclefechan, Moffat, and Hamilton, making a feint towards Edinburgh *en route*. The other, under the Prince, went via Dumfries—where there were old scores to settle in the matter of the stolen baggage—Drumlanrig, Leadhills, and Hamilton.

22 [Sunday]-23 December, 1745.¹

Moffat.

Parole. Drummond and Forth.

The Column rests here this day, and it is recommended to the Officers as well as Soldiers to attend Divine Service² at the Ringing of the Bell.

The march begins tomorrow precisely at break of day.

Lord Ogilvy the Van, Glenbucket next, the Athole Brigade next, Colonel Stewart the Rear, Lord Elcho's Life Guards that will be with the column, in the front of all.

The Baggage to be in the Rear of Coll. Stewart's Battalion, and the Gentlemen and Servants that have Clockbags³ in ye rear of all. It is recommended to the Officers to be very carefull of their men's marching in order, and that when, by reason of any bad step or defiles, that they are obliged to go out of their ranks, they must fall into them again as soon as possible. The Field Officers to go frequently from front to rear of their Battalions to cause their men keep order in marching, and not to mix with any other Regiment, and upon no account whatsoever to be allowed to go into houses upon the Road; and that all the men are to be advertised that if they should straggle or fall in the Rear they must do it at their hazard, for they will not be waited for, and the Country through which we pass is full of armed militia.⁴

The Majors of each Battalion are desired to be at Lord George Murray's Quarters at six at night and to receive any other Orders.

Lord George's Battalion is to relieve the Guard.

It is recommended to the Officers to advertise every private man to carry along with him a Day's provision.

23-24 December, 1745.

Douglas.

Parole. Ogilvy and Down.

That two sentries be always at the outside of the Guard house, that they may be ready to turn out the Guard in case of an alarm and the Rendezvous at the General's Quarters; but, still, ten men to be kept at the Guard Room and the Drum to beat.

¹ From 21 to 30 December the Government forces lay at Carlisle.

² In his diary Lord George Murray says : "Having episcopal ministers along with us we had services in different parts of the town where our men all attended. Our people were very regular that way and I remember at Derby the day we halted many of our Officers and people took the Sacrament."

³ *I.e.* Cloak-bag. A valise.

⁴ Small bodies of armed men, many under the command of parish ministers, went to Edinburgh to join the regular forces there. No opposition, however, was offered to either column on its march to Hamilton.

It is expected that the Order of march will be better observed than it was this day.

John Roy Stewart the Van, Ogilvy next, Glenbucket next, etc. To march precisely at break of day.

24-25 December, 1745.

[Hamilton.]

Parole. Elcho and Edinburgh.

The Column is to be ready to march at an Hour's warning when the Pipes play, which is supposed will not be before midday tomorrow. It is again and again recommended to the Officers to keep their posts in the march, which is the only way to make the men do the same.

The Athole Brigade has the front of the Foot, the other three Battalions follow in their course of rotation.

Lord Elcho's Life Guards marches in the front of all, the Baggage in the Rear, with the Servants and Clockbags as before.

It is recommended to the Officers to cause their men to pay whatever they call for, of Provisions or anything else.¹

25-25 December, 1745.²

Glasgow.

Parole. Henry and Hamilton.

The Officers of each Regiment will take particular Care of their respective Companys, and in case of an alarm³ they are ordered to assemble at the Cross. The Officers of the Guard will be careful to visit their Sentinells from time to time, and if anything occur at their respective posts the Officer of the said post will acquaint the Captain of the Main Guard therewith, that he may either acquaint Lord George, or act as he shall think proper, as the occasion requires.

The Majors, or Adjutants, of each Regiment will call at Lord George's Quarters about 9 a'clock tomorrow morning to see if there be any new Orders for them.

¹ It must be regretfully admitted that march discipline had deteriorated on the homeward march, and the men lifted everything they could lay hands on and find transport for. Desertion, too, became increasingly frequent as the army approached its home.

² The two columns effected a junction at Glasgow on 25 December.

³ The whole of the entries regarding Glasgow indicate the scarcely-veiled hostility of the town to the Prince and his army. It had, moreover, raised a Battalion to resist him; but second thoughts were best and there was no organized opposition. In September the Prince had levied £5,500 on the town, and he now demanded £15,000. Of this amount he only got £5,000 in cash and £500 in stores.

26-27 December, 1745.

Glasgow

Parole. Charles and Edinburgh.

Colonel Menzies mounts the main Guard with 60 men and 3 Officers.

Glenbucket furnishes 20 men and an Officer to each port.¹

The Officers of the respective Regiments are to take particular care of their men, and in case of an alarm they rendezvous at the Cross. The Officers at the ports are to acquaint the Captain of the main Guard with anything Extraordinary that may happen on the Ports, and the Captain of the Guard is to acquaint Lord George.

27-28 December, 1745.

Glasgow.

Parole. James and Glasgow.

The Army sojourns at Glasgow tomorrow.²

Appin's Regiment mounts H.R.H.'s Guard tomorrow with a Field Officer and 100 men.

Lochiel's Regiment will furnish a Captain, Lieut., and 60 men on main Guard of the Town. Glengarry's and Keppoch's Regiments will furnish each of them two Officers and 40 men; Clanranald's, Roy Stewart's, Ogilvy's, and Glenbucket's will furnish an Officer and 20 men each. These Detachments are to mount Guard on the ports or Gates³ of the Town, with an Officer and 20 men on each port, being eight of them, and will draw lots amongst themselves for the posts they are to mount at. Those posts will hinder any disorders from being committed in their neighbourhood and will give all succour to the Inhabitants that will require it of them against the Troops that may insult them.

H.R.H. forbids absolutely that any Officer or Private man should seize upon Horses or arms without a particular Order signed by Mr. Murray.⁴ In

¹ *I.e.* gate.

² During his stay in Glasgow the Prince's quarters were in the house of a merchant called Glassford, in the Trongate.

³ As late as 1773 the length of the city, from the Stable Green port, in the north, to the end of the Gorbals, in the south, was only 2,000 yards, while the breadth between the Gallowgate port and the West port was little more than half that distance. With a main guard at the Tolbooth, and eight small outlying pickets at the ports, the place was easily enough held.

⁴ John Murray, of Broughton, was one of the first and most remarkable of the Prince's supporters. He joined him at Kinloch Moidart on 16 August. He was one of the emissaries who were employed by the Jacobite "Association" in keeping up communication with the Chevalier and the Prince, and in negotiating with the French Government. When the Prince landed, Broughton tried to dissuade him from advancing at all, until the attitude of the chiefs was more cordial than it appeared to

case of an alarm the different posts are to advertise the main Guard.

Those Guards are to mount between 11 and 12 a'clock tomorrow.

28-29 [Sunday] December, 1745.

[Glasgow.]

Parole. Henry and Galloway.

The Army sojourns at Glasgow tomorrow.

Lochiel mounts H.R.H.'s Guard with a Field Officer and 100 men. He furnishes also 60 men with double Officers on the main Guard, and 20 men and an Officer at the West port, near H.R.H.'s Quarters. An Officer and 20 men at the Gallowgate where we came in from Hamilton; in all, 200 men.

Glengarry's Regiment will furnish 120 men with 6 Officers, an Officer and 20 of which will mount at each of the ports or posts following, vizt. at the Bridge, at the Townhead port, at the port by the Drygate, at the port or passage leading into the Green.

Each and every of these posts will advertise the main Guard in case of an alarm, and will hinder any disorder from being committed in their neighbourhood, and particularly that no body should seize on the Forage, that comes in for the use of the Army, nor on the Horses that bring it; that each Post should send 2 men to escort the Forage to the Fish market where the Storehouse¹ is.

H.R.H. forbids absolutely that any Officer or private man should seize upon Horses or Arms without a particular Order signed by Mr. Murray.

The Guards to be relieved at 11 a'clock.

An Officer and 6 Hussars are to patrol this night within a mile of Hamilton, to know what passes in those parts, or if they can learn any account of the Enemy.

The Majors of each Regiment are to assemble tomorrow at 10 a'clock at

be at the time. The Prince made him his Secretary, with the charge of a general superintendence of the army—a post which brought him up against Lord George Murray. Although he turned out to be a traitor, the Prince had the firmest belief in him. One of his duties was charge of the Commissariat, which he held until March 1746, when he fell ill and was succeeded by John Hay, of Rostalrig. He was captured after Culloden, but turned informer at the trial of the Jacobite leaders.

¹ On arriving in Glasgow, 12,000 shirts, 6,000 coats and waistcoats, and 6,000 pair of hose were requisitioned from the town. These appear to have been stored in the Fish market in King Street. The army was in a pitiable state from want of clothing. When called upon to provide these stores the Council of the town raised difficulties. The Provost was hirpself fined £500 for his behaviour, and also for having subscribed to the fund for raising the Glasgow regiment against the Prince during his absence in England.

H.R.H.'s Quarter, to receive Orders. The Colonel, Lieut.-Col., and Major of the Regiment that mounts H.R.H.'s Guard are to visit the posts the night they are on guard, at different hours. Appin's Regiment visits them this night. The Guards are to assemble before H.R.H.'s Quarters where they'll find a Soldier of each post to conduct the Guards to their posts.

The Regiments that have furnished Guards this day are to advertise the Officers that mount Guards to send a soldier to H.R.H.'s Quarters at 10 in the morning, to conduct the Guards that are to relieve them.

Thirty of the Life Guards must patrol tomorrow, when they will receive particular Orders to seize upon any Servant or other person who shall offer to molest the Forage from being delivered into the Magazine, or who shall seize on any Horses; this order they are to execute at their peril.

29-30 December, 1745.

[Glasgow.]

Parole. Edward and Edinburgh.

The Army sojourns tomorrow.

There is to be a General Review¹ of all the foot and horse tomorrow at 10 a'clock. The Rendezvous, or place where they are to assemble at, is the Green towards the Point House.

All the Guards or posts, except H.R.H.'s Guard, are to join the Regiments for the Review, and will go to their posts after, that they may be relieved by those that are to mount Guard.

The Colonels are enjoined that no Soldier should be left with Officers' Equipage, but that all may be present, the Commissary having strict orders to pass only the effective.

The Horse, as well the Life Guards as Pitsligo's, Kilmarnock's, and Hussars, are to draw up behind the Foot at the same hour.

The Regiments of Foot will take their rank according as they arrive. Cluny's Regiment mounts H.R.H.'s Guard with a Field Officer and 100 men as soon as the Review is finished; His regiment will furnish likewise 60 men with double Officers on the main Guard.

Clanranald's Regiment will furnish 160 men on the ports or Gates of the Town. The Gates or ports where Clanranald's Regiment are to mount is the West port near H.R.H.'s Quarters, the Gallowgate, which we came through from Hamilton, the port at the Bridge, the Townhead port, the port by the N.W. Kirk,² the Rotton Row port, the Drygate and the port or passage into the Green.

¹ It was found that only 40 men had been lost in England, not counting the Carlisle garrison. Desertion, however, soon set in and gravely reduced the force.

² Now known as St. David's, or Ramshorn, Church.

An Officer and 12 of my Lord Elcho's Troop of Life Guards will patrol this night from 11 a'clock until break of day, about a mile from this upon the road to Dumbarton.¹

The Guards are to be relieved immediately after the Review.

30-31 December, 1745.

[Glasgow.]

Parole. John and Dover.

The Army sojourns at Glasgow tomorrow.

Glengarry's Regiment to mount H.R.H.'s Guard with a Field officer and 100 men. This Regiment will likewise furnish 60 men with double Officers on the Main Guard. An Officer and 20 men on the West port, an Officer and 20 men more on the Bridge Gate. An Officer and 20 men on the Gallowgate, that is on the road to Hamilton.

Keppoch's Regiment will furnish 130 men, vizt. an Officer and 20 men on the Townhead port, an Officer and 20 men at the North West Kirk, an Officer and 20 men on the Rotton Row port, an Officer and 20 men on the Drygate, an Officer and 20 men on the Green, a Serjeant and 10 men on the Flesh market. The Main Guard is to furnish a Serjeant and 6 men on the Stores for the Forage at the Fish market. All those Guards or posts are to be very exact, the Officers to visit their Sentries often, to hinder any Disorder near them, and give Succour to those that require it of them; in case of an alarm to advertise the main Guard. It is particularly recommended to the Officers of each Guard or post to send 2 men of their Guard to conduct the Hay and Oats by their posts to the Store of Forage on the Fish market, let who so will be in possession of it; the Officer will be answerable for it, if otherwise.

31 December-1 January, 1745-6.

[Glasgow.]

Parole. Henry and York.

The Army sojourns at Glasgow tomorrow, all the Colonels are to assemble tomorrow morning at eight o'clock without fail at H.R.H.'s quarters.

Clanranald mounts H.R.H.'s guard with a Field Officer and 100 men; he furnishes likewise 60 men with Double Officers on the main guard.

Ogilvy's Regiment will furnish 170 men on the posts of the town, viz.: an Officer and 20 men on each post or port, and an Officer and ten men on the flesh market; the posts or ports are the West port near H.R.H.'s quarters, the Bridge gate, the Townhead, the Gallowgate on the road to Hamilton, the North West Kirk post, the Rotten Row post, the Drygate, the Green, and the flesh market with ten men, the same orders as last night for the Exactness of the guards and for conducting any forage that shall come into town, to the

¹ This would be the existing Argyle Street, as far as the present Jamaica Street.

Stores in the fish market.

The main guard will furnish an Officer and 20 men during the night, and an Officer and ten men in the Day time, on the Store at the Merchants' Hall. The main guard will likewise furnish a Serjeant and 6 men on the Stores for the forage at the fish market.

The Life Guards, Pitsligo's, Perthshire, and Kilmarnock's Horse and the Hussars are to assemble tomorrow, at ten in the morning at latest, on the place called the Green; an Officer and 12 of the Perthshire Horse are to patrol this night from Eleven till break of Day about two miles from the town on the road of Dumbarton; the Hussars will patrol as usual.¹

1-2 January, 1746.

[Glasgow.]

Parole. Lewis and Paris.

The Army sojourns at Glasgow tomorrow.

The Majors of all the regiments of Foot are to assemble at H.R.H.'s quarters tomorrow at Eight o'clock in the morning, to receive orders for the shirts and hose that are to be delivered to their Regiments.

A Serjeant of each regiment is to be this night at H.R.H.'s guard, and is to be relieved at the same time as the guards, and continue daily so, as well as a man of each Regiment of Horse and a Life Guard of each Company.

Keppoch's regiment mounts H.R.H.'s guard tomorrow with a Field Officer and 100 men; they'll furnish likewise with Double Officers 60 men on the main guard, an Officer and 20 men on the west port, an Officer and 20 men on the Bridge gate, an Officer and 20 men on the Townhead, an Officer and 20 men on the Gallowgate, which makes in all 220 men.

Glenbucket's Regiment will furnish 90 men, viz. an Officer and 20 men on the North West Kirk, an Officer and 20 men on the Rotton Row, an Officer and 20 men on the Drygate, an Officer and 20 men on the Green; a Serjeant and 10 men on the Flesh market.

The main guard will furnish an Officer and 20 men during the night, and an Officer and ten men in the Day time, on the Store in the Merchant's Hall; the main guard will furnish likewise a Serjeant and 6 men on the Store for the forage at the fish market.

The guards of each post are to send two Sentries to conduct the forage, that passes by their posts, to the Store in the Fish mercat, without any

¹ At this time there were two Cavalry and two Infantry regiments in Edinburgh, besides the Glasgow and Paisley Militia units. It was known, too, that General Hawley, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was receiving reinforcements. Between the 2nd and 10th ten Infantry regiments and Cobham's Dragoons arrived at Edinburgh, and an attack might well be looked for.

regard to the persons that may be in possession of it.

An Officer and 12 of the Perthshire Regiment are to patrol, from eleven this night till break of Day, about 2 miles from the town, on the road to Dumbarton.

The Hussars are to patrol as usual.

2-3 January, 1746.¹

[Glasgow.]

Andrew and Scotland.

The Army Decamps tomorrow at break of Day from Glasgow, and marches all together for about a mile from the town, at which distance the Army separates in two Divisions. The Clans form one of them, commanded by my Lord George Murray; Athole's Brigade, Ogilvy's, Roy Stewart's, and Glenbucket's form the other Division. The first Division that is ready to march will take the Van of the whole. Lochiel has the van of the Clans, and Appin's the rear. Athole's Brigade has the van of the other Division, and Glenbucket's the rear. Lord Nairn's regiment has the Royal Standard.

Lord George's regiment mounts H.R.H.'s Guard with a Field Officer and 100 men; and the other regiments of the Division will keep a Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men in readiness to mount guard at their quarters.

The Artillery is to part at break of Day, and will take the Van of all, until the Divisions separate, when they will follow the Athole Brigade. Perth's Regiment is to march at the same time to escort it.

The Baggage follows their own Division.

Colonel Elphinston's² Troop of Life Guards, and Perthshire Horse, march with the Division of the Athole Brigade, where H.R.H. is to be. Perthshire Horse has the van of that Division, and the guards the rear.

Lord Elcho's Troop of Life Guards,³ Pitsligo's, and Kilmarnock's Horse

¹ During the absence of the Prince in England reinforcements had been coming in. Lord John Drummond had landed at Montrose on 12 October with a force of 800 men from France; and two 18 Pr., two 12 Pr., and two 6 Pr. guns; also a small body of Cavalry, Fitzjames's Horse. The Master of Lovat had raised about 600 men of the Clan Fraser, and Lord Lewis Gordon about the same number of Gordons and men of Aberdeenshire. These latter were Stonywood, Gordon of Avochy, and Farquharson of Monaltrie. The Earl of Cromarty and his son, Lord Macleod, raised a unit of Mackenzies; and considerable numbers of men of the western clans were raised by Macdonald of Barrisdale, Glengarry, and others. Of this force Lord John Drummond was Commander-in-Chief; and those that were not engaged in the desultory operations in the north were waiting in the neighbourhood of Perth for the Prince's return. The whole numbered about 4,000 men.

² Elphinston became Lord Balmerino a few days later.

³ According to Chevalier de Johnstone—p. 108—Elcho's Life Guards were sent as

march along with the Clans; the Guards has the van of that Column; Pitsligo's and Kilmarnock's the rear.

An Officer and 12 men of Lord Nairn's Regiment are to come to H.R.H.'s Quarters, to escort the treasure.

The Hussars follow the Clans; Lord George will give them orders where they are to quarter when they are on the march.

An Orderly Serjeant of each regiment, as well as an orderly man of each Troop of Horse, are to be at H.R.H.'s quarters, and not depart from thence without orders or till they be relieved.

It is strictly recommended to all the Officers to keep the Soldiers in their ranks, and march in order, not knowing but we may meet the Enemy; the Carts with the clothing of the Foot march with the Artillery.

3 January, 1746, we quartered near Kilsyth, and march the 4th to St. Ninians.¹

4-5 [Sunday], 1746.

[Bannockburn.]

Parole. Henry and Essex.

The Army sojourns in the quarters they are in tomorrow, except Glenbucket's Regiment which is to march from his quarters tomorrow morning, to go and quarter at St. Ninians, where Ogilvy's and Roy Stewart's Regiments are.

Lord Nairn's Regiment relieves H.R.H.'s guard tomorrow.

Elphinston's [Life] Guards are to be at H.R.H.'s quarters² tomorrow by break of day.

A Captain, Lieut., and 50 men of Perth's Regiment will be ready to march and under arms at New Market, at 2 o'clock in the morning.

The post of Lord George's Regiment that is at Mr. Forrester's house will be relieved in the afternoon.

The Majors of all the Regiments are to assemble tomorrow morning at eleven o'clock to receive orders.

far as Falkirk, partly with the intention of suggesting that Edinburgh was the objective. The Chevalier, no doubt, meant the other Troop of Guards under Elphinstone.

¹ The objective was Stirling, where a junction was to be effected with Lord John Drummond.

² The Prince was in Bannockburn House, the seat of Sir Hugh Paterson, Bart.

5-6 January, 1746. Bannockburn(H.R.H.'squarters). Ogilvy, St.Ninians.
Parole. Edward and Stirling.

The Army sojourns here tomorrow.

Lochiel's Regiment relieves H.R.H.'s guard.

He will furnish likewise an Intelligent active Officer with 50 men at Mr. Forrester's house near the river side, of which he'll detach an Officer and 20 men in a little house near the river, to hinder any boats from going up with provisions to the town, as corn, meal, bisquits, bread or coals, and will oblige all the boats that are going up or coming down the river to come to them, seize on the boats and send the men to His R.H.'s quarters to be examined.

The Regiments in their different posts will be very alert, and not fail to have guards and make their patrols regularly. Glenbucket's, Roy Stewart's, and Ogilvy's will furnish the same number of men they did this day for making Fascines.¹

The Hussars will patrol in the quarter they are in. Athole's Brigade are not to take possession of the mill till night.²

¹ A long cylindrical faggot of brush or other small wood, firmly bound together at short intervals, used in filling up ditches, the construction of batteries, etc.

² The Prince had now given up all idea of a fresh expedition to England. His immediate purpose was the capture of Stirling Castle, commanded by General Blakeney, an Officer of great determination. The town very soon appreciated that it could put up no serious defence, for on 4 January the Prince's army had practically surrounded the place, and on the 5th a battery was being constructed quite close to the town. Desultory firing on the working parties took place, but no casualties occurred; and the castle guns could not be brought to bear on the position. Seven shots were fired into the town, which capitulated on the 8th, and the Prince's troops entered. Permission—quixotic permission—had been given to the inhabitants to return arms in their possession to the Castle.

Between 2 and 10 January, Government troops had reached Edinburgh—a Regiment of Dragoons, and 10 Battalions of Infantry—General H. Hawley being in command.

6-7 January, 1746.¹

[St.Ninians.]

Parole. Charles and Stirling.

The army holds themselves in readiness to march tomorrow. The Majors are to come tomorrow at ten o'clock to his Royal Highness's quarters, to receive orders whether they'll march or not. Lochiel's Regiment mounts his Royal Highness's guard, and they'll furnish likewise 70 men, viz. a Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men at Carsemiln, and an Officer and 20 men in a farm called Broad Lies, a little east of Livelands; Mr. Chrystie, adjutant of Duke of Perth's regiment, will place them. Those two posts of 70 men are to assemble this night, as soon as possible, at New Market, where they'll meet with the Duke of Perth's regiment; those 2 posts will send a man from each of them to conduct those that come to relieve them of the same regiment. The Officers of those posts are not to let any body pass into the town or come out of it, but to seize upon them (to secure the provisions or letters), if they are bringing any in, and those that are going out, oblige them to return after they are searched. They are to have continual patrols, during the night, from one post to another. Roy Stewart's, Ogilvy's, and Glenbucket's regiments will furnish a Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men in the village of Newhouse, and a Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men in East Livelands; and they'll furnish, likewise, the same number of men for the fascines. Mr. Grant will pay them tomorrow for what they have done already. My Lord Nairn's Regiment will furnish a Captain, Lieutenant, and 50 men in the village of Torbuck. Athole's Brigade will furnish 150 men, to make fascines; Mr. Grant will be at their quarters to give them directions how to make them; the men shall be paid for their labour.² All the posts that form the blockade of Stirling are to be extremely

¹ The Prince's army was reinforced by about 4,000 men under the command of Lord John Drummond, which had been collected near Perth. These consisted of the French Royal Scots, and five detachments of French Irish regiments; Lord Lewis Gordon's force, which included units commanded by Gordon of Avochy, Moir of Stonywood, Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, Bannerman of Elsick; some Macintoshes raised by Lady Macintosh and some Mackenzies raised by Lady Fortrose—in the absence of their husbands on the Government side; Lord Cromarty with some Mackenzies; the Master of Lovat with the Frasers; and small bodies of Camerons, Macdonalds, and Macgregors. There were also sufficient men raised from Lord Ogilvy's country to constitute a second battalion to the Regiment.

² Chevalier Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer, arrived at Stirling on the 6th. He came with a great reputation but did not live up to it, as he proved to be quite incompetent. Colonel Grant, in order to deal with the Castle, had suggested establishing batteries and opening trenches opposite the castle gate, but the inhabitants complained that fire from the castle might damage the town, and the Prince, with his usual generosity, agreed to desist. He then placed Mirabelle in charge

vigilant to let nobody come in or go out of the town, and to have continual patrols, especially at night. Perth's regiment will relieve to morrow their posts at Mr. Forrester's house.

7-8 January, 1746.

Bannockburn.

Parole. John and Canterbury.

Lochiel's Regiment relieves H.R.H.'s guard to morrow, and will relieve, likewise, the two posts of 70 men, viz. the post of an Officer and 20 men at the Farm called Broad Lies, below the house of East Livielands, and a Captain,

of operations. Mirabelle, without considering the nature of the ground, *i.e.* fifteen inches of earth lying on rock, decided to start trenches on a hill to the north of the castle, supplementing them with sand bags. The casualties in these trenches amounted to 25 daily. See Johnstone's *Memoirs*, pp. 118-9.

Culloden. APR. 15-16.
 Nairn. APR. 13.
 Forres. APR. 12.
 Elgin. Feb. 19-24
 Fochabers.
 Keith Feb. 17.
 Coldstone Feb 14.
 Glenmutick.
 Clova.
 Cortachy Feb. 4-5.
 Coupar.
 Crieff
 Perth. Feb. 2.
 Dunblane.
 Stirling. Jan. 16. - Feb. 1.

Sketch Map shewing
the marches of
Ogilvy's Regiment.

1746.

Scale 30 miles = 1 inch.

Lieutenant, Ensign, and 50 men at Carsmiln, which are to observe the most exact guard and patrol, and to order them to fire upon any man, without distinction, that does not come to the guard at a call; and that neither man or woman be suffered to come out or go into the town. Roy Stewart's, Ogilvy's, and Glenbucket's Regiments will furnish the same guards as last night, viz. a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and 50 men in the village of Newhouse, the like number in East Livielands; this post is to sustain, in case of necessity, the post of Lochiel's Regiment that are in the farm and miln above mentioned; they'll furnish, likewise, the same number for the fascines. Athole's Brigade will receive orders this night, and will be posted according to orders. Perth's Regiment will relieve the post of equipage, the post of Forrester's house, and will be very exact, for what is already consigned to them, in not suffering any boats to go up or come down the river; and to hinder all persons going to or coming from the town of Stirling. It is very strictly recommended to all the Colonels and Officers to be extremely vigilant, and keep their troops always in readiness to march at a call.

8-9 January, 1746.

Stirling, St. Ninians.

Parole. Drummond and Perth.

Athole's Brigade relieve the posts they furnish this night.

Ogilvy's, Roy Stewart's, and Glenbucket's will likewise relieve the posts they furnished.

The posts that are actually for the blockade¹ of the Castle of Stirling are fifty men at the Duke of Argyle's house; 100 men on the main guard; 100 men on the Churchyard; 100 men at the Meal Market, which furnish 30 men at the Borrow's Port, and 15 on the Friars Wynd; 50 men at the port of the Bridge. The Officers of these ports are to be extremely vigilant, and not only to visit their sentries, but that the Officers should make rounds of all the posts at different hours.

10-11 January, 1746.

Stirling.

Parole. Henry and York.

The guards are to be relieved at three this afternoon, as follows: viz. the Athole Brigade furnishes 150 men, of which 100 at the Duke of Argyle's house and the 50 at the main guard; Lord Ogilvy's, 50 men at the main guard; Duke of Perth's regiment, 50 men for the Church and Minister's house; Glenbucket, 50 for the Borrow Gate and Friar Wynd; Roy Stewart's, 50 men at Saint Mary's Wind Gate; Duke of Perth's furnishes a Field Officer, who is to see that

¹ The blockade of the Castle continued until the end of January. No real progress towards securing its surrender had been made; and it was abandoned, as it was decided that the whole army should retreat to the north under the menace of increasing pressure from the English army.

all the Officers and soldiers of the different guards be very alert in their duty, and all those that are not on duty, in case of an alarm, which is to be by pipe and drum, are to assemble immediately with their arms in the Market Place, near the main guard. The Officers of the different guards are to take particular care that all the men's arms be fixed, well charged, and primed, and that they be most exact in challenging and stopping all persons, until examined by the Commanding Officer of the guard. These are by the order of Major-General Gordon, Commander-in-Chief of H.R.H.'s troops in Stirling.

11-12 [Sunday] January, 1746.

Stirling.

Parole. Charles and Athole.

By order of Major-General Gordon,¹ Colonel Innes, and Major Gordon, Officers of the Piquet.

The guards are to be relieved at two this afternoon, as follows: 50 men of General Gordon's, and 50 of Colonel Roy's,² at the Duke of Argyle's house; 133 men of the Duke of Athole's Brigade, and 17 men of the Duke of Perth's; they will mount the main guard and the guard at the ministers house; 50 men of Lord Ogilvy's at the Burrow Port and Friar Wynd; 50 men of the Duke of Perth's at Saint Mary Wynd Gate.

All that are not on duty, in case of an alarm, which is to be notified by pipe and drum, are to assemble immediately, with their arms, on the Market Place, near the Main Guard.

The Officers of the different guards are to take particular care that their men's arms be well fixed, charged, and primed, and that they be most exact in challenging and stopping all persons, until examined by the Commanding Officer of the guard.

The Majors are to attend particularly each morning after this, by ten of the clock, at the General's quarters, to receive orders.

The Officers of each particular guard are ordered, each morning, to make a report to the General, of their guard.

12-13 January, 1746.

Stirling.

Parole. Stewart and Gordon.

The Athole Brigade mounts the guard at the Duke of Argyle's house with 100 men, and the Burrow Port and Friar Wynd guards with 33 men; the minister's house guard with 50 of Colonel Stewart's; and the main guard with 60 of Lord Ogilvy's; and 50 of Glenbucket's at Mary Wynd Gate.

¹ Major-General Gordon may have been the Gordon of Avochy who raised a unit which formed part of Lord Lewis Gordon's force. This unit had already been in action at Inverurie in December, against the force raised by Lord Loudoun in support of the Government.

² "Colonel Roy." This abbreviation is used frequently for Roy Stewart.

Officers of Piquet, Sir William Gordon and Kynachin. The orders to be observed as given out yesterday.

The different guard rooms to be immediately furnished with sufficiency of coals and candles; the streets to be lighted with lamps as usual, and lanthorns to be placed at the doors of the houses where the Field Officers quarter, and a dozen of lanthorns to be provided for visiting the different posts; that none of the soldiers walk the streets without their arms, and that the guards be relieved at twelve o'clock; all that are not on guard to be in readiness in case of an alarm, which is to be notified by the pipers playing.

13¹-14 January, 1746.

Stirling.

Parole. Charles and James.

Colonel Roy Stewart and Major Fletcher on the Piquet. The guards are as follows, to be relieved at two o'clock this afternoon: Lord Ogilvy furnishes 50 men, and the Athole Brigade 50 more for guard, at Duke of Argyle's house.

Athole Brigade, 50 more on St. Mary Wynd Port guard; 50 of Glenbucket's, and 50 of Colonel Roy's at the main guard and the minister's house.

Athole Brigade furnishes 33 men more for the Burrow Port; 2 men out of each of the five above regiments are, with a serjeant, to mount guard on the Friar Wynd, over and above these above-mentioned numbers. The rest of the orders, as formerly given out, are strictly to be observed.

14-15 January, 1746.

Stirling.

Parole. Wallace's Oak.

Colonel Forbes and Major Patrick Stewart, Officers of the Piquet.

The guards are to be relieved at two o'clock this afternoon precisely. The Duke of Perth furnishes 100 men for the Duke of Argyle's house; the Irish piquets² furnishes 50 men for the minister's house; Glenbucket furnishes 50 men for the main guard; Lord Ogilvy furnishes 50 men for St. Mary Wynd Port; Colonel Roy 50 for the Burrow Port and Friar Wynd. The Duke of Perth, besides the above 100 men, relieves the guards on the ship and the boat,³ 30 to the first and 10 to the last. All the rest of the orders, as formerly given out, are strictly to be observed, particularly the men and officers that are off duty are, in case of an alarm, to assemble at the Market Place. A serjeant and 2 men out of each battalion are to meet Major Gordon at the Burrow Port, to get out powder and ball precisely at twelve o'clock this day, which ammunition is to

¹ The advanced guard of the Government forces reached Linlithgow to-day, and the main body on the 15th.

² The "Irish piquets" were detachments of the five Irish Regiments in the French service which were sent over as part of Lord John Drummond's reinforcements from France. These French units were commanded by Brigadier-General Stapleton, of the French Service.

³ Six French guns had arrived on 14 January, from Alloa, by river.

be carried to the main guard, where it is to be divided among the different corps.

15¹-16 January, 1746. Stirling.
Parole. Charles and Stirling.

16-17 January, 1746. Stirling.
Parole. Gordon and Drummond.
Guardes. Blockade, and trenches.
Thursday night, the 16th January, 1746.
The ground broken a little below the Bridge Port.

Friday, 17th. Lord Ogilvy's 2 battalions² marched out of Stirling, to review at Bannockburn, from whence marched with Royal Standard, in second line, to Hill above Falkirk, where the Prince engaged the enemy, under General Hawley, routed them, took their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and tents, and quartered that night in Falkirk.³ Two men of Lord Ogilvy's killed, and

¹ Battle of Falkirk this day—Government force defeated and compelled to fall back on Edinburgh.

² This is the first reference to the reorganisation of Ogilvy's Regiment in two battalions; the new battalion was commanded by Sir James Kinloch, and joined the Prince at Stirling.

³ This brief reference to the Prince's victory at Falkirk requires elaboration. On 13 January, 1746, Hawley's advanced guard, under General Huske, left Edinburgh, followed by the remainder of the force on the 15th and 16th. They advanced on Linlithgow, which was occupied by Lord Elcho's Cavalry. The latter fell back on Falkirk, where Lord George Murray lay with a force of 1,100 men of the "clan" regiments. Lord George retired on his main body and Hawley occupied Falkirk. The news of his advance reached the Prince on the 14th, but the English movements were incredibly slow.

On the 17th the Prince's army—leaving 1,200 men to continue the siege of Stirling Castle—was waiting for the enemy, who were encamped only four miles off to the west of Falkirk. A hasty Council of War decided on an immediate attack, and Lord George moved off at noon and crossed the Carron river, making for an elevated plateau to the south of Falkirk. The army was drawn up in two lines, of which the first consisted of the "clan" regiments under Lord George's command, and the second of the remaining units under the Duke of Perth. No artillery was present.

Hawley meanwhile had reached the eminence and formed up in two lines, with a reserve. The first line consisted of five and the second of five regiments, and three dragoon regiments were in front of the first line and covered their left flank.

The action began with an advance of the dragoons against the right of Lord George's division. When within 12 paces orders were given to Keppoch's regiment to open fire, and this continued down the line. Two of the dragoon regiments, Hamilton's (Archibald Hamilton, 14th Dragoons—in 1923, 14th Hussars), and Ligonier's (Colonel Francis Ligonier, 13th Dragoons—in 1923, 13th Hussars), went about and fled; Cobham's (10th Dragoons—in 1923, 10th Hussars), wheeled to the right and galloped across the whole front of the "clan" regiments, large numbers of the men pursuing

three wounded. A standard taken.

Saturday, 18th. We marched back to Stirling to assist at the siege.

Sunday [19 January] in the trenches, as also Monday and Tuesday.

Wednesday, 22 January, 1746.

Stirling.

Parole. God Speed The Trenches.

Thursday, 23 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Regiment mustered 181 men, 20 serjeants and drums, and [] officers, and mounted 100 and 20 men on the town guards, 2 Captains, and 7 Officers.

Parole. William and Glasgow.

Friday, 24 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Parole. Lewis and Inverury.

Saturday, 25 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Parole is. Have at them at Edinburgh.

26 [Sunday]-27 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Parole. Harry and Essex.

Regiment on Guard in trenches.

27-28 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Parole. The Castle of Stirling.

Regiment on the Stirling guards.

28-29 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

them. The rest of the line advanced on the enemy infantry, fired one round and went in with the sword. They quickly rolled up Hawley's first line, and then his whole force gave way. How great was his defeat is shown by the fact that he burnt his camp, left his seven guns, ammunition and stores, and fled from Falkirk back to Linlithgow and thence to Edinburgh.

The Prince's army took 700 prisoners and buried about 600 of Hawley's men; their own losses were about 40.

In this action Ogilvy's were in the second division. If the entire army had not given itself up to pillage it might have cut off Hawley's retirement, and completed his discomfiture.

The force returned to Bannockburn and the siege of Stirling Castle on the 19th.

The numbers engaged in this action were about 8,000 on the Prince's side and about 7,000 under Hawley. To the latter must be added the Glasgow and Argyllshire militia units which were not brought into action. (See Lord George Murray's *Memoirs* 79, Lockhart Papers II. 500, and Culloden Papers 270.)

Parole. Have at them tomorrow.

For piquet, Sir William Gordon and Major Fletcher.

For the town guard, Stonywood's¹ battalion. For the guard of the trenches, Monaltry's men and the Duke of Perth's.

29-30 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Parole. Charles and Lithgow.

30-31 January, 1746.

[Stirling.]

Parole. Philip and Peterhead.

Piquet: Sir James Kinloch and Major Glascoe.²

Town Guard, the 31st Monaltry's battalion, and Duke of Perth's. Trench Guard, first battalion of Lord Ogilvy's. Workmen early in the morning, Stony-wood's men.

My Lord Duke of Perth desires that the men that mount the town may be paraded precisely at three a'clock over against the main guard; and those that mount the trenches, at five a'clock, in the same place.

31 January—1 February, 1746.³

[Stirling.]

Parole. Henry and York.

Piquet. Colonel Colbert and Blelak.

Town Guard, the 1st February: 100 men, of the first battalion of Ogilvy's, and 150 of Stonywood's.

¹ "Stonywood's" was the unit belonging to Lord Lewis Gordon's force raised by Moir of Stonywood; similarly, Farquharson of Monaltry and Gordon of Avoichy raised units of about 250 men.

² Nicholas Glascoe was an Irishman by birth, but a native of France, and Lieutenant in Dillon's regiment. It was he who, on 20 March, 1746, with a small force, surprised and captured a party of the Argyllshire Militia and Kingston's Horse at Keith. [Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 43.]

³ After Hawley's defeat at Falkirk the Duke of Cumberland was again appointed to the command of all the English forces in Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on 30 January, Stirling on 2 February, and Perth on the 6th. From Perth he detached garrisons to Dunkeld, Coupar Angus, Dundee, and other places, with the idea of preventing any attempt of the Prince's forces to get past him and again enter England. On the 8th he received valuable reinforcements in the form of from 4,000 to 5,000 Hessian troops, Infantry and Cavalry, who took the place of the Dutch troops sent over by the States of Holland in the previous autumn. These Dutch troops were recalled in consequence of strong remonstrances by the French Government against their employment.

The Hessians were sent to Perth and Stirling.

Cumberland waited at Perth until 20 February, when he moved on to Aberdeen, arriving there on the 27th.

Trench Guard: 100 men of Stony wood's battalion.

1-2 February, 1746.¹

[Stirling.]

Parole is []

The regiment marched, on Saturday, the 1st of February, 1746, from Stirling, by the ford of Frow, to Dunblain.²

February 2nd [Sunday], to Perth. February 3rd, to Coupar of Angus.

February 4th, to Cortachy. Colours lodged, and men dismissed for two days.

5th, there. 6th, to (Glen) Clova. 7th, there.

8th February, Saturday, to Cortachy. 9th February [Sunday] to Clova, with colours.

Monday, 10th February, stormstaid in Clova. 11th February, there

12th, to Spittal of Glenmuick.

13th, to Glenmuick Kirk.

14th, Friday, to Colston, in Cromarr.

15th February, to Tarlan.

16th February, Sunday, to Kirk of Reny.³

¹ On 29 January, 1746, Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, Lochgarry, the Master of Lovat, and other leaders wrote a letter to the Prince from Falkirk informing him that there had been very numerous desertions since the battle of Falkirk, and expressing the opinion that Stirling Castle could not be taken for a long time. They urged him to withdraw at once to the Highlands, then to employ himself in capturing the forts which held out for the Government, and to await the raising of a fresh army of 10,000 men.

The Prince, though extremely annoyed by the suggestions made, wisely decided that there was no alternative open to him, and the Army withdrew on 1 February accordingly, in three divisions. Of these Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, and some of the Lowland regiments went by the coast road through Aberdeen; the Prince and the clan units went by the Highland road to Inverness, and Ogilvy and the Farquharsons went through Coupar Angus, to Speyside by the route detailed in the remaining orders.

That these columns pursued their march unmolested is another instance of the extraordinary lack of enterprise of the English commanders. [Home's *History*, p. 352.]

² This march took the regiment through its own country. This explains the entry for 4 February.

³ On 16 February the Prince and the Clans arrived at Moy Hall. That night a force sent out from Inverness by Lord Loudoun tried to surprise him, but failed. The next day the Prince advanced on Inverness, with the intention of attacking Loudoun, but the latter, on the 18th, retired across the Firth, taking all available boats with him. The castle of Inverness, commanded by Grant of Rothiemurchus, was summoned to surrender; on the 20th Grant complied, with his garrison of two companies. The fortifications were then destroyed.

John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun, was the commander on the Government side who gave more trouble to the Prince's army before Culloden than any other. He

17th February, to Keith.

Tuesday, 18 February, marched to Findrassie. 19th, to Elgin. 20th, there. 21st, Elgin. 22nd, Saturday, 23rd [Sunday], and 24th, at Elgin. Tuesday, 25th, marched to Fochabers. 26th, to Cullen.

27th, Thursday, at Cullen.

28th, sojourned there.

Saturday, 1 March, the regiment there. 2nd [Sunday], marched to Gordon Castle.¹

2-3 March, 1746.

[Gordon Castle.]

Parole. Charles and Inverness.

All the troops are to be in readiness to march tomorrow morning, but the pipes will not play, nor drums beat, till further orders. The Commanding Officers of each Regiment are desired to keep their men in readiness, at a moment's warning. Lord Ogilvy's first battalion to relieve the guard tomorrow, with three Officers and sixty men. My Lord Drummond desires there may be always an Officer at his quarters, of each regiment, to receive what orders he may have to give. In case of an alarm, all the troops lodged at Fochabers are immediately to assemble, with their arms, at the Cross. Colonel Crichton's

started his military career as a Cornet in the Royal North British Dragoons (Scots Greys) in 1732, and later joined the Scots Guards. In 1745, when the rumours of the Jacobite attempt were in the air, he was appointed to raise a regiment of clansmen well affected to the Government. He was Cope's Adjutant-General at Prestonpans; his regiment was there, but was almost entirely destroyed or captured. He escaped and was sent north with arms, ammunition, and money, to Inverness on 14 October, and raised a fresh force of 2,000 men in a month. He then relieved the garrison of Fort Augustus, which was being besieged by the Frasers. He attempted to capture the Prince, on his march north, at Moy, but was foiled. He fell back on Inverness with his independent companies, and crossed the Moray Firth into Ross. The Prince had to detach considerable forces to pursue him, first the Earl of Cromarty and later the Duke of Perth; the latter attacked and dispersed his force on 20 March. He moved too fast for his pursuers and retired into the heart of Inverness-shire. He and 800 men escaped by sea from the West Coast to Skye, where he adopted measures against the Jacobites. [Scots *Peerage* V. 510 and "D.N.B."]

¹ It is obvious from the entries above that a good deal of time was wasted on this march. The Prince had reached Inverness on 18 February; and Lord George Murray's force, having got to Aberdeen on 11 February, had posted detachments at Elgin and Nairn.

On or about 21 February a small force of Berwick's (French) regiment landed at Peterhead, and on the 22nd a dismounted squadron of 120 of Fitz-James's Horse landed at Aberdeen.

Cumberland, meanwhile, was advancing from Perth by the east coast route, already followed by Lord George, through Montrose; and Lord George decided to withdraw from Aberdeen on the 23rd, which was entered by the English advance guard on 25 February. There Cumberland sat down until 8 April.

men will relieve their own guard at Garmouth, and be very exact. They will also send an Officer to my Lord John's quarters, to receive orders. Any regiment that has heavy baggage are desired to send it to Elgin,¹ tomorrow morning, by break of day, under an escort of their own men.

3-4 March, 1746.

At Gordon Castle.

Parole. Fitz-James and Aberdeen.

It is once more recommended to the Commanding Officers of the different regiments to keep their men together, so as to be ready to march at a minute's warning; and to have an Officer of each Corps, who will stay all night at my Lord's quarters, to receive what orders he shall think proper to give. Last night there was only an Officer of Lord Ogilvy's first battalion, and none of all the other Corps. Two Officers and 40 men of Fitz-James's horse to relieve the guard; they are to be in town by eleven of the clock. Colonel Crichton's men will relieve their own guard, and be very exact and keep a strict discipline.

All those who have any heavy baggage, and did not get it carried over the river today, are desired to do it tomorrow morning without fail.

As there is some meal expected from Keith this night,² the Officer of the guard, who is of Lord Ogilvy's first battalion, is desired to give a serjeant and 10 men to escort them to Elgin. The Officer will be pleased to make the meal pass the water immediately on its arriving, and make the same horses that brings it carry it to Elgin.

4-5 March, 1746.³

Fochabers.

Parole. Spey and Strathbogie.

The Commanding Officer of the guard is desired to send a corporal and some men to see that all the boats are fastened on this side of the river, so that the water do not carry them away. There is one boat too far down, which must be brought up with the rest.

Roy Stewart's men relieve the guard tomorrow with three Officers and 60

¹ Gordon Castle and Fochabers are on the south of the Spey. This order, to send heavy baggage across the river to Elgin, suggests that it was not intended to hold the line of the Spey against an advance of the English force. The transfer of meal from Keith to Elgin referred to in the order for the 3/4th March seems to strengthen this suggestion.

² The Prince, on the advice of Lord George Murray, had assessed the shires of Banff, Moray, and Nairn in 5,000 "bolls" of oatmeal for the army. Part of it was to be used as a reserve in case of retirement into the Highlands. It was to be collected at Inverness.

³ Fort Augustus was besieged on 3rd March and captured by Stapleton, Keppoch, and Lochiel on 5th March. Fort William was invested at the same time, but the siege failed and was abandoned on 3rd April, after a sally by the garrison and the troops recalled. It was too late, however, for most of them to reach Culloden in time. (Lord George Murray's Journal.)

men; the guard that mounts must always have a piper who may be ready to play in case of an alarm. A serjeant and 10 men of Berwick's piquet¹ to mount guard this night at the Castle of the Duke of Gordon, and are to relieve themselves tomorrow Crichton's² to relieve their own guard tomorrow at Garmouth.

5-7 March, 1746.

[Fochabers.]

Parole. Charles and Elgin.

The guard of Roy Stewart's men are desired to make frequent patrols out of the town on the roads that go to Cullen and Keith. One of the Officers is desired to be always with the patrol, who will strictly examine every one they meet either going or coming, and, if they stop any suspected person, will send him in the morning to my Lord John Drummond.³ As the Prince may come here tomorrow, the Commanding Officers of the different Corps will have all their men in readiness to receive his Royal Highness's commands. The first battalion of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment will furnish 3 Officers and 60 men for the guard to morrow. A serjeant and 10 men of Berwick's piquet this night for the guard at the Castle.

Crichton's men will relieve their own post at Garmouth. There is 150 horse load of hay past on the other side of the river; the guard will have a particular care that it is not touched without orders.

6-7 March, 1746.

[GordonCastle.]

Parole. Murray and Portsoy.

It is strictly recommended to the guard on the water side to examine all strangers that pass and repass the river; and they will send all suspected persons to my Lord John Drummond. No body to be suffered to go or come over the river during the night, unless it be for the Prince's service. The patrols on the roads of Keith and Cullen as last night; they will be very exact in examining every body they meet.

As there is hay and other provisions for the Prince's army going frequently through the town, to be passed on the other side of the river, it is absolutely forbid for any Officer or others to stop the horses or carts that brings it; and whoever shall do it for the future shall be responsible to my Lord John. Lord George Murray's regiment to relieve the guard tomorrow with three Officers and 60 men. Crichton's to relieve their own post. Berwick and Fitz-James relieve theirs.

¹ This detachment of Berwick's regiment of the French army had landed at Peterhead about 21 February.

² Col. Crichton's unit was part of Lord Lewis Gordon's force.

³ Lord John Drummond was appointed to the command of the force stationed on the Spey, at Cullen, Keith, and the neighbourhood, and at Elgin.

7-8 March, 1746.

Gordon Castle.

Parole. Perth and Inverness.

The patrols as usual; and above all things to be very exact on the road of Keith, and to stop all suspected persons; the guard on the boats to be very exact and visit every body that passeth or repasseth. My Lord is informed that, notwithstanding the orders given to be very exact, several persons pass the water without being examined; he recommends more exactitude for the future. The Majors or Aide Majors of each corps will give the orders they receive here to the Commanding Officer of the guard of their own regiment. The guard on the other side of the water will take care of the different effects that are put there, and not suffer anything to be taken away.

8-9 [Sunday] March, 1746.

Parole. Gordon and Elgin.

The patrols as usual. As it is Lord George Murray's Regiment that mounted the guard at Fochabers, they must make frequent patrols on the roads going to Keith and Cullen; there must be always an Officer with them; they must strictly examine every one they meet on those roads, and send every one they suspect to Lord John Drummond. Lord George Murray's regiment will relieve their own guard at Fochabers. Creighton will relieve theirs at Garmouth. Crichton will send a serjeant and 10 men to guard the hay, oats, etc., opposite to the Ferry of Fochabers. Lord Ogilvy's second Battalion will give a serjeant and 10 men, under the command of Mr. Henderson, to be at nine of the clock at the Boat house on the other side of the water.

9-10 March, 1746.

Parole. Cromarty and Keith.

My Lord John Drummond has had general complaints that the soldiers are continually firing their guns; that they come even to Gordon Castle, and kill the cocks and hens, at the door; he desires the Commanding Officers of the Corps to put a stop to such irregularities, and to severely punish those who are guilty of it for the future.

There will be meal distributed every morning, at the granaries of Fochabers, from eight to nine of the clock in the morning, in paying for it; the officer of the guard will give a sentry to the granary, if required.

Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion will relieve the guard tomorrow.

Crichton's Regiment will relieve their own posts. My Lord recommends a great exactitude in the patrols and the passage of the river.

10-11 March, 1746.

Parole. Charles and Montrose.

The patrols and visiting the boats as usual. My Lord John Drummond is

informed that at a ford, about two or three miles up the river, people pass and repass without hindrance; and, as my Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion is lodged near that place, my Lord desires they may put a guard there, and not suffer any body, on any pretence whatsoever, to pass there.

Lord George Murray's Regiment will relieve the guard of Fochabers tomorrow. Crichton's will relieve their own posts.

11-12 March, 1746.

Parole. Kilmarnock and Strathbogie.

As Avachy's men are on the guard, they are to make the patrols on the roads of Cullen and Keith; it must be with an Officer and six men of the guard, and must be made frequently during the night, they will examine every one that passes, and stop all those they suspect and send them to Lord John Drummond; the Major or Adjutant of the regiment that is on guard will give these orders to the Commanding Officer of the guard. It is forbid the soldiers to fire their guns in the streets, or molest any of the inhabitants. Avachy's battalion will relieve their own guard.

12-13 March, 1746.

Parole. Nairn and Cullen.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion being on guard, are to make the patrols this night; they must make it with an Officer and six Fusiliers, on the roads that go to Cullen and Keith, and that several times during the night; they must examine every one that comes or goes and send all suspected persons to my Lord John Drummond.

My Lord John is informed that several give passes to go over the water; he desires the guard on the boats not to suffer any one to pass the water without a note, signed by himself or Major Hale.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion will relieve their own guard, and the other corps will relieve their own posts.

13-14 March, 1746.

Parole. Mackintosh and Inverness.

The patrols as usual.

Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion will relieve the guard tomorrow.

The other corps will relieve their own posts.

14-15 March, 1746.

Gordon Castle.

Parole. Pitsligo and Banff.

The patrol as usual.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion will relieve the guard tomorrow.

15-16 [Sunday] March, 1746.

Parole. Strathallan and Portsoy.

The patrol as usual; and a very great exactitude in not suffering any body to go or come over the water without having passes. Yesterday there was brought into the town a great deal of straw and oats, which was all taken away by the negligence of the Officer and his men on guard; but, as there is more expected, my Lord John Drummond expects there will be a greater attention in preserving it; and the Officer that shall be upon guard is desired to send a return to my Lord of what he shall receive, and not suffer any one to take it without an order from his Lordship; and, in case they should be wanting, the Officer shall be responsible to my Lord John for it.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion will relieve the guard tomorrow at Fochabers.

16-17 March, 1746.

Gordon Castle.

Parole. Ogilvy and Montrose.

It is recommended to the guard on the water side, more exactitude in regard of those that go or come over the water. The inhabitants of the town complain that the soldiers take away the peats that belong to particulars,¹ and carry them to their lodgings: it is absolutely forbid to do it any more, and any soldier that shall be caught doing it for the future shall be severely punished.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion will relieve the guard tomorrow.

17-18 March, 1746.²

Parole. Mareschal and Peterhead.

The patrol as usual, especially on the road of Keith, and with the greatest exactitude in examining every one that shall pass.

Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion will relieve the guard tomorrow.

¹ *I.e.* private individuals.

² Desultory activity had been exhibited by columns sent out by Cumberland from Aberdeen. Thus a force under General Bland occupied Inverurie on the 16th and, on the following day, got to Strathbogie. Roy Stewart had to retire from there hastily and fell back on Keith, whence he rejoined Lord John's headquarters at Fochabers. Keith was occupied by a small body of the Argyllshire Highlanders and Kingston's Horse, of Bland's column; but they were surprised and captured on the morning of the 21st March by a small force commanded by Major Glascoe.

Nevertheless the advance of the English army, criminally slow as it was, was becoming apparent. By 28 March Lord Albemarle and General Bland had six battalions and two Cavalry regiments at Strathbogie, with three battalions and a battery at Old Meldrum, in reserve, a few miles off. But they remained inactive, and never attempted to cross the Spey and cut off Lord John's force until the whole of Cumberland's army reached Cullen about 11 April.

18-19 March, 1746.

Gordon Castle.

Parole. Pitsligo and Elgin.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion relieve the barracks tomorrow.

Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion, which stands the guard this night, will have a great attention to observe what shall pass on the other side of the water; and, in case of alarm, will send immediately and advertise Lord Drummond, who is lodged at the minister's of Speymouth. Two serjeants of Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion will stay all night at my Lord's lodgings, to receive what orders he may think proper to give. One of each corps to stay all night at the boatman's, to receive what orders may be given.

Lord Balmerino's horse, and the Perthshire squadron, will furnish the same number for the patrol for tomorrow as was furnished today.

Wednesday [19 March]. Regiment cantoned about Diple, to guard the fords of Spey.

Thursday [20 March]. Rested there.¹ Friday, 21 March, 1746. Rested.

Enemy's quarters surprized and beat up at Keith.

21-22 March, 1746.

Parole. Keith and Elcho.

There will be meal distributed to the several corps tomorrow morning. The Majors or Adjutants are prayed to be at the distribution, and take for their own regiment, and give a receipt to the Commissary for what they shall take.

Lord Ogilvy's 2nd Battalion furnish 50 men for guard of the barracks. Item, 100 men for Fochabers guard; out of which will be detached one Officer and 30 men for guard at the Firrs, on the hill side; the whole will repossess the river in the evening, if they receive no orders to the contrary. All soldiers to retire in the evening before the guard, or to be obliged, and the guard to allow none to pass over after.

Sunday, 23 March, 24, and 25. We cantoned about Diple, guarding and patrolling the fords of Spey.

From the 25 March to the 2nd April.

Cantoned at Diple, and patrolling to Orton, with guard on fords.

Parole. Ogilvy and Montrose.

¹ On 20 March the Duke of Perth, who had replaced the Earl of Cromarty in the operations against the elusive Loudoun, succeeded in coming in contact with the latter and scattering him. Loudoun escaped to Skye. The Duke of Perth then returned and joined Lord John Drummond in Strath Spey. Unfortunately his troops—Lord Cromarty's Mackenzies and the Mackinnons—did not come back with him, and they were too late to take part in the battle of Culloden.

2-3 April, 1746.

Parole. Balmerino and Fochabers.

Field Officers for the 3rd April, Sir James Kinloch and Major of Stonywood.

The patrols on the river side to be made with the greatest exactitude, and to begin early and not finish till broad day;¹ the guard of the barracks to patrol both up and down, till they meet those on each side. McIntosh furnishes 50 men for the barrack guard and 100 men for town guard, to mount as usual at eight o'clock. Abachy's relieve their own post at Lord John Drummond's quarters, and patrol on river side. As Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion is too much scattered in their quarters, so that it is very difficult to assemble them in case of an alarm, it is my Lord John Drummond's orders that they be closer quartered, to be ready to defend their post, and assemble when ordered; and that to be done this night.

At Dipple to 8 April.

7-8 April, 1746.

Dipple.

Parole. Gordon and Banff.

Field Officers for the 8th, Colonel Drummond and his Major.

Duke of Perth's Regiment furnish 50 men for the barrack guard, and 100 for the town guard.

Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion will furnish a serjeant and 6 men tomorrow morning to escort some prisoners to Elgin; the serjeant will come to the Duke of Perth's quarters to receive his orders.

The Patrol, etc., with the greatest exactitude.

10-11 April, 1746.

Parole. Charles and Elgin.

Stonywood, 150 men to barracks and town guard. In case of alarm, the bell of the kirk near the Duke of Perth's quarters will ring, at which time all the troops will join immediately their corps. Patrols with greatest exactitude.

¹ Lord John Drummond naturally anticipated that an attempt would be made by General Bland to cross the river, considering he was lying only a few miles off at Strathbogie.

11-12 April, 1746.¹

Parole. Charles and Elgin.

Field officers for the 12th, Stonywood and his Major.

Stonywood's Battalion will relieve the guard on barracks and town.

Patrols strictly recommended to the barrack guard up and down the river.

Lord Ogilvy's 1st Battalion patrols towards Ortown and towards the barracks.

The guard of town today retires at night, and reinforces the barrack guards, and assists at the patrols.

Saturday, 12 April, army retreated from Spey side before the enemy, and marched to Forres.

13th [Sunday], marches to Park, near Nairn.

14th, abandoned Nairn in sight of the enemy, and marched, in two columns, to Culloden (2 miles off Inverness) the enemy's light horse half way in the rear.²

¹ On April 8 Cumberland moved out of Aberdeen with the remainder of his army to Cullen, on the sea-coast. Here General Bland, from Strathbogie, and General Mordaunt joined him. On the 12th they left Cullen and advanced in three divisions on the Spey, making for the fords of Gormach, the one near Gordon Castle and the one nearest the sea by the church of Belly. For some reason no attempt was made by the Duke of Perth to stop the crossing; and Cumberland's army encamped on the north, opposite Fochabers.

The Prince, who was at Inverness, was informed on the morning of the 12th of Cumberland's advance. Frantic efforts were at once made to bring in outlying bodies of troops. The force which had been employed on the siege of Fort William was on its way to Inverness, and some of them arrived on the 14th and 15th. Lord Cromarty and the troops which had disposed of Lord Loudoun were still in the north. Large numbers of men had deserted, because it was seed time. (See Lord George Murray.)

² On 13 April Cumberland advanced to Alves, four miles from Elgin, and the next day marched 17 miles to Nairn. Kingston's Light Horse was in touch with the retiring army during the day—in fact the rearguard of the Duke of Perth's army left the town as Cumberland's advance guard entered it.

On the 14th the Prince marched out with the remainder of his force to Culloden House, where he was joined in the evening by the Duke of Perth and the retiring column, and by Lochiel and his column from the Fort William operations.

Early next day he marched out on to Drummosie Moor and took up a position in anticipation of Cumberland advancing from Nairn. The site selected lay on the north of the Water of Nairn, on a singularly unfavourable ground specially selected by O'Sullivan. Lord George Murray's urgent request that the position be transferred across the water where cavalry and guns would have been hampered was rejected by the Prince.

As Cumberland did not move, a council of war was held in the afternoon, at which it was unanimously decided that a night attack should be made on the English forces. This involved a night march of about 12 miles, and the hour fixed for the

15 April. On the field, and marched at night to surprise the enemy's quarters, but returned *re infecta*, day coming on.

16 April, battle, and retired to Currybroch.¹

departure was 8 p.m., so that the attack should be delivered at about 1 a.m.

Unfortunately, the complete breakdown of the commissariat arrangements, under the incompetent Hay of Restalrig, had resulted in no issue of rations having been made since the 13th, with the result that at least a third of the force scattered to get food in Inverness. When the time came for the advance these absentees had not returned. The march discipline was bad, and the men tired when they started; the result was a long straggling column, and at 1 a.m. the van had only reached Kilravock, four miles from Nairn. It was obvious that by the time the column had closed up and reached Nairn it would be nearly dawn, and it was decided that the attempt must be given up. The whole force accordingly returned to Culloden House, reaching there at 5 a.m. The men were then not only starving, but exhausted.

At 8 a.m. on the 16th a report of Cumberland's having left Nairn reached the Prince. Lord George again begged that a fresh position be selected on the other side of the river, and pointed out that it offered a favourable line of retreat into the hills in the event of a retreat being found necessary. The Prince absolutely declined to abandon Inverness and his baggage, and insisted on the line of battle drawn up by O'Sullivan being adhered to.

¹ It is quite impossible to deal with the battle of Culloden within the limits of a Note. Briefly, the Prince's army numbered approximately 5,000 men in the field, with 16 guns, but practically no cavalry; Cumberland had at least 8,500, including three cavalry regiments and a far more numerous artillery. The staff work on the Prince's side was deplorable, there being practically no *liaison* between the leaders of the three lines or between the units. Cumberland's force outflanked their right, and when the clan regiments charged through the English frontline they were literally blown away by artillery fire, and the whole army gave way.

Culloden, from the military or the political point of view, was a tragedy. During a period of eight months the Prince's army, badly armed and clothed, untrained, and with the weakness inherent in the nationality and political views of the men who composed it, had most successfully challenged the English Regular Army. It had defeated superior forces at Prestonpans and Falkirk, had executed a most daring invasion of England, and had withdrawn with 40 casualties (440 if the surrendered garrison of Carlisle be included) in the face of two armies on its flank enormously stronger than itself and well provided with cavalry.

The end was inevitable—though it might have been delayed. In Lord George Murray the Prince had a quite exceptional leader of men; but his plans were opposed by a cabal of men with the instincts of politicians to whom the Prince was too ready to lend an ear. Lord George knew he could not safely meet Cumberland on Culloden Muir; but the drawing-up of the position was not in his hands at all, and the result was a foregone conclusion. The Clan regiments were quite incapable, temperamentally, of meeting a regular force on an open plain, well supplied with cavalry and guns. If they had been placed on the hilly ground on the other side of the Water of Nairn they would almost certainly have given a very different account of

17th April. To Balnahespich, by Aviemore, Strathspey.

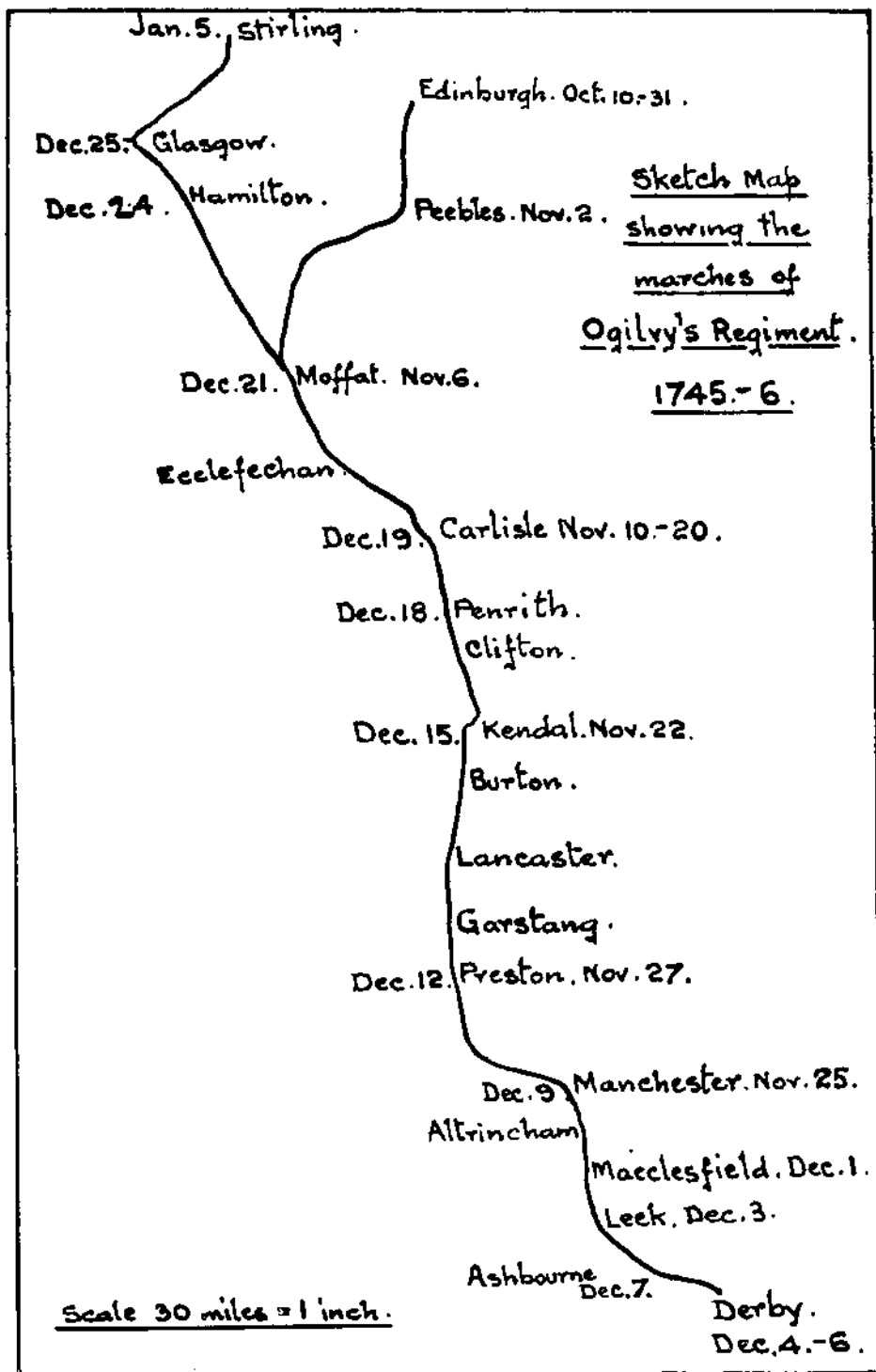
18th, to Ruthven of Badenoch, where army dispersed; *inde*, to Glen Fishy in Badenoch, *sub dio*.

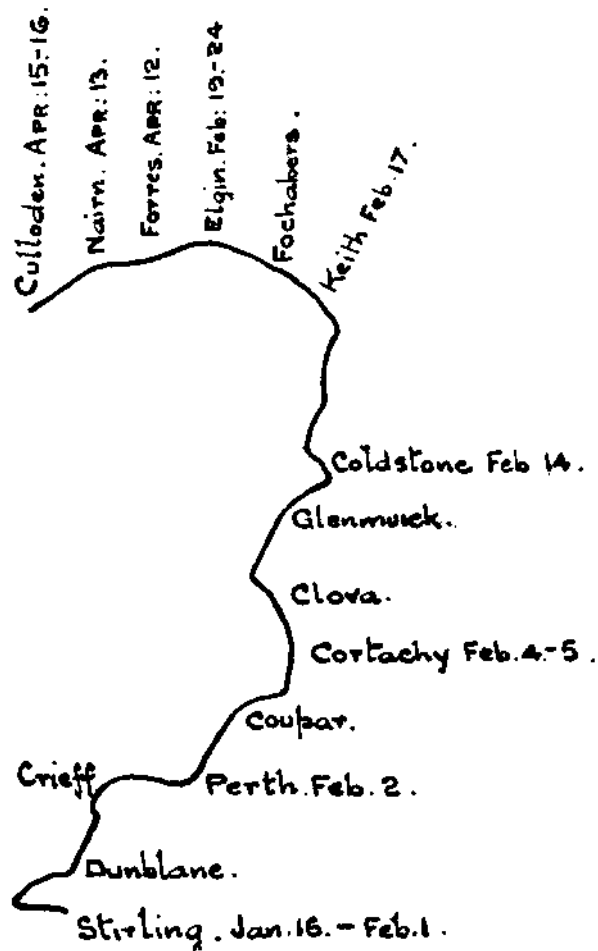
19th, by Deeside to Balmurrel. 20th, by Keppel to Clova. 21st, *ibidem*.

themselves. As it was, they broke the first line of Cumberland's army, but had not the weight to carry them on through the second.

Apart, too, from the tactical aspect of the affair, it must be remembered that a proportion, estimated by Lord George Murray and the Chevalier Johnstone as not less than a third of the whole force, was looking for rations, or sleeping off the effects of the previous night's march. And a very large proportion of the army had been frittered away in secondary operations in remote places and never arrived in time for the battle at all.

After the battle the Prince might have rallied the 5,000 men who fell back to Ruthven and made things very unpleasant for Cumberland. But he recognised that, politically, his prospects were dead, and he let the Army go.





Sketch Map showing
the marches of
Ogilvy's Regiment.

1746.

Scale 30 miles = 1 inch.