

# A MILITARY HISTORY OF PERTSHIRE

1660—1902

EDITED BY  
THE MARCHIONESS OF TULLIBARDINE

WITH PORTRAITS, ILLUSTRATIONS  
AND MAPS

PERTH  
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WILLIAM BROWN

1908



LADY JEAN GORDON  
WIFE OF JAMES, SECOND DUKE OF PERTH  
*(From a Drawing by G. P. Harding after a Portrait by F. van  
Vost at Drummond Castle)*



**MARGARET, LADY NAIRNE**  
WIFE OF LORD WILLIAM MURRAY (SECOND LORD NAIRNE)  
*(From a Portrait at Meiklour)*

## PERTHSHIRE IN THE 'FORTY-FIVE<sup>1</sup>

BY WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE

In 1745 there were living in Perthshire two aged ladies whose influence did more than that of any other persons in Scotland to make the last Jacobite Rising possible. Both were widows; both were of high rank; both were closely connected with some of the noblest families in the kingdom; both in the end reaped to the full the crop they had sown, for both survived to witness the utter destruction of their respective Houses.

The elder of these ladies, the Baroness Nairne, was then seventy-six years old; she was the only daughter of the first Lord Nairne; she had married Lord William Murray, a younger son of the first Marquess of Atholl, and by doing so had brought to him her father's title. Her influence had alienated her husband from the Revolution principles of the head of his family, and had sent him and their eldest son to join Lord Mar in 1715.

But this unflinching Jacobite had influenced more than her

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<sup>1</sup> Principal authorities:—*The Lyon in Mourning; Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*; Henderson's *History of the Rebellion* (5th edition, London, 1753); *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask; Report of the Proceedings of the Board of General Officers on Lieut.-General Sir John Cope* (London, 1749); *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton; Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family*; Lord Macleod's Narrative in Sir William Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*; *The Lockhart Papers; The Albemarle Papers*; Cottin, *Un Protege de Bachaumont* (Paris, 1887); *The Chiefs of Grant; Historical MSS. Commission Reports; The Caledonian Mercury and Scots Magazine of 1745-46; History of the Clan Gregor*, vol. ii. (Edinburgh, 1901); several unpublished MSS. in private ownership; and others.

own immediate family. It was to her that her brother-in-law, the first Duke of Atholl, ascribed the ruin of his three sons, William, Marquess of Tullibardine, Lord Charles Murray, and Lord George Murray, who (as is narrated elsewhere)<sup>1</sup> had all been “out” in the ‘Fifteen.<sup>2</sup> For this, Lord Tullibardine had been deprived by Act of Parliament of the ducal inheritance, which had been settled on his younger brother, Lord James, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1724. The Marquess had lived in exile in France for a period of nearly thirty years, broken only by a visit to Scotland during the abortive Jacobite attempt which ended at Glenshiel in 1719. Lord Charles had died in London in 1720. Lord George, after several years of exile, had received a pardon in 1725, and settling down at Tullibardine, had devoted himself to a quiet country life. In 1745 these two surviving nephews of the aged lady again took up arms for the exiled Royal family, and along with them Lady Nairne had the satisfaction of seeing two of her sons, her four sons-in-law, and six grandsons, devote themselves to the same chivalrous adventure.

The younger lady, the Duchess of Perth, then over sixty years of age, was a daughter of that Duke of Gordon whose interview with Claverhouse is immortalised in Scott’s ballad of “Bonnie Dundee.” He had held Edinburgh for King James for more than seven months after the landing of William of Orange, and, spending his after life more often than not a captive, had died in Leith a prisoner on parole. His daughter Lady Jean had married the son and heir of the fourth Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland in James VII.’s time, who had accompanied his sovereign to France in 1688. The exiled King had created him

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<sup>1</sup> See preceding article and Lord George Murray’s biography, p. 340 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> I make this statement in spite of Jesse’s assertion that Lady Nairne conjured her husband to remain at home (*Memoirs of the Pretenders*). The Duke of Atholl distinctly attributes the perversion of his brother to Jacobitism to his wife’s persuasion; while Lord Mar, in a letter, wishes that all the men under his command had the spirit of Lady Nairne. (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report XII., App., pt. viii. p. 21. Jacobite Lairds of Gask, p. 37.*)

Duke of Perth at St. Germain's, and this title, which was quite illegal in Great Britain, was given to his descendants not only by contemporaries, but, as a rule, by historians also. Lady Jean's husband, the second Duke of Perth (the Marquess of Drummond of the 'Fifteen), died in France in 1720, leaving two sons—James, known as the third Duke of Perth, born in 1713, and a younger brother, known as Lord John Drummond. The family religion was Roman Catholic, and the boys were educated at Douai in France. By legal artifice the estates had been preserved, and the Duke, when his education was finished, returned at the age of nineteen to Scotland, where he lived for the most part at Drummond Castle. He was a Roman Catholic, but not bigoted; he was fond of literature and a patron of art; he was a man of great liberality and philanthropy. Though devoted to sport,<sup>1</sup> he lent himself to all local interests, and was beloved and respected in the county. His temperament was facile and sympathetic, and thus he was easily influenced by those about him. One remarkable characteristic of the Duke of Perth was that he never properly learned the English language, but invariably used broad Scots.

His brother Lord John retained his French connection, and when war broke out with England in 1743, he accepted, to the Duke's annoyance, a commission from Louis XV. to raise a regiment of his fellow-countrymen, to be known as the Scots Royal.

For a short time after her husband's death the widowed Duchess of Perth resided in Edinburgh along with her mother, where their house was denounced as a "kind of college" kept openly for "instructing young people in Jesuitism and Jacobitism together."<sup>2</sup> After her mother's death in 1732, the Duchess resided for the most part at Drummond Castle.

The general situation, just previous to the outbreak of the Rising, was briefly as follows:—About 1739 an association of

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<sup>1</sup> Horace Walpole calls him "a foolish horse-racing boy."—Letter to Mann, September 27th. 1745.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow, quoted in *Reekiana*, p. 246.

seven prominent Jacobites was formed to promote the cause of the exiled Royal family. Of these, two were Perthshire men—the Duke of Perth and his uncle, Lord John Drummond of Fairnton;<sup>1</sup> the others were Lord Lovat, Lochiel, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, the Earl of Traquair, and his brother, John Stuart. William MacGregor or Drummond,<sup>2</sup> the son of the Perthshire Laird of Balhaldies, was sent to represent the Jacobites in Paris, and John Murray of Broughton, son of a Peeblesshire baronet, was general manager for the party in Scotland. The Chevalier James and his two sons were then resident in Rome.

Plotting of an inconsequent character went on for some time, but the first definite action was taken in 1743. The British Government had sent troops to the Continent to assist Austria against France, and it seemed a likely opportunity for the French to foment Jacobite dissension in Great Britain.

The Duke of Perth accordingly went for a time to reside at York, where he met and plotted with English Jacobites who gave many promises which were never fulfilled, and in the beginning of 1743 Murray of Broughton was sent over to France to consult with the French Government. He had an interview with M. Amelot, the Foreign Minister, but nothing definite resulted, and he returned home. By midsummer, however, things in Europe had greatly changed. The French had been beaten at Dettingen on the 27th of June, and their Government, thinking it advisable to keep King George's troops busy at home, resolved on an invasion of Great Britain, which was to be assisted by a rising of the English and Scottish Jacobites. A French army of 15,000 men was accordingly assembled at Dunkirk under Marshal Saxe. Prince Charles Edward was summoned from Rome to take command of the expedition, and travelling with great secrecy he arrived in Paris at the end of January, 1744.

There were plots and preparations in Scotland to co-operate with the expected invasion, but the absence of news from

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<sup>1</sup> Now Ferntower.

<sup>2</sup> As the name of MacGregor was then proscribed, all MacGregors had another official name.

headquarters occasioned much perplexity to the Jacobite leaders. Among suggested projects was one to enlist men ostensibly for the Scots Brigade in Holland, and from that experienced body to procure officers, many of whom were known Jacobites.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince and Saxe were ready to sail, and the troops had actually embarked; the British fleet was preparing to attack, when a fierce storm wrecked most of the transports and dispersed King Louis' ships. The French Government took no steps to proceed further with an invasion, and Charles remained incognito at Paris, impatiently awaiting developments, buoyed up with hopes of a renewal of the French scheme and a great rising of his adherents in Scotland and England.

Early in 1744 Lord John Drummond was secretly in the Highlands raising men for his French regiment, and although his presence was known, and vigorous attempts were made to capture him and his brother, both successfully evaded arrest. Murray of Broughton was sent over to France to interview Prince Charles and to consult with the Jacobites there. He found things worse than he expected; the Jacobite agents Balhaldies and Sempill seemed to him to be deceiving the Prince with false hopes, and everything was at sixes and sevens. Murray saw the Prince, explained the Scottish situation to him, pointed out that his adherents were fewer than was supposed, and that they were entirely opposed to a rising unless Prince Charles brought with him a strong French contingent and a large supply of arms and equipments. Charles Edward, however, replied that come he would, if only a single footman should accompany him.

Murray returned to Scotland in 1744 to report on his mission, and there were meetings and consultations among the Scots Jacobites, but, with the exception of the sanguine Duke of Perth, all were absolutely averse from rising without a French contingent. A letter was written to the Prince setting forth the "situation and inclination of the party," and imploring him not to come unless he could bring 6000 men with him. This letter, however, never reached him. At first it was delayed in London by

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<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, pp. 61, 97, 100.

Lord Traquair from no apparent reason except dilatoriness and supineness. After being kept for some months it was returned by Traquair in April 1745 with a message that he had been unable to find a proper messenger. Finally the letter was sent by young Glengarry, who was going to France to join Lord John Drummond's regiment. It was then, however, too late; the Prince had gone before it could be delivered. Meantime John Murray, receiving no answer, and fearing that the letter had miscarried, and that the Prince might suddenly arrive, began to collect money for the Cause, to prepare manifestoes and to procure arms. Broadwords, muskets, and ammunition were purchased and lodged at Leny House in Perthshire, the home of Buchanan of Arnprior. Murray also wrote a second letter to the Prince, signed by several Jacobite leaders, and this he sent direct to France by a former servant of his own named John Macnaughton. This second letter was not so explicit as the previous one, and it had not the effect of deterring the Prince. At the end of May the messenger returned with a reply saying that the Prince had arranged to start, and would be in South Uist some time in July.

Then Murray hurried through the country, visiting the Jacobite adherents and doing everything that was possible to prepare the party for what was coming. One bold stroke was attempted. Graeme of Braco, a Jacobite Perthshire laird, was then in Scotland raising recruits for the Scots Brigade in Holland, in which he was an officer.<sup>1</sup> Two thousand men, many of whom were

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<sup>1</sup> I follow John Murray of Broughton in calling him Graeme of Braco, but I cannot help thinking that he may possibly have meant Graeme of Inchbraco or Inchbrakie. Both David Graeme of Braco and Patrick Graeme of Inchbrakie raised companies for Colyear's regiment of the Scots Brigade in 1745. Braco may have been in Scotland then, but Inchbrakie certainly was. Miss Graeme in *Or and Sable*, p. 285, says that Inchbrakie, after taking his company to Holland, returned to Scotland and fought for Prince Charles, and that he is identical with "Mr. Peter Greeme, Gorthy's cousin," who belonged to the Perthshire Squadron, but the authority for this statement is not given. It seems certain that Inchbrakie was at home in September 1746 (*Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 192). Mr. Ferguson, however, distinctly states that it remained the boast of the Scots Brigade that none of the officers joined

Highlanders, had been recruited for the brigade and were awaiting a fair wind to sail from the Firth of Forth. Captain Graeme promised to attempt to transfer their services to the Jacobite Cause if only the Prince arrived in time, but as his arrival was too long delayed the recruits had to sail for Holland.

The first active move in the game was the arrest of Sir Hector Maclean, an officer in the French army who had come to Scotland to enlist recruits, but who also carried despatches for the Duke of Perth and for Murray of Broughton. He was arrested in Edinburgh on June the 5th, and the incriminating documents were discovered. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Murray and the Duke, but Broughton had gone to the Highlands and could not be found, while the authorities dreaded arresting the Duke at Drummond Castle as he was so much beloved by his retainers. It happened, however, that Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre and Campbell of Inverawe had lately received commissions in Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment,<sup>1</sup> and in the latter part of July were quartered at Crieff. To them the warrants were entrusted, and by them a plot was arranged to enforce them. Sir Patrick, who was the Duke's county neighbour, obtained an invitation to dinner at the castle for the two officers. They were hospitably welcomed by the Duke, and, as if to amuse the castle party, they brought some of their men to exercise in the park. At dinner Inverawe asked his host for a private interview, and then informed him he had come to arrest him. The Duke made no resistance, but expressed a wish for a moment's talk with Sir Patrick, and while moving back to the dining-room he quietly slipped out at a side door and made his escape. The next time the Duke met Ochertyre was as his captor on the field of Prestonpans: "Sir Patie," he said good-humouredly, "I am to dine with you to-day."

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the Jacobite army (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. ii. p. 221). Inchbrakie subsequently married Gask's daughter, and as an officer in the brigade was of use to the Oliphants in their exile. One of his sons was the original major of the battalion of Highlanders which eventually became the 73rd Regiment.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the Black Watch.

From Perthshire the Duke of Perth fled to Moray and Banffshire, and there, despairing of Prince Charles' arrival, he was looking for a ship to take him to France, when the news reached him that the Prince had at last landed in the West Highlands. The Duke returned in time to meet him on the march and to accompany him into the town of Perth.

The news of the landing reached Murray of Broughton in Peeblesshire, where he had gone to avoid arrest and to await events. At once he posted to Perthshire and found his way to Arnprior's house at Leny. Here he enlisted the useful services of a Perthshire man who was in communication with the Government, but who was even then prepared to play a double part. This was James Mor MacGregor or Drummond, third son of Rob Roy, since immortalised in Stevenson's romance "Catriona." MacGregor was sent to Edinburgh to tell a garbled story, partly true and partly false, to the Commander-in-Chief and the Lord Advocate, a scheme which he carried out so well that he deceived the authorities and delayed their preparations. John Murray then went to join the Prince at Kinloch-Moidart.

Prince Charles landed in Arisaig on July the 25th, 1745, accompanied by seven adherents of whom the only man of position was William, Marquess of Tullibardine, the elder brother of the Duke of Atholl. It was with difficulty that the Prince persuaded some Western Highland chiefs to join him, but he finally overcame their objections. Young Lochiel, young Clanranald, and some minor chieftains agreed to rise, and the Standard was raised at Glenfinnan by the Marquess of Tullibardine on August the 19th, amidst the cheers of the Macdonalds and Camerons.

The news of the Prince's landing did not reach Edinburgh until the 8th of August, and Sir John Cope, the Commander-in-Chief, at once prepared to march to the Highlands to crush the insurrection.

He assembled all the infantry he could muster, numbering about 1700, at Stirling, and sent reinforcements to Inverness, Fort Augustus, and Fort William. A small garrison then quartered at

Perth, consisting of two companies of the Royal Scots, was despatched to Fort William, but was ambushed on the shores of Loch Lochy and the whole detachment captured. This occurred on the 16th of August and was the first outbreak of hostilities.

Cope, leaving two regiments of dragoons in the Lowlands, marched with his army from Stirling on the 20th of August and spent two nights at Crieff, where he summoned the principal local leaders to meet him. He was met by the Duke of Atholl; by his brother Lord George Murray, who a few days before had been appointed a sheriff-depute; by Lord Monzie and Lord Glenorchy; and by Macdonell of Glengarry, who had privately arranged not to go "out," although he authorised his second son and his clan to join Prince Charles.

Up to this point Sir John Cope had acted as a prudent, zealous officer, but the moment he entered the Highlands the new experiences with which he met seemed to paralyse his judgment. He could not understand the Highlanders, and they had no confidence in this "little dressy finical man." He had brought with him a thousand stand of arms with which to arm the retainers of the loyal chiefs. Lord Glenorchy, acting for his father Breadalbane, who was then eighty-three years old, could not get his men together, he said, the time was so short; and when, a little later, he proposed to call them out, they threatened to join Prince Charles. Glengarry's men followed his son and went with the Prince. The Duke of Atholl sent a contingent of his Glenalmond men, who marched with Cope for a few days, but they could get neither attention nor pay, and came home again. Nay more, Cope could not even keep the two companies of Highlanders he had brought with him belonging to Lord John Murray's Regiment. Passing through their native districts,<sup>1</sup> to use the General's own words, they "mouldered" away. When Cluny, the son of the great Chief of the Macphersons, who had accepted a commission in Lord Loudoun's newly raised Highland regiment, joined him a few days later at Dalnacardoch, intending to raise his clan for

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<sup>1</sup> They had been chiefly recruited in the districts of Atholl and Breadalbane.

King George, Cope, unable to distinguish between a Highland chief and a junior captain, treated him so insultingly that Cluny was eventually lost to the Government.

Leaving Strathearn, Cope marched by Taybridge, Tummel Bridge, Trinafour, and Dalnacardoch to Dalwhinnie, which he reached on the 26th, intending to cross the Corryarrack Pass and crush the rising in Lochaber.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

*(From a Portrait, supposed by F. Boucher, at Beaufort Castle)*

Meanwhile Prince Charles, marching by Loch Eil and Loch Lochy, had reached Invergarry Castle, and sending forward an advanced-guard had seized the Pass of Corryarrack, which leads from Lochaber into Badenoch. Cope, hearing of this, and fearing to attack the Highlanders in so strong a position, determined to

evade them, and so marched by Ruthven to Inverness. The Jacobite army, advancing by Garvamor, reached Dalwhinnie on the 29th; the next day Prince Charles entered Perthshire and spent the night at Dalnacardoch; the following day he arrived at Blair Atholl.

As the Prince's army approached, the Duke of Atholl, feeling unsafe in Perthshire, went to London, while his elder brother William, who for many years had been deprived by Act of Parliament of his hereditary possessions, now returned to claim them. His reception might well be hailed as a happy omen by the disinherited Prince Charles, for no sooner had the Marquess set foot in Atholl than he was met by "men, women, and children who came running from their houses kissing and caressing their master whom they had not seen for thirty years"; and he was given a welcome evincing "the strongest affection, which could not fail to move every generous mind with a mixture of grief and joy." The people of Atholl accepted him as their Duke, and his arrival gave a great impetus to the Cause.

From Dalnacardoch Duke William had written to his cousin, the Hon. Mrs. Robertson of Lude (always known as "Lady Lude"<sup>1</sup>), a widowed daughter of the aged Lady Nairne, requesting her to repair to Blair to put the castle in order, and to be ready to welcome Prince Charles with suitable honour. The party reached Blair Castle on August the 31st, and there Lady Lude received her Prince at the door, dropped on her knees, and kissed his hand.

Among the first to welcome Prince Charles at Blair were Lord Nairne (the son of the old lady), and his brother Robert, who on his marriage with the heiress of Aldie had assumed the name of Mercer; along with them came their nephew, Laurence Oliphant, the younger, of Gask. The Prince was also joined here by an experienced officer, John Roy Stewart, who afterwards rose to high rank in his army and lived to give much trouble to Duke William and his brother, Lord George. Stewart was a member of the family of Kincardine, or Kinchardie, in Strathspey, and had at

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<sup>1</sup> The wives of Scottish lairds at that time were generally called after their husband's estate, with the title of "Lady."

one time been quartermaster in the Scots Greys. He subsequently became a Jacobite agent, joined the French army, and at the time of meeting Prince Charles held a captain's commission in Lord John Drummond's French regiment of the Scots Royal.

Prince Charles stayed two days at Blair, where he was royally entertained. It is interesting to know that in this Highland castle not only did he taste his first grouse, but he also saw pine-apples for the first time. He soon became very national in his tastes, demanding Scots dishes and learning enough Gaelic to propose Highland toasts to his officers.

On September the 2nd young Oliphant was dismissed with a fateful letter from the Prince to Lord George Murray, and Charles Edward spent that night at the house of Lude, where he gaily danced Highland reels and strathspeys.

Next day he went to Dunkeld and lodged in the Duke of Atholl's house.

The day following, after stopping to dine at the house of Nairne, he rode on to Perth and was met on the way by the Duke of Perth, who with Mercer of Aldie and Oliphant of Gask formed his escort. The party entered Perth on the evening of Wednesday, September the 4th, by the North Port and Skinner-gate, and the Prince was conducted to the house of Lord Stormont. The Viscount, who had been a Jacobite in 1715, was absent from home, and it may be that the fact of his brother (afterwards Lord Mansfield) being then solicitor-general for England kept him from openly joining the Cause; two of his sisters, however, were present, and royally entertained the Prince.

Perth received him with apparently rapturous welcome, and the enthusiasm of the Jacobite ladies, which practically meant all Perthshire ladies, was almost hysterical. Lady Lude behaved "like a light giglet," and—says another observer—"she was so elevate while she was about the Young Pretender that she looked like a person whose head had gone wrong."<sup>1</sup> Another Perthshire lady, Miss Threipland of Fingask, writing a little later than this, says:—"Oh, had you but beheld my beloved Hero, you must confess he is

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<sup>1</sup> *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 13. *Albemarle Papers*, vol. i. p. 258.

a Gift from Heaven, ... in short ... he is the Top of Perfection and Heaven's Darling. . . . Would to God I had been a man, that I might have shared his fate of weal or woe, never to be removed from him.”<sup>1</sup>

Miss Margaret Oliphant of Gask, who afterwards married Graeme of Inchbrakie, was equally enthusiastic “I am a woman, not designed for war; yet could this hand (weak as it is thought) nerved by my heart's companion resolution, display the Royal banner in the field, and shame the strength of manhood in this cause.

“Let Charles encounter with a host of  
Kings And he shall stand the shock  
without a terror.”<sup>2</sup>

The day after the Prince's arrival all Jacobite Perth was astonished and delighted to learn that Lord George Murray had joined the army. What the letter carried by young Oliphant from Blair two days before contained we do not know, but it was quickly followed by Lord George's espousal of the Jacobite Cause. From the first he was received by the Prince with suspicion which was never removed throughout the adventure.

Six busy days followed the arrival at Perth, where the Jacobite gentlemen poured in to pay their respects to the Prince and to make arrangements to call out their retainers. Among them were the four sons-in-law of Lady Nairne—Lord Strathallan, Laurence Oliphant, the elder, of Gask, the Hon. William Murray of Taymount (brother of Lord Dunmore), and Duncan Robertson of Drumachan, afterwards of Struan. Lord Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie, arrived from the neighbouring county of Forfar, and the aged poet Alexander Robertson of Struan, who had fought in the Killiecrankie campaign and in the 'Fifteen, came to pay homage to the Prince. Lord George Murray and the Duke of Perth were named lieutenants-general; two of the Irish adventurers who had accompanied the Prince from France received staff

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<sup>1</sup> *The Threiplands of Fingask*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, pp. 123-4.

appointments—O'Sullivan as quartermaster-general, and Sir John Macdonald as instructor of cavalry—while young Oliphant of Gask was made aide-de-camp.

But by far the most active and able organiser was Lord George Murray, who was the life and soul of the army. From the first he showed his inherent military genius, for he invented a simple form of drill that was quickly picked up by his raw recruits. He soon obtained a great ascendancy over the Highlanders, whose national pride he often gratified by marching in the kilt.

From Perth an expedition was sent under the Chiefs of Keppoch and Clanranald to Dundee, which they captured for King James, and where they collected some public money and seized two ships laden with arms and ammunition.

Duke William and Lord Nairne were in Atholl raising the Duke's vassals, and were soon joined by many of the Stewarts and Robertsons when it was known that Lord George Murray had joined the Cause. The Duke of Perth was forming a regiment<sup>1</sup> which included two companies of MacGregors, under Malcolm MacGregor (or Drummond<sup>2</sup>) and Ronald MacGregor, second son

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. J. R. N. Macphail for a copy of the oath of allegiance taken by officers and men of the Duke of Perth's Regiment. It ran as follows:—"I solemnly promise and swear in the presence of Almighty God That I shall faithfully and diligently serve James the Eighth King of Scotland England France and Ireland against all his Enemies foreign or domestick And shall not desert or leave his service without leave asked and given of my officer And hereby pass from all former alledgeance given by me to George Elector of Hanover. So help me God." The copy contains the names of several officers, among others of Captain James Ged, an Edinburgh printer, who was the first prisoner sentenced to death for the Rebellion. He escaped execution owing to the intercession made for him for the sake of his father, the inventor of the art of stereotyping.

<sup>2</sup> Eldest son of Donald Drummond or MacGregor, of Craigruidhe in Balquhidder. He commanded the MacGregors resident on the Perth estates. The MacGregor companies in the Perth Regiment finally joined MacGregor of Glencarnaig, and during the Prince's stay in Edinburgh a regiment was formed, with MacGregor of Glengyle as colonel and Glencarnaig as lieutenant-colonel. The Major was Glencarnaig's brother Evan, who had been appointed aide-de-camp to the Prince for having

of Rob Roy; an independent corps of the same clan was led by Robert MacGregor (or Murray) of Glencamaig, with his younger brothers, Duncan and Evan; and Robertson of Struan called out 200 men under the leadership of his kinsman Robertson of Woodshiel. But though the people seemed glad enough to welcome the Prince, there was great reluctance to rise for him, and much tyranny was practised to obtain recruits. Gask was so infuriated at the reluctance of his tenants to enlist that he forbade them to harvest their crops or to feed their cattle, and it required the interference of Prince Charles to remove the embargo.

The Prince applied very closely to business. When he arrived at Perth he had but one guinea left, but his exchequer was soon filled by levying the cess or land tax from the ratepayers, while the city of Perth had to subscribe £500 to his finances. He took the greatest interest in military details and had little time for amusement. He gave a ball to the ladies of Perth, but he only took "a single trip" and then withdrew to visit the guards. On Sunday, the 8th of September, he attended the Middle Parish Church, where the service was conducted, not by the parish minister, but by a non-jurant Episcopal clergyman named Armstrong, who chose as his text Isaiah xiv. 1, 2, "The Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land . . . and the people shall take them, and bring them to their place . . . and they shall rule over their oppressors." On the 10th he visited Glenalmond to inspect the Duke of Perth's Regiment, the MacGregors, and others.

While these preparations were going on in Perth, a painful tragedy had occurred in another part of the county. Stewart of Glenbuckie, the chieftain of a small clan in Balquhiddy, was bringing up his men to join the Duke of Perth's Regiment and was met on his way by Buchanan of Arnprior, who took him to his

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captured seven hundred stand of arms on the entry of the Highland army into Edinburgh. Owing to Glengyle being left in command of the garrison at Doune Castle (see text below, p. 326), Glencarnaig commanded the regiment on the march to England.—Duncan MacPharig's MS. (*Hist. Clan Gregor*), vol. i. p. 365 *et seq.*

house of Leny near Callander. A dispute arose about the majority of the regiment, and what actually happened has never been explained, but Glenbuckie was found in the morning shot dead in his bed with a pistol in his hand. His followers took up the body, went to their homes, and were lost to the Prince; Arnprior, being under certain suspicion, felt constrained to remain at home, though he afterwards suffered death for the Cause.

At Perth various plans of campaign were discussed, but on news being received that Cope was collecting shipping at Aberdeen to transfer his army to the Firth of Forth, it was resolved to march to Edinburgh, and on the nth of September the little army, about 2000 strong, left Perth, headed by Lord George Murray. The Prince had a busy day. He rose early in the morning to visit Scone, where his father had stayed thirty years before. He breakfasted at the house of Gask, where to this day a lock of his hair is preserved, popularly supposed to have been cut from the Prince's head by the lady of the "Auld House," but which was in reality obtained from his valet. He dined with Lord George Murray at Tullibardine, and spent the night at Dunblane in the house of MacGregor of Balhaldies, the Jacobite agent in Paris. Here the Duke of Perth joined him with 150 men.

From Dunblane he went to Doune, where he was entertained at Newton House by the Edmonstone family. On September the 13th the army left Perthshire, crossing the Forth at the Ford of Frew, where the Prince was "the first who put his foot in the water and waded through the Forth at the head of his detachment." <sup>1</sup>

When the army went south Duke William remained behind as commander-in-chief benorth the Forth, working as few men have ever worked, to organise a brigade. Hitherto the Prince had received no men from Perthshire except the Duke of Perth's corps, the MacGregors, and Struan's clan, but soon a regiment of 450 men assembled under Lord Nairne, which left Perthshire in the second week of September and reached Edinburgh on the 18th—just in time to take part in the battle of Prestonpans. A troop of horse but 36 strong, commanded by Lord Strathallan,

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<sup>1</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 16th September 1745.

was also present at the battle. This troop, afterward known as the Perthshire Horse, increased later to a squadron, but at no time does it seem to have numbered more than 80 men. Lord Strathallan was colonel, Oliphant of Gask lieutenant-colonel, Haldane of Lanrick major; while young Gask and young Lanrick commanded the two troops.<sup>1</sup>

Among other Perthshire gentlemen who joined the army about this time were the two sons of Sir David Threipland of Fingask—David, who had been in the 'Fifteen, and Stuart, who was an M.D. of Edinburgh. The old Jacobite was too feeble to go out himself, being now in his eightieth year; yet if family tradition is to be trusted, on the Prince's return from England in the spring he determined to join, but dropped down dead while pulling on his boots for the journey. James Stirling of Keir, an old gentleman who had served in the 'Fifteen, took his sons Hugh and William to Prince Charles at Edinburgh, where they joined the Prince's Life-Guards. James Rattray of Corb, son of the Laird of Rannagulzion, obtained the majority of an Atholl regiment, and John Rattray, an eminent surgeon of Edinburgh, brother of James Rattray of Craighall, joined the army as surgeon to Prince Charles.

King George's officers who were made prisoner at Prestonpans were sent on parole to Perth,<sup>2</sup> and Lord George took the utmost pains to arrange for their comfort. He wrote from Edinburgh to his wife asking her to entertain them at Tullibardine, and it is interesting to find that he actually instructed Lady George what to prepare for dinner. Young Farquharson of Invercauld, who afterwards married Lord George's eldest daughter, was one of the prisoners.

When the Prince determined to invade England, most vigorous measures were taken in Perthshire to raise men. An Atholl brigade of three battalions was organised, of which the titular colonels were Lord Nairne, Lord George Murray, and Mercer of

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<sup>1</sup> When the army marched to England the command of this squadron was given to Lord Kilmarnock.

<sup>2</sup> The non-commissioned officers and men were confined chiefly at Logierait, but some were retained at Blair Atholl and Dunkeld.

Aldie. Menzies of Shian led the Menzieses from Weem.

A contingent from Breadalbane was headed by a fourteen-year-old son of Campbell of Glenlyon, the Laird being too old to go. Steuart of Grandtully's men joined a regiment raised in Edinburgh commanded by John Roy Stewart, and the Duke of Perth's Regiment was reinforced from various quarters.

Perth was the general rendezvous for the gathering Jacobite levies which were pouring down from the north and from the west. Lord Strathallan was sent back from Edinburgh to take command, with Oliphant of Gask as his lieutenant, while Robertson of Drumachine, who had an ailment which prevented him from taking the field, became governor of Blair Castle. Strathallan acted as military governor of Perth; while Gask, as civil administrator, collected the revenues, the subscriptions to the Cause in money and in kind, and disbursed pay to the assembling troops. From Gask's accounts, still preserved, much side light is thrown. We find that though Lord Stormont did not go out, both he and Lady Stormont subscribed liberally to the Jacobite funds, and we see that even Lord Advocate Craigie of Glendoick sent contributions of meal—though whether voluntarily or not is not stated.

A welcome addition to the equipment arrived in the middle of October. Four ships landed at Montrose and Stonehaven between the 9th and 19th, bringing artillery and stores, and with these came Alexandre de Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles (an accredited agent of the French Government), along with two experienced officers—Colonel James Grante, a French engineer of Scots origin, and Captain Brown, an Irish officer of Lally's Regiment. D'Eguilles went straight to Edinburgh, while the artillery and stores, escorted by the Athollmen and Cluny Macpherson's clan (who about this time arrived from Badenoch), were ferried across the Forth at Alloa, where batteries were erected on both shores to prevent attack from English cruisers. These troops, under the command of William, Duke of Atholl, were the last reinforcements received by the Prince before his astonishing march into England. They reached Edinburgh on October the

30th, and the army started for the south on November the 1st.

Perth, though now a Jacobite stronghold, was left without a garrison, and the citizens were not all Jacobites. On October the 30th, King George's birthday, Gask had a very unpleasant experience. Lord Strathallan having gone out of town, some of the town's people set the bells ringing and erected bonfires in the streets. At first Gask did not dare to interfere; but it happened that fifteen men from Aberdeenshire and two French officers arrived during the day, so he felt strong enough to forbid the demonstration. The rioters refused to obey and attacked the little garrison, who took refuge in the council-house and fired on the mob. A few were killed, and several wounded, on both sides. One of Gask's French officers, Captain Callaghan, an Irishman by birth, was killed, but the garrison held its own. Old Lady Nairne, confined to her bedroom at Nairne House, heard of the trouble, and summoning her retainers to her chamber she personally ordered them off to the assistance of her sons-in-law, and forty men reinforced Gask the following day. That day, too, a body of Mackintoshes and Farquharsons came into the town, and all trouble of this kind ceased.

There seems to have been little animosity in the county between parties. Old Robertson of Struan, who had accompanied the army to Prestonpans, returned to Perthshire in Sir John Cope's carriage and clad in Cope's fur cloak. Visiting his friend the Whig minister of Dunblane, he was mildly chaffed on his improved circumstances. "All the effect of your good prayers," retorted Struan.

Dunkeld was very Jacobite, but even there a schoolboy, son of the commissary of James, Duke of Atholl, collected some comrades on the Duke's birthday, lighted a bonfire, drank his health in ale, and marched through the town shouting, "Long live King George II. and James, Duke of Atholl." The only penalty was the removal of the little ringleader for a short time from Dunkeld.

At Dunkeld, Jacobite feeling was so strong that even the parish minister, Mr. Thomas Man, prayed publicly for King James and the exiled Royal family. He was the only Presbyterian parish

minister in Scotland who did so, and for this indiscretion he suffered ecclesiastical suspension when the Rising was over. The Whig minister of the parish of Monzievaird, on the other hand, courageously preached on the text, "Thy princes are rebellious, the companions of thieves," although he was close to Drummond Castle, and there were five hundred Highlanders in the neighbourhood.

The curse of the Jacobite army was desertion, and particularly was this the case in Atholl, where, owing to the counter-influence exerted by the Whig Duke, most of the men had to be pressed. The principal business of Robertson of Drumachine was to punish deserters, and heavy fines were inflicted on defaulters. The excitable Lady Lude, who had a company of her own in Lord George's Regiment, threatened to hang up deserters before her front door. The fact that Lord Nairne's Regiment, which marched south 450 strong, was soon reduced to 150, gives an idea of the leakage. Other Perthshire regiments suffered proportionally, and this constant desertion continued throughout the whole campaign.

While Prince Charles was away in England a new army gradually assembled, with Perth as headquarters. The Mackintoshes and Farquharsons were the first to arrive, then a regiment of Mackenzies under Lord Cromartie and his son Lord Macleod. Reinforcements of Macdonalds came for Glengarry, Clanranald, and Glencoe, as well as a large body of Camerons under the elder Lochiel and a detachment under Macdonnell of Barrisdale. Later they were joined by a regiment of Frasers under the Master of Lovat, a second battalion for Lord Ogilvy under command of Sir James Kinloch of Kinloch, and two battalions from Aberdeenshire under Lord Lewis Gordon.

Early in December the army received from abroad a welcome addition of about 800 men. Lord John Drummond had left France with two battalions—his own regiment, the Scots Royal, and a battalion made up of men picked from six Irish regiments in the French service. He had arrived at Montrose on November

the 22nd, after an eventful voyage in which two of his transports had been captured by English cruisers. On reaching Perth he tacitly assumed the chief command of the troops assembled in the neighbourhood, which eventually amounted to something like 4000 men.

Carlisle had fallen to the Jacobites in the middle of November, and before going further Charles had despatched a messenger to Perth ordering Lord Strathallan to join him at once in England with all his men. But Drummond had by this time arrived, and he declined to acknowledge the Prince's order, saying that his master the French King had instructed him that the Scottish fortresses were to be reduced before he undertook any other expedition, and that if the Scots troops went, he must remain behind. Lord John's refusal decided Lord Strathallan to disregard the Prince's orders and to remain in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The news of the arrival of the French auxiliaries reached Prince Charles at Derby, and the fact that the army had these troops to fall back upon in Scotland, was one of the principal causes which induced the Jacobite leaders to insist on the retreat which began on the 6th of December.

A small garrison under MacGregor (or Graeme) of Glengyle had been left in Doune Castle, which commanded the fords of the Forth and the Teith. In December, owing to fears of an attack from Stirling, the garrison was reinforced by some Macdonalds of Glencoe and a body of Stewarts of Appin, while the passages of the Forth were further strengthened by sending the Camerons under the elder Lochiel, and the Mackenzies under Lord Macleod, to occupy Dunblane and the Bridge of Allan.

It is pleasant to know that during the anxious month of December the Jacobites at Perth found time to enjoy themselves at a dinner and ball given on the 20th, the Prince's birthday, the very day on which he left Carlisle and crossed to Scotland in his retreat. The expenses of the rejoicings were met from public

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<sup>1</sup> This is given on the authority of Lord Macleod.

funds, for no Jacobite had any money left, and it is pathetic to read a letter from Lady Strathallan to her sister Lady Gask, who had already lent two or three guineas for her eldest son, the Master of Strathallan, imploring a similar sum for her son Willy, who was going to join the Prince. That Lady Gask was able to send the money is not stated.

Prince Charles with his original army, still about 5000 strong, reached Glasgow the day after Christmas, and after resting there for a week marched to Bannockburn, where Lord John Drummond and the reinforcements joined him. Here they made a futile attempt to take Stirling Castle, held for King George by General Blakeney. On the 17th of January, leaving the Duke of Perth with 1200 men to prosecute the siege, the Prince marched to Falkirk and there defeated General Hawley, who had advanced from Edinburgh to relieve Stirling. The Prince then returned to Bannockburn and continued the siege of Stirling Castle. Ten days later he learned that the Duke of Cumberland had been appointed to the command of the Government army and was on his way to Edinburgh to join it. Lord George Murray and the Highland chiefs thereupon pointed out the necessity of a retreat to the Highlands, as the army was not fit to meet the Duke. To this the Prince sorely against his will agreed, informing the chiefs that he washed his hands "of the fatal consequences, which I foresee but cannot help."

The retreat, which degenerated into a stampede, began on February the 1st, and that night the Prince (who crossed the Forth at the Fords of Frew) lodged at Drummond Castle, while the army lay in the neighbourhood of Dunblane. Next day he went to Crieff, whither part of the army accompanied him, the other part proceeding to Perth.

At Crieff it was decided that the troops should retire on Inverness in three divisions: that the clans, the artillery, and the prisoners should take the great Highland road, the wheeled carriages going by Dunkeld and Blair Atholl, the infantry by

Tummel Bridge and Trinafour; that they should meet at Dalnacardoch and thence proceed through Atholl, Badenoch, and Moy to Inverness. Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond were to take the cavalry and Lowland regiments by Perth and the coast through Montrose and Aberdeen; while a third division, consisting of Lord Ogilvy's men and the Farquharsons, took a middle course through their own country by Clova and Glenmuick. The town of Perth was evacuated by the Jacobites on February the 4th.

The Prince, who went with the Highland column, spent the 2nd and 3rd at Fairnton, the house of Lord John Drummond the elder. On the 4th and 5th he stayed at Castle Menzies, where Lady Mary Menzies gave a great party in his honour and where he enjoyed a day's shooting. Thence the column went north by Tummel Bridge, from which the Prince crossed the hill to Blair Castle, where he spent four days amidst a large assemblage of his officers, Duke William and the French envoy being among the number. At Blair he had another day's sport, but what doubtless pleased him more was to find a body of two hundred newly-raised Athollmen.

On the 10th he went to Dalnacardoch, and the following day he left Perthshire by the Pass of Drummochter, never to return.

While Duke William was spending these few last days at Blair he made the most frantic efforts to obtain recruits. The Fiery Cross was sent round, but few responded; the Athollmen were sick of the business. "Damn them," said Lady Lude's ground-officer to his mistress, "they will rather stay and go for King George than go any more with Duke William," and it was only by the strong measure of burning houses that Blair of Glasclune, a lieutenant-colonel in the Atholl Brigade, could force out the two hundred recruits who gladdened the Prince at Blair. In a few days the Jacobite army, which had lately held all the county, possessed but one remaining post in Perthshire—at Dalnaspidal, where Cluny Macpherson had a party guarding the passes which led into

Badenoch.

The Government troops were not long in occupying the county. Cumberland, who had reached Edinburgh on the 30th of January, was at Stirling on

February the 2nd. He crossed into Perthshire on the 4th and halted at Dunblane; he was at Crieff on the 5th, and on the 6th he occupied Perth, where his army remained for a fortnight before going further north. A party of 500 men, under Sir Andrew Agnew of the 21st Fusiliers, was told off to occupy Blair Castle, and was there by the 13th. Another party was sent to garrison Castle Menzies, and turned Sir Robert Menzies and his family out of his own house— to the intense indignation of the Chief, who said he had been neutral during the Jacobite occupation.

About this time there was much looting of the houses of Jacobite adherents. Fingask, Lude, and Gask, among others, were pillaged, and the nonjuring Episcopal meeting-houses were wrecked. A kind of auction mart was set up in Perth for the sale of loot, but the Duke of Cumberland interfered and made examples. The officer who commanded the party that looted Gask, a certain Lieutenant Fawlie of Fleming's Regiment (the 36th), was court-martialed and cashiered.

The Duchess of Perth was seized at Drummond Castle on February the nth and was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, as was also Lady Strathallan. The other ladies of the Nairne family were arrested too, but seem to have been soon set at liberty. Lady Lude was carried prisoner to Blair Castle, but was released with an apology and was entertained to dinner.

Soon a new force appeared on the scene. A division of about 5000 Hessians (of whom 500 were hussars), commanded by Prince Frederick of Hesse, brother-in-law of King George, had been taken into English pay and were brought to Leith on February the 8th. They were moved on to Perth and Stirling to

garrison these places while the Regular troops were sent north to fight Prince Charles. By the beginning of March the Hessian Prince was established in command at Perth with four battalions and some hussars, while St. George's Dragoons (8th Hussars) were at Bridge of Earn; the Earl of Crawford was in command of the cavalry under the Prince of Hesse. A garrison remained in Castle Menzies, and the eccentric and irascible Sir Andrew Agnew held Blair Castle with a force reduced to 300 men. The smaller manor-houses and farms were held as outposts by parties of the Argyll Militia; James, Duke of Atholl, was living quietly at Dunkeld striving to settle the district in King George's interest; the nearest Jacobite troops were in the confines of Badenoch; and everything seemed peaceful. Suddenly like a bolt from the blue all was changed. Lord George Murray had left Perth at the beginning of February, and marching by Montrose and Aberdeen had met Prince Charles at Inverness on the 19th. Fort George and Fort Augustus had fallen before the Jacobite army, and an expedition had been sent to attack Fort William. Lord George, learning that Atholl was overrun, and burning with indignation at the pillaging of the houses of his friends, determined on vengeance. He also feared lest, with Atholl as a base, the enemy might attack the Jacobite army in the rear, and he had the further desire to raise some more men from his own country.

With the greatest secrecy, deceiving even his brother Duke William, he marched with extraordinary rapidity from Inverness on March the 15th with his Atholl regiment. Joined on the way by Cluny Macpherson, he appeared in Atholl on the morning of the 17th and simultaneously surprised about thirty posts held by the Argyll Militia. Of these the principal were Bun Rannoch, Blairfettie, Struan, Blair Inn, Bridge of Tilt, Lude, and Kynachan. The last-mentioned important post was commanded by Campbell of Glenure—"the Red Fox"—who was accidentally absent, and who survived to be murdered in Appin five years later. Lord George's plans had been so skillfully laid that he did not lose a man, and even on the other side there was very little bloodshed,

but every one of the defenders—about 300 in all—was made prisoner, though the Jacobite force was but 700. Lord George at once occupied the strath as far down as Dunkeld, and his outposts even reached to Nairne House, half-way between Dunkeld and Perth. He promptly sent the “Fiery Cross” round Atholl, the last time in history that this peremptory summons was ever used. He also called on Sir Andrew Agnew to surrender Blair Castle, and on his refusal set to work to besiege it. This was the last act of warfare which took place in Perthshire.

The siege was not without its humorous incidents. The extraordinary temper of the commandant was so notorious that none of Lord George’s officers would deliver the summons to Sir Andrew. Molly, the comely handmaid at Blair Inn, was induced after much persuasion to hand the document to the young officers of the garrison, with whom she was on very good terms, but even after she had done so, not one of them dared face Sir Andrew except a lieutenant “with a constitution impaired by drinking.” “The peerless knight” was as furious as was expected; he kicked the maudlin subaltern downstairs, shouted terrible imprecations on the head of Lord George Murray, and threatened to shoot any one through the head who should dare to deliver another such message.

The first shot of the siege was fired by Lady Lude. The Jacobite artillery consisted of two four-pounders served by French gunners, but so inefficient were they that although the guns were trained within half-musket shot they frequently missed the castle altogether. They could make no impression on the castle walls, so the Highlanders—somewhat to Lord George’s concern—attempted to set fire to the roof by using red-hot shot. Sir Andrew foiled them by picking up the balls where they fell, with an iron ladle, found in the kitchen, and by dropping them into pails of water.

Meantime two more battalions of Hessians were sent from Stirling, the Perth garrison and the dragoons from Bridge of Earn

moved to Dunkeld, and the Jacobites fell back. But King George's troops never got nearer Blair than a couple of miles below Pitlochry. The terrors of Killiecrankie were too great for them, although they outnumbered the Jacobites many times over. The garrison of Blair were nearly starving, but stout Sir Andrew held on and laughed at Lord George. "Is the loon clean daft," he asked, "knocking down his ain brother's house?" and indeed Duke William, writing from Inverness, somewhat acidly reproached Lord George for his efforts, though he ended by declaring his readiness to sacrifice his ancestral home, in the interests of the Cause.

The garrison would probably have been starved out, but that on April the 2nd Lord George was recalled to join the Prince at Inverness. He therefore abandoned the siege, carrying back some 500 recruits from Atholl.

The battle of Culloden followed on the 16th of April, and then the ghastly *debacle*. Prince Charles fled to Arisaig, and Lord George Murray took the remnant of the army to Ruthven in Badenoch, where, receiving a message from the Prince that each man must seek his own safety, the force simply dissolved. The last body to retain military formation was the MacGregor Regiment, which was in Sutherlandshire while Culloden was fought. The men marched with colours flying by Stratherrick to Ruthven; thence by Garvamor, Rannoch, and Glenlyon past Finlarig Castle, which was garrisoned by Argyll Militia, but the garrison "durst not move more than pussies." Then on to the Kirk of Balquhidder, where they dispersed. The village had been burned; "every man to his own house and did not know where it was," is the pathetic description of the chronicler.

Soon the Perthshire jails were full of prisoners and the Perthshire glens full of refugees; houses and hamlets were burned, yet there were few atrocities committed in the county such as disgraced the Government troops in Inverness-shire. Perth and Atholl were garrisoned by the Hessians for a month

after Culloden, and they were a gentle race.<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of May the Government army at Inverness dispersed. Brigadier Mordaunt was sent with three regiments to Perth; the Hessians were sent to Leith, and thence back to the Continent. The Duke of Cumberland went with eleven battalions and a regiment of cavalry to Fort Augustus, where he remained until the 18th of July, and on his way south he visited Sir Andrew Agnew at Blair. From Atholl he went to Perth, where the Town Council presented him with a loyal address, and, what was more tangible, made him a gift of the Gowrie House. This H.R.H. accepted, and then quitted Scotland for ever.

Lord Albemarle, who was left in chief command, broke up his camp at Fort Augustus on the 13th of August and brought his army south partly by Crieff and partly by Blair Atholl. By that time he had given up hope of capturing Prince Charles, though that unhappy fugitive did not make his escape from Scotland until September the 20th. The garrisons at Blair and Castle Menzies marched off with the army, but Regular troops were stationed for a time at Dunkeld, Perth, and other towns, while the posts in Rannoch and Dalnacardoch were thereafter held by detachments of Lord Loudoun's Highlanders.

The upland glens were for long the haunts of fugitives. John Murray of Broughton was in Glenlyon in June. Too ill to walk, he was kindly tended by Captain Macnab of Inishewan and by John Macnaughton, who was afterwards captured. A little later than this a picturesque incident, which is worth recording, occurred in the same glen. Young Campbell of Glenlyon, an officer in Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment, was garrisoning the family

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to know, as showing the state of education at the time, that when Lord George Murray, during the siege of Blair, had captured a Hessian trooper, he was obliged to converse with him in Latin—that being the only language they knew in common; and during the occupation of Perthshire the same classical tongue was the means of communication between the Hessian officers and the Atholl innkeepers.

mansion, along with some Englishmen on the look-out for fugitives. His younger brother, Archibald, who had led the Breadalbane contingent in the Rising, was hiding in the neighbourhood. One evening, being rather too venturesome, young Archibald was seen by his brother and the officers who were with him. The elder brother with great presence of mind shouted something to the younger in Gaelic, a language not understood by his companions, and then turned out his party. The glen was searched, but naturally the fugitive could not be found.

Many concealed themselves in the braes of Leny, but there ex-Lieutenant Fawlie, who had been broken for looting at Gask and had enlisted as a private, was very active, trying by his zeal to rein his commission. In July he made a large capture of Jacobite officers, including Major David Stewart, brother of the Laird of Ardvorlich, who was taken to Stirling Castle, and who subsequently died of wounds received when taken.<sup>1</sup>

A dramatic occurrence happened at Perth in September. A certain Captain Crosbie of the French contingent had been made prisoner. He was discovered to be a deserter from Skelton's Regiment (the 12th), and it was determined to hang him. The Perth hangman, thinking it simple murder, refused to perform his office and ran away. The Stirling hangman was then sent for, but whether through fright or from natural causes he dropped down dead. At last a fellow prisoner was induced by a pardon and a reward to do the deed, and performed it amid universal execration.

During the campaign Perthshire lost few officers or men in battle until Culloden. Indeed the only officer who was killed in the

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<sup>1</sup> MS. Notes on the Stewarts of Ardvorlich, compiled by the late J. R. Stewart. The Duke of Atholl, in a MS. Roll of those engaged in the 'Forty-five, states that David had a son, Major James Stewart, who also went "out," and was captured, but nothing is known of him by the family.

earlier actions was David Threipland, who after Prestonpans, while endeavouring to intercept some flying troopers at Wallyford near Musselburgh, suffered the fate attributed to the Laird of Balmawhapple in Scott's romance of "Waverley."<sup>1</sup> But at Culloden the Perthshire regiments suffered terribly. There were naturally no statistics published of the losses among the rank and file, but it is generally estimated that one-half of the men of these regiments fell in the battle or in the slaughter thereafter. John Home in his "History of the Rebellion" says that the Atholl Brigade lost thirty-two officers, but this is contradicted by Stewart of Garth, who says that they had not so many officers in the field, and gives the numbers as nineteen killed and four wounded. The Duke of Atholl, however, gives a nominal list showing twenty-four officers killed and ten wounded from the Atholl property alone. The principal Perthshire officers killed were Lord Strathallan, Mercer of Aldie, Menzies of Shian, Stewart of Kynachan, and Alexander Macdonald of Dalchosnie, with his younger brother John.<sup>2</sup>

Several Perthshire men perished on the scaffold. At Carlisle, on October the 18th, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior and John Macnaughton were hanged, and at Penrith on the 28th, the Rev. Robert Lyon. John MacGregor of the Duke of Perth's Regiment, and James Thomson of Lord Ogilvy's, were executed at York on the 8th of November;<sup>3</sup> and on the 28th Sir John Wedderburn of Balindean, who had also served in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment, was hanged at Kennington. Arnprior had not gone "out," but he was specially marked down by Government on account of his early plottings. On his way to the scaffold he declared on the word of a dying man that he had no hand in Glenbuckie's death.

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<sup>1</sup> Threipland had been captured in the 'Fifteen, and had escaped from Edinburgh Castle.

<sup>2</sup> Dalchosnie's eldest son, Allan, also died of wounds received during the Rising.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Roll of those executed in the 'Forty-five, compiled by the Duke of Atholl. MacGregor was a labourer, and Thomson was the gardener at Fingask.

John Macnaughton is an interesting personality, and he appears in the records of the Rising in a threefold capacity—as an old servant of Murray of Broughton, as a watchmaker in Edinburgh, and as a henchman of Menzies of Culdares.<sup>1</sup> It was he whom Murray had sent to France, and who had brought back the Prince's reply announcing his intention of landing. During the campaign he was quartermaster of the Perthshire Squadron, and after Culloden he had sheltered Murray's nephew, Sir David Murray of Stanhope, in his cottage in Glenlyon. Macnaughton was convicted on King's evidence of having killed Colonel Gardiner at Prestonpans. This was practically an impossibility, for Gardiner had been cut down by a Highlander armed with a scythe (supposed to be a Cameron), while Macnaughton was on horseback in another part of the field. Possibly the special charge was a pretext, and Macnaughton may have been condemned in the hope that he would give evidence, for he must have known much. His master, Culdares, had been out in the 'Fifteen, but having afterwards been pardoned, he considered it a point of honour to remain at home in the 'Forty-five. Still, to show his sympathy with the Cause, he sent Prince Charles the present of a handsome charger by the hands of John Macnaughton. Every effort was made to induce this man to betray his employers. Even on the way to the scaffold he was offered his life and an ample pension if he would give evidence; Macnaughton replied simply that Government had done him enough honour in ranking him with gentlemen, and he hoped they would leave him in quiet to suffer like a gentleman. I know of no nobler example of the innate gentle instincts of the Highland clansman.

Robert Lyon was a non-jurant Episcopal clergyman of Perth, who had gone with the army as chaplain to Lord Ogilvy's Forfarshire regiment. He was executed as a warning to his non-

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<sup>1</sup> This is not accepted by Mr. Lang (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 452), but a comparison of *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. i. p. 246, Murray's *Memorials*, pp. 125, 204, 292, 294, and Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 53, will show that it is correct.

juring brethren.

Sir John Wedderburn, who was captured at Culloden, had incurred the special displeasure of the Government as collector of Excise in the counties of Forfar and Perth, an office which he had most rigorously exercised. He wrote a touching letter to the Chevalier the day before his execution, recommending to his protection his nine children, whom he left in great poverty, and stating that he had given his wife a strict injunction that the children should be brought up in the principles of allegiance to the exiled Royal family.<sup>1</sup>

Another Perthshire laird, Laurence Mercer of Lethendy, who had served as a volunteer in the Perthshire Squadron and had eluded capture until June, was tried at Carlisle and condemned to death, but died in prison before the day fixed for his execution.

An Act to attain the leaders of the Rising was passed in May 1746. In the list of the attainted are ten Perthshire names, all of which, with one exception, are those of near relations of old Lady Nairne and the Duchess of Perth. The one exception is William Fidler, whose only connection with the county was that he had been a volunteer in the Perthshire Squadron. He was a clerk in the Exchequer Office in Edinburgh, and the tradition in the family is that he obtained the honour of attainder for having transferred some public money from King George to King James. He escaped to France, and lived in great poverty at Dunkirk.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Letter in the possession of his descendants.

<sup>2</sup> Fidler was in deep distress in 1757, when he wrote to young Gask imploring for assistance. The same year his daughter Marjorie was married to Charles Cowan, a prosperous merchant in Leith, afterwards a paper-maker at Penicuik; and it may be believed that the unfortunate exile no longer suffered actual want. This Mrs. Marjorie Cowan, of whom many stories showing her strong individuality still survive at Penicuik, was the grandmother of the late Sir John Cowan, of Beeslack, and of Mr. Charles Cowan and Mr. James Cowan, both of whom were members of Parliament for Edinburgh.

Several of the Perthshire leaders were imprisoned but did not suffer death; they were acquitted or obtained their liberty on the passing of a general Act of Pardon in June 1747. Others too who escaped in 1746 returned later under the benefit of that Act.

James Stirling of Keir was imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle for a short time; one of his sons escaped abroad and one was confined in the Isle of Man. Sir Stuart Threipland, after wandering for some time in Lochaber and Badenoch, where he dressed Lochiel's wounds and visited Cluny's cage, escaped to Rouen. After the general pardon he returned to Edinburgh, practised as a doctor, and came to be president of the Royal College of Physicians.

Sir James Kinloch, along with two of his brothers and his brother-in-law, the younger Rattray of Rannagulzion, was taken at Rannagulzion House, and all were tried at Southwark. Sir James and his brothers were condemned to death but afterwards reprieved, and Rattray was acquitted. Lady Kinloch had been taken prisoner at Inverness on Culloden day, but was probably released early.

The case of John Rattray, the Prince's surgeon, brother of the Laird of Craighall, is interesting. He was captured at Inverness after Culloden, and was confined with a crowd of wounded prisoners in Inverness church. Now John Rattray was captain of the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, and Lord President Forbes of Culloden was secretary of that club. The President, remembering old fellowship, went to the Duke of Cumberland and begged the life of his golfing friend, which was grudgingly given. This life and that of George Lauder, another eminent Edinburgh surgeon, are said to have been the only recompense which Forbes of Culloden ever received for the unparalleled services he rendered to King George's Government in the 'Forty-five.

The last Perthshire Jacobite to suffer imprisonment was Robert Graeme of Garvock, who had been a lieutenant in the

Perthshire Squadron. In 1746 he escaped to Sweden, and wandered an exile on the Continent for some time, but in 1753 he was back in his own house, where he was made prisoner at the same time as Dr. Archibald Cameron—that last Jacobite martyr. Garvock was confined in the Perth Tolbooth, but was apparently released in 1754.

Several Perthshire leaders were specially excluded from the Act of Pardon. Among them were Robertson of Blairfettie, Robertson of Faskally, Robertson of Easter Bleaton, Spalding of Ashintully, and Steuart of Ballechin—all officers in the Atholl Brigade. Of the fate of these I have no knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Other Perthshire names in the list are Alexander Robertson of Struan, who seems to have been left practically unmolested, and who died the following year when on the verge of eighty; the Haldanes of Lanrick, father and son, who escaped to France, but returned to Scotland in 1764 and died at home, the son the same year and the father in 1765; Blair of Glasclune, a lieutenant-colonel in the Atholl Brigade, who was arrested in Norway; and William MacGregor of Balhaldies, who was probably in France during the Rising. Young Balhaldies continued to reside at Paris, and it is from his house that David Balfour and Catriona MacGregor are represented as being married, in Robert Louis Stevenson's romance. He married a daughter of the elder Oliphant of Gask in 1758; she died within a year, leaving an infant son who became one of the original lieutenants in the battalion which was subsequently known as the 73rd Regiment. Robert MacGregor of Glencarnaig was also excluded from the Act. With his third brother, Evan, the Prince's aide-de-camp, he was in hiding until September 1746, when he gave himself up. He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for three years, and died in 1758, shortly after his only son, a lieutenant in Fraser's Highlanders,

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<sup>1</sup> Another exemption from the Act was Gregor MacGregor of Glengyle (known as "Glun dubh" from a black mole on his knee), who died unmolested in his native glen in 1777. His estate had been saved owing to its having been vested in his son John, who took no part in the Rising.

had been killed at the siege of Louisburg. Evan MacGregor managed to evade capture; lived to serve with Campbell's Highlanders (the 88th) in Germany during the Seven Years' War; and became the father of four sons<sup>1</sup> who rendered distinguished service in the army of the East India Company. Glencarnaig's second brother, Duncan, had been severely wounded at Prestonpans, but was eventually able to resume his profession as a lawyer in Edinburgh.

It remains to tell the fate of the members of the families of the two ladies with whom this story began.

The Duchess of Perth's elder son was wounded at Culloden, but managed to reach Arisaig, where he escaped on board the *Bellona*, one of the French ships which towards the end of April had landed 40,000 louis d'ors—the money afterwards known as Cluny's treasure. On the voyage to France fever broke out; sixty-seven of the passengers died, and among them was the chivalrous Duke of Perth, who was buried at sea. His brother Lord John Drummond left Arisaig in the *Bellona's* consort and reached France in safety, only to die of fever the following year at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. Both the brothers were attainted, but both were unmarried. The old Duchess, who had been sent prisoner to Edinburgh Castle in February 1746, was released on bail in November. This uncompromising Jacobite is said to have destroyed Drummond Castle lest it should be used as barracks for Government troops.<sup>2</sup> She survived the Rising for twenty-seven

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<sup>1</sup> The eldest of these, Lieutenant-Colonel John MacGregor Murray, succeeded to the representation of the family on the death of his uncle Duncan in 1787; was recognised as chief of the clan; and was created a baronet in 1795. His second brother, Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray, raised and commanded the Clan Alpine Fencibles. See article on the Clan Alpine Fencibles, pp. 181-4, and biography of Sir Evan Murray MacGregor, p. 502 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> I give this statement for what it is worth, as I find it in most modern books that describe Drummond Castle, but personally I do not believe it. I first find it in Roger's *Beauties of Upper Strathearn*, from which subsequent writers seem to have copied it. The statement is probably a

years, and died at Stobhall in 1773, aged about ninety.

The Perth estates, forfeited in 1746, were adjudged in 1785 to a distant relative, James Drummond, who was one of the original officers of the battalion of Highlanders which afterwards became the 73rd. He was subsequently created Lord Perth—not the old Scottish title which was attained, but a new title created for him in the peerage of Great Britain.

Lady Nairne passed away in her seventy-eighth year, nineteen months after Culloden. Her eldest son, Lord Nairne, after some months of hiding, escaped to Sweden along with his son Harry, an officer in the French service, who had come over for the campaign. Another son of Lord Nairne, Thomas, an officer in Lord John Drummond's regiment, had been captured early in the war, on board one of the French transports, and was released in due course with the other French prisoners.<sup>1</sup> Lord Nairne was of course attainted: he remained an exile in France, and died at Sancerre in 1770.

Lady Nairne's second son, Robert Mercer of Aldie, was killed at Culloden, and with him, it is said, there fell his son, who was a

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distortion of some traditional threat of the Duchess, and is only of value as showing the popular belief in the old lady's determination. I know of no contemporary indication that in the 'Forty-five the castle was dismantled. Prince Charles stayed there on February the 1st, and that night the Duchess gave a banquet in his honour. On the 5th the castle *did* actually become a barrack, for Cumberland then stationed a subaltern and twenty dragoons there to look after "this troublesome old woman," as he calls her Grace. On the nth she was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh, and when she was released in November the castle had passed from her hands, being confiscated to Government by her sons' attainder. The minister of the parish, writing in 1793, states that the old castle was unroofed and demolished in 1689, and that in the new house, which was built on the same rock as the castle, the family had resided for a century bygone (*Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 496).

<sup>1</sup> It was probably this Thomas Nairne who, according to Chambers, attended Prince Charles in his last illness, and in whose arms the Prince expired, but I have failed to find corroborative evidence of this. See Chambers' *History of the Rebellion*, standard ed., n.d., p. 506.

mere boy. In spite of his death Mercer's name was included in the list of the attainted.

Lady Nairne's son-in-law, Lord Strathallan, was also killed at Culloden and attainted after death. Lady Strathallan, who was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle at the same time as the Duchess of Perth, was, like her, released in November 1746. The Master of Strathallan was included in the attainder with his dead father. He escaped to France to live in exile until 1766, when he died at Sens in Champagne. His brother William (the "Willy" for whom Lady Strathallan tried to borrow a few guineas) escaped to Sweden with his uncle Nairne, but afterwards returned to Scotland. William's son eventually became head of the family, and the forfeited title was restored to him in 1824.

William Murray of Taymount, who took no leading part in the Rising but served as a simple volunteer, surrendered, was tried, and pled guilty. His life was spared, but although he was allowed to succeed to the title and estates on the death of his brother, the second Earl of Dunmore, in 1752, he was kept a prisoner in England for the rest of his life, and died at Lincoln in 1756.

Laurence Oliphant of Gask, after six months of concealment, escaped with his son Laurence by ship from Montrose to Sweden. Both were attainted, and for seventeen years they wandered abroad, weary exiles, as "Mr. Whytt" and "Mr. Brown," until 1763, when, in spite of the attainder, they went home to Gask, which had been bought for them by friends. There the exiles remained unmolested, though at the mercy of any informer—the only attainted Perthshire leaders who ever returned. The old Laird spent his last four years at Gask in adventureless peace, living long enough to see the grand-daughter<sup>1</sup> who was to become the pride and glory of his line—a "sturdy tod" of some six months old. He died in 1767 at the age of seventy-five. His widow survived him for seven years, and his son Laurence for twenty-

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<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Carolina Oliphant, afterwards Lady Nairne.

five.

Duncan Robertson of Drumachine, afterwards of Struan, Lady Nairne's last son-in-law, who though not attainted was exempted from the general pardon, maintained himself in the wilds of Atholl for seven years. In 1747, on the death of the old poet, he became chief of Clan Donnachaidh, but the Struan estate was forfeited. He struggled on until 1753, when he had to fly; not, I gather, so much from fear of Government, as from the action of one of those pettifogging pests whose self-interest prompted an officious zeal in enforcing a law which men in power would willingly have winked at if only left alone. Robertson went to France, where he lived as "Mr. Lindsay," and died at Givet about 1780. The forfeited Jacobite estates were restored by Act of Parliament in 1784, and Robertson's widow, "Lady Struan," then came home after thirty-one years' exile. Her son, who had been serving in the Scots Brigade of the Dutch army, returned with her. In 1755, while in exile, Duncan Robertson's daughter Margaret had married young Oliphant of Gask at Versailles.

Lady Lude, along with her mother, was marked down for punishment by Government, and long depositions were taken against the two ladies. Lady Nairne wrote a pathetic letter to her nephew, James, Duke of Atholl, imploring him by all ties of kinship to use his best endeavours to save her "daughter Lude," who was but "a weak, insignificant woman," from the miseries of threatened attainder, but not a word did the old lady say for herself. It may be believed that the Duke's influence was exerted, for nothing further was done. Lady Lude survived Culloden for forty-one years, and lived to see several of her grandsons enter King George's army.

Lady Nairne's younger nephew, Lord George Murray, escaped in safety to the Continent, as is told elsewhere, but the fate of his elder brother William, Duke of Atholl, was very pathetic. After Culloden he fled to the hills, intending to make for the Hebrides. Being too ill to ride he was placed in a pannier on horseback, and,

conducted by a few faithful retainers through Badenoch, Rannoch, and Balquhider, he reached the banks of Loch Lomond too ill to go further. Remembering that a daughter of Murray of Polmaise, a connection of his own, was married to William Buchanan, younger of Drummikill, whose father's house, Ross Priory, was on the shores of the lake, he determined to seek his hospitality. The children of the family were amazed at the party, and could not understand why the grim Highlanders were "greeting and roaring like women." Young Buchanan took the old man in, and as £1000 had been offered for his capture he sent word to Dumbarton Castle. A guard came next morning; its officer taunted Buchanan "in the bitterest manner," while the noble prisoner was treated with the utmost respect. The Duke was taken to Leith, and thence to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower. There this faithful adherent of the House of Stuart died on July 9th, aged fifty-seven.

It is satisfactory to know the fate of the traitor William Buchanan. He claimed the reward, which was duly paid by the Government official with expressions of insulting contempt. On his next visit to Polmaise he was turned to the door by his father-in-law. His neighbours all shunned him, and he was shortly afterwards found dead in his bed. Even then his family "were literally considered by all the neighbourhood as caitiffs," and a "blasting influence of more than dramatic justice or of corroding infamy seem'd to reach every branch of this devoted family." <sup>1</sup>

The story of Perthshire in the 'Forty-five would not be complete without some reference to a descendant of old Lady Nairne, who bore the same title and made the name illustrious.

Laurence Oliphant the younger, as has been told, married when in exile Margaret Robertson, daughter of the laird of Struan—both bride and bridegroom being grandchildren of old Lady Nairne. To them a daughter was born at Gask three years after their return home, the "sturdy tod" "who delighted the last" <sup>1</sup> Letters written by Mrs. Grant of Laggan (ed. J. R. N. Macphail),

p. 283.

days of the old Laird. She was named Carolina, after the King over-the-water, who six months before had succeeded his father in that throneless title.

Carolina grew up to be the pride of the countryside, and was known as "the Flower of Strathearn." A simple child of nature, she developed a genius for lyrical composition of wonderful charm. Her upbringing was in an atmosphere of the most uncompromising Jacobitism. She lived among relatives who had borne the stress of civil war, in the battlefield, the pillaged home, or in weary exile. Her father's unflinching loyalty to the old Royal family was carried to an extent that would have been ludicrous in any one less respected or of less transparent sincerity. It was the admiration of the county, and its fame even came to the knowledge, and won the approval, of King George III. "Give my compliments to Mr. Oliphant," he said to the county member—"not the compliments of the King of England, but those of the Elector of Hanover, and tell him how much I respect him for the steadiness of his principles."

Carolina Oliphant's verses naturally took the impress of her surroundings. Though she ever concealed their authorship, her delight was to compose Jacobite songs and to sing them to her old relations. Her Jacobite minstrelsy gradually became exceedingly popular, and her songs were sung all over Scotland.

Carolina came to know and to love a second cousin, William Nairne, then the last surviving member of old Lady Nairne's family who bore the name. To him she became engaged, but poverty long delayed their marriage, and Carolina was in her fortieth year when she became the wife of one who was heir to a title which had not been in use for two generations. But things were changing. Sir Walter Scott had come, and the wizardry of his Scottish romances and the fascination of Jacobite minstrelsy had caught the fancy of King George IV. When that sovereign came to

Scotland in 1822 he was almost a Jacobite, and so full of enthusiasm was he for things Highland, that he appeared at Holyrood in kilt and sporran. He had read, it is said, a simple lyric of Mrs. Nairne's called "The Attainted Scottish Nobles," and was touched by it. Indeed, if rumour is to be believed, he actually hinted to Sir Walter Scott the possibility of the removal of the attainders. Sir Walter prepared a petition to crave that removal, and the King graciously accepted it. In 1824 Parliament passed an Act restoring all honours and titles which had been forfeited for fidelity to the old House of Stuart. That year Carolina's husband became Lord Nairne.

If then the stern devotion of the elder Lady Nairne was indirectly the cause of the loss of honours to many ancient families of Perthshire, it may well be claimed that the gentle genius of the younger Lady Nairne indirectly led to their restoration. But that genius is the heritage not of Perthshire only, but of all Scotland. As long as Scottish song endures, so long will the memory of the 'Forty-five be kept green in her Jacobite lays. The martial swing of "The Hundred Pipers" will ever recall the transient triumph, and the despairing wail of "Will ye no' come back again" the pitiful catastrophe, of that last romance of Scottish history.



*LORD GEORGE MURRAY* [From a Portrait at Blair Castle)



LORD GEORGE MURRAY'S WHITE COCKADE  
(Preserved at Blair Castle)

LORD GEORGE MURRAY<sup>1</sup>

1694-1760

by WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE

*Lord George Murray*, who ranks with Montrose and Dundie as one of the great leaders of Highlanders, was born at Huntingtower, near Perth, on October the 4th, 1694. He was the fifth son of John, Lord Murray, afterwards first Duke of Atholl, by his first wife, Lady Katherine Hamilton, eldest daughter of William, third Duke of Hamilton. There is little recorded of Lord George's early years, but a letter preserved in the family archives shows how even as a boy the masterful, imperious spirit that accepted responsibility, detested injustice, and could not brook affront, had already developed. In 1710 he was at school in Perth and had risen to be "king" of the school, an office which carried the traditional privilege of protecting other boys from punishment under certain circumstances. In spite of his protestations a young friend was flogged for some fault by the master, who asserted that, as he had given the privilege of kingship, he had the power of withholding it. Lord George

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<sup>1</sup> Principal authorities:—the *Atholl Chronicles*; the *Scots Magazine*, for 1745 and 1746; the Chevalier de Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*; *The Lyon in Mourning*; *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*; *Maxwell of Kirkconnel's Narrative*; Lord Elcho's *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, edited by the Hon. Evan Charteris; Blaikie's *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward*; Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie*; Michie's *Records of Invercauld*; Home's *History of the Rebellion*; *Captain Daniel's Progress* (MS.); Chambers' *Jacobite Memoirs*; Lefevre-Pontalis' *Mission du Marquis d'Eguilles en Ecosse* (*Annales de l'Ecole libre des sciences politiques*, Paris, 1887-1888); and MS. monograph by the Rev. Andrew Meldrum, of Logierait.

indignantly resigned the office and wrote to his father imploring him to remove him from the school, as after this affront it would be impossible to do any good there.

In December 1711 Lord George was sent to the University of Glasgow, but in the following June he joined the army in Flanders as ensign in the 1st Regiment—the Royals. His early days in the army were not happy. He fell into bad health, he gambled freely, and he contracted debt. According to his uncle, Lord Orkney, his spelling and writing were disgraceful, and these his uncle considers “more necessary than either his Latine or logicks which,” he is told, “he is a little vaine of”—the result, no doubt, of a Scots education. “He is extremely headstrong and thinkes himself more capable of giving advice than tacking—he is given extreamly to gaming.”

After the Peace of Utrecht the Royals returned to England, whence in March 1715 they were sent to Dublin. In July of that year Lord George was at Dunkeld with his father and step-mother, and in August he and his brother Tullibardine, in defiance of the Duke’s wishes, joined the Earl of Mar. The brothers’ share in the campaign which followed has been related elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> On the final dispersion of the Jacobite force they escaped to the Outer Hebrides and sailed for Brittany in April 1716. Tullibardine was attainted, but it was not until two years later that a bill for treason was found against Lord George at a court of Oyer and Terminer held in Cupar Fife.

After paying a short visit to the Chevalier at Avignon, Lord George vainly solicited military employment at various Italian courts. He was at this time receiving pecuniary assistance from James, but when in 1718 that unfortunate Prince was obliged to take refuge in Italy, Lord George was one of the numerous Scottish exiles who settled in Bordeaux, where he lived in great poverty. As already mentioned, he served in the Jacobite expedition of 1719, and was wounded while commanding the right wing at Glenshiel on the 10th of June.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known of his movements for nine months after the battle, but a remarkable

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<sup>1</sup> See earlier articles on *Perthshire in the Fifteen* and *The Battle of Sheriffmuir*.

<sup>2</sup> See article on the *Fifteen and Glenshiel* already referred to.

light is thrown on his life at this time. Wodrow, the ecclesiastical historian, writing in 1723, states that “with a servant he got away among the Highland mountains and lurked in a hut for some months, and saw nobody. It was a happy providence that either he or his servant had a Bible and no other books. For want of other business he carefully read that neglected book, and the Lord blessed it with his present hard circumstances to him.”<sup>1</sup> Of this there is nothing among his own papers, but the complete absence from that time of the swaggering, roystering spirit so common among Cavaliers and Jacobites, and from which he had hitherto not been entirely free, gives an air of probability to the statement.

A memorandum in Lord George’s handwriting, preserved at Blair, states that early in March 1720 he was at Inverghueseren in Inverness-shire, and that after successive wanderings in Strathspey, Strathbogie, Angus, and Mar, he sailed from Methil in Fife on the 19th of April and landed at Rotterdam at the end of the month.

His life during the next three years is obscure. It is generally stated that he entered the Sardinian army, and the “Dictionary of National Biography” goes so far as to say that he acquired a high reputation in that service, but for this there is not one tittle of evidence. No mention of Lord George is to be found in the Sardinian archives,<sup>2</sup> and the surprise expressed by the French officers in 1745 at the military genius of one who had had no military training, would have been uncalled for in the case of a man who had distinguished himself in an European army. In reality Lord George seems to have spent these three years in retirement in France, watching over the fortunes of his brother Tullibardine, to whom he was much attached.

Some time in 1723 Lord George wrote from Rouen to his father, expressing regret that in the past he had opposed his wishes, and desiring a reconciliation. The Duke, whose health was failing, at once opened negotiations with Government for his pardon, but months dragged on, and Lord George, by his father’s

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<sup>1</sup> *Analecta*, vol. iii., p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Nor in Galli’s *Cariche del Piemonte* (Turin, 1798). So writes the National Librarian in Turin.

desire, returned to Scotland, as yet unpardoned, in August 1724. He went to Huntingtower to see his father, but was obliged to remain in great privacy. Three months later the Duke died, and was succeeded by his second son, Lord James. In November 1725 Lord George's pardon passed the Great Seal, and he was once more a free man.

In 1728 Lord George was married at Edinburgh to Miss Amelia Murray, daughter and heiress of the late Dr. James Murray of Strowan and Glencarse, a cadet of the Ochtertyre family, who had practised as a physician in Perth. Miss Murray's mother opposed the union, and the young people were obliged to marry without her consent. Their early married life was chiefly passed at Mugdrum in Fife, but in 1734 Lord George leased from his brother, the Duke, the old house of Tullibardine in Strathearn, which remained his home during the years he was yet to spend in Scotland. After his marriage he settled down to country life. He had, says a contemporary, "an active turn and a strong bent to husbandry,"<sup>1</sup> and he was keenly interested in gardening. He did much to improve his farm and policies; and at Arnhall he laid out a garden for his mother-in-law, Lady Strowan, in which, for the first time in that part of the country, wall-trees were regularly trained and dressed. He delighted also in sport, particularly deer-stalking, to an extent uncommon in his day. On a memorable expedition to the Atholl and Invercauld forests in 1732 he was inspired with poetic ardour, but writing from Glen Tatnich he was obliged to confess to his wife that though he had perpetrated some "follies" of his "Idle houres," he was not "born for poetrie."

Always popular with Highlanders, Lord George gradually acquired an influence over the Highland chiefs, which he tried to utilise for their benefit and for the interest of the country at large.<sup>2</sup> He was friendly too with his Lowland neighbours, Whig and Jacobite, particularly so with Robert Craigie of Glendoick, afterwards lord advocate. His correspondence shows that he was on affectionate terms with the members of his own family, and that they highly valued his advice and help. When his brother, the Duke, projected improvements in the Isle of Man, he desired to

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<sup>1</sup> *Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Century*, vol. ii., p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii., p. 448.

have Lord George with him; when his half-brother, Lord John, the member of Parliament for Perthshire, compromised himself at a convivial meeting in London, it was to Lord George that he wrote, asking him to put him right with the county; when another half-brother, Lord Frederick, was in great trouble over a love affair, it was for his brother George that he sent.

During all these years Lord George entirely refrained from taking any part in Jacobite plot or intrigue, and the world came to believe that he had abandoned the cause of the exiled family. About the year 1739 the Jacobite association had been formed of which the Duke of Perth was local chief, but no overtures were made to Lord George until early in 1744, when the Duke, in two private interviews, endeavoured to gain his adherence. Lord George, it is said, suggested that the Athollmen should be raised as if for the Government and should afterwards be brought over to the Jacobites,<sup>1</sup> but it is evident that this was spoken in jest, and was so understood, for the proposal was never taken seriously by the conspirators. Lord George at this time believed "that the French wanted only to Imbroile Britain to gain their ends elsewhere." Lord Strathallan, when approached, took the same view as Lord George, whom he consulted on the matter.

In May 1745 came the battle of Fontenoy. A month later Lord George's eldest son, who, as eventual heir to the family title, was being educated at Eton by the Duke of Atholl, was given a commission in Lord Loudoun's new Highland regiment. By the end of July Prince Charles Edward had landed in Arisaig, accompanied by the Marquess of Tullibardine and six other followers of inferior rank.

For some time it seemed as if Lord George would remain loyal to the Government. He allowed himself to be nominated deputy-sheriff by his elder brother, who was sheriff of Perthshire, and he accompanied the Duke to Crieff on the 21st of August to pay his respects to Sir John Cope. The day before he had written two letters to Lord Advocate Craigie; in the first, which is chiefly occupied with private financial matters, he mentions the capture, near Fort William, of two companies of the Royals; in the second

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<sup>1</sup> *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, p. 64.

he gives further news from Lochaber but speaks rather lightly of the gathering. Relying on information obtained from Macdonnell of Glengarry, he evidently expected, as many others did, that the insurgents would be dispersed before they left Inverness-shire. For the next ten days he appears to have gone about his usual avocations, for on the 30th he wrote an ordinary letter on farming business to his neighbour, Oliphant of Gask. That day the Prince's army reached Dalnacardoch, and on the 31st James, Duke of Atholl, left Dunkeld for the south. On his way he committed his two young daughters to the care of his brother George at Tullibardine, requesting him to take them to Edinburgh. On the 2nd of September Lord George somewhat reluctantly escorted his nieces as far as Stirling; the following day he returned home.

Charles Edward reached Blair Castle on August the 31st; on September the 2nd young Oliphant of Gask bore a letter from the Prince to Lord George,<sup>1</sup> which he found awaiting him on his return from Stirling on the 3rd; that evening he wrote to his brother Duke James announcing that he had made up his mind to engage in the Stuart Cause. The letter is very pathetic; he knows, he says, that his conduct will be regarded as desperate; that interest, prudence, and domestic happiness should prevent his taking a step which "may very probably" end in his utter ruin; but he has always felt in his heart that the Cause was right and just, and the principles of honour and duty outweigh everything. To his brother only is he under any obligations; to Government he owes nothing. The letter characteristically ends with an explanation of the arrangements he has made to pay his rent and to discharge his debts.

It has of late become the fashion to charge Lord George with duplicity in joining the Prince after accepting the office of deputy-sheriff, and Mr. Lang goes so far as to say that his conduct in that respect "had not been much more straightforward" than that of Lord Lovat.<sup>2</sup> How such a statement can be maintained it is difficult to understand. Lord George had no wish to join the Rising—few indeed had. He believed at first that it would come to nothing; but when he learnt that the Prince was actually in Atholl,

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<sup>1</sup> *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iv., pp. 461, 462.

and that his eldest brother, after thirty years of exile, had returned home and was about to raise his men for the Cause,<sup>1</sup> he felt the call of honour, and threw prudence and interest to the winds. The office of deputy-sheriff was no gift of Government; it was taken to oblige his brother Duke James, whose right hand he had ever been, and to whom alone he felt himself responsible. His contemporaries never imputed blame to him for his action—indeed, those who knew him best appear to have regarded it as natural—almost inevitable. The Lord Advocate simply says: “Poor Lord George Murray has joined the Pretender.” Lord President Forbes excuses, nay, almost applauds his action: “Lord George Murray,” he writes to Lovat, “never had any place or pension from the public, and was, no doubt, drawn in by the influence of the Marquis of Tullibardin; perhaps, touch’d with pity and commiseration for his eldest brother, who has spent the best part of his life in exile.”<sup>2</sup>

The young Chevalier entered Perth on the 4th of September, and the same day Lord George Murray joined the army. His advent gave an immense impetus to the Cause, and he received a commission as lieutenant-general, a rank also given to the Duke of Perth. There is a general impression that Lord George was made commander-in-chief, but this is quite a mistake. The Prince kept the chief command strictly in his own hand, and accepted as his chief military advisers two of the adventurers who had accompanied him from France, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been his tutor, and John O’Sullivan, an Irishman who had seen service under the French Marshal Maillebois. Sheridan acted as military secretary and O’Sullivan as adjutant and quartermaster-general, while Sir John Macdonald, another Irishman, was made instructor of cavalry. In the inner circle there was also John Murray of Broughton, the Secretary of State, one of the few Scotsmen whom the Prince had known before the expedition.

From the first Lord George was received by the Prince with great coldness and suspicion, but in spite of much

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<sup>1</sup> The letter to Duke James shows that his resolution had been taken by the 1st of September, and that only the duty imposed on him with regard to his nieces had prevented his joining the Prince earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Culloden Papers, p. 437.

discouragement he at once set to work to put the little army in fighting trim. "As I had formerly known something of a Highland army," he writes, he knew what was wanted. His strong individuality at once asserted itself: "Homme d'un vrai genie," the French ambassador calls him, "l'ame et le conseil du parti."<sup>1</sup> In the six days spent at Perth he introduced discipline, he organised transport and commissariat, and he gained the confidence of his men. But his work at Perth was not all military. The adventurers who had accompanied the Prince egged him on to the exercise of arbitrary power; Lord George stood ever for the rights of a free people, and he early came in conflict with the Prince's *entourage*. Perth had paid to the military chest the full contribution requisitioned—yet when the army marched out O'Sullivan carried off the Provost and another citizen as hostages for a trifling extra demand which was entirely unwarranted. At Tullibardine, where the Prince halted for dinner, Lord George interfered, and with much difficulty got the prisoners released. On the way there he had been grossly insulted by Sir John Macdonald, who had complained of the horse that had been provided for him, and had criticised the arrangements for the march. Lord George's reply was to obtain for him from a lady, probably his wife, the present of an excellent horse and horse furniture. This incident was very characteristic; he hated oppressing the poor people by seizing their horses except in cases of emergency for baggage; when it was for riding purposes he preferred giving up his own. Marching on foot at the head of the army, he bivouacked when necessary with his men, and slept without any covering but his plaid.

At the battle of Prestonpans Lord George was practically in command, and his gallantry while leading the attack on the left almost convinced the Prince of his integrity. The fighting over, he devoted himself to the care of the prisoners. Those of the officers who were able to walk he accompanied to Musselburgh, where he entertained them with his private stock of provisions and liquor, and, sleeping on the floor, spent that night with his prisoners, in order that his presence might protect them from possible insult or injury. Although incessantly engaged during the occupation of

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<sup>1</sup> Despatch of d'Eguilles to d'Argenson, quoted in *Annales de l'Ecole litre des sciences politiques*, 1887, p. 429.

Edinburgh in organising the army, maintaining discipline, and attending the Prince's council, on which he began to find himself in a very difficult position, he yet found time to arrange for the prisoners' entertainment, and to look after his nieces.

The invasion of England was against Lord George's judgment, but finding himself over-ruled, he strongly opposed the Prince's desire to march on Newcastle, where an army was assembling under Field-Marshal Wade. His scheme was to go by Cumberland, which he knew to be well suited to Highland tactics.<sup>1</sup> To attack the Prince, Wade would have to make a long march through difficult country in the depth of winter, and the army could maintain itself in the western hills while awaiting a French landing, a rising of the English Jacobites, or the reinforcements expected from Scotland. If, on the other hand, Wade was met on his own ground, a single defeat would be fatal. At the last moment Lord George's counsel prevailed; the march began on November the 1st, and Carlisle was reached on the 9th. A report that Wade was advancing from Newcastle brought the army to Brampton, but the rumour proved unfounded, and on the 13th half the force was sent back to resume the interrupted blockade of Carlisle. The operations were entrusted to Lord George, whose dispositions excited the admiration of the French officers.<sup>2</sup> On the evening of the 14th the town surrendered, but meanwhile Lord George had resigned his command,<sup>3</sup> asking permission to serve merely as a volunteer. His authority had not been upheld; his proposal to relieve the overworked men in the trenches by detachments from the force at Brampton had been curtly dismissed; and he had been deeply wounded by the Prince's refusal to give him the slightest information as to the terms he would accept from Carlisle. He felt that he could better forward the interests of the Cause by serving in the ranks of the Athollmen

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<sup>1</sup> He owed his knowledge of Cumberland to the fact that his eldest son had been at a preparatory school at Lowther—close to the spot on which the rearguard action of Clifton was to be fought on the march from England.

<sup>2</sup> Murray's *Memorials*, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> His letter is dated the 15th in Chambers' *Jacobite Memoirs*, but this must be an error, as the Prince's reply, dated the 14th, is in the Atholl charter-room.

than as a general without his master's confidence. The Prince accepted his resignation, and to the Duke of Perth, as sole remaining lieutenant-general, were entrusted the negotiations for the surrender of Carlisle. The army, however, took alarm. It had little faith in Perth's military capacity, and in a country in which the expedition was being denounced as a popish invasion, it was a gross political blunder to give the chief command to a man well known as a Roman Catholic. Pressure was therefore brought to bear on the Prince, and Lord George was reinstated in his commission, the Duke chivalrously consenting to serve during the remainder of the English campaign as colonel of his own regiment.

A council was held at Carlisle at which it was decided that, despite the 30,000 troops assembled to oppose it, the army should proceed on its march towards London. At Manchester a retreat was talked of, as hardly any English Jacobites had risen, and there was no news of a French landing. By Lord George's advice, however, the advance was continued to Derby, the General masking the Prince's objective by a feigned attack on the Duke of Cumberland, who was at Stafford with over 10,000 men. Derby was reached on the 4th of December, and early on the 5th a council was held. Charles was resolved to go on at all costs, but Lord George urged a retreat. There had been no French invasion, and no English person of importance had so much as sent them intelligence or promise of support, whereas reinforcements were awaiting them in Scotland. An army of 4500 Scots could never put a king by force upon the throne of England. The Prince was furious, but Lord George was supported by the great majority of the council. Nothing but retreat was possible, and retreat was resolved on.

The sycophants who surrounded the Prince, finding that he considered himself betrayed, attempted in the course of the day to ingratiate themselves with him by going back on the morning's decision. Murray of Broughton, who had strongly supported the retreat, now threw all the odium of it on Lord George. The malcontents, however, when challenged to do so, refused to put their opinions in writing and sign them. The retreat was therefore ordered, but Charles refused to have any more councils.

On Lord George, by his own desire, devolved the difficult and responsible task of commanding the rear-guard. Behind him Cumberland was in hot pursuit; Wade was threatening the right flank, and his cavalry was sent to cut off the retreat. Lord George, hurrying on to cross the Ribble before he could be overtaken, was hampered by the Prince, who, believing that no British troops would really oppose him, wished constantly to halt and fight. Once across the river, however, in compliance with the Prince's commands, he prepared to give battle near Lancaster, but the order was only due to the wish of his enemies to find some occasion to denounce him to the army, and Lord George's readiness to fight having foiled this manœuvre, the retreat was continued. Owing to O'Sullivan's neglect, Lord George had great trouble with the transport, and Charles' peremptory order that not so much as a cannon-ball must be left behind added much to his difficulties. When crossing a bridge between Kendal and Shap a gun and ammunition cart were overturned; the enemy's advanced-guard was close behind; but Lord George recovered everything—even to the cannon-balls, for which he gave a reward of sixpence each. The following day the Jacobite army was overtaken by Cumberland's cavalry at Clifton Moor, and Lord George, in spite of orders to the contrary, took upon himself to fight a rear-guard action. The engagement, though not the great victory claimed for it by the Jacobites, accomplished the desired end; it checked the pursuit for a couple of days and brought the Highland army safely to Carlisle.

At Carlisle Lord George once more got into trouble with the Prince and his counsellors by opposing the fatal resolution to leave a garrison behind. Unable to convince them, he volunteered to remain himself with the Atholl Brigade, but the offer was not accepted. Other troops were left—only to surrender ten days later. From Carlisle Lord George led a column by Lockerbie and Moffat to meet the Prince at Glasgow. Thence on the 3rd of January 1746 they marched to Stirling, where they were joined by the force which had been assembling at Perth under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond.

After successfully transporting the ordnance and stores across the Forth at Alloa in the teeth of a squadron of frigates, Lord

George was sent to Linlithgow with a portion of the army to cover the Prince's operations before Stirling Castle. On January the 13th General Hawley approached Linlithgow, and Lord George fell back on the main body at Bannockburn. On the 16th Hawley reached Falkirk, and on the 17th the two armies met in battle. The promptitude of Lord George, to whom, as usual, the dispositions had been entrusted, enabled the Jacobites to gain possession of a hill to the west of the town, and within a few minutes the Jacobite General, at the head of the right wing, had put the enemy's left to flight. The left wing, however, after routing a regiment of dragoons, was obliged to fall back before an outflanking force of infantry; no reserves were brought up; and the Highlanders in Lord George's first line having gone off in pursuit, he was unable to come to the assistance of the left. A terrible storm of wind and rain was raging, and much confusion prevailed. Hawley had thus time to retreat to Linlithgow, and eventually to Edinburgh, when a vigorous pursuit might have annihilated him.

After the battle the Prince resumed the siege of Stirling Castle, while Lord George remained at Falkirk with the clans. On the 28th of January news was received that Cumberland was about to take command of the Government army, and the Prince resolved to attack him when he advanced to Falkirk. A scheme of battle was sent to Lord George, who approved of it, and returned it with suggested modifications. But suddenly the situation changed. The plan of battle was followed the same day by a letter in which Lord George and the principal Highland chiefs, while proclaiming their devotion to the Cause, urged the Prince, on account of the losses from sickness and desertion, and the improbability that Stirling Castle would fall as soon as expected, to retire to the Highlands and await a French landing. Charles was heart-broken; "he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray." But in a dignified letter he informed the chiefs that he acquiesced, though with the greatest reluctance, and that he washed his hands "of the fatal consequences which I foresee but cannot help." This sudden change of plan has been severely criticised, but the letter to the Prince states that the desertions are increasing hourly; that the

signatories have only just been apprised of the numbers of Highlanders who have gone off; and Lord George was evidently convinced that the army was not fit to meet a general with Cumberland's reputation, and that it must be kept intact ready to co-operate with the reinforcements ever expected from France. He writes to his wife that he expects to make a winter campaign to the south of Atholl, and tells her that he has once more been able to render "essencially service."<sup>1</sup> He probably felt that he had saved the army.

Crieff was reached on the 1st of February after a most disorderly retreat. Thence Lord George took the cavalry and the Lowland regiments by Montrose and Aberdeen to Inverness, leaving garrisons in Elgin and Nairn, and detachments under Lord John Drummond to guard the Spey. After some service against Loudoun in Ross-shire he gave over his command to the Duke of Perth, and in the middle of March made his marvellous raid into Atholl, where, as already related,<sup>2</sup> he captured all the enemy's fortified posts, and laid siege to Blair Castle, with, however, but little success. Meanwhile, at the Prince's headquarters, distrust of him was growing. His failure to capture Blair was ascribed to treason, and a letter which he wrote to the Prince of Hesse, proposing a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war,<sup>3</sup> was regarded with such suspicion, that two Irish officers were told off to watch him on his return and to shoot him if they saw any sign of treachery.

Lord George's recall to Inverness at the beginning of April put an end to these intrigues. Cumberland was approaching, and Charles, never dreaming that defeat was possible, determined to give him battle. Lord George wished to abandon the northern Highlands to the Duke, and to establish the Jacobite army in Perthshire, where it could hold its own in the hills and yet find provisions in plenty. But the Prince resolved to fight, and on the 15th of April the army was marched to Culloden Muir, and was drawn up in order of battle by O'Sullivan on the left bank of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii., p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> See article on *Perthshire in the 'Forty-five*, p. 328 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The letter is printed by Mr. Charteris in his appendix to Lord Elcho's narrative.

Water of Nairn. Lord George strongly advised another position on the right bank, which would be almost impregnable to Regular troops, and whence, in case of defeat, the army could retire into the hills.<sup>1</sup> But his opinion was over-ruled; the baggage and stores were at Inverness, and they must not be abandoned.

Cumberland was now at Nairn, only twelve miles away; it was his birthday; and in the expectation that his troops would be celebrating the occasion with a carouse, Charles proposed a night march to Nairn, to surprise the Duke at daybreak. Lord George cordially approved of the scheme, and the Prince, delighted with his ready concurrence, embraced him heartily as he stepped off at the head of the column. The details of this disastrous march are too well known to need repetition. The wretched boggy road delayed the troops. Day broke while they were still some miles from Nairn. Lord George, feeling that the project had failed, turned back with the van. The Prince, highly incensed, exclaimed that his General had betrayed him, but on the circumstances being explained to him he acquiesced in the retreat, and the army returned to its old position on Culloden Muir to await Cumberland's attack. Worn with hunger and fatigue, many of the men went to Inverness for food, while others lay down on the ground and never wakened till the fighting was over. The battle began at one o'clock. Lord George, charging with the right wing, broke through the enemy's first line, but the terrible flank fire of the infantry and the grape shot of the artillery cut the Highlanders to pieces. The Jacobite second line came up in good order, but it was too late; the retreat had begun; and in five and twenty minutes all was over. Prince Charles fled to Stratherrick, and thence to Arisaig. Lord George took a remnant of the army to Ruthven in Badenoch, where, receiving a message of dismissal from the Prince, the force quickly dispersed.

From Ruthven Lord George wrote a letter to Charles in which he poured out his wounded soul in language such as seldom reaches the ears of princes. He blamed him for having set up his standard without a positive assurance of substantial help from the French king, and he spoke in the strongest terms of the incapacity

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<sup>1</sup> Marshal Macdonald, visiting Culloden many years later, took the same view as Lord George.

of Charles' trusted advisers, O'Sullivan and John Hay, who had taken Murray's place during his illness. It was not a generous letter to send to a fallen prince, but was it to be wondered at? From first to last he had been treated with a suspicion wholly unworthy in a prince who had himself invited his adherence. His great services had been powerless to remove this distrust, and only his strong sense of duty and the knowledge that he was implicitly trusted by the Highlanders had enabled him to go on. Charles' belief in his treachery is explained by Elcho and Maxwell of Kirkconnell as due to the jealousy of Murray of Broughton, but it is impossible to believe that jealousy alone would permit one whose whole soul was at that time loyal to the Cause to alienate a man like Lord George Murray. It seems far more likely that Broughton, at first at least, genuinely suspected him. Immediately after his interviews with Perth in 1744, Lord George had gone to Edinburgh, where he had somewhat ostentatiously frequented the society of Forbes of Culloden and Sir John Cope; the Lord Advocate, moreover, was well known to be his intimate and helpful friend. To Broughton, living in a continual atmosphere of conspiracy, nothing could have seemed more suspicious, and one can understand that he conscientiously believed that Lord George was a traitor and imbued his master with that belief. Had Lord George possessed a conciliatory nature his contact with the Prince would soon have removed all suspicion. But it was his fortune to have to oppose his master on countless occasions; he was no courtier;<sup>1</sup> and the "violent sallies" in which he occasionally indulged must have grated severely on one brought up in the extreme doctrine of divine right. That he was generally right, and that the Prince had to give in, would only make the situation more irksome.

The feelings of the Prince towards Lord George are rather remarkable. When in South Uist, he told Neil Maceachan that his General had forced him to fight at Culloden against his will. A few days later he assured Kingsburgh that he would never allow anything of treachery or villany to be laid to Lord George, though

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<sup>1</sup> He writes to his children many years later: "It is my fault if you do not make a curtsey or bow with a becoming grace."

he had much to bear from his temper. To Malcolm Macleod, only two days after this, he said that for two or three days before Culloden Lord George scarce did any one thing he desired him to do. After escaping to France and meeting with his Irish courtiers the Prince's resentment increased, and it continued to the end.

But even among his brother officers Lord George's plain speaking could occasionally give offence. He could mete out a sharp reprimand to Cromarty, and he estranged Balmerino by his strictness of discipline. John Roy Stewart firmly believed in his treachery, and after Culloden attacked him in Gaelic verse of which the following translation is a specimen:—

“My seven curses on George [Murray]!  
He got that day to his own undoing.  
He deceived us with his advice,  
We esteemed him too much in his time.  
That is the great General,  
The disgrace and curse of the people,  
Sold his honour and right for wrong.”

On the other hand the rank and file of the Highlanders adored him, and the clans followed him with complete confidence. He gained their hearts by wearing tartan and broadsword when his duties permitted; he was always attentive to their wants; and his justice in discipline won for him the name of *duine firinneach*, “the righteous man.” He was ever the first to cross a dangerous river, and in battle, fighting usually on foot, he would say, “I do not ask you, lads, to go before, but merely to follow me.” His indefatigable industry, his grasp of detail, and his instinctive knowledge of what his undisciplined army could or could not do, enabled him to accomplish the wonderful march to the heart of England, to win two pitched battles over Regular armies, and to foil Cumberland himself in the masterly retreat to Carlisle. So much confidence did he inspire in those who immediately surrounded him, that some of them believed that he could do anything. His aide-de-camp, the Chevalier de Johnstone, thus sums up his belief in his General's capacity: “Had Prince Charles slept during the whole of the expedition, and allowed Lord George

to act for him, according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the crown of Great Britain on his head when he woke.”

Immediately after Culloden it was rumoured in the English army that a copy of an order had been found signed by Lord George Murray forbidding quarter to the Government troops. Irresponsible newspapers purported to print this order verbatim, and its supposed existence was made the excuse for the terrible cruelties inflicted on the defeated Jacobites. The lying order appeared in Marchant's and Ray's contemporary histories of the Rising, and it is amazing to find it repeated to-day in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Although Cumberland, on the day after the battle, issued an order in which officers and men were desired to "take notice that the publick orders of ye Rebels yesterday was to give us no quarters,"<sup>1</sup> it is significant that no mention of this order was ever made in the Government Gazette, or in any official account of the battle; and it is practically certain that Cumberland must have known that no such order existed and suppressed the knowledge for his own justification. Four copies of Lord George's orders are known to be extant, all in his own handwriting. With the exception of trifling variations in spelling and diction, they are practically identical. Two are preserved at Blair Castle; one is among Cumberland's own papers;<sup>2</sup> the fourth, now in the British Museum, belonged to Lord Hardwicke, who, as Lord Chancellor, presided at the trial of the Jacobite peers in 1746. Lord Kilmarnock, on the eve of execution, sent a petition to the Duke of Cumberland, in which he protested that he had never heard of the "no quarter" order, and Balmerino on the scaffold emphatically corroborated this. Even a century and a half later it is painful to think that although both the Duke and the Lord Chancellor must have known that the order was a forgery, yet neither spoke out in response to these appeals of the men whom they had brought to the scaffold, but allowed this vile calumny to remain uncontradicted.

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<sup>1</sup> MS. Order Book in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> The text of this is printed by Mr. Charteris in the appendix to Lord Elcho's narrative.

To refute the false charge once for all, one of the copies of the orders preserved at Blair is here given in facsimile, and from this it will be seen that the sentence "and to give no Quarter to the Elector's Troops, on no Account whatsoever," which in the spurious version appears after the words "until the battle and pursuit be finally over," had no existence in fact.

Orders at Culloden from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> 1746  
 Paroll Rice Hemish (King James)

It is His Royal Highness's positive orders that every person attach himself to some Corps of the Armie, & remain with that Corps night and day untill the Battle and pursuit be finally over. This regards the foot as well as the Horse. The Order of Battle is to be given to every Generall officer and every Commander of a Regiment or Squadron. It is required & expected of each individual in the Army as well officer as Soldier that he keep the post that shall be allotted him, and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot him. No body upon pain of Death to strip slain or plunder till the Battle be over. The Highlanders to be in their kilts and no body to throw away their guns.

By His Royal Highness's Command George Murray  
 Lieutenant General of His  
 Majesty's Forces

After the dispersal of the Jacobite army Lord George concealed himself in the mountains. Nothing more is known than that he

was at one time at Rannoch, and that once at least he visited his family at Tullibardine. He escaped from Scotland in December, and landed in Holland on Christmas Day, 1746. Thence he went to Rome, where he was received with much distinction by the old Chevalier, who granted him a pension. He visited Paris in the spring of 1747 to pay his respects to Prince Charles, but the Prince not only refused to see him, but ordered him to leave Paris. After journeying to Poland, possibly in search of military employment, he settled down for a time at Cleves, towards the end of 1748. From Cleves he went to Utrecht, and thence to Emmerich, which was his home for some years. Anxious to efface himself so as not to prejudice the interests of his family, he assumed the name of "de Valignie," or, occasionally, the "Chevalier d'Atholl." Lady George was as often with him as the education of their children permitted. His politics had lost his son John his boy-commission in Loudoun's Highlanders,<sup>1</sup> and, deeply affectionate as the father was, it was a bitter grief that his son was forbidden by his uncle to hold any communication with him. As years went on, however, Lord George had the satisfaction of seeing his two younger sons enter the British service, in which both were to achieve distinguished careers.<sup>2</sup> In 1750 his eldest daughter had married his old antagonist the attainted Lord Sinclair,<sup>3</sup> who died within the year. Four years later Lady Sinclair married James Farquharson of Invercauld, who had been one of the prisoners taken at Prestonpans, and it is touching to read the exiled father's delight at his daughter becoming mistress of the scenes of his early sporting exploits. In 1753 Lord George's eldest son married his cousin, Lady Charlotte Murray, the only surviving child of his uncle Duke James, whom in 1764 he succeeded in the title.

For the last three years of his life Lord George resided in the

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<sup>1</sup> His commission as captain in Loudoun's Highlanders, granted in June 1745, while a boy at Eton, was cancelled in 1746. It is a mistake to suppose that he ever actually served against the cause in which his father was engaged.

<sup>2</sup> See later biographies of Lieut.-General James Murray and Vice-Admiral George Murray.

<sup>3</sup> See article on the 'Fifteen, p. 298.

Netherlands with his wife and his youngest daughter; and at Medemblik in North Holland he died on the 11th of *October* 1760, at the age of sixty-six.