

THE TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
GAELIC SOCIETY OF GLASGOW.



[OCTOBER 27TH, 1891.]

AT the meeting held on this date, Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Esq., M.P. for Inverness-shire, F.S.A. read a Paper on "Incidents in the Risings of 1715 and 1745." The following is the portion of the Paper referring to the '45.

Turning to the '45, a period which has caused much greater attention than the '15, the selection of materials is difficult from their abundance.

The defeat of Sir John Cope's army by the Clans filled the authorities with dismay. The Secretary of State writing to the Duke of Cumberland, then in the Low countries, under date 25th September, 1745, desiring him to send home some troops, says—"Had not that reinforcement (Ligoniers) providentially arrived the day before the news came of Sir John Cope's defeat, the confusion in the city of London would not have been to be described, and the King's Crown (I will venture to say) in the utmost danger."

The Duke of Cumberland in reply was "rather rejoiced than frightened" at the Highlanders' success, but the coarse German King who hitherto saluted his ministers with oaths, now in fear and trembling, received them graciously.

During the occupation of Edinburgh by the Highlanders, an incident occurred which is worthy of being recorded. One James Lorimer gave information to General Preston that certain houses, upon the north side of the Castle Hill, sheltered many rebels. Orders were accordingly issued for the destruction of these houses, and Lorimer's only mode of exit from the castle, was, as he tells us, under "the smoke of the cannon when firing hottest with big 12 pounders flying over my head." He further tells us "that when the garrison sallied down the hill, near to the weigh house, upon the rebels, and put fire to these houses they had battered down and had spent most of their ammunition, my servant maid ran up to the castle, in the heat of the firing on both sides, with muskets, and brought down her lapful of cartridges to supply them, notwithstanding a musket ball went right through her pitty coats, on her way up there. Afterwards, as I directed her, she carried some of the soldiers through a back entry, and yard, and brought them up my own close, where opposite to it there were rebels, standing in a line, and ere they were aware, they shot one and wounded two or three more." It is a great pity that the maid's name has-not been preserved.

Lorimer relates a conversation he had with the "gentle Lochiel," who it seems could occasionally use bad language, and from it we gather that Lorimer was a merchant. Lochiel asked him "why the devil you merchants do not open your shops?" "If you are afraid of harm" said the Highland chief, "I will give every one of you merchants two sentries at your doors." Lorimer replied "that the cure was as bad as the disease, seeing it was upon account of the Highlanders they were most afraid, as they were all a parcel of thieves." Lochiel said "if any of the men offer you wrong, you have only to tell, and you shall see them punished." This did not

satisfy Lorimer, who said—“No, we have suffered enough already;” whereupon he (Lochiel) damned us altogether, and as the castle was firing, he went off cursing us all.” Another story about Lochiel is from the declaration made upon 9th November, 1745, before the authorities, by Hugh Cameron, who says “that with several others he tried to desert at Edinburgh, but they were seized upon by Lochiel and some of the Life Guards at a little distance from the city, and Lochiel beat them severely with his whip.”

In illustration of the manner of proceeding against those unwilling to take arms, and those who ran away, I give the following in connection with Cluny, and Glenmoriston; “William Robertson in Badenoch declares young Cluny came to his house and ordered 20 cows and 6 horses to be taken from him and otherwise threatened him, but upon consenting to go, they were restored, except one cow which had been killed (Signed) WILLIAM (his X mark) ROBERTSON;” “My dear Life—The reason of writing this letter now is that last night Alex. George’s son deserted with several others after getting all necessaries and encouragement from the Prince and me, which I think is a piece of ingratitude that deserves to be resented in the strongest manner possible, and I lay my commands upon you to deal every way in your power, by giving them a charge of removal from my lands and exercising the severest punishment. Raising the double rents and otherwise, which will be the greatest obligations you can lay upon me, and if ever I shall go home it will be my first business to raze them from off my country, and other places where I shall have any interest, as it is really no more than the usage they have given me deserves, and so my dear I hope you’ll show this to Daldreggan, and let him and you do the utmost of your endeavours to lay all stress and inconveniences possible upon such as have gone home and left me to make for myself, which is the greatest favour I can intreat of you and Daldreggan. I am with my compliments to you and him and all other friends, and Peter Macallester, who, I hope, shall do his utmost to resent this piece of ingratitude. My dearest life, your most affectionate husband (Signed) PAT GRANT, Dalkeith, 3rd November, 1745 (addressed) To the Lady Glenmoriston.”

The rapid and daring advance of the Highlanders into England filled the Royalist leaders with consternation. General the Duke of Richmond, who was sent to oppose their progress, writing from Litchfield to the Secretary of State, upon 23rd November, says—“For God’s sake don’t think of sending Hawley from us, indeed he is equal to anybody, and will speak his mind. We are in a strange irregular way here, and had the rebels attacked us at Stone on Monday night, as we thought they would, we had been undone, and Ligonier said so himself.” From the following excerpt of a letter from his Grace, two days later, we learn how unprepared were the Government troops for the campaign. “We have neither paymaster nor hospital here. We can’t move without the first, and shall be in a most miserable way without the latter. We have not seen the face of a surgeon, physician, or apothecary, nor is there an ounce of drugs, or a surgeon’s needle, but what belongs to the regiment, which I do say is a most shameful thing.” By a strange fatality Prince Charlie was compelled to retreat, when victory was within his grasp, for between him and London lay only scattered bodies of troops, utterly exhausted with their forced march to the front, and want of food. Now that the Highlanders began their masterly retreat the authorities took heart; the King again treated ministers to some German oaths, because, says Newcastle, “the danger is now more remote.” Even the Duke of Richmond, who, while the rebels lay in front of him, was filled with abject terror,

now waxes valiant. Richmond “in the field,” and Richmond “in his closet” are different individuals; in the former we have a veritable coward, in the latter a boasting braggart, as may be gathered from the following letter, written at Goodwood upon 6th February, 1746.

“I am excessively obliged to you, my dearest lord, for the very good news you sent me; tho’ to have heard that these villains were totally destroyed would have been better. I always did, and always shall, despise them as the scum of Scotland, which is certainly the sinke of the earth, and I always said it was only but looking these rascals in the face, and I was sure they would never stand their ground. This the late Lord Cadogan always said, and I have since been an eye-witness of it, but indeed if our people run away, at the sight of them, they must be beat even by the Westminster scholars, and what did that panic come from, but their hearing they were desperate fellows, with broadsword, target, Lochaber ax, and the devil knows what, that was eternally preached up by the Scotch Jacobites, even at White’s and St. James’. Stuff actually fit to frighten nothing but old women and children.” And this from one holding a Scottish Peerage, that of Lennox, one of the ancient Earldoms. We know pretty well all about Prince Charlie’s movements from a military point of view, day by day, but it is only now and then we get glimpses of his manner of life, when neither on the march or preparing for battle. From a wretchedly scurrilous broadsheet entitled “A short account of the behaviour of the Rebel Army while at Hamilton, in a letter to a friend at Edinburgh, dated Hamilton, 6th Jan., 1746, I excerpt the following:—”Tuesday night, 26th Dec., 1745. Camerons, Macphersons, and Macdonalds of Clanronald came in, and behaved badly, and would have burnt Lesmahago unless prevented by two of Lochmoidart’s brothers.” ... “The Prince went a hunting in the Duke’s park, he shot two pheasants, two woodcocks, two hares and a young buck, all which were carried in triumph. He dined at Chatleroy, where I saw him, but could not find the angel-like Prince amongst the whole rabble, till he was pointed out to me.” For this small glimpse of Prince Charles’s private life, I forgive the Hamilton lampooner, who uses language, with regard to Highlanders, unfit for ears polite.

The loss of the “Hazard,” with her arms and specie, off the Sutherland coast, was a great blow to the Prince. The sum taken amounted, it is said, to over £12,000 sterling. The application of the money, as recorded by collector Thos. Wedderburn of Inverness on 11th April, 1746, was somewhat unequal, viz.—”Lodged in the Duke of Cumberland’s hands, 5000 guineas. To the Captain of the “Sheerness” ship of war, 500 guineas; to the doctor of Loudoun’s regiment, 400 guineas: to each of the sergeants, 8 guineas; the corporals, 6 guineas; and to each of the private men, 4 guineas. Captain Sutherland a purse, and to each of the militia 1 guinea.” The services of the gallant Sutherland Militia do not seem to have been highly regarded, but likely the guinea was enough.

Glasgow was particularly Whiggish and Hanoverian as may be gathered from the preamble of their memorial entitled “Memorial stating the facts relative to the conduct of the Town of Glasgow at and since the Revolution, and particularly during the late wicket! Rebellion in 1745,” which narrates that “the community, upon hearing of the Pretender’s landing immediately signified to the late Lord Advocate their willingness to arm in the defence of the Government. His Majesty’s approbation was at length obtained, together with an order to General Guest to deliver a thousand stand of arms, at the sight of the Lord Advocate and Justice Clerk, but

this approbation and order did not come to Edinburgh until after the rebels had passed the Forth, and were marching to take possession of that city, and of consequence too late to be used at that time.”

The day after this pretended Prince had crossed the Forth, he sent a letter, dated 13th September, directed to the Magistrates of Glasgow, and signed with his own hand, requiring of them a sum not exceeding £15,000, besides the public money and their arms, as they should be answerable for the consequences, and threatening to take measures, unless the demand was complied with. To this letter no answer was returned. General Cope was then at Aberdeen, with the foot, and only two regiments of dragoons near or at Edinburgh.

“Soon after the battle of Preston, John Hay, W.S., came with a party of horse, and a letter from the pretended Prince, dated 25th September, demanding £15,000, by way of loan, and offering to assign the Land Tax and Excise of Clydesdale in payment. He brought likewise, a commission to treat with the Magistrates and Council, who after convening the inhabitants, by their advice, answered that they had no money to lend, but were soon made to understand, that there was a necessity for complying with the demand, which with much difficulty was restricted to £500 in money and £500 in goods, and the town’s credit interposed for borrowing, and furnishing the same. But no broadswords or other arms were furnished, and the community refused to meddle with any of the publick money, which was offered to be assigned to them for their repayment.”

“The inhabitants of Glasgow continued firm and inflexible in their alledgiance to their most Gracious Sovereign, during the Rebels’ stay at Edinburgh tho’ they were then Masters of Scotland, and the town often visited by their parties; yet, none of the Corporation joined them. They expressed on all occasions the utmost fidelity, Loyalty, and attachment to our happy Government. October 30th, his Majesty’s Birthday, was celebrated as usual, by bonfires, ringing of bells, public rejoicing, and one entertainment in the Town Hall, though a large party of the Rebels, by them called Hussars, who had come to levy the public Taxes left the place only the day before, and were then at Hamilton, within eight miles.”

“The Rebels left Edinburgh and marched for England, upon which Marshal Wade detached two Regiments of foot, and two of Dragoons to take possession of the Capital, and secure the peace of the Country. About this time a second body of the Rebels were beginning to draw together at Perth, threatened to cross the Forth and once more to take possession of the southern parts of Scotland. November 15th the community did hereupon then signify unto the Lord Justice Clerk, by a letter from the Provost, their intention of raising a number of men for the service of the Government, upon which a thousand stand of arms, with proportionate ammunition, was by direction of the Lord Justice Clerk sent them. Upon November 30th the Earl of Home, who was afterwards appointed by his Majesty to command these Volunteers, came at same time, and under his lordship’s direction a Regiment of 600 men was raised, in nine days, and marched the 10th to assist in guarding the pass at Stirling. The officers subsisted themselves. The inhabitants contributed a sum for paying the battalion, during the space of two months at 1S per diem to each sergeant, 10D each corporal and

drum, and 8D to each private man. At same time another battalion, of 600 men, was raised for defence of the town.”

“When the Pretender’s son repassed the River Esk, and returned to Scotland, with his followers, it was judged proper, by the commanders of his Majesty’s forces, to draw all the troops together to defend the Capital. This the Glasgow Regiment cheerfully agreed to, and marched to Edinburgh with the King’s troops, where a stand was made until the army came from England.”

“The rebels entered Glasgow on Christmas day, and soon made the inhabitants feel the effects of their resentment. They were ordered to provide their whole following in free quarters, were much threatened, and used with insolence, and to sum up all a verbal demand was made by Mr. Hay, afterwards in writing, by one Jackson, who called himself agent to the Prince, for 12,000 shirts, 6000 cloth coats, 6000 pair of shoes, 6000 bonnets and 6000 pair of tartan hose, together with the Land Tax owing by the town, and arms and ammunition.”

“This demand was peremptorily insisted upon, the greatest part they got while in town, and when after staying ten days at free quarters, man and horse, they marched to Stirling. They took two of the most substantial burgesses, one of them a magistrate as security, and although all imaginable occasions of delay were contrived, even to exposing the town to the risque of being plundered, the inhabitants were at last obliged to furnish the greater part of the demand, which, according to the tradesmen’s accounts, amounted to about £5000. The magistrates, however, had the precaution to send the Government arms and ammunition, with any which belonged to the inhabitants, to the Castle of Dumbarton, whereby the rebels were disappointed of any supply of these articles, and as to the Land Tax, whereof at the time of the rebels being in Glasgow, there was owing near £3000, the Magistrates had the good fortune and address to prevent or divert their levying or receiving any part of it.”

“During the time the rebel army, with their pretended Prince at their head, were living at free quarters in the town when they proclaimed the Pretender there, and when their pretended Prince made his most public appearances, he and his rebel followers were never able to procure, from this loyal community, the least mark of approbation or compliance. No bells were rung no acclamations were to be heard, nor even the common civility of a hat given, and even in this period not any one inhabitant, but a shoemaker, who was much in debt, joined the rebels, and when it was insinuated that a deputation in form, from the Town Council to their Prince, might procure an abatement of the last heavy exaction—the proposition was rejected with disdain. Their Prince was heard to say, that indeed it was a fine town, but he had no friends in it, and what was worse, they were at no pains to hide it from him.”

“So soon as the army was assembled at Edinburgh, and General Hawley thought proper to move westward, the Glasgow Regiment marched along with the first division, and some days after, made no bad appearance in the action near Falkirk, where they had an officer and 18 private men killed, and as many wounded, and three officers and upwards of twenty private men taken prisoners.”

“The battalion was afterwards dismissed with the highest compliments to the officers, who on their parts, assured Mr

Hawley, that they were willing to continue to serve their king and country, at their own expense, and should be ready at a call, whenever their attendance should be judged in any degree useful to the service.”

“Mr Hawley had his Majesty’s orders, by a letter from the Duke of Newcastle, to thank the Regiment in his Majesty’s name, for their service in the battle near Falkirk.”

“This unalterable loyalty and affection, in the inhabitants of Glasgow to their most Gracious Sovereign, and their zeal for the religion, and liberties of their country have brought the community into the greatest distress. The exorbitant contributions levied from them, by the rebels, amount to about, £10,000, besides growing interest upon the money borrowed for payment thereof. The free quarters they exacted, and other depredations, at the most moderate computation, amounted to £5000; the levying the battalion which went to Stirling—the expense attending the other battalion, which remained at Glasgow, for paying sergeants and others who had been in the army to instruct them in the discipline with many other contingents, unavoidable at forming of two battalions,—not to mention the town’s great charge for intelligence, and other necessary expenses, amount to a very great sum, and, joined with all these a total interruption of their trade and manufactures, for the space of six months. These are losses that neither the small public funds of the community, scarcely able to pay the unavoidable charge of Government, nor the private fortunes of the inhabitants, are by any means able to bear, but, at the same time, they have the joyful reflection that what they have suffered was in the best cause, and likewise the comfortable hope, that their most gracious Sovereign will not suffer the public stock of a Royal Burgh, always distinguished by their loyalty, to be undone and ruined, through their zeal for his Majesty and our happy constitution, but that such relief will be provided as his most Gracious Majesty, in his great wisdom and goodness, shall think fit.”

I now give five papers relative to the foregoing. The first is Prince Charles’s Proclamation dated 13th September; 2nd, levy on Glasgow dated 25th September; 3rd, authority to uplift the levy of same date; 4th, receipt therefor, 30th September, 1745; 5th, receipt for cloth, etc., dated 3rd January, 1746.

1.—“Leckie, 13th September, 1745,—I need not inform you of my being come hither, or of my view in coming, that is sufficiently known. All those who love their country, and the true interest of Britain, ought to wish for my success, and do what they can to promote it. It would be a needless repetition to tell you that all the privileges of your town are included in my declaration, and what I have promised, I will never depart from. I hope this is your way of thinking, and therefore expect your compliance with my demands, a sum of money besides what is due to Government not exceeding £15,000, and whatever arms can be found in your city, is at present what I require. The terms offered you are very reasonable, and what I promise to make good. I choose to make these demands, but, if not complied with, I shall take other measures and you shall be answerable for the consequences.”

2.—“Palace of Holyrood House, 25th September, 1745.—Seeing it hath pleased God to grant us a complete victory over all our enemies in Scotland, and as the present expedition we are engaged in, does not permit to visit the town of Glasgow, we thought proper to intimate to you, of the Town Council and

University, that whereas the exigency of the times does not permit us to levy the public money, as should be done in peace, we are obliged to have recourse to you for a loan of £15,000, which we hereby oblige ourselves to pay back so soon as the nation will be in a state of tranquillity, and in the meantime shall be willing to appropriate to your payment, all the taxes of Clydesdale, and your own town, arising from the land and excises, in same manner as shall be judged best for the ease of the King's subjects. Furthermore, we are willing, in part of this sum, to accept two thousand broadswords at reasonable rates. If the present demand is cheerfully and readily complied with by Monday first, we do hereby promise in a particular manner to take the trade of the town and its manufactures, as well as University, under our special protection, and shall grant them such new privileges as shall consistently with the good of the nation, advance your interests and serve as a pledge of our affection in your loyalty."

3.—"Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, To John Hay, Esq., These, are empowering and authorising you, forthwith to repair to the Town of Glasgow and treat with the Magistrates and Town Council in terms of our letter to them of this, date, and whatever you act or do, in the premises, shall be sustained as sufficient by us, and the said Magistrates and Town Council are hereby required to regard you as our Commissioner to the above purpose. Given at the Palace of Holyrood House, 25th September, 1745."

4.—Glasgow, September 30th, 1745. Received, in consequence of the within commission, the sum of £5000 stg. in specie, bank notes, bills of exchange, with the further sum of £500 stg. in manufactures, and which sum of £5500 stg., received in manner above mentioned, I in virtue of the powers, committed to me, have accepted in full satisfaction of the demand made, by H.R. Highness the Prince of Wales, on the city of Glasgow by his letter to which the Commission refers."

5.—"Received by me, Richard Jackson, Esq., agent to His R. Highness the Prince of Wales, from the Town of Glasgow for the use of his army, 6840 yards of woollen cloth for making 4412 jackets, also 572 yards of serge, 470 yards of plaiding, 30 yards of tartan with thread and other trimmings for said jackets; further received as above 25,423 yards of white and check linen, towards making the 12,000 shirts demanded by His Royal Highness, also received as above 1297 pairs of shoes and brogs, 3846 blue bonnets, 930 yards of tartan towards making 1240 pair of hose; also 15 pounds of thread for making above shirts; also 275 yards of packing cloth for baleing the goods up as above, and 2 coils of ropes, the above in part payment of a fine put upon said town for their appearing in arms against His Royal Highness."

From the foregoing it appears nothing came amiss to the Highlanders, and, as throwing some light upon the nature of their exactions I give you copy of the receipt granted, by Adjutant Donald Cameron of Lochiel's regiment, to a Perth merchant, 10th September 1745. "Received by me, Donald Cameron, adjutant in Lochiel's regiment, from Mr John Anderson, merchant, in Perth, in presence of Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, 300 yards of coarse harn, 600 els of cordage, 45 needles, and 6 ounces of thread."

I will now give letter from Sir Alex. Macdonald of Sleat, superior of the Barra group of islands, to Clanranald the elder, dated Mugstot, 25th January, 1746. Both Clanranald and Barra were apprehended after the battle of Culloden, and detained prisoners in London for a considerable period.

“Dear Clan,—Notwithstanding that I hear, from time to time, that you are on the wing southward, I never will despair of you until you are gone. Neither will I till then cease to give you all the information I have. It is not new to you that the P. after penetrating a little beyond Darby, thought proper to wheel about in order to return to Scotland. The reasons for this resolution was strong. The army of the Duke of Cumberland was very near, and much more numerous, no foreign succour was like to cast up, and no accession of strength to his army from the men of England. Upon his turning tail the D. with his Light Horse and Grenadiers mounted, and pursued whatever he was able, but (to the Prince’s honour, who has not so good an officer in his army as himself) could not overtake, except once that the Prince’s rear and some of the Duke’s men had a smart scuffle at a village called Clifden, where, as all was acted by firing, the Highlanders suffered most. As they were forced to make very long marches, they dropped a great many men. The garrison left at Carlisle surrendered at discretion to the Duke, about three weeks ago—the Duke’s cavalry was hourly expected at Edinburgh on Monday was a fortnight, on which day a Kinghorn boat sailed from Leith, with dispatches for the north. That day the first division of Wade’s army was marching into Edinburgh, under Lieutenant-General Hawley—the Leith and Edinburgh carts having gone to fetch in their baggage. The P. was then either at Hamilton or Glasgow with the debris of his army, from which there was (and no wonder), a very great desertion. By Mr Macallester’s vessel, in ten days from Kintyre, I learn that the small army at Perth, consisting of 3000, marched out of that place, and met the P. near the Forth, and that they returned in a body to Perth. Whether they will make a stand there, or get into the Highlands and disperse, I know not. My opinion is that they will endeavour to keep in a body till they see the fate of the invasion that has been carrying on at Dunkirk, Ostend, and Calais. The number of troops that should have been embarked, in these ports, is 12,000, and should have sailed the 5th of last month, the gross of them were to be put aboard of open boats, and to land in Kent, Essex, etc. There was no account of their being landed, when the Kinghorn boat left, and it is dubious if they can put to sea, and very dangerous for them to land, for the Government besides the strong guard of Men-of-War in the Channel, under Admiral Vernon, have armed above one hundred small vessels, cutters, sloops, etc. These have taken many empty ships and a number of fish boats, and other small craft, going into Dunkirk and Calais to take men on board, and they frequently peep into their ports to see what is adoin. The people along the coast of England are arming and looking out, and have removed all eatables 20 miles from the sea. The army to oppose their landing is more numerous than themselves. I do not see the French can propose to get masters of England, with so small a force, and without that they can do no service to the Prince at such a distance from him. The half of 12,000 men would have had a strong effect in August last. I know not but that the precipitate retreat of the Highlanders from England, may make France lay-aside thoughts of invading, and indeed the invasion would now seem to no purpose if they don’t land in Scotland, nor do I know whether the peace, which the King of Prussia has clapt up, with the Queen of Hungary and King of Poland, after beating both their armies near Dresden, will make the French king shy to

part with any of his troops. You see this peace makes him 70,000 enemies more this year in Flanders and on the Rhine.”

“Barray has done all he could to make a present of his estate, though I never coveted it. There is no man but knows arms and money were landed with him, and the Government people know that he took a part of both, his reviews and weaponschawing is well-known to them, and he need not expect to escape a Tryal. If he is attainted it will not be in my power to give his estate to his son, as I know the Government won’t suffer to shew any favours in that way, without resenting it. It is pitiful to see the poor gentleman imposed upon, by a very underlying ambassador, who is happy if he gets a company of foot, when he returns as the reward of his zeal in ruining poor Barray. There is but one way left to save him, and that is, to bring what arms he got directly to me This I am afraid he will not do, and yet his people will soon have to give them up. As the Government looks on me as their zealous friend, this thing, if immediately done, would give me a pretext for keeping Barra free of any molestation, if it is delayed, it will not signify to do it a month hence, when it must be done. Would it not be charitable in you to make him meet you at Boisdale’s and both of you to give him your best advice? You see I would gladly not gain by his folly. I hope in God you and your Uist men have kept your fingers free of that Barray cargo. You see the P. lost, if a miracle does not interpose, and for any man to lose himself now, and without a blow, would be a miserable circumstance. I forgot to tell you that the Kinghorn brought an order for laying an embargo on any ships in the north of Scotland outward bound with beef, pork, or any other eatables, and that in order that the army coming north, in pursuit of the Highlanders, may be better subsisted. Hay of Rannes, Clashtirim, and some other Gentlemen, have gone to their homes from the Prince, but whether to reclaim men, from the Duke of Gordon’s country, who have all deserted, I can’t tell. There is a report that Cluny Macpherson, Lochgarry, and Arnaby, were killed at Clifden, but this is not correct. The 6000 Hessians which were embarked at Williamstadt, and destined for Scotland, were not landed when the boat left Leith. If I have not the pleasure of hearing from you, I shall fancy you dead, or that I have lost a friend. Lose no time if you have any kindness for Barray, and if he loves himself he’ll be alert. Largie is still at home.”

As the Highlanders slowly retired to their own country, they were followed by the Duke of Cumberland and his army. Meantime the authorities were exercised as to the punishment to be meted out to them. The Earl of Chesterfield writing to the Secretary of State from Dublin Castle—(he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) upon 12th March, 1740, says “For my part I would put a price upon the heads of them, and then they would bring in and destroy one another. And why not? There is already a price upon the Pretender’s head who is the only one among them to be pitied or justified, and why not put a price upon the Drummonds, the Gordons, and Glengarries with the rest of those rascals? They are not enemies, but criminals, we cannot be at war with them, and I should have an exception in favour of the troops sent from France, who should be treated like fair enemies. I would likewise order all the loyal Highlanders under your Loudouns and Campbells into garrison into Newcastle, Berwick, and other towns in England, and employ only English and Hessians in subduing the Highlands. I would also forbid provision of any kind being sent upon any pretext whatever (unless directly to the Duke’s army) into Scotland and I would starve the loyal with the disloyal if the former thought

proper to remain with the latter. I have taken effectual care that the loyalist Highlander shall not have an oatcake from hence.”

A week later he writes thus “Recall your Scotch heroes; starve the whole country indiscriminately, by your ships, put a price upon the heads of the chiefs, and let the Duke put all to fire and sword. Here is one of the rascals a Maclaughlin, who is, as I am informed, come over to raise some men to carry to Scotland. I intend to put a price of £200 upon him, so soon as I am sure he is here.”

Upon 23rd March he triumphantly announces that he has captured a ship loaded with grain and meal, and navigated by “six Highland scoundrels in their plaids.”

Judging Lord Chesterfield—the man of polite maxims—by the foregoing, we are not in the least surprised to find that Lord Hervey describes him as being “very short, disproportioned thick, and clumsily made, had a broad, rough-featured, ugly face, with black teeth, and a head big enough for Polyphemus.” Neither need we be surprised at the butchery of Cumberland when we know, that not only did the King endorse such brutal utterances, but characterised these letters as “the wisest ever was wrote.”

I now give three letters from the Duke of Cumberland, the first is written a few days before, the second a few days after the battle of Culloden, and the last two years afterwards. These are selected as specimens of his real character. In one he says—“If we had destroyed every man of them, such is the soil that rebellion would sprout out again.”

1.—“Aberdeen, April 4th, 1746.—My Lord, I am sensibly obliged to you for your private letter of the 2ist March, tho’ I could have wished the King’s order had been fuller, yet I will take the hint, and do all in my power to put an end to the rebellion. I really think the eclat of it is over, but I believe there will be left such seed that God knows how soon it may break out again, if a care and caution, unused in this Island, be not on this occasion kept. All this country are almost to a man Jacobites, and mild measures won’t do.

You’ll find that the whole of the laws of this ancient kingdom must be new modelled, and for that purpose, by the next despatch, I shall send a very few undigested hints, but such as Lord Leven and Lord Findlater approve of. I must own that my going down to Scotland, was necessary, as it required one of more weight than Hawley to stand against Scotch influence at Court. I am sorry to say that, although all this country are as ill inclined as possible, and that their spirit of rebellion is extremely great, yet the managers of this part of the kingdom, have made it, if possible, worse by putting all the power of the crown into the most disaffected hands for the sake of the elections. The Duke of Athole has proved himself of no consequence at all in the King’s scale, and all his people, that are now about him, are public Jacobites. Were I to enumerate the villains and villainies this country abounds in, I should never have done. In short, there does not remain the least vestiges of any Government throughout the whole. The Hessians behave sadly, which is all owing to Crawford and the Scotch who have their ear don’t imagine that threatening military execution and other such things are pleasing to me, but nothing will go down without, in this part of the world.”

2.—“Inverness, 23rd April, 1746.—From your particular friendship, as well as for the general good of these kingdoms, I am very well assured that you shared my joy sincerely with me on the compleat victory we gained over the rebels on Wednesday last. I thank God most heartily that I was an Instrument in the affair, and that the glory of the day was owing entirely to the British troops, who have fully retreaved the little stain of Falkirk, without any Hessian assistance, though they might have saved us a good deal of trouble, and were of some use even in their inactive state. The reason of this letter is on the subject of Lord Findlater’s journey to town. I have with a little trouble persuaded him to go to London to represent the true state of this Island. He is thoroughly master of the laws, as they now stand, and what will be of absolute necessity to be done by Parliament this summer. I really believe that a month or six weeks will enable me to do all that may be necessary for the military, and I would to God I could be in town to explain a number of things that can’t be explained by writing. If we had destroyed every man of them such is the soil that rebellion would sprout out again, if a new system of Government is not found out for this country. Lord Findlater I perceive, is much afraid of the Duke of Argyle, so that he must be watched that he does not make him recant all he has said to me. I believe old Lovat will not escape. I have several parties out for him, and some papers I already have, and such as will suffice to prove High Treason upon him. All I have time to add is that I believe the greatest blow to the Jacobites in this country would be to have the King move all the Jucticiary Courts from Edinburgh to Glasgow, for the former is the nest of rebellion.”

3.—“Hague, 31st October, N.S., 1747.—I am extremely sorry that you should have such alarms in England, occasioned by the French troops sent to Calais and Dunkirk, as well as for the impertinencies and insolencies the Scotch Jacobites are every day committing. You will do me justice and remember that I always declared my opinion, that affairs in Scotland never would do right in the manner they were, and are still, administered; and though I think it of great importance to keep the Duke of Argyle, and the Campbells, in good humour, and even so far as to put the Duke of Argyle at the head of his Majesty’s Scotch affairs, yet, I can never think it advisable to have him sole and absolute disposer of the King’s favours in that kingdom. From what I see at present, I am not much alarmed for this winter in that part, as I know the number of Highlanders has been very much thinned, as well by what they lost in the rebellion, as by the number of men drawn out of the country for the King’s and the State’s Generals service, and I am besides of opinion, that they will not allow themselves to be deluded by French promises of assistance, and the little corps France might contrive to send them for which reasons I think our security in that country depend entirely upon the diligence of our fleet in preventing any considerable embarkation of troops from landing in Scotland, and I have already sent Bland my thoughts on the first points he should attend to on his arrival.”

Some of the prisoners, sentenced to death, petitioned for delay, and the Secretary of State encloses the petition, with the following letter to the King upon 30th July, 1746.—“I humbly presume to send your Majesty the petition of the Rebel prisoners ordered for execution on Wednesday next and also my Lord Chancellor’s letter upon it. I shall with your Majesty’s permission mention it to the Lords of the Council to-morrow, tho; I do not apprehend they will be of opinion that any alteration should be made except your Majesty should be pleased to order it. I find by Mr Attorney

General that the trial of all the Scotch prisoners, except six, will be put off till their pretended witnesses can come, but these six I suppose will be tried on Thursday next.”

The King writes upon the back of the above letter, and signs “G.R.” as follows—“I am entirely of Mr Chancellor’s opinion that the execution should not be put off. Whenever criminals are reprieved it always looks like a hardship, when they are executed after wards, and every one of them will try, as much as they can, to gain as much time as is possible.”

The friends of the prisoners desired to have the bodies of their unfortunate relatives, and petitioned accordingly. Earl Hardwicke writing to the Secretary of State, as to this petition, upon the same day says—“Part of the sentence being that the body is at his Majesty’s disposal, and it is usual in these flagrant cases, especially upon the first executions, to fix up the heads of some of the criminals in some public places, but I apprehend that directions may be given to the Sheriffs to put the bodies in coffins till his Majesty’s pleasure be known, which may be to-morrow.”

“If your petitioners mean the delivery of the bodies without the heads, I should think your grace may give directions for that, without waiting for any further consideration, for my opinion is, and I believe it is the general one, that no quarters should be put up.”

Next let me give the abject letter of the betrayer of his indulgent master, Lovat, he whose behaviour cast a slur on the honourable name of Fraser “Memorandum for the Hon. Sir Everard Fawkener, that Robert Fraser sometime secretary to the late Lord Lovat was discharged from the custody of one of his Majesty’s messengers in the month of July last, since which time he has continued in London, without any manner of employment, or as much as the happiness of one friend or acquaintance to recommend him to any business, whereby to gain the least substance. As it is very well known to every person, the disposition of my countrymen towards me, and the risk I run were I to return to Scotland. These considerations I hope will move the Government to make such a provision for me that thereby I can live decently, which shall ever be most gratefully acknowledged.”

Finally I give a specimen of the observations of the movements of prominent Jacobites in Paris by “Pickle” the notorious Government spy. His memorandum is not dated, but may have been in or about 1749.

“Macdonald of Glengarry lives at a *Baigneurs* in the *Rue Guenegand*, and keeps one servant out of livery, and two in livery, when he first came to Paris he kept a *Carose de Remise*, but now only hires one occasionally to make his visits, which are chiefly to Lord Ogilvy, Mr Ratcliffe, Mrs Carryll of Sussex, Mrs Hamilton (Lord Abercorn’s sister who has changed her religion and lives with Mrs Carryll) the three Messrs Hayes (who are cousins and lodge at the *Hotel de Transylvanie* Rue Condé) Macloud at Roisins a coffee house, Fitzgerald in the *Rue Vaugirard*, Lord Pittenweems the Earl of Kelly’s son at the *Hotel D’Angleterre*, Rue Tarrane, Sir James Cockburn at the *Cafe de la Paix*, in the *Rue Tarrane* Lord Hallardy, Mr Gordon, and Mr Mercer at a *Baigneurs* on the *Estrapade* where they keep themselves concealed.—Cromarty, frequently to the Jesuits College, and never fails going to Lord

Marshall whose coach is often lent him when he has none of his own.”

“N.B. Tuesday, 9th January—Macdonald waited in his own coach from 10 o’clock at night till past 11 in the *Rue Dauphin* when a person took him up in a chariot, who by the description is believed to be Lord Marshal. It is about that time that the Pretender’s son is supposed to have been in Paris.”

It has been frequently stated that the retreat from Derby was forced on Prince Charles by the action of the Highland chiefs, who looked rather to their own safety. An examination of documents acquit the chiefs of the odious charge. The march into England was conducted with extraordinary sagacity and skill, but the further the army advanced from its base of operations in Scotland, the more necessary it was to receive accessions of strength in the course of its progress.

With the exception of the addition in Manchester, no substantial assistance had been given in England, and the deaths, sickness and desertions, so thinned, reduced and dispirited the ranks, as to demoralize them. It was this breakdown of spirit on the part of the men, so sadly reduced, that brought about the necessity for retreat. Notwithstanding the reduced numbers of the Highlanders, it may, however, be affirmed, that had they pushed on to London, with the same vigour and determination, the movement would have been successful. The credit or discredit of failure in 1715, through weak and divided counsels: and in 1745, from want of support, lies at the door of England alone.